The Police Blogosphere in Brazil:
from Shooting to Twitter

Communication and Information

United Nations
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THE POLICE
BLOGOSPHERE IN BRAZIL:
FROM SHOOTING TO TWITTER

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PRESENTATION

The right to information and plurality of discussions:
a qualitative impulse in the debates on public security policies

It is with great joy that UNESCO Brasilia Office presents the first issue of the *Debates in Communication and Information* series. Our central aim is to feed the public sphere of discussions with texts – many of them, counting with the inputs of fresh empirical researches – to stimulate critical and plural reflections on crucial themes for the broad communication and information agenda of contemporary societies, with a special focus on the Brazilian context.

The opening text of the series is particularly attractive, as it encompasses a diverse number of key issues for the past, present and future debates under the broad umbrella of Communication and Information.

"The Police Blogosphere in Brazil: from Shooting to Twitter" presents, in a pioneering and original way, theoretical and empirical inputs for reflection on at least the following questions:

• The limits of freedom of expression inside public security institutions with strict hierarchy;

• The role of public actors – in this case, of public security forces – in the production of information and reflections on their own activities, and, therefore, on the direct interaction with their pears, higher echelons and the society, without mediation, for instance, by the press;

• Possibilities and risks of the popularization of the internet use, particularly of the "blog" tool, by these actors;

• Impacts of democratic information in devising, executing and monitoring public policies – in this case, security policies;

• Behavior of the mainstream journalism in face of new forms of producing information and interacting with the public sphere.

We are positive that the qualitative improvement of public policies in general, and security policies in particular, is strongly linked to promoting, protecting and securing the right to information, in such way that decision makers, public managers, bureaucrats, executive actors, oversight actors and the general population may, through a plural and contextualized discussion, converge towards the creation and execution of more effective, efficacious and efficient policies. The study coordinated by researchers Silvia Ramos and Anabela Paiva, of the Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship (CESeC), is a concrete contribution for treading a path towards a public sphere able to evolve with a substantial reflection on policies that have the highest significance for promoting a culture of peace, and, as a result, a violence decrease.

Indeed, we were and are pleased to know, by hearing from several interviewed bloggers, that the very announcement of this investigation has collaborated to bring about some small transformations. According to them, the concern demonstrated by UNESCO for the phenomenon has evidenced that they were not venturing in isolated initiatives, and that new bridges were built, existing networks were strengthened and measures aimed at curtailing the freedom of expression were detained. The report underlines that public security blogs are increasing in number, and, furthermore, that the commands of public institutions, which had

previously resisted, are now announcing the creation of official blogs to discuss the theme. With more information, from diversified sources, all win.

However, we do not expect this study to present definitive answers to its questions. Quite the opposite: we repeat that its first aim is to stimulate discussions on its central themes. It is precisely for this reason that it is the first issue of our Debates series.

Therefore, UNESCO's Communication and Information Sector in Brazil has open doors, open e-mails and open ears to receive your doubts, suggestions, criticism, worries and reflections in connection with this research, and with the upcoming ones.

Thank you very much and have a good reading!

Vincent Defourny
UNESCO Representative in Brazil

Guilherme Canela
Coordinator of the Communication and Information Sector

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the invitation of UNESCO, the Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship (CESeC) of the Cândido Mendes University made the first existing study of a new and important factor in the discussion of public security and criminality in Brazil: the blogs. The police blogosphere, as it is called by its participants, is a recent phenomenon of the Brazilian internet, but it already counts with dozens of webpages by civilian, military and road policemen of various ranks, along with firefighters and specialized journalists. With diverse contents, diverging visions and distinct ambitions, these webpages start to exert an influence on institutions and opinion makers.

The research was made through interviews, round tables and a 35-item questionnaire, which was available through the internet between May 18 and June 8, 2009. In this period, 73 bloggers authoring 70 blogs, took the survey, adding up to a significant sample, inasmuch as the surveys made by blogs such as 'Abordagem Policial' identified a total universe of 80 blogs. This is certainly an expanding universe: from the 70 blogs under study in this research, 58 – 82.8% – were created between 2007 and 2009.

Participants of 17 states have answered the research, showing that the police blogosphere is a genuine national phenomenon. In spite of that, one cannot leave aside the fact that the Southeast is the dominating region: Rio de Janeiro is the state with the higher blog count (22), followed by São Paulo (11) and Minas Gerais (10).

The professionals who keep blogs on security and criminality come mostly from the Military Police (58%), followed by the Municipal Guards (15.1%)

and the Civilian Police (13.7%) forces. Regarding their ranks, most bloggers (58%) are from the lower strata of the police institutions. Officers and Police Station Chiefs (*delegados*) account altogether to 42%. However, the educational level of the blog authors is, as one could expect, high: 62% of the respondents have either college degree or (finished or ongoing) postgraduate studies. Only 12.7% have middle level education.

Surprisingly, the young do not account for the majority in the blogosphere. Participants of the research up to 29 years old are approximately one third of the sample, whereas those above 30 years old account for 72.5%. And the gender percentages portrayed the traditional predominance of men in the field of security: there are only three women in the group of 73 interviews.

Participants were asked about the motivations that led them to create blogs. More than half (55%) answered that they wished to express their points of view on security and justice. Another group answered that they wished to speak to their professional pears, by publicizing themes in the interest of their institutions. Lastly, there are also those who use the webpages to denounce facts about their commands or other institutions, and those who seek to show society the reality of their corporations.

A characteristic that is common in many testimonials is the idea that much has been said in the past about the police and police officers, but almost nothing was said by the security actors themselves. The discussions would always take place between media professionals, specialists and

politicians. The fast growth of the blogosphere shows the urgency with which police officers are building a space where they are able to speak, reflect and make conclusions in first person. Confronted with five mutually exclusive options, 40% chose the one that stated: to be a blogger "is a means of political expression". One third, that is, 31.4%, chose "it is part of the work", and 17% chose "a public service".

Compared to other areas of the internet, the police blogosphere still has a limited reach. Among the 52 respondents that answered about the average access count in the past months, two thirds (69.2%) estimated up to 500 visits every day. And a bit more than a fourth of the bloggers (26.9%) calculate that the blog has received more than one thousand visitors a day. Even thus, bloggers notice that the contents of these pages have repercussions among their colleagues and chiefs.

In a general way, bloggers believe that they count with the support of their colleagues (91.8%). As to the higher ranks of their hierarchies, evaluations are mixed. Only 24.3% think that they approve their blogs. One fifth (20%) think that they reprobate and a similar share (21.4%) think that they are indifferent.

The fear of retaliations still regulates the police blogosphere. Of 73 interviewees, 27 said that they have been already censured or repressed. Threats of arrest and transference come in first place, with almost 26% of the cases. Notorious cases of these reactions were registered in Rio, where the command of the Military Police punished three bloggers, and in São Paulo, where the blog of a police station chief

was suspended from the internet by the Judiciary at the request of São Paulo's Civilian Police.

Police blogs have founded a new space for discussion in the Brazilian society, bypassing the hierarchic rules and the rivalries that exist inside public security institutions. Besides presenting the reality of police work and offering useful information to those who may wish to join the security forces, these blogs make regular critical analyses of the activities of the managers of these forces. Their observations reverberate among colleagues, commanders, politicians in office, the press and society. The open discussion about traditionally closed institutions favors a quality improvement in the security forces and consolidates more ethical and transparent behavior standards among commanders and their subordinates.

Through the blogs, police officers have established dialogue channels among themselves. In some states, such as Sergipe and São Paulo, these webpages have had an important role in mobilizing actions and claims. In 2009, the Military Police Commands of Goiás, Rio de Janeiro, Sergipe and São Paulo created their own blogs, announcing that they sought to establish a dialogue space with their subordinates.

Journalists also began to create their own webpages dedicated to the theme "public security and criminality" to express their opinions, to recall forgotten issues, to establish new sources and to answer the demands of readers. The increase in the number of these webpages tends to accelerate the professional qualification of reporters and editors in these fields since the 1990's.

INTRODUCTION

From Shooting to Twitter

The proliferation of blogs and their impact on the sphere of public security became our research theme starting in the final months of 2008. As coordinators of the area of Media and Violence in the Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship (CESeC), at the Cândido Mendes University, we had followed since 2007 the blogs created by the main newspapers of Rio de Janeiro – *O Globo, Extra, O Dia* and *Jornal do Brasil* – and the differentiated coverage that they made about the themes related to police and to criminality. The creation of these webpages represented a revolution in the coverage of public security in Rio de Janeiro. Themes that our previous researches had shown to be either rare or inexistent in the newspaper pages – policy of salaries and work conditions in the police forces, nominations and transfers of officers, human rights, actions by internal procedures' offices (*corregedorias*), community projects, filed investigations – were frequently dealt with and even highlighted in the blogs. The absence of the limits of the printed press and the narrower public segment, along with the need to offer different information from the data found in the printed publications added up and produced a meticulous, constant and critical internet look about crime and security forces.

But these were not the only good news introduced by the blogs of the newspapers in the security discussion. The participation of readers, through their comments to each text, or 'post' in the bloggers' jargon, has introduced new analyses and information, and created communities of individuals interested in the themes. According to reporter Jorge Antônio Barros, creator of the blog *Repórter de Crime* of the newspaper *O Globo*: "The main goal of the blog was to form a network of concerned citizens. A type of information network on prevention against urban violence and criminality". In these webpages, voices who otherwise wouldn't have been heard, could communicate directly with the journalist. Reporter Gustavo Almeida recalls:

The newspaper would not publish a letter by a policeman saying that a high-rank officer was demanding one hundred reais from him. There were no articles about this, there was no way how an article about this could be written. So the internet started to be a place where people could voice their complaints, pass things on and exchange information among themselves.

For these reasons, we noticed that the journalistic blogs had become necessary information sources, not only for us specialists and researchers, but also for the general readers. They are hosted by sites with broad visibility and have rapidly achieved great popularity – the blog *Reporter de Crime* can reach the mark of 60 thousand visitors in a month. *Casos de Polícia*, the blog of the *Extra* newspaper, has reached 250 thousand accesses per month.

As the following pages show, Rio de Janeiro is the state with the largest number of blogs. But far from being a Rio de Janeiro phenomenon, this medium has had a nationwide reach. In Recife, the capital with the highest homicide rates in the country, four journalists created in May 2007 the *PE*

Body Count, an independent blog that accounts for daily violent deaths in the state. Instead of depending on official statistics, journalists would make daily calls to hospitals, police stations and mortuaries to collect data on homicides of the previous day. At noon, the site was updated with the new cases.

This work alone was already enough to render the blog the prizes that it won: the Tim Lopes Prize for Investigative Journalism and the Vladimir Herzog Amnesty and Human Rights Prize, both in 2008. However, the cases denounced by the *PE Body Count* went beyond the text: the journalists created project *Marcas da Violência* (Violence Marks), which marked the places of the deaths with drawings of bodies on the floor, and they launched a homicide's counter, which was shown on an electronic panel set on one of the busiest streets of the capital. From story-tellers, the journalists became news characters in the world press, as stated by reporter Eduardo Machado in an interview to the French newspaper *Le Monde*[1]:

Through the body count, we called the attention of the population and of the public powers to Pernambuco's violence. Beyond the concern and the passive astonishment, we contributed to the search for collective solutions. It is difficult, but it is possible.

However, journalistic sites are only the iceberg's tip – the most visible, but the smallest and, maybe, the least important tip – of the police blogosphere. The larger part of this virtual community is made of blogs signed by police officers. Since 2005, when Roger Franchini (then working as Civilian Police Investigator in the city of São Paulo) created *Cultcoolfreak*, a website that is still online, the webpages have quickly proliferated. Little by little, their links began to be visible at the pages of journalists, sites on public security and other places. Specialized reporters became used to reading the pages of police officers, in search of their materials and analyses. In these blogs, the backstage of notoriously closed institutions became finally visible. Accusations of corruption, abuses, lack of preparedness

and resources, low salaries – all these questions came to the fore in the blogs.

This trend did not go unnoticed by the commanders of the military polices. In Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the blogs of officers were the target of repression by their chiefs – and this is a proof that the contents of these webpages had already sufficient repercussion to be taken as bothersome. In September 2008, Major Wanderby Medeiros of Rio de Janeiro's Military Police was submitted to an administrative investigation for "unduly criticizing a higher level of the hierarchy". At that same period, Major Roberto Viana was punished with 12 days of administrative arrest for comments of solidarity with Major Wanderby in a text posted in his blog. In October 2008, the blog "Flit Paralisante" of Police Station Chief Roberto Conde Guerra was suspended from the web by a decision of the Internal Procedures' Office (*Corregedoria*) of the Civilian Police of São Paulo. In December of the same year, Captain Luiz Alexandre was investigated by the Internal Procedures' Office of the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro for denouncing that military police officers were using arms and vehicles of the Civilian Police without legal authorization. And in March 2009, Colonel Ronaldo Menezes was arrested for having posted the article "*A perversidade do bico e a privatização da segurança*" – "The Perversity of Private Ad Hoc Jobs and the Privatization of Security" – on the webpage of Colonel Ricardo Paúl.

Taken altogether, these facts leave no room for doubt: the emergence of blogs was a renewing presence in the field of public security, which would certainly have increasing repercussions for the sector in the future. To explore this new phenomenon, UNESCO issued a public notice and selected the CESeC researchers to investigate who are the bloggers dedicated to the themes of police, criminality and public security in Brazil, and which are the characteristics of the blogs that they keep. In March 2009, the International Seminar on Media and Violence took place in Rio de Janeiro, supported

by the embassies of Canada and United States of America, in partnership with UNESCO, CESeC and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, including a panel on the theme of "New Medias", with the presence of Canadian blogger Mauricio Segura and Journalist Jorge Antônio Barros, author of blog *Repórter de Crime*, of the newspaper *O Globo*. Segura also took part in a workshop on blogs in the same event. In April, the round table on blogs at the Brazilian Public Security Forum*, which took place in the city of Vitória, collected testimonials of other blog authors. Along with Jorge Antonio Barros, the following took part in the meeting: Eduardo Machado (*PE Body Count*); Lieutenant Danillo Ferreira (*Abordagem Policial*) and Soldier Robson Niedson (*Diário do Stive*).

After interviewing and consulting some of the more active members of the police blogosphere, we produced a 35-question survey to be filled in through the internet. Thanks to the support of bloggers Danillo Ferreira, Robson Niedson, Roger Franchini and Alexandre Souza, we received a surprising number of replies. By late 2008, Danillo Ferreira and Alexandre Souza had listed all known webpages of the police blogosphere, whose number had reached 59. However, no less than 73 blogs in 20 states were identified by the CESeC/UNESCO research.

The Internet has been proving itself as an instrument able to bring about a revolution in all fields of human activity. Economics, culture, politics, journalism and advertising are some examples of areas that have been and are being radically changed by the birth of the virtual universe. The quick spread of information, the horizontality of relations, the emergence of social networks around topics of common interest, the transparency, the possibility of direct contact between service providers and users – all these elements are evident characteristics of a new reality. They are also changing the public security scene and are having deep impacts on the police forces.

Until recently, police forces were based on strict hierarchic principles, were bound by secrecy, and did not deem it necessary to explain their activities to the society. The distinct forces had little or no relations among themselves, and it was common for members of one institution, such as the Military Police, to manifest distrust and even animosity towards the colleagues of another institution, such as the Civilian Police. The blogs are overturning hierarchy in the quarters and police stations (a soldier's blog can be as important as a colonel's) and creating channels of exchange among the police forces, and between the police forces and other groups and institutions. The commands themselves have already noticed the importance of the phenomenon: the general commanders of the Military Polices of Goiás and Rio de Janeiro created their institutional blogs, and the commander of the Military Police of São Paulo has announced the intention of also creating his own webpage. In Sergipe, a blog of the institution has just been launched. Maybe there will be a moment in the future when public security should depend less on shootings and more on Twitter.

Profile of the police blogger

The first surprise revealed by this research was the number of answers. Between May 18 and June 8, a questionnaire with 35 questions was available at the CESeC website, to be filled through the internet (methodological and technical details on the research are described by Annex 2). In spite of the traditional low level of spontaneous participation in surveys and social researches, at the deadline we gathered a much larger number of participants than we had expected: 73 bloggers, authoring 70 blogs (in two blogs more than one author answered the questionnaire). It is difficult to estimate the total universe of police blogs, as it grows day by day and is changeable. At any rate, all available signs lead to the conclusion that our survey reached quite close to the total universe in the internet, i.e., it presents a quite representative sample of the total blogs.

States and Regions. Taking the two main sources on the theme, the section *Blogosfera Policial* of blog *Abordagem Policial* and the reference blog *Blogosfera Policial*, we find the following data:

Blogs in each State of the Federation

	Blog *Abordagem Policial*[2]	Blog *Blogosfera Policial*[3]	Research CESeC/UNESCO[4]
Alagoas	1	-	-
Amapa	1	1	1
Amazonas	-	-	1
Bahia	6	4	3
Ceara	3	-	1
Distrito Federal	4	4	1
Goias	6	4	7
Mato Grosso	2	2	1
Minas Gerais	5	2	10
Para	1	1	1
Parana	-	-	2
Pernambuco	1	1	-
Piaui	2	2	1
Rio de Janeiro	29	27	22
Rio Grande do Norte	1	1	2

continues

2. Data available on August 6, 2009.
3. Data available on August 6, 2009.
4. Data collected between May 18 and June 8, 2009.

continuing

	Blog *Abordagem Policial*[2]	Blog *Blogosfera Policial*[3]	Research CESeC/UNESCO[4]
Rio Grande do Sul	3	3	3
Roraima	-	-	1
Santa Catarina	1	-	2
Sao Paulo	9	8	11
Sergipe	3	2	-
Others	2	3	-
Total	80	65	70

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

If we wish to visualize the number of blogs per state, we obtain the following:
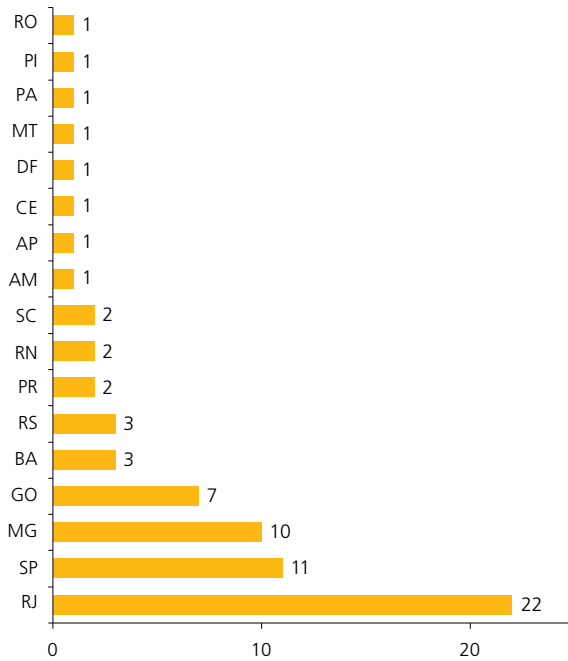
Thus, it is quite evident that the southeast region concentrates the largest number of blogs, followed by the northeast, midwest, south and north.

Corporations and institutions. When we look at the origin of the bloggers, that is, the institutions from where they come, we arrive at the following table[5]:

Institution where one is serving or has served

	N°	%
Military Police	43	58.9
Municipal Guard	11	15.1
Civilian Police	10	13.7
Fire Brigade	3	4.1
Association of Military	1	1.4
Federal Road Police	1	1.4
Other	4	5.5
Total	73	100.0
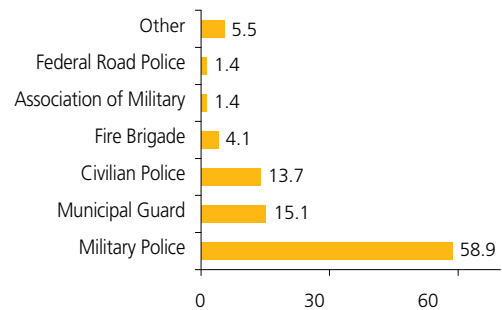
The category "other" refers to the following: journalists who, along with their careers in the media, keep specialized blogs in the theme of public security; the representative of an association of military police; and the blog of Rio de Janeiro's toll free number for denounces.

The criteria used to identify and order the police blogosphere are changeable and have mutated in order to accommodate the growth of this universe. The blog *Abordagem Policial* presented the

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5. The SENAPS, National Secretariat for Public Security of the Ministry of Justice estimates a total 720.201 public security professionals in Brazil, distributed in the following way: Military Police (56%); Civil Police (15%); Fire Brigades (9%); Municipal Guards (10%); Workers of the Prisons' System (7%); Federal Police (2%) and Federal Road Police (1%).

following distribution by institution, to categorize the 80 blogs of its database on August 6: civilian policemen (1); firefighters (3); federal road policemen (1); military policemen (75). The reference site *Blogosfera Policial* used, in the same date, additional categories to identify the origin of the bloggers. Besides military, civilian and federal police, it also had the categories: municipal guard; citizen; and security counselor. The 'citizen' category encompassed journalists, and the 'security counselor' category included the blogs of citizens who take part in community security councils. It is interesting to point out that the reference site expects blogs to register or to be indicated (through an electronic form) to become part of the webpage. Recently, in July 2009, a discussion blog on public security signed by an ex-inmate, named *Egressos em Foco*, joined the list. On this occasion, the coordinator of the reference site, Robson Niedson, wrote on an e-mail of August 16, 2009:

The criterion is to include all blogs that have public security, human rights and citizenship as their themes. New requests are registered every one or two weeks. Soon we will include new categories, such as NGOs and Civil Society Organizations of Public Concern (OSCIPs) and maybe the category of institutional blogs.

The differences of classification between the two websites allow a distinction between two conceptual tendencies. One of them is to consider only the blogs created by police officers who are part of the police blogosphere. In this case, the blogs of journalists, municipal guards, prison workers, members of security councils and other citizen leaderships would be part of the universe of public security discussions, but not of the police blogosphere. Another tendency would be to include the webpages that discuss public security in dialogue with the webpages of police officers. The prevailing trend, in this sense, points to the second option. One of the authors of blog *Abordagem Policial* presented an accurate point of view on this process, explaining that in the beginning it was necessary to characterize the exclusiveness of blogs signed by police officers, because there was the risk of diluting the initiative in relation to the general blogosphere. But as the police blogosphere became stronger, it was already possible to expand it (see below the full account of this reasoning[6]).

THE BRAZILIAN BLOGOSPHERE
First blogs in Brazil were created 11 years ago

Since 1994, when the North-American student Justin Hall launched his on-line diary – considered as one of the first blogs in the world – the internet diaries have proliferated at an unprecedented pace in the history of communications. The latest *Technorati* report – an index that monitors webpages in 66 countries and 81 languages – shows that the proliferation of blogs is a global phenomenon that is changing all sectors of human activity. According to *Technorati,* from 2002 (when monitoring began) to 2008, an approximate 133 million blogs were indexed in the world.

In Brazil, the internet figures diverge. The IBOPE institute estimates that the number of Brazilian internet users is 62,3 million. On its turn, the Center of Studies on Information Technologies (CETIC) points to 71,7 million users, of which 17% have either a blog or an internet webpage. The nationwide Campus Party research, taken as the greatest event of technological innovation and e-entertainment in the world, reveals the dynamism of the Brazilian market. Brazil was the first country

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6. Regarding the criteria for classification of the police blogosphere sites, Danillo Ferreira wrote the following e-mail on August 6, 2009: "The initial intention was to highlight police officers who wrote about their work, in the attempt to present a counterpoint to what journalists and other professionals were publishing on police and security. But nowadays, after the consolidation of the dialogue among the distinct security actors – which needs the participation of police officers, but cannot be restricted to them – we see that it is vital to expand the police blogosphere concept. I am writing a post on all blogs by municipal guards and I will soon further highlight them in the *Abordagem [Policial]*. Therefore, I'm saying that all categories of *Abordagem [Policial]* are outdated for historical reasons (the non-perception of how much the municipal guards are a part of the Public Security System, and of how much they can do for it), and for strategic reasons (to highlight the role of police officers as creators of knowledge), which are no longer necessary.

chosen for starting the international expansion of this meeting, which has taken place in Spain since 1997.

A blog can be defined as an on-line diary, or a space where its author, or *blogger,* posts his or her ideas about several themes, either personal or public, in chronologically organized texts, and where readers may manifest their impressions by posting comments. In Brazil, the first blog was created in the state of Rio Grande do Sul by Viviane Vaz de Menezes in 1998. It was written in English. In the same year, Renato Pedroso Júnior, dubbed Nemo Nox, started his "Diário da Megalópole". The emergence of host websites offering tools for the easy creation of blogs, such as Blogger and Groksoup, in 1999, allowed the quick expansion of the new medium.

In 2001, the recognition of the popularity of blogs led the *IG* web portal to become the first of its kind to create a specific area for hosting blogs, named *Blig*. At first, the blogs were places of personal expression without commercial goals. However, it did not take long for the media companies to acknowledge the potential of blogs. In January 2003, the *Terra* web portal was the first to include two bloggers in its own staff. Two years later, the web portal of the newspaper *O Globo* also created a space for its columnists to have their personal blogs.

In 11 years, Brazil has achieved a rich blogosphere, ranging from diet to politics, from sex to arts. According to the *Mundo Tecno* ranking, in 2008, the most popular blogs of Brazil discussed technology. But humor sites such as *Cocada Boa,* and journalism blogs, e.g. by Josias de Souza, also ranked high on the list.[7]

The journalistic and politics-oriented blogs are among the most successful and influential of the country. One of the pioneers in this field is Journalist Ricardo Noblat, who created his blog in 2004, as he still worked as a columnist in Rio's newspaper *O Dia.* In 2005, Noblat was already hosted by the *IG* web portal, and showed the power of the new media when he covered the investigations of the political scandal known as "mensalão" (a scheme for buying the votes of members of the Parliament). One of the central actors in the episode, Federal Representative Roberto Jefferson, mentioned the journalist's blog as a source of information during the investigations of the Parliamentary Investigative Commission (CPI). His testimonial shed a strong light on the relevance of blogs as an opinion-making resource.

Blogs have also attracted professional politicians, and many of them use this vehicle to present their own interpretations of political facts. The former Director of the Presidential Staff Office, José Dirceu, the former Governor of Rio de Janeiro state, Anthony Garotinho, and the former Mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, César Maia, employed their energies in the creation of blogs to publish news, interviews and personal opinions regarding public issues.

For celebrities, as well as for stars of the music and television world, the personal webpages represent a channel of personal contact with their audiences, bypassing the filters of the press and securing that the contents of the posted texts are precisely what is intended from their part. From vehicles of personal expression, blogs have become widely used means of publicity and visibility for professionals, and are presently used even by large corporations. Nowadays, a blog no longer means a webpage launched by a person or a group to disseminate their point of view. In the business world, a blog is any site periodically updated, where the posts are listed in chronological order and readers may manifest themselves through comments. Large companies have their own blogs, which present news on their projects and also their corporate views. With each post, a new landscape forms itself in the blogosphere.

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7. See the complete ranking on http://www.mundotecno.info/noticias/os-200-blogs-mais-populares-do-brasil-em-2008. Another ranking of 2007 by the specialist on social media Edney Souza, following a different methodology, lists a far larger number of journalism sites among the 100 most popular blogs. See in http://www.interney.net/?p=9760065.

Ranks. When we examined the ranks or positions of the 73 bloggers who replied to our form, the following distribution was found:

Rank, position or post in the institution

	Nº	%
Officer of the Military Police	26	35.6
Military Policeman	17	23.3
Municipal Guard	11	15.1
Civilian Police Inspector / Investigator	7	9.6
Non-Police	5	6.8
Civilian Police Marshal	3	4.1
Firefighter	3	4.1
Federal Road Policeman	1	1.4
Total	73	100.0

Rank	%
Federal Road Policeman	1.4
Firefighter	4.1
Civilian Police Marshal	4.1
Non-Police	6.8
Civilian Police Inspector/Investigator	9.6
Municipal Guard	15.1
Military Policeman	23.3
Officer of the Military Police	35.6
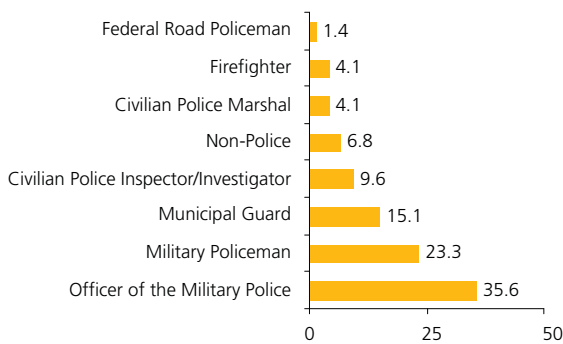
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Higher-rank officers of the Military Police appear as the most frequent category, with 35% of the respondents. Indeed, they are a strong presence in the police blogosphere. But if we add the professionals who are at the base of the institutions (Military Policemen, Agents of the Civilian Police, Firefighters, Guards and Agents of the Federal Road Police), they become the majority with 58%, whereas Officers and Police Station Chiefs, who are the commanding elite of the institutions, add up to 42%.

Maybe this is the most significant innovation and change in the field of public security produced by the police blogosphere: hierarchic links dissolve, as well as the corporate insulation of institutions. Not only civilian policemen interact with military policemen, firefighters and guards, but also policemen and officers, inspectors and police station chiefs interact and dialogue independently of their hierarchic rank. In this sense, Major Wanderby of Rio de Janeiro affirmed:

I am a police Major; it is different to create a blog as a Major than as it is as a Soldier… This is the idealist, this is the real, this is the icon; Niedson, this boy, police soldier, law student, is doing his revolution in a very clever way.

Another high-rank officer clearly said:

The police blogosphere is cool because one is able to dialogue with people from all ranks, from soldier to colonel; military policemen get to talk to civilian policemen; or military policemen to firemen; we talk with guards, with teachers, with sociologists.

The creation of this new space of discussions, bypassing the established hierarchic rules of the institutions, tends to contribute to the improvement in the administrative quality of the security forces. Some blogs took up the mission of critically analyzing the actions of the managers of the police forces, and their observations reverberate among the members of these forces, in the press and in the society. Such role of vigilance certainly favors the consolidation of more ethical and professional behavior standards, and diminishes the probability of power abuses.

The author of a Rio de Janeiro blog, known for his constant criticism of the command of the Military Police, affirms that blogs may:

Increase the plurality and the transparency of police institution, and, with God's will, inhibit misleading decisions and false policies in the sphere of public security, causing masks to fall (…). I believe in the tendency of an increasing contribution to citizenship.

A journalist from Rio de Janeiro, who is also a blogger, affirms his faith in the same positive impact:

I believe it is making public security more intelligent; not regarding its managers, but its agents, who tend to become more intelligent and to exchange more. It is said that we don't know how sausages are made, and that it is better not to know. We don't know how public security is made, but it is better to know.

Gender and age. As it could be expected, the vast majority of bloggers are male, and there are only three women among the 73 interviewees (three participants gave no answer to the 'gender' field). The trend goes on – and actually emphasizes – the tradition of public security professions. The SENASP

survey, entitled *A profile of the public security organizations* identifies 7% of women in the military police and firefighters, and 22% in the civilian police. Another survey by SENASP, of 2009, entitled *What do professionals of public security in Brazil think,* led by the RENAESP (EAD/RENAESP) Distance Teaching Network, identified 13.7% of women among all security professionals integrated in the network. Thus, under any chosen criteria, the level of feminine participation in the police blogosphere is extremely low, and this is a phenomenon to be observed in the future of the network.

Gender of the Authors

	N°	%
Male	67	95.7
Female	3	4.3
Total	70	100,0

Note: Three forms did not inform gender

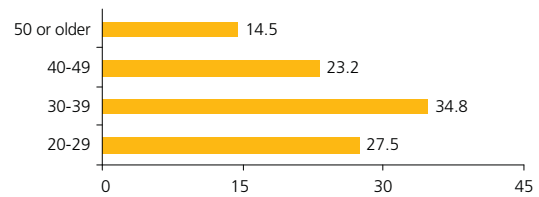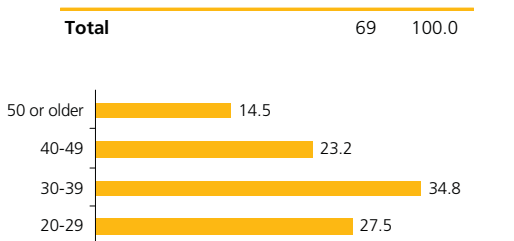Male **95.3%** Female **4.3%**

Note: Three forms did not inform gender
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

A second surprise of the research is the age of bloggers. We had imagined that young adults up to 30 years old would predominate, but this expectation did not prove correct. Adults up to 29 years old are approximately one third of the sample, whereas 30-year old adults and older amount to 72.5%. If we consider adults above 40 years old, the share is still quite representative, with 37.7% of the total participants.

Blog authors by age group

Total	69	100.0

50 or older 14.5
40-49 23.2
30-39 34.8
20-29 27.5

50 or older 14.5
40-49 23.2
30-39 34.8
20-29 27.5
0 15 30 45

Note: Four forms did not inform age
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

It is true that the youngest seem to be more familiarized with the internet, as they were already in the web before they joined the police. A 25-year old police officer stated: "It was always easy for me to write, I was good at composition, but in my youth I didn't have a diary, a little notebook… So I only started writing with blogs". For many, to create a blog about one's daily life at the institution was the natural consequence of a previously existing habit. 49% of the interviewees affirmed that they already had a blog before the current one.

Among the older bloggers, the reason to start a blog is more connected to a political motivation – to point out the problems of the police institution and of the official security policy – and to the desire to express frustrations and concerns. Their accounts portray the internet as a tool, whereas the challenge to be overcome is the lack of familiarity with its workings and possibilities:

> I used to access the internet to read news, eventually to read e-mails, and then I saw that there was the possibility to create a blog at the Google webpage or so. Little by little, I learned how to use it. I started trying and I'm still trying nowadays. My main focus is not the technological question or to improve myself in the blogosphere, not at all; this is just an accessory of my personal reality, for my profession and my convictions… I could be writing a book, but I found the blog, which is perhaps more practical, and quicker.

Others mention that they have counted with the help of the younger:

> My son had a blog. He created a blog for himself, and then he said: 'father, why won't you create a blog too?' He taught me that and I noticed that it was easy. I created a blog that didn't work well, because it was a collective page and no one would feed it. Later I created my own blog and learned to use it.

In the case of the blog *Capitão Mano,* which will be described in details further on, the beginning of all was a gift received by one officer from another. The story began with a lunchtime conversation, as the blogger described.

'Pal, I'd like to have a blog, but I don't know how to create one'. The other said: 'What is that?'. 'A blog is an internet page where we are able to post our opinions, and the readers make comments.' A few hours after that lunch, one officer called the other and said: 'Pal, go to the webpage capitaomano. blogspot.com, that is your blog. Your gift.'

Educational Level. The educational level of bloggers is expectedly high. Bloggers with college degree and either completed or ongoing postgraduate studies amount altogether to 62% of the interviewees. Those with high school level reach 12.7%. Another interesting datum is that 57.7% of all interviewees affirm that they already took part in courses of the Remote Education (EAD) program of the National Network for High Level Studies on Public Security (RENAESP), by SENASP.

Educational level of authors

	N°	%
College degree	24	33.8
Completed or ongoing postgraduate studies	20	28.2
Incomplete college studies	18	25.4
High school level	7	9.9
Basic education	2	2.8
Total	71	100.0

**Note:** Two forms did not inform educational level
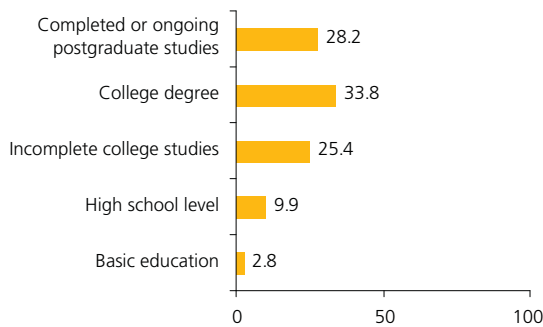
Dedication to the blog. We asked how many persons were responsible for each blog. The vast majority (70%) is maintained by one single author. We asked about the average time spent in dedication to the blog, based on the previous three months of activity, and the answers showed a great diversity. Although most had declared between two and ten hours a week, we found a relatively large number of bloggers (almost 20%) who dedicate more than 21 hours a week, that is, an average of more than three hours a day. In many interviews, it was mentioned that there are seasonalities in blogging, with some periods of intense posting followed by periods of low activity, sometimes almost reaching abandonment. Apparently, feelings of 'guilt' in relation to feeding the blogs are quite frequent in the lives of the police bloggers, as well as in the blogosphere as a whole.

Time dedicated by authors to their blogs

	N°	%
From 5 to 10 hours a week	18	24.7
From 2 to 4 hours a week	16	21.9
More than 21 hours a week	14	19.2
From 11 to 21 hours a week	12	16.4
Less than 2 hours a week	12	16.4
Other	1	1.4
Total	73	100.0
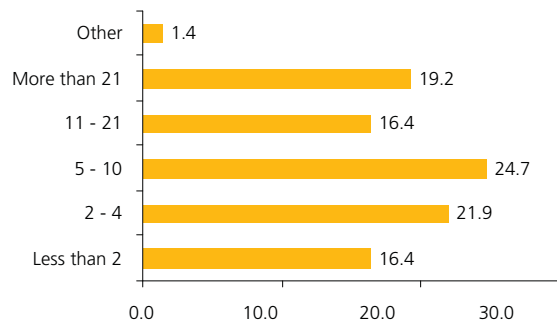
Visibility and financial returns. For the vast majority of bloggers, the hours spent with blogging are not compensated by financial returns. Only 16 of 73 interviewees affirmed that they have some type of tool for receiving some sort of income with their blogs (22%). Of these, almost all mentioned that this is done through the Adsense ads, a Google tool that enables to automatically exhibit some ads related to a visited site. Webmasters are paid each time that visitors click in their exhibited ads. This is an easy and costless mechanism, but it doesn't always produce an income. Many participants made comments such as: "I installed the Adsense last month, but so far I

didn't receive anything". A blogger clarified: "we still don't have ads that yield enough to pay for the site expenses."

Does your blog generate an income?

	N°	%
No	54	74.0
Yes	16	22.0
Other situation	3	4.0
Total	73	100.0

No
74,0%

Yes
22.0%

Other
Situation
4.0%
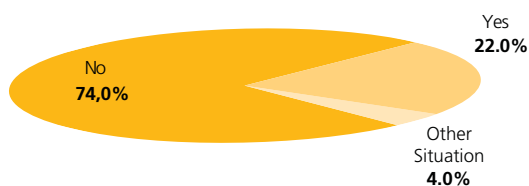
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Among those who had not adopted any income-generating mechanism, 50% stated that they would like to incorporate these resources to the blog. One interviewee directly mentioned that he wished to transform his blog in an income-generating enterprise, and an alternative to the ad hoc job dubbed 'bico', which generally happens at private security companies by a large number of police officers and firefighters in their spare hours.

The mechanisms to increase the visibility of the blogs are not professionalized either. The exchange of links, which is a natural interaction mechanism between blogs, is the most frequent. The use of social networks such as Orkut and Twitter, at the time of the survey, was made by only 55.2%. The inclusion of reference sites was mentioned by only 38.8%.

Do you use any tool to increase the visibility of your blog

	N°	%
Exchange of links among partners	46	68.7
Offline publicity (word of mouth, cards, stickers, posters, placards, etc.)	39	58.2
Inclusion in search sites (Google, Yahoo, Ask, etc)	37	55.2
Publicity in social networks (Twitter, Orkut, Myspace, etc)	37	55.2
Inclusion in blog reference sites (blogblogs, technorati, etc)	26	38.8
Inclusion in directories (Google Directory, Dmoz, Yahoo Directory)	11	16.4
Other	3	4.5

The conclusion is that the notion of a blog as a source of income, or, at least, of a compensation for the hours spent with it, is still inchoate in a field where idealism, as we shall see to the following, predominates over pragmatism.

The authors of journalistic blogs who replied to this research seem to have the same motivations. Their webpages are activities parallel to their main work. "For me, blogging is a volunteer work. I don't earn anything from it and do it outside my service hours", stated a journalist responsible for a blog[8].

Among the blogs of journalists that are part of the sample, the only one that charges a pay is the *Santa Bárbara e Rebouças,* kept by the journalist Gustavo Almeida. However, according to him, this remuneration system still hasn't produced any expressive income: "I don't earn any money with the *Santa Bárbara,* as I only have a Google Adsense[9], which, so far, hasn't even collected 50 dollars."

8. The editor of blog *Casos de Polícia* of the newspaper *Extra,* which is not among the interviewees, is the same responsible for the editorship of the police section in the newspaper, and publishes the texts sent by his reporters. Thus, the blog works as a webpage of police and public security news for the newspaper.

9. The Adsense indexes the contents of registered sites and automatically exhibits relevant ads for the readers of each site. Each time a visitor clicks on an ad, the page administrator is paid. To be paid for the first time, he or she must accumulate a minimum credit of US$100.

Profile of the police blogs

Raisons d'être. We asked the bloggers about the reasons that led them to create their own webpages. The explanations were manifold, rich in contents and long. Many answers express the belief in the blogosphere's potential for renewal, others resemble political manifestos at the birth of a social movement. A common characteristic in many testimonials is the idea that much has been said about police and policemen in the past, but nothing has been said by the security agents themselves. Debates were almost always between the professionals in the field of communications, specialists and politicians. The quick growth of the blogosphere shows the urgency with which police officers are building a space where it is possible to speak, reply and conclude in first person.

Time to speak. "While other professionals used the mainstream media to discuss the themes in which we, operators of public security, are specialists, the military policemen had their discussions limited to the quarters."

"To discuss and disseminate our points of view."

"Policemen do not come from Mars. They have opinions and families; they are subjects with duties and rights, and they are invested with a power by the society, while they are also a part of it."

"For years, the expression of ideas and judgments about common themes to public security was restricted to a small group of social scientists. The means of communication were limited to hearing the specialists, who, for the most part, had their own theoretical frameworks on the theme – reached through abstract studies. With blogs, the regular media channels stopped being the only ones for the theme, and the discussion expanded."

Time to change. "It is the understanding that the scene is not good at all, and the hope that other people may have the same perception as I do."

"It is a way to shout and to be effectively heard, which, as a rule, I cannot do in my institution"

"It was about time democracy arrived at the police institutions, ending with the outdated prejudice that a military cannot voice an opinion that is displeasing to his superiors."

Time to show. "To show a bit of the police world. This is an opportunity to show the policeman's reality. The media only highlights the negative news, and that gives the impression that all the police institution does is a misleading work."

"The search for a means of communication through which I could express my impressions on mistakes and successes in the sphere of public security.

"To show a vision of public security from the standpoint of someone who is inside the corporation."

"To show the daily life and the backstage of the police."

Time to protest. "To inform the population of the naked and crude reality, and not to endorse the mask sold by the government."

"In the beginning it was about unloading, and later on, it became a dissemination tool for news on illegal and arbitrary decisions by the government and the command."

"To use the blog as a speaking place. In the quarters, the military policemen cannot voice his opinion, suggest or claim anything, but our blog is a democratic space."

Time to inform. "To do the institutional marketing of my sector."

"A need to disseminate our work and the improvements that the Municipal Guards are experiencing, along with the notion of how important they can be for public security."

Time to collect and exchange. "To build a collective and personal memory, with photos and texts, to be a scribe of my own history, of the history of the sector and of the institution."

"To experience a new form of interaction between the police and society, although not an official one, for the construction of a future institutional project."

In spite of their diversity, the answers yield the glimpse of a police ethos that is predominating in the blogosphere: love to the profession and to the carrier, responsibility in the discussions of public security, desire to be heard and acknowledged, and the desire to change and to have a voice in changes.

As a synthesis effort, we categorized each answer in one of the four groups that, in some way, characterize the predominating lines among the existing blogs. Although many answers could be placed in more than one group, the quantitative result indicates that the predominating line is the policemen's ability to create and express their own point of view on security and justice (55.6%). In second place, there are many blogs, especially the blogs of municipal guards, concerned with the data of their own professional group and the dissemination of collective "agendas" of their interest. Then come the blogs with the foremost goal of denouncing injustices and manipulations by governments, commands and the mainstream media[10]. Lastly, come the blogs dedicated to show the internal reality of corporations to the external world.

Reasons that led you to create a blog

	N	%
To inform, publicize and update	19	26.4
To express viewpoints	40	55.6
To fight against injustices	10	13.9
To increase self-esteem	3	4.2
Total	72	100.0
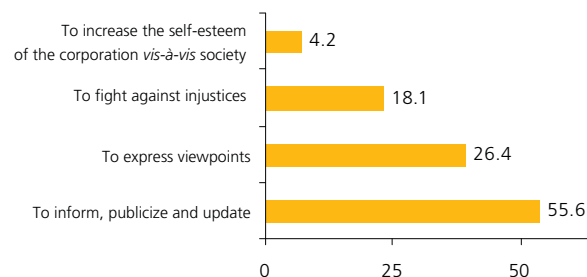
Note: one form did not answer the question.
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

The categorization above was inspired by the excellent reasoning of Danillo Ferreira on the objectives of the police blogosphere, posted in his site *Abordagem Policial,* which ended up adopted by many blogs (*Diário de um PM, Blogosfera Policial* and others). According to Danillo, in a text dated February 9, 2009, the blogosphere has three basic objectives: internal interaction (policemen writing for policemen); external interaction (policemen relating themselves to non-policemen; and making claims (activism by the military). One example of the first group would be the blog *Blitz Policial* and the networks such as Orkut. About the second type, the most successful blogs are *Diário de um PM*, *Aspiras do Brasil* (targeted at young candidates for the public entrance tests to the police academy) and the *PM Tube* (host of videos and images of police actions). The typical examples of the last type are Major Wanderby's blog and *Flit Paralisante* by Police Station Chief Guerra, of São Paulo. According to the blogger:

> The fame of both is directly proportional to the retaliations against their work in the blogs". Ferreira points out that the three categories are inter-related and that the blogs have the three aspects[11].

As new webpages are created in the police blogosphere, other blogs emerge that do not fit precisely in these categories. In the case of blog *O Grito de Ana (Ana's Scream),* Military Policeman André Luiz

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10. It is curious that the "political" or ideological" line of most blogs seems to incline towards defending the freedom of expression and towards criticizing hierarchy and strictness of discipline. Few are the blogs that exalt militarism and the perpetuation of rituals and traditions. One explanation for this bias would be the perception that the internet and the creation of blogs represent a challenge to these traditions, as it was explained by Danillo Ferreira, responsible for blog *Abordagem Policial.* "In the Police Blogosphere as a whole, we notice the presence of conservatives – but they are the minority. I suspect that things are so because the blog is seen not only as a tool, but as a cause of those who never had the opportunity to speak out and express themselves. These formerly 'muted' individuals are generally not conservative, as they wish to express their desire for changes."

11. The link to the text is: <http://abordagempolicial.com/2009/02/os-objetivos-da-blogosfera-policial/>

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Souza e Silva decided to approach gender violence as a way to advance with the theme of his MSc paper (see below). Thus, it is a type of activism mixed with academic research and also with a professional interest – André seeks to be active in the fight against domestic violence in the Military Police of Minas Gerais. The blog and the work as a military police agent enrich each other mutually in a virtuous circle.

But the question arises: is the categorization above consistent with the answers provided to the field: "blogging, as an activity, is?". Five mutually exclusive options were offered. 40% checked "a means of political expression. One third, that is, 31.4% answered "part of my work", and 17% answered "a public service". Of the four who answered that to be a blogger is "mainly for fun", one stated it as "a hobby", another as "a therapy", and another as "a type of amusement in which I am able to help my colleagues have more access to information (…) thus dignifying the name of the corporation". One blogger stated that to be a blogger is "unfailing uselessness… at least in my case so far!"

Blogging, as an activity, is:

	N°	%
A means of political expression	28	40.0
Part of my work	22	31.4
A public service	12	17.1
Mainly for fun	4	5.7
More important than my work	4	5.7
Total	70	100.0

Note: Three forms did not answer this question.
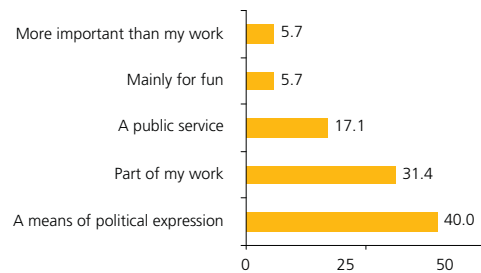
Note: Three forms did not answer this question.

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

TARGETTING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
After writing an academic paper, a military policeman created a blog on the theme

André Luiz Souza e Silva, 29 years old, from Vitória, created his blog as an extension of the field in which he was researching. Five years ago in the Minas Gerais Military Police, he picked gender violence as the theme of his postgraduate paper in Studies on Crime and Public Security at the Center for Studies on Crime and Public Security (CRISP) – www.crisp.ufmg.br –, Federal University of Minas Gerais, where he studied in 2006.

André took lessons with the scholar Marlise Matos, who is a specialist in the theme, and he had already acted in situations of domestic violence. "I connected the classes with my previous experiences of the street. The theme started to call my attention and I thought: I will write my paper on that."

Supervised by Marlise Matos, Andre's paper is entitled "The Military Police of Minas Gerais and Marital Domestic Violence against Women". André's abstract defines the text as a proposal:

To create a specific statistics code for the crime of marital domestic violence against women. The inclusion of this code in the statistics system of cases of the Military Police of Minas Gerais would allow the production of quantitative data on assistance to situations with that criminal nature, which, once transformed into information, would become an additional and safe source of data for combating this type of violence and disrespect to the human rights of women.

In the lines of the text, André affirms:

The Military Police is a strategic institution in the system of social defense, inasmuch as the policeman is normally the first one to arrive at the place, and the first to report the facts. It will be a great contribution for the fight against the violation of

the human rights of women to have an efficacious and efficient participation of the Military Police, both in assisting the cases and in producing statistical data, which will be used as inputs for researches and public policies.

In 2008, after the end of his postgraduate program, André started to reflect on themes for applying to a MSc. Researching in the internet, he found the police blogs. In the beginning of April 2009, he returned to Vitória to take part in the Brazilian Public Security Forum, where he attended the round table on blogs. He already knew the work of Jorge Antonio Barros from the blog *Repórter de Crime,* and it was his name that convinced him to watch the panel. After attending Barros' talk, he became enthusiastic about having his own blog. "I found myself there. And I started to visit the sites."

He still did not have a theme for his blog. Upon reflection, he concluded that it was better to write about the theme that he had already researched. This is how the blog *O Grito de Ana* emerged.

> I chose this name to represent all women who suffered with aggressions. In the week when I was working out the blog idea, I picked a newspaper from Minas Gerais and two women named Ana had been violently killed. One of them appeared dead in the car, on the side of her son. The other had disappeared and was later found by her family in the Legal Medical Institute.

André created the blog in April. So far, the number of readers is limited. The theme, André says, is not one of the most popular. "People don't care much, they think that women are battered because they want to be battered". Most reactions are comments of colleagues who are surprised by

the fact that a man has written on violence against women.

André has a Journalism degree and is son to a retired Colonel of the Military Police of Espírito Santo. He sees the blog as a possibility of engagement and activism in the field. "When one starts to study, to grow and to identify with the topic, he wishes to make things happen, and to become a part of it". André still hasn't joined a group on domestic violence, but he has taken part in training activities to improve the assistance to the victims of this phenomenon. "There is already an effort by the military police to provide better assistance in situations of domestic violence."

The police officer still does not notice much interest by the Military Police of Minas Gerais in the blogs, but he believes that the arrival of new media forms is part of a process of quality improvement for the force.

> In the past, policemen only needed to have finished the junior high level. Nowadays, they already join the force as postgraduate students, and some go for an MSc. The salary and the intellectual background are better. All that is creating a shock with the military system. The policeman doesn't think anymore as 'a cow in a nativity scene'.

André states that the blogs "will expose to the society what the police really is, and which are its challenges and problems. This will allow the police to advance."

In spite of this conviction, André confesses that he has carefully picked a theme that doesn't lead him to a "direct confrontation". "My theme does not challenge the system. I avoid doing it. I know how militarism works."

Journalists. The presence of journalists in the police blogosphere calls the attention. Which would be the goals and the reasons for press professionals – who already count with channels to express themselves as the responsible for the daily coverage of widely read newspapers – for creating blogs and feeding them at night, on weekends or spare hours, normally with little or no support at all from their organizations?

From the testimonials of journalists, it is noticeable that their blogs emerge from the anguish produced by the daily making of newspapers. From the duty of only reporting crimes and security actions according to certain standards of objectivity, reporters feel the need to create a space where they can express their opinions, mobilize society, spread denounces and write about facts and analyses that find no space in

the pages of their communication vehicles[12]. Another important reason is the possibility of receiving information through the readers of the blog. The readers of a public security blog include many professionals who work in the area, and who, through their comments, establish a dialogue with the webpage's author, providing information that depicts their professional work.

Eduardo Machado, Journalist of the Pernambuco newspaper *Jornal do Comércio* explained that his decision to adopt the virtual media occurred during a discussion in Vitória, in April 2009:

> I had been working for the newspaper for ten years and I noticed that all that time, we were daily working in the same type of articles, as everyday I would write that someone had been killed. The only things that changed were the names of the victims, of the suspected persons and of the public authority who would give an excuse so that things could go on happening, but the article itself was practically the same. My colleagues and I saw that we, as journalists, were working as a part of this violence cogwheel. We were not reflecting, we were merely reverberating violence and allowing it to be incorporated to our landscape in a bizarre way.

For that reason, in May 2007, Eduardo and three other journalists decided to create a website "to count homicides", the *PE BodyCount*[13]. The blog reached a huge notoriety, won awards and also reached the status of a political voice in the drafting of security guidelines by Governor Eduardo Campos. The group of reporters developed street activities and performances to call the attention of the population on the trivialization of death among the young in the favelas and poor areas of the state.

Jorge Antonio Barros, author of *Repórter de Crime*, a blog with a significant repercussion in the web portal of a large media, explains:

> When I started the first blog on security, before I joined the team of O Globo's website, there was no other journalist doing this type of blog.

Ever since, I had some goals. The main of these goals was to form a network of concerned citizens to discuss against violence. The blog's key, in my opinion, is interactivity. It may be difficult, there may be annoying readers, or needy readers, and you've got to reply, but I think that this is the great thing of the blog. If a blog does not find this way, it is not a blog – it is a site. Another aspect is the option to use the text in the first person. A blog has a more alternative nature and becomes like a window for real discussions. In some cases, the journalist may be like an actor and directly interfere in the news, by asking for immediate solutions.

Journalist Gustavo de Almeida, from the city of Rio de Janeiro, created the blog *Santa Bárbara-Rebouças* in 2006. Initially, the blog was hosted by the site of the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil*. It revealed that one of the journalist's goals is to create a network of social relations.

> When I show up to do the coverage of a situation, the policeman knows who I am, how I think and if I am trustworthy. So one creates that trust network, and then it goes on in the comments. I must delete some pieces of information that arrive, because I don't know if they are solid data, but in any case, they help a lot to grasp the scene.

In the case of Gustavo, the network followed his steps even after he left the newspaper to work in other forms of media. Gustavo keeps the blog independently and regularly publishes news and comments related to public security.

Besides these blogs, there are reference blogs in the police blogosphere with a journalistic profile. The blog *Casos de Polícia e Segurança* of the newspaper *Extra*, in Rio de Janeiro, is mentioned uncountable times and appears as one of the most visited sources by bloggers, as we shall see in further detail. In spite of having a blog's name, it is collectively produced by the reporters of the newspaper, and the contents of its opinions are restricted to the articles written by guest columnists. In fact, it works as if the police

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12. CESeC's research on Media and Violence, which monitored nine southeastern newspapers in 2005, showed that 63.8% of the texts on crime, violence and public security were factual – mere news without analysis or contextualization. The theme of security policies was the main topic in only 3.6% of the articles. The complete report of the research can be read at <www.ucamcesesc.com.br>.

13. It was initially inspired in the Iraq BodyCount, a website that motivated many actions linked to human security and human rights in the world. See <http://www.iraqbodycount.org/>.

editorship of the newspaper's site dedicated itself to publicizing in-depth news along the day, or news that complement the contents of the printed *Extra*. Journalist Fábio Gusmão, editor of the site, states:

"We are a blog that looks like a site. We opted for the journalistic tone, with bits of opinions. It is the easiest way to manage a blog that is put together by a team". The newspaper *O Dia* keeps a blog since March 2008, entitled *Blog da Segurança*, running on similar lines, that is, with a journalistic profile and guest columnists.

There are still few press vehicles that opened space for crime and public security blogs by specialized journalists. One factor for explaining this small number of webpages may be the lack of interest by the professionals of the field, who may not be used to occupying the press space with opinions, and who may fear the extra load of work represented by the maintenance of a blog.

However, in all probability, the main factor for the scarcity of these blogs may be the attitude of the media groups, which still see the blogs as media competitors for the traditional news offices in regard to access to information, and which do not see the blogs as a possible source of income strong enough to justify larger investments. We could speculate – although we have not interviewed chiefs of press editorships on the topic – that, in the eyes of editorial chiefs, the reporter may end up dedicating more to his or her authorship in a blog's space than to the newspaper tasks, and this would mean a loss for the main business of a press medium. There is also the risk of opening a space of opinions for the discussion of potentially explosive themes.

It could be said that there are blogs on the equally serious themes of politics and economics, having a repercussion in the society and stimulating the authorities to provide explanations and answers. But the blogs dedicated to these themes are usually under the responsibility of specialized columnists, who are remarkably knowledgeable in their fields and have a long experience in the delicate balance between opinion and information. But at least in the press field, there are virtually no columnists exclusively dedicated to the topics of security and crime[14].

The professionals of the so-called "police sector" in the newspapers have always been seen as less qualified than those who cover economics and politics. The capacity-building process of a journalist focused on public security, which has followed the trend of increasing violence in Brazil, is recent, as pointed out in 2006 by Marcelo Beraba as ombudsman of the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* and director of the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism (ABRAJI):

> If you compare this evolution with the attention that the newspapers dedicate to fields such as economics, science and environment, it was below the observed trends of these fields. The police field goes on as a sort of 'a poor cousin', not only within the press but also in the society as whole and in the scholarly scene[15].

In spite of the scarcity of investments, since the 1990s the coverage of public security and crime has reached new quality standards and has increasingly invested in wide themes, instead of only covering the crime stories. The blog phenomenon tends to accelerate these changes. Journalists who are specialized in public security, crime and violence now count with about one hundred webpages that discuss these themes. Through these blogs, they are able to find new work threads, evaluate the impact of news and establish new sources, and these sources turn out to become central elements that contribute to the quality of the journalistic work. So far, most reporters could rely only on interviews with the spokesperson, and, rarely, on an interview with one of the managers of a corporation or secretariat. Now, journalists may establish direct contact with policemen of several ranks, origins and backgrounds.

Another important contribution of blogs to the journalistic coverage is the direct contact with readers. The journalist blogger must necessarily be in permanent contact with his or her readers, who may either applaud or reply with harsh criticism. This daily contact tends to expand the ethical demands on the journalist's activity, stimulating the reflection and discussion in the newspapers.

14. The newspaper *Zero Hora* created a specialized section on public security in 2006.
15. Ramos, S., and A. Paiva (2007), *Mídia e Violência: Novas Tendências na Cobertura de Criminalidade e Segurança no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ.

Anonymity or identification. Anonymity is a theme in permanent discussion in the blogosphere, especially in the police blogosphere, as security professionals may end up with serious problems in their carriers, and sometimes even sued and arrested for statements that they make in a blog. Of the 70 consulted blogs, only five kept a condition of anonymity[16].

Is your blog identified or anonymous?

	N°	%
Identified	65	92.9
Anonymous	5	7.1
Total	70	100.0

Identified
92.9%

Anonymous
7.1%

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Though it is quite infrequent – almost inexistent – of the police blogosphere, debating is not irrelevant. In first place, because the comments posted in a blog may be anonymous. Secondly, because some blogs started out as anonymous and, after many changes in the context of their activities, they came to identify themselves.

One of the bloggers commented: *"I have noticed that some police blogs are deliberately anonymous, in order to be in conditions to express resentment in relation to their superiors. I understand that an anonymous voice has no place in history, therefore, what they say has no value".* But an anonymous blogger clearly explained: "*this is the only thing that I've been able to do so far! I'm not satisfied about having to be anonymous and on-line! I would like to be demanding changes live and in color!"*

It is perhaps not by chance that an interviewee thus defined the activity of a police blogger: *"A silent act in order to have a voice".* A representative case of the place of anonymity in the internet activity is blog *Capitão Mano* of Sergipe, which recently had a key role in successfully mobilizing military policemen (see the following box).

AN ANONYMOUS BLOG LED A SALARY-RAISE CAMPAIGN IN SERGIPE
The success of *Capitão Mano* led the military police to create its own institutional blog

In early 2009, two military policemen were having lunch together in Sergipe. One of them said:

– Pal, I'd like to have a blog, but I don't know how to create one.

– What is that? – asked the other agent.

– A blog is an internet page where we are able to post our opinions, and the readers make comments. Many people have blogs in the internet.

– Hmm... That must be cool.

A few hours after that lunch, the officer who hadn't known about blogs called his colleague:

- Pal, go to the webpage capitaomano.blogspot.com, that is your blog. Your gift.

This is how one of the keepers of blog *Capitão Mano* describes the creation of the webpage in January 2009. This story is representative of how easily and quickly the blogs can emerge, and it is

even more impressive when one thinks about the recognition earned by *Capitão Mano* in Sergipe. With an ironic and combative spirit, the anonymous webpage became a force acknowledged by the managers of public security in the state, mobilizing its agents with a clever campaign for higher salaries, criticizing the Secretary and making denounces against commanders of the military police. The blog is so popular among the military policemen that the Military Police decided to create its own channel of communication with the troop, and launched in August the official blog *Papa Mike 1835*.

The blog is read by an average of one thousand persons per day and already has over 200 thousand accesses since its creation in January 2009. Along with the blog of the Nonprofit Association of Sergipe's Military Servants (ABSMSE), *Capitão*

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16. A fifth anonymous blog was excluded from the database, as we could not confirm its origin, and as the interviewee neither provided the blog's name, nor replied to our contact messages.

Mano was the main articulator of a mobilization strategy for the state policemen, entitled "Zero Tolerance". The strategy was disseminated through daily posts in June with the goal of pressing the Security Secretariat towards higher salaries, in an original way. The policemen started to demand that the law should be fulfilled also in their working place. The military policemen who adhered to the campaign demanded protection equipment, refused to drive police cars without a specific course, and threatened to leave their posts in prisons and police stations.

> We chose the salary issue as our core priority and worked hard on it, also adding the prerequisite of college level for entering the corporation in the carriers of policemen and officers, and in the implementation of working hours.

Thus wrote one of the blog's authors through e-mail, stating that he made a point about keeping his anonymity even as he replied to the CESeC research. The mobilization turned out to be successful: on June 26, Governor Marcelo Déda announced that salaries would be raised until 2010, with an additional of more than 90%.

According to the interviewee, this mobilization in which the military policemen demanded their rights, had stirred the troop. One example is the following:

> Before the blog, many military policemen used to work at private events [serving their superiors] in a self-forced way and for free. Nowadays, they are fully aware that they should not work, and if one forces them to work, he must denounce it at the blog and also take his superior to court.

On account of these activities, the authors say that *Capitão Mano* has been targeted by investigations and censorship attempts in Sergipe. The blogger informed:

> Some time ago, access to the blog was blocked in the quarters of Sergipe's Military Police. Due to these facts, we posted our criticism condemning such an attitude, which, unfortunately, the Pals and Sisters were able to bypass through the Google search engine. In the present, as they understood that they cannot block it, they started to create mechanisms to prevent that readers make comments and other virtual mechanisms to send viruses, etc. On the top of that, we were

recently informed that the State Public Prosecutions Office asked help from the Federal Police in order to find out the place from where Capitão Mano is posting his messages, that is, it is trying to find out the IP address of the computer used by Capitão Mano. We already said that this search will be in vain, but be our guest.

The authors labeled their blog as the product of a collective work. Their collaborators, according to the interviewee, are individuals from "18 to 100 years old", "from the first rank to the officer ranks, both in active service and reserve, besides civilian police pals who follow our activities". All of them have "completed a college degree". When asked about how many people work in the blog, the blogger replied: "approximately seven thousand persons" – or, as he further explained, "the estimated number of active military policemen and firefighters in Sergipe". "Nowadays", he goes on:

> Capitão Mano has become all those, either civilian or military, who are outraged with the unfulfilled law. It is the person whose voice is not heard. It is the Brazilian worker who does not understand why there are injustices, privileges, undue benefits, abuses, and encroachments on public resources.

In their posts, the blog's authors link the creation of their webpages to a "repressed demand" by the policemen's means of expression. Thus, this blog, as much as others, would be:

> An answer "to the denial of the human and fundamental rights of the military, in the federation and in the states (…). How could it be that someone, under the justification of preserving hierarchy and discipline, and all the more in peace times, curtail human and fundamental rights, such as the assembling right?

After the salary campaign, *Capitão Mano* has incorporated new themes, defending the unification of all military polices in Brazil and the discussion at the National Conference of Public Security (CONSEG). An August post created a heated polemic by reporting cases of transit rule braking by policemen. "We've got to reexamine our attitudes. Policemen can never be above the law! How would they be in condition to ask from the population a thing that they do not do on their part?"
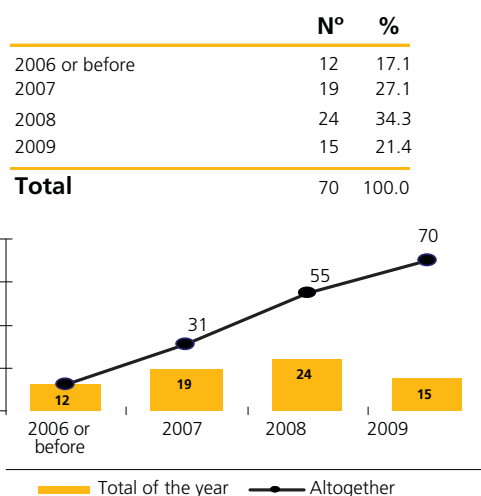
According to the author, the website's mission is "to create a collective awareness of institutional

themes of the Sergipe Military Police". For the "pals", the emergence of dozens of police blogs in Brazil points to a more promising future in the security area. "We understand that there will be a stronger professionalism, with a consequent improvement in the use of the available workforce, and a cutting down in the abuse situations", states the blogger, in reference to procedural deviations by policemen, such as drivers and those who must work in the security of events promoted by the commanders. In Sergipe, at least, the creation of an institutional military police blog, announced as a dialogue vehicle between the command, the corporation and the citizens at large, signals towards the beginning of an opening and democratization process that will certainly have positive effects.

The time of creation. The first blog of the police blogosphere was created in June 2004 (see the box of the interview with Roger Franchini, creator of *Cultcoolfreak*). Of the 70 blogs that replied to the research, only 12 had been created in 2006 or before. This also means that the phenomenon is extremely recent and is expanding steadily, in spite of its exuberance. It also means that it tends to grow. Taking the year of 2009 alone, between January and early August, 15 new blogs were created. In all probability, in the second semester of 2009, as the present research is issued, new pages are still arising in the web.

When was the blog created?

	Nº	%
2006 or before	12	17.1
2007	19	27.1
2008	24	34.3
2009	15	21.4
Total	70	100.0

Total of the year ▬ Altogether

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

"THE BLOGS ARE AN ESCAPE VALVE"
Roger Franchini, creator of the pioneer Cultcoolfreak, questions the blogs' power to change the police

Roger Franchini, from São Paulo, decided to take the public exams for the state Civilian Police when he was a law student at the São Paulo State University (UNESP), in the city of Franca. "I always thought that working in the police was a way to have an intense social activity. The other reason was the pay. It was a good salary, around R$1.000,00, and I had no money."

Against his own expectations, he was successfully approved in July 2002. But the happy moment didn't last much. As he states, by joining the corporation, he was not hoping to use his future law diploma to try to become a police station chief. "I was disappointed right from the start. I started to see that things didn't work in a very democratic way, that all was quite linked to a close-friends policy. Only those who bowed to these schemes moved forward."

His first assignment was at the police station of Pedregulho, a city of about 14 thousand inhabitants located 80 kilometers from Franca. "I had a real hard time going to classes. I was traveling by bus and had to leave earlier to get there in time. But the marshal wouldn't accept it."

In those early times, Roger felt the lack of preparation and structure to fulfill the function.

Things were very amateurish. I was in the academy for four months and never saw an Incident's Note (*Boletim de Ocorrência*). I had to learn everything by doing. They sent me to the police station without arms, and I worked one month and a half without an arm. I even got to accompany an arrested man without an arm.

It was in that same police station in Pedregulho that the blog considered as the first of the police blogosphere was born in June 2004.

> We got an internet space and began to have e-mail. The ICQ wave was on with message exchanging. At the weekends, I would be 24 hours extra, even 48 hours, alone in the police station, with no other person in that huge building. I'd been in the police for a month and the police station was left under my responsibility; the police station chief would only show up when something more serious happened and we would call him.

Internet was the great amusement in those lonely hours.

> I started having friends through the ICQ chat. This is how I met Olívia, who is presently my wife. She writes police fiction and I became interested for the things that she writes, as she would send them to me. I had some written things too, so I sent them to her and she asked me: 'Why won't you open a blog? Instead of keeping things in the drawer and running the risk of losing them, you can post them in a blog'.

In July 2004, Roger created his first blog, named *Hollow Point* – the English nickname of the dum dum bullets, which shatter as they reach their target. After five months, Franchini was called to take part of a blogging community named *Verbeat* (www.verbeat.org). It was necessary to move out of the host to take part in the new website, and Roger also decided to change the name of the blog, thus adopting the title *Cultcoolfreak*. He wrote the first post of the new blog on December 31, 2004.

> I had no intentions at all to make a public security blog, a police blog, out of it. I didn't have an audience, nobody read that. I would speak about the daily life at the police station, about my grandparents, about Marlon Brando's passing, and so on. It was a personal diary, a simple one, that spoke of my breakfast, of the clothes that were not ironed, and, at the same time, it also spoke of an episode like when I carried out a search order and the lady in the house received us well, served us coffee and cheese. It was a bit cult, and a bit freak. I felt that the name sounded well.

The postings on the daily life at the police station ended up attracting the readers. "People began to be interested because they noticed that it was about the routine of an investigator. Ale [Alexandre Souza, creator of blog *Diário de um PM*] was one of the first who read the blog and found it cool". One of the spaces of propagation was the Civilian Police community in the Orkut, where Roger was taking part.

> "Police investigators started to talk about my posts", recalls Roger. One case in particular called the attention: "There was a strong discussion on a post that I did when I heard a policeman asking for help on the radio. The person was dying in front of him and he was calling the Central radio, asking it to send rescue. The Central did not reply and would be mute. He called many times, and then there was silence. Then he said: 'CPol: cancel the rescue and send a car to pick up the corpse, because the person died'. I found this shocking and posted the story on the blog. It then echoed throughout Orkut, people said that it wasn't true. They wanted to know where the case had happened, and wanted to take the question to the Internal Procedures' Office."

The post attracted aggressive comments.

> One police station chief said that I was a liar, and that he didn't work for the same police for which I worked. After that he would be on my back, calling me a rat and a traitor. First he said that I was not a policeman, then he began writing offensive things about posts.

The repercussion shaped the blog.

> Little by little, the blog's profile was changing. I noticed that people wanted to read police stories and were outraged about the situation of policemen. It moved on from such a personal thing towards having a more intense role.

A new change took place as Roger was leaving the Civilian Police in December 2008. It was triggered by an episode of October 2007, when entertainer Luciano Huck of *TV Globo* published an article on the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* about his watch being robbed in São Paulo city. "Supposedly, Huck was robbed of his watch and was angry at the city police, saying that it didn't do anything, and he also made fun of it: 'Call Captain Nascimento [leading character of movie *Tropa de Elite*] that he will solve this', as Roger recalls.

Huck's article spoke of the robbery episode and of other situations that had happened with people

he knew. He asked: "Where are the police? Where is the 'Elite of the Squad'? Who knows even the 'Elite Squad'! Call Captain Nascimento! It is about time we really discuss public security."

Roger sent an e-mail to the newspaper, and claimed to have used "the same irony as Luciano Huck":

> "As policemen at the combat frontline against crime (all those who are not police station chiefs or officers of the military police), we know where Luciano Huck's 'stolen Rolex'– a metaphor for the graal of Brazilian public security – is."

> "But I'm not going to exchange bullets with thugs for a basic monthly salary of R$568,29 (and now, without the meal tickets worth R$80,00, taken away in August 2007)."

> "I'd rather run risks at private security jobs to raise my children. If Huck is not happy with us, he can join the Cansei ['Fed up'] movement and ask Governor Serra why his party PSDB is so angry at the city police, and why has it kept us so miserable for 14 years."

> "I wanted to register, but will they accept a penniless policeman?"

> Roger Franchini

The case had an unexpected repercussion for Roger. "The newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* distorted my words; we don't expect that a journalist fails to understand an irony. The headlines were published: 'Policeman says that he knows where Huck's Rolex is, but that he will not go after it'.", laments the blogger. They went to the police to find out who was Roger, and interviewed my chief". The Civilian Police reacted with the same tone. It started a criminal process to investigate Roger for prevarication, and Marshal/ Internal Procedures' Officer (*Corregedor*) Francisco Campos declared: "If he knows where Huck's Rolex is, he should have apprehended it or communicating their superiors of its place."

Roger remembers the case with bitterness:

> It was a Kafka-like experience. I had to explain to the police station chief that it was a metaphor, in a very didactic way. He opened the Aurelio dictionary in front of me to know if I were right. Simply to be investigated through a criminal process, the means used against thugs, that was humiliating.

The case was a highlight of magazines and newspapers, and ended up filed by the Public Prosecutions Office. The public prosecutor at the process considered that the investigation was an attack against the rule of law, and that the investigator had used his freedom of expression. "Thank God it fell on the hands of someone who knew how to read", comments Roger.

With this episode, the policeman was convinced that he would no longer find a propitious working environment in the Civilian Police. He asked to be removed of the corporation and, with his approval in the OAB exams [for obtaining a lawyer's license], he finally moved on to the profession of a lawyer. For a while, he left the blog untouched.

> That story was such a huge trauma. I woke up with three policemen in my house, ready to take me up to the internal procedures' office. So I thought: 'if a 13-line trifle has triggered such a mess, then one would have me easily hanged for the blog as a whole.'

The webpage was suspended for three months. "It only regularly returned after my leave was published in the Official Gazette. Because, if one wished to censor it, it would be easier to defend myself. After leaving the corporation, Roger did not quit writing on public security questions and on the police. He returned ready to expose the truculence of the state government against public servers who did not agree with the guidelines. "I feel I am a type of spokesperson for the civilian policemen of São Paulo". The tone of the webpage also changed.

> After leaving, I felt freer to speak about the police. It is the same blog nowadays, but it goes deeper. Before, it was more poignant with irony. Now I can analyze more, I've got more consistent bibliographic references. I've noticed that with the lawyer practice, with the contact with the jurisprudence, I moved on towards a technical analysis of the facts, of judicial decisions, of the policeman's role, etc.

Regarding his pioneering work, Roger says:

> I don't like to call the spotlights saying that I was the one who created this or that. The blogosphere went on developing itself, collectively and gradually arising. Blogs would grow by themselves anyway, even if they didn't know about each other's existence.

This happened, in his view, due to the following reason:

São Paulo's Civilian Police is a living factory of madmen and oppressed. It forces the individual to do things with which he disagrees, and which he dislikes, and it doesn't let him tell anyone about them. The blogs are an escape valve.

The ex-policeman also recalls the mobilization role that blogs such as *Capitão Mano* and *Soldado PI* have over the colleagues. In São Paulo, according to him, blogs have been a key element for organizing the Civilian Police strike in August 2008.

The first way to fight against a strike is to say that it does not exist. As the government said that the number of policemen in strike was paltry, one knew through the internet that there were entire cities without policemen in the streets, police stations, booths, etc.
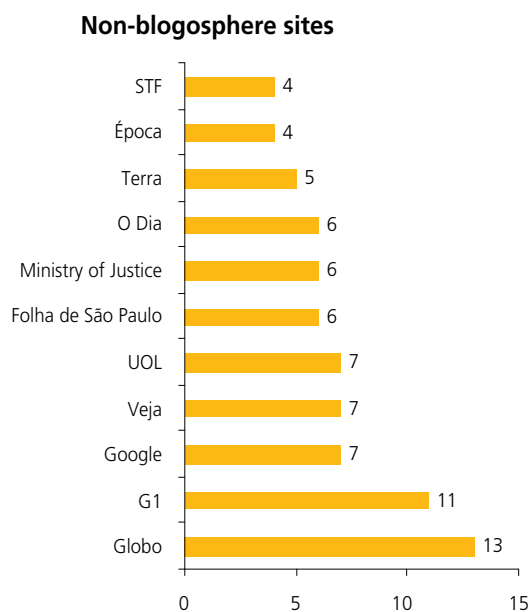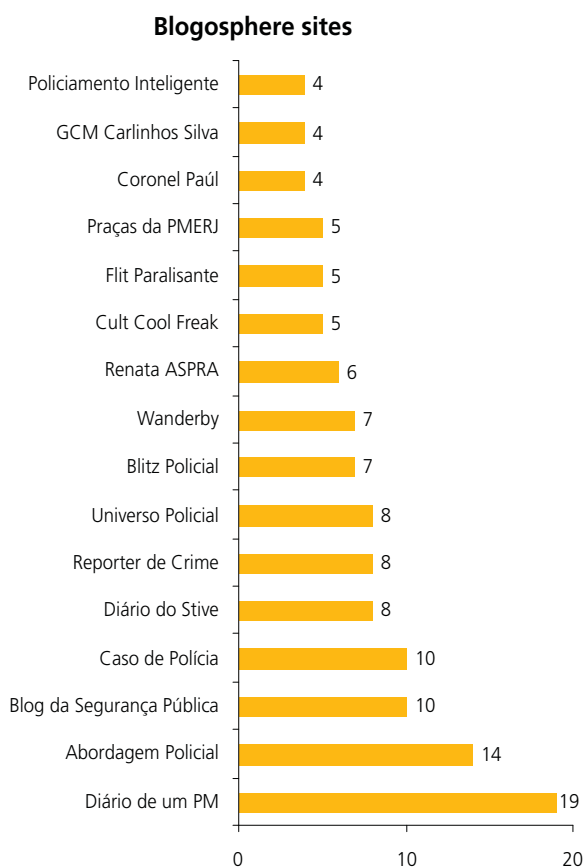
The strike wouldn't have lasted without the blogs. It was in the internet, through blogging and through the Orkut that policemen of the whole state could dialogue and debate.

In spite of this, Roger said that he no longer has the same liveliness to use the blog as a trench, and to constantly dedicate himself to the webpage. He believes his book *Ponto Quarenta: a Polícia Civil de São Paulo para Leigos* (Point Forty: São Paulo's Civilian Police for Laymen), published in February 2009, is the most positive result of the blog:

I think frustration with inefficaciousness as a lonely voice is what unmotivates me most about writing. I've been speaking, speaking and speaking for six years, and what did I receive? A veiled expelling from the police and a whistleblower-reputation. Those who are responsible for all that go on making money through encroachment in the state Civilian Police. I still don't know if creating the blog was worth it all. Who hears me? Muted policemen, who have no power to change the institution and must go with the flow. A demolition ball came right on my face. I write because it does me well. Do not count me in for revolutions.

Which blogs and websites do blogging policemen consult? The interviewees answered two questions with open and spontaneous lists of quotations. The answers converged a lot, especially regarding the police blogosphere pages. One of them mentioned that searching occurs through the site *Blogosfera Policial*, two mentioned *Twitter,* one stated that he had a list of links in his own site, and another said to have used a feed index.

Blogosphere sites

Site	Value
Policiamento Inteligente	4
GCM Carlinhos Silva	4
Coronel Paúl	4
Praças da PMERJ	5
Flit Paralisante	5
Cult Cool Freak	5
Renata ASPRA	6
Wanderby	7
Blitz Policial	7
Universo Policial	8
Reporter de Crime	8
Diário do Stive	8
Caso de Polícia	10
Blog da Segurança Pública	10
Abordagem Policial	14
Diário de um PM	19

Non-blogosphere sites

Site	Value
STF	4
Época	4
Terra	5
O Dia	6
Ministry of Justice	6
Folha de São Paulo	6
UOL	7
Veja	7
Google	7
G1	11
Globo	13

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Frequent readers, control and access count. We asked the bloggers which would be, in their opinion, the most frequent blog readers.

In your opinion, who are the most frequent readers of your blog?

	N°	%
Colleagues or friends (in my corporation)	62	86.1
Other bloggers	56	77.8
Colleagues or friends (from other forces)	51	70.8
Curious visitors	42	58.3
Persons willing to join the forces	39	54.2
Authorities in public security	37	51.4
Journalists	36	50.0
Students	27	37.5
Ex-policemen	25	34.7
Other	4	5.6
I don't know	2	2.8

Colleagues in the corporation were pointed at in 86% of the cases. Bloggers definitely feel that they talk to their peers. But the colleagues of other forces also appear with strong highlight in 70% of the cases. "Curious visitors" or "outsiders" appear in quite representative proportions with over 50% of those readers who are perceived as frequent. However, the precision of these figures is doubtful, since most of the interviewees revealed that they have little or no control over access to their blogs.

Forms of controlling access/statistics

|	N°	%
Mentioned figures, but not the source	19	26.0
Used programs such as Google Analytics	17	23.3
Does not know, is not sure, did not answer	21	28.8
Used access counters	11	15.1
Use statistics of the hosting service	5	6.8
Total	73	100.0

Only 23% of the interviewees affirmed that they have used analytical tools for the flow of visitors, and 6.8% use statistics of their hosting services. An expressive group of 15% uses mechanisms considered outdated – in contrast to the presently available free tools – as access counters. Almost one

third (28.8%) does not use access control and 26% mentioned accesses, but not their sources.

Access rates

	N°	%
Up to 500 visits per day	36	69.3
More than 1.000 visits per day	14	26.9
From 500 to 1.000 visits per day	2	3.8
Total	52	100.0

Note: 21 interviewees either did not know or could not inform the number of accesses to their blogs.
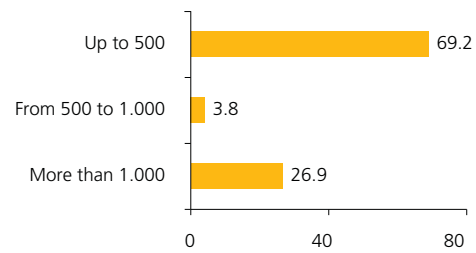
Note: No data from 21 forms.
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Of the 52 interviewees who answered about the average number of accesses in the last months, two thirds (69.2%) estimated up to 500 visits per day. And a little more than one fourth of the bloggers (26.9%) find that their blogs have received over one thousand visits per day. Lieutenant Alexandre de Sousa, from *Diário de um PM*, possibly one of the most visited blogs, estimated an average of four thousand visits per day. But he admitted:

Police blogs presently have a quite limited reach vis-à-vis other media forms, and even if compared with other blogs of the blogosphere. We'll still have to eat a whole lot of beans in order to reach them.

The impact of police blogs in the police, in the media and in the society

Responses to the blog phenomenon by police commanders and chiefs – and, in some cases, by security secretariats and state governments – have been diverse and changeable. Surprisingly, the commands and governments associated to 'progress-minded' parties have had reserved and even repressing reactions. Others, independently of their political views, were more receptive. This probably indicates that reactions to manifestations by policemen through blogs are not regulated by traditional political logics (left or right, progressive or conservative), but derive from the cultural traditions inside the corporations and from the style of police commanders and chiefs. Apparently, receptiveness or hostility towards blogs is more related to the sensibility of authorities to the changes that have occurred and will certainly occur in the general public security scene than to the previous willingness to hear the voices at the bases of the corporations along this process.

Generally speaking, bloggers believe that they count with the positive support of their colleagues (91.8%). When it comes to the higher ranks of the hierarchy, evaluations are variable. Only 24.3% think that they approve the blog. One fifth (20%) believes that they reproof blogs, and a similar share (21.4%) sees them as indifferent.

Evaluation of the opinion of colleagues and higher ranks about blogs

Higher ranks

	N°	%
Approve the blog	17	24.3
Are indifferent	15	21.4
Disapprove the blog	14	20.0
Don't know of the blog's existence	9	12.9
Have no opinion about the blog	9	12.9
Other	6	8.6
Total	**70**	**100.0**

Colleagues and mates

	N°	%
Approve the blog	67	91.8
Don't know of the blog's existence	2	2.7
Have no opinion about the blog	1	1.4
Are indifferent	1	1.4
Other	1	1.4
Disapprove the blog	1	1.4
Total	**73**	**100.0**

Among well-known repressive reactions is the decision of São Paulo's Judiciary, at the request of São Paulo's Civilian Police in October 2008, to suspend from the web the blog *Flit Paralisante* by Police Station Chief Roberto Conde Guerra. The command of Rio de Janeiro's Military Police has also reacted against several webpages. In September 2008, it pressed charges against Major Wanderby in the Military Justice for "undue criticism of higher hierarchic levels. In that same month, it punished Major Roberto Vianna with arrest for having expressed his solidarity with Major Wanderby. In January 2009, it punished with arrest Colonel Ronaldo Menezes for having posted at Colonel Paúl's blog the article "*A perversidade do bico e a privatização da segurança*" – "The Perversity of Private Ad Hoc Jobs and the Privatization of Security"

These punishment decisions naturally drew a large audience towards the blogs, including from the press, radio and TV channels, and consolidated, among policemen and the public opinion, the existence of a type of blog dedicated to denouncing injustices inside the corporations. Therefore, they strengthened one of the three reasons for the existence of the police blogosphere, according to Danillo Ferreira's characterization: "activism by the military".

Curiously, when we asked the 73 bloggers if they had already been punished, and if they had been already praised for comments published in their blogs, the percentage of professionals who received both types of reaction is quite similar.

Reprisals and compliments by commanders and chiefs

	No	Yes
Compliments	64.3	35.7
Reprisals	63.0	37.0
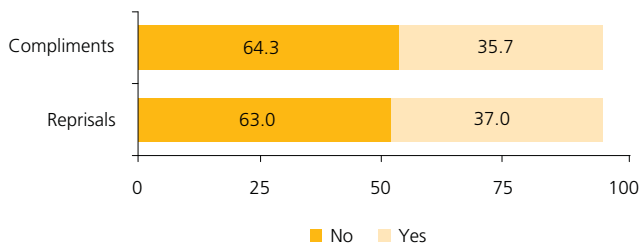
Note: There is no information in three forms for question 27 (about receiving compliments)

Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

However, these answers should not suggest that censorship, in the daily life of police bloggers, is equal to the stimuli. That is, in spite of having the same percentages, these two realities are not equivalent. Prudence and self-censorship are constantly present. A young policeman who has never been censored or repressed, added the following words:

> It is important to clarify that, since I am in the beginning of my career, I deliberately avoid any direct criticism from a justifiable fear of retaliation. I think that others, especially newcomers, also have this same fear. In the police, the quickest and most 'legal' way to punish an opponent who has a lower rank is to order or transfer him to the hours, services, regions or teams incompatible with your conditions and values (…). Later on, according to the resentment awoken, he will be left out of subjective promotions, and this will have a direct impact on his salary and professional ascent, among other intimidation forms (…) This happens in all

polices, not only in the Military Police, where the basic rights are non-existent.

The same policeman highlights, however, that this situation is changing. "At the knowledge era, power is in the hands of those who control information and knowledge. With the internet, Orkut, YTB and blogs, the balance of power was tipped to the side that, so far, had been the weakest."

But the fear of retaliations still regulates the police blogosphere. Of the 73 interviewees, 27 said that they have been already censored or reproached. Threats of arrest and transfers come in first place with almost 26% of the cases. Formal procedures of punishment and warnings are the other most experienced forms by respondents. Several bloggers mentioned censorship by blocking the webpage in the internal networks of the corporations. But generally speaking, this type of measure is easily overcome when, instead of simply typing the page URL in the navigation bar, the user accesses the blog through search engines such as Google.

The problem of control by higher ranks and punishment threats, in all corporations, was a permanent question that emerged in the research, mobilizing both the answers of the quantitative survey and the interviews / seminars. But it is clear that corporations still didn't have specific legal mechanisms to regulate the activities of their members in the virtual world. One can say that the internet and, specifically, the blogosphere has taken by surprise historically conservative and particularly closed institutions in relation to individual manifestations of opinion by their members. Although the attitude, which ranges from reserves to explicit control, is not exclusive to the military polices, the militarized institutions exhibit them more evidently than civilian institutions. One military policeman said:

> When I was called to an investigation, I came to know that our disciplinary rules do make room for arresting any blogger for disciplinary transgression, based on the disposition that prohibits unauthorized comments on matters of military or political police, except for merely technical questions and authorized issues. So, if we stick to the text of the internal regulations and forget the Constitution, we could be arrested indeed. Of course, the Constitution has precedence, and there is the freedom of expression. But

then we will end up caught in a discussion of juridical schools. So if they arrest me based on the RDPM (Disciplinary Rules of the Military Police), I will be behind bars until someone is convinced, then we will be going to court and one will have to say: the Constitution is wider, there is the right to freedom of expression, etc. But then the arrest already occurred.

The Disciplinary Rules of the Military Polices (RDPMs) are similar in the various states and are marked by preventing against a surprising number of "disciplinary transgressions". For example, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, there are 131, in Rio de Janeiro 125, and in São Paulo 132. Transgressions may be categorized as light, medium and severe, there may be mitigating and aggravating conditions, and they may result in the punishments of warning, reprimand, detention or arrest. In the PMERJ, the following transgressions are envisioned, among others:

> "62 – To publicly manifest about political matters or to take part, while wearing uniform, in manifestations of the same nature; 70 – To publish or contribute to the publication of facts, documents or matters of the Military Police that may result in the loss of prestige by the Corporation, or that may wound discipline or security"

Another policeman noted that punishments produce a politically unfavorable situation for the commands themselves.

> From the moment, so to speak, when the repressive machine had no way to avoid freedom of expression through the internet, they have tried, they have devised administrative punishment procedures, but they felt that there was no legal support to punish; they knew that we were already manifesting, that this was an exchange of ideas, that blogs were becoming increasingly consistent. I believe that this growth is actually irreversible, and I believe that the trend points at a continuous growth, because there is no way of controlling it. It's not like in China, where they have already censored Twitter, internet, etc.; here, there is no way to censor it, unless you make a lawsuit and accuse a blog of offending someone. In this case, with the judicial decision, there will be the contact, and it still must go to the provider… There is all this difficulty. So people started out anonymously, but now they are already identifying themselves, they are already leaving the closet (…).

Indeed, as we shall see below, there are strong signs that, despite the rumor, pressure, open control or more explicit threats, the current trends are of a blogosphere expansion, and of self-restraint regarding openly repressive reactions by some of the corporations.
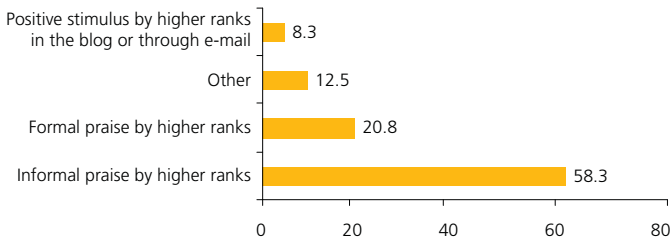
Reproach or censorship by chiefs

	N°	%
Threats of arrest, transfer and other reprimands, including moral harassment	7	25.9
Starting formal punishment procedures (open investigations, disciplinary lawsuits, procedures at the Internal Procedures' Office, IPM, etc.)	6	22.2
Warnings by the higher ranks that there were complaints and counseling to stop	6	22.2
Receiving e-mails or Orkut messages with intimidations	3	11.1
Other	3	11.1
Formal punishment (arrest, administrative or criminal lawsuits)	1	3.7
Feeling that one is being left aside in the carrier	1	3.7
Total	27	100.0
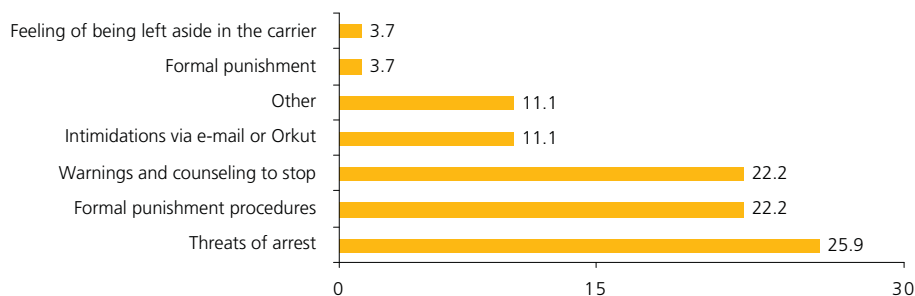
Note: No information for 46 forms.
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

Of the 24 respondents who affirmed that they were either praised or stimulated by higher ranks, most happened through electronic messages or comments posted in the blogs by their chiefs.

Positive stimulus by higher ranks in the blog or through e-mail	8.3
Other	12.5
Formal praise by higher ranks	20.8
Informal praise by higher ranks	58.3

Note: No information for 49 forms.
One form answered "yes" to question 27 and gave no answer to 27A.

Source: Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship/UNESCO

The most expressive forms of praise by chiefs to the activities of policemen-bloggers actually emerged in the blogosphere. The young Soldier Robson Niedson, from the state of Goiás, creator of blog *Diário do Stive* and coordinator of the index blog *Blogosfera Policial,* conquered the support of heavyweights to his activity, as he mentioned when asked if he would obtain an authorization from his command to take part in a round table on the police blogosphere in April 2009. The authors of the present research had unsuccessfully tried to get the same authorization for a Major and a Lieutenant in Rio de Janeiro by the local command. To their surprise, Niedson replied: "I think so, because I helped the General Commander create his own blog".

Indeed, Colonel Carlos Antônio Elias, commander of the Goiás Military Police, was the first to create an institutional blog and to accept being interviewed, stimulating the policemen to take part in the blogosphere. In June 2009, the magazine *Galileu* brought a statement by the Colonel, saying that soldiers, corporals, sergeants and young officers

> may and should create their own blogs. All are welcome. We don't need to limit communications among people. The policeman must perceive the importance of his work in the society. Blogs allow this manifestation and the approximation with the citizens.

Interviewed by blogs *Cultcoolfreak* and *Stive*, among others, Colonel Carlos Antônio stated about the policemen who had been punished for comments made in blogs:

I see that with concern (…) the military polices of Brazil must walk towards a more open world, with more participation (…). The military policeman is a public security professional. He must have direct contact with people, and it is important that he promotes this interaction with society. We can't only have an armed police, walking about like scarecrows through the streets.

As this report was approaching its publication in August 2009, the Military Polices of Goiás, Rio de Janeiro and Sergipe had already launched their own institutional blogs and Twitters. An additional blog had been announced by the commander of São Paulo's Military Police, and was about to be launched.

The Military Police of Rio de Janeiro created the blog signed by Colonel Mário Sérgio de Brito Duarte[17] on August 14, 2009 – only one week after his inauguration as commander of the corporation. Clearly inviting freedom of expression by the policemen in the blogosphere, the officer affirmed in his webpage: "The Military Policeman now has a new channel through which he can be heard. The new 01-Blog will put you in even closer contact with the General Command of the Corporation". There are good signs that the blogosphere will become a channel of expression of the new times for the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro, further away from the tradition of fear and censorship that previously existed in the corporation.

We asked the respondents if they believed that the blog contributed to public security changes.

Do blogs influence the media and the security policies?

	N°	%
Yes	58	81.7
No	13	18.3
Total	71	100.0

Note: No information for 2 forms.

Yes **81.7%**   No **18.3%**

Two forms
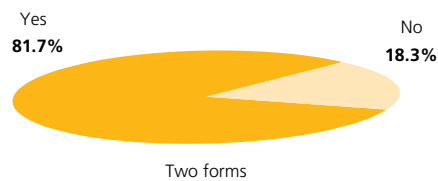
Source: Research "Blogosfera Policial" CESeC/UNESCO, 2009.

17. Since 2006, Colonel Mário Sérgio already had a personal blog entitled *Segurança Pública – Ideias e Ações.*

A surprisingly large number (81%) said that blogs have an impact on the media and on policies. Giving examples, many respondents said that they clearly noticed that the mainstream media were using the blogs as "sources". Many bloggers added that local authorities (secretaries and chiefs) were reading the blogs. It is still early to evaluate the impact of blogs on the other means of communication and on policies. It will be necessary to wait for the development and the consolidation of the blogosphere to understand the reach of the new medium. But, in some cases, the repercussion of blogs is already evident, such as in the role of *Capitão Mano* in the mobilization of Sergipe's policemen for better salaries. Another example is the role of blogs by civilian policemen in São Paulo during the latest strike. It is also possible to recognize the increasing interest of wide newspapers and some television networks on the phenomenon of the police blogs[18]. A policeman wrote:

> I see a police quite different from the one I found 12 years ago. Nowadays, a policeman, through his words in the internet, is able to impinge on a governor, a commander-general,

a chief of the Higher Staff, in such way that these actors cannot repress him in an arbitrary or cowardly way. A blog has become an attack weapon, and, at the same time, an instrument of defense. It may seem little, but this is a significant change for the improvement of the police institutions.

Another respondent has glimpsed into long-term influences. The new medium presents a more well-prepared policeman to the society, and, especially, to the press. He is presented as able to reflect and to analyze, and is placed in the position of a qualified interlocutor on public security matters:

> Initially, blogs deconstructed the stereotype of the policeman without culture, without the capacity to connect ideas and with a barely understood Portuguese. By showing that there is intelligent life on our side, blogs were able to attract the attention of the press and of opinion formers, who began to notice the importance of granting voice to those who execute the security policies. Besides, the contact with journalists becomes a closer one, as they already know you for what you think and what you write.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE 'WARBLOGS'
The military write on the realities of war

The phenomenon of blogs created by the North-American military, or simply 'warblogs', have represented for some time a shift in the form of communication and interaction among professionals of the security forces, military institutions and society in general, mainly in the United States. The challenges that derive from this new communications tool allow some interesting analogies with the Brazilian police blogosphere, which, like a distant cousin, has significantly increased on this side of the hemisphere.

The 'warblogs' or 'milblogs', as presently called, started to appear in 2001 during the North American invasion of Afghanistan, and have evolved and increased in number with the Iraq invasion in 2003. At that time, diaries written by civilians, such

as *Where is Raed?,* by Salam Pax (an Iraqi who lives in Bagdad); *Back to Iraq*, by journalist Christopher Allbritton; and *Reporter's Log*, by a team of BBC correspondents in Iraq, began to follow up on daily life inside the conflict. Simultaneously, the military also started to create their pages, thus offering a new perspective on the offensive.

Elizabeth Robbins, Major of the US army who has observed the phenomenon, explained in an article at the *Military Review* that the military at war saw the blogs as an efficacious communications tool. Through the blog accounts, they were able to transmit part of their experience at the front with their families and friends. But the military also wished to communicate with a wider audience. One of the expectations described in the interviews

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18. Many articles mentioning this research appeared between March and August 2009. These news appeared on *O Estado de São Paulo, O Globo, O Dia, Extra, Correio Brasiliense, IG, UOL, Band and CBN, among others.*

was to be able to offer accounts of the military actions, which were different from what was told in the media, and also to correct some pieces of information informed by the press. Other reasons mentioned by Robbins are 'the will to share lessons learned with what they were experiencing', and the need for a 'creative, intellectual and emotional escape'.

The success of milblogs can be indicated by the statistics published by the website *milblogging*. com. The site, which consolidated the name of the new communications movement in connection with the US armed forces, was created in September 2005 by the North American military Jean Paul Borda, who was dissatisfied with the media coverage of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. To facilitate the search for blogs in the internet, Borda produced a blog index engine for the military of the entire world. According to the figures provided by the site, on August 3, 2009, there were 2.396 registered military blogs in 44 countries and 7.851 members. The USA, as the warblogs' cradle, was the origin of most pages with 1.662 milblogs. The second place was Iraq with 430 blogs; and the third place was Afghanistan with 82.

Other areas of tension were also represented, such as Kuwait with 13 milblogs and Israel with 9. This is a clearly expanding universe, as shown in the first Twitter message sent from the International Space Station, written by Colonel Timothy Kopra and posted on August 4, 2009.

Brazil has two registered blogs at milblogging. com, referring to the former and the present links to the same page, *www.vootatico.com*, signed by the military of the Brazilian Air Force Marcus Piffer, with the theme of military aviation. Piffer's blog is connected with many other military aviation sites, and with the pages of other military forces. Apparently, the Brazilian military blogosphere has also developed rapidly – which makes a theme to be explored on its own by further studies.

The pace with which new blogs are included to milblogging.com is impressive. Only in July 2009, 48 new blogs have joined it. The US Department of Defense has carefully observed this trend.

According to Regulation 25-1 on Army Knowledge Management and Information, the Army Web Risk Assessment Cell regularly monitors the official army websites and checks, through sampling, the contents of the milblogs. The main concern by the institution is the dissemination of classified information, which may disturb the operations and jeopardize security. Blogs such as the one by Corporal Coby Buzzel have been intercepted by the command, which has requested the removal of sensible data. Another source of concern for the US Defense is in the anonymous blogs, which have the potential to disseminate criticism and unfounded information.

The US Army has tried to implement mechanisms to stabilize communications, including media such as blogs. The idea is to avoid the dissemination of information that may jeopardize the security of the Armed Forces and of the State. One example mentioned by Robbins is the memo of April 2005 directed to the forces in Iraq, listing five types of information whose dissemination is forbidden: classified matters, human losses still not communicated to the parents, data protected under the Privacy Act linked to incidents under investigation, and data under the heading of 'for official use only'. The memo also recommends that milbloggers register their webpages in their commands. In September 2005, a version of Regulation 530-1 on security operations demanded that operational security procedures be used in the communications. The social networks were also on the target. The North American magazine *Wired* reported in early August that the US Armed Forces were considering to prohibit access at their facilities to social communications and networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and the like.

In spite of the security concerns, the military blogs have their defenders in the US Armed Forces, who remind that blogging communities already have their own control mechanisms, and that false and ill-intended claims are usually unmasked with rapidity by blog users themselves. Officers such as Major Robbins point to the potential use of blogs as a publicity and marketing tool for the Army. The

personal and frank manifestations of bloggers tend to be more attractive for the audience than impersonal news, and help showing the real Army life, thus captivating the interest of potential new recruits. According to Robbins,

> 'The Army's attitude must be: we aspire to protect the operational security and privacy; we have nothing to hide and, instead, a lot to communicate, as we encompass over one million individuals in uniform, with millions of ideas in their minds.'

CONCLUSIONS

Speaking to the ocean

During the entire course of our research, and as we wrote this report, we noticed that our study object was expanding and changing more rapidly than our capacity to apprehend and describe it. Thus, the conclusions of this exploration and investigation are not only preliminary, but one-sided. We certainly did not touch all existing phenomena, but we hope that we have grasped the current dynamics and trends. It is possible to affirm that, wherever the blogosphere phenomenon may head from now on, it has produced important changes in the public security scene, in the police corporations and in the mainstream media.

The fact that the corporation more openly reactive to blogs, the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro, has created its own blog immediately after the inauguration of a new commander, is perhaps the most representative example of the importance of blogs as means of expression and production of new ideas for public security in Brazil, at least during the period covered by the research.

Police bloggers themselves seem to clearly understand their role in this process. In the face to face interviews, in the Vitória seminar and in the 73 internet interviews, there were numerous references – by policemen of distinct corporations, ranks and regions of the country – to the blogosphere action as a way to change the institutional tradition, the prejudices and the view of society about the police. It was also seen as a way to influence the course of

public security, and to express internal demands such as salary raises, and changes of hierarchic discipline based on the debasement of those who act as the pillars of the security institutions.

Furthermore, many authors of internet pages kept in sight the existential meaning, the individual character and the subjective mark of network interactions, as these are intrinsic characteristics of the blogging activity. In his book *Blogging Heroes*, Michael Banks[19] mentions the author and entrepreneur of Information Technology (IT) Esther Dyson, who said about blogs: 'People now want to spread their presence in the world'. We asked the bloggers: "A blogger's activity is… (write your own definition)". Along with the poetic reply of "speaking to ocean…", there were also, among others, the following:

- Writing to the universal from a personal standpoint.
- A silent act to have a voice.
- Every blogger is an idealist who does not hide his inspiration. Each text is shared and each idea is a tool in order to reach a better world.
- Exercising democracy.
- Being the voice of those who can't speak.
- Influencing and being influenced, opening a communications channel with the willingness to improve, giving out what is possible, in exchange, to improve other beings. To be a blogger is to take part in the decentralization of information,

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19. Digertati Books, 2008. The author interviews 30 famous bloggers of the United States.

undermining the structure where self-expression is a privilege of few.

- To stop being the audience and start taking part in what effectively interferes in our life.
- An activity of personal and informal expression that contributes to the democratization of ideas and of knowledge.

There were also some other curious definitions:

- The reason of the police blogger is always to criticize…
- A form of exposing the reality of the barracks.
- Tiring, risky, but rewarding.
- A blogger's activity is… highly addictive.

Sociologist Manuel Castells' *Network Society,* the first book of his classic trilogy *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* [20], concludes that 'the powers are afraid of the internet'. The internet would be an instrument of freedom and autonomy, whereas power has always based itself on the control of groups or individuals, through the control of information and communications. 'But this is coming to an end, because the internet cannot be controlled', says Castells[21]. The sociologist adopts the principle that people, institutions, companies and society in general are transforming technology, using it, changing it and experimenting with it.

For Castells, one of the characteristics of the networking system that organizes the IT paradigm is flexibility. Therefore, processes are reversible and institutions can be changed – even profoundly modified – without being destroyed. But Castells recommends that one should avoid value-judgments based on the technological paradigm: 'because flexibility can be both a liberating force and a repressive trend, if those who redefine the rules are the constituted powers'.

Although Castells' view encompasses the evolution of the large corporations, it is necessary to acknowledge a tendency of the transformation of the virtual space, where a powerful selling and entertaining engine, able to direct the access to sites (as happens when one does a Google search and the ads appear in first place) and even to control it (as happens in countries that prohibit access to pages with uncomfortable political themes). An analogy for the political exile of former times is the exclusion of researches at Google.

In any case, the internet is the easiest, cheapest and most accessible way that we have ever had of public expression and communication. The police blogosphere in Brazil has become an example of this potential: individuals who would be otherwise unable to take part in the public discussions, with their blogs have been able to influence public policies, to increase the awareness of social groups, to mobilize colleagues and to collaborate to the solution of crimes. Furthermore, these initiatives seem so far to have dominated the process, as the concepts that define them and the current trends in their development have been formulated by the authors of police blogs themselves. And this is just the beginning of the change with which the police blogosphere signalizes towards the future.

On the part of researchers, cooperation agencies and the mainstream media, it is fitting to support the flows of the web, avoiding as much as possible to take away the word or to underestimate the importance of the role of their own creators. We do expect to contribute to this goal.

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21. Interview to newspaper *El País* on January 10, 2008.

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A N N E X 1

Research activities: interviews, round table, quantitative survey
and bibliographic research

The research was made between April and June 2009, including one seminar, nine interviews and one quantitative survey with 73 bloggers.

1. Semi-Structured Interviews
- Lieutenant Alexandre de Sousa, Blog *Diário de um PM* (April 16)
- Major Wanderby, Blog *Major Wanderby* (June 3)
- Colonel Ricardo Paúl, Blog *Coronel Paúl* (June 3)
- André Luiz Souza e Silva, Blog *Grito de Ana* (by phone)
- Gustavo Almeida, Journalist, Blog *Santa Bárbara e Rebouças* (June 20)
- Edésio Portes, Blog *NUMOT 5 da PRF-RJ* (June 23)
- "Capitão Mano", Blog *Capitão Mano*, RN (per e-mail)
- Inspector Eduardo, Blog *Caso de Polícia*, of the PCERJ (July 20)
- Roger Franchini, Blog *Cult Cool Freak* (by phone)

2. Round Table
The round table "The role of blogs in the public security debate and the phenomenon of the police blogosphere" took place in Vitória on April 3, 2009, during the activities of the III Meeting of the Brazilian Public Security Forum. The following bloggers were present:
  - Jorge Antonio Barros
  - Eduardo Machado
  - Robson Niedson
  - Danillo Ferreira

The following also took part in the debate: Lieutenant Colonel Carballo (RJ), Police Station Chief Vinícius George (RJ), Luiz Flávio Sapori (MG), Yolanda Catão (RJ), Lieutenant-Colonel Fagundes (MG), Zeca Borges (RJ), Colonel Dias (AP), Researcher Viviane (RJ), Flávia Freire (RJ), Elizabeth Leeds (New York) and Julita Lemgruber (RJ). The transcript of the interviews amounted to 267 pages.

3. Quantitative Research
From May 18 to June 8, we interviewed 73 bloggers, who have created 70 blogs, with a 35-question form and virtual answers. The tool Google Forms was used for collecting and storing the available answers, checking the forms and eventual feedback to the respondents who asked for a confirmation that we had received the forms. It also allowed us to pick previously chosen themes with a view to a more attractive outlook for the forms than usual.

This tool proved to be the most economic, quickest and safest one. At the end of the research period, it automatically exported the results for the electronic format of a standard spreadsheet, partly making an easier preparation of the data for the obtainment of the results.

With the questionnaire, a link was sent by e-mail to several blogs with the invitation to take part in the research. Some blogs published posts on the theme and printed newspapers and radio programs mentioned the research and the interest expressed by UNESCO in studying the police blogosphere. To allow respondents to access the research from the CESeC website, and to make the link more 'elegant', a HTML page was created and hosted by the CESeC site, containing the research form.

It is worth saying that Google Forms presents a large selection of pre-programmed question types and answer scales. However, it is not possible to program questions including leaps, and the multiple-choice answers are all structured together in one same cell. It was very hard to correct this when preparing the data.

As the answers could not be categorized either, and as all values of the databank are of the string type, this categorization also had to be made in the SPSS software, which was used to generate the results (relevant frequencies and crossings).

4. Bibliographic Search

A bibliographic search was made through academic researches, with tips by blogger consultants and at specialized internet sites. Along with this research, whose results are listed as the references at the end of the report, additional consultation sources appeared along the work and often in the blogosphere itself. For example, the discovery of the military blogs that began in the United States, dubbed milblogs or warblogs (see the box) and the existence of a theoretical discussion on the theme, produced in the context of military studies, were some of the new elements that resulted from the research at the blog *Abordagem Policial*. As the research was carried through, other surprises appeared, such as the news that a North American military officer had posted a message on Twitter from the International Space Station.

A N N E X 2

Questionnaire

Police Blogosphere

Partnering with UNESCO, the Center for Studies on Security and Citizenship (CESeC) of the Cândido Mendes University is undertaking a research on the production, contents and impact of blogs specialized in public security, whose authors are policemen or public security agents (Civilian and Military Police-men, Firefighters, Federal Police, Federal Road Police-men, Municipal Guards, Experts and others). The aim of this research is to understand the phenomenon of the police blogosphere, and to know how members of the polices and other security forces are using the internet to discuss, analyze, question and influence security policies and criminality in Brazil.

The questionnaire below is an important tool of this research, as it will show a qualitative dimension of the phenomenon and indicate the main ongoing trends. Its answers will help drawing this scenario.

As you answer the questionnaire, keep in mind that no data, information or personal comment will be publicized. Answers will be kept undisclosed as to the identity of their authors, and will be considered confidential[22]

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Or by phone 55 21 25312033.

* Required

Upper part of the form

1. Name of the blog *

2. Person responsible for the blog who is answering this questionnaire

3. *E-mail* of contact with responsible for the blog *

4. Contact phones (optional)

5. Besides you, how many other persons are responsible for the blog?

6. State where you live (box)

7. City where you live (open)

8. Force where you serve:

Military Police

Civilian Police

Federal Road Police

Federal Police

Fire Brigade

Municipal Guard

Expert

Other: _____

9. Your present rank or position in the force (fill in here if you are in the reserve, retired, under license or ex-policeman):

_____

10. Is your blog presently identified or anonymous?

Identified ( ) Anonymous ( )

11. When was the blog created?

Month ___ Year _____

---

22. The names mentioned in the research are of the bloggers who accepted to be interviewed for this report.

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12. Have you had other blogs? Yes ( ) No ( )

13. If yes, please inform if they were (or are) also related with the public security theme, if they are still operational, and which are the names and links: _____

14. Which themes do you cover more frequently in your blog? * Pick as many options as you wish, leaving blank the options that are rarely a theme in your blog.

( ) Police Blogosphere (other blogs)
( ) Comments on news published in the newspapers
( ) Public exams
( ) Culture (films, books, leisure, cultural tips)
( ) Curious facts
( ) Decisions of the command
( ) Denouncing injustices inside the corporation
( ) Human rights
( ) Discussions on laws and act projects that affect your class
( ) Entertainment
( ) News about police actions
( ) News about crimes
( ) News about security policies
( ) Salaries
( ) Polemic topics (such as earlier legal age, harsher laws, etc.)
( ) Other: (please describe) _____

15. Which were the main reasons that led you to create a blog on public security, criminality or police? _____

16. In the average, taking into account the recent months, how many persons have accessed your blog? *
Please specify the origin of this datum and if the figure is a daily, weekly or other average:
_____

17. In your opinion, who are the most frequent readers of your blog? (Pick the categories that are most adequate, leaving blank those who rarely visit your blog).
( ) Colleagues or friends (of my corporation)
( ) Colleagues or friends (of other forces)
( ) Other bloggers
( ) Ex-policemen
( ) People willing to join the forces
( ) Students

( ) Curious readers
( ) Journalists
( ) Public security authorities
( ) I don't know

18. Does your blog produce any kind of income? (Does it involve money?) *
Yes ( ) No ( )

19. If yes, please explain how you produce this income (for example through adwords, other types of ads, etc.):_____

20. If no, do you intend to include tools to it that may produce an income in the future?
Yes ( ) No ( )

21. Based on the average of the three latest months, how much time do you dedicate to the blog? (Please include the time eventually spent by other authors who may work in the blog with you)*
( ) Less than 2 hours a week
( ) From 2 to 4 hours a week
( ) From 5 to 10 weekly hours
( ) From 11 to 21 weekly hours
( ) More than 21 weekly hours
( ) Other: (please specify): _____

22. Do you use any technological resource or computer tool to make your blog more broadly known?

23. In your opinion, the higher ranks of your service:
( ) Approve the blog
( ) Reproof the blog
( ) Are unaware of the blog's existence
( ) Are indifferent
( ) Have no opinion about it (sometimes approve it, and sometimes reproof it)
( ) Other situation (please specify): _____

24. Your colleagues or friends:
( ) Approve the blog
( ) Reproof the blog
( ) Are unaware of the blog's existence
( ) Are indifferent
( ) Have no opinion about it (sometimes approve it, and sometimes reproof it)
( ) Other situation (please specify): _____

25. Have you been object of any reprimand or censorship (even if only in a disguised form) by your command or chiefs on account of the blog or of contents published in the blog? *

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, please describe:_____

26. Have you been praised or positively stimulated by the command or chief on account of the blog or of contents published in the blog? *

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, please describe:_____

27. Which were the moments of broadest repercussion for your blog?

_____

_____

28. In your opinion, do blogs such as yours influence the coverage of the press and / or public security policies?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Why?: _____

Socioeconomic Data

_____

29. Age: _____

30. Gender: ( ) Masculine ( ) Feminine

31. Formal Education:

Basic Level

Middle Level (high school)

Incomplete College

College Degree

Completed or Ongoing Postgraduate Studies

32. If you have a college or postgraduate degree, please indicate which courses you did or are currently doing. _____

33. Have you taken part in any RENAESP-SENASP course? Yes ( ) No ( )

34. A blogger's activity is: _____

35. Please use this space to make suggestions, present ideas or make comments about questions we have not dealt with in this questionnaire.

_____

Thank you very much!

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