The Impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and the debate on Twitter

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Abstract: Empirically supported by Twitter activity, especially with regard to the profiles related to the city of São Paulo, this article presents an analysis of the main events in the year 2016 related to Dilma Rousseff's impeachment proceedings. Based on data collected between March 5 and October 16, we adopted the Issue Mapping methodology, which seeks to map everyday narratives, relevant facts or events in the networked public sphere. Two organically articulated axes composes the textual structure. In addition, we offer a detailed explanation of the current political scenario along with the analysis of the Twitter information flow based on street demonstrations (pro and against), impeachment trial, and the 2016 Summer Olympics.

Keywords: Rousseff's Impeachment; 2016 Summer Olympics; Street Manifestations; Twitter.

Introduction

Based on Issue Mapping methodology, which seeks to map everyday narratives, relevant facts or events in the networked public sphere, this article evaluates some of the main events in the year 2016 related to Dilma Rousseff's impeachment proceedings considering its chain reaction on Twitter, notably by profiles related to the city of São Paulo, one of the epicenters of the political crisis experienced. Before focusing on the methodology and data collected, we will review the chain of events related to the analyzed political stage.

A brief retrospective of the recent political scenario in Brazil

Explicit by Rousseff's controversial impeachment trial, the year 2016 deeply marked the Brazilian political history. Large social mobilizations and strong ideological polarization pronounced the context of substantial connections among country's political forces. These events were the result of the confluence of different internal factors related to the recent history of the country as well as to the Latin American and globalized context.

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The clash of forces on social media platforms and large street demonstrations, figured as an unfolding of the legacy of the mass protests that emerged in Brazil in June 2013, which seems to mark the exhaustion of a greater historical cycle of the so-called New Republic[7]. In terms of institutional politics, the impeachment proceedings itself marks the triumph of the conservative forces in the midst of an economic crisis, corruption scandals and the Operation Car Wash[8], which further corroded the legitimacy of the representatives, echoing a worldwide crisis of representativeness. The removal of a popularly elected president has a recent history in Latin America, as may be seen in the cases of Honduras in 2008 and Paraguay in 2012.

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[7] Brazilian political history period that last until the present day, beginning in 1985 with the indirect presidential election of the military regime opposition candidate Tancredo Neves characterizing the political transition to the democratic regime. This period "seems" to be exhausted since it is in an unprecedented conjunctural and structural crisis with significant attempts to deform the Federal Constitution (1988), which was consecrated in this historical cycle.

[8] A Federal Police operation that was launched on March 17, 2014, which investigates corruption schemes in Petrobras and has already become the largest, not least controversial, anti-corruption operation in Brazil, condemning dozens of businessmen and politicians. Usually compared to Mani Pulite anti-corruption operation in Italy held in the 1990s.

The directions taken by the government of the Vice President Michel Temer (PMDB) reflects what has been called the "conservative restoration in Latin America", experienced in several other countries, which translates into a deepening of neoliberal policies, strengthening the old and unequal social structures.

In addition, a major event that symbolized the economic achievements during President Lula's second term (2007-2010) – the Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics –, were also highly contested during its management as was the case with the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Both events inflated the criticism of Dilma Rousseff's government for supposed incompetence in the general arrangement, and numerous evidences of institutional overbilling[9]. These events also provided social mobilization related to the right to the city as a result of low-income housing residents retaining and relocation.

To better understand the events that occurred in 2016, we will summarize some key moments of the recent political scenario, considering some facts and actors involved.

The reality of a country like Brazil, historically on the periphery of world capitalism, and retaining extreme social inequalities, is that of a permanent crisis (POCHMANN, 2015). However, we are currently experiencing a sharp disarray of the political order constituted after the military regime in which the Executive, Legislative, Judiciary and Federal Police come into real conflict. Plunged into this current troubled landscape, we see the contrast with the situation we were in until recently, particularly in late 2010, when the country projected itself internationally as a new global player.

Some social welfare programs such as *Bolsa Família*[10], allied with the prosperity of the Brazilian economy, and the promising expectation about the

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[9] Although associated with a good political and economic moment experienced in 2009, it is worth mentioning that even Brazil's choice as host country for the 2016 Summer Olympics was a result of electoral fraud by the International Olympic Committee (CIO) members in collusion with the Brazilian Olympic Committee (BOC) president, Carlos Arthur Nuzman, arrested in October 5, 2017, by the "Unfair Play" case, a ramification of Operation Car Wash.

[10] The Bolsa Família Program (Family Allowance) is a Federal Government income transfer program established during the government of president Lula by Provisional Measure nº132, dated October 20, 2003, converted into a law on January 9, 2004, by Federal Law nº 10,836, which unified and expanded the following previous income transfer programs. It is a financial aid to poor families (defined as those who have a per capita income from R$ 85 to R$ 170 per mouth) that includes: pregnant women and children from 0 to 17 years old. In return, the families should keep children at school, pregnant women should follow up on their health, and the vaccination schedule of children should be up to date. See more in: REGO, Walquiria Leão; Pinzani, Alessandro. Vozes do Bolsa Família. São Paulo: Unesp Publishing House, 2013.

discovery of oil production in the pre-salt layer, were responsible for the prestige with which President Lula ended his second term with 80% of popular approval, electing Dilma Rousseff as his successor. Brazil's positive image, as highlighted by international media coverage at that time, also stemmed from the country's leading role in international affairs as one of the main players for the BRICS[11], reaching great relevance in negotiations on international conflicts.

Between 2011 and 2014, Rousseff's government declined in popularity over previous years, favoring the rise of opposition forces. In addition to the decline in social policies, and the broadening of alliances with the conservative political forces, we can note the tensions around Brazil's state-run oil Petrobras regarding the exploration of the pre-salt layer, and Rousseff's statements on the intent to keep a great part of these resources to the education and health[12] - apart from the diplomatic issue with the USA after the accusation of espionage[13], the street demonstrations of 2013, and the beginning of Operation Car Wash.

This was how in 2014 we had the fiercest presidential election of the New Republic with Russeff's tight victory with 51.64% (54,501,118) of the votes against Aécio Neves (PSDB), who kept 48.36% (51,041,155). The contention has spilled over into an aggressive ideological antagonism, and has since spread to a pro-impeachment movement in civil society, whose first echoes came from 2013 June Journeys, inflated by opposition parties and political leaders until the completion of her deposition in 31 August 2016.

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[11] BRICS is the acronym for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa; it is an economic bloc formed by important and emerging world economies, facing the axis of the USA, Europe and Japan.

[12] The Chamber of Representatives approved on 26/06/2013 by a bill of law nº 5.500/13, which allocates 75% of royalties for education and 25% for health, sanctioned by Dilma Rousseff on 09/09/2013 as Act of Law nº 12.858/13. The law conflicts with the interests in the profits of the pre-salt layer by international conglomerates that maintains heavy lobbies in the National Congress. On 10/05/2016, the Chamber approved bill No. 4567/16, authored by Senator José Serra (PSDB), which withdraws the mandatory participation of Petrobras in the exploration of the pre--salt layers as determined by Law 12.351/10, jeopardizing the amount of royalties for education and health. On 13/12/2016 the Senate approved the constitutional amendment nº55 that freezes spending on education and health for 20 years.

[13] Documents from the US National Security Agency (NSA), leaked in 2013 by former intelligence analyst of the entity, Edward Snowden, shows that the Brazilian government, especially the Ministry of Mines and Energy, was spied on by both the NSA and the Canadian Communication Security (CSEC) with the aim of obtaining competitive advantages in the auctions of pre-salt exploration fields. In response to this fact, Dilma Rousseff made a famous speech at the 68th UN Assembly on September 24, 2013 (http://bit.ly/2pV770N) in which she attacked US espionage. The Brazilian government also promoted the World Net Arena in São Paulo from April 22 to 24, 2014, an event to discuss the world's Internet governance, strengthening the Civil Internet Framework (Law No. 12.965 / 14).

Among the events mentioned above, it is worth remarking the 2013 mass demonstrations, when Brazil entered the scene of the multitudinarian events that since 2011 have erupted in different countries (HARDT; NEGRI, 2005). Despite the global consonance with movements such as Arab Spring, 15M (Spain), Occupy (USA), and Taksin (Turkey), the 2013 June Journeys in Brazil[14] can be considered one of the largest street demonstrations since the "March of the One Hundred Thousand" against the military regime held in Rio de Janeiro on June 26, 1968, and the Campaign for Direct Election for President in 1984.

The 2013 June Journeys in Brazil were triggered against the increase of public transport fares in several cities (POMAR, 2013). The demonstrations began in May, called by the Free Fare Movement (*Movimento Passe Livre - MPL*)[15] in the city of São Paulo and had the consent of some unions, student organizations, and leftist parties with guidelines related to the right to the city platform. However, the outbreak of these demonstrations provoked different types of displeasure in various social groups, transforming the protests into a diverse proliferation of movements and causes – in some cases, completely opposite to each other –, leading to diversified developments. In addition to students and workers aligned with the *MPL* strategy, some organizations and right-wing parties started to gain ground on the streets, and the presence of the Black Blocs[16] made its focus even more vague and diffuse.

The hashtag #vemprarua (come to the street), met all sorts of indignation and aspiration as well as some displaced and estranged people going with the flow. Translated into aversion to the political class as a whole, the crisis of political representation brought together a large part of the protesters around the vague and simplistic "against corruption" topic. The anti-corruption theme can be considered a negotiable and disputable signifier (LACLAU, 2013), which could

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[14] The name alludes to the revolts of the French workers between the days 24 and 26 of June of 1848, known like June Days.

[15] Free Fare Movement (Movimento Passe Livre - MPL), is a Brazilian social movement created in 2005 at the World Social Forum, and has as main flag the adoption of zero fare in collective transportation.

[16] The Black Clocks do not define themselves as a movement, but as a tactic of direct action of anarchist character. They meet masked and dressed in black to protest in street demonstrations. They have an ephemeral, non-hierarchical and decentralized leadership. In the 2013 June Journeys they usually trashed banks and imported products store windows as a way of confronting the capitalist system.

be used opportunistically by anti-government groups, including opposition parties and the mainstream media.

Therefore, those demonstrations turned into a cauldron of differences. There are many June Journeys legacies and it is still possible to speculate about its meanings. The movements and collectives for the right to the city that directed their efforts to democratic representation – proposing new forms of political action and citizen participation –, remained active against citizens' rights violations arising from the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics as well as several experiences of public space occupations as an affirmation of alternative city projects.

The Black Blocs activity has been extended almost uninterruptedly until the 2014 FIFA World Cup, cooling down soon afterwards. The prominence of the Black Blocs and their interventions drew the attention of media coverage interested in criminalizing the protests. Since their insurgency it has not been long before the proposed antiterrorism bill has come to Congress[17].

In this sense, building connections with the streets, a new right-wing movement was seen in Brazil, having a large development in social networks, especially Facebook and Twitter. This right-wing movement was formed during the June Journeys by middle-class and upper-middle-class urban groups, business groups, evangelical churches, and opposition parties, initially around the hashtag #ogiganteacordou (the giant awoke). They called themselves totally disgusted with corruption, but directed their discontent almost exclusively to the government of Dilma Rousseff and the Workers' Party (PT), ignoring the historical and systemic corruption issues in Brazil, very much alive in its political culture before the creation of the Workers' Party (PT).

During the FIFA World Cup, they were against Brazil's success in hosting the event, accusing the government of corruption and incompetence, but its consolidation occurred a few months later, during the 2014 election, when different organized groups gained influence, such as *Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL)*, *Movimento Vem Pra Rua,* and *Revoltados Online*. In general, they appeared as

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[17] The Bill nº 2016/2015, authored by the government was voted on urgently in the Chamber of Representatives on 18/06/2015 and sanctioned by President Dilma Rousseff on 16/03/2016 as Law nº 13.260/16. The Bill served as a base for several prisons during the Olympic Games and on 20/04/2017 for the 11-year prison sentence of Rafael Braga, imprisoned since the protests of 2013.

a conservative and ultraliberal movement contrary to the social welfare programs, defending privatization and relaxation of labor laws. Unlike the movements for the right to the city and the Black Blocs, their actions had support of the mainstream media and the Military Police, reason why they were nicknamed *"coxinhas"*[18].

Rousseff's opponents then indicated that they would not be satisfied with her eventual victory and that was what actually happened. Soon after the end of the election, on November 15, the first pro-impeachment demonstration was convened and brought together 10.000 people on Paulista Avenue, central region of São Paulo City.

These demonstrations grew organized mainly by *Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL)*, *Movimento Vem Pra Rua,* and *Revoltados Online*, supported by right-wing parties such as Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) and Democrats (DEM). Other national demonstrations were held on March 15, April 12, and August 16, 2015. During this time the Operation Car Wash arrested important Workers' Party (PT) members[19]. Rousseff's government weakened with low popularity as the economic crisis deepened, and operated unsuccessfully in political linkages to secure a support base capable of enabling an effective government. In the Chamber of Representatives, several requests for impeachment arrived until December 2. The speaker Eduardo Cunha (PMDB) sanctioned the opening of the impeachment proceedings from a complaint wrote by the lawyers Hélio Bicudo, Miguel Reale Júnior, and Janaina Paschoal, denouncing Dilma Rousseff for "fiscal pedaling"[20], and it is with this political scenario that the year 2016 began.

Methodology

Following the Issue Mapping methodology, we defined some key categories contained in the impeachment debate on Twitter. We also selected some

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[18] The nickname "coxinha" (little [chicken] thigh) was originally attributed to the policemen by eating coxinhas in bars and bakeries; then it was used to refer to people who defend the order and status quo, the so-called "the good citizens", and is therefore applied to the right-wing protesters.

[19] Former Secretary of Finance and Planning of the Workers Party (PT) João Vaccari Neto was arrested on 04/15/15 and the former Chief of Staff of the Presidency (2003-2005) José Dirceu on 03/08/15.

[20] Term used to define the budget operations carried out by the National Treasury without legal provision. The operation consists of delaying the funds transfer public and private banks with the intention of reducing the impact on the fiscal situation of the government in a given month or year.

prominent and quite active profiles, whether they were pro or against the impeachment process (all arranged in table 1). The monitoring data includes the period between March 5 and October 16, 2016[21].

Table 1 - Key Categories and Related Profiles

Categories	Profiles
Media	Revista Veja, Folha de S.Paulo, Estadão
Social Movements	MST Oficial, MTST, CUT Nacional, MPL - São Paulo, Anonymous Brasil, Partido Pirata, Occupy Brazil, Gay Brasil (LGBT), MBL – São Paulo, Marcha da Maconha, Marcha das Mulheres, UNE, AfroReggae
Parties and Politicians	José Serra, Geraldo Alckmin, Michel Temer, Gilberto Kassab, Fernando Haddad, Eduardo Suplicy, Cristovam Buarque, Marta Suplicy, Rede Sustentabilidade, PT, PSDB, Marcos Feliciano, Romário, Celso Russomano, Gabriel Chalita.
Journalists	Reinaldo Azevedo, Rachel Sheherazade, Renata Loprete, Paulo Henrique Amorim, Luis Nassif, Monica Bergamo, José Luiz Datena, Josias de Souza, Renato Rovai, Rodrigo Constantino, Rodrigo Vianna.
Celebrities	Danilo Gentili, Rafinha Bastos, Laerte
Humor/Parody	Sensacionalista, José Simão

Due to data collection over 224 days, we proceeded with some criteria for the removal of irrelevant or misleading information in order to bring new knowledge about this period. Therefore, the first step was to construct a chronology of events related to Rousseff's impeachment – incorporating the agendas of popular demonstrations for and against such process –, as well as the agenda of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, the Operation Car Wash (Lava Jato) and the 2016 Summer Olympics.

Based on this chronology, we identified the matches in the total plot from the collected data, selecting only the events that represented the most significant peaks. Consequently, we got eleven events that had a more relevant activity on

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[21] The data were applied in Tableau software for data visualization and cross-referencing. Gephi is an open-source network analysis software, making it possible to observe the candidate accounts' behaviors..

Twitter, grouping them into three blocks: 1) Street Protests (pro and against Rousseff's impeachment), with five graphs; 2) The impeachment proceeding in Congress, formed by the most significant events in the lower and upper houses of the National Congress in Brazil, presenting five more graphs; 3) 2016 Summer Olympics, from the intersection between hashtags about the Olympics and the impeachment trial, resulting in a single chart referring to the opening ceremony and the first week of the games.

From the general graph performed with the most relevant events selected we were able to debug the hashtags to be used. We captured the twenty-five hashtags with the highest frequency, the largest of which is #impeachmentday, which appears 58,172 times, and the lowest is #Dilma, appearing 6,203 times. We grouped the hashtags in three trends: 1) Pro-impeachment; 2) Against impeachment; and 3) Generalists, which are the hashtags used by everyone, regardless of their behavior in relation to the impeachment. The hashtags can be checked in Table 2[22]:

Table 2 - Hashtags selected by categories

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PRO IMPEACHMENT	Nº
#brazilnocorrupt	26520
#quedadoplanalto	23414
#tchauqueridaday	18382
#foradilma	13208
#tchauquerida	11498
#forapt	9886
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	9428
#lulanacadeia	7943
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	7490
#mortadeladay	7279
#vempraruabrasil	6504
TOTAL	141552

[22] Here is an explanatory note about the hashtags presented in Table 2: we try to merge very similar hashtags since the slight difference between them is often due to typing errors or even the user's distraction in not using the pattern correctly. Examples: #pemprarua, #impeachmentja, #principademocracy, #golpeaquinao and #diretasja.

AGAINST IMPEACHMENT	Nº
#foratemer	51557
#vemprademocracia (& #vemparademocracia)	25664
#dilmanovamente	14515
#golpeaquinao (& #golpeaquinã)	12487
#respeiteasurnas	8753
#pelademocracia	8238
#golpistasday	8071
#lutopelademocracia	6963
#naovaitergolpe	6460
TOTAL	142708

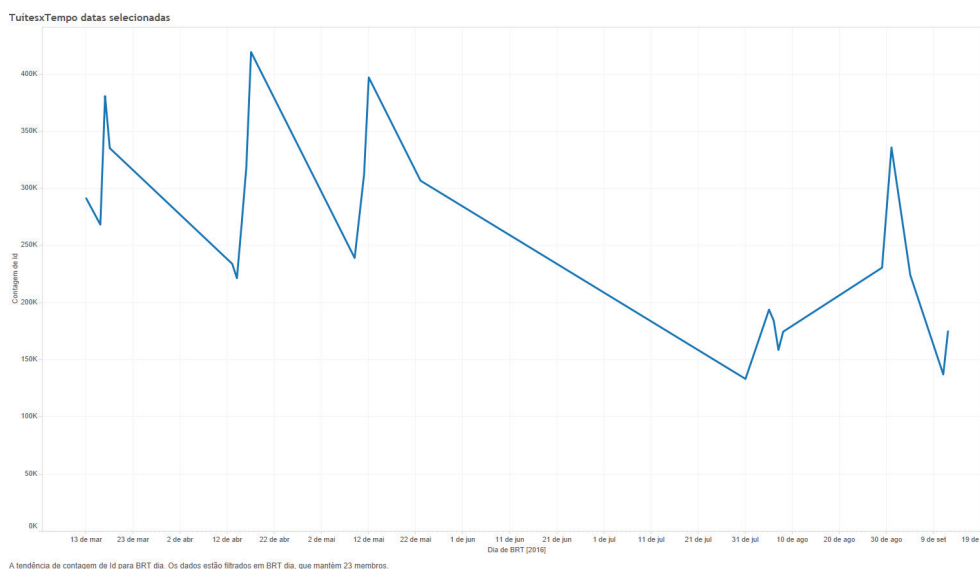| GENERALISTS	Nº
#impeachmentday	58172
#impeachment	26595
#micheltemer	6648
#dilma	6203
TOTAL	97618

Twitter information flow analysis

After mapping the main events during the impeachment proceedings, we monitored the selected profiles and hashtags in order to identify and analyze such activity on Twitter.

In the general information flow accounting on Twitter it is possible to identify four great peaks. The first one, occurred on March 18, and corresponds to the great street demonstrations in defense of Dilma Rousseff. On the other hand, the great street demonstration that took place on March 13 – this time pro-impeachment – did not have a great prominence on Twitter. The second peak, was on April 17, when the voting section in the lower house took place[23].

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[23] The impeachment proceedings is defined as follows: according to Law 1079/50, in the lower house, any citizen can accuse the president of committing political-administrative infractions. The current House Speaker, Eduardo Cunha, accepted the request and then a committee of representatives was created with the attendance of 66 representatives from all parties to give an opinion on the opening of the impeachment proceedings. After that, the period of 10 sessions for the defense began, before voting. In order to accept the accusing request, 342 votes were required and 367 votes were obtained in favor of the impeachment and the withdrawal of the presidency took place for 180 days. After this period, in a Senate voting section with 61 senators Dilma Rousseff was dismissed.

The third peak was on May 12, the day the president was provisionally removed for a 180 day period; thus, also the Vice President Michel Temer's provisionally inauguration. Finally, on August 31, the definitive departure of Dilma Rousseff takes place. In Graph 1, it is possible to verify this activity.

Graph 1 - General flow on Twitter

TuitesxTempo datas selecionadas

A tendência de contagem de Id para BRT dia. Os dados estão filtrados em BRT dia, que mantém 23 membros.

First grouping - street demonstrations

March 2016 was a politically hectic month. On the fourth day, former President Lula's bench warrant to testify in Operation Aletheia[24] prevailed in the news and echoed the moods of both the supporters and the opposing groups. On the thirteenth day, the first major pro-impeachment demonstrations of the year were held, underlining the one that happened on Paulista Avenue as one of the largest street demonstrations ever held in Brazil. However, the numbers are divergent; 3.6 million people, according to police data, 6.9 million, according to the organizers; and 500 thousand, according to Datafolha (Grupo Folha's polling institute), overcoming demonstrations for direct election in 1984 (*Diretas Já*).

On the sixteenth day, the most intense day of the month, several events were highlighted. The Supreme Federal Court (STF) defined the rules for the establishment of the House of Representatives Special Commission to follow up

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[24] The Federal Police's investigative operations are usually named by the responsible commissioners. Aletheia, word of Greek origin, means unveiling and was the name given to an operation launched on March 4, 2016, representing the 24th phase of Operation Car Wash (Lava Jato), to maintain investigations on crimes of corruption and money laundering in the criminal scheme related to Petrobras.

on the impeachment trial, and Dilma Rousseff appointed Lula as Chief of Staff. That appointment led to an immediate reaction by the opponents, who accused him of seeking legal immunity. On the same day, Judge Sérgio Moro released telephone conversations between Lula and Dilma Rousseff; and in the following days, several other audios involving members of the government and the Workers' Party (PT) were disclosed. Judge Sérgio Moro was accused of biased behavior, reinforcing his image as a one-sided judge[25]. On the eighteenth day, amid fierce political polarization, groups opposed to impeachment held demonstrations in 55 cities plus the Federal District (Brasília), which brought together 1.3 million people, according to organizers; 275.000 according to police. Lula attended Paulista Avenue and gave a thirty-minute speech, at which time Gilmar Mendes, Chief Justice of the Supreme Federal Court, suspended Lula's appointment as Chief of Staff. On the thirty-first day, in memory of the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état[26], new demonstrations against impeachment – understood at this time also as a coup against democracy –, were organized by the activist movements *Frente Brasil Popular* and *Frente Povo Sem Medo* (both organized by left-wing politicians and activists) in 33 Brazilian cities, bringing together 159.000 people, according to police, 824.000 according to organizers.

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Table 3 – Pro-Impeachment Activity (13/03/16)

Hashtag	Frequency
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	7330
#vempraruabrasil	6299
#foradilma	4031
#forapt	3752
#lulanacadeia	2176
#brazilnocorrupt	1925
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	319
#impeachment	254
#naovaitergolpe	167
#micheltemer	19
#foratemer	1

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[25] Sergio Moro, judge of the 13th Federal Criminal Court of Curitiba- PR, gained national and international notoriety by commanding the Operation Car Wash (Lava Jato). He is one of the judiciary member who appear most in the media since the beginning of the investigations in 2014.

[26] In 1964, the armed forces overthrew President João Goulart on the grounds of the fight against corruption, and the elimination of the communist threat, which were widely supported by the urban middle classes, the industrial sectors and the national press.

The first major street demonstration in 2016 organized by activist movements such as *Movimento Brasil Livre*, *Vem Pra Rua* and *Revoltados Online* – widely reported as the largest one in Brazilian history by the media – which also affirmed its support for the pro-impeachment trend[27], did not presented the same performance on Twitter. The Graph 1, covers the entire data collection period between March 5 and October 6; this specific event is not among the highest peaks. However, if this fact does not represent a lesser use capacity of social media platforms by pro-impeachment groups, it may denote a greater option for public actions.

What called the attention was a tendency to a general rejection of the political class, perceptible in booing and cursing of politicians opposed to Dilma Rousseff, and who encouraged street demonstrations like Aécio Neves (PSDB) and Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB) on Paulista avenue, also with their names involved in corruption cases[28]. Among the dominant pro-impeachment hashtags, we see that #vemprarua, #vempraruabrasil, and #brazilnocorrupt, reveals this issue by expressing primarily an outrage against corruption, although favorable to Rousseff's impeachment. Besides the call for street demonstrations, the main hashtags of that day pointed to a general bias against the Workers' Party (PT), usually called *"antipetismo"*[29]. Remarkably, with significant prominence on Twitter's activity, also emerged the request for provisional arrest of former President Lula.

The hashtag #foratemer, that eventually became the largest of all in the period, appeared at this time only once.

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[27] See "Manifestantes fazem maior protesto nacional contra o governo Dilma", O Globo, Política, 13/03/2016 (https://goo.gl/OR6FoS); "Protesto na av. Paulista é o maior ato político já registrado em São Paulo", Folha de São Paulo, Poder, 13/03/2016 (https://goo.gl/VbtJrq); "Maior manifestação da história do País aumenta pressão por saída de Dilma", Estadão, Política, 13/03/2016 (https://goo.gl/jTEp5N). And in contrast: "O papel da mídia nas manifestações do 13 de março", Carta Capital, Interzozes, 14/03/2016 (https://goo.gl/RsZ1Yi).

[28] The graph of Fabio Malini on Twitter supports this question: " QUE SE VAYAN TODOS ?????", Fábio Malini's blog, 03/13/2016 (http://bit.ly/2uneePJ).

[29] People, parties or movements contrary to the ideas and political practices of the Workers' Party (PT).

Table 4: Activity Against Impeachment (18/03/16)

Hashtag	Frequency
#vemprademocracia (& #vemparademocracia)	23167
#mortadeladay	6933
#foradilma	2038
#quedadoplanalto (& #aquedadoplanalto)	1868
#forapt	703
#lulanacadeia	641
#naovaitergolpe	404
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	369
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	319
#impeachment	138
#tchauquerida	14
#foratemer	13
#vempraruabrasil	12
#micheltemer	1

Demonstrations against impeachment, in response to those that occurred on the thirteenth day, were inflamed by previous events; from Lula's bench warrant through his appointment as Chief of Staff to the unfavorable judicial decision. Such protests represented a much larger peak than the one that happened on the thirteenth day (in graph 1); but with less attendance on the streets. Observing the hashtags of higher incidence above we found a majority of pro-impeachment (9 out of 14). This day also registered pro-impeachment demonstrations on a smaller scale in 11 states, plus the Federal District (Brasília)[30]. In this manner, although it is possible to identify the rise of the hashtag #vemprademocracia (come to democracy) with an incidence of 23.167, the big move on Twitter that day occurred due to the presence of groups against and pro-impeachment.

Regarding the rivalries between street organizers and the mainstream media, the former were mainly defenders of democracy and voting sovereignty, while the latter usually portrayed them as partisan supporters of President Dilma Rousseff, or former President Lula. On this subject, it is appropriate to assume that the conventional media performance intensified the polarization between the protesters pro and against[31].

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[30] See: "Manifestantes fazem protestos contra o governo Dilma pelo país", O Globo, Política, 18/03 (https://glo.bo/2tOaJ86).

[31] See: "Os atos pró-democracia e a narrativa do golpe na grande mídia", Carta Capital, Blog Intervozes, 21/03/2016 (http://bit.ly/2tGBHOD), and "COM QUE ROUPA EU VOU? O #VEM-

Accordingly, we can see that the hashtags against the impeachment that had higher frequency (#vemprademocracia e #naovaitergolpe) reflects this nonpartisan trend, and those who make direct mention of Dilma Rousseff or Lula are therefore pro-impeachment.

Table 5: Pro-Impeachment activity and "Temer Out" (31/07/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#foratemer	6544
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	468
#foradilma	185
#forapt	70
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	53
#lulanacadeia	50
#micheltemer	33
#impeachment	27
#brazilnocorrupt	16
#tchauquerida	12
#vempraruabrasil	8
#impeachmentday (& #impeachmentday)	7
#vemprademocracia (& #vemparademocracia)	3

Since the impeachment proceedings had already been approved in the lower house on April 17, and in the Senate on May 23 – although it was not entirely consummated, and that the current president was actually Michel Temer –, some terms of the protests changed. The hashtags that had previously emerged in greater numbers such as #vemprademocracia and #naovaitergolpe (there will be no coup), decreased in frequency, being supplanted by #foratemer, which unifies several categories of outraged people, but mainly those who have always been against him.

On July 31, supporters and adversaries took the streets to protest against the government of Vice President Michel Temer. Pro-impeachment events took place on the streets in 20 states, plus the Federal District (Brasília), bringing together 44,000 people according to police, and 151,000 according to organizers[32]. The demonstrations against Michel Temer took place in 15 states,

PRADEMOCRACIA NO TWITTER", Blog do Fábio Malini, 19/03/2016 (http://bit.ly/2tOu-QmH).

[32] See Map of the street demonstrations, O Globo, Política, 31/07/2016 (http://bit.ly/2aTWceD).

plus the Federal District, bringing together 3,000 people according to police, and 85,000 according to organizers. But on social media platforms, specifically on Twitter, the hashtag #foratemer was the most propagated; seven and a half times more than the sum of all hashtags against and pro-impeachment as shown in table 6.

Table 6: Activity Against Michel Temer (04/09/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#foratemer	12355
#micheltemer	147
#impeachment	100
#forapt	83
#foradilma	50
#impeachmentday (& #iimpeachmentday)	50
#pelademocracia	45
#lulanacadeia	42
#tchauquerida	7
#dilmanovamente	6
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	5
#mortadeladay	2

Rousseff's impeachment ended on August 31, and the first multitudinous demonstration against Michel Temer was held on September 4 on Paulista Avenue. The Police did not reveal any data, but organizers said they had at least 100.000 protesters, including families with children, young people and those linked to social movements that marched from Paulista Avenue to *Largo da Batata*[33]. There was police violence at the end of the act.

This great street protest was also a reply to Michel Temer's statement days earlier, which classified the protesters as a group of 40 people. This demonstration also marked the emergence of a demand for direct election[34].

On Twitter, the hashtag #foratemer was the most used, followed by generalists #micheltemer and #impeachment. Important to notice that of the 12

[33] Largo da Batata is a public place located in the district of Pinheiros, in the city of São Paulo. The route from Anevida Paulista to Largo da Batata has 4 kilometers.

[34] See "Milhares vão às ruas contra Temer em SP e PM reprime ato com justificativa controversa", El País, Brasil, 05/04/2016 (http://bit.ly/2snH9BY); and "Domingo é marcado por protestos contra Temer e por diretas já", UOL Notícias, Política, 04/09/2016 (http://bit.ly/2tK4eCf).

hashtags with the most frequency, 7 were pro-impeachment, a majority not seen on the streets.

Second grouping – impeachment proceddings at the congress

Table 7:Impeachment Vote in the House of Representatives (17/04/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#impeachmentday (&#iimpeachmentday)	58183
#foratemer	51557
#impeachment	26520
#brazilnocorrupt	25664
#vemprademocracia (& #vemparademocracia)	23414
#quedadoplanalto (& #aquedadoplanalto)	18384
#tchauqueridaday	14515
#dilmanovamente	13208
#foradilma	12487
#golpeaquinao (& #golpeaquinã)	11498
#tchauquerida	9886
#forapt	9428
#vemprarua & #vempraruaâ	8753
#respeiteasurnas	8238
#pelademocracia	8071
#golpistasday	7943
#lulanacadeia	7490
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	7279
#mortadeladay	6963
#lutopelademocracia	6648
#micheltemer	6579
#vempraruabrasil	6460
#naovaitergolpe	6203

On April 17, there was an intense activity on Twitter, when the impeachment voting section in the lower house took place after being accepted by the speaker Eduardo Cunha. The voting section was marked by the spectacle and opportunism of the representatives, who took their time in the microphone to express their votes. The voting section was vexatious and full of utterly inadequate speeches, such as that of Deputy Jair Bolsonaro, who dedicated his vote

to Colonel Ustra[35], Rousseff's torturer during the military dictatorship regime. The hashtags that stood out that day were #impeachmentday and #foratemer.

Although pro-Rousseff's impeachment, the hashtag #foratemer announced that protestors were not enthusiastic about Michel Temer's term of office, indicating that he would be the next one to suffer an impeachment. The other hashtags implies support for the impeachment proceedings, and associates it with the fight against corruption and the clash of the government of the Workers' Party. However, it is possible to identify some reaction of those favoring the maintenance of Dilma Rousseff's government, expressed in hashtags as #dilmanovamente, #respeiteasurnas, #pelademocracia and #golpistasday.

Table 8: Senate Impeachment Voting Section (23/05/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#foratemer	3511
#micheltemer	635
#lulanacadeia	246
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	124
#tchauquerida	79
#foradilma	73
#impeachment	67
#forapt	54
#naovaitergolpe	22
#quedadoplanalto (& #aquedadoplanalto)	5
#lutopelademocracia	5
#golpeaquinao (& #golpeaquinã)	4
#golpistasday	4
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	4
#dilmanovamente	2
#pelademocracia	1
#respeiteasurnas	1
#tchauqueridaday	1

The Senate impeachment voting section did not represent a posting peak on Twitter. The previous counts implied the acceptance of the process, and there was no significant movement to impact the senators' decision on social media

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[35] Colonel Carlos Alberto Brilhante Ustra was head of the Department of Information Operations - Center for Internal Defense Operations, known as DOI-CODI, between 1970 and 1974. He was responsible for 502 cases of torture and more than 2,000 political prisons.

platforms. The highlight was the focus given to the new president Michel Temer, who took office with significant rejection. This is expressed by the presence of hashtags #foratemer and #micheltemer, which are pointed out in Table 8. It is worth noting the presence of the mention of former President Lula with the hashtag #lulanacadeia, pointing out that the focus of many pro-impeachment protesters was the annulment[36] of the Workers' Party, and disapproval of its main leadership.

Table 9: Rousseff's defense in the Senate (29/08/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#pelademocracia	7190
#foratemer	1880
#tchauquerida	904
#impeachment	881
#dilmanovamente	854
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	449
#foradilma	358
#forapt	184
#naovaitergolpe	80
#micheltemer	71
#lulanacadeia	32
#tchauqueridaday	10
#impeachmentday (&#iimpeachmentday)	7
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	1

On August 29, when Dilma Rousseff went to the Senate to defend herself, there was a small rise on Twitter information flow, prevailing hashtags in her favor. The emphasis was on the hashtags #pelademocracia; followed by #foratemer and #dilmanovamente; making mention for defense and preservation of the electoral result, and associating it with the maintenance of democracy. However, it is worth noting the presence of hashtags such as #tchauquerida (bye bye darling), #foradilma (Dilma out) and #forapt (PT out), which reveals also the attitude of those favorable to impeachment.

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[36] The annulment is a request for cancellation of political party registration.

Table 10: Rousseff's definitive removal (31/08/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#foratemer	8560
#impeachmentday (&#iimpeachmentday)	6428
#impeachment	1905
#micheltemer	1080
#dilmanovamente	864
#pelademocracia	691
#tchauquerida	624
#forapt	231
#foradilma	147
#lulanacadeia	67
#lutopelademocracia	42
#tchauqueridaday	40
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	23
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	4
#naovaitergolpe	3
#quedadoplanalto (& #aquedadoplanalto)	2
#golpistasday	2

The last peak activity on Twitter occurred on August 31, the day of Rousseff's definitive departure. The main hashtag was #foratemer, representing the people's resistance to the new government. The hashtags #impeachmentday, #impeachment, #tchauquerida, #forapt, and #foradilma, settle support for impeachment and rejection of the Workers' Party, which is also confirmed by the hashtag #lulanacadeia (Lula in jail). Despite the result, there were some expressions contrary to the process emphasized by the hashtags #dilmanovamente and #pelademocracia.

Third grouping - the 2016 summer olympics

Table 11: Olympics (05; 06; 07; 08/08/16)

Hashtags	Frequency
#foratemer	13375
#micheltemer	534
#forapt	323
#foradilma	268
#lulanacadeia	256
#tchauquerida	81
#dilmanovamente	78
#impeachmentja (& #impeachmentjã)	61
#impeachment	58
#lutopelademocracia	27
#naovaitergolpe	18
#vemprarua (& #vempraruaâ)	7
#quedadoplanalto (& #aquedadoplanalto)	6
#impeachmentday (&#iimpeachmentday)	4
#golpistasday	1

Michel Temer was booed during the traditional Summer Olympics opening ceremony, held at the Maracanã stadium on August 5[37]. From August 6, the expression *"Fora Temer"* (Temer Out!) was censored and people with posters or wearing T-shirts with this message were forcibly taken from the stadiums[38]. On August 7, a volunteer decided to leave the Olympics in protest against the ban on political demonstrations in sports arenas[39]. On August 8, amidst the negative effects of the internationally exposed veto, the *"Fora Temer"* chant was authorized, being seen in different competitions by the television broadcast[40].

We found that the Olympics were not widely discussed on social networks. In fact, the information flow around the hashtags surveyed was irrelevant, and

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[37] See: "Temer é vaiado durante abertura da Olimpíada no Rio" (https://glo.bo/2apkJv3).

[38] See: "Censura na Olimpíada: Torcedores gritam 'Fora, Temer'e são expulsos no Rio e em BH": (http://huff.to/2r0bWHG), and "Organização da Olimpíada censura o "Fora Temer" durante as competições": (http://bit.ly/2r83WBs).

[39] See: "Voluntário abandona Olimpíada em protesto por veto a 'fora, Temer'": (http://bit.ly/2r6elNq).

[40] See: "Liminar veta repressão a protestos e expulsão de manifestante na Rio 2016": (https://glo.bo/2aHXvyV).

the government started to disclose general information about the event, such as timetables and competition venues, restricting its communication procedures on the subject. The crossing of the two hashtags (#ForaTemer and #Rio2016) generated 4,948 tweets, which is negligible considering our total sample. The tweets content also did not altered much, possibly because they were disseminated by specific actions of "social media"; that is, when the campaigns communication teams use profiles in social networks for engaging actions to reach users making use of tools (software and web applications) for mass publication. In this sense, considering a different count; not the total sum, but each text being counted only once; totaled 600 original tweets.

We identified six main nodes: Temer; Dilma; PT Brazil; Dilma Bolada; Rafaela Silva and Rodrigo Pilha. Temer and Rousseff presence among the main nodes is significant, explained by the fact that the impeachment proceedings was taking place during the Olympics. In this regard, although to a small extent, both still driven apart on social networks in the course of the event.

"Dilma Bolada", is a fictional character created by a comedian in December 2014 to playfully entertain the supporters of the former president and, therefore, having no direct relationship to her.

The Olympic and world champion Rafaela Silva, a Brazilian judo practitioner, was very much in the spotlight for winning the first Olympic gold, and also for representing and being reported as an "example of perseverance", both by left and right- wing users. The athlete – a black woman of humble origins –, suffered and won the battle against racism. A former social welfare security dependent, Rafaela is the real evidence of social welfare programs' effectiveness. She recorded a video explaining why she voted for Dilma Rousseff recognizing the immense support of the Worker's Party government for the development of the sport in the country, accompanying policies such as "Bolsa Atleta" (athlete allowance), and building structures for sport and leisure spaces.

Rodrigo Pilha is a blogger, left-wing activist and militant of the Workers' Party with great presence in social networks, but with no institutional relation with the party. Notorious for his combative posts, he is critical of the political coverage carried out by mainstream media.

The main flow of interaction between the profiles from the hashtags #ForaTemer and #Rio2016 is from PTBrasil to Temer, showing an intense

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relational appropriation of the hashtags in the period. Michel Temer is only quoted from the relational crossing of hashtags, from mentions or retweets, making no use of the hashtag #ForaTemer.

Conclusions

The monitoring carried out revealed a reaction from social networks users corresponding to the events that took place during Rousseff's impeachment proceedings, both in legislature and on the streets. The reactions coincided with growing popular support for impeachment, already anticipated by the tight election result in 2014, and by the pre-election enterprise that began in 2013. Support for impeachment could be verified on Twitter, but it was not possible to conclude that the network activity was directly linked to the success of street demonstrations. Nonetheless, it is possible to affirm that the social networks mood is a sign of the antagonism that became increasingly clear between Dilma Rousseff supporters and those opposed to her.

However, support for impeachment did not mean support for Michel Temer's new cabinet. The hashtag #foratemer was one of the main highlights of the graphics produced during network monitoring. The hashtag was hardly used until May 11. Considering the profiles monitored, the first time it was mentioned on Twitter was on March 12. From May 11 to May 23, there was an increase in the use of the hashtag, coinciding with a rapid growth in the use of the word *"golpe"* (coup); its use remained practically unexpressive until July 31, when the hashtag #foratemer had a peak of 7,439 occurrences, and on August 5, when it reached a total of 11,610 occurrences. On August 31, the day of Dilma Rousseff's definitive removal, the hashtag had a peak of 12,037 occurrences, and on September 1, it reached a total of 13,530. On September 4, when there were new demonstrations against Michel Temer's term of office, there were 18,248 occurrences, and on September 7, day that Michel Temer made his first official appearance in the military parade (independence day), a total of 12,624 occurrences.

The hashtag #foradilma had a significant flow at the beginning, but at no point did it match the other terms monitored. The identified hashtag peaks are on March 6, with 13,795 occurrences; on March 8 – the international woman's day – with 10,603 occurrences; on March 9, with 9,774; and on March 12,

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with 12,513 occurrences. On these last days, there has been no concrete fact capable of boosting the use of those hashtags. On March 13, when the largest street demonstration took place in favor of Rousseff's impeachment, there were 13,734 posts, nothing more than what had already occurred. On March 26, when new demonstrations befallen, there were 11,205 occurrences. There is no causal relation between the street demonstrations and the social network activity during this period of time, contrary to the thesis that a social network active support took place in the demonstrations' management. Therefore, its triumph occurred from other strategies and means, not necessarily connected to social network active support.

From March 27 to June 3, the use of the hashtag #foradilma was inexpressive, with a quick rise on April 17 – the voting day in Congress –, when 2,945 occurrences were verified. On June 4, it had a peak of 8,094 occurrences, and then the hashtag was practically no longer used until the end of the monitored period of time. Following the voting section, the activity on Twitter were concentrated on Michel Temer, but with another emphasis. Gradually, the activities against Temer weakened, coinciding with a total social inertia. Not even the secretly recording tape scandal in 2017 was enough to mobilize the people against his government[41].

The mapping reflects the widespread state of mind against the Workers' Party (*antipetismo*), and the denial of Rousseff's government as well as a refusal of former President Lula. This discontented behavior grows as the Operation Car Wash develops. However, it was not possible to verify a close relation between the street demonstrations arrangement, which gained prominence on mainstream media agenda, and the network activity on Twitter. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to ascertain the presence of other protagonists and other organizational strategies that led to Rousseff's impeachment.

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[41] See https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/18/brazil-explosive-recordings-implicate--president-michel-temer-in-bribery

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