

## 10. Annex

## 10.1 Videography



Video01 Bajour, Polizei räumt Favelabesetzung

**Title:** Polizei räumt Favelabesetzung auf dem Messeplatz

**User:** Verein Bajour, formerly Tageswoche (YT 1,180 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 14 June 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Messeplatz, Basel, Switzerland; 13 June 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 100,248

**Duration:** 3:10 minutes

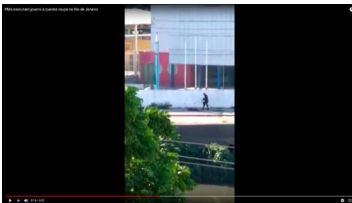
**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** Filmed from the upper floor of a nearby building, the video shows Swiss police officers dispersing a protest party using pepper spray and rubber bullets. A phalanx of officers runs toward the DJ's hut, where they beat him to the ground forcefully and pepper-spray the partygoers. The crowd then begins insulting the police and throwing objects at them.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FJkhVEyfhQY&t=33s>



Video02 MIC, PMs executam jovens

**Title:** PMs executam jovens à queima roupa no Rio de Janeiro

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 30 March 2017

**Location and Date of Event:** Escola Municipal Daniel Piza, Zona Norte, Rio de Janeiro; 30 March 2017

**Number of Views:** YT 3,344; FB 9,600

**Duration:** 0:33 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows two police officers approaching two motionless individuals lying on the ground. Although it is unclear whether the victims are still alive, the officers fire shots at them from close range. In the background, the videographer reacts with audible shock and instructs his child to leave the room.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_meDgbCmmAw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_meDgbCmmAw)



Video03 Mariano, Desde Junho 1

**Title:** Desde Junho: Caixa de Pandora (EP1)

**User:** Julia Mariano (YT 45 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 June 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; 2013–2016

**Number of Views:** YT 931

**Duration:** 26:38 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary series

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The first episode of the documentary series #Desde Junho traces the rapid emergence of media activism as part of the political movement in 2013.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxPRhe\\_J-gk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxPRhe_J-gk)



Video04 Mariano, Desde Junho 2

**Title:** Desde Junho: Mídia Livre! (Ep 2)

**User:** Julia Mariano (YT 45 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 June 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; 2013–2016

**Number of Views:** YT 410

**Duration:** 27:06 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary series

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The second episode of this five-part documentary about media activism in Brazil focuses on the work and organization of media activists in Rio de Janeiro.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9eQ2SdcA2\\_8&t=978s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9eQ2SdcA2_8&t=978s)



Video05 Mariano, Desde Junho 3

**Title:** Desde Junho: Violências (Ep 3)

**User:** Julia Mariano (YT 45 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 June 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; 2013–2016

**Number of Views:** YT 661

**Duration:** 26:33 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary series

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The third episode of the documentary series chronicles military police violence against protesters – particularly striking teachers in September and October 2013 – as well as the criminal prosecution of activists. It also examines how politicians and corporate media in Brazil publicly portrayed protesters as »vandals« and »terrorists.«

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tGjAU2RfLqI>



Video06 Mariano, Desde Junho 4

**Title:** Desde Junho: Intervenções (Ep 4)

**User:** Julia Mariano (YT 45 subscribers)

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; 2013–2016

**Number of Views:** YT 208

**Duration:** 26:19 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary series

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The fourth episode of the documentary series highlights creative interventions and the experimentation with new forms of protest. It features Rafucko's satirical »vandalism fitness« videos, the work of Papo Reto in Complexo do Alemão, and the organization of an alternative carnival parade initiated at Casa Nuvem – illustrating the diversity of creative practices and the role of media activists in amplifying these actions.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXuAD6Sg178&t=1039s>



Video07 Mariano, Desde Junho 5

**Title:** Desde Junho: Utopias (Ep 5)

**User:** Julia Mariano (YT 45 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 June 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; 2013–2016

**Number of Views:** YT 218

**Duration:** 26:04 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary series

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The final episode of the documentary series raises questions about utopias for urban social movements and their media. It »discusses freedom of the press, the manipulation of social networks, the media awareness that last year brought to the common citizen and questions the limits of the freedom of production and consumption of information on the Internet.«

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ftuqk32cL38&t=407s>



Video08 AND, Veja com exclusividade

**Title:** RJ: Veja com exclusividade os cinco minutos em que manifestantes tomaram a Alerj (17/06/2013)

**User:** Jornal A Nova Democracia (YT 56,700 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 25 June 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ); 17 June 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 204,170

**Duration:** 6:13 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video captures the moment when protesters start throwing Molotov cocktails, toppling police barricades, and seizing control of the entrance to ALERJ following the retreat of police officers. Presented in unedited form, it stands as one of the most significant visual records of the Jornadas in Rio.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oHyfFeUT1-s&t=61s>



Video09 Globo, Manifestação contra aumento

**Title:** Manifestação contra aumento da pass/onibus Manifestantes depredam a Alerj RIO 17/06/2013

**User:** MrMrpreta (93 subscribers, 14 May 2020)

**Upload Date:** 17 June 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** ALERJ; 17 June 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 325

**Duration:** 9:07 minutes

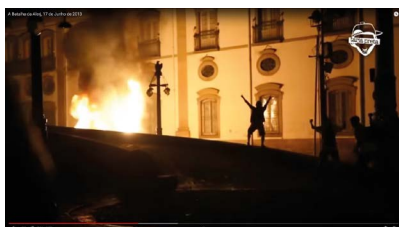
**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** Upload of low audio-visual quality (original of high audio-visual quality), edited, filmed from a helicopter, the studio, and street level

**Description:** This video comes from GloboNews' live coverage of 17 June 2013 street battles outside ALERJ. The broadcast features footage captured both from a helicopter, from the street, and from the studio.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsf\\_bKhRteI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsf_bKhRteI)



Video10 Maxx, A Batalha da Alerj

**Title:** A Batalha da Alerj, 17 de Junho de 2013

**User:** Matias Maxx (YT 1,420 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 25 June 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** ALERJ; 17 June 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 22,405

**Duration:** 6:20 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video captures vivid impressions of the street battles outside ALERJ on 17 June 2013. It documents the violent clashes in detail – showing damaged ATMs, burning cars, flaming barricades, and the arrival of military police with dogs. Portions of this footage have been featured in other contexts, including the documentary series #Desde Junho.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MAg4mq7Zq8>



Video11 Marcos, Vandalismo

**Title:** Vandalismo, vandalismo, vandalismo...

**User:** MarcosJacksonCarvalh (YT 447 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 24 August 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Brazil; 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 181,865

**Duration:** 4:25 minutes

**Type of Video:** Montage

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This skillfully edited video montage summarizes the June 2013 protests through the lens of corporate media coverage. News presenters and interviewees echo the same characterizations again and again, using terms like »vandalism,« »breaking of things,« »destruction,« »violence,« »terrorism,« and »chaos.«

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o4XYSEl2ln4&t=7s>



Video12 MIC, Manifestantes fazem escracho

**Title:** Manifestantes fazem escracho na sede da Vale no Rio

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 17 November 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Center of Rio de Janeiro; 16 November 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 976; FB 8,500

**Duration:** 2:59 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, in-video text

**Description:** The video documents the »não vale nada!« protest – a wordplay suggesting that the company Vale is worthless, echoing the popular Portuguese saying »não vale nada.« Organized in response to the devastating collapse of the Brumadinho dam, operated and owned by Vale, the protest captures public outrage. During the demonstration, protesters encountered a team of Globo journalists and drove them away.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=31zcNjEyOh4>



Video13 SABC, Service delivery protest

**Title:** Service delivery protest in Cape Town degenerated into thievery and looting.

**User:** SABC News (YT 947,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 30 October 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Central Business District, Cape Town; 30 October 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 4,870

**Duration:** 1:43 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, edited, voice over and translator for persons with visual impairment

**Description:** This SABC news report opens with footage of looting during a service delivery protest on 30 October 2013, showing broken shop windows and burning trash cans, and alleging that protesters threw feces. The report reconstructs the day's events through interviews with eyewitnesses – including one who speaks out angrily – as well as with protest organizer Andile Lili and Western Cape provincial government spokesperson Zhakele Mbhele.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xDFBlNvyjc4&t=6s>



Video14 News24, Cape Town protests turn violent

**Title:** Cape Town protests turn violent

**User:** News24 (YT 408,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 30 October 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Central Business District, Cape Town; 30 October 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 14,395

**Duration:** 1:01 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

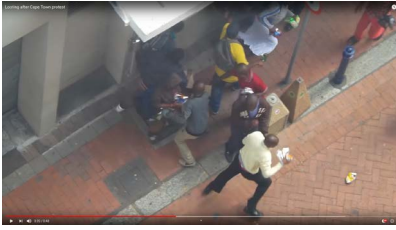
**Description:** The video documents the 30 October 2013 protest for land and improved housing conditions. The short report features interviews with a street vendor and an eyewitness whose shop was attacked. »They came to strike, not to steal,« remarks a frustrated shop owner. YouTube comments on the video describe the protesters as »barbaric« (Kefi), with many containing overtly racist statements – for instance: »This is the African way. Protest, loot, destroy, attack, injure and kill. Welcome to the New South Africa!!!«.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrE-B38IYP0>



## VIDEOGRAPHY



**Video15** Buchanan, Looting after Cape Town protest

**Title:** Looting after Cape Town protest

**User:** Stuart Buchanan (YT 94 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 30 October 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Shortmarket Street, CBD, Cape Town, 30 October 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 39,115

**Duration:** 0:48 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** Filmed from a balcony, this short witness video captures a moment following the 30 October 2013 march, as a group of protesters run down a street and scramble over goods – reportedly packets of potato chips – in a cardboard box outside a closed store. The videographer, audibly shocked, exclaims: »Oh my God!« The video's comment section has been disabled due to an overwhelming number of racist remarks.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Quzc6U6Pe5M>



**Video16** trouble media, student protests

**Title:** #feesmustfall 21 October 2015 by Eric Miller (Open Society Foundation South Africa)

**User:** Open Society Foundation for South Africa (YT 23 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 26 October 2015 (Open Society Foundation South Africa)

**Location and Date of Event:** Central Business District, Cape Town, 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 127 (Open Society Foundation South Africa)

**Duration:** 3:04 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, edited; Open Society Foundation South Africa uploaded the identical video in higher resolution four days later.

**Description:** This video by video activist Eric Miller documents clashes between police officers and student protesters, with a focus on the police as the aggressors. The audio overlay includes recorded singing by students, referencing the importance of so-called struggle songs during South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuJYCwMtIAC> (trouble media)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6LvYa4tUPg> (Open Society Foundation for South Africa)



**Video17** SABC, Students protest outside parliament

**Title:** Students protest outside parliament ahead of mid-term budget

**User:** SABC News (YT 947,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Houses of Parliament, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 3,040

**Duration:** 3:03 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, narrated by a reporter

**Description:** This SABC News video features a live report from outside Parliament in Cape Town. Reporter Nomawethu Solwandle provides a detailed account of the students' demands, placing them in the broader context of the anticipated increase in university fees.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G5QPFFRkT6k&feature=youtu.be>



**Video18** No Comment TV, Tear gas fired

**Title:** Tear gas fired as students protest over tuition fees hike – no comment

**User:** No Comment TV (YT 377'000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 22 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Houses of Parliament, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 3,949

**Duration:** 1:49 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** After showing footage of Minister of Finance Nhlanhla Nene presenting his mid-term budget in the National Assembly, the video turns to a reporter covering the demonstration outside. Clearly out of breath, he describes how the protesting students are attempting to break through the gates of the Houses of Parliament. As they retreat behind the gates and the police line, he warns his cameraman, Neil, to be careful.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMW37-CP4L4>



Video19 Ruptly, Multiple arrests

**Title:** South Africa: Multiple arrests as student protesters swamp Cape Town

**User:** Ruptly (YT 1,320,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Houses of Parliament and Central Business District, Cape Town, 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 172,479

**Duration:** 1:35 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This journalist-produced video presents a series of scenes from the student protest in the central business district. The footage centers on police actions, highlighting moments of aggression and arrests targeting student demonstrators.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SNmKOKrauKs>



Video20, MIC, Rebelião no Complexo da Maré

**Title:** Rebelião no Complexo da Maré – RJ

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 25 February 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Complexo da Maré, North Zone, Rio de Janeiro; 23 February 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 10'860; FB 59'000

**Duration:** 7:35 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This video documents the March for Life in the Maré favela, located in Rio's North Zone. It opens by contextualizing the protest, highlighting recent deadly police operations and including interviews with local residents taking part in the demonstration. The situation escalates when police officers attack the protesters with tear gas and live ammunition. In two scenes, officers are filmed firing lethal munition at demonstrators.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHor46003\\_c&t=1s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vHor46003_c&t=1s)

<https://www.facebook.com/163678980488219/videos/390452527810862/>



**Vídeo21** Moradores do Complexo da Maré se insurgem contra a PM e o Exército

**Title:** Moradores do Complexo da Maré se insurgem contra a PM e o Exército  
**User:** Jornal A Nova Democracia (YT 56,700 subscribers)  
**Upload Date:** 24 February 2015  
**Location and Date of Event:** Complexo da Maré, North Zone, Rio de Janeiro; 23 February 2015  
**Number of Views:** YT 33,976  
**Duration:** 9:48 minutes  
**Type of Video:** Activist  
**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, voice-over  
**Description:** his video documents the March for Life in the Maré favela, located in Rio's North Zone, and shares many scenes with the MIC production »Rebelião no Complexo da Maré – RJ« (vid. 16). It opens with graphic footage of prior police violence in the favelas, accompanied by statistics. Compared to the MIC video, this version includes fewer interviews with protesters participating in the march.  
**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020  
**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dw4PpP5hhAQ>



**Vídeo22** Protest continue at UCT despite heavy police presence. #endoutsourcing #feesmustfall

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)  
**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015  
**Location and Date of Event:** UCT campus, Cape Town; 21 October 2015  
**Number of Views:** FB 1,800  
**Duration:** 0:25 minutes  
**Type of Video:** Activist  
**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited  
**Description:** Produced by the RMF media team, this video captures a tense stand-off between protesters and a senior manager from G4S, the private security firm contracted by UCT. The protesters criticize the university's reliance on outsourcing security services, while highlighting broader concerns around privatization and labor conditions.  
**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020  
**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/1554073211534838/videos/1638330303109128/>

## VIDEOGRAPHY



Video 23, We are holding

**Title:** We are holding senior management of security outsourcing company G4S hostage

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT campus, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** FB 3,300

**Duration:** 0:40 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unnot edited

**Description:** The video captures senior G4S staff addressing a crowd of protesters in response to demands raised during the #EndOutsourcing campaign. The exchange reflects tensions around the university's use of outsourced security services and the broader labor concerns voiced by the demonstrators.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/1554073211534838/videos/1638333063108852/>



Video24 We have SHUT the university down. ##endoutsourcing

**Title:** We have SHUT the university down. ##endoutsourcing

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT campus, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** FB 1,800

**Duration:** 1:08 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows how students and workers occupy a G4S building on the UCT campus to demand an end to the outsourcing of staff.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/1554073211534838/videos/1638334746442017/>



Video25 Azania will rise ##endoutsourcing

**Title:** Azania will rise ##endoutsourcing

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** On a bus, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** FB 2,400

**Duration:** 0:13 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, not edited

**Description:** The video captures student protesters chanting aboard a bus heading to a protest march.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/1554073211534838/videos/1638346009774224/>



Video26 [untitled]

**Title:** [untitled]

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Center, Cape Town; 21 October 2020

**Number of Views:** FB 2,900

**Duration:** 0:10 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, not edited

**Description:** The video shows a protest march where activists chant the slogan »Fees Must Fall!« It depicts the same protest as in videos 16, 17, 18, and 19.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1638354266440065>



**Video27** Urgently plenary to discuss the arrests of our comrades

**Title:** Urgently plenary to discuss the arrests of our comrades

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 21 October

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT campus, Cape Town; 21 October 2015

**Number of Views:** FB 2,100

**Duration:** 0:11 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, not edited

**Description:** The video shows the plenary meeting of student activists that followed the protest outside the Houses of Parliament. The goal of the assembly was to reach a collective decision on how to respond to the arrest of students during the march.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall/videos/1638469733095185>



**Video28** Luister

**Title:** Luister

**User:** Contraband Cape Town (YT 966 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 20 August 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Stellenbosch University, Western Cape; 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 409,204

**Duration:** 34:50 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary film

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, no voice-over

**Description:** The documentary presents interviews with students from Stellenbosch University in the Western Cape. As stated in its YouTube description: »Luister is a film about Afrikaans as a language and a culture. It is a film about the continuing racism that exists within a divided society. It is a film about a group of students whose stories have been ignored. Luister is the Afrikaans word for »Listen.« The documentary has received a significantly higher number of views, setting it apart from most other videos in the Cape Town video sample.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF3rTBQTQk4&t=44s>



**Video29** service delivery protest cape town

**Title:** service delivery protest cape town

**User:** Galaga (YT 0 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 24 June 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Central Business District, Cape Town; date unknown

**Number of Views:** YT 13

**Duration:** 0:41 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** A short video by an eyewitness shows a group of protesters running down a street. The video's description on YouTube summarizes the footage: »ANC members protesting in Cape Town, South Africa, who were in town to support an ANC councillor that [sic] was being prosecuted in court for [a] series of cases involving the dumping of faeces.«

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKaHolUvh\\_8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKaHolUvh_8)



**Video30** Service delivery protest in Cape Town...at the Civic Centre 05.02.14

**Title:** Service delivery protest in Cape Town...at the Civic Centre 05.02.14

**User:** Kenny Nagel (YT 22 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 5 February 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Civic Centre, Central Business District, Cape Town; 5 February 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 91

**Duration:** 7:04 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video is filmed from the steps outside the Civic Centre, the municipal headquarters of the City of Cape Town. It documents a protest demanding improved service delivery in the city's marginalized neighborhoods. The camera pans from one side to the other, showing a large crowd of singing protesters.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKcJ-RWeCCK&t=190s>





Video31 Women's Day

**Title:** Women's Day

**User:** Fire Jungle, formerly Earth Huub (YT 21 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 27 September 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** Central Business District, Cape Town; 9 August 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 9

**Duration:** 2:23 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video shows the annual women's march in central Cape Town. It includes short interviews, highlights from a speech, and impressions from the protest in a montage.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqWRkBcmHVE>



Video32 we will protect the only home we have

**Title:** » We Will Protect the Only Home We Have at This Institution by ANY MEANS NECESSARY. MAKULIWE 🙌 «

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 16 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** #Shackville, UCT Upper Campus, Cape Town; 15 February 2016

**Number of Views:** FB 3,000

**Duration:** 0:22 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** This short video shows student activists toy-toying at a protest rally at #Shackville.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1676586512616840>



Video33 UCT right now

**Title:** »Right Now There Will Be No Forced Removals This Time Izwe Lethu«

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 16 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** #Shackville, UCT Upper Campus, Cape Town; 15 February 2016

**Number of Views:** FB 12,000

**Duration:** 0:10 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** A short video pans across activists assembled around a fire at a #Shackville protest.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1676589625949862>



Video34 as we demonstrate, we welcome

**Title:** »as we demonstrate, we welcome any and all black students to #Shackville. dumela, molweni, san'bonani, ma'Afrika 🙌«

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 16 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** #Shackville, UCT Upper Campus, Cape Town; 15 February 2016

**Number of Views:** FB 25,000

**Duration:** 0:36 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** This video shows toy-toying at a #Shackville protest.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1676150165993808>



**Video35** manifestação pacífica no dia 28 de março na Central do Brasil

**Title:** manifestação pacífica no dia 28 de março na Central do Brasil

**User:** Thiago Oliveira (YT 248 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 29 March 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Center of Rio de Janeiro; 28 March 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 121

**Duration:** 1:12 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows school pupils marching towards Rio de Janeiro's Legislative Assembly (ALERJ) to commemorate the killing of Edson Luís in 1968 and to demand greater investment in public education.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=re2j69JfzKE>



**Video36** covardia e prisões arbitrárias da PM com os ESTUDANTES na manifestação do dia 28 de março de 2014

**Title:** covardia e prisões arbitrárias da PM com os ESTUDANTES na manifestação do dia 28 de março de 2014

**User:** Thiago Oliveira (YT 248 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 29 March 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ); 28 March 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 158

**Duration:** 4:37 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video, which shows a protest on the steps outside ALERJ, documents the arrest of an activist that causes an escalation of tensions at the previously peaceful march.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgF8-oUWOY>



**Video37** Ato do Dia do Estudante Combativo termina com cenas de violência policial no Rio

**Title:** Ato do Dia do Estudante Combativo termina com cenas de violência policial no Rio

**User:** Jornal A Nova Democracia (YT 56,700 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 29 March 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro (ALERJ), 28 March 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 4,653

**Duration:** 4:16 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, voice-over

**Description:** The video contextualizes a 2014 protest march by first recounting the story of the death of the student Edson Luís, who was assassinated by police officers on 28 March 1968 during the military dictatorship. His killing in a restaurant in the Leblon neighborhood in Rio sparked outrage and mass protests. The rest of the video, which documents the arrest of activists at the 2014 protest, is very similar to the footage in Thiago Oliveira's video (Vid. 36).

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JE1LZAeoceA>



**Video38** Ato de inauguração do Maracanã

**Title:** Ato de inauguração do Maracanã na Copa dos Protestos – 15/06/2014

**User:** Centro de Mídia Independente – CMI-Rio (YT 1,840 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 17 June 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Central train station and surrounding streets, Rio de Janeiro; 15 June 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 172

**Duration:** 8:25 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, unstable camera handling, edited

**Description:** The video of the protest march against the start of the FIFA World Cup documents how tensions escalate during the course of the day. Protesters explain their reasons for taking to the streets in interview clips.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QKEfWcOQ13c>



Video39 Policiais tiram arma

**Title:** Policiais disparam tiros de munição letal contra protesto no Rio de Janeiro

**User:** Jornal A Nova Democracia (YT 56,700 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 15 June 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Center of Rio de Janeiro; 15 June 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 78,686

**Duration:** 1:33 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This short video records how a police officer on a motorbike fires his pistol at protesters. The video then cuts to a scene in which another police officer in plain clothes threatens activists with a pistol after being exposed as a police officer. The officer's escape is documented in such a way so as to compile evidence for a potential court case: for example, the videographer captures the license plate of the escape car.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rVoxW5uw4og>



Video40 Civil saca arma

**Title:** Civil saca arma de fogo e atira durante Argentina X Bósnia (Maracanã, RJ)

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 15 June 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Center of Rio de Janeiro; 15 June 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 1,355,497; FB 656

**Duration:** 1:21 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The short video shows a verbal confrontation between the videographer and an armed plainclothes police officer. This footage is among the most well-known from the protests in Rio de Janeiro against the 2014 FIFA World Cup and has become the most viewed of all the videos posted by the MIC-Mariachi collective.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HX4uj15TsCY>

<https://www.facebook.com/midiaindependente coletiva/videos/369368316585950>



**Video41** Mobilização Internacional Indígena

**Title:** Rio de Janeiro-RJ: Mobilização Internacional Indígena: Dia da Resistência

**User:** Centro de Mídia Independente – CMI-Rio (YT 1,840 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 21 April 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Aldeia Maracá' nã (Maracanã), Rio de Janeiro ; 19 April 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 126

**Duration:** 20:53 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows a protest marking the International Day of Indigenous Resistance. It includes extended clips from interviews with participating activists and speeches held at the protest.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bkUjAOIEyUI>



**Video42** (des)ocupação dos ex-moradores

**Title:** Rio de Janeiro-RJ: (des)ocupação dos ex-moradores da CEDAE

**User:** Centro de Mídia Independente – CMI-Rio (YT 1,840 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 15 April 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Avenida Rui Barbosa nº 170, Flamengo, Rio de Janeiro; 14 April 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 197

**Duration:** 16:27 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High-audio visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video documents the eviction of residents from the CEDAE building in Rio de Janeiro's South Zone. It seeks to prove, through visuals and explanatory text, that a police officer threw a stone at protesters. The same officer and his colleagues later attempted to justify the arrest of activists by claiming that the protesters had attacked them by throwing objects.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bdzpvOih1Cw>



Video43 ARGENTINA v BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Title:** ARGENTINA v BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (2:1) – 2014 FIFA World Cup™

**User:** FIFATV (YT 8,810,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 18 April 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Maracanã stadium, Rio de Janeiro ; 15 June 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 2,095,446

**Duration:** 2:09 minutes

**Type of Video:** Other

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description.** The match summary of the FIFA World Cup soccer match between Argentina and Bosnia-Herzegovina attracted more views than any other video discussed in this dissertation. The match took place at the same time that police were firing rubber bullets and live ammunition at protesters (see Vids. 38, 39, and 40).

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hYXjfhE-\\_Ow](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hYXjfhE-_Ow)



Video44 #Outsourced

**Title:** #Outsourced

**User:** Rhodes Must Fall (YT 284 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 7 October 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Cape Town; 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 10,352

**Duration:** 42:10 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The documentary film #Outsourced was part of the RMF movement's campaign against the outsourcing of staff at UCT – particularly those in low-paid positions – and their resulting lack of social security benefits.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pu\\_pm5g3Ao](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pu_pm5g3Ao)



Video45 Brizola X Globo

**Title:** Brizola X Globo

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 9 September 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro; 1960–2013

**Number of Views:** -

**Duration:** 7:04 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Montage of audio-visuals

**Description:** The short video documentary recounts the history of the conflict between politician Leonel Brizola and Roberto Marinho's Globo network. It explores several scandals—the Proconsult case in 1992 and the NEC case in 1986—to show how Globo actively participated in manipulating public opinion against Brizola. The video was repeatedly blocked on YouTube and Facebook.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oG6AKcAANVM>

<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=472102082979239>



Video46 [Espelho] [Original censurado]

**Title:** [Espelho] [Original censurado] William Bonner é corrigido ao vivo [via @Rafucko]

**User:** Eli Vieira, original by Rafucko (YT 12,900 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 18 February 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Brazil; 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 781,869

**Duration:** 5:08 minutes

**Type of Video:** Satire

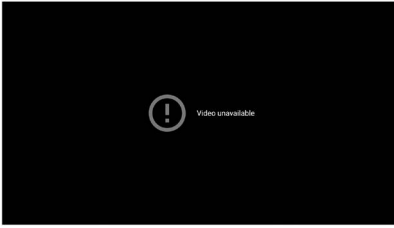
**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The satirical video by Rafucko mocks Globo news presenter William Bonner. After being blocked on YouTube, mirrored copies were subsequently posted by Eli Vieira and Monalisa Moreira on YouTube, and by Rafael P on Vimeo.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z63YMbCZnkU>





Video47 A prisão de Arthur Couto

Title: A prisão de Arthur Couto : o que realmente aconteceu

User: -

Upload Date: -

Location and Date of Event: -

Number of Views: -

Duration: -

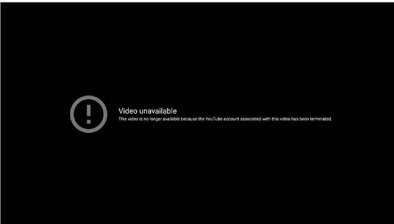
Type of Video: -

Technical Features: -

Description: The video has been blocked. A mirrored version of the video is available:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euDsSDVeIU>

Last Accessed: 11 July 2020

URL: <http://youtu.be/duAYD3N4mm4>



Video48 Rede Globo mente sobre protesto

Title: Rede Globo mente sobre protesto

User: -

Upload Date: -

Location and Date of Event: -

Number of Views: -

Duration: -

Type of Video: -

Technical Features: -

Description: The video has been blocked.

Last Accessed: 11 July 2020

URL: <http://youtu.be/8FZM5mLvOc>



Video49 Exaltação e propaganda

**Title:** Exaltação e propaganda da Ditadura Militar na Rede Globo (1975)

**User:** Fabrício Augusto Souza Gomes (YT 1,510 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 7 July 2011

**Location and Date of Event:** Brazil; 1963–1975

**Number of Views:** YT 455,083

**Duration:** 49:27 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary

**Technical Features:** Medium audio-visual quality, black-and-white footage, edited

**Description:** The Globo special program *Amaral Netto, o repórter* (1975) »praises the political and social events in Brazil from 1963 to 1975 and the actions of each president after the 1964 coup,« as stated in the YouTube description contextualizing the upload.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGiQXNfozeQ>



Video50 The video that Woodstock cops arrested me over

**Title:** The video that Woodstock cops arrested me over

**User:** Eduard Grebe (YT 0 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 23 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** Woodstock, Cape Town; 3 January 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 153

**Duration:** 0:28 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, not edited

**Description:** The video shows, in the words of its YouTube description, how police officers were »choking and brutalizing someone they were arresting.« The videographer was arrested after filming the footage. Both the video and his YouTube channel were later deleted.

**Last Accessed:** 17 November 2017

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BjOm6w63gvM&app=desktop>



Video51 More cape town police brutality

**Title:** More cape town police brutality – March 07, 2014

**User:** Grantzax (YT 2,660 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 6 March 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Cape Town; 6 March 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 208,064

**Duration:** 2:02 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows police abusing their power by forcing a Black man to strip in public. He is then brutally beaten before being arrested. Mirrored copies of the video were posted by users such as Life with George and BBC news on YouTube.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ntdXgRcC9SY>



Video52 Police brutality

**Title:** Police brutality – Immigrant dies at the hands of police

**User:** eNCA (YT 669,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 27 February 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Daveyton, Gauteng Province, South Africa; 26 February 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 285,825

**Duration:** 7:05 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness / Journalist

**Technical Features:** Mixed audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The television news report by eNCA features original »cellphone video footage« of the killing of Mido Macia, who was dragged to his death by a police vehicle that pulled him over the asphalt en route to the next police station. Other videos showing the original eyewitness footage include Multimedia LIVE on YouTube and The Telegraph on YouTube.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aikwhsk1HZE>



Video53 Polícia Carioca forja

**Title:** Polícia Carioca forja novamente mais um tiroteio e mata jovem no Morro da Providência.

**User:** Revolta Impopular (YT 140 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 29 September 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Morro da Providência, Rio de Janeiro; 22 September 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 10,360

**Duration:** 2:34 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audi-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** The video shows how UPP military police officers staged a crime scene. After killing 17-year-old Eduardo Felipe Santos Victor, the officers placed a pistol in the hands of the deceased and fired it, intending to later claim that they had been attacked by Eduardo. Another version of the video was uploaded by the newspaper O Dia on YouTube.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=erNMIws3OUY>



Video54 Revolução não cai do céu

**Title:** REVOLUÇÃO NÃO CAI DO CÉU

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 14 October 2013

**Location and Date of Event:** Cinelândia, Rio de Janeiro; 7 October 2013

**Number of Views:** YT 11,086

**Duration:** 12:26 minutes

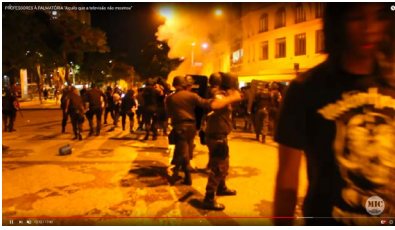
**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video shows a protest by the Black Profs movement, which followed violent police attacks on striking teachers at another protest held a few days earlier. It connects the two protests in its narrative by arguing that »there would be no vandalism if people didn't feel vandalized.«

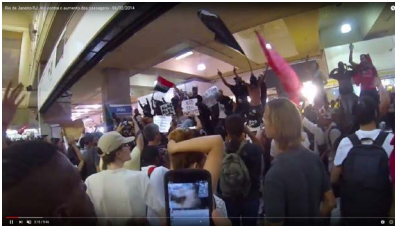
**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j8M8v7jVNP&t=3s>



Video55 Professores à Palmatória

**Title:** PROFESSORES À PALMATÓRIA »Aquilo que a televisão não mostrou«  
**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)  
**Upload Date:** 3 October 2013  
**Location and Date of Event:** Cinelândia, Rio de Janeiro; 30 September and 1 October 2013  
**Number of Views:** YT 101,687  
**Duration:** 17:40 minutes  
**Type of Video:** Activist  
**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited  
**Description:** The video documents violent clashes between protesters and the police. Pupils and teachers, who had been demonstrating for several days, were met with a heavy-handed police response. A bystander repeatedly remarks, »Even during the dictatorship we didn't have this [level of violent policing of protests]« (15:44) – a claim echoed throughout the interviews in the video.  
**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020  
**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MUtki9fZY0&t=547s>



Video56 Ato contra o aumento das passagens

**Title:** Ato contra o aumento das passagens - 06\_02\_2014  
**User:** Centro de Mídia Independente – CMI-Rio (YT 1,840 subscribers)  
**Upload Date:** 11 February 2014  
**Location and Date of Event:** Central train station and Lapa, Rio de Janeiro; 6 February 2014  
**Number of Views:** YT 579  
**Duration:** 9:46 minutes  
**Type of Video:** Activist  
**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited  
**Description:** The video documents a protest at the Central train station in Rio de Janeiro, where demonstrators occupied the turnstiles in an effort to make public transport 'free'. Police responded by violently clearing the station. The video focuses on the victims who were injured during the operation.  
**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020  
**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhkAf9PCYXE>



**Video57 Violência policial e resistência**

**Title:** Violência policial e resistência popular no 5º ato contra o aumento das passagens no Rio

**User:** Jornal A Nova Democracia (YT 56,700 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 6 February 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Central train station and Lapa, Rio de Janeiro; 6 February 2014

**Number of Views:** YT 53,744

**Duration:** 5:37 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video documents the protest against the increase in public transport fares on 6 February 2014. After police cleared the Central train station (see Video 56), cameraman Santiago Andrade was struck by fireworks set off by protesters and sustained fatal head injuries. The video captures the moments immediately following the incident. It also documents other acts of violence, such as police firing tear gas at a person with disabilities (3:14–3:22).

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SwvPo78UF-Q>



**Video58 Segment of Rhodes Must Fall press conference**

**Title:** Segment of Rhodes Must Fall press conference currently taking place.

**User:** UCT: Rhodes Must Fall (FB 17,057 followers)

**Upload Date:** 18 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT Upper Campus, Cape Town; 18 February 2016

**Number of Views:** FB 2,400

**Duration:** 1:31 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**Description:** The video records part of a press conference organized by RMF activists on the UCT campus. A student reads a statement addressing common conceptions of violence and how these are strategically used to delegitimize the movement and its members, while reinforcing »white privilege.«

**URL:** <https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall/videos/1677265105882314/?v=1677265105882314>



**Video59** Student protests have flared up again at UCT

**Title:** Student protests have flared up again at UCT

**User:** eNCA (YT 669,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 15 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT Upper Campus, Cape Town; 15 February 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 4,071

**Duration:** 1:38 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, voice-over narration by reporter

**Description:** This television news report shows RMF activists protesting the shortage of accommodation for UCT students. It outlines the students' demands and features interviews with RMF activists Zola Shokane and Pat Dlamini.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rcilb8b7RDQ>



**Video60** Police disperse #RhodesMust-Fall protesters

**Title:** Police disperse #RhodesMustFall protesters with stun grenades and rubber bullets

**User:** Eyewitness News (YT 229,000 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 16 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT Upper Campus and Rondebosch, Cape Town, 16 February 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 19,504

**Duration:** 2:51 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, voice-over narration by reporter

**Description:** This news report by Eyewitness News journalist Thomas Holder documents the protest surrounding the demolition of #Shackville on UCT's Upper Campus, as well as the subsequent demonstrations in Rondebosch and at student residences. The video closely resembles the Chronicle report by Shaun Swingler (see Video 61), with the key difference being that Holder appears to have arrived on the scene earlier. His footage was shared on the UCT: Rhodes Must Fall Facebook page.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e\\_tCxO-Pfao&t=1s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_tCxO-Pfao&t=1s)



Video61 Stun grenades and rubber bullets

**Title:** Stun grenades and rubber bullets fired on UCT student protesters

**User:** Chronicle Digital (1,700 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 16 February 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** UCT Upper Campus and Rondebosch, Cape Town; 16 February 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 21,520

**Duration:** 2:34 minutes

**Type of Video:** Journalist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, voice-over narration by reporter

**Description:** This video, produced by Shaun Swingler for the Chronicle, documents the protests surrounding the demolition of #Shackville at UCT. It recounts how police and university security first »demolished a shack« on campus, after which a UCT vehicle and a Jammie Shuttle »were set alight, allegedly by protesters.« The protest then continued on Rondebosch Main Road. These events are narrated and contextualized by reporter Shaun Swingler.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8RE9ZKTHGM&t=52s>



Video62 Uprising of Hangberg

**Title:** Uprising of Hangberg

**User:** Hangberg2010 (7 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 26 October 2010

**Location and Date of Event:** Hangberg, Hout Bay, Cape Town; 21 September 2010

**Number of Views:** YT 4,109

**Duration:** 6:00 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist (trailer for documentary film)

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This is the trailer for the documentary film The Uprising of Hangberg (see Video 63). The Uprising portrays a local campaign against the demolition of houses allegedly built »illegally« above a firebreak. The trailer opens with the story of three victims of police violence, all of whom were blinded by rubber bullets fired directly at them during a protest against the demolitions. This narrative connects to a second storyline – the cause of the protest – namely, claims by then Western Cape Premier Helen Zille that only »unoccupied structures« would be destroyed. Interviewees challenge this narrative by pointing to their demolished homes.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bRjMB3znA2E>





Video63 The uprising of Hangberg

**Title:** THE UPRISING OF HANGBERG [full documentary]

**User:** African Noise Foundation (Vimeo 749 followers)

**Upload Date:** 17 October 2014

**Location and Date of Event:** Hangberg, Hout Bay, Cape Town; 2010

**Number of Views:** Not stated

**Duration:** 86:48 minutes

**Type of Video:** Documentary film

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This documentary film traces the history of the grassroots campaign against evictions in the Hangberg community. It has been publicly available on Vimeo since 2014.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://vimeo.com/109263953>



Video64 Hout Bay protest

**Title:** Hout Bay protest

**User:** Peter Michaels (YT 377 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 September 2017

**Location and Date of Event:** Hangberg, Hout Bay, Cape Town; 10 September 2017

**Number of Views:** YT 13,927

**Duration:** 2:46 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, little editing

**Description:** This video documents, in graphic detail, the police attack on 14-year-old Ona Dubula, who was shot at close range with rubber bullets during a protest in Hangberg. It captures the moment he is struck, tumbling to the side of the road, spitting blood, and attempting to remove a rubber bullet lodged inside his mouth.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wxd9udyH2RY&bpctr=1589464278>



Video65 Service Delivery for HB

**Title:** Service Delivery for HB

**User:** Peter Michaels (YT 377 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 13 September 2017

**Location and Date of Event:** Hangberg, Hout Bay, Cape Town; 2017

**Number of Views:** YT 188

**Duration:** 1:31 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, background music

**Description:** The video shows an elderly woman standing in front of a burning barricade. As children play in the background, she voices her frustration over the lack of services provided to the Hangberg community.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QTVs9qLYVqM>



Video66 hout bay police brutality

**Title:** hout bay police brutality

**User:** Peter Michaels (YT 377 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 12 August 2018

**Location and Date of Event:** Hout Bay, Cape Town; 2018

**Number of Views:** YT 1,347

**Duration:** 1:49 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited, background music

**Description:** The video shows footage of burning industrial buildings, accompanied by a rap song about Hout Bay in Afrikaans. It concludes with a montage of further scenes of destruction. The final image features flames from a fire, over which the text »Stop police brutality« is superimposed.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01gShzxrZ\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01gShzxrZ_s)



Video67 IY Imizamo Yethu Protest 2017

**Title:** IY Imizamo Yethu Protest 2017

**User:** Peter Michaels (YT 377 subscribers)

**Upload Date:** 5 July 2017

**Location and Date of Event:** Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, Cape Town; 2017

**Number of Views:** YT 1,588

**Duration:** 2:33 minutes

**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** The video shows clashes between protesters and police in Imizamo Yethu, a marginalized area of Hout Bay.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_8ScvDPR9IE&list=PLOO8jA\\_pnRfMqb-UHDUGXvrVtrQhEHyDe&index=3&t=os](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8ScvDPR9IE&list=PLOO8jA_pnRfMqb-UHDUGXvrVtrQhEHyDe&index=3&t=os)



Video68 Policiais executam 5 jovens

**Title:** Policiais executam 5 jovens e tentam forjar auto de resistência

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 30 November 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Morro da Lagartixa, Rio de Janeiro; 28 November 2015

**Number of Views:** YT 60,763; FB 2,000

**Duration:** 0:44 minutes

**Type of Video:** Witness

**Technical Features:** Low audio-visual quality, unedited

**Description:** This witness video, reportedly filmed by a local resident, shows a crime scene where five teenagers were killed in their car by police officers, who fired 111 bullets at them. The video was sent to the MIC collective, which uploaded it and reported in detail on the incident on its website.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJxotrcHLZY>

<https://www.facebook.com/midiaindependentecoletiva/videos/502210569968390>



**Video69** No Leblon a PM não se confunde

**Title:** No Leblon a PM não se confunde

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 20 July 2016

**Location and Date of Event:** Morro do Catrambi, Rio de Janeiro; 30 June 2016

**Number of Views:** YT 7,970; FB 18,000

**Duration:** 6:30 minutes

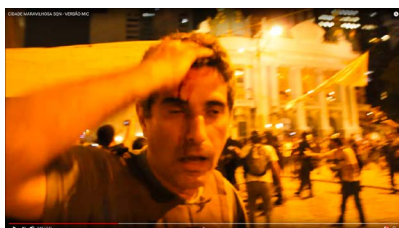
**Type of Video:** Activist

**Technical Features:** High audio-visual quality, edited

**Description:** This short documentary recounts the killing of Jhonata by a UPP unit. The implicated military police officers claimed they had mistaken a bag of popcorn for a package of drugs. The video first narrates the story of the murder, then situates this individual tragedy within the broader context of systemic police violence in the favelas. While similar cases involving the killing of Black teenagers and men are regularly reported, the video pointedly observes: »Police officers never get confused in Leblon,« an upper-class neighborhood in Rio.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bFIKP-IWnm8&t=43s>



**Video70** cidade maravilhosa SQN

**Title:** CIDADE MARAVILHOSA SQN - VERSÃO MIC

**User:** Mídia Independente Coletiva (YT 7,960 subscribers; FB 131,170 followers)

**Upload Date:** 13 February 2015

**Location and Date of Event:** Rio de Janeiro; 2013–2015

**Number of Views:** YT 1,768; FB 15,000

**Duration:** 2:42 minutes

**Type of Video:** Satire

**Technical Features:** Music video montage

**Description:** The video is the result of a collaboration of MIC with carnival blocos such as Comuna Que Pariu, Bloco do Nada Deve Parecer Impossível de Mudar, Bloco Planta na Mente, Bloco da Apafunk Associação. The music video questions whose history is being commemorated in the official celebrations of 450 years Rio de Janeiro. The montage presents evictions, protests and creative acts of resistance to highlight what is absent from the official commemorations.

**Last Accessed:** 11 July 2020

**URL:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zn-4k1OzaNQ&t=4s>

<https://www.facebook.com/midiaindependentecoletiva/videos/385750751614373/>

## 10.2 List of Interviews

The list of interviews includes only those interviews that have been recorded. The short description of the interviews characterizes the interviewees superficially to safeguard their anonymity.

**Int. 1, Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 16 September 2015**

Narrative Interview with activist and artist actively participating in Jornadas de Junho protests.

**Int. 2, Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 30 September 2015**

Interview with researcher and activist of the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ).

**Int. 3, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 13 October 2015**

Narrative Interview with video activist of MIC and independent journalist, who is a key figure in the media activist movement in Rio de Janeiro since 2013.

**Int. 4, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 14 October 2015**

Second narrative interview with video activist of MIC and independent journalist.

**Int. 5, Journalist, Rio de Janeiro, 16 October 2015**

Semi-structured interview with editor-in chief and journalist of the Jornal A Nova Democracia.

**Int. 6, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 23 October 2015**

Third narrative with video activist of MIC and independent journalist.

**Int. 7, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 24 October 2015**

Semi-structured interview with video activist of CMI who is closely connected to the inner circle of media activists in Rio de Janeiro.

**Int. 8, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 28 October 2015**

Fourth recorded narrative Interview with video activist of MIC and independent journalist.

**Int. 9, Speaker Union of Journalism, Rio de Janeiro, 6 November 2015**

Semi-structured interview with the speaker for the Union of Journalists at the office of the *Sindicato dos Jornalistas Profissionais do Município do Rio de Janeiro*.

**Int. 10, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 15 November 2015**

Short interview with video activist, who has been active as media activist for four decades in Rio de Janeiro. Recorded at the »Marcha das Vadias« protest.

**Int. 11, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 15 November 2015**

Short interview with independent video activist at the »Marcha das Vadias« protest.

**Int. 12, Union Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 24 November 2015**

Short interview with speaker of the Unions of Public Workers at their protest in Flamengo, Rio de Janeiro.

**Int. 13, MIC and Mariachi Focus Group, Rio de Janeiro, 25 November 2015**

Focus group interview with five members of the video activist collectives of MIC and Mariachi.

**Int. 14, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 8 December 2015**

Semi-structured interview with video artist and public figure from media activist scene in Rio de Janeiro.

**Int. 15, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 8 January 2016**

Short interview with members of small video activist collective. Recorded during a protest march against the price hike of public transport fees.

**Int. 16, Community Organizer, Rio de Janeiro, 11 January 2016**

Semi-structured interview with ethnographic researcher and community organizer from a favela in Rio de Janeiro's North Zone.

**Int. 17, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 14 January 2016**

Semi-structured interview with a journalist of *Jornal A Nova Democracia* and key figure in Rio de Janeiro's video activist scene.

**Int. 18, Community Organizer, Cape Town, 15 July 2016**

Narrative interview with a local community organizer in Woodstock, Cape Town.

**Int. 19, RMF Activist, Cape Town, 27 July 2016**

Narrative interview with artist and activist engaged in the Rhodes Must Fall movement.

**Int. 20, Documentary Filmmaker, Cape Town, 29 July 2016**

Semi-structured interview with activist and independent documentary filmmaker, collaborating with communities in the Cape Flats.

**Int. 21, RMF-Activist, Cape Town, 2 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with artist and activist engaged in the Rhodes Must Fall movement. Second recorded interview.

**Int. 22, Community Organizer, Cape Town, 3 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with researcher and activist at the University in Cape Town, who engages amongst others in building audio-visual community archives in the Cape Flats.

**Int. 23, Person Without Home, Cape Town, 4 August 2016**

Unplanned interview with a person without a home, residing around Station Deck public transport hub in the center of Cape Town.

**Int. 24, Journalist Student, Johannesburg, 8 August 2016**

Unplanned interview with student at the film school and employee at SABC.

**Int. 25, Videographer, Cape Town, 9 August 2016**

Short interview with independent videographer at the Women's March in Cape Town.

**Int. 26, NGO Activist, Cape Town, 9 August 2016**

Interview with videographer for an NGO at the Women's March in Cape Town.

**Int. 27, Videographers, Cape Town, 9 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with two independent videographers after their work of filming at the Women's March in Cape Town.

**Int. 28, Video Activist, Cape Town, 12 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with Reclaim the City activist and videographer.

**Int. 29, RMF Activist, Cape Town, 13 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with activist and organizer of the Rhodes Must Fall media team.

**Int. 30, RMF Activist, Cape Town, 14 August 2016**

Second semi-structured interview with activist and organizer of the Rhodes Must Fall media team.

**Int. 31, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 22 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with independent female video activist about experiences of working individually and ›macho‹ cultures within media activist scene.

**Int. 32, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 25 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview video activist associated with MIC, closely connected to other media activists and actively filming in Rio de Janeiro over four decades.

**Int. 33, Focus Group Video Activists, Rio de Janeiro, 25 August 2016**

Focus-group interview with two young, and female video activist of MIC, lining in and reporting from favelas.

**Int. 34, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview video activist of the media activist collective Carranca about his experiences of experiences of collaborating with Mídia Ninja.

**Int. 35, School Teacher, Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview with public school teacher organizing strikes in collaboration with her pupils.

**Int. 36, Hactivist, Rio de Janeiro, 31 August 2016**

Semi-structured interview digital activist present at an information event about media activism at the occupied public school in Rio de Janeiro's North Zone.

**Int. 37, Video Activist, Rio de Janeiro, 2 September 2016**

Semi-structured interview with professional photojournalist and member of MIC.

**Int. 38, Researcher, Rio de Janeiro, 8 September 2016**

Semi-structured interview with ethnographic researcher and member of MIC about media activism in Rio de Janeiro.

**Int. 39, Community Organizer, Rio de Janeiro, 9 September 2016**

Semi-structured interview with a community organizer and video activist from a prominent favela in Rio de Janeiro's North Zone.

**Int. 40, Documentary Filmmaker, Cape Town, 8 February 2018**

Semi-structured interview with independent documentary filmmaker from Cape Town.

**Int. 41, NGO Activist, Cape Town, 8 February 2018**

Semi-structured interview with member of NGO Ndifuni Ukwazi, who has been active in anti-eviction campaigns in Cape Town.

**Int. 42, NGO Video Activist, New York, 31 July 2018**

Semi-structured interview with senior member of the NGO Witness at their office in Brooklyn.

## 10.3 Bibliography

Abahlali baseMjondolo. »The Uprising of Hangberg,« 18 October 2010, accessed 16 June 2018. <http://abahlali.org/node/7377/>.



- »Police Shooting at Marikana Land Occupation,« 1 May 2013, accessed 16 June 2018. <http://abahlali.org/node/9661/>.
- »Homepage,« 18 October 2010, accessed 16 June 2018. <http://abahlali.org/>.
- Abarder, Gasant. »Students Co-Edit Cape Argus.« *The Journalist*, 3 November 2015, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/students-co-edit-cape-argus>.
- Africa Check. »Factsheet: South Africa's Crime Statistics for 2018/19,« 12 September 2019, accessed 10 May 2020. <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-south-africas-crime-statistics-for-2018-19/>.
- Agência de Notícias das Favelas (ANF). »Website,« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.anf.org.br/>.
- Aguiar, Thais Florencio de. »Manifestações: Democratição Contra Capital e Estado.« In *As Rebeliões da Tarifa e as Jornadas de Junho no Brasil*, by Cassio Brancealeone and Daniel de Bem, 55–82. Porto Alegre: Editora Deriva, 2014.
- Ahmed, Abdul Kayum. »The Rise of Fallism: #RhodesMustFall and the Movement to Decolonize the University.« PhD diss., Columbia University New York, 2019.
- Alaimo, Klara. »How the Facebook Arabic Page ›We Are All Khaled Said‹ Helped Promote the Egyptian Revolution.« *Social Media + Society* 1 (2015): 1–10.
- Alcântara, Livia, and Jacob Geuder. »(Urban) Space, Media and Protests: Digitalizing the Right to the City?« In *Perspectives on Henri Lefebvre. Theory, Practices and (Re-)Readings*, by Robert Fischer and Jenny Bauer. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.
- Alexander, Peter. »Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protests – a Preliminary Analysis.« *Review of African Political Economy* 37, no. 122 (2010): 25–40.
- Alexa. »The Top 500 Sites on the Web,« 7 July 2020, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.alexa.com/topsites>.
- AlJazeera English. »Brazil: Media, Monopolies and Political Manipulations,« *The Listening Post*, 9 September 2017, accessed 1 April 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAVBB8DM8ME>.
- Alliance for Affordable Internet. »The Affordability Report 2013,« 8 December 2013, accessed 2 December 2019. [http://1e8q3q16vyc81g8l3h3m-d6q5f5e-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Affordability-Report-2013\\_Final-2.pdf](http://1e8q3q16vyc81g8l3h3m-d6q5f5e-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Affordability-Report-2013_Final-2.pdf).
- Althaibani, Raja. »Video as Evidence and the Arab Spring: Seven Years On.« *Witness Website*, January 2018, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.witness.org/video-evidence-arab-spring-seven-years/>.
- Alves, Maria Helena Moreira, and Philip Evanson. *Living in the Crossfire: Favela Residents, Drug Dealers, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011.
- Amandla.mobi. »South African TV Breaks Promise to Marikana Widows.« *Black Agenda Report*, 1 December 2015, accessed 27 June 2019. [https://blackagendareport.com/sabc\\_snubs\\_marikana\\_widows](https://blackagendareport.com/sabc_snubs_marikana_widows).

- Amnesty International. »Amnesty International Report 2017/18 – Brazil,« 22 February 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5a99393ba.html>.
- »Rio de Janeiro 2003: Candelária and Vigário Geral 10 Years On,« 2003, accessed 10 March 2015. <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/100000/amr190152003en.pdf>.
- »You Killed My Son! Homicides by Military Police in the City of Rio de Janeiro,« 2015, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AMR1920682015ENGLISH.PDF>.
- Andres, Tommy. »The Tiny Island with a Huge Web Presence,« *CNN Radio*, 10 July 2012, accessed 27 July 2020. [http://edition.cnn.com/2012/06/13/tech/web/tokelau-domain-name-holder/index.html?hpt=hp\\_bn5](http://edition.cnn.com/2012/06/13/tech/web/tokelau-domain-name-holder/index.html?hpt=hp_bn5).
- Areff, Ahmed. »#SABC8 ›Targeted‹ Because Journalistic Ethics at Odds with SABC Policy, Court Hears,« *Mail & Guardian*, 22 July 2016, accessed 4 October 2016. <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-07-22-sabc-protest-policy-conflicted-with-journalists-ethics-labour-court-hears/>.
- Askanius, Tina. »DIY Dying: Video Activism as Archive, Commemoration and Evidence,« *International Journal of E-Politics*, no. 3 (2012): 12–25.
- »Protest Movements and Spectacles of Death: From Urban Places to Video Spaces,« In *Advances in the Visual Analysis of Social Movements*, edited by Nicole Doerr, Alice Mattoni, and Simon Teune, 105–33. Online: Emerald, 2013.
- »Video Activism as Technology, Text, Testimony – or Practices?« In *Citizen Media and Practice. Currents, Connections, Challenges*, edited by Hilde Stephansen and Emiliano Treré, 136–51. Online: Taylor & Francis, 2019.
- Associated Press. »Rio de Janeiro 2019 Homicides Fall as Police Killings Surge,« AP News Online, 22 January 2020, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://apnews.com/9e4734c393240d434342bf705920cfe2>.
- Avelar, Idelber, and Juliette Simont. »L'Ombre de la Dictature: Ce que les Manifestants de Juin et les Peuples d'Amazonie Ont en Commun,« *Les Temps Modernes* 678, no. 2 (2014): 93–107. <https://doi.org/10.3917/lm.678.0093>.
- Azevedo da Fonseca, André. »O Valor Do ›Egocard‹: Afetividade e Violência Simbólica na Rede Fora do Eixo,« *Revista FAMECOS. Mídia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 22 (2015): 94–119.
- Banks, Alex. »2014 Brazil Digital Future in Focus,« Presentation uploaded to comScore, accessed 29 January 2016. [http://usmediaconsulting.com/img/uploads/pdf/2014\\_Brazil\\_Digital\\_Future\\_in\\_Focus\\_EN.pdf](http://usmediaconsulting.com/img/uploads/pdf/2014_Brazil_Digital_Future_in_Focus_EN.pdf).
- Barbassa, Juliana. »Brazil's Olympic Rollercoaster,« In *Olympic Myths, Hard Realities*, by Andrew Zimbalist, 35–55. Online: Brookings Institution Press, 2017.
- BBC news. »Brazil Police Charged with Rio Murder over Amarildo Case,« 5 October 2013, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-24362311>.
- Bénit-Gbaffou, Claire, and Sophie Oldfield. »Claiming ›Rights‹ in the African City: Popular Mobilisation and the Politics of Informality in Nairobi,

- Rabat, Johannesburg and Cape Town. « In *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, by Sue Parnell and Sophie Oldfield, 281–95. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Benjamin, Ruha. *Race after Technology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Polity, 2019.
- Bethell, Leslie. »Politics in Brazil: From Elections without Democracy to Democracy without Citizenship.« *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (2000): 1–17.
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian. *The Emergence of the South African Metropolis: Cities and Identities in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Bloch, Ernst. *Geist der Utopie*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1985.
- Boersema, Jacob. »Re-Racing South Africa: Rhodes Must Fall as Antiracist Movement.« Unpublished manuscript for presentation at *The Politics and Protest Workshop*, City University New York, September 2017, accessed 12 October 2018. <https://politicsandprotest.ws.gc.cuny.edu/files/2017/10/Re-racing-South-Africa-Boersema.pdf>.
- Bosch, Tanja. »Twitter Activism and Youth in South Africa: The Case of #RhodesMustFall.« *Information, Communication & Society* 20, no. 2 (2017): 221–32.
- Bovo, Cassiano Martins. »3 Anos Da Chacina de Costa Barros: 5 Jovens Mortos, 111 Tiros.« *Justificando*, 9 November 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <http://www.justificando.com/2018/11/09/3-anos-da-chacina-de-costa-barros-5-jovens-mortos-111-tiros/>.
- Branch, Adam, and Zachariah Mampilly. *Africa Uprising: Political Protest and Political Change*. London: Zed Books, 2015.
- Brandt, Kevin. »Hout Bay Mom: I Want to See the Police Officer Who Shot My Child.« *Eyewitness News*, 24 September 2017, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://ewn.co.za/2017/09/24/hout-bay-mom-i-want-to-see-the-police-officer-that-shot-my-child>.
- Brenner, Neil, ed. 2014. *Implosions / Explosions. Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis Verlag.
- Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer, eds. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Brenner, Neil, and Christian Schmid. »Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?« *City* 19, no. 2 (2015): 151–82.
- Bringel, Breno M., and José Maurício Domingues. *Global Modernity and Social Contestation*. London: Sage, 2015.
- Bringel, Breno M., and Geoffrey Pleyers. »Les Mobilisations de 2013 Au Brésil: Vers Une Reconfiguration de La Contestation.« *Brésil(s). Sciences Humaines et Sociales*, no. 7 (May 2015): 7–18.
- British Library. »Utopia«. Accessed 27 June 2019. <https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2016/05/utopia.html>
- Brogan, Peter, ed. »Neoliberalization and the Matrix of Action. Conversation with Neil Brenner, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore.« *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research* 24 (2013): 183–97.
- Brown, Julian. *South Africa's Insurgent Citizens: On Dissent and the Possibility of Politics*. London: Zed Books, 2015.

- Brown, Alison, and Annali Kristiansen. »Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship.« *United Nations*, March 2009, accessed 14 July 2020. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000178090>.
- Bruce, David. »Interpreting the Body Count. South African Statistics on Lethal Police Violence.« *South African Review of Sociology* 36, no. 2 (2005): 141–58.
- Butler, Chris. *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City*. New York and London: Routledge, 2012.
- Caldeira, Teresa, and James Holston. »Democracy and Violence in Brazil.« *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 4 (1999): 691–729.
- Cape Town Magazine. »Women's Day In SA and Why We Celebrate Differently from the Rest of the World.« *Cape Town Magazine online*, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.capetownmagazine.com/public-holiday-womens-day>.
- Castells, Manuel. *City, Class and Power*. London: MacMillan, 1978.
- *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2015.
  - *The City and the Grassroots. A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Movements*. London: Arnold, 1983.
  - *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. Malden: Blackwell, 1996.
  - *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. London: Arnold, 1979.
- Çelिकासan, Özge. Archiving the Commons: Looking through the Lens of Bak.Ma. Dpr: Barcelona, 2024.
- Çelिकासan, Özge, Alper Şen, Pelin Tan, and Artikişler Collective, eds. *Autonomous Archiving*. Dpr: Barcelona, 2020.
- Chatterjee, Ipsita. *Displacement, Revolution, and the New Urban Condition. Theories and Case Studies*. Los Angeles and London: Sage, 2014.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. Leonard Hastings Schoff Memorial Lectures. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Chronicle. »Website,« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.chronicle.digital/>.
- Chutel, Linsey. »Connecting to the Internet Costs More in Johannesburg and Cape Town than It Does in New York and Zurich.« *Quartz Africa*, 14 June 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1304520/data-costs-south-africans-in-cape-town-and-johannesburg-pay-more-for-internet-usage-than-new-yorkers/>.
- Cities Alliance, eds. Celso Santos Carvalho and Anaclaudia Rossbach, »The City Statute of Brazil. A Commentary.« São Paulo: Cities Alliance and Ministry of Cities – Brazil, 2010, accessed 18 April 2017. <https://www.ifrc.org/docs/idrl/945EN.pdf>.
- City of Cape Town. »Libraries.« Official municipal website, accessed 5 September 2019. <http://www.capetown.gov.za/Local%20and%20communities/See-all-city-facilities/Our-service-facilities/Libraries>.
- »Public Internet Access in the City.« Official municipal website, accessed 5 September 2019. <http://www.capetown.gov.za/Explore%20and%20enjoy/Get-online/Public-Wi-Fi-zones/Public-Wi-Fi-across-the-city>.

- City Press. »How Shackville Started a War,« 21 February 2016, accessed 27 June 2019. [https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/how-shackville-started-a-war-20160219?fbclid=IwAR2ZK2ZJp-27uwuQZL8I5umAW-VjPb2aWn\\_nDCR\\_7n8Gie9taelkwFV1oOE](https://city-press.news24.com/Voices/how-shackville-started-a-war-20160219?fbclid=IwAR2ZK2ZJp-27uwuQZL8I5umAW-VjPb2aWn_nDCR_7n8Gie9taelkwFV1oOE).
- Clement, J. »Annual Revenue of Google from 2002 to 2019.« *Statista*, 5 February 2020, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/266206/googles-annual-global-revenue/>.
- »Facebook's Revenue and Net Income from 2007 to 2019.« *Statista*, 3 February 2020, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/277229/facebook-s-annual-revenue-and-net-income/>.
- Coetzer, Nicholas. *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Cohen, Jared. »Tweet: One Egyptian Says.« *Twitter*, 27 January 2011, accessed 9 March 2020. <https://twitter.com/JaredCohen/status/30665407077556224>.
- Coletivo Papo Reto. »Facebook Site,« accessed 27 July 2020. [https://www.facebook.com/pg/ColetivoPapoReto/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/ColetivoPapoReto/about/?ref=page_internal).
- Comer, Stuart, and Michelle Kuo. *Signals. How Video Transformed the World*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2024.
- Corrêa dos Santos, Mariana, Silvio Pedrosa, and Rodrigo Nunes. »Corps en mouvement : les Black Blocs à Rio et les représentations de la résistance.« *Les Temps Modernes* 678, no. 2 (2014): 73–92.
- Costa Vargas, João H. »When a Favela Dares to Become a Gated Condominium: The Politics of Race and Urban Space in Rio de Janeiro.« *Latin American Perspectives* 33, no. 4 (2006): 49–81.
- Couldry, Nick, and Ulises Ali Mejias. »Data Colonialism: Rethinking Big Data's Relation to the Contemporary Subject.« *Television and News Media* (September 2018): 1–25.
- Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007.
- Cunliffe, Ann L., and Geetha Karunanayake. »Working within Hyphen-Spaces in Ethnographic Research: Implications for Research Identities and Practices.« *Organizational Research Methods* 16, no. 3 (2013): 364–92.
- Cunningham, Frank. »Triangulating Utopia: Benjamin, Lefebvre, Tafuri.« *City*, 14:3 (2010): 268–80.
- Cusodio, Leonardo. »Favela Media Activism and Its Legacy for Civic Engagement in the Olympic City of Rio de Janeiro.« *Rio On Watch*, 4 September 2016, accessed 17 July 2018. <https://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=32586>.
- Dano, Zodidi, and Kalpia Siyabonga. »#Shackville Highlights UCT Housing Issue,« *IOL South Africa*, 15 February 2016, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/shackville-highlights-uct-housing-issue-1984873>.
- Daily Maverick Staff Reporter. »Editorial: SABC & e.Tv Must Air Miners Shot Down,« Accessed 24 November 2015. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-24-editorial-sabc-e-tv-must-air-miners-shot-down/>.
- Davis, Rebecca. »The Man behind Cape Town's Poo Protests – but Who Does

- Andile Lili Represent?« *The Daily Maverick*, 4 December 2013, accessed 12 February 2019. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-12-04-the-man-behind-cape-towns-poo-protests-but-who-does-andile-lili-represent/>.
- Dawson, Marcelle C. »Protest, Performance and Politics: The Use of ›Nano Media‹ in Social Movement Activism in South Africa.« *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance* 17, no. 3 (2012): 321–45.
- De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Dean, Jodi. »Communicative Capitalism: Circulation and the Foreclosure of Politics.« *Cultural Politics* 1, no. 1 (2005): 51–74.
- *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- »Critique or Collectivity? Communicative Capitalism and the Subject of Politics.« In *Digital Objects, Digital Subjects: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Capitalism, Labour and Politics in the Age of Big Data*, edited by Christian Fuchs and David Chandler, 171–82. London: University of Westminster Press, 2019.
- DeBruijn, Mirjam. »Digitalization and the Field of African Studies.« *Carl Schlettwein Lecture* 12 (2017).
- Democracy Now! »›Don't Hate the Media, Be the Media‹: Reflections on 20 Years of Indymedia, a Radical Media Movement,« *Video Report*, 27 November 2019, accessed 28 November 2019. [https://www.democracy-now.org/2019/11/27/indymedia\\_independent\\_media\\_seattle\\_wto\\_1999](https://www.democracy-now.org/2019/11/27/indymedia_independent_media_seattle_wto_1999).
- Desai, Rehad. *Everything Must Fall*, Documentary Film, 2019.
- Dey, Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Diamond, Larry, and Marc F. Plattner. *Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
- Diener, Roger, Herzog, Jaques, Meili, Marcel, de Meuron, Pierre, Herz, Manuel, Schmid, Christian and Topalović, Milica eds. *The Inevitable Specificity of Cities: Napoli, Nile Valley, Belgrade, Nairobi, Hong Kong, Canary Islands, Beirut, Casablanca*. Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2015.
- Diniz, Gustavo, Robert Muggah, and Misha Glenny. »Deconstructing Cyber Security in Brazil: Threats and Responses.« Strategic Paper 11. *Igarapé Publications*, December 2014, accessed 27 June 2016. <https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Strategic-Paper-11-Cyber2.pdf>.
- Domaradzka, Anna. »Urban Social Movements and the Right to the City: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Urban Mobilization.« *Voluntas. International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations* 29 (2018): 607–20.
- Downing, John. »Digital Deconstruction. The Independent Media Center and the Anarchist Socialist Tradition.« In *Contesting Media Power*, edited by Nick Couldry and James Curran, 265–79. Spokane: Marquette Books, 2004.
- Duncan, Jane and Pier Paolo Frassinelli. »The Right to Protest? An Account

- of Human Rights Violations during #FeesMustFall, #OccupyUJ and #EndOutsourcing Protests at the University of Johannesburg,« *A Human Rights Report*, 2015, accessed 13 September 2018. [https://www.academia.edu/27122673/The\\_right\\_to\\_protest](https://www.academia.edu/27122673/The_right_to_protest).
- Eakin, Marshall C. *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Earl, Jennifer, and Katrina Kimport. *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2011.
- Eisenberg, José. »A Crise Da Mobilidade Social Brasileira.« *BOLETIM CEDES*, July – September 2013, accessed 16 June 2016. [http://www.cis.puc-rio.br/cis/cedes/PDF/julho\\_2013/Artigo%20-%20Jose%20Eisenberg.pdf](http://www.cis.puc-rio.br/cis/cedes/PDF/julho_2013/Artigo%20-%20Jose%20Eisenberg.pdf).
- Elden, Stuart. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Enders, Armelle. *Histoire de Rio de Janeiro*. Paris: Arthème Fayard, 2000.
- Erensoy, Sirin. »From Activist to Demonstrator. The Evolution of Video Activism in Turkey.« In *Nähe Auf Distanz. Eigendynamik Und Mobilisierende Kraft Politischer Bilder Im Internet*, edited by Isabelle Busch, Uwe Fleckner, and Judith Waldmann. Berlin: DeGruyter, 2019.
- Fahlberg, Anjuli N. »It Was Totally Different than What We Had before: Perceptions of Urban Militarism under Rio de Janeiro's Pacifying Policing Units.« *Qualitative Sociology* 41 (2018): 303–324.
- Fanon, Frantz. »The Wretched of the Earth.« In *Voices of Liberation*. Frantz Fanon, edited by Leo Zeilig, 102–202. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014.
- Fernandes, Edésio. »Constructing the 'Right to the City' in Brazil.« *Social & Legal Studies* 16, no. 2 (2007): 201–219.
- Ferreira, Marinéia. »Comunicação Comunitária e o Diálogo Com a Comunidade.« *Politize!*, 28 August 2019, accessed 20 June 2020. <https://www.politize.com.br/comunicacao-comunitaria/>.
- Fisher, Schamiela. »ANC Official Faces Charges for Inciting Violence.« *Eyewitness News*, 17 August 2015, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://ewn.co.za/2015/07/31/Seskhonas-Andile-Lili-to-appear-in-court-today>.
- Flick, Uwe. »Triangulation in der Qualitativen Forschung.« In *Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch*, edited by Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardorff, and Ines Steinke, 309–318. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2008.
- Flick, Uwe, Ernst von Kardorff, and Ines Steinke, eds. *Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2008.
- Foeta, Krige. *The SABC8*. Cape Town: Penguin Random House South Africa, 2019.
- Foley, Conor. »Pelo Telefone: Rumors, Truths and Myths in the 'Pacification' of the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro.« *Humanitarian Actions in Situations Other than War*, Discussion Paper 8 (2014).
- Fonsêca, Daniel. »Regulatory Framework of the Brazilian Media System,« *Study for the Media Ownership Monitor 2017*, accessed 4 April 2020. [http://brazil.mom-rsf.org/fileadmin/Editorial/Brazil/MOM\\_Documento\\_legal\\_ingles\\_1\\_.pdf](http://brazil.mom-rsf.org/fileadmin/Editorial/Brazil/MOM_Documento_legal_ingles_1_.pdf).
- Frechette, Alex. *Copa Pra Quem? Olimpíadas Pra Quem? Arte e Megaeventos*



- Esportivos No Rio de Janeiro – Contranarrativas Na Cidade Turística*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Circuito, 2019.
- Fremlin, Jenny. »Agenda Setting: Independent vs. Corporate Media.« *Journal of New Communication Research* 3, no. 1 (2008): 55–64.
- Friis, Simone Molin. »Beyond Anything We Have Ever Seen: Beheading Videos and the Visibility of Violence in the War against ISIS.« *International Affairs* 91, no. 4 (2015): 725–46.
- Fryer-Moreira, Raffaella. »A Gente Tava Ali: Rethinking Truth with Mi-diativistas in Rio de Janeiro.« MA diss. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro 2016.
- »Favela Transmission,« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.uclmal.com/rafaella-fryer-moreira>.
- Fuchs, Christian. *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2014.
- »Some Reflections on Manuel Castells' Book »Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age.«« *TripleC* 10, no. 2 (2012): 775–92.
- Fuchs, Christian, and Daniel Trotter. *Social Media, Politics and the State. Protests, Revolutions, Riots, Crime and Policing in the Age of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Furlong, Ashleigh. »Rhodes Must Fall Protesters Burn UCT Art.« GroundUp, 17 February 2016, accessed 17 June 2019. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/rhodes-must-fall-protesters-destroy-uct-artworks/>.
- Gaffney, Christopher. »The Mega-Event City as Neo-Liberal Laboratory: The Case of Rio de Janeiro.« *Working Paper Presented at the Second Mega-Event Think Tank*. University of British Columbia, Canada, 2011.
- Galtung, Johan. »Violence, Peace, and Peace Research.« *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–91.
- Garland, Shannon. »The Space, the Gear, and Two Big Cans of Beer: Fora Do Eixo and the Debate over Circulation, Remuneration, and Aesthetics in the Brazilian Alternative Market.« *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 24, no. 4 (2012): 509–31.
- Geertz, Clifford. »Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture.« In *The Interpretation of Culture*, 310–23. Basic Books, 1973.
- Gerbaudo, Paolo. *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. London: Pluto, 2012.
- Geuder, Jacob. »From Expansion to Empowerment: Challenges, Changes, and the Collective Struggle of Mídia Independente Coletiva (MIC).« Pp. 121–30 in *Radical Film, Art and Digital Media for Societies in Turmoil*, edited by U. Böckler, J. Lazarus, and A. Weltz-Rombach. Berlin: K. Verlag, 2023.
- »Book Review: Seeing Human Rights.« *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 100 (3), 2023.
- Ghonim, Wael. »Let's Design Social Media That Drives Real Change.« *TED talk*, 2015, accessed 17 September 2018. [https://www.ted.com/talks/wael\\_ghonim\\_let\\_s\\_design\\_social\\_media\\_that\\_drives\\_real\\_change/transcript?language=en](https://www.ted.com/talks/wael_ghonim_let_s_design_social_media_that_drives_real_change/transcript?language=en).



- Giraud, Eva. »Has Radical Participatory Online Media Really »Failed«? Indymedia and Its Legacies.« *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 20, no. 4 (2014): 419–37.
- Gladwell, Malcolm. »Small Change. Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted.« *The New Yorker*, 4 October 2010, accessed 10 June 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell>.
- Glaser, Barney, and Anselm Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press, 1967.
- Globo. »Globo Play.« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://globoplay.globo.com/>.
- Gloria Gohn, Maria. *Manifestações de Junho 2013 No Brasil. E Praças Dos Indignados No Mundo*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2015.
- Godsell, Sarah. »#WitsFeesMustFall Op-Ed: On Violent Protest and Solidarity.« *The Daily Maverick*, 19 October 2015, accessed 7 March 2019. [https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-19-witsfeesmustfall-op-ed-on-violent-protest-and-solidarity/?fbclid=IwAR2wTfKEJ1s7y1uQrgGMsK35FTH-6n5zaLPXcUmfvoztMoXJY2Wfox-U2\\_E#.VsWLPvl97IV](https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-10-19-witsfeesmustfall-op-ed-on-violent-protest-and-solidarity/?fbclid=IwAR2wTfKEJ1s7y1uQrgGMsK35FTH-6n5zaLPXcUmfvoztMoXJY2Wfox-U2_E#.VsWLPvl97IV).
- Graeber, David. »A Practical Utopian's Guide to the Coming Collapse.« *The Baffler* 22 (2013): 23–35.
- Graham, Mark, and Joe Shaw. »Towards Another World of Gig Work.« In *Towards a Fairer GIG Economy*, 4–6. Online: Metaspace Press, 2017.
- Granja Coutinho, Eduardo. *Comunicação e Contra-Hegemonia*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 2008.
- Grebe, Eduard. »I Was Jailed for Filming a Police Assault.« *GroundUp*. 8 January 2016, accessed 17 November 2017. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/i-was-jailed-filming-police-assault/>.
- GroundUp Editors. »Hout Bay Shows How Desperately We Need Good Police Leadership.« *GroundUp*, 14 September 2017, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hout-bay-shows-yet-again-how-desperately-we-need-good-police-leadership/>.
- Hai-Jew, Shalin. »Exploring »User,« »Video,« and (Pseudo) Multi-Mode Networks on YouTube with NodeXL.« In *Social Media Data Extraction and Content Analysis*, edited by Shalin Hai-Jew, 242–95. Hershey: IGI Global, 2016.
- Hamm, Marion. »Indymedia – Concatenations of Physical and Virtual Spaces.« *Republicart Net* 6 (2005): 2005.
- Hannerz, Ulf. »Being There... and There... and There! Reflections on Multi-Site Ethnography.« *Ethnography* 4, no. 2 (2003): 201–16.
- Harrisberg, Kim. »»Critical for Accountability«: South Africans Go Online to Document Police Brutality.« *News24*, 3 August 2020, accessed 4 August 2020. <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/critical-for-accountability-south-africans-go-online-to-document-police-brutality-20200803>
- Hartog, Simon. *Beyond Citizen Kane*. Documentary Film, UK 1993.
- Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution*. London and New York: Verso, 2013.
- »The Right to the City.« *New Left Review*, no. 53 (2008): 23–40.

- Head, Tom. »Miners Shot Down: SABC Accused of Trying to ›Cover-Up‹ Marikana Doccie.« *The South African*, 6 June 2018. <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/miners-shot-down-marikana-sabc-watch/>.
- Hendricks, Ashraf. »In Photos: Hangberg Erupts over Fishing Rights.« *GroundUp*, 13 September 2017, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hangberg-erupts-over-fishing-rights/>.
- Herz, Daniel. *A História Secreta Da Rede Globo*. Porto Alegre: Editora Tchê!, 1986.
- Holston, James. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- »Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries.« *City & Society* 21, no. 2 (2008): 245–267.
- Huchzermeyer, Marie. *Cities with ›Slums‹: From Informal Settlement Eradication to a Right to the City in Africa*. Claremont, South Africa: UCT Press, 2011.
- »Informal Settlements: Production and Intervention in Twentieth-Century Brazil and South Africa.« *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 1 (2002): 83–105.
  - »The Legal Meaning of Lefebvre's the Right to the City: Addressing the Gap between Global Campaign and Scholarly Debate.« *GeoJournal* 83 (2018): 631–614.
  - »Humanism, Creativity and Rights: Invoking Henri Lefebvre's Right to the City in the Tension Presented by Informal Settlements in South Africa Today.« *Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 85 (2014): 64–89.
- Human Rights Watch. »Brazil: Country Summary 2017,« January 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/brazil>.
- »Brazil: Police Killings at Record High in Rio,« 19 December 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/12/19/brazil-police-killings-record-high-rio>.
  - »Meta's Broken Promises. Systemic Censorship of Palestine Content on Instagram and Facebook.« December 2023, accessed 18 April 2025. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/12/21/metas-broken-promises/systemic-censorship-palestine-content-instagram-and>
- Idasa. »Documentary Screening: The Uprising of Hangberg.« *Online Post*. 18 January 2011, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://idasa.wordpress.com/2011/01/18/documentary-screening-the-uprising-of-hangberg/>.
- International Federation of Journalists. »Global Charter of Ethics for Journalists,« Accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.ifj.org/who/rules-and-policy/global-charter-of-ethics-for-journalists.html>.
- Ippolita. *The Facebook Aquarium: The Resistible Rise of Anarcho-Capitalism*. Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures, 2015.
- IWPG (International Woman's Peace Group). YouTube Channel. Accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCCNdRMMtJpVaGS61mJOdbKw/about>.
- Jaguaribe, Beatriz. *Rio de Janeiro. Urban Life through the Eyes of the City*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

- Jensen, Steffen. »The Security and Development Nexus in Cape Town: War on Gangs, Counterinsurgency and Citizenship.« *Security Dialogue* 41, no. 1 (2010): 77–97.
- Jeralyn. »Capetown Police Brutality Captured on Video.« *Talk Left. The Politics of Crime*, 7 March 2014, accessed 18 June 2019. <http://www.talkleft.com/story/2014/3/7/3385733734/misconduct/Capetown-Police-Brutality-Captured-on-Video>.
- Jones, Alison, and Domoka Lucianda Manda. »Violence and ›Othering‹ in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa. Case Study: Nada's Malawi.« *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 18, no. 2 (2006): 197–213.
- Jordana, Sebastian. »The Indicator. Favela Café and the End of Irony.« *Arch Daily*, 9 July 2013, accessed 14 July 2020. <https://www.archdaily.com/399913/the-indicator-favela-cafe-and-the-end-of-irony>.
- Jornal A Nova Democracia. »Sobre o Jornal A Nova Democracia (Linha Editorial),« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://anovademocracia.com.br/linhaeditorial>.
- »YouTube Channel.« Accessed 30 April 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/user/patrickgranja/about>.
- Jourdan, Camila. 2013. *Memórias e Resistências*. Rio de Janeiro: Circuito, 2018.
- Katz, Daniel. »Reimagining a Cultural Labor Movement through Education.« In *Labor Rising. The Past and Future of Working People in America*, edited by Daniel Katz and Richard A. Greenwald. New York: The New Press, 2012.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. *Freedom Dreams: The Back Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.
- Kipfer, Stefan, and Kanishka Goonewardena. »Henri Lefebvre and ›Colonization‹: From Reinterpretation to Research.« In *Urban Revolution Now*, edited by Łukasz Stanek, Christian Schmid, and Ákos Moravánszky, 93–109. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Kriegler, Anine. »South Africa Won't Become Less Violent until It's More Equal.« *The Conversation*, 12 September 2018, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://theconversation.com/south-africa-wont-become-less-violent-until-its-more-equal-103116>.
- Kurgan, Laura, and Dare Brawley, eds. *Ways of Knowing Cities*. New York: Columbia Books, 2019.
- Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemonie Und Radikale Demokratie: Zur Dekonstruktion Des Marxismus*. Wien: Passagen, 2006.
- Laer, Jeroen Van. 2010. »Activists ›Online‹ and ›Offline‹: The Internet as a Communication Channel for Protest Demonstrations.« *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15, no. 3: 405–17.
- Laer, Jeroen Van, and peter Van Aelst. »Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires.« *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 8 (2010): 1146–1171.
- Lali, Vicent. »Ward Councillor Andile Lili Calls for Residents to Rebuild Demolished Shacks.« GroundUp, 26 April 2017, accessed 14 May 2019. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/ward-councillor-andile-lili-calls-residents-rebuild-demolished-shacks/>.

- Langman, Lauren. »From virtual public spheres to global justice: a critical theory of internetworked social movements«. *Sociological Theory* 23:1 (2005): 42–74.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Explosion. Marxism and the French Upheaval*. New York & London: Monthly Review Press, 1969.
- »Right to the City.« In *Writings on Cities*, translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, 63–184. Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996 [original 1968].
  - *The Production of Space*. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2011 [original 1974].
  - *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003 [original 1970].
  - »Theoretical Problems of Autogestion.« In *State, Space, World. Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 138–52. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009 [original 1966].
- Leskin, Paige. »Zuckerberg Is Now the 3rd-Richest Person in the World.« *Business Insider*, 22 May 2020, accessed 25 May 2020. <https://www.business-insider.com/mark-zuckerberg-billionaire-third-richest-since-coronavirus-net-worth-2020-5?r=US&IR=T>.
- Lima, Vinicio A. de. »Brazilian Television in the 1989 Presidential Election: Constructing a President.« In *Television, Politics and the Transition to Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Thomas Skidmore, 97–117. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1993.
- Lopes de Souza, Marcelo. »Which Right to Which City? In Defense of Political-Strategic Clarity: Response to Harvey.« *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 2, no. 1 (2010): 315–333.
- »Together with the State, despite the State, against the State. Social Movements as »Critical Urban Planning« Agents.« *City* 10, no. 3 (2006): 327–42.
- Lopes de Souza, Mareclo, and Glauco Bruce Rodrigues. *Planejamento Urbano e Ativismos Sociais*. São Paulo: Editoria Unesp, 2004.
- Macherez, Yann. »Hout Bay Residents Call for Solidarity with Hangberg.« *GroundUp*, 22 September 2017, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/hout-bay-residents-call-solidarity-hangberg/>.
- Madison, Soyini. *Critical Ethnography. Methods, Ethics, and Performance*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005.
- Madonsela, Thuli. »When Governance and Ethics Fail. Report No 23 of 2013/2014.« *Report of the Public Protector of the South African Government*, February 2014, accessed 21 April 2020. [https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis\\_document/201409/when-governance-fails-report-exec-summary17feb2014.pdf](https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/when-governance-fails-report-exec-summary17feb2014.pdf).
- Mager, Astrid. »Algorithmic Ideology.« *Information, Communication & Society*, 2012, 1–19.
- Mail & Guardian Staff Reporter. »Cape Town Protesters: It's Not About Politics but Delivery.« *Mail & Guardian*, 30 October 2013, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-30-cape-town-protestors-were-angry-at-helen-zille/>.
- Manovich Lev. »100 Billion Data Rows per Second: Media Analytics in the

- Early 21st Century.« *International Journal of Communication*, no. 12 (2018): 473–88.
- Marciato, Ermínia. *Cidades Rebeldes. Passe Livre e as Manifestações que Tomaram as Ruas do Brasil*. São Paulo: Boitempo and Carta Maior, 2013.
- Marcus, George E. »Ethnography in/of the World System. The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography.« *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117.
- Marcuse, Peter. »Rights in Cities and the Right to the City?« In *Cities for All. Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*, by Ana Sugranyes and Charlotte Mathivet, 87–98. Santiago de Chile: Habitat International Coalition (HIC), 2011.
- Martín, María. »Policia Do Rio Forja Cena de Crime Para Esconder Assassinato de Jovem.« *El País Brasil*, 30 September 2015, accessed 27 June 2019. [https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/09/30/politica/1443571133\\_773507.html](https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/09/30/politica/1443571133_773507.html).
- Martins, Gizele. »Community Journalists Experience Censorship and Threats in Rio's Favelas.« *Rio On Watch*, accessed 13 November 2015. <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=24817>.
- Masuku, Themba. »Targeting Foreigners. Xenophobia Amnong Johannesburg's Police.« *Crime Quarterly*, no. 15 (2006), accessed 18 June 2019. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080610005420/http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/CrimeQ/No.15/Masuku.html>.
- Mayer, Margit. »The ›Right to the City‹ in Urban Social Movements.« In *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer, 63–85. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Mayring, Phillipp. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen Und Techniken*. Weinheim: Deutscher Studienverlag, 2000.
- McFarlane, Colin, and Jonathan Silver. »The Poolitical City: ›Seeing Sanitation‹ and Making the Urban Political in Cape Town.« *Antipode* 49, no. 1 (2017): 125–48.
- McGuirk, Justin. *Radical Cities. Across Latin America in Search of a New Architecture*. London and New York: Verso, 2014.
- McKinney, John C. »Typification, Typologies, and Sociological Theory.« *Social Forces* 48, no. 1 (1969): 1–12.
- Media Ownership Monitor Brazil. »Fill the Airwaves and Subdue Them: Brazilian Churches as Media Owners.« Reporters Without Borders. Accessed 27 July 2020. <http://brazil.mom-rsf.org/en/findings/church-owning-media/>.
- »The World of Globo: Hegemony of Limitless Concentration.« Reporters Without Borders, Accessed 27 July 2020. <http://brazil.mom-rsf.org/en/findings/concentration/>.
- Mejias, Ulises Ali. *Off the Network: Disrupting the Digital World. Electronic Mediations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Merrifield, Andy. *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- *Metromarxism. A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002.

- »Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation.« *The Royal Geographical Society* 18, no. 4 (1993): 516–31.
- *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest under Planetary Urbanization*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013.
- »The Right to the City and Beyond.« *City* 15, no. 3–4 (2011): 473–481.
- Miguel, Luis Felipe. »A Eleição Visível: A Rede Globo Descobre a Política Em 2002.« *Dados* 46, no. 2 (2003): 289–310.
- Milton, Viola C. »@SOS\_ZA\_#SABC: Civic Discourse and the Negotiation of PSB Principles.« In *Digital Activism in the Social Media Era: Critical Reflections on Emerging Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Bruce Mutsaers, 195–230. Online: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.
- Miners Shot Down. »Website,« Accessed 13 March 2017. <https://www.minersshotdown.co.za/>.
- Mitchell, Don. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: Guilford Press, 2003.
- Moraes, Alana, et al. *Junho: Potência Das Ruas e Das Redes*. São Paulo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2014.
- Morange, Marianne, and Amandine Spire. »A Right to the City in the Global South?« *Metropolitiques*, 17 April 2015, accessed 16 February 2016. <https://www.metropolitiques.eu/A-Right-to-the-City-in-the-Global.html>.
- Morange, Marianne. »Right to the City, Neoliberalism and the Developmental State in Cape Town.« *Justice Spatiale Spatiale Justice*, no. 4, 2011.
- More, Thomas. *Utopia*. Edited by Rober M. Adams. New York & London: W.W. Norton, 1975.
- Mudimbe, Valentin. *The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Mullis, Daniel. *Recht Auf Die Stadt: Von Selbstverwaltung Und Radikaler Demokratie*. Münster: Unrast Verlag, 2014.
- Murname, Ben. *Ayn Rand and the Posthuman. The Mind-Made Future*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Nave de Conhecimento. »Startpage Website« Accessed 2 December 2019. <https://navedoconhecimento.rio/>.
- Nevett, Joshua. »George Floyd: The Personal Cost of Filming Police Brutality.« *BBC News*, 11 June 2020, accessed 27 June 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52942519>.
- Nicolini, Davide. »Practice Theory as a Package of Theory, Method and Vocabulary: Affordances and Limitations.« In *Methodological Reflections on Practice-Oriented Theories*, 19–34. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.
- Nigg, Heinz. *Rebel Video. Die Videobewegung Der 1970er Und 1980er-Jahre*. Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2017.
- Njilo, Nonkululeko. »Decision Today on R6.5m Lawsuit after Cops Dragged Man behind Police Van.« *Times Live*, 21 November 2018, accessed 18 June 2019. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-11-21-decision-today-on-r65m-lawsuit-after-cops-dragged-man-behind-police-van/>.
- Nkula-Wenz, Laura. »Worlding Cape Town by Design: Encounters with

- Creative Cityness.« *Environment and Planning A* 51, no. 3 (2018), 581–597.
- O'Dea, Stephen. »Number of Smartphones Sold to End Users Worldwide from 2007 to 2020 (in Million Units).« Statista, 28 February 2020, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/263437/global-smartphone-sales-to-end-users-since-2007/>.
- Ogan, Christine, Roya Imani Giglou, and Leen d'Haenens. »The Relationship between Online and Offline Participation in a Social Movement. Gezi Park Protests in the Diaspora.« In *Taking the Square: Mediated Dissent and Occupations of Public Space*, edited by M. Rovisco and J.C. Ong. London: Roman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Oldfield, Sophie, and Kristian Stokke. »Building Unity in Diversity: Social Movement Activism in the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign.« In *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, by Ricard Ballard, Adam Habib, and Imraan Valodia, 111–32. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.
- Omar, Rashied. »Time to End This Civil War on the Cape Flats.« *IOL South Africa*, 2 August 2019, accessed 24 April 2020. <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/opinion/time-to-end-this-civil-war-on-the-cape-flats-30178908>.
- Omari, Jeffrey. »Democracy through Technology: Digital Inclusion vs. Social Exclusion.« *Rio On Watch*, accessed 27 June 2016. <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=24698>.
- Omarjee, Lameez. »MTN, Vodacom to Slash Data Prices or Face Prosecution.« *Fin24*, 2 December 2019, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://www.news24.com/fin24/Companies/mtn-vodacom-to-slash-prices-or-face-prosecution-all-providers-must-give-free-data-daily-competition-watchdog-20191202-2>.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban. »Number of People Using Social Media Platforms, 2004 to 2018.« Our World in Data, 18 September 2018, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://ourworldindata.org/rise-of-social-media>.
- Ortellado, Pablo. »L'antiparti : autonomie et stratégie dans le « Movimiento Passe Livre ».« *Les Temps Modernes* 678, no. 2 (2014): 24–36.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban. »Number of People Using Social Media Platforms, 2004 to 2018.« *Our World in Data*, 18 September 2018, accessed 14 July 2020. <https://ourworldindata.org/rise-of-social-media>.
- Paret, Marcel. »Labour and Community Struggles 1994–2014.« In *New South Africa Review: Beyond Marikana*, by Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Naidoo Prishani, Devan Pillay, and Rofer Southall. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2015.
- Pariser, Eli. *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding from You*. New York: Penguin Press, 2011.
- Parnell, Susanne, and Edgar Pieterse. »The ›Right to the City‹: Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental State.« *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34, no. 1 (2010): 146–162.
- Peirce, Charles S. »Guessing.« *Hound and Horn* 2 (1929): 267–82.
- Pereira, Rafael H. M. »Transport Legacy of Mega-Events and the Redistribution of Accessibility to Urban Destinations.« *Cities* 81 (2018): 45–60.



- Perlman, Janice. *Favela. Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Peruzzo, Círcia M. Krohling. »Conceitos de Comunicação Popular, Alternativa e Comunitária Revisitados e as Reelaboraões No Setor.« *ECO-Pós* 12, no. 2 (August 2012): 44–61.
- Peter Parker Michaels. »Instagram Profile.« Accessed 27 June 2019. [https://www.instagram.com/peter\\_parker\\_michaels/](https://www.instagram.com/peter_parker_michaels/).
- Petersen, Tammy. »Suspended Sentences for Cape Town Airport Poo Protesters.« *New24*, 19 August 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Suspended-sentences-for-Cape-Town-airport-poo-protesters-20150819>.
- Phillips, Dom. »A Devastating Scenario: Brazil Sets New Record for Homicides at 63,880 Deaths.« *The Guardian*, 9 August 2018, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/09/brazil-sets-new-record-for-homicides-63880-deaths>.
- Pickvance, Chris. »From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements: A Review and Introduction to a Symposium on Urban Movements.« *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 1 (2003): 102–9.
- Pinedo Bóveda, Pablo. *NOMA – What Does It Take to Have a Home?*. Documentary Film, Every Where Films, 2016. <http://everywherefilms.co.za/work.php>.
- Pinheiro, Ana Beatriz. »Nada é Impossível de Mudar: Juventude, Participação Política e o Caso Da Militância Juvenil Na Eleição Para Prefeito Do Rio de Janeiro Em 2012.« *Enfoques* 13, no. 1 (2014): 206–224.
- Pinnock, Don. *Gang Town*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2016.
- Plyushteva, Anna. »The Right to the City and Struggles over Urban Citizenship: Exploring the Links.« *Amsterdam Social Sciences* 1, no. 3 (2009): 81–97.
- Porter, Theodore M. *Trust in Numbers. The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Purcell, Mark. »Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant.« *Geo Journal*, no. 58 (2002): 99–108.
- »The Right to the City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm.« *Policy & Politics* 43, no. 3 (2013): 311–27.
- Prado, Magaly. *Ciberativismo e Noticiário. Da Mídia Torpedista Às Redes Sociais*. Alta Books, 2015.
- Rapoza, Kenneth. »Rio De Janeiro, Brazil Is A Complete Mess.« *Forbes*, 9 August 2017, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2017/08/09/rio-de-janeiro-brazil-is-a-complete-mess/#6ae9cfcd20e3>.
- Raspaud, Michel. »Mega-événement sportif et situation d'exception: le Brésil et la Copa 2014.« *Les Temps Modernes* 678, no. 2 (2014): 122.
- Raza, John. »Beyond ›Riot Porn‹: Protest Video and the Production of Unruly Subjects.« *Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology* 74, no. 4 (2014): 496–524.
- Recht auf Stadt. »Website«. Accessed 27 June 2019. <http://www.rechtaufstadt.net/>.



- Reckwitz, Andreas. »Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook.« *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 16, no. 2 (2012): 241–258.
- Reclaim the City. »Website.« Accessed 27 July 2020. <http://reclaimthecity.org.za/>.
- Redação. »Coletivo Marichi Tem Sua Página Retirada Do Ar Pelo Facebook.« *Esquerda Diário*, 20 July 2016, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.esquerdadiario.com.br/Coletivo-Marichi-tem-sua-pagina-retirada-do-ar-pelo-Facebook>.
- Reporters without Borders. »South Africa: Press Freedom Guaranteed but Fragile.« Accessed 24 July 2020. <https://rsf.org/en/south-africa>.
- »World Press Freedom Index 2017.« accessed 24 July 2020. <https://rsf.org/en/ranking/2017#>.
- »Brazil: Climate of Hate and Suspicion Fed by Bolsonaro.« Country Report 2019, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://rsf.org/en/brazil>.
- RhodesMustFall. »Facebook Account«. Accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall/>.
- Riberio, Darci. *O Povo Brasileiro: A Formação e o Sentido Do Brasil*. Companhia das Letras: São Paulo, 2015.
- Richardson, Allissa V. *Bearing Witness While Black. African Americans, Smartphones, & the New Protest #Journalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Right to the City. »Website.« accessed 24 July 2020. <https://www.righttothecity.org/>.
- Ristovska, Sandra. *Seeing Human Rights. Video Activism as a Proxy Profession*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: MIT Press, 2021.
- RioOnWatch. »Website.« accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.rioonwatch.org/>.
- Rocinha.org. »Favela Antenada: TV Roc, a TV a Cabo Da Rocinha.« accessed 27 July 2020. <http://rocinha.org/rocinhanarede/view.asp?id=176>.
- Rodrigues, Cláudia, and Alice Baroni. »Journalism Ethos: Mídia Ninja and a Contested Field.« *Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Em Jornalismo*, 2018, 568–93.
- Rodrigues, Robson. »The Dilemmas of Pacification: News of War and Peace in the »Marvelous City.«« *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development* 3, no. 1 (2014): 1–16.
- Rodrigues, Thiago, Mariana Kalil, and Acácio Augusto. »Brazil: Violence and Public (Un)Safety.« In *Violence in the Americas*, edited by Hanna Kasab and Jonathan Rosen, 13–32. Boulder: Lanham, 2018.
- Rohmann, Elke, Julia Brailovskaia, Hans-Werner Bierhoff, and Jürgen Margraf. »The Brave Blue World: Facebook Flow and Facebook Addiction Disorder (FAD).« *PLOS ONE*, 2018, 1–12.
- Rolfe, Brette. »Building an Electronic Repertoire of Contention.« *Social Movement Studies* 4, no. 1 (2005): 65–74.
- Rosenthal, Gabriele. *Interpretative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung*. Weinheim: Juventa Verlag, 2005.

- Rossini, Carolina. »Case Study – Affordable Internet.« *Alliance for Affordable Internet*, August 2014, accessed 27 June 2019. [https://a4ai.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/A4AI-Case-Study-Brazil-FINAL\\_US.pdf](https://a4ai.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/A4AI-Case-Study-Brazil-FINAL_US.pdf).
- Rucht, Dieter. »Protest Movements and Their Media Usages.« In *Mediation and Protest Movements*, edited by Bart Cammaerts, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy, 249–268. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2013.
- Ruediger, Marco et al. »June Journeys in Brazil: From the Networks to the Streets.« *Draft Paper Prepared for the APSA Annual Meeting* in Washington, DC, 4 August 2014, accessed 27 June 2019. [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2475983](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2475983).
- SABC Digital News. »YouTube Channel.« Accessed 21 June 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/user/sabcdigitalnews/about>.
- Saborio, Sebastian. »The Pacification of the Favelas: Mega Events, Global Competitiveness, and the Neutralization of Marginality.« *Socialist Studies* 9, no. 2 (2013).
- Sacks, Jared. »Welcome to Marikana, Cape Town.« *Daily Maverick*, 22 May 2013, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-05-22-welcome-to-marikana-cape-town/>.
- Saldaña, Johnny. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage, 2009.
- Samara, Tony Roshan. *Cape Town after Apartheid: Crime and Governance in the Divided City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Samara, Tony Roshan, Shenjing He, and Guo Chen »Introduction: Locating Right to the City in the Global South.« In *Locating Right to the City in the Global South*, edited by Tony Roshan Samara, Shenjing He, and Guo Chen, 1–20. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Santiago Giannotti, Claudia. *Experiências Em Comunicação Popular No Rio de Janeiro Ontem e Hoje: Uma História de Resistência Nas Favelas Cariocas*. Rio de Janeiro: NPC, 2016.
- Santoro, Antonio Eduardo Ramires. »Um Estudo Da Política Criminal de Controle Dos Protestos Populares Na História Do Rio de Janeiro.« Online, accessed 24 July 2020. <http://www.publicadireito.com.br/artigos/?cod=9866b8a83d35abdd>.
- Santos, Rodolpho Raphael de Oliveira. »A Comunicação Comunitária.« *Observatorio Da Imprensa*, 5 June 2012, accessed 20 May 2020. [http://www.observatorioidaimprensa.com.br/interesse-publico/\\_ed697\\_a\\_comunicacao\\_comunitaria/](http://www.observatorioidaimprensa.com.br/interesse-publico/_ed697_a_comunicacao_comunitaria/).
- Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Schmid, Christian. »Henri Lefebvre, the Right to the City, and the New Metropolitan Mainstream.« In *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer, 42–62. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- *Stadt, Raum Und Gesellschaft: Henri Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010.
- »The Trouble with Henri: Urban Research and the Theory of the Production

- of Urban Space.« In *Urban Revolution Now*, edited by Łukasz Stanek, Christian Schmid, and Ákos Moravánszky, 27–48. Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014.
- Schmidt, Eric, and Jared Cohen. *The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations and Business*. New York: Random House, 2013.
- Schonbee, Karne, and Stefaans Brümmer. »Public Loss, FIFA's Gain: How Cape Town Got Its ›White Elephant.« In *Player and Referee. Conflicting Interests and the 2010 FIFA World Cup*, edited by Collette Schulz-Herzensberg, 133–67. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2010.
- Schwartz, Joseph M. »Review, Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies.« *American Political Science Association* 9, no. 3 (2011): 700–702.
- Seasteading Institute. »Website,« 24 July 2020, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://www.seasteading.org/>.
- Segurado, Rosemary. »Os Movimentos Sociais e a Internet: A Apropriação Política Do Facebook Durante as Jornadas de Junho.« 38 Annual Meeting of ANPOCS 27–31 October 2014, accessed 27 June 2019. <http://www.anpocs.org/index.php/encontros/papers/38-encontro-anual-da-anpocs/gt-1/gto4-1/9363-os-movimentos-e-a-internet-a-apropriacao-politica-do-facebook-durante-as-jornadas-de-junho/file>.
- Selmeczi, Anna. »Abahlali's Vocal Politics of Proximity: Speaking, Suffering and Political Subjectivization.« *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47, no. 5 (2012): 498–515.
- Sesant, Siyabonga. »ANC Is ›Addressing‹ Ses'khona Movement's Demands for Land, Jobs.« Eyewitness News 2016, accessed 14 May 2019. <https://ewn.co.za/2016/06/21/ANC-is-addressing-Seskhona-movements-demands-for-land-jobs>.
- Shapshak, Toby. »#DataMustFall Highlights South Africa's Costly Wireless Broadband Problems.« *Forbes*, 21 September 2016, accessed 9 May 2019. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tobyshapshak/2016/09/21/datamustfall-highlights-south-africas-costly-wireless-broadband-problems/#35863d103a55>.
- Shaw, Joe, and Mark Graham. »An Informational Right to the City? Code, Content, Control, and the Urbanization of Information.« *Antipode* 9, no. 4 (2017): 907–927.
- Shirky, Clay. *Here Comes Everybody. The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*. London: Penguin Press, 2008.
- Shukaitis, Stephen, and David Graeber, eds. *Constituent Imagination. Militant Investigations, Collective Theorization*. Oakland: AK Press, 2007.
- Sindicato dos Jornalistas Rio de Janeiro. »Caso Santiago Andrade: Band Ainda Submete Jornalistas a Más Condições de Trabalho, Denuncia Sindicato Ao MPT,« 27 April 2016, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://jornalistas.org.br/2016/04/27/caso-santiago-andrade-dois-anos-apos-morte-band-ainda-submete-jornalistas-a-mas-condicoes-de-trabalho-denuncia-sindicato-ao-mpt/>.
- »Nota de Pesar Pela Morte Do Repórter Cinematográfico Santiago Andrade,« 10 February 2014, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://jornalistas.org.br/2014/02/10/nota-de-pesar-pela-morte-do-reporter-cinematografico-santiago-andrade/>.
- »Nota Pública Sobre o Caso Do Repórter Cinematográfico Santiago

- Andrade, « 7 February 2014, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://jornalistas.org.br/2014/02/07/nota-publica-sobre-o-caso-do-reporter-cinematografico-santiago-andrade/>.
- Skidmore, Thomas. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Smith, David. »South Africa Reports of Police Brutality More than Tripled in the Last Decade.« *The Guardian*, 22 August 20013, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/22/south-africa-police-brutality-increase>.
- South African History Online. »Biographies – Eric Miller,« 17 October 2011, accessed 14 May 2019. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/eric-miller>.
- Social Science Citation Index. »Relative Ranking of a Selected Pool of Leading Scholars in Communication by Number of Citations in the Social Science Citation Index, 2000-2017,« December 2017, accessed 17 June 2018. [https://annenbergl.usc.edu/sites/default/files/2018/11/16/Citation%20Index\\_Comm.2017.pdf](https://annenbergl.usc.edu/sites/default/files/2018/11/16/Citation%20Index_Comm.2017.pdf).
- »Relative Ranking of a Selected Pool of Leading Scholars in the Social Sciences by Number of Citations in the Social Science Citation Index, 2000-2017.« Accessed 17 June 2018. [http://www.manuelcastells.info/sites/default/files/citation\\_index\\_social\\_science.2017.pdf](http://www.manuelcastells.info/sites/default/files/citation_index_social_science.2017.pdf).
- South African History Online. »Hangberg, Hout Bay,« 30 October 2015, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/hangberg-hout-bay>.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Springer, Simon. »Violence Sits in Places? Cultural Practice, Neoliberal Rationalism, and Virulent Imaginative Geographies.« *Political Geography* 30, no. 2 (February 2011): 90–98.
- Stadt fuer Alle, »Website.« Accessed 24 July 2020. <http://stadtfueralle.info/>.
- Statista Research Department. »Revenue Generated by Globo from 2005 to 2019.« *Statista*, 24 July 2020, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/262396/globos-annual-revenue/>.
- Sugranyes, Ana, and Charlotte Mathivet, eds. *Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City*. Santiago de Chile: Habitat International Coalition (HIC), 2011.
- Sullivan, Andrew. »The Revolution Will Be Twittered.« *The Atlantic*, 13 June 2009, accessed 15 September 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2009/06/the-revolution-will-be-twittered/200478/>.
- Taplin, Jonathan. *Move Fast and Break Things: How Facebook, Google, and Amazon Cornered Culture and Undermined Democracy*. New York: Little Brown, 2017.
- Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Tayob, Shaheed. »The 2020 World Cup in Sotuh Africa: A Millenial Capitalist Moment.« *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8, no. 3 (2012): 717–36.
- Teixeira, Marco Antonio dos Santos. »As Manifestações de Junho e a Política

- No Brasil Contemporâneo: Um Convite Ao Debate. « *Revista Estudos Políticos*, no. 7 (2013): 373–78.
- Telecommunication and Postal Services of the Republic of South Africa. »Digital Society South Africa: South Africa's National e-Strategy towards a Thriving and Inclusive Digital Future.« *Government Gazette*, 10 November 2017, accessed 13 February 2019. [https://www.dtps.gov.za/images/phocagallery/Popular\\_Topic\\_Pictures/National-e-strategy.pdf](https://www.dtps.gov.za/images/phocagallery/Popular_Topic_Pictures/National-e-strategy.pdf).
- Telegraph Staff. »Google's Tax Avoidance Is Called ›Capitalism‹, Says Chairman Eric Schmidt.« *The Telegraph*, 12 December 2012, accessed 20 July 2020. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/google/9739039/Googles-tax-avoidance-is-called-capitalism-says-chairman-eric-schmidt.html>.
- Thatcher, Jim, David O'Sullivan, and Dillan Mahmoudi. »Data Colonialism through Accumulation by Dispossession: New Metaphors for Daily Data.« *Environment and Planning D* 34, no. 6 (2016): 990–1006.
- Thompson, Stuart. »They Criticized Musk on X. Then Their Reach Collapsed.« *New York Times*, 23 April 2025, accessed 24. April 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2025/04/23/business/elon-musk-x-suppression-laura-loomer.html>
- The Daily Sun. »Watch: Mido Macias Killers to Be Sentenced!«, 22 September 2015, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/Watch-Mido-Macias-killers-to-be-sentenced-20150922>.
- The Heyman Center, Columbia University. »Aryan Kaganof.« Profiles Filmmakers, accessed 27 June 2019. <http://heymancenter.org/people/aryan-kaganof/>.
- The Journalist. »Disrupting the Silencing of Voices.« *The Journalist*, 29 March 2016, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/art/disrupting-the-silencing-of-voices/>.
- Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios. »On De-Pathologizing Resistance.« *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 4 (2014): 415–430.
- Thomas, Jim. *Doing Critical Ethnography*. London: Sage, 1993.
- Thiago Oliveira. »YouTube Channel.« Accessed 30 April 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/user/thiagoimw123/videos>.
- Tilly, Charles. »Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758–1834.« *Social Science History* 17, no. No. 2 (1993): 253–80.
- *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. *Twitter and Tear Gas. The Power and Fragility of Networked Protests*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Turok, Ivan. »South Africa's Tortured Urbanisation and the Complications of Reconstruction.« In *Urban Growth in Emerging Economies: Lessons from the BRICS*, edited by Gordon McGranahan and George Martine, 143–90. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Uitermark, Justus, Walter Nicholls, and Maarten Loopmans. »Cities and Social Movements: Theorizing beyond the Right to the City.« *Environment and Planning* 44, no. 11 (2012): 2546–2554.
- Valley, Dylan, and Aryan Kaganof. *The Uprising of Hangberg*. Full Documentary, 2014, accessed 27 June 2019. <https://vimeo.com/109263953>.

- Vainer, Carlos, ed. »Cidade de Exeção: Reflexões a Partir Do Rio de Janeiro.« *Anais Do XIV Encontro Nacional Da Associação Nacional de Planejamento Urbano (ANPUR)* 14 (2011).
- Vannuchi, Luanda. *Transforming Cities for Sports Mega-Events: Another Path to Accumulation by Dispossession?* Diss. Master at Universidade de São Paulo (unpublished), 2015.
- Wachsmuth, David. »City as Ideology: Reconciling the Explosion of the City Form with the Tenacity of the City Concept.« *Environment and Planning D* 31 (2014): 75–90.
- Wacquant, Loïc. »The Militarization of Urban Marginality: Lessons from the Brazilian Metropolis.« *International Political Sociology* 2 (2008): 56–74.
- Waiselfisz, Julio Jacobo. »Homicides of Children Andadolescents in Brazil.« *IGARAPÉ Institute*, accessed 27 June 2019. [https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017-12-04-Homicide-Dispatch\\_4\\_EN.pdf](https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017-12-04-Homicide-Dispatch_4_EN.pdf).
- Warf, Barney. *Global Geographies of the Internet*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2013.
- Webster, James G. *The Marketplace of Attention: How Audiences Take Shape in a Digital Age*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2014.
- Wilkin, Peter. »Global Communication and Political Culture in the Semi-Periphery: The Rise of the Globo Corporation.« In *Cultures and Politics of Global Communication*, edited by Costas M. Constantiou, Oliver P. Richmond, and Alison Watson, 93–114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Willems, Wendy. »Social Movement Media, Post-Apartheid (South Africa).« In *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media*, by John Downing, Sage, 2010.
- Williams, Daryle, Amy Chazkel, and Paulo Knauss, eds. *The Rio de Janeiro Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Wilson, Christopher, and Alexandra Dunn. »Digital Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Descriptive Analysis from the Tahrir Data Sets.« *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 1248–72.
- Witten, Lance. »#Feesmustfall Students Edit Cape Argus.« *IOL South Africa*, 22 October 2015, accessed 27 July 2020. <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/feesmustfall-students-edit-cape-argus-1934323>.
- Wood, Naomi Pueo, ed. *Brazil in Twenty-First Century Popular Media: Culture, Politics, and Nationalism on the World Stage*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014.
- World Population Review. »Murder Rate by Country 2020,« 11 April 2020, accessed 24 July 2020. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/murder-rate-by-country>.
- Wright, Erik Olin. *Envisioning Real Utopias*. London: Verso, 2010.
- Yin, Robert K. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. New York: Guilford Press, 2011.
- Zuboff, Shoshana. *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. New York: Public Affairs, 2019.



