

***Discursive conflicts around the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (Brazil) on Twitter***

*Disputas discursivas no Twitter sobre o impeachment de Dilma Rousseff (Brasil)*

Claudio Luis de Camargo Penteado

Federal University of ABC, Brazil

[claudio.penteado@ufabc.edu.br](mailto:claudio.penteado@ufabc.edu.br)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8279-3643>

Denise Hideko Goya

Federal University of ABC, Brazil

[denise.goya@ufabc.edu.br](mailto:denise.goya@ufabc.edu.br)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0852-6456>

Fabício Olivetti de França

Federal University of ABC, Brazil

[folivetti@ufabc.edu.br](mailto:folivetti@ufabc.edu.br)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2741-8736>

**Abstract**

This paper aims to study the online politics conflict, especially on Twitter, between groups against e favorable Dilma Rousseff's impeachment where each group had tried to produce their narrative about the political episode. From the approach of Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse, the research studied the dispute over the meanings mobilized in the conflicts on Twitter about the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff. To carry out the study, it was the adaptation of Big Data techniques (sentiment analysis) and social network analysis, we had studied the tweets during the period of open the process of impeachment in the Lower House in April 2016. The results point to an existence of a discursive dispute between a group who was defending the legitimacy of the impeachment and another one who was reporting a coup d'état in Brazil.

**Keywords:** Twitter; Impeachment Dilma Rousseff; Discursive dispute; Hegemony; Online Conflicts.

## **Resumo**

Esse artigo tem por objetivo estudar os conflitos políticos online, especialmente no Twitter, entre os grupos contra e favoráveis ao impeachment de Dilma Rousseff, no qual cada grupo tentou produzir suas próprias narrativas sobre esse importante episódio da política brasileira. A partir da abordagem da Teoria do Discurso de Laclau e Mouffe, a pesquisa estudou a disputa entre os sentidos mobilizados no Twitter sobre o impeachment de Dilma Rousseff. Para a realização do estudo foi realizada uma adaptação de técnicas de Big Data (análise de sentimento) e análise de redes sociais dos tweets postados durante o período de abertura do processo de impeachment na Câmara dos Deputados do Brasil em abril de 2016. Os resultados apontam a existência de uma disputa discursiva entre um grupo que defendeu a legitimidade do impeachment e outro que procurou denunciar a existência de um golpe de estado no Brasil.

**Palavras-chave:** Twitter; Impeachment Dilma Rousseff; Disputa discursiva; Hegemonia; Conflitos Online.

## **Introduction**

On the 17th of April of 2016, the Lower House voted to open the process to impeach the president Dilma Rousseff, of the Labor Party (PT). The voting that lasted around six hours had massive coverage in the means of communication and awakened an intense debate in social networks between the groups supporting and disagreeing with the impeachment of the president at the time.

The impeachment of Dilma Rousseff was the result of a severe political crisis that originated in the presidential elections of 2014, in which the former president won by a small margin of votes over the opposing candidate Aécio Neves (PSDB Party). The elections of 2014 were characterized by an intense political conflict on social networks, which was distinguished by the radicalization of different ideological positions and hate expressions (Chaia & Brugnago, 2014).

The narrow victory on the 2014 elections, the rise of the economic crisis and the corruption denunciations involving the president's party and the members of her government weakened the Dilma Rousseff administration. Soon after the beginning of her new mandate, in 2015, the government of the re-elected president faced a wave of protests in various cities around the country against corruption initially and afterwards, requesting her impeachment. Despite the movements' loss of power towards the end of

2015, in 2016, with the acceptance of the impeachment request on the Lower House, under the allegation that the president had committed fiscal irregularities, an irregular fiscal maneuver, the movements gained additional support lighting up a new cycle of protests.

During all the process, the social networks sites had a vital role in the mobilization of the protestors, the dissemination of information and specially in the conflict between the groups supporting the impeachment and those supporting the president. Both groups used social networking sites to mobilize sympathizers for their street manifestations, but mainly for the dissemination of information (in many forms), in constructing a narrative of the ongoing political events, announcing an online debate between groups which defended the “moralization of the country”, with the incarceration of the politicians associated with PT involved in the investigation of the State Prosecution Office (Operação Lava Jato - known as Car Wash Operation), and others that denounced the political coup, with the support of large companies of communications which gave a wide coverage for the manifestations supporting the impeachment (Penteado & Guerbali, 2016).

In Brazil, similarly to other world locations, the social networks sites went through a rapid process of popularization. There are currently 102 million people in Brazil connected to the internet, around 58% of the total population, according to the 11th edition of the 2015 domestic census, of the do CGLBR (Brazil Internet Management Committee). Brazil is the country with the highest number of social network users in Latin America, with 93.2 million people connected in some form of social network, according to the research conducted by the agency eMarketer. The massive use of networks and other channels on the internet lead to the formation of a connected public sphere (Benkler, 2006), in which the users may express their opinions freely and participate actively in public debates.

The first political uses of social networks sites were associated to the popular gathering opposing authoritarian governments, as it was seen in the cases of the Arabian Spring (Howard & Hussain, 2011), the opposition against the Greek austerity measures, which were taken against the political class and favoring a “real democracy” in Spain, the inequality between the 99% against the 1% of the Occupy Wall Street Movement (Teocharis et al., 2014). Following the examples of other countries around the world, the same occurred in Brazil during the Journeys of 2013 June, in which the internet had a

central role in the mobilization of the protesters in their networks of indignation (Castells, 2015).

However, the online political debate, which began during the elections of 2014 in Brazil and extended through the years of 2015 and 2016, took a different approach than the early online movements: the discursive conflicts between different political groups, in the online social networks, in the production of a hegemonic political narrative, typical of the contemporary political conflicts, as Laclau & Mouffe (1986) discussed.

Contrary to the thoughts shared by Habermas about the existence of a rational public sphere, like an expression of a deliberative democracy, in which the public debate between the different opinions were given around reason-givens, reciprocity, mutual respect and orientation to the common good (Mendonça & Pereira, 2011), Mouffe (2005) argues that the public debate is marked by the conflict of antagonistic political positions and by expressions of irreconcilable passionate positions, which dispute in the political field the production of a hegemonies following the ethical-political of liberal democracy criteria. In this sense, the debate on the web, more specifically, in the social network's sites revolved around disputes which reflected contrasting positions which did not seek a rational debate, but to construct a solid argument to the disputing political positions.

Laclau & Mouffe (1986) suggested that in a globalized society, governed by information to the political analysis must pass the study of hegemony. Using discourse as an analytical category, the authors defend that the political dispute occurs on a discursive level between political groups. Recapping the thought of Gramsci, Laclau & Mouffe (1986), which argues that the hegemonies' political articulations search to create a narrative that operates on the field of subjectivity in order to produce a hegemonic politic that normalizes and legitimize practices and political actions of dominant groups.

With this approach, the article aims to study the political conflict (online) between the groups defending Dilma Rousseff and the groups favoring her impeachment, where each antagonistic groups search to produce a narrative about the political dispute around the president's removal, in order to prove the discursive theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1986), where, in contemporary politics, disputes go through the communication power of the groups (according Castells, 2013), that is, by the capacity to construct the meaning within the networks of communication of the network society.

To realize this study, we analyzed the debates on Twitter, in the days that surrounded the opening to the impeachment process, it was seen that the behavior of the users involved in the dispute by the production of a narrative for the defense of the

political position of each group in the conflict: the legitimacy of the impeachment (pro-impeachment – PRO) and the illegitimacy of the same process, which is presented on the narrative of the coup (anti-impeachment – CON). The article also aims to contribute with a new methodology for future studies of political conflicts on Twitter by the adaptation of techniques of Big Data (analysis of feelings) and the method of analysis of social networks.

The article is structured in four parts, other than this brief introduction. Initially, the article presents a discussion between the concept of the Political by Mouffe (2005) and his relation with the political usage of the internet, more specifically, social networks sites. In the second part, the developed methodology by the research is presented, followed by the result of the research and to conclude, some final considerations.

### **The Political and the Internet**

Laclau & Mouffe (1986) defend that a society is constructed around conflicts, however, the old dispute between capital and work is replaced by the institutional political fight for the power inside the liberal democracies. In this fight for political control, the discursive dispute becomes the main mechanism of expression for the social and political oppositions, existing in the civil society and in a new more complex social structure (Standing, 2016).

The political speech shapes itself as a mechanism of formation subjective to the formation of an identity, a way of mobilization and construction of powerful politics. The discursive expressions seek to mediate the different demands of the civic society around equivalent logic which expresses the social oppositions, which are no longer subordinates of the old form of factory domination of capital, but also to the other domains of individual and collective life controlled by capitalist relations (Laclau & Mouffe, 1986).

The discursive clash in contemporary society is expressed by the dispute around what Laclau (2005) called “empty meanings”, the dispute over the production of an interpretation (meaning) about key concepts of liberal democracy like citizenship, liberty, equality and even the concept of democracy. The discursive dispute around the meanings expresses the opposing political identities, which seek to produce a narrative capable of swaying people’s consciousness in the construction of a powerhouse or the opposition of such.

In this context, the communication media play a central role in contemporary political conflicts, especially in producing, transmitting and delivering political speeches (Castells, 2013). With the growth of the internet, and an even more distinguished growth of social network sites, the system of communication became more complex and the debates gained new fragmented dynamics. The formation of a public sphere which is intertwined in the networking sites allowed different users to express their demands and act in a more active political dispute (Benkler, 2006).

The protests of the Arabian Spring, the 15-M movement in Spain and the protests of Occupy Wall Street indicate that the social network sites became important tools for political action in recent years (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012). The studies of Theocharis et al. (2014) about the usage of Twitter in the M-15 movement, Occupy Wall Street and Aganaktismenoi (Greece), showed that Twitter was used in many different ways, and had a variety of functions, differing between countries, being tailored to specific needs. The data from this research also indicated that Twitter worked to circulate information and political debates around the themes being supported by the protesters.

As shown in the studies of Bennett and Segerberg (2012), the modern collective action, which acts through social network sites and using intense digital communication, is made by the combination of two parts. The first is the traditional collective action of mobilizing organizational resources and the formation of collective identities, and the second is based on the formation of a personalized sharing of content in social network sites, in which the authors call for the connective action.

In the connective action, speeches are a key element for the mobilization of resources and support. However, the creation of a collective identity is its main role (Gerbaudo, 2014). In the logic of connective action, the discursive forms are the messages shared in social network sites by the groups and users.

Here, it is important to recall the distinction between the political and politics for Mouffe (2005, p. 8):

(...) I mean by 'political' the dimension of antagonism that I consider constitutive of human societies, whereas by 'politics' I mean the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the conflictive context produced by the politician.

The politics of Mouffe finds on the Internet, mainly in social network sites like Twitter, a space for their antagonist dimension. The dispute between narratives (speeches) of different political positions, expressed by the users, allow the production of a context

in constant conflict inside a hegemonic order in a context of contingency, which is always open for challenges against its hegemony or new constructions of discursive hegemonies. Therefore, as Mouffe (2005) states, the mobilization demands a politicization through the creation of a conflicting representation of the world (created through a speech), which expresses the opposing sides, with which the people (and users of social networks) can identify and express their political beliefs: “Political discourse does not have to offer only political programs, but also identities that can help people understand what they are experiencing and give them hope for the future.” (Mouffe, 2011, p. 24).

Thus, the dynamics of appropriation of social network sites that operates within the sphere of influence in the production of social and collective identities (Boyd, 2007), shown through shared content, allow the aggravation of political conflicts, as taken by opposing political ideas, leading to a radical dichotomy between the groups, with the display of mutual hatred (Maia & Rezende, 2015; Amaral & Coimbra, 2015).

The concept of a Habermasian public sphere, influenced over Social Sciences approaches, led by the rational consensus and deliberate processes cease to make sense in the social network platform. The new digital public sphere is characterized by conflicts that reproduce political disputes and the formation of a hegemony, in which the users seek to disseminate and defend their political positions through debates and the dispute between “empty meanings” (Laclau, 2005), that in this study referred the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, which different groups disputed the meaning of this process.

Following this approach, the article has a research question (RQ): what are the meanings (narratives disputes) mobilized on Twitter by political groups, during the impeachment process in Brazil in 2016?

## **Material and methods**

In order to identify the mobilization and narratives disputes (and meaning) on Twitter, this investigation collected data (tweets) in the period from 15 to 19 April 2016, comprising a period of two days before and two days after the vote the opening of the impeachment process, when had the massive contest between the groups supporting the impeachment and in the other hand supporting the (former) president.

For the collection of data, the Twitter Streaming API was used. This API allows for the collection of a continuous flow of tweets, however, it is limited to the production of a sample of 1% of all tweets generated globally. API is a computational interface which

allows the pairing of routines created by a software, which allows the collection of tweets inside a limit established by the site.

The Twitter's API allows for the filtering of contents and properties of tweets. This can lead to almost all of the tweets relating to the desired topic to be accounted for, given the utilized filter.

For this study, a filter that selected only the tweets and hashtags that contained keywords related to the impeachment process. This selection was made and tracked through the main communication channel of both groups (pro and against the impeachment of Brazilian president).

To analyze the data found, an adaptation of the theory of discourse by Laclau and Mouffe (1986) was applied to the dispute between "signifiers" in the main hashtags by groups favorable and opposed to impeachment. And for the identification and visualization of the profiles that acted most, the Social Network Analysis metrics were used (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

## **Results**

Aiming to study the political conflict on Twitter - with respect to the groups in favor and against Dilma Rousseff's impeachment – the sentiments (political identification) contained in the collected tweets in the database were analyzed. This analysis was done around the hashtags (#) – formation of topics that coordinate the discussion of similar groups amongst a large number of users, which can still be connected even though they are not “following” each other. The study of the hashtags allowed the study of the political debate amongst users in Twitter (BURNS & BURGESS, 2011), allowing for the identification of the stances taken by the involved users.

Our database contains a total of 18,711 different hashtags, following the Power Law, which in the case of this study, describes a situation where few hashtags cover a large number of information exchanges in the site. Figure 01 sketches the 1000 most popular hashtags on the horizontal axis, while the vertical axis shows the amount of tweets that contained the corresponding hashtag. Figure 01 is an example of the Power Law, which shows that the users participating in the debate used few common hashtags, while the majority of other hashtags was only used once, demonstrating the other characteristic for this distribution, called “long tail” (Anderson, 2018).



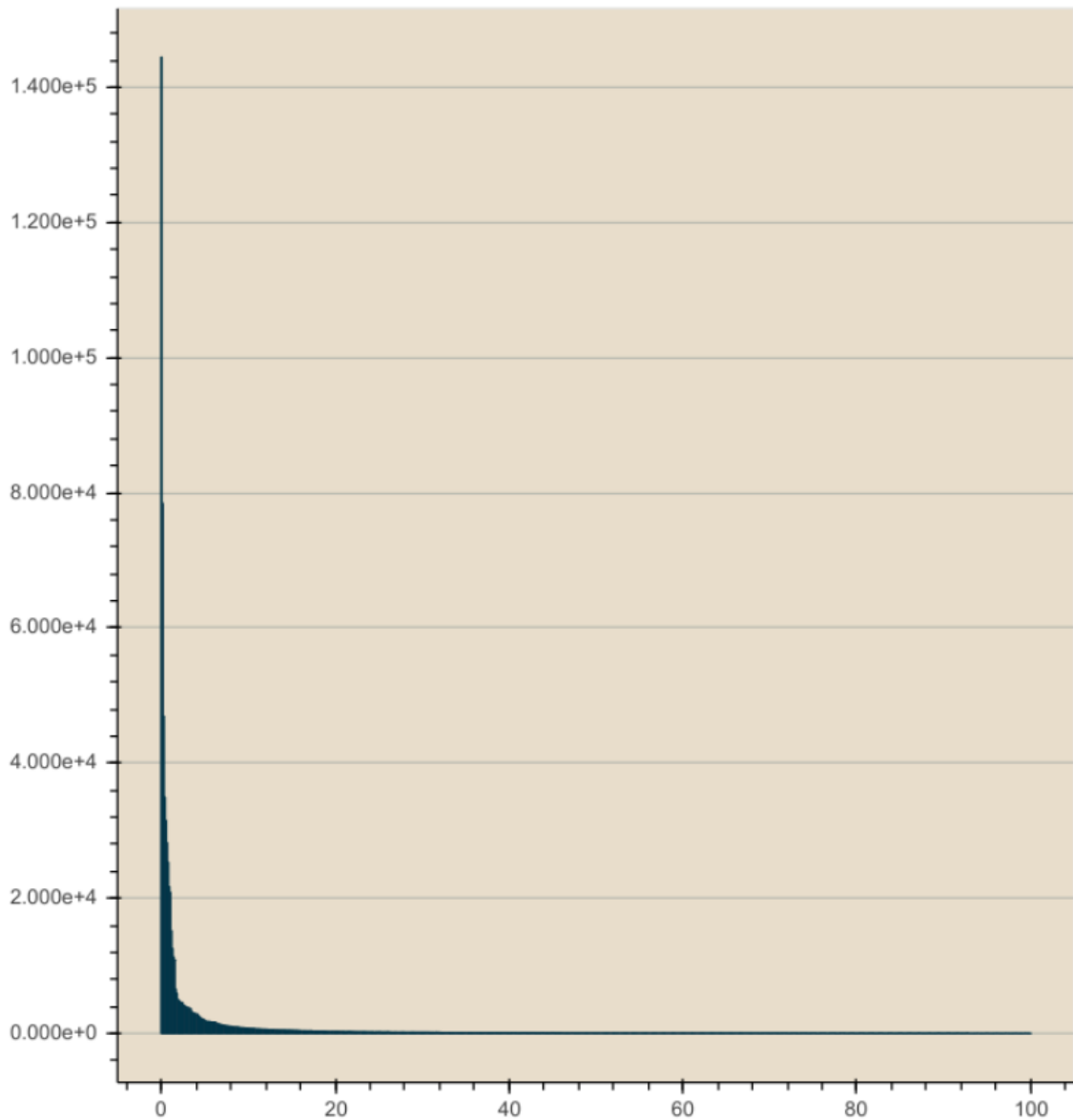


Fig. 1  
(Source: Authors, 2018)

The Power Law can be calculated through the mathematical formula:  $P(x) = C \cdot x^{-\alpha}$ , where  $x$  is given by the number of hashtags,  $\alpha$  represents the exponent, and  $C$  is the amplitude of the distribution. Therefore,  $P(x)$  gives the expected number of users with the quantity  $x$  of the measured content. The distribution of hashtags in the database was adjusted to the statistical methods developed by Clauset et al. (2009) and Klaus et al. (2011) with the use of Python package PowerLaw<sup>3</sup> (Alstott et al., 2014). The methods find an exponent of 2.85 and showed that the top 45 most used hashtags compose the main part of the distribution (the part that precedes the tail).

For the use of this study, the top 45 most used hashtags were selected, as shown in Figure 02.

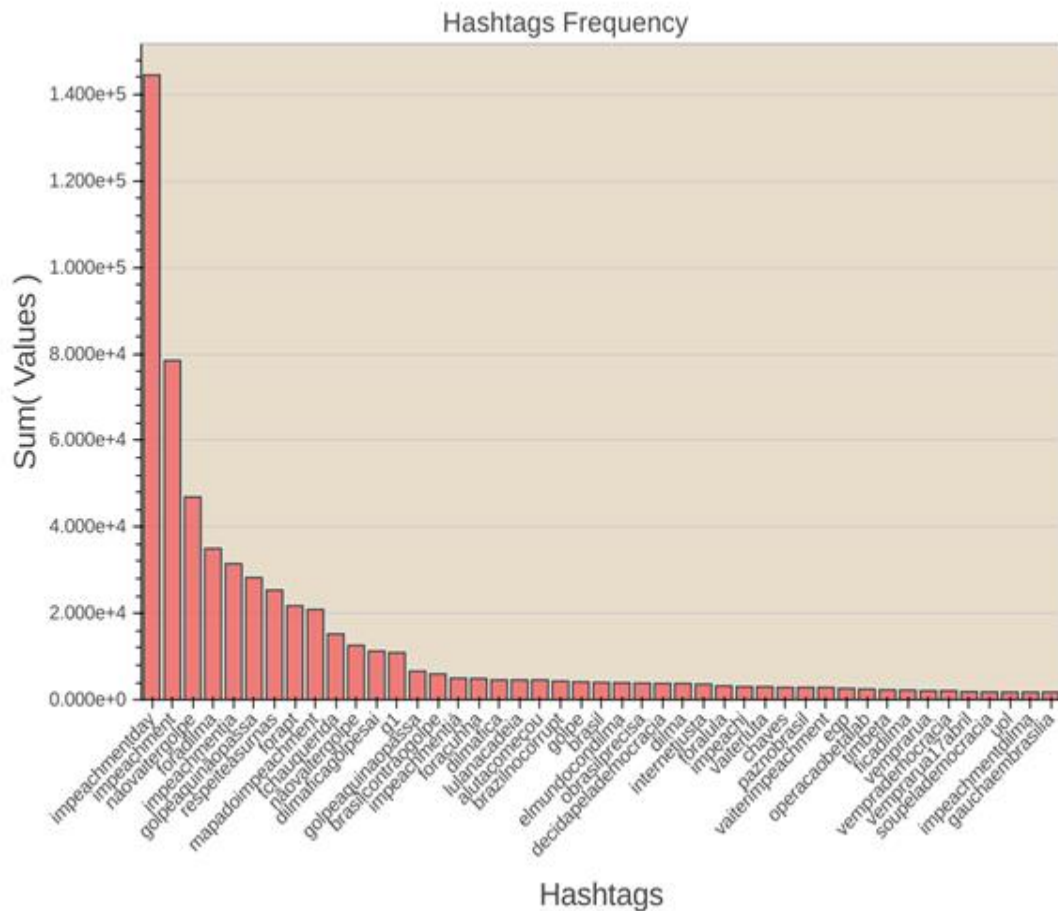


Fig. 2  
(Source: Authors, 2018)

The top 45 also behave the Power Law, in which just a few hashtags are representative of the main part of the debate. Analysis of the most popular hashtags indicates the existence of #s supporting and #s opposing the impeachment. Similarly, some #s were found in tweets that contained arguments for both groups, and even #s that did not contain political content.

Thus, the use hashtags to identify the presence of political debates (and narrative disputes), a series of analysis of the feelings contained in the content was conducted in the most popular hashtags. The model to classify these was the Extreme Gradient Boosting Tree (xgboost), developed by Chen & He (2015), that have presented reliable results according to the literature, with 99.83% certainty in the results. The results are shown in Figure 03.

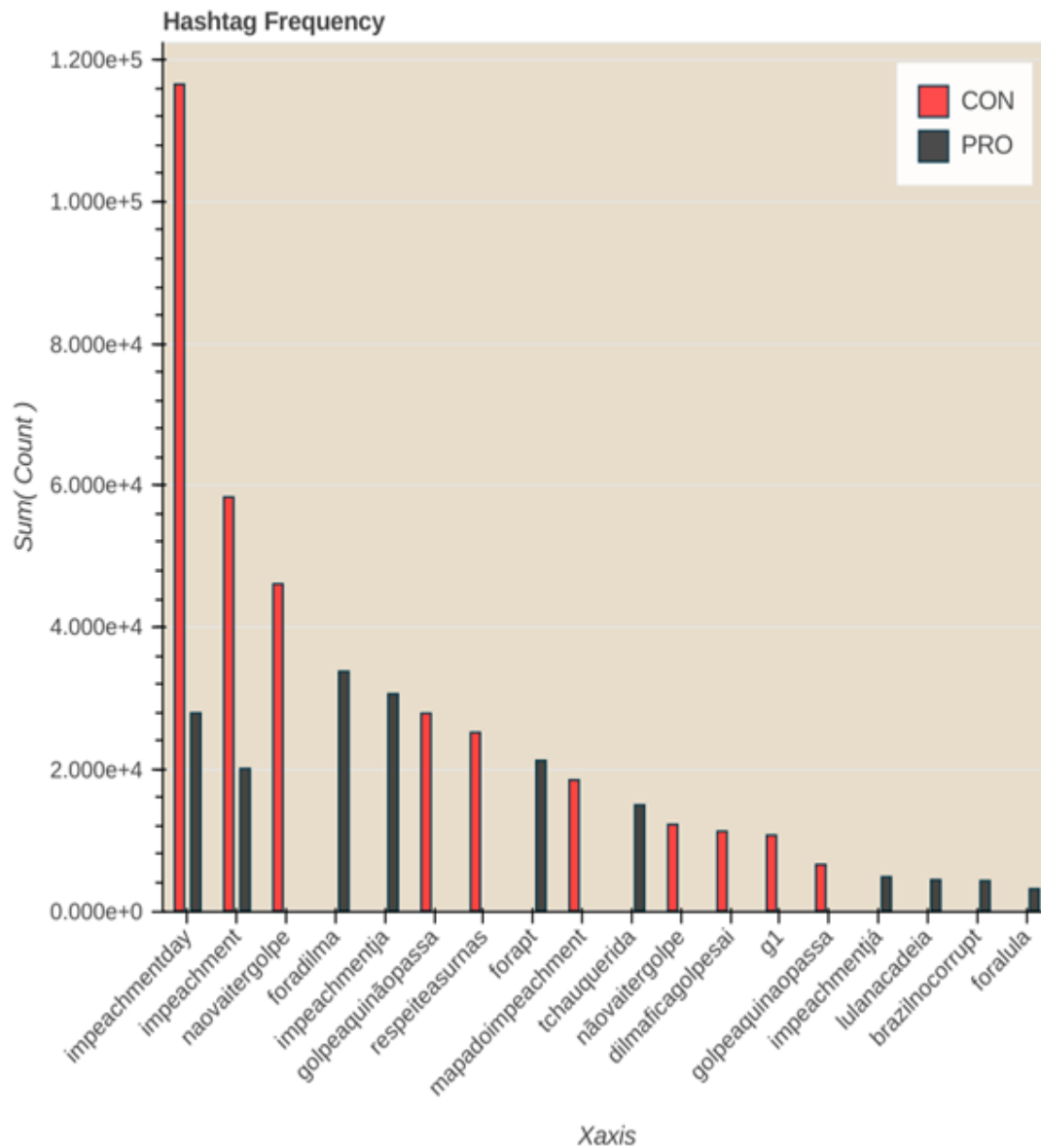


Fig. 3  
(Source: Authors, 2018)

The results show that only in the two most used hashtags (#impeachmentday e #impeachment) was a dispute between the two opposing groups, with the largest number of tweets opposing the impeachment. Overall, the #s showed only one sentiment (the political position), with the two opposing stances.

Below is a classification of the hashtags, following the sentiments shown above.

Political positioning	Hashtag (in portuguese)	Meaning
PRO Impeachment	ForaDilma impeachmentJa ForaPT tchauQuerida impeachmentJá LulaNaCadeia BrasilNoCorrupt ForaLula	Get out Dilma Rousseff Impeachment Now Get out PT (Rousseff's party) bye honey (Rousseff) Impeachment Now Lula (former president in the jail) No corruption in Brazil Get out Lula (former president)
CON Impeachment	nãovaitergolpe golpeAquiNãoPassa respeiteAsUrnas Mapadoimpeachment naovaitergolpe dilmaFicaGolpeSai g1* golpeaquinaopassa	there will be no coup coup here does not pass respect the polls (election results) Impeachment mapping there will be no coup Dilma (Rousseff) stay and coup get out Media company (no meaning) coup here does not pass
Both groups	Impeachmentday impeachment	impeachment voting day impeachment

Table 01  
(Source: Authors, 2018)

\* hashtag of News favorable to Dilma Rousseff which was shared by the group opposing the impeachment that gives a different meaning.

Another important source of information for this study can be extracted by the analysis of the interactions between users, using the approach of Social Network Analysis (Larson & Moe, 2012). Using the database as a reference, a network of interactions between the users was created, expressing the relations of retweet (RT). The constructed network contains 317,509 nodes and 1,149,909 connections.

For the purpose of analysis, the top 10 users utilizing network measurements: In degree, Out degree and PageRank, was calculated. The In degree measures the users with the highest retweet count, the Out degree shows the users who retweet the most and

PageRank is a measurement used by Google to classify search results, showing the users which are considered the most relevant by the central players, these being the users which have the most impact in the dissemination of information generally (Weitzel et al., 2012).

The profiles found were categorized into: media (communication enterprises), part/politician, Twitterer (a common user, who has a lot of followers), journalists, militants who are CON and PRO (common users with publications containing political stances), non-government organization (social movement, collective and NGOs) and celebrities (artists, musicians, famous people, etc).

As expected, the top 10 In degree contains mainly news profiles, while the Out degree is formed by activist users and PageRank shows a mixture of both, as illustrated by the table below.

In Degree		Out Degree		PageRank	
Profile	Category	Profile	Category	Profile	Category
Estadao	media	dionianjos	Militant CON	afpressuto	Militant PRO
lucas	twitterer	beijopai	Suspended account	br45ilnocorrupt	NGO
BlogDoPlim	journalist	leleabreu	Militant CON	BlogDoPlim	journalist
ptbrasil	party	moemasbc57	Militant CON	MollerSandayo	Militant PRO
GeorgMarques	journalist	Beamaral84	Militant PRO	lobaoelettrico	celebrity
JornalOGlobo	media	lacerdagalo	Militant CON	Estadao	media
naosejatrouxa	twitterer	woodstock_59	Militant CON	diegoescoteguy	journalist
BlogdoNoblat	journalist	araujosergio	Protected account	BlogDoNoblat	journalist
MidiaNINJA	media	br45ilnocorrupt	NGO	MovBrasillivre	NGO
folha	media	mariaap94213193	Militant CON	mendoncafilho	politician

Table 2  
(Source: Authors, 2018)

Table 02 makes it apparent that the users who have the highest number of retweets (In degree) are associated with the press (media and journalists). In the top 10, it was also possible to identify the occurrence of two twitterers whose characteristics are humor publications. The most active users (Out degree) were militants, with the largest part of these opposing the impeachment (militant CON). A suspended account, a protected account and a NGO's profile which acted in favor of the impeachment were found.

A global analysis allows for the confirmation of the existence of a political dispute revolving around a narrative in favor of the lawfulness of the impeachment of the PRO groups, which were more active in the dissemination of opinions (PageRank), while the CON groups were more active in the production of tweets (Out degree) denouncing the existence of a political coup. However, this dispute used the retweet of messages produced by the press from both groups.

As a way of representing and visualizing the narrative dispute graphically, a graph was made based on the relations established between the users' retweets that shared a similar motif. According to the findings of the studies of Harrigan et al. (2012), the structure of a community possesses a larger capability of diffusion of content (social epidemic), as the members of the community have more similarities (this is referring to their interests and shared characteristics, increasing the significance of the messages between members), and the communities, with strong political identities, taking a stand either in favor of the defense or the denial of the impeachment, amplify the social connection between the retweeted messages.

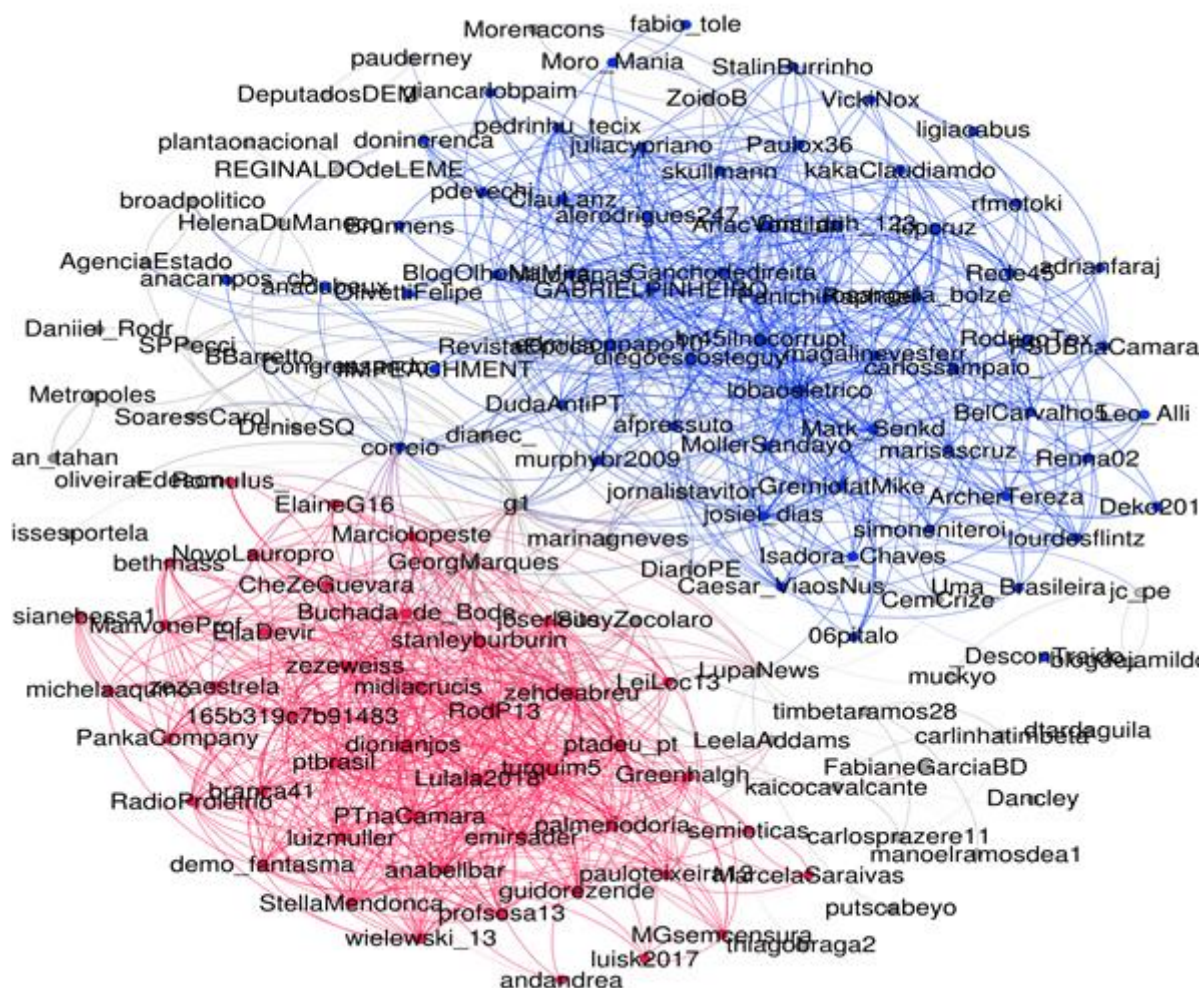


Fig. 4  
(Sources: Authors, 2018)

Figure 04 represents the users which participate in these interactions. The colors represent the two communities: blue represents the users PRO impeachment while red represents those who oppose it (CON impeachment). In the middle of the clusters, it is noticeable the functionality of the node ‘g1’ (a Twitter profile of the G1 Portal, the right hand of Rede Globo – the Brazilian major communication network) as a weak tie (cf. Granovetter, 1983), working as a “bridge”, connecting the two groups, indicating that the news from this profile (g1) was used by both communities in the dispute of the meaning of the impeachment, which Laclau (2005) called the dispute around “empty meanings” spinning around the impeachment process.

## Discussion

The results obtained during the research confirm the existence of a discursive dispute between the groups in favor and against the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, expressed around hashtags (figure 03) and in the proper formation of communities, as shown in figure 01. Both groups seek to produce a narrative about the ongoing impeachment process.

As seen in table 01, the group in favor of the impeachment tried to create a narrative surrounding around the hashtags that defended the impeachment (#ImpeachmentJa - #ImpeachmentNow), criticized Dilma Rousseff (#tchauquerida - #byeconomy and #ForaDilma - #GetoutDilma), her party (#ForaPT - #GetoutPT) and the former president Lula (#ForaLula - #GetoutLula and #LulaNaCadeia - #LulaIntheJail). On the other hand, the groups opposing the impeachment mobilized themselves around the hashtags that defended Dilma (#dilmaFicaGolpeSai - #dilmastayCoupOut) and mainly around the idea of a political coup in progress (#nãovaitergolpe - #willnotgetcoup, #golpeAquiNãoPassa - #Couptheredonotpass, #respeiteAsUrnas - #respectTheBallots).

However, the political debate followed a homophily tendency, that is, there is a tendency that each member of a social network will interact with users with the same profile (or similar world vision) (McPherson et al., 2001), in the case of this study, the users with similar political positioning and ideologies. This type of behavior is common in social networking sites, even in Twitter, where the users are exposed to a larger variety of points of view compared to other social network sites (Yardi & Body, 2010). This behavior tends to favor the creation of an identity and the formation of a chain of equivalencies (according Laclau, 2005) which makes it possible to mobilize a large number of users, mainly for the opposition of an “enemy”, and the rapid diffusion of contents in these webs, but it also leads to the increase in conflict and the polarization of opposing politics (according Mouffe, 2005).

## Conclusion

In order to respond to the research question: what are the meanings (narratives disputes) mobilized on Twitter by political groups, during the impeachment process in Brazil in 2016? It is possible to affirm that the groups favorable to the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff defended the legitimacy of the removal of the president, associating her



with the corruption investigations involving her party and her political godfather, former president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva. Despite the reason for the impeachment being unrelated to corruption cases under the Rousseff government. On the other hand, groups opposed to impeachment mobilized the discourse, through hashtags, that the process was illegitimate and that the people would resist this coup, which had the support of the major communication companies in Brazil.

Through the analysis of social networks it was also possible to identify that the most active profiles were of the group favorable to impeachment, mobilizing a larger network of supporters through the network of retweets.

Finally, it is important to highlight that in an increasingly digitized society, there is a need to build an interdisciplinary research agenda focused on the study of conflicts on a social internet platform as a central element in the new social, political and technological configuration. of contemporary society.

### **Acknowledgments**

Thanks to the São Paulo State Research Support Foundation (FAPESP / Brazil) for financing the project Electoral disputes in cyberspace.

## References

- AMARAL, A.; COIMBRA, M. - Expressões de ódio nos sites de redes sociais: o universo dos haters no caso# eunãomereçoserestuprada//Expressions of hatred on social networking sites: the universe of haters in the case# eunãomereçoserestuprada. *Contemporânea*. 13:2 (2015), p. 294-310.
- ANDERSON, C. - *The long tail*. Hyperion e book, 2018.
- ALSTOTT, J.; BULLMORE, E.; PLENZ, D. - Powerlaw: a Python package for analysis of heavy-tailed distributions. *PloS one*. 9:1 (2014), e85777.
- BENKLER, Y. - *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. Yale University Press, 2006.
- BENNETT, W. L.; SEGERBERG, A. - The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, communication & society*. 15:5 (2012), p. 739-768.
- BOYD, D. - Why youth (heart) social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life. In BUCKINHAM, David (ed.) - *YOUTH, IDENTITY, AND DIGITAL MEDIA*. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007-16, 2008.
- BRUNS, A.; BURGESS, J. E. - The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics. In *Proceedings of the 6th European consortium for political research (ECPR) general conference*, 2011.
- CASTELLS, M. - *Communication power*. OUP Oxford, 2013.
- CASTELLS, M. - *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. John Wiley & Sons, 2015.
- CHAIA, V. L. M.; BRUGNAGO, F. - A nova polarização política nas eleições de 2014: radicalização ideológica da direita no mundo contemporâneo do Facebook. *Aurora. Revista de Arte, Mídia e Política*. 7:21 (2014), p. 99-129.
- CHEN, T. [et al.] - Xgboost: extreme gradient boosting. *R package version 0.4-2*. (2015), p. 1-4.
- CLAUSET, A.; SHALIZI, C. R.; NEWMAN, M. E. - Power-law distributions in empirical data. *SIAM review*. 51:4 (2009), p. 661-703.
- GERBAUDO, P. - The persistence of collectivity in digital protest. *Information, Communication & Society*. 17:2 (2014), p. 264-268.
- GRANOVETTER, M. - The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. *Sociological theory*. (1983), p. 201-233.
- HARRIGAN, N.; ACHANANUPARP, P.; LIM, E. P. - Influentials, novelty, and social contagion: The viral power of average friends, close communities, and old news. *Social Networks*. 34:4 (2012), p. 470-480.
- HOWARD, P. N.; HUSSAIN, M. M. - The upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The role of digital media. *Journal of democracy*. 22:3 (2011), p. 35-48.
- KLAUS, A.; YU, S.; PLENZ, D. - Statistical analyses support power law distributions found in neuronal avalanches. *PloS one*. 6:5 (2011), e19779.
- LACLAU, E. - *On populist reason*. London: Verso, 2005.
- LACLAU, E.; CHANTAL, M. - *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso, 1986.
- LARSSON, A. O.; MOE, H. - Studying political microblogging: Twitter users in the 2010 Swedish election campaign. *New media & Society*. 14:5 (2012), p. 729-747.
- MENDONÇA, R. F.; PEREIRA, M. A. - Democracia digital y deliberación en línea: un estudio de caso sobre Votenaweb. *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*. 2 (2011), p. 109-157.

- MAIA, R. C. M.; REZENDE, T. A. S. - Democracia e a ecologia complexa das redes sociais online: um estudo sobre discussões acerca do racismo e da homofobia. *Intexto*. 34 (2015), p. 492-512.
- MCPHERSON, M.; SMITH-LOVIN, L.; COOK, J. M. - Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual review of sociology*. 27:1 (2001) p. 415-444.
- MOUFFE, C. - *On the political*. Psychology Press, 2005.
- PENTEADO, C. L.; GUERBALI, J. G. - As manifestações do impeachment no Twitter: uma análise sobre as manifestações de 2015. *Ponto-e-Vírgula: Revista de Ciências Sociais*. 19 (2016).
- STANDING, G. - The Precariat-The new dangerous class. *Amalgam*. 6:6-7 (2014), p. 115-119.
- THEOCHARIS, Y. [et. al] - Using Twitter to mobilize protest action: online mobilization patterns and action repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi movements. *Information, Communication & Society*. 18:2 (2015), p. 202-220.
- WASSERMAN, S.; GALASKIEWICZ, J. - *Advances in social network analysis: Research in the social and behavioral sciences*. Sage, 1994.
- WEITZEL, L.; QUARESMA, P.; DE OLIVEIRA, J. P. M. - Measuring node importance on twitter microblogging. In *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Web Intelligence, Mining and Semantics*, 2012, p. 1-7.
- YARDI, S.; BOYD, D. - Dynamic debates: An analysis of group polarization over time on twitter. *Bulletin of science, technology & society*. 30:5 (2010), p. 316-327.

Artigo Recebido a 28 de outubro de 2020 | Aceite a 18 de novembro de 2020