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**CAIO DE CASTRO MELLO SANTOS**

**I am going! The Facebook's users' attendance to events as a performative political act in  
Occupy Estelita Movement**

**Recife**

**2018**

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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade Federal de Pernambuco  
como parte das exigências do Programa de Pós-Graduação em  
Comunicação, sob orientação da Prof. Dra. Carolina Dantas de  
Figueiredo, para a obtenção do título de Mestre.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This work's proposal is operating the Theory of Performativity in complex communication processes like those emerged into the Social Networks territory. The study recovers Austin's (1975) theory of Speech Acts and the concept of Performativity stated by Butler (1997) to analyze the usage of Facebook Events by Occupy Estelita supporters. It was analyzed two Facebook Events: Political Act for Freedom of Speech and Occupy +5. We analyzed both events applying questionnaires and in-depth interviews with participants. We concluded that the usage of the attendance buttons on Facebook Events by Occupy Estelita activists is potentially performative, since people use those buttons to manifest their public support to the social movement. At the end, we argued that the potential of manifesting support through Facebook is not necessarily connected with people presence in real demonstrations offline, it means, the body presence in physical territories, which is an important characteristic to define occupy movements.

**Key-words:** Facebook Events. Occupy Estelita. Facebook. Performativity. Speech Acts.

## RESUMO

Este trabalho se propõe a operacionalizar a Teoria da Performatividade em complexos processos comunicacionais como os que emergem do território das Redes Sociais. O estudo recorre a teoria dos Atos de Fala de Austin (1975) e ao conceito de Performatividade de Butler (1997). São analisados, para isso, dois eventos no Facebook: Ato político-greíístico em favor da liberdade de expressão e o Ocupe +5. Para analisá-los foram aplicados questionários e entrevistas em profundidade com os participantes. A partir da pesquisa, buscamos pensar a possibilidade de extensão dos significados atribuídos ao botão de comparecimento na página como uma ampliação das possibilidades de manifestação, cujo uso ressignifica as formas de utilização dos espaços de luta política. Concluimos que o potencial de demonstrar apoio, possibilitado pelo Evento virtual, uma vez que se torna um ato de manifestação em si mesmo, não necessariamente implica em processos de intervenção nos espaços reais da cidade, o que atribui nuances únicas a este tipo de performance.

**Palavras-chave:** Facebook. Ocupe Estelita. Performatividade. Atos de Fala. Eventos.

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Figure 1 - The City is Ours. Occupy it!



Source: Brasil de Fato/Rafaella Ribeiro. Available on  
<<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/node/31997/>>. Accessed  
in 02/08/2017.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Brazil is the country with the most number of users on Social Networks in Latin America, according to eMarketer (CANALTECH, 2016). A document published by the company pointed out Facebook as the Social Network with more users in the region. In Brazil, 95% of people that use some Social Network website are on Facebook.

Facebook is a website of Social Networks founded by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004, while studying psychology at Harvard<sup>1</sup> (PHILLIPS, 2007). In 2017, it was considered by Alexa – an Amazon’s organization focused in data analysis – as the third most accessed website in the world<sup>2</sup> (AMAZON, 2017). Around the world Facebook was a very important platform for promoting engagement in social movements (CASTELLS, 2015). Considering Facebook’s importance as a tool with free access to Social Movements, looking to its usage and analyzing its potential in political contexts is very important.

This research aims to analyze a specific tool on Facebook: the Facebook Event. Facebook Events are often used by Social Movements to engage people in specific acts, providing structure to spread invitations and information about meetings and demonstrations. Although the usage of internet for political engagement is accused of “Slacktivism”, the potential power of most of the Occupy movements around the world was clearly boosted by the Networks flow (FIGUEIREDO, 2013). The purpose of this research is to think about the usage of Facebook Events for political engagement on Occupy Estelita movement and how Facebook users interpret and renew Facebook Event’s meanings when they attend to them.

Attending to a Facebook Event<sup>3</sup> is the action of clicking on the button “Going” (See Figure 2) on the Event’s page. Facebook users can create and share “event pages”, whose function is to invite people through the website to go somewhere. By attending to the invitation on Facebook, the user is sending notifications to his or her connections/friends and also to the event’s admin. It means that the Facebook user can

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<sup>1</sup> Available on <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2007/jul/25/media.newmedia>>. Access on Aug 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> The first one is Google.com and the second one is Youtube.com. Available on <<https://www.alexa.com/topsites>>. Access on Aug 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> The choice of writing Event in capitular (Capital???) letter is to emphasize that it is not any event, but the Facebook Event as a particular platform inside the website.

communicate if he or she will attend to it, if they just have interest in attending to the event or they can simply decline an invitation.

**Figure 2** – Facebook Event *Occupy Estelita +5*



Source: Facebook/Author

The fact is that all the time Facebook is stimulating people's interaction, sending information about users' actions or interests to their connections. On one hand, this Facebook's management may be dangerous and very inappropriate for some users (if they consider it an invasion of privacy). On the other hand, it can also be used intentionally (or not) to produce (positive) meanings. Once the users' friends receive some Facebook notifications about their interests in events, pages or groups, instead of being merely victims of the platform exposure, this "transparency" can be manipulated by the users, aiming for the exhibition of characteristics that build more interesting individuals for a bigger audience.

Since 2013, when Brazilians took the streets in a wave of demonstrations called by some academics as the Brazilian Spring<sup>4</sup> (SAAD-FILHO & MORAIS), Facebook became one of the most important platforms of political manifestation and engagement (CASTELLS, 2015) across the country. In Recife, another kind of movement emerged by the social involvement around the protection of the Estelita Pier, engendering online and offline the Occupy Estelita, a wide network of people interested in discussing the city's future and their rights to build a more inclusive and democratic metropolis. During all the time of Occupy Estelita<sup>5</sup> activities, the Facebook Events were a central location for meetings, union and engagement of citizens, inviting them to go to the Pier or even to manifest their support for the historical place protection by sharing information on Facebook.

On February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017, Mark Zuckerberg, co-founder of Facebook, published a letter<sup>6</sup> on the website about his intentions and desires for the website. The text reached 109 thousand reactions, 6.8 thousand comments and 14.338 shares until August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017. In a list of 5 goals, one is intrinsically linked to this study: helping people build a civically-engaged community. For Zuckerberg, the power of tools like events and groups to promote civic engagement is clearly proven.

Sometimes people must speak out and demonstrate for what they believe is right. From Tahrir Square to the Tea Party -- our community organizes these demonstrations using our infrastructure for events and groups. On a daily basis, people use their voices to share their views in ways that can spread around the world and grow into movements. The Women's March is an example of this, where a grandmother with an internet connection wrote a post that led her friends to start a Facebook event that eventually turned into millions of people marching in cities around the world. Giving people a voice is a principle our community has been committed to since we began. As we look ahead to building the social infrastructure for a global community, we will work on building new tools that encourage thoughtful civic engagement. Empowering us to use our voices will only become more important. (ZUCKERBERG, 2017)

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<sup>4</sup> A reference to the Arabic Spring and its characteristics.

<sup>5</sup> Occupy Estelita emerged as a movement in 2012 and remains active until now (2017) with a spectral variation of its action according to the influences that used to come from political decisions or social happenings.

<sup>6</sup> Available on <<https://www.facebook.com/notes/mark-zuckerberg/building-global-community/10154544292806634/>>. Access on Sep 04<sup>th</sup> 2017.

When improving these tools became a goal to Facebook as an important mechanism to empower people promoting civic engagement, it became fundamental to investigate how these phenomena is working, as well as how people manage the platform, taking into account that users' management of the platform is an important point to an effective result of the social fight.

This work's proposal is to think about the possibility of operating the Theory of Performativity in complex communication processes like those emerged into the Social Networks territory. The study recovers Austin's (1975) theory of Speech Acts and the concept of Performativity stated by Butler (1997), looking for mechanisms of analyses in utterances that are intrinsic to websites' structure. As an example, the Facebook Events is analyzed as a platform where acts are performed through users' interaction. Finally, this study offers elements to the application of these concepts in social subjects, taking into account Latour's (2007) critics of social researches and his proposal of an Actor-Network Theory (ANT).

For that purpose, we analyzed two Facebook Events - Political Act for Freedom of Speech and Occupy +5, both hosted in 2017, that emerged as an extension of Occupy Estelita. We applied a questionnaire in each event's page, aiming to understand people's motivations in attending to it on the platform. The results were pre-analyzed and the questions that emerged from this study will be discussed further on. Moreover, we felt the need of deepening on the results through in-depth interviews, which is described and analyzed on chapter V.

## 2 INTERNET AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN BRAZIL

According to the Brazilian National Household Sample Survey (PNAD)<sup>7</sup> published in 2016 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2017), in that year, about 63% of Brazilians had access to Internet. In the comparative document provided by the Institute, it is possible to verify that the results of a wide research about the Brazilian access to internet more than duplicated when compared to the first survey about this specific issue carried out in 2005 (when its result was 20,9%). Among the states in the Brazilian Northeast region, Pernambuco, where Recife is located, presented in 2014 the biggest percentage of household broadband internet connection (71,7% used to have access to the worldwide web). Observing the analysis according to user's age, it is possible to note that among teenagers (15-24 years old) nearly 80% were surfing on Internet. This number, however, is inversely proportional to the user's age (the older they are, the fewer individuals are connected). It was also possible to verify that the more time people spend at school, the more access they have to Internet. The same happens with the monthly payment *per capita* - 90% of Brazilians who have earned more than 10 times the minimum wage used Internet during 2014. The lower the wage is, the fewer people are connected.

From the research, it is possible to infer what the Brazilian Internet majority user's profile is, as well as drawing a line of exclusion for a very meaningful portion of citizens, placed out of the informational flow. In a survey carried out by Facebook in the last trimester of 2014, it was found that 45% of Brazilians used to access the website monthly, which means 92 million individuals. Of these, 77 million did that by using mobile devices like tablets or smartphones.

It is essential to look to the scenery evolution and to analyze the access to media devices and particularly to Internet in order to comprehend the territorial and structural conditions to establish network interactions and cyber-activism connections on the Cyberspace. In 2005, around 20% of Brazilians had access to Internet. In 2008, the number has grown to 34%. Three years later, it was 46%. In 2013, it was about 49% and

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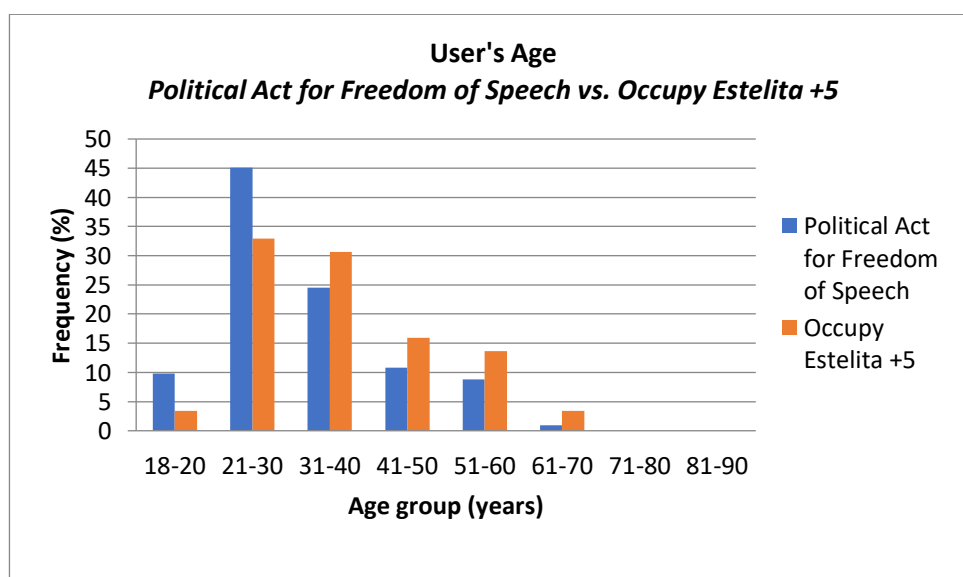
<sup>7</sup> Available on < <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-noticias/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/18263-pnad-2016-populacao-idosa-cresce-16-0-frente-a-2012-e-chega-a-29-6-milhoes.html>>. Access on Feb 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017.

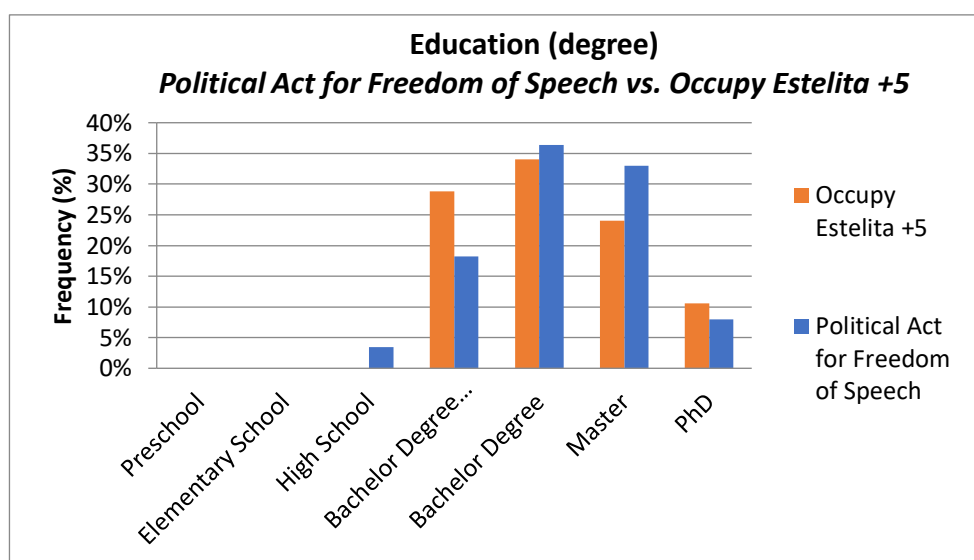
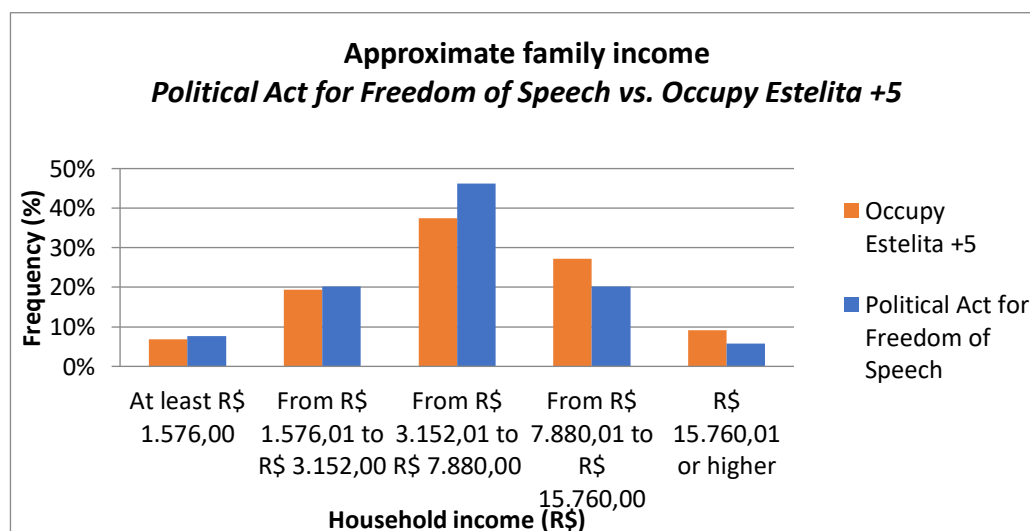
in the last results (2014), 54%. The prompt internet access enlargement in Brazil has made the composition of a very similar scenery to other countries. Since 2011 - the year millions of Tunisians took the streets in several cities to fight against the dictatorial government of Ben Ali -, demonstrations and organized social movements emerged through online Social Networks, boosted by the informational flow, such as the case of Tunisia, Island and Egypt. (CASTELLS, 2012).

According to Sibilía (2016), the data related to Brazilian Internet access is following the world distribution tendency where richer countries have a better connection and others receive a terrible service. It makes the use of the concept *Techno-apartheid* possible (SIBILIA, 2016, p.50). Once some restrict communities in society are connected to the network, it is primordial to highlight the unequal access possibilities, mainly due to the connection's quality offered by the Internet companies in each region of Brazil.

It is possible to compare the Brazilian map of access delineated above with the reality of users analyzed by this research (Graphics 1, 2 and 3). In blue are the answers from the first applied questionnaire about the Facebook Event organized by the *Carnival Group Covering Your View* (Political Act for Freedom of Expression). In red, we have the answers from the second questionnaire applied about the Facebook Event *Occupy +5*.

**Graphic 1** – User's age according to the answers in each questionnaire



**Graphic 2** – Education (Degree Level) according to the answers in each questionnaire**Graphic 3** – Household income according to the answers in each questionnaire

According to the answers in both questionnaires we verified that most of the users are aged between 21 and 40 years old. Also, most of them have or have had access to a high education level (from Bachelor until PhD), which shows a contrast with Brazilian reality, where according to Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2015), 56% of people studied in 2015 at no more than 10 years (or until High School)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Available on <<http://brasilemsintese.ibge.gov.br/educacao/anos-de-estudo.html>>. Access on Aug 9<sup>th</sup> 2017.



Also according to IBGE, the average per capita wage<sup>9</sup> in Pernambuco is R\$ 872,00, but the questionnaire results show that most of the household income is over R\$ 3.100,00, which is considered as middle class<sup>10</sup> by IBGE or Class “C”. It is interesting to note that a substantial number of people who answered the questionnaire (27% in Occupy +5) earn between R\$ 7.880,00 and R\$ 15.760,00.

The fact is that these changes in the possibilities of Internet access have enabled the emergency of strong platforms of political manifestation. The political appropriation on Facebook, Twitter and others, has totally transformed the way social movements engage people in their fights (CASTELLS, 2012).

## 2.1 Internet political appropriation

The Internet revolution does not negate the territorial character of revolutions throughout history. Instead, it extends it from the space of places to the space of flows. (CASTELLS, 2012, p.62)

\* \* \*

A research published by the F/Nazca Saatchi & Saatchi agency (2015), analyzed how Brazilians use the internet for political intervention. According to this paper called Connected Democracy<sup>11</sup>, 6 out of 10 Brazilians connected on internet believe that Social Networks are responsible for changing their opinion about social issues. About 13,7 million of Brazilians have participated in Social Movements only virtually – on the Internet – and more than 70% using Social Networks. In 2015, 70% from Internet’s users

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<sup>9</sup> Available on

<[http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/indicadores/trabalhoerendimento/pnad\\_continua/default\\_r enda\\_percapita.shtm](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/indicadores/trabalhoerendimento/pnad_continua/default_r enda_percapita.shtm)>. Access on Aug 9<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> IBGE determines 5 economic classes: A (Over 15 minimum wages); B (5 to 15 minimum wages); C (3 to 5 minimum wages); D (1 to 3 minimum wages) and E (less than 1 minimum wage). The Brazilian minimum wage in 2017 is R\$ 937,00, according to the Law nº 13.152/2015.

<sup>11</sup> Available on <<https://medium.com/@fnazca/ativismo-digital-ea9171dd4fc5>>. Access on Aug 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

in Brazil were notified about Social Movements by the Internet - from these, 75% had found information on Social Networks.

Once the Internet is spread across territories, this model of people engagement has been repeated many times. Inspired by global movements like the M-15, Tahrir Square and Occupy Wall Street, the discussions about the city management and the urban rights have increased. The Occupy Movements emerged in some of the most important Brazilian metropolis like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. It is important to mention that although the interaction between users is mainly hosted on Facebook, it does not negate the territory offline (FIGUEIREDO, 2013) in a first moment. What actually happens is an extension of these spaces [of interaction] into the web flows (CASTELLS, 2012).

## 2.2 The Brazilian Spring

Shouting the slogan “come to the streets<sup>12</sup>”, thousands of Brazilians have joined demonstrations on June 2013<sup>13</sup>, which were initially motivated by the public transportation’s prices tickets increase. Actually, it was just the first reason for people to begin a construction of a wide network, recruiting citizens for demonstrations in strategic areas. The call for resistance has been spread too fast and has provoked consequences; people went to public spaces to protest for the most different motives, which were not necessarily related to each other (MOREIRA & SANTIAGO, 2013). Some demonstrated against specific issues, like a law project. Others just went to the streets only to say that they did not agree with the directions that the public administration had taken.

Brazil is the 103<sup>rd</sup> country in a list published by the 2017 World Press Freedom Index<sup>14</sup>, produced by the ONG, Reporters Without Borders (2017). The document analyzed 180 countries. Among the motivations of this position are the violence against journalists, the political instability caused by the impeachment of the President Dilma Rousseff – act supported by big Brazilian media companies (VAN DIJK, 2017) -, and

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<sup>12</sup> In Portuguese: “vem pra rua”.

<sup>13</sup> Brazil erupts in protest: more than a million on the streets. Available on <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-police-crowds-rio-protest>>. Accessed 01/09/2017.

<sup>14</sup> Available on <<https://rsf.org/en/brazil>>. Access on Sep 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017.

also the Media ownership concentrated in the hands of a few and big oligarchic families that are often close to the political class.

The control of information by the big media conglomerates was not only a very common claim on the streets represented by the posters against Globo<sup>15</sup>, for example, but it was also an important reason to the emergency of alternative media production on virtual platforms (KROHLING PERUZZO, 2013). Media Ninja<sup>16</sup> was one of the groups that went to the streets to broadcast the demonstrations via live streaming on Internet. In this scenery of political demonstrations, there was a relative disbelief of Brazilians in relation to the content of the traditional media. 46% of Brazilians rarely or never trust TV news (IBOPE, 2016)<sup>17</sup>.

On May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2013, an emblematic case has exposed the Brazilian media to the fragility of its storytelling control. A TV program called “Brasil Urgente”<sup>18</sup> (Urgent Brazil, in English) known due to its big audience and sensationalist approach was surprised by its viewers’ opinion. The TV host, Datena, asked the audience to call his program and manifest opinions about the following question: “Do you agree with this kind of demonstration?” The question was a reference to the live images of damage to banks in São Paulo. Disagreeing with the poll result, the TV host insisted on defending his opinion and asked people to vote once again, changing the question to: “Do you agree with disorder in demonstrations?” (Figure 3). Once again, the results were “yes”.

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<sup>15</sup> According to The Economist magazine, Globo is the biggest Brazilian media company. It is daily watched by just under half the country’s population, around 91 million of people (<https://goo.gl/71J84h>). Globo was one of the main support channels to the dictatorship in Brazil, which makes demonstrations against the company in many social movements very common (<https://goo.gl/CfclIR>).

<sup>16</sup> Available on <<http://midianinja.org/>>. Access on Sep 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Available on <<http://www.secom.gov.br/atuacao/pesquisa/lista-de-pesquisas-quantitativas-e-qualitativas-de-contratos-atuais/pesquisa-brasileira-de-midia-pbm-2016.pdf/view>>. Access on Sep 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Available on <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cxOK7SOI2k>>. Access on Sep 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

**Figure 3** – “Do you agree with disorder in demonstrations?”. No: 888; Yes: 2132.



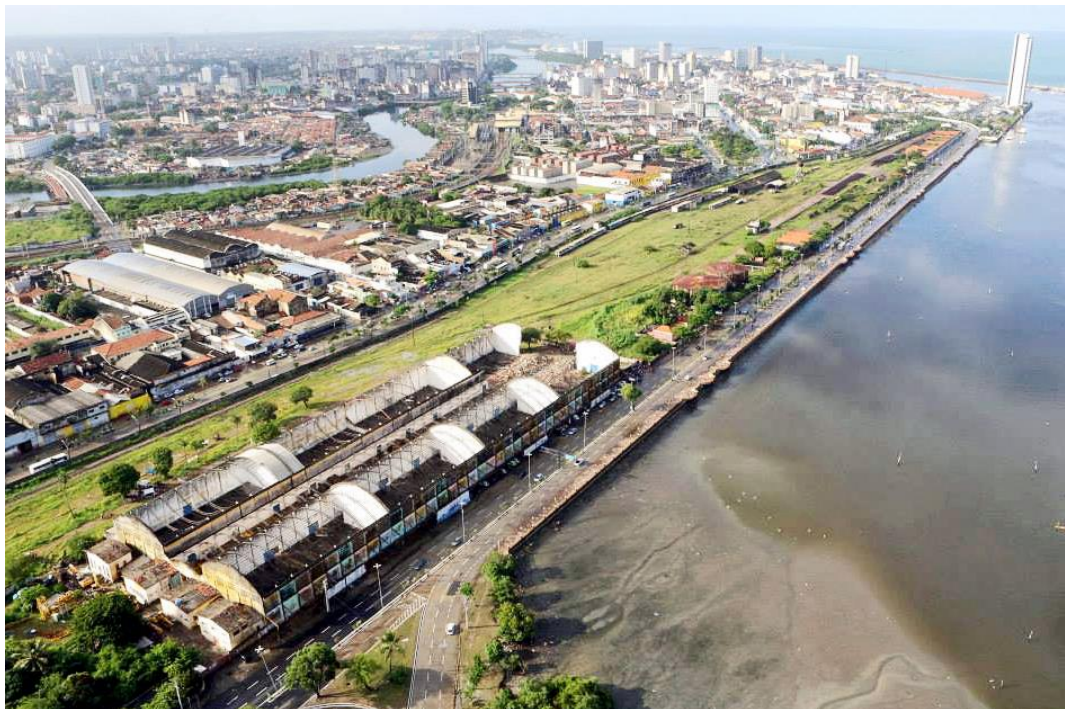
Source: YouTube/Author

According to Gomes et. al. (2013) the same media disapproval occurred in relation to the movement Occupy Estelita in Recife. The authors' essay states that Newspapers from the city offered more pages to listen to the private interests of the companies responsible for the project than the Occupy Estelita protesters, considering their opinion as non-specialized. Facing the media conglomerates against the movement, it was on the internet where the movement emerged and found its supporters. The same occurred in movements like 15-M and Occupy Wall Street, according to Castells (2012).

### 3 OCCUPY ESTELITA

Occupy Estelita is a movement of urban intervention that emerged in Recife in 2012 aiming to fight for the protection of a wide public area: The Estelita Pier (Figure 4). This area represents a great value for the city because of its history, architecture, culture and landscape importance (LYRA, 2015). The area was bought by a consortium (named New Recife) which projected the construction of 12 corporative towers along the territory replacing the warehouses from the XIX century. The movement emerged from discussions on a Facebook group entitled *Urban Rights*<sup>19</sup> where people usually report cities issues.

**Figure 4 – The Estelita Pier**



Source: Elementar Arquitetura/ Manoela Pires

The Estelita Pier is one of Recife's most important postcards. The area has 10 hectares and approximately 1500-meter length along the waterfront. The Pier hosts the second manufactured Brazilian railway, which was built during the XIX century, the main pathway to transport the sugar production from the Brazilian countryside to the coast (MENDONÇA et al., 2016). The privileged location in the metropolis' center and also

<sup>19</sup> Available on <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/direitosurbanos/>>. Access on Sep 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017.

among important economic areas has aroused interest of many investors. In an illegal public sale<sup>20</sup>, the pier was sold by the government to a consortium named “New Recife”<sup>21</sup>, composed by four civil construction companies<sup>22</sup>.

Since 2012, many demonstrations were promoted by Occupy Estelita’s supporters. These demonstrations not only stopped the demolition of the warehouses and the beginning of the towers construction, but also they have highlighted an important issue that, until that moment was completely silenced: the city has not been managed according to public interest. Harvey (2008) described some elementary characteristics of this kind of social movement’s goals:

The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city (HARVEY, 2008, p. 23).

People from Occupy Estelita sought this kind of change through the construction of an encampment at the Pier. There, they promoted many activities like artistic shows, public classes organized by universities and collective planning of alternative projects for the area. It was also constructed by the Movement a public open-air kitchen to provide free lunch for the community that lived around. About 13 thousand<sup>23</sup> people live in this poor community named “Coque” across 87 hectares.

For a long period, many artists, students and professors have supported the movement sharing on Facebook the hashtag #OcupeEstelita (Occupy Estelita, in Portuguese). Because of this campaign, during a month (21<sup>st</sup> May to June 2014), the José Estelita Pier was breathing cultural effervescence with many music shows, artist performances, and political discussion.

In June 2014, serving a repossession order, the military police of Pernambuco invaded the campsite built by the movement for the restitution of the area to the land

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<sup>20</sup> According to G1 news, the public sale was not executed in accordance with the law. Available on <<http://g1.globo.com/pernambuco/noticia/2015/09/pf-confirma-fraude-no-leilao-do-terreno-do-cais-jose-estelita-no-recife.html>>. Access Sep 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> New Recife official page available on <<https://www.facebook.com/novorecife>>. Access on Sep 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Which are: Ara Empreendimentos, GL Empreendimentos, Moura Dubeux Engenharia and Queiroz Galvão

<sup>23</sup> Available on <<http://www2.recife.pe.gov.br/servico/ilha-joana-bezerra>>. Access on Jan 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017.



owners. Unarmed activists were brutally attacked by the police (Figure 5) and remained there – outside - in a new camping for some weeks after that.

**Figure 5** – Police attacking demonstrators at Estelita Pier



Source: Bobby Fabisak/JC Imagem (17/06/2014)

After the brutal police action, activists continued to promote demonstrations, but not for a long period of time like it used to be in the campsite. In May 2015, activists promoted a camping in front of the Recife's mayor, Geraldo Júlio, apartment<sup>24</sup> for some days.

Three years later, the Pier remains as it was in 2014. The Justice System stopped the constructions and demolitions across the area and the *Urban Rights* page on Facebook developed a kind of collective surveillance, encouraging users to supervise and report the illegal management of public spaces to the community.

Occupy Estelita elected, since its beginning, Facebook as the main platform to invite activists to join their demonstrations. The Facebook Event was the protagonist strategy of promoting engagement. The platform allows not only people to spread an event that will occur, mobilizing users, but also to simulate a virtual environment, where

<sup>24</sup> Available on < <http://g1.globo.com/pernambuco/noticia/2015/05/grupo-ocupe-estelita-protesta-em-frente-ao-predio-do-prefeito-do-recife.html>>. Access on Jan 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

they can share information (texts, links, photos), interact using reactions and discuss in the comment section. There, the event participants point out their opinion, develop collectively the activities and receive, in a specific notification alert, new information about what is happening.

This strategy was also used in similar movements like the Tahrir Square case in Egypt according to Tufekci (2017):

A popular Facebook page, created to decry the beating death of a young man by the Egyptian police, had been the forum for organizing the initial Tahrir uprising and had mustered hundreds of thousands of supporters. An Egyptian friend of mine would later joke that this must have been the first time in history when a person could actually join a revolution by clicking on “I’m Attending” in response to a Facebook e-vite. (TUFEKCI, 2017, p. 22).

Unlike most environments on Facebook, the event seems to be the most chaotic. On the user’s feed, for example, it is possible to receive, because of the algorithms, pre-selected information, from people you have added or accepted as a friend and more: the users’ activity is used to map their interests, whereby a very specific board of data is constructed. A Facebook Group is usually a place where people must be accepted by the administrator (in most of the cases, the person who has created the group’s page). An open event is a totally free access, where everyone can invite others and the bubbles, “islands of political communication” (DAHLGREN, 2005, p.152) are mixed into themselves.

At the time a Facebook’s user attends to a Facebook Event, he or she is allowed not only to comment and interact but also to receive updates (new posts, photos or detail change). Besides, their connected friends are notified about the attendance. Here, we can find one of the most important characteristic for this investigation, the basis to the construction of performances on Facebook Events.



#### 4 THEORY OF PERFORMATIVITY APPLIED TO SOCIAL NETWORKS

We do things with language, produce effects with language, and we do things to language, but language is also the thing that we do. Language is a name for our doing: both "what" we do (the name for the action that we characteristically perform) and that which we effect, the act and its consequences. (BUTLER, 1997, p.8)

\* \* \*

According to Sibiliala (2008), Social Networks are the territory *par excellence* of self-exhibition in post-modern societies. For a long description of how blogs, vlogs and other languages appropriate linguistic codes from writing genres such as biography or diary into their purposes, the author stands the hypothesis of a confusion between private and public life as an effect of interaction characteristics on Social websites.

Following Sibiliala's (2008) analysis, it seems that, in a step on, a complex scenery to be designed and carefully studied by social science is emerging: it is necessary to delineate the borders between (1) an exhibition of privacy and (2) a narrative construction of the self through language. In the first issue, it is being taken in account a kind of passive individual being pervaded by technology or even the possibility of a person who decides to expose his or her individuality completely. Moreover, in the second one, we are not talking about exposure of privacy. To be clear, we can have in mind the Reality Shows' operation. When someone is a participant on a TV show like Big Brother, for example, this person does not have total control upon the narrative. The TV director decides the role of each character through edition or creating mechanisms of intervention during the production on the TV show. Thus, the difference, we can determine as being the control of the storytelling by the subject who writes his/her own story.

The activity of building a profile on Social Networks depends on a succession of practices and choices. On Facebook, for instance, the user must define his/her name (or nickname), profile picture, cover picture and answer many questions about where the user lives, works; what he/she studied and other preferences. Moreover, the possibility of clicking on the "like button" on some pages is also an important part of the profile

construction because it creates a kind of database about the user's interests. It is here – in the possibility of self-construction – where performativity became a phenomenon that should be investigated.

In Austin's theory of performative acts, published in *How to do things with words* (1975) the author goes for long pages analyzing initially two kinds of utterances. He divided it into two groups: constatives and performatives. For Austin (1975) there is an important difference between saying something that can be considered as true or false like "It's raining" and saying something like "I bet". In the first example, the person is saying that water falls from the sky. In the second circumstance, the utterance meaning is amplified due to cultural meanings that became it an act [of betting] such as a kind of agreement. The same happens with "I promise" or "I swear". Some performative utterances, according to Austin (1975), only occur when pronounced by an allowed person. That is the case of "I baptized you", which the act of being baptized can only occur if the person responsible for saying that is a Priest, for example.

However, Austin (1975) later states that all utterances are performative. If a child is going out for playing football and his mother says: "it is raining", she is not only saying that water is falling from the sky but also that he should not go out that moment. It means that it is possible to find performative acts under the intentions in saying something. Examples like this one will follow all the paper on since "performativity lives in the examples" (SEDGWICK and PARKER, p. 12, 1995).

There are three dimensions of performative acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary (AUSTIN, 1975). Some utterances like the previously example can be categorized in all the three circumstances. The Locutionary is the act of saying something. Illocutionary is the act executed through the speech. Perlocutionary is, thus, the intention in provoking certain effects in the audience. When a mother says "it is raining", she first does the action of saying, then she executes an act – she notifies her child about the unpropitious weather to play football -, and finally, the utterance's intention is to restrict the child's ride. As it seems to be clear now, the condition of interpreting these utterances depends on traditions and cultural meanings collectively shared.

Austin's theory resonates in many purposes such as the intersection between "performativity" and "theatrical practices" (SEDGWICK and PARKER, 1995). It was also renewed in the work of Jacques Derrida (KRISTEVA, 1981) through the

development of the concept of *Différance*. Based on what was written by Saussure (2006), Derrida states that language is *priori* differences – between sounds (phonetic) and meanings (semantic). Here I will adopt the exemplification of Biesecker (1989). She says that when we look up for a word on a dictionary, it gives us not the concrete things but other words that will be used to establish a comparison and then understand the meaning of the first word. Therefore, meanings exist in comparison - on a system of alterity. If production of meanings is relational, the same occurs with performative acts. “[*Différance*] is the structural condition which makes it possible for us to perform any act” (BIESECKER, p. 118. 1989).

The purpose of this work will be first to analyze aspects of Social Networks that enable the construction of an online identity and following how Austin’s theory can be managed aiming to study the linguistic interactions into this media.

#### 4.1 Operating Analyses on Social Networks

The first step here is to understand the importance of Social Network websites in affecting people’s relationship and concomitantly the communication process. Therefore, this essay will recover Latour’s (2007) publication about the Actor-Network Theory (ANT). In the author’s proposal of a necessity to “reassemble the social”, Latour (2007) states the importance of looking to the instances of mediation, not as a passive tool involved in the social process but as being a central actor responsible for the construction of meanings along interactions.

If you can, with a straight face, maintain that hitting a nail with and without a hammer, boiling water with and without a kettle, fetching provisions with or without a basket, walking in the street with or without clothes, zapping a TV with or without a remote, slowing down a car with or without a speed-bump, keeping track of your inventory with or without a list, running a company with or without bookkeeping, are exactly the same activities, that the introduction of these mundane implements change ‘nothing important’ to the realization of the tasks, then you are ready to transmigrate to the Far Land of the Social and disappear from this lowly one. For all the other members of society, it does make a difference under trials and so these implements, according to our definition, are actors, or more precisely, participants in the course of action waiting to be given a figuration. (LATOUR, p.71, 2007)

Latour’s (2007) theory makes it possible to call attention for the importance of social codes intrinsically associated with the Social Networks structure that affects the kinds of interactions people will develop using those websites (Facebook, Instagram,

Twitter) and devices (computer, smartphone, tablets). There are two other points Latour (2007) also highlights that are important for any methodology proposal that has the social as an object. The first one is that analyzing a social phenomenon is not to delimit a “stabilized state of affairs” (LATOUR, 2007, p.1): it moves. Second, it is important to have in mind that the researcher is a part of the phenomena and not an observer analyzing a transcendental manifestation.

Sociologists of the social seem to glide like angels, transporting power and connections almost immaterially, while the ANT-scholar has to trudge like an ant, carrying the heavy gear in order to generate even the tiniest connection. (LATOUR, 2007, p.25)

Latour (2007) offers as a method some tools to analyze the ANT through the Cartography of Controversies. According to Venturini (2010), when asked about instructions to his cartography theory, Latour answered: “just look at controversies and tell what you see” (VENTURINI, 2010, p.259). The author identified the problem as being the meaning of “just” in the utterance. Venturini (2010) also pointed out three meanings or consequences of “just”. The first consequence is that social cartography does not require any specific theory or methodology. Scholars must be open when facing the object to its manifestation. The second consequence is that researchers cannot pretend to be impartial. The perspective of the viewer must be considered. The third consequence is that researchers must reconsider their attitude toward their subjects of study. It means that actors’ observations must be taken in account, once participants and investigators are immersed in the social phenomena.

From this perspective, this study intends to offer an application of performative acts theory in social complex phenomena like the interactions on Social Networks websites. To enable a profound analysis, we will take the use of “Facebook Events” as an object as an example.

A Facebook Event is a page created on the website by any user with the intention of inviting people to attend to an event anywhere. In this page, invited and non-invited<sup>25</sup> users can find information about where the event will occur, what time, who the responsible for managing it is and also a description about the event’s purpose. The user who is surfing on the website can interact with the event by choosing an option between

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<sup>25</sup> It depends on the Facebook Event characteristic. It can be public (open to anybody) or private (only people invited have access to its information).

three buttons: “Going”, “Interested” or “Ignore”. In case of selecting “Ignore” the invitation will disappear. However, in case of selecting “Going” or “Interested” the website reacts with some actions like (1) informing the Event<sup>26</sup> admin about the invite acceptance or the user’s interest in attending to it; (2) The user’s connections – called as friends by Facebook – receive notifications about his/her interest in attending to the Event; (3) The user becomes part of a list – available for anybody to see - with “guests” interested in going to the event; (4) The user becomes connected with the page and allows Facebook to send to him/her notifications about any changes – of place, time, etc. - or new post published on the Event. All these reactions (*output*) of Facebook to an *input* – the act of clicking on a button – enlarge the meanings involved in interacting with the page. For example, if someone has some interest in attending to an Event on Facebook – it means, clicking on the button “Going” or “Interested” – but this person would not like other people know about his/her interest on it, it could be an alternative to not click on the button. On the other hand, if someone is not sure if he or she will have time to go to the event but would like to exhibit to other users his/her interest, this person can click on one of the two buttons (Going/Interested) and not go. The question is that between clicking on a button – or saying something – and going to an event – to do what was said – there is a spectral variety of meanings and possibilities.

Since 2013, Facebook began testing an update on Facebook Events. During that time, the options of buttons to interact with the Event pages were different. Instead of “Interested” the user was able to find the button “Maybe”. About the change, Forbes Magazine website<sup>27</sup> published an article where the author compares the meanings of both of options.

By selecting the “Interested” option, you are indicating to the Event organizer that you are interested but cannot decide yet. And if you press “Interested,” you will receive notifications and updates from the events. Selecting “Maybe” seemed ambiguous about whether you would actually show up to the event. (CHOWDHRY, 2015)

According to Chowdhry’s (2015) point of view, the update aimed for a more suitable word, avoiding ambiguous meanings. For a The Next Web reporter, “if you press interested, you’ll still get notifications and other updates from events, but none of the guilt

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<sup>26</sup> The choice of writing Event in capital letter is to emphasize that it is not any event, but the Facebook Event as a particular platform inside the website.

<sup>27</sup> Available on <<https://www.forbes.com>>. Access on Jan 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

of being a flake” (WILLIAMS, 2015). These analyses emphasize the complex dimensions of saying something by pressing a button. It is not only saying “Interested” or “Maybe”. Pressing these buttons is also doing something – informing people – and provoking certain effects depending on how people interpret each choice – like the case of considering the users who use “Maybe” as an uninterested person.

This last example highlights that considering pressing a button as performative act is not only related to the fact of attending or not to the Event. Informing friends through the button “Going” can be considered itself as a performative act. Now, another case: a user presses the button “Going” but does not have the real intention in attending to the Event in person. It is still a performative act but an unhappy performative (AUSTIN, 1975, p. 132).

#### 4.2 Unhappy performatives and performativity

Recovering Austin’s theory of speech acts and his example of promising, first of all, the idea of unhappy performatives will be described, and later how it can be managed in Social Networks analyses.

When someone says “I promise”, the person is not just saying something but performing an action – a kind of agreement where the audience develops expectations about its accomplishment. Therefore, there is a locutionary act of saying “I promise”, the illocutionary act of making an agreement and a perlocutionary act of giving the audience hope about the accomplishment of what was uttered. However, in case of non-accomplishment, did the utterance lose its performative instance? Austin’s (1975) answer is no (1975, p. 135). When someone says “I promise” in certain circumstances to certain individuals the performative act occurs by itself and it does not depend on the accomplishment of the promise. The case of non-accomplishment is called an unhappy performative. Hence, promising, asking, protesting, swearing, etc. are themselves actions.

The same can be considered when analyzing interactions on Social Networks. In the Facebook Events case, for example, users can say “Going” – pressing this button – and simply not go. The act of saying “Going” was performed and it does not depend on attending or not in person to the Event. To this possibility of amplifying the meanings of attendance to Facebook Events we will call in this work as being “performativity”.

The concept of “Performativity” appears in Butler’s (1997) postulations of politics of performative and it was fundamental for the development of her Queer Theory. According to the author, the resignification of the word “queer” is politically adopted just due to the possibility of performative utterances adapting to speech circumstances depending on the speaker’s intentions and the presuppose audience. Butler (1997) states that:

The revaluation of terms such as "queer" suggests that speech can be "returned" to its speaker in a different form, that it can be cited against its originary purposes, and perform a reversal of effects. More generally, then, this suggests that the changeable power of such terms marks a kind of discursive performativity that is not a discrete series of speech acts, but a ritual chain of resignifications whose origin and end remain unfixed and unfixable. (BUTLER, 1997, p. 14)

Hence, it is possible to conclude that the performativity depends on the performative acts and the effects they produce once uttered. When Goffman (1956) analyzed people’s interactions face-to-face, the author said that once what is involved in a situation is negotiated and comprehended, the individuals manage their exhibition of “Self” according to the perceptions previously identified (consciously or not). So, the social interactions occur according to what actors and audience expect from each other.

It is exactly this possibility of modulation of the speech in verbal interaction that makes the concept of performativity in actors’ interactions on Social Networks workable. Taking in consideration Latour’s (2007) critics to social research, it brings to us the necessity of considering the application of Performativity as just a possibility. Moreover, it is important to comprehend that the researcher analysis also depends on his/her involvement with the phenomenon and consequently his/her capacity of inference about possible meanings that emerge in each circumstance. Finally, the researcher needs to involve the subjects into the process, listening to their point of view about the phenomena lived collectively by all of the actors. This last one can be managed by asking people about how they interpret each possibility of performative acts involved in an utterance.

### 4.3 Methodology

This work's methodology was built during the investigation process according to the necessity of analyzing current Events. It was possible to verify that it could be very difficult studying a Facebook Event concluded. It means, analyze it after the date when it would occur. Many information can be only collected while people are interacting with the platform. Because of that, we developed some tools to analyze the first event Organized by the Occupy Estelita movement, entitled "Political Act for Freedom of Speech", when it was created in March 2017. We produced the "questionnaire I" aiming to investigate people's motivation in using the buttons "Going" and "Interested" on Facebook Events. After collected the results, we analyzed them organizing the data in graphics available in annex C.

In May 2017, the emergency of a new event of Occupy Estelita, "Occupy +5", was another opportunity to improve our beta version of "questionnaire I", producing and applying "questionnaire II". This new questionnaire brought new questions that we could recognize as important after reading the first results.

At the end, we felt the necessity of using a research method which could dive into the motivations of Occupy Estelita supporters. We applied In-depth interviews (BOYCE & NEALE, 2006) with randomly selected participants of the Facebook Event "Occupy +5". Due to this characteristics of producing the methods during the emergency of objects as a process of investigation, the methodology description is distributed along the entire work.

The results were analyzed based on Austin's (1975) postulations about the Speech Acts to develop the argument of Performativity and also based on authors that analyzed another Occupy Movements in other contexts such as Manuel Castells (2015), Fuchs (2012) and Garcia (2014).



## 5 POLITICAL ACT FOR FREEDOM OF SPEECH

As being one of the results of Occupy Estelita Movement on the city of Recife, a group of demonstrators founded a *Carnival troça*<sup>28</sup> entitled *Troça Covering Your View*<sup>29</sup>, in which people go to the streets dressing costumes of buildings and wearing masks with the face of the city's Mayor, Geraldo Júlio, and the Governor, Paulo Câmara. The *troça* is a critique to the city management model, which privileges private interests.

On February 25th, 2017, a Saturday of Carnival, however, the group could not go to the streets. Police officers went to a building where one of the protesters from Occupy Estelita Movement used to live, and seized their costumes – without a warrant.

All the police action was recorded by one person who was involved in the situation. The video posted on Facebook was viewed by 369 thousand people<sup>30</sup>. The Police Officers are being investigated<sup>31</sup> for abuse of authority. According to a report published<sup>32</sup> by a local press, *Jornal do Commercio* on March the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017, the Governor of Pernambuco (Paulo Câmara), the Social Defense Secretary (Angelo Gioia), the Military Police Commandant (Vanildo Maranhão), the Civil Police Chief (Joselito Kehrle) and Recife's Mayor (Geraldo Júlio) were in a monitoring meeting, on Saturday's morning at Integrated Center of Command and Control of Pernambuco, the place from where the order came. The report confirms that the vehicle used by the police in the occasion was registered as "special mission". Also, it was proved that the demonstrators were being watched by the Integrated Center since they left the apartment of one member of the group with the costumes. As the action was watched using cameras located on the streets. The Order of Attorneys of Brazil (OAB) published in its official page on Facebook a letter disapproving the police action and considering the act a threat to the freedom of speech.

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<sup>28</sup> *Troças* are traditional organized carnival groups from Recife that go to the streets to enjoy the holiday of Carnival. They usually dress costumes.

<sup>29</sup> In portuguese: *Troça Empatando Tua Vista*

<sup>30</sup> The number of views was checked in July 26th, 2017. Available on <<https://www.facebook.com/plugins/video.php?href=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fanjelykreis%2Fvideos%2F10210979395017053>>. Access on July 26<sup>th</sup> 2017.

<sup>31</sup> Available on <<http://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/blogs/rondajc/2017/07/18/policiais-que-apreenderam-fantasia-da-empatando-tua-vista-sao-indiciados/>>. Access on Sep 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Available on <<http://jc.ne10.uol.com.br/blogs/rondajc/2017/03/02/pms-contam-de-onde-saiu-ordem-para-apreensao-de-fantasia-de-troca-no-recife/>>. Access on Sep 4<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

On Facebook, the police act became a big subject, being the center of sharing, likes and comments during carnival. The group's page called *Troça Covering Your View* received around 5.600 reactions and 15.800 shares in posts published on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017. This happening brought Occupy Estelita into the web flows again after it lost space due to many other political happenings that called public opinion attention since 2014.

The happening reverberation boosted the group into creating a new meeting. This time it was scheduled as a Facebook Event called *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* (Figure 6). This Facebook Event description was a call up for people to go downtown on the day of Recife's anniversary to demonstrate against the police action.

**Figure 6** – Facebook Event Political Act for Freedom of Speech



Source: Facebook/Author

Aiming the analysis of Facebook users' interaction with the Facebook Event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* through the buttons "Going" and "Interested", which were comprehended by this study as performative, a questionnaire was applied by using the web platform *Survey Monkey*. The questionnaire, published on this Facebook Event page, aimed to find possible meanings that people attribute to the usage of the buttons in

the specific case. The event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* was chosen by this research because of the proposal of investigating the performativity on Facebook Events focused in political manifestation, organized by Social Movements. It was found, after some effort, that analyzing past Facebook Events – concluded – is very complicated because of the losses of data through the Networks' fast flows. Hence, during this work's execution, the emergence of this Facebook Event was considered a good opportunity for an investigation – while it occurs – and it also demanded a very fast production of research methods that were satisfactory to the questions asked by this study. The questionnaire was published on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 and it was answered by 100 people in one week – the period of time it was available online.

The questionnaire consists of two pages. On the first page, we asked for some profile data like age, gender, family income and study degree. On the second one, we had 10 questions with different structures. In some questions, people have only two options like “yes” or “no”, others, people can give their opinion about issues saying if they agree, disagree or agree partially, others we have a spectrum from 1 to 5 where they can measure different levels of answers.

In the first questions, we chose not to anticipate some issues like mentioning the Occupy Estelita to receive more general answers about what people know about Facebook and how they interact with some aspects of the Events platform. Next, we asked them about Occupy Estelita Events in general and, thus, what they know about the movement. At the end, we tried to understand what people think about the movement and what values they consider to be intrinsically related to the movement issues.

It is possible to read the entire document<sup>33</sup> in annex A and B.

## 5.1 Preliminary results and hypothesis discussion of the Questionnaire I

According to the results (Annex C and D), most of the users (95,45%) who answered the questionnaire declared to be aware of the fact that contacts and followers are informed about their attendance to Facebook Events (act of pressing the buttons *going*

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<sup>33</sup> The questionnaire was originally published in Portuguese and translated by the author to this work. The original version in Portuguese is available in appendix.

or *interested*). In relation to their motivation in pressing those buttons on Facebook Events, 72,41% said that they have the intention to manifest support to the event. Around 45% declared interest in receiving notifications/updates about the event and also 34% are interested in informing the event administrator that they will attend to it in person.

According to the questionnaire, 68% of users answered that they are not necessarily informing that they will be in person in any event when they click on the buttons *going* or *interested* on Facebook Events.

When asked about how many events from Occupy Estelita they have attended in person in 2016, 47% answered “none of them”. 86% declared they consider pressing the buttons *going* or *interested* on the Facebook Event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* as a positive attitude.

We chose 22 words related to the event aiming to capture the meanings associated to the idea of belonging to Occupy Estelita. According to the answers, more than 70% people selected words like “Democracy”, “City”, “Culture”, “Urban Rights”, “Fight” and “Collectivity”. We also asked them about words not related to the movement and more than 70% selected “Religion”, “Economic Conservatism”, “#GetOutDilma” and “Right-wing Movement”.

It is possible to say that the idea of “manifesting support to the event” produces effects of exhibition. When someone says that he or she wants to manifest something, the person is not only saying something, but doing something through language. According to Cambridge Dictionary<sup>34</sup> “to manifest” is a verb that means “to show something clearly, through signs or actions” (CAMBRIDGE, Dictionary). Hence, manifesting is a performative act that is executed when the illocutionary act of saying “Interested” or “Going” is performed.

The fact of 68% of people say that the usage of the button “Going” does not necessarily mean attending to the event in person enables us to construct a hypothesis of execution of unhappy performative acts (AUSTIN, 1975). Although these acts do not produce an effect of attendance in person, because of the existence of a spectral variety of meanings, they execute a series of acts that are completed like the act of manifesting.

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<sup>34</sup> Available on <<http://dictionary.cambridge.org>>. Access on Jan 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

An important hypothesis to be considered by this study is also that people want to be recognized with the connection to values that contribute to the performance they want to execute or exhibit. Based on the belief from 86% of the people that attending to this event on Facebook is a positive value, we can note that people's interest in "manifesting" is also an interest in being attached to these values.

## 5.2 Conflicts between virtual and real spaces

We have been following the Facebook Event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* since it was created in March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017. That day, at around 6:00 p.m., the Facebook Event already had 192 users *interested*, 126 *going* and 1,7 thousand invited. Seven hours later, the number of invitations increased to 2,1 thousand.

On March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the event day, the Facebook page showed that 472 users pressed the button *going* and 776 the button *interested*, since the Event creation. The event would occur at *Marco Zero* square, located in the city's center. There was a party organized by the City's Mayor for the anniversary of Recife. The city was turning 480 years old. We arrived at *Marco Zero* square at around 4:00 p.m., the time informed on the Facebook Event for the beginning of the demonstration. However, the group was not there. We were informed by a member of the Facebook Event organization that the meeting would happen in a street next to the square: Apolo Street. At around 5:00, we took a walk to the new address where we found the group still organizing their march. The empty street and the raining day allowed us to count how many people there were: 20. Counting how many people there were was not a goal for us, once we believed that it could be very hard depending on the high number of demonstrators we could find. However, the little group in an empty street allowed us to add this data to the analysis (Figure 7).

**Figure 7** – Demonstrators of the Political Act for Freedom of Speech



Source: Author

Add 776 users that pressed the button *interested* on Facebook Event plus 472 that pressed the button *going*, we have 1248 users that manifested interest in the Facebook Event. This discrepancy found between virtual (on Facebook) and real spaces (the demonstration on the streets) draws attention to a phenomenon that shows ruptures with the Facebook Events platform of organizing events. The diversity of meanings involved in the act of click in *Going* or *Interested* makes the usage of the Facebook Event's page possible in many ways by the users. It does not mean that people are informing if they will or will not attend to the event in person.

Conflicts between real and virtual spaces occur here due to the renewing of meanings that the speech acts make possible. Also because of the series of effects that it promotes, which are changed according to the emergence of new kinds of interaction. Hence, it is the usage of the platform that determines the potential establishment of ruptures between the real and virtual spaces. This discussion is very important to analyze political demonstrations promoted by social movements, whose demonstrators are constantly accused of being slack-activists (or slacktivists), in certain circumstances. This conflict between real and virtual is not a discussion between passive and active individuals, but it is considered as this due to the potential of performativity: it means, the production of effects through language (speech acts) aiming to renew meanings.

After analyzing the questionnaire I, a new Facebook Event concerning Occupy Estelita emerged. The *Occupy Estelita +5* was created to engage people in an event at

Estelita Pier to celebrate 5 years since the movement's beginning. Facing the creation of a new Facebook Event, we saw a good opportunity for improving questions we thought were not exactly conclusive. We decided to update the questionnaire I, trying to adapt some of the questions according to the need of more accurate results. Like the questionnaire I, the emergency of this Facebook Event demanded a fast reaction from us as researchers. We developed the questionnaire II and applied it on the Facebook Event's page *Occupy Estelita +5* using the platform *Survey Monkey*. We received 105 answers to the questionnaire after one week online. This time of application was defined according to the time we had applied the first questionnaire.

## 6 OCCUPY ESTELITA + 5

**Figure 8** - Facebook Event Occupy +5



Source: Facebook/Author

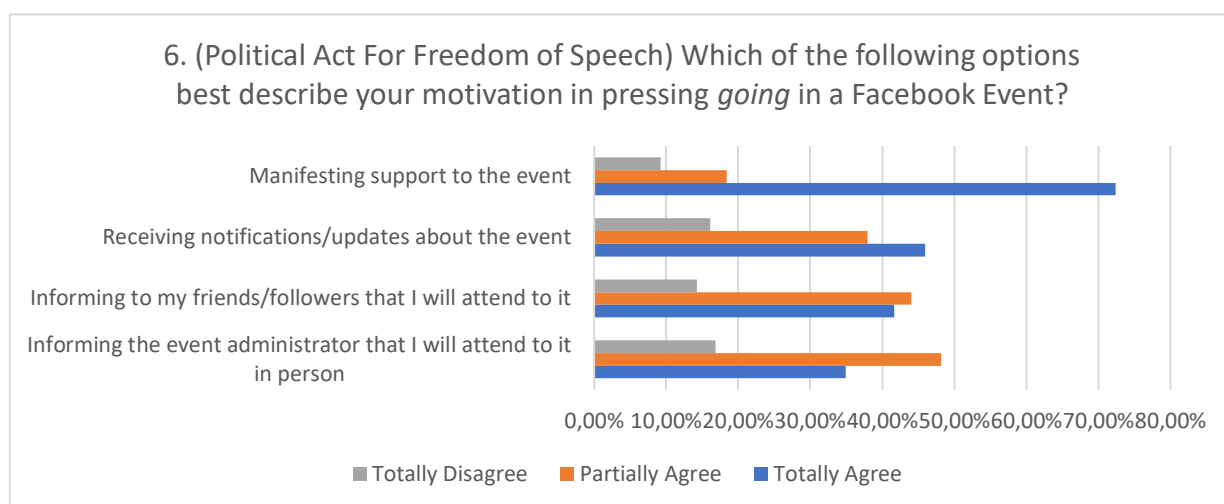
After receiving answers to the questionnaire for one week, we had 105 answers to analyze. The complete results can be visualized in annex D.

According to the user's answers, 100% said they are aware about the fact that Facebook sends notifications to their friends/connections when they press the buttons *going* or *interested* on Facebook Events. It means, they all know that pressing those buttons is an act that necessarily involves public exhibition.

In questionnaire I, we gave the users three options in question 6 (see annex A and C): Totally Disagree, Partially Agree and Totally Agree. Aiming for more accurate results, in questionnaire II we changed the options to a scale from 1 to 5 (smaller 1 to 5 higher). This new scale enabled us to read multiple meanings that were once limited by the options in the first questionnaire. Following, it is possible to compare both questions and their respective answers:

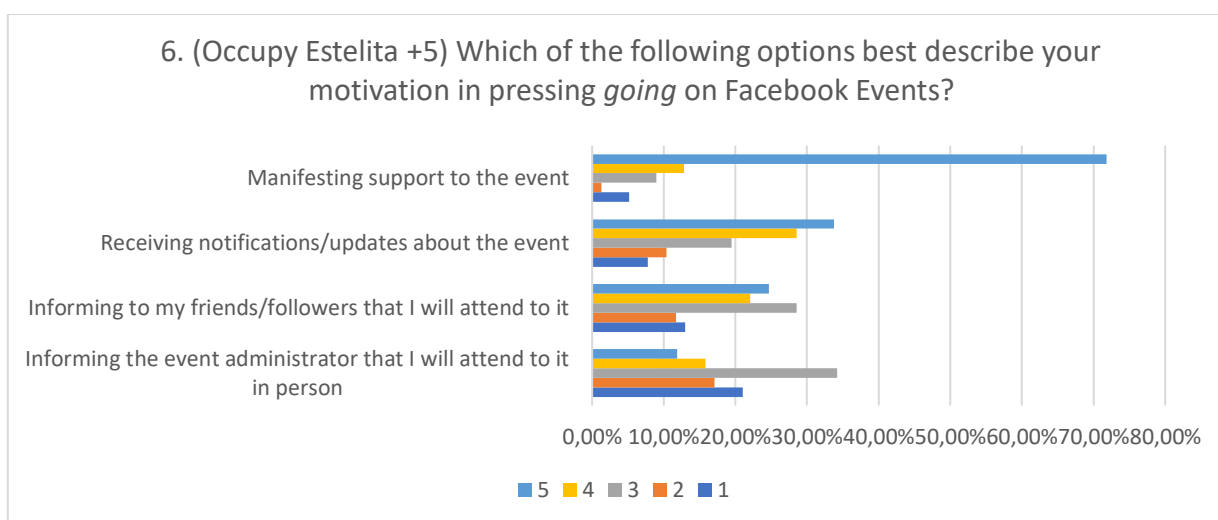


Graphic 4 – Question 6 from Questionnaire I



Source: Author

Graphic 5 – Question 6 from Questionnaire II

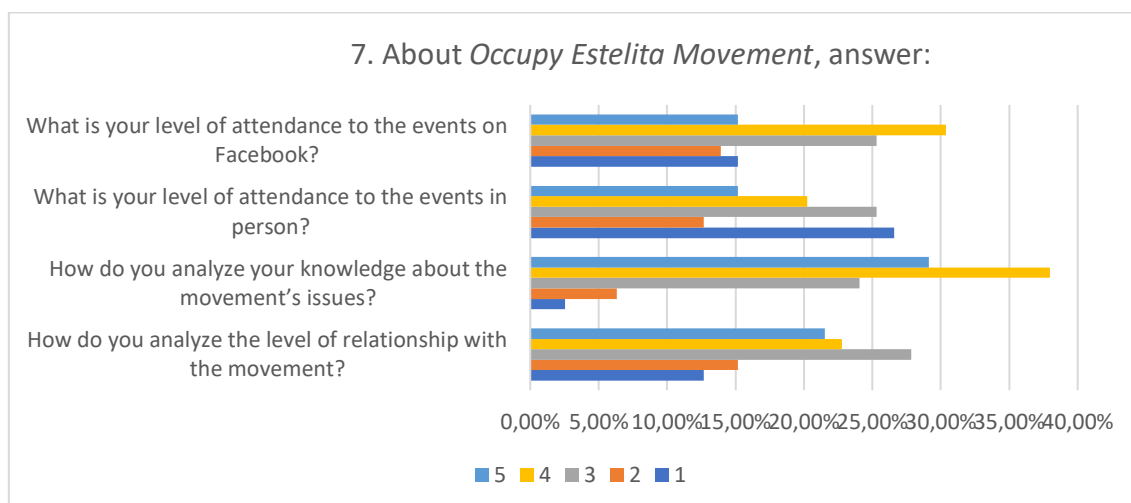


Source: Author

After this change, it is possible to see that in the option “manifesting support to the event” - which was analyzed on Chapter III (3.1) – this time had precisely more answers in number 5. It means that people who answer the questionnaire II also consider “manifesting support” the most important function or meaning for the buttons *going* and *interested*.

In question 7, we can find important results according to the graphic below:

Graphic 6 – Question 7 from Questionnaire II



Most of the people said they usually attend to Facebook Events (pressing the buttons *going* or *interested*) from Occupy Estelita. The most selected option was level 4 (30,38%) and the second, level 3 (25,32%). Levels 5, 4 and 3 represent 70,89%.

According to the level of attendance in person, the most selected option was 1 (26,58%) and 3 (25,32%). Adding 1 (26,58%) and 2 (12,66%) we have 39,24%. Adding 4 (20,25%) and 5 (15,19%), we have 35%. Despite 35% and 39% are very similar results, if we check the variation of usage of option 1 in each of the alternatives from question 7, we can see respectively 13,92%, 26,58%, 2,53%, 15,19%. Hence, we have similar results between 3 and 1, however the result of 1 comparing to the other alternatives is clearly important.

When asked about the knowledge about the Occupy Estelita Movement, the most selected option was 4 (37,87%). The second option was 5 (29,11%). Adding 3, 4 and 5, we have 91,13%. We can interpret that most of the people who answered to the questionnaire have a high knowledge about the movement.

About the level of relationship with the Occupy Estelita Movement, most of the people selected 3 (27,85%), 4 (22,78%) and 5 (21,52%). Adding 3, 4 and 5, we have 72,15%.

In short, people consider that they have a high knowledge about Occupy Estelita Movement, they have a high level of connection with the movement and they attend to the Facebook Events most of the times. However, an important quantity of people does not attend to the events organized by Occupy Estelita in person.

It is not clear if we can determine that the fact of manifesting support is directly affecting people's point of view about their participation in Occupy Estelita acts. However, it is possible to say that manifesting support is indeed a possibility of participation in Occupy Estelita and it can be used by people interested in participating only on Facebook – using Facebook Events.

Also according to the questionnaire II, when asked if they have ever attended to an event organized by Occupy Estelita in person, most of the people answered “yes, many of them” (53,16%). However, a significant portion (30,38%) said only a few and 16,46% said they never attended.

54,43% of the people that answered the questionnaire II said they already pressed *going* or *interested* on Facebook Events organized by Occupy Estelita Movement and did not attended to the event in person. Moreover, 88% of them consider the act of pressing those buttons as positive.

Once again, these results draw attention to the dimension of performativity on Facebook Events. The act of pressing the buttons and sending notifications allows people to use it to manifest their opinions and give their support to movements like Occupy Estelita. However, those questionnaires are not enough for a deep qualitative analysis of the dimensions of meanings involved in the act of clicking those buttons. Due to the fact that questionnaires give options, it limits the possibilities of understanding the phenomenon globally – it produces not spontaneous answers. Hence, we will produce and apply “In-depth interviews” (BOYCE & NEALE, 2006) following the profile of Facebook users that answered to the questionnaires I and II. The “In-depth interviews” are a deep diving into the button usage motivations and the possible meanings related to *going* and *interested*.

## 6.1 Diving into the motivations with in-depth interviews

Aiming for a deep investigation, we conducted in-depth interviews coordinated by a semi-structured questionnaire (Annex E), which means that we produced some previous questions but according to people's answers it could be customized. According to Boyce & Neale (2006), “In-depth interviews are useful when you want detailed

information about a person's thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth" (BOYCE & NEALE, 2006, p.3). First of all, we accessed the Facebook Event's page from Occupy +5 and randomly selected 8 users that have attended to the event by clicking the button "Going" to make a first contact. After sending some messages through the Facebook Messenger for each one, we received feedbacks from some of them. As a following step, we initiated a conversation to explain and give more information about the interview purposes, always being cautious to avoid anticipating subjects that would be approached later. It was important to avoid talking about the Occupy Estelita before starting the interview to be sure that participants did not consult any source to be prepared for the conversation. As we did not receive all the 8 feedbacks, we continued the process until we had 8 participants. The method of in-depth interviews does not allow the researcher to generalize the results. The eight interviews can give to us some material to analyze what motivates each one inside, which can help produce some hypothesis about the phenomena. For many reasons, some people did not accept the invitation to participate. For example, a person asked for money to participate, but this research did not offer any financial retribution for participants.

The virtual contact with a strange through Facebook was another barrier. We were initially planning to conduct interviews face-to-face, but no interviewee accepted to meet us in person. That is a very expressive data, considering this work's investigation about the conflicts between the real and virtual spaces. Because of that, we offered participants two possibilities: a phone call or webcam conversation on Facebook. All the conversations happened in December 2017 and they were recorded and transcribed to be analyzed.

Initially, we asked people to talk about themselves – where they lived, age, and occupation. Among them, we could find people from Recife or cities around the capital and even a person from São Paulo. Most of them are young – from 15 to 26 years old – and have an intensive use of internet during their routines, for many reasons. Following, a very short will be described profile to identify each interviewee during the analysis. The participants' names will remain anonymous.

Interviewee-1 – He lives in Olinda, 18 years old, studies Journalism

Interviewee-2 – She lives in Paulista, 21 years old, studies Geography.

Interviewee-3 – He lives in Recife, 15 years old, MC Rapper.

Interviewee-4 – He lives in São Paulo, 26 years old, studies Architecture.

Interviewee-5 – She lives in Recife, 36 years old, works as a coordinator in an ONG.

Interviewee-6 – She lives in Abreu e Lima, 19 years old, studies Geography.

Interviewee-7 – He lives in Recife, 25 years old, works as a Designer

Interviewee-8 – She lives in Recife, 25 years old, Master's student

When asked what they think about Social Networks, it was possible to see that most of participants have in mind a clear difference of usage between platforms like Instagram and Facebook. Analyzing the answers, we saw that for them, Instagram is an open territory where they have lots of people – known and unknown - interacting and publishing their lives all the time. Facebook, however, is a place for friends, where intimacy comes to light and people go not only to have fun, but also to look up for information.

Interviewee-1 - My Instagram is very open. There, I talk about my life for everybody with no worries about the audience or who is watching me. I just say what I want to say. On Facebook, it is different because I have friends, family and coworkers. There I am more cautious about what I am going to publish. On Facebook, everything is forever. People will remember about what you said one year ago. On Instagram, they don't. Instagram is much more dynamic.

Interviewee-2 - On Facebook it is possible to share lots of things. It is very useful to reach a large public. There is also an important point that is "information". I know more about what happens because of Facebook than TV.

Interviewee-7 – Nowadays, I use Facebook like an institutional thing. I mean, it is the network where are my parents, grandparents, family in general. So, when something very special happens, like "I won a prize", I would publish it on Facebook because people will see it and congratulate me. Of course, I use

Facebook more to consume journalism and to see what is happening around. Facebook for me is very “official”.

Facebook, for these interviewees, is much more serious than other social networks. It is considered as a place for being connected with family or reading news. Also, it is a tool for establishing professional connections. This characteristic of being more “serious” than other platforms provides us material to understand, perhaps, why politics have so much space on Facebook.

These opinions about Facebook mean a lot when we look for how each interviewee use the events platform. For most of them, the platform is very useful when they want to know what is going to happen around the city. Some of them usually go to Facebook Events platform into the website actively instead of just waiting to be invited by any connection. It is interesting to see that it was considered as a very important point knowing who has interest in each event to determine if the event will be successful or not. Also, they considered the Facebook Event platform as one of the best tools from Facebook.

Interviewee-6 - Facebook is good, but I think Instagram is much better. On Facebook, I just look up for journalistic pages. I hate the Facebook Messenger.

Caio – What about the platform of events?

Interviewee-6 – Ahhh, yes! Facebook Events are amazing. I think that is the reason Facebook is still alive (laugh). I can see that everybody creates events and people begin to visualize and interact. If someone sees that a famous person showing interesting about an event, people usually do the same. Recently, some friends and I created an event for a party that we were organizing at the University and it was the easiest way we found to attract audience.

Interviewee-7 – It is one of the best things on Facebook. I like to see, mainly, the events which my friends showed interest in attending. There are some days that you don’t know what you are going to do at night. So, I access Facebook to see what is going to happen next to me.

All interviewees said that when they press the button “Going”, they certainly are informing that they will attend to the event in person. When they press the button “interested”, they said it means that they are not sure, thus, they can give up if necessary. This information goes to the same direction of Chowdhry’s (2015) analysis about the change of Facebook’s options previously described on Chapter III.

Interviewee-7 – I usually select “interested”. I use “Going” only when I am certain that I will attend to the event.

Caio – Do you consider what your friends selected important to decide if you will or not attend to the event?

Interviewee-7 – Sure! But I have to ask them on Whatsapp first to be sure that they will attend to it. Because when other people select “going” I don’t know if they will or not really attend to the event.

The interviewee-7 determined two different behaviors when talking about himself and when he refers to other people. He said he uses “Going” only when he has no doubt that he will attend to it – once again, it is important to mention that he selected “going” on Occupy +5 but he did not attend to the event in person”. Otherwise, when he refers to his connections he says that he needs to check personally by WhatsApp whether his friend will or not attend to the event because people select this option but not necessarily attend to it in person. Here, we could make a reference to the Third-person effect, a hypothesis among the theories of Communication that stated that people consider that others are more influenced by the media than themselves. This distance between the first and third persons is about perceptions of reality, where the *I* is considered as having more technical knowledge to judge than *they* (MARTINO, 2014).

However, from 8 interviewees, only 2 attended<sup>35</sup> to Occupy Estelita +5 in person, but all of them attended to it pressing the button “Going” on Facebook. We should also consider that interviewing is also a process that involves performativity and because of that we should return to the results of questionnaires applied before, where we concluded that “people consider they have a high knowledge about Occupy Estelita Movement, they also have a high level of connection with the movement and they attend to the Facebook

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<sup>35</sup> The Interviewee-3 attended to the event because he is a rapper and he was invited to participate in some music pocket shows there.

Events most of the time”. This is an exercise that recovers to Latour’s (2007) statement about the cartography methodology: researchers must reconsider their attitude toward their subjects of study. Asking someone face-to-face about their attitudes requires a multi-modal interview structure that asks about the same information in different situations and in many different ways. We did not ask them here, as we did in the questionnaires, about the level of knowledge about Occupy Estelita but what kind of information they could give us about that.

Through the interviews, we could ask people to talk a little about the Occupy Estelita by having them try to explain something about the movement. Most of them demonstrated a very restrict knowledge about the movement. They usually demonstrated a misunderstanding between the Recife’s mayor’s responsibilities and the companies who bought the pier, saying things like “the government will construct 10 buildings there” (Interviewee-1). Also, when asked specifically about what events of Occupy Estelita they have attended, none of them were able to mention one. Some said they have never been to Cais José Estelita before.

Although they support the movement and manifest it through Facebook, all of the interviewees said they did not consider themselves as activists. Even the Interviewee-7, who used to be a member of a communication team, working as a designer to the Occupy Estelita Movement in 2014, said he did not consider himself as an activist anymore:

Interviewee-1 – I think that an activist is that person who dedicates his/her entire time to study, research and debate about some issue, you know? I have things that I believe and I usually defend, some that I agree or disagree, but I am not an activist at all.

Interviewee-7 – Nowadays, I am not an activist. I was in the past. If they publish something I will share. If something very serious happen, I believe that I could be engaged again but now, I am not there constructing the movement, I am not participating. I just support them.

It was also verified by García (2014) in relation to the Spanish 15-M and Occupy Wall Street supporters – social movements similar to Occupy Estelita:

Supporters of the Spanish 15M consider themselves a social movement of persons, instead of activists or militants (Perugorria & Tejerina, 2013) which are terms associated “to the ‘old way of doing politics’ (la ‘vieja política’), based on ideological or partisan affiliations” (Perugorria & Tejerina, 2013, p. 10).



Moreover, these traits are also present in other social movements that have emerged since the Arab Spring, such as Occupy Wall Street (OWS). (GARCÍA, 2014, p. 208).

They have also demonstrated difficulty in explaining their political orientation. When asked about that, the answers were not “right-wing” or “left-wing”, but they tried to detail what they think about several themes even, sometimes, intersecting opposite sides.

Caio: How do you describe your political orientation?

Interviewee-4 – I think that there are right and wrong things. I believe that everybody should have the same rights. However, if everyone has the same conditions of working, all of them must work. If we all have the right to work but someone does not want to work, I think that is wrong.

Interviewee-2 – If I must choose only one side, I think that I am walking to the left. But, there are things on the left-wing that I disagree. So, I do not like to define myself politically. We see that on Facebook you have to define yourself. I am not saying that I am impartial. Ok, generalizing, I consider myself more left-wing.

Interviewee-5 – My political orientation is like I already described for you in the beginning of our conversation. I am black, a woman, feminist and a mother. My principles are all based against any type of prejudice. I am against homophobia, lesbophobia and racism.

Interviewee-7 – I am left-wing, but not anti-capitalist. Maybe more allocated near to the center.

According to Castells (2012), a majority of Occupy Wall Street supporters also did not consider themselves as anti-capitalists:

“The criticism is focused on financial capitalism and on its influence on government, not on capitalism as such. The movement does not embrace ideologies of the past. Its quest aims at eradicating evil in the present, while reinventing community for the future” (CASTELLS, 2012, p. 197)

Fuchs (2012) however, pointed out a critic to Castells’ hypothesis. He argues that when Castells uses the expression “the movement” he is referring to supporters that participated in a survey who are not necessarily activists themselves. “The group of activists that participated in the survey is a subset of the group that designates itself as movement supporters”. (FUCHS, 2012, p. 791). The question that emerges here is: should

movement supporters not be considered as an expressive part of the movement? Only activists can represent social movements? When we refer to the role of web flows in potentializing activists' voices, are we not referring exactly about the participation of supporters sharing and producing content for their networks?

What this methodology allows us is to understand, through a series of questions, what is behind each participant's answers. For example, although they say they consider the act of pressing the button "going" as a declaration of presence, all of them pressed the button to the Occupy +5 but most of them did not attend to it in person. Moreover, while they say that they have a high knowledge about the movement – what used to be a question on the questionnaires – they were not able to explain exactly what Occupy Estelita is about.

It was also interesting to note that one of the participants who attended in person to the Occupy +5 is a 15 years old boy who lives in Recife's suburbs, in a very poor neighborhood – characteristics that allocated him outside of the usual profile of Occupy Estelita supporters as shown before in our analysis. He said he has never received an invitation through Facebook to an Occupy Estelita event. He also said he just knew about the movement because his rap group was invited to sing during the event. He is not a person who has a background of connection with Occupy Estelita on social networks. He is also not a person that is connected with the network of Occupy Estelita supporters on Facebook. Therefore, his presence was not arranged by a Facebook invitation, which, as he said, never reached his profile.

## 7 SUBVERTING THE CONCEPT OF OCCUPY

Pickerill & Krinsky (2012) pointed out eight reasons why occupy is an important movement: (1) the usage of special strategies to provoke disruptions physically; (2) the political sense of occupation, it means, highlighting the importance of appropriation of territories; (3) resonating a slogan, which connects other similar movements around the world; (4) it allows to prefigure a new society and its challenges or contradictions when people begin the construction of encampments, for example; (5) it collectively creates alternatives for demands on the state, like when Occupy Estelita built a kitchen to distribute food for poor communities living around; (6) it promotes ritualization of social movements practices; (7) being a global-trend, it makes its diffusion easier and (8) the politics of policing as a representation of how financial and political interests are connected – which alludes to the fact of police repression in every Occupy.

All the characteristics described by Pickerill & Krinsky are intimately related to the physical presence in territories. According to the authors, the potential of provoking disruptions is based on the act of being present in these spaces.

Occupy camps reasserted the spatial dimensions of exclusion and inequality by forcing society to recognize that capitalist accumulation happens in certain places, and that these places can be named, located and objected to. These encampments have thus reasserted the power of the tactic to camp, and the power of such encampments to identify the geography of capitalism. Moreover, this focus on space challenges social movement studies to move beyond merely conceptualizing the extent of space or the compression of space by time (as with discussions of globalization and ‘scaling up’ protest), and instead to more thoroughly explore the strategic use and occupation of space as symbolic (PICKERILL & KRINSKY, 2012, p. 280).

It is central for Occupy movements to have the territory as a place where capitalism is manifested but also the place where people can provoke disruptions, rehearsing a different society and collectively suggesting the sense of city. Castells (2012) describes the act of getting out from “the safety of cyberspace” moving toward occupying urban spaces as a routine in this kind of movement (CASTELLS, 2012, p.2). What could

also be a characteristic of Occupy Estelita in its past, in current events promoted by the movement, occupation does not seem to be a practice for its supporters.

Occupy Estelita reached its activity boom in 2014, when activists occupied the Estelita Pier building a camping there, which a month later was destroyed by a police intervention. Still in 2014, in the end of the year, Brazil was voting for president. President Dilma Rousseff (Workers Party) was reelected and then impeached one year later. In this work, we cannot determine exactly what the responsible factors for cooling the Occupy Estelita Movement were, but it is a hypothesis that the instability in Brazilian politics has contributed for this process. Many occupy supporters were using the official pages of Occupy Estelita to manifest their opinions about the Brazilian political scenery, even organizing marches against the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff.

After many disruptions in Brazilian politics, Occupy Estelita decreased their territorial interventions, scheduling just a few meetings during the years of 2016 – when we also had Olympic Games in Brazil - and 2017. In both these years, the movement produced some festivals in special days like a réveillon party (Revelita) or a carnival one (carnalita), aiming to bring people back to the pier. These events were organized and propagated on Facebook, using the Events tool. During the interviews we could see that some of participants believe that their manifestation of virtual presence through the buttons “going” or “interested” can help expanding the movement’s visibility. However, the fact of not considering themselves as activists was, in some moments, also connected with the fact that supporters believe actions online are not activism or occupation.

Caio - Do you consider yourself an activist?

Interviewee-8 - I was thinking about that yesterday (laugh). I think that I am doing nothing. I believe I am operating more in micropolitics than other ways. I think that internet is not enough. I support millions of movements, like the feminism that is very strong now, or even those for the city rights. But, today, I feel myself too distant.

Caio - So, do you think that you are doing politics only on Internet?

Interviewee-8 - I think I am not. I am very conservative about this issue. I don't feel myself doing politics on internet, because I am not doing politics with my body, you know? When people occupied the public schools I was there, offering

workshops and participating in meetings. But, today I think I am doing nothing because I am just on the internet.

Caio - And being on the internet is not doing politics? What is that, then?

Interviewee-8 - I think I am manifesting support to the movement but not necessarily contributing with it.

Caio - Do you think your participation online can help the movement?

Interviewee-8 - It helps other people knowing about that and maybe being engaged in it. I think that is the motivation.

Interviewee-8 attended to the Occupy Estelita +5 in person but she does not consider herself an activist. She just believes in politics when her body participates on the process. Although she said that manifesting support on the internet does not contribute to the movement, she, at the same time, believes that she is helping propagate the movement's ideal through her actions online.

At the same time people think they are not occupying through Facebook, they also believe they are contributing by demonstrating interest in events. It seems that Facebook is simulating a territory for people to "go" online. And they "go" when they click the buttons on Facebook events. However, they do not consider this territory as being the same offline place, and they also do not consider this act of going as being the same action that others do when they physically attend to the event. Although it is not the same place - and because of that not replaceable - the usage of Facebook Events to engage people in social movements is subject to a heterogenic appropriation of its significance and people use it to perform their presence in a virtual territory that, although it makes reference to a real offline space, it is not necessarily the same.

Although this performative act of pressing the buttons "Going" or "Interested" happens on any Facebook Event, in those analyzed here it seems to be a subversion of the sense of Occupy. Occupy needs people in contact in offline territories.

Interviewee-8 also said she considers clicking the button "going" if she does not plan to go to the event as a betrayal, mainly when she was invited by a friend to something organized by him or her. It is different to perform presence with no obligations of accomplishment with a friend that organized something - like his birthday party - or with a person who invited you to be in an event where you do not necessarily have a strong

connection or a big motivation. Although Facebook Events can contribute by sharing and reaching more people “for free”, it should not be the main strategy of social movements to engage people. The act of attending to a Facebook Event is, according to the interviews and all the analysis we did here, extremely performative by itself and it has no direct effects in supporters’ engagement in real spaces, which is a very important thing for Occupy Movements. No direct effects, however, does not mean no effects. We cannot measure how efficient this tool can be, but we can attest that people’s performance of attendance on Facebook has no relations with their presence physically. Even when they do both (attending to it online and offline), they are doing two different things. Butler (1997) stated that “saying something will produce certain consequences; but the saying and the consequences produced are temporally distinct; those consequences are not the same as the act of speech” (BUTLER, 1997, p.17). Moreover, we could add to Butler’s sentence that they are not only “temporally” but also “spatially” distinct.

Austin’s concept of “unhappy performative” helps us understand this phenomenon profoundly because it indicates that the issue is held on language. It is a linguistic issue. It is due to the possibility of saying something but with different meanings associated that people use the buttons of Facebook to express many intentions. If “Going” is going somewhere (virtually) but is not necessarily going to the physical space, it cannot be considered as a manifestation of a kind of promise of presence in person in a real territory. Even people saying they consider the act of pressing going as a manifestation that they surely will attend, we saw that they actually did the opposite in the the Occupy +5. Austin’s concept does not allow us, in this complex context, to determine exactly if people’s actions are happy or unhappy performatives but it provides us tools to understand that performativity does not depend necessarily on its effects. We cannot say if it is a case of unhappy performative because we know people have many different intentions in expressing something through the buttons. So, if they do not consider that pressing a button is a promise of their presence offline, they are not performing an unhappy performative – because they are not doing something different of what they said. However, it is possible to say that performativity does not depend on the effects and therefore it is an action itself. It does not matter what people are really saying, but if they are saying – manifesting – something, they are performing an act.

It is interesting to recover the fact that among our interviewees, we have two people who attended in person to the events. One is the interviewee-8, a woman very

connected to the Occupy Estelita since its beginning, who was an active participant during the encampment in 2014. The other, interviewee-3, is a 15 years old boy who was not invited through a Facebook Event<sup>36</sup>. The invitation for a rap pocket concert at Cais brought him near to the movement and, perhaps, it indicates us ways to move towards different associated strategies which are more organic and promote people's interaction through a strongly connected "offline" network. A network where people can do politics – "do" in the sense of a performative act that provokes disruptions physically through bodies in movement.

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<sup>36</sup> He looked for the event on Facebook after receiving the invitation from the movement to participate in a pocket concert.

## 8 CONCLUSION

Besides being the country with more users on Social Networks in Latin America (CANALTECH, 2016), Brazil also has 95% of its connected users on Facebook. Through extensive politics of enlargement of Brazilian internet structure, giving internet access for a bigger population in a short period of time (IBGE, 2014), the country's reality can be compared with many others. Due to the increasing of access, people begin using internet as a tool to organize social movements globally connected. The Arabic Spring in cases such as the Tahrir Square in Egypt or the Turkey revolution, 15-M in Spain and Occupy Wall-Street were social movements that emerged or passed into the web flows to connect people aiming for the emergence of uprisings against economic and political policies that affected people's access to work and also their human's rights, in the cases of dictatorial governments (CASTELLS, 2015). It was in the space of the big metropolis where Occupy Movements established their fights, using the territory as a living example of how the capitalist model affects all the instances of people's lives since their access to urban locations.

Occupy movements became globalized not only because the issue they protest against is an effect of globalized economic models but also because it was on the internet where they established connections to engage people in their demonstrations. In Brazil, a wide demonstration across the country in 2013 was called by some academics as being the Brazilian Spring because its similar characteristics of using the internet as a platform to spread outrage for many cities. However, other movements were being organized since 2012 in specific locations, like the Occupy Estelita in Recife.

Occupy Estelita emerged as a fight for the right to the city, against the demolition of an important historical construction in the city's center. The place sold by the government to a consortium of civil construction company is a post-card landscape that was threatened by the project "New Recife", which planned the construction of 12 business skyscrapers in that space. In 2014, when the companies started the demolition, Occupy Estelita demonstrators used a Facebook group called Urban Rights to call people to the pier and stop its wrecking. After that, many other times people from Occupy Estelita used the platform of events to invite people to demonstrations or even to go to the Pier and participate in some cultural activities. The strategy of using Facebook Events to



engage demonstrators was also used in movements abroad like in Egypt (TUFEKCI, 2017).

The usage of Facebook Events allows people to click on the buttons “Going” and “Interested” to respond to an invitation. Even if they were not invited, Facebook users can look for public Events and manifest their interest using the buttons. The issue this work analyzes is that people can use these buttons for many reasons and for many times it is an option to join the cause without getting out of their homes, sharing their support to the movement with their connections.

Using Austin’s theory of performative acts (AUSTIN, 1975), we constructed the hypothesis that clicking on those buttons is a performative act, because besides saying that they have interest they are also doing something – attending to a Facebook Event. It was Austin’s statement that utterances produce effects that we analyzed the usage of this tool to engage people through internet. Aiming for this analysis, first we produced a questionnaire to investigate people’s intentions in attending to a Facebook Event when clicking on those buttons. The first event we analyzed would occur in March 2017 and it was chosen because it is an extension of Occupy Estelita it enabled us to analyze it in real time.

The questionnaire was very important to see the importance people give to manifest their support through the usage of the Facebook Event. It was also found that some people (68% of respondents) consider clicking on the button “Going” and attending to the event in person “offline” as being different things. Continuing the analysis, we went to the event when it occurred, and we could verify that, though 472 users pressed the button “Going” and 776, “interested”, only 20 people attended to the event in person.

Looking for more accurate results, we applied a new questionnaire – questionnaire II – when we faced the emergence of a new Event, the Occupy +5, which seemed to be a good opportunity to customize the beta version applied before. In this new questionnaire, we tried to give people more subjective possibilities to answer by changing options like “agree, partially agree and disagree” into choosing a number between 1 and 5 where they could express a more relative opinion in a spectral variation. Here, we could find that manifesting support is also for people who answered the questionnaire II as the most important function or meaning to the buttons “going” and “interested” among the options. In both questionnaires we asked people about their knowledge level concerning Occupy

Estelita and the level of attendance to events. However, we felt the need of talking to respondents to deeply understand what kind of knowledge they really had and also if they can say specific events that they attended in person. Besides, we needed to understand people's thought beyond our provocations through selective options that were given on the questionnaire.

Aiming for a deeper analysis, we convoked 8 people who manifested their support to the event Occupy +5 by clicking on the button "Going" to be participants of in-depth interviews. As a result, we could find that some of them had a very weak bond with the Occupy, as they could not explain exactly what that was about and also they had never been at the Pier or any demonstration before. Although, we also have two people who had a strong relation with the movement among the interviewees, and were present during the encampment, but now they are not very active anymore. None of the interviewees considered themselves as an activist of the Occupy Estelita or any other social movement. They believe they are helping the movement by attending to Facebook Events virtually, but they consider it different of an active participation offline, in person.

The idea of performativity comes to light when we comprehend that manifesting support through the usage of specific buttons is an action that does things. Although, we concluded that this action can be considered as a subversion of the Occupy concept, once people simulate their presence in a virtual territory online as a political manifestation of support, but they are not physically attending to the event offline. The performativity, thus, we argue, does not depend on the effects it produces – being happy or unhappy – but if it produces effects – intentionally or not – it performs.

The possibility of performing attendance can be very destructive for social movements like in the first case we analyzed, where people did not support the demonstration physically. It can be also dangerous, because some people are more exposed to attacks or to police violence. At the end, we argued that among the interviewees, the fact that one who attended to the event in person was not invited through Facebook, shows us that there are more organic possibilities of engagement in social fights as a calling for the body presence as an invitation to be part of the revolution, constructing the movement collectively. It does not mean that Facebook Events are not important. It means that they operate in a different objective that is not exactly to engage people in real physical spaces but spread an idea. However, ideas also need bodies

occupying space, as we saw in movements cited before and even in the beginning of Occupy Estelita to provoke disruptions and construct social changes.

We have also to point out the importance of performativity to the movement resistance. According to Fuchs (2012), Castells (2015) was wrong in considering supporters as part of Social Movements when the author took in account their opinions in his research. Although supporters (online) and activists (offline) do different things, both are participants of movement's actions. Supporters are considered important in spread the movement online though they are not necessarily acting physically. Their performance online do not provoke disruption in physical spaces but they are responsible for keep the movement appearing on people's Timeline – motivated by the creation of Facebook Events by Occupy Estelita members.

As perspectives for future researches in this field, we would like to point out that it is important to deeply discuss the relation between virtual and real territories in the context of Facebook Events. It is important to analyze these territories and establish characteristics that make them real or virtual, instead of merely considering online and offline relations.

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## APPENDIX A – Questionnaire I “*Political Act for Freedom of Speech*”

<b>Title:</b> Research Facebook and Interactions
<b>Subtitle:</b> The following research aims to analyze how the Brazilian Facebook’s users use the Event tool. The research is developed by the Communication Program from the Federal University of Pernambuco. The form has only 14 questions, divided in two pages. Thank you for helping!
<p>1. Gender</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Male</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Female</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Other (not informed)</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Other: (blank)_____</li> </ul>
<p>2. Age</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> (blank)_____</li> </ul>
<p>3. Education (Degree)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Preschool</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Elementary School</li> <li><input type="radio"/> High School</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bachelor Degree (in progress)</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bachelor</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Master</li> <li><input type="radio"/> PhD</li> </ul>
<p>4. Approximate family income (Values defined according to IBGE data)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> At least R\$ 1.576,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 1.576,01 to R\$ 3.152,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 3.152,01 to R\$ 7.880,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 7.880,01 to R\$ R\$ 15,760,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> 15.760,01 or higher</li> </ul>

5. Do you know that when you press *going* or *interested* in a Facebook Event, your friends, contacts and followers are informed about your action?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

6. Which of the following options best describe your motivation in pressing *going* in a Facebook Event?

Totally Disagree Partially Agree Totally Agree

- ☐ Informing the event administrator that I will attend to it in person

Totally Disagree Partially Agree Totally Agree

- ☐ Informing to my friends/followers that I will attend to it

Totally Disagree Partially Agree Totally Agree

- ☐ Receiving notifications/updates about the event

Totally Disagree Partially Agree Totally Agree

- ☐ Manifesting support to the event

7. When you press the going button in a Facebook Event, are you informing that you will be in person in this event?

- ☐ I always go in person
- ☐ Not necessarily
- ☐ I never go in person



8. Which of the following events have you attended in person in 2016?

- ☐ Reveillita
- ☐ Carnalita
- ☐ Estelita: 2 anos da ocupação
- ☐ ASSEMBLEIA do Movimento Ocupe Estelita (Parque 13 de maio)
- ☐ Non of them
- ☐ I do not remember

9. When you give up on going to an event which you have pressed *going* or *interested* on Facebook, you:

- ☐ ... cancel the attendance
- ☐ ... do not care about the event attendance
- ☐ ... prefer to avoid cancelling the attendance
- ☐ ... usually do not remember about the events you attend to

10. About *Occupy Estelita Movement*, answer:

- ☐ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) How do you analyze the level of relationship with the movement?
- ☐ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) How do you analyze your knowledge about the movement's issues?
- ☐ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) What is your level of attendance to the events in person?
- ☐ (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) What is your level of attendance to the events on Facebook?

11. In your opinion, attending to the Facebook Event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* is a value considered:

- ☐ Positive
- ☐ Negative
- ☐ Neutral

12. In case of other people be unable to visualize your attendance to this Facebook Event:

- ☐ I still would attend to the event on Facebook
- ☐ I think it would not make sense the attendance to an event on Facebook

13. Which of the following words you consider that they are related to the *Political Act for Freedom of Speech*? (Mark as much as you consider it is necessary)

- ☐ Collectivity
- ☐ Fight
- ☐ Demonstration
- ☐ Urban Rights
- ☐ Culture
- ☐ Environment
- ☐ Safety
- ☐ Movement of Right
- ☐ Sexual Freedom
- ☐ Movement of Left
- ☐ Feminism
- ☐ City
- ☐ #GetOutDilma
- ☐ #GetOutTemer
- ☐ Democracy
- ☐ Normativity
- ☐ Economic liberalism
- ☐ Economic conservatism
- ☐ Sharing
- ☐ Religion
- ☐ Alternative Culture
- ☐ Family

14. Which of the following words you consider that are NOT in accordance to the *Political Act for Freedom of Speech*? (Mark as much as you consider it is necessary)

- ☐ Collectivity
- ☐ Fight
- ☐ Demonstration
- ☐ Urban Rights
- ☐ Culture
- ☐ Environment
- ☐ Safety
- ☐ Movement of Right
- ☐ Sexual Freedom
- ☐ Movement of Left
- ☐ Feminism
- ☐ City
- ☐ #GetOutDilma
- ☐ #GetOutTemer
- ☐ Democracy
- ☐ Normativity
- ☐ Economic liberalism
- ☐ Economic conservatism
- ☐ Sharing
- ☐ Religion
- ☐ Alternative Culture
- ☐ Family

## Appendix B – Questionnaire II “Occupy +5”

<b>Title:</b> Research Facebook and Interactions
<b>Subtitle:</b> The following research aims to analyze how the Brazilian Facebook’s users use the Event tool. The research is developed by the Communication Program from the Federal University of Pernambuco. The form has only 15 questions, divided in two pages. Thank you for helping!
<p>01. Gender</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Male</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Female</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Other (not informed)</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Other: (blank)_____</li> </ul>
<p>02. Age</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> (blank)_____</li> </ul>
<p>03. Education (Degree)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Preschool</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Elementary School</li> <li><input type="radio"/> High School</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bachelor Degree (in progress)</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bachelor</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Master</li> <li><input type="radio"/> PhD</li> </ul>
<p>04. Approximate family income (Values defined according to IBGE data)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> At least R\$ 1.576,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 1.576,01 to R\$ 3.152,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 3.152,01 to R\$ 7.880,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> From R\$ 7.880,01 to R\$ R\$ 15,760,00</li> <li><input type="radio"/> 15.760,01 or higher</li> </ul>

05. Do you know that when you press *going* or *interested* in a Facebook Event, your friends, contacts and followers are informed about your action?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

06. Which of the following options best describe your motivation in pressing *going* in a Facebook Event?

- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Informing the event administrator that I will attend to it in person
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Informing to my friends/followers that I will attend to it
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Receiving notifications/updates about the event
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Manifesting support to the event

07. About *Occupy Estelita Movement*, answer:

- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ How do you analyze the level of relationship with the movement?
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ How do you analyze your knowledge about the movement's issues?
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ What is your level of attendance to the events in person?
- ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ What is your level of attendance to the events on Facebook?

08. Do you usually visualize Facebook Events from *Occupy Estelita Movement*?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ I never saw
- ☐ Rarely

<p>09. Have you ever attended to an <i>Occupy Estelita</i> event in person?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="radio"/> Yes, many of them</li><li><input type="radio"/> Yes, just a few</li><li><input type="radio"/> I never attended to it in person</li></ul>
<p>10. Have you ever attended to an <i>Occupy Estelita</i> event on Facebook and did not attended to it in person?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="radio"/> Yes</li><li><input type="radio"/> No</li><li><input type="radio"/> I do not know</li></ul>
<p>11. Have you attended to the event <i>Occupy Estelita +5</i> on Facebook?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="radio"/> Yes</li><li><input type="radio"/> I selected “interested”</li><li><input type="radio"/> No</li><li><input type="radio"/> I am not aware about this event</li></ul>
<p>12. Do you intend to attend in person to the event <i>Occupy Estelita +5</i> (It means, are you going to the José Estelita Pier)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="radio"/> Yes</li><li><input type="radio"/> No</li><li><input type="radio"/> Not sure</li></ul>
<p>13. In your opinion, attending to the event <i>Occupy Estelita +5</i> is considered something:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><input type="radio"/> Positive</li><li><input type="radio"/> Negative</li><li><input type="radio"/> Neutral</li></ul>

14. Which of the following words you consider that they are related to the event *Occupy Estelita*

+5? (Mark as much as you think it is necessary)

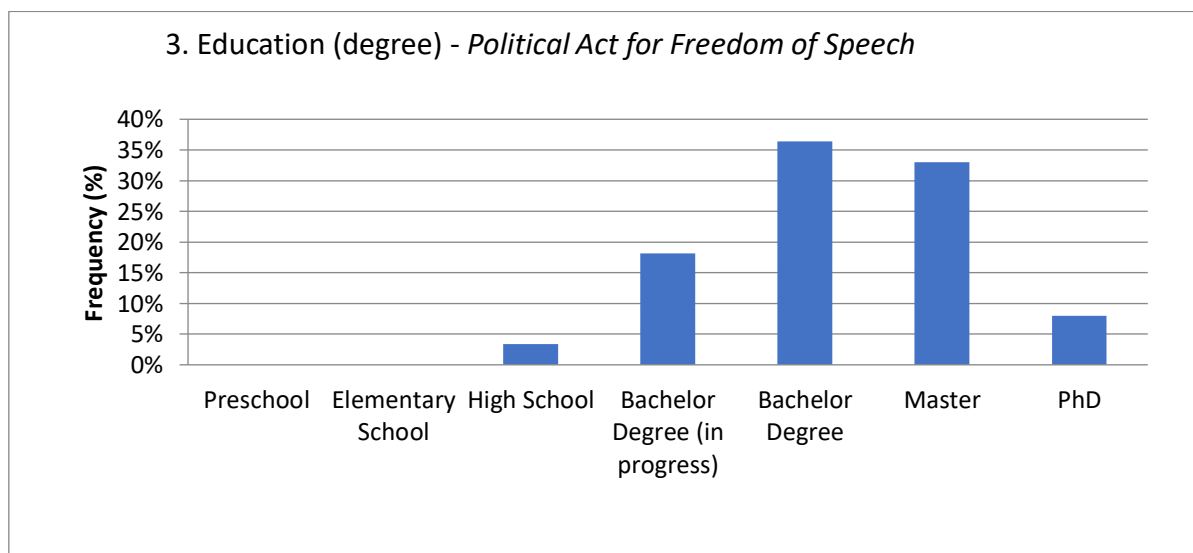
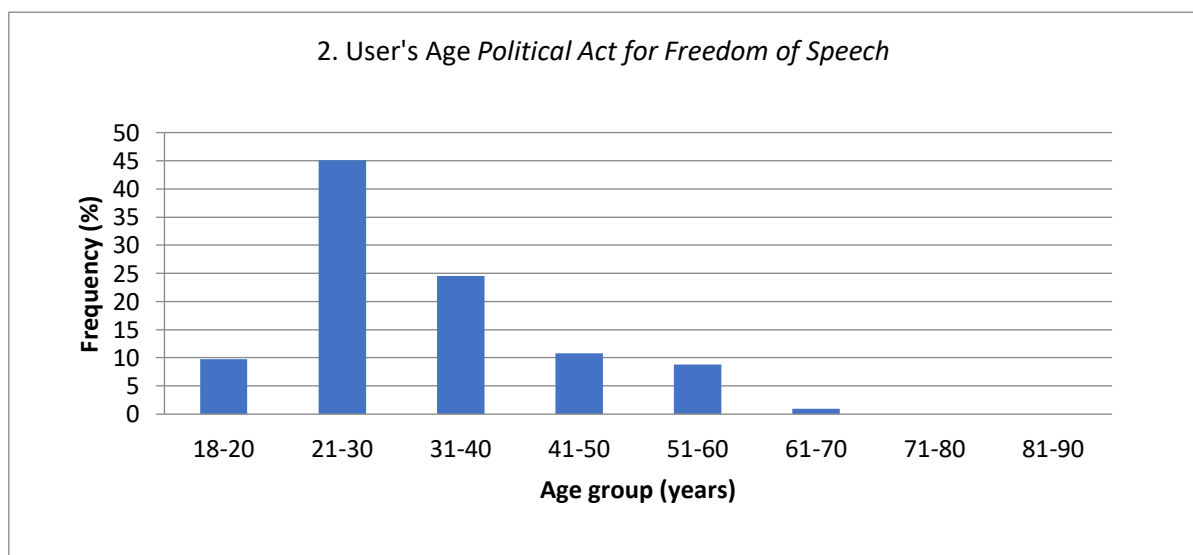
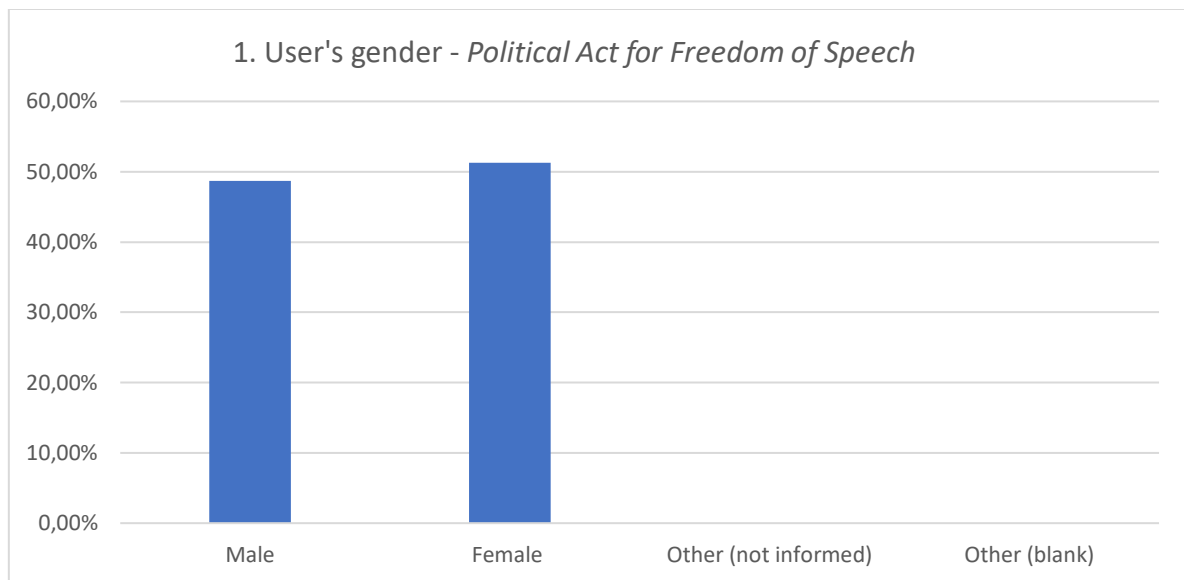
- ☐ Collectivity
- ☐ Celebration
- ☐ Fight
- ☐ Demonstration
- ☐ Urban Rights
- ☐ #Ocupe-se (Occupy Yourself)
- ☐ Culture
- ☐ Environmmment
- ☐ João da Costa
- ☐ Entertainment
- ☐ Safety
- ☐ Movement of Right
- ☐ Sexual Freedom
- ☐ Movement of Left
- ☐ Feminism
- ☐ City
- ☐ João Paulo
- ☐ Federal Police
- ☐ #ForaDilma (#GetOutDilma)
- ☐ #ForaTemer (#GetOutTemer)
- ☐ Democracy
- ☐ Normativity
- ☐ Paulo Câmara
- ☐ Liberalism
- ☐ Conservatism
- ☐ Sharing
- ☐ Religion
- ☐ Geraldo Júlio
- ☐ Alternative Culture
- ☐ Family
- ☐ Freedom

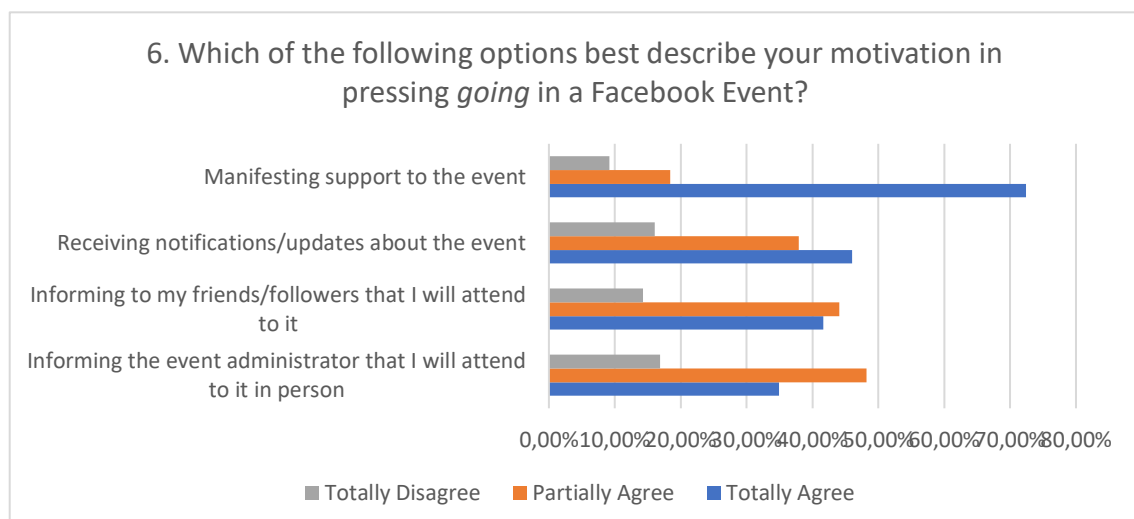
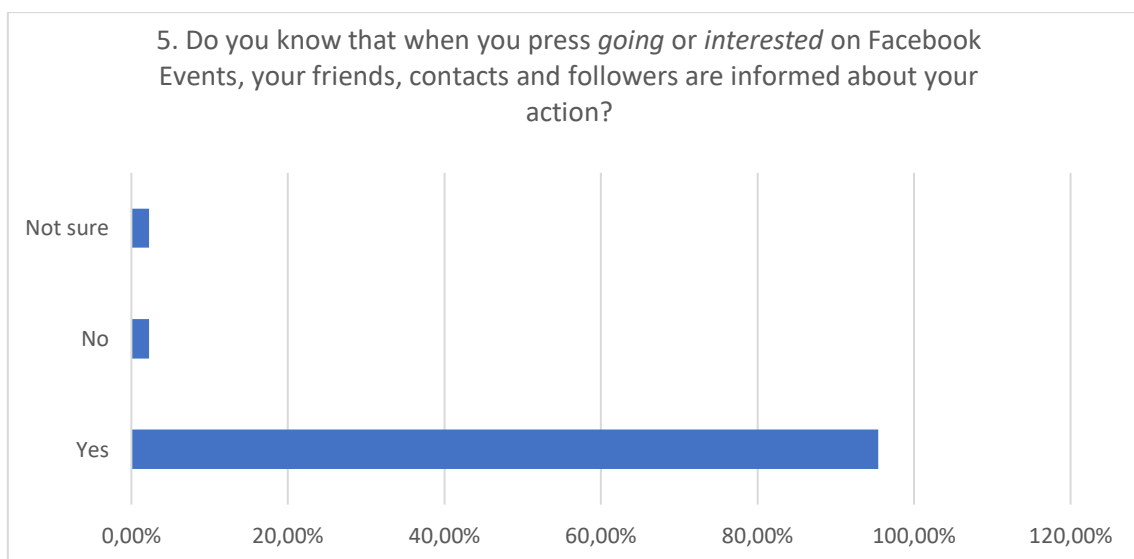
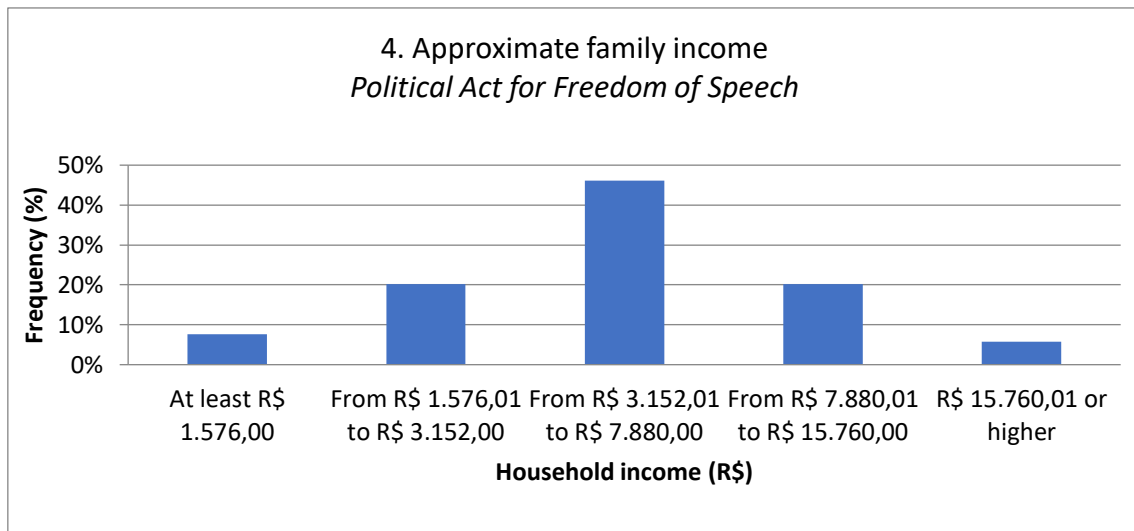
15. Which of the following words you consider that are NOT in accordance to the event *Occupy Estelita* +5? (Mark as much as you consider it is necessary)

- ☐ Collectivity
- ☐ Celebration
- ☐ Fight
- ☐ Demonstration
- ☐ Urban Rights
- ☐ #Ocupe-se (Occupy Yourself)
- ☐ Culture
- ☐ Environment
- ☐ João da Costa
- ☐ Entertainment
- ☐ Safety
- ☐ Movement of Right
- ☐ Sexual Freedom
- ☐ Movement of Left
- ☐ Feminism
- ☐ City
- ☐ João Paulo
- ☐ Federal Police
- ☐ #ForaDilma (#GetOutDilma)
- ☐ #ForaTemer (#GetOutTemer)
- ☐ Democracy
- ☐ Normativity
- ☐ Paulo Câmara
- ☐ Liberalism
- ☐ Conservatism
- ☐ Sharing
- ☐ Religion
- ☐ Geraldo Júlio
- ☐ Alternative Culture
- ☐ Family
- ☐ Freedom

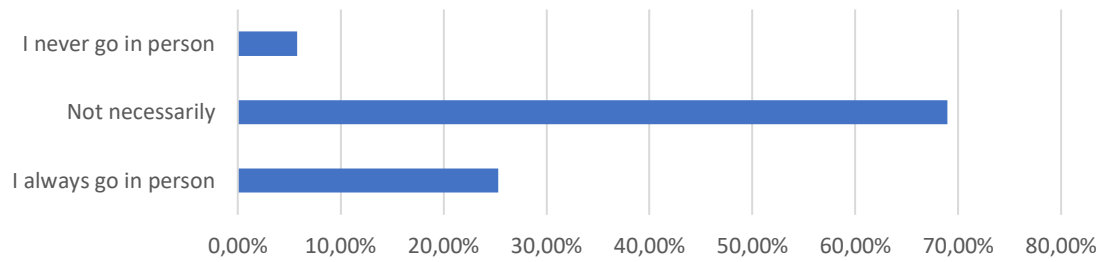


## Appendix C – Results Questionnaire I

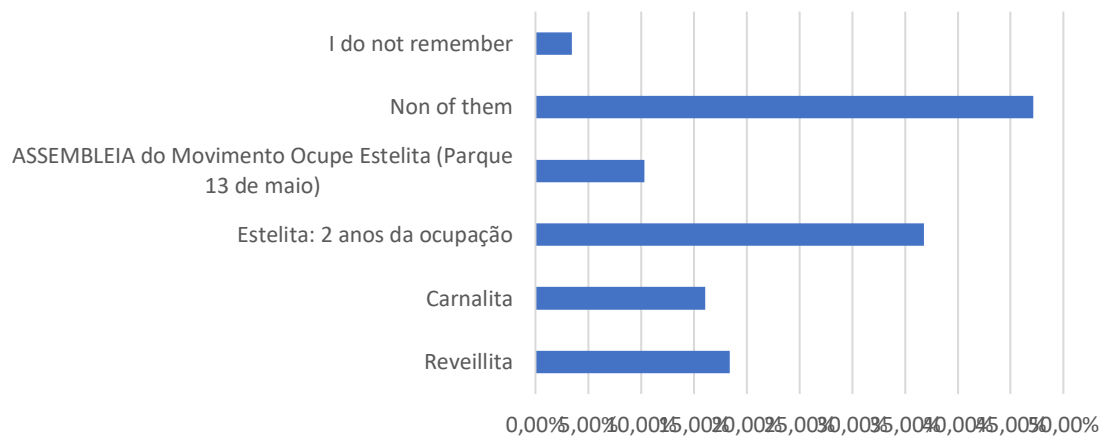




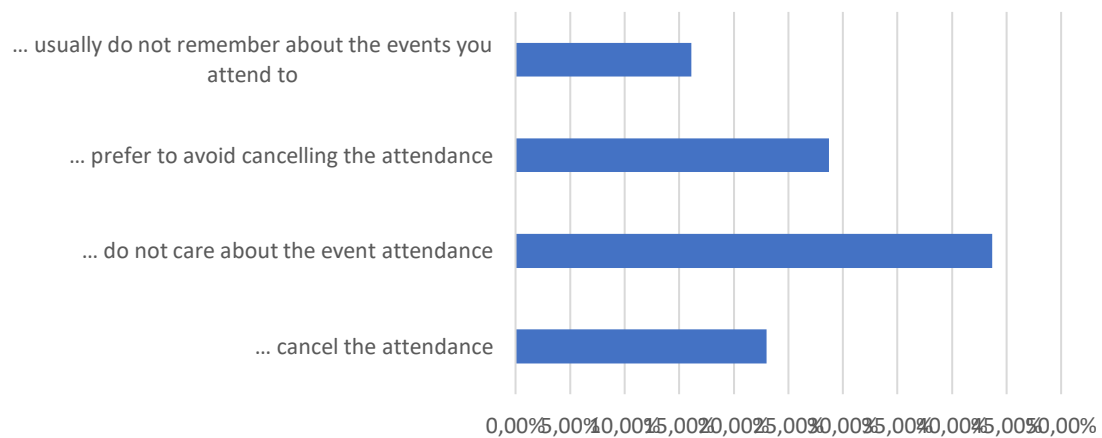
7. When you press the *going* button in a Facebook Event, are you informing that you will be in person in this event?



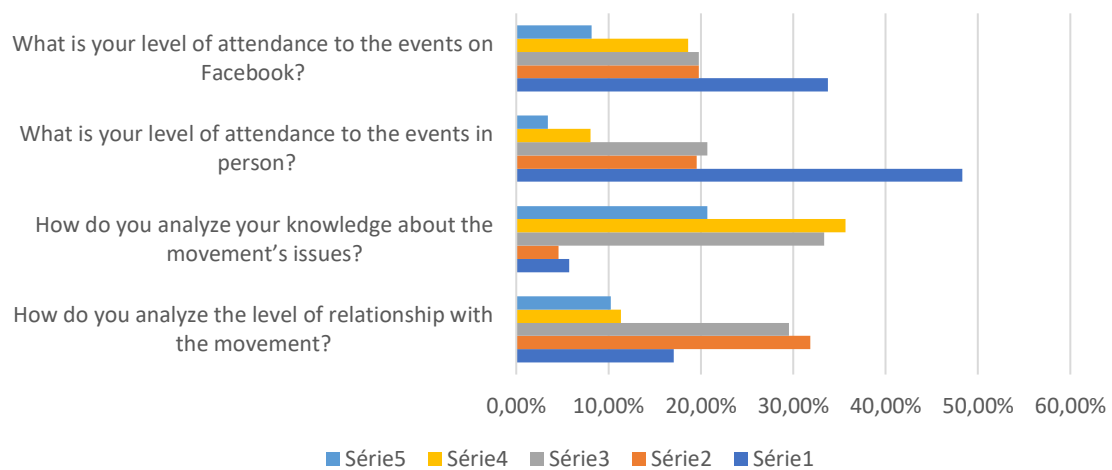
8. Which of the following events have you attended in person in 2016?



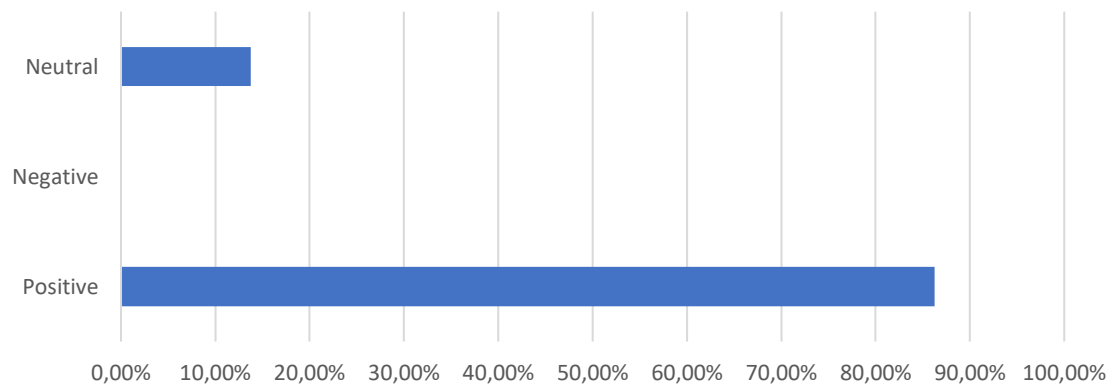
9. When you give up on going to an event which you have pressed *going* or *interested* on Facebook, you:



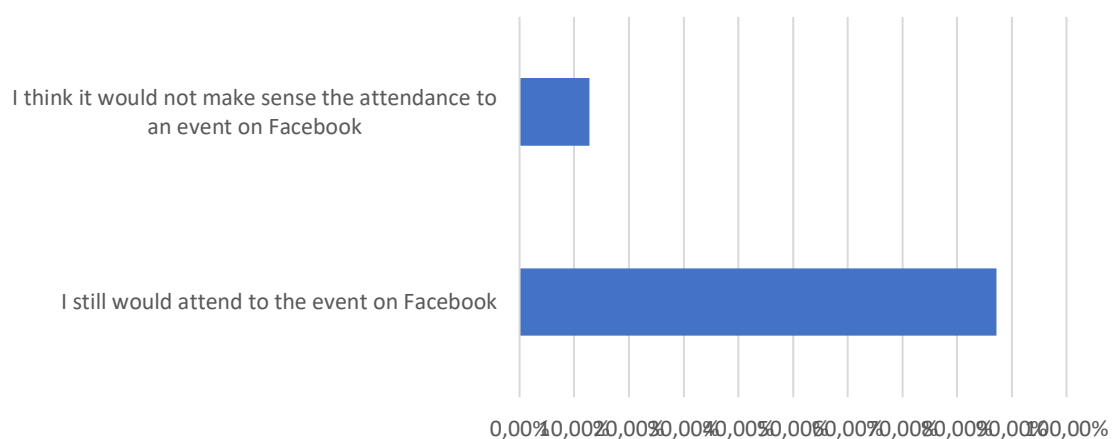
### 10. About *Occupy Estelita Movement*, answer:



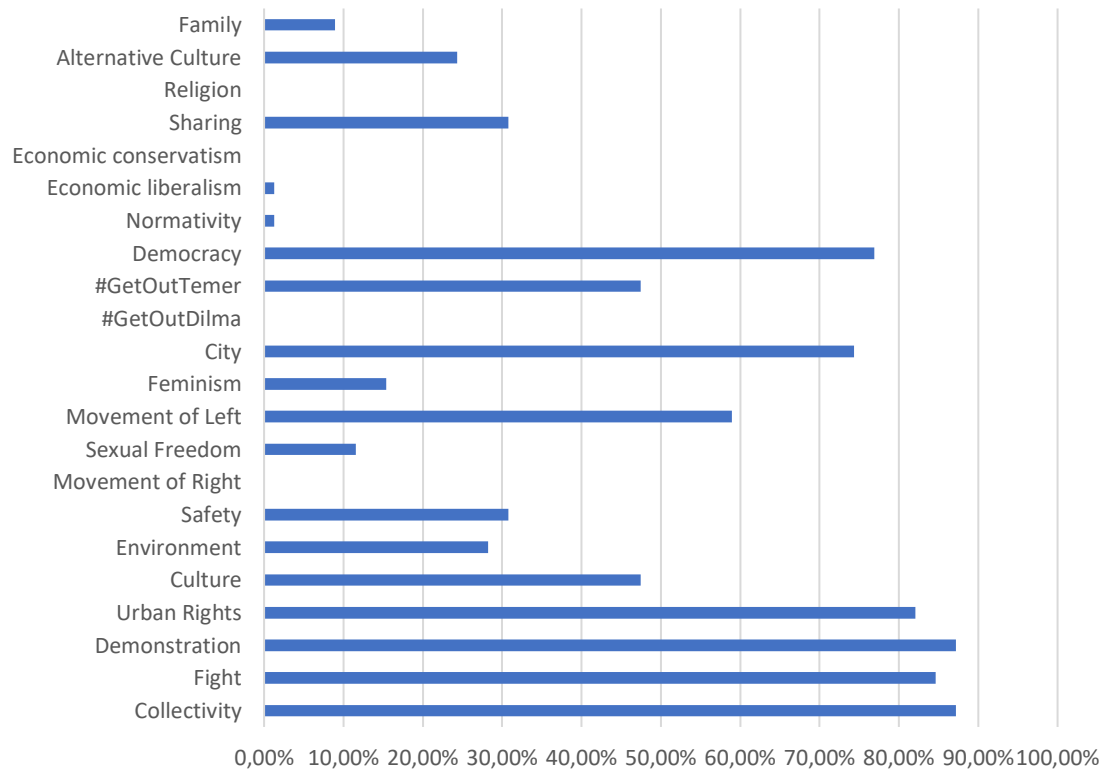
### 11. In your opinion, attending to the Facebook Event *Political Act for Freedom of Speech* is a value considered:



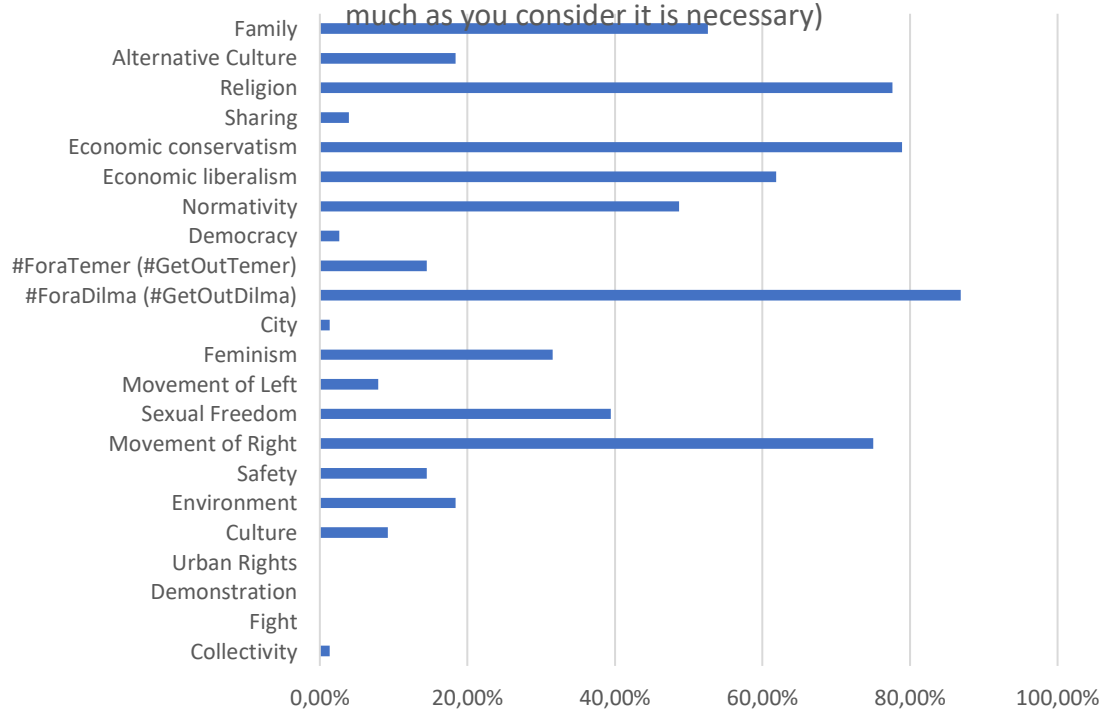
### 12. In case of other people be unable to visualize your attendance to this Facebook Event:



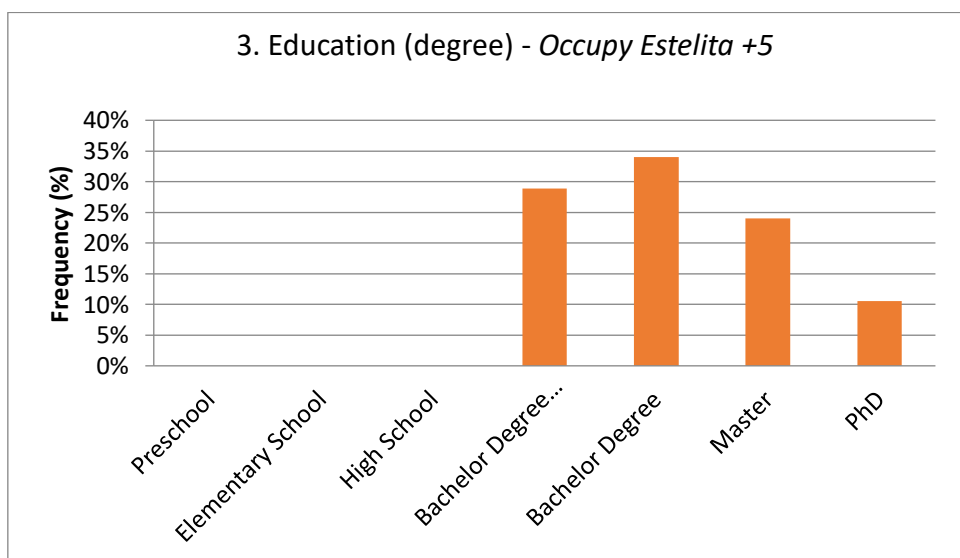
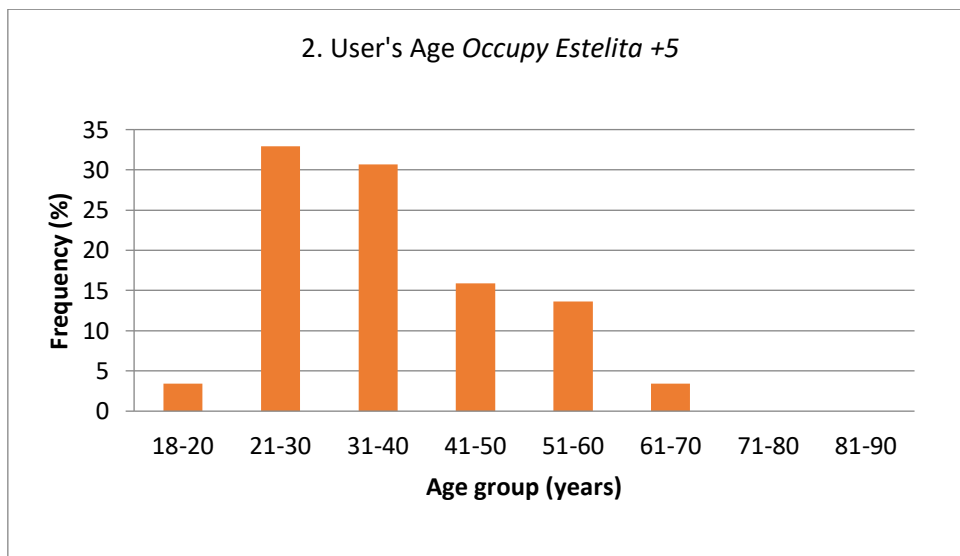
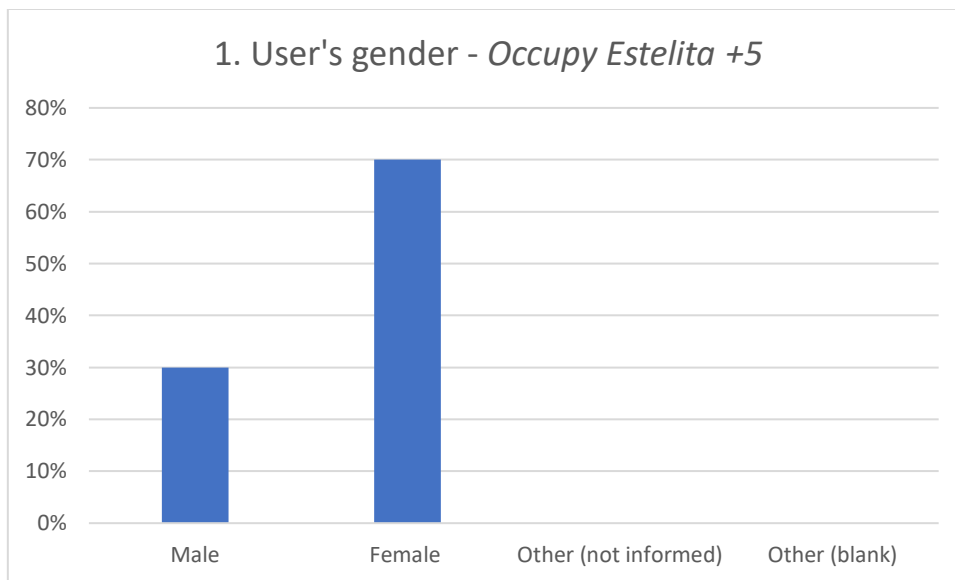
13. Which of the following words you consider that they are related to the *Political Act for Freedom of Speech*? (Mark as much as you consider it is necessary)

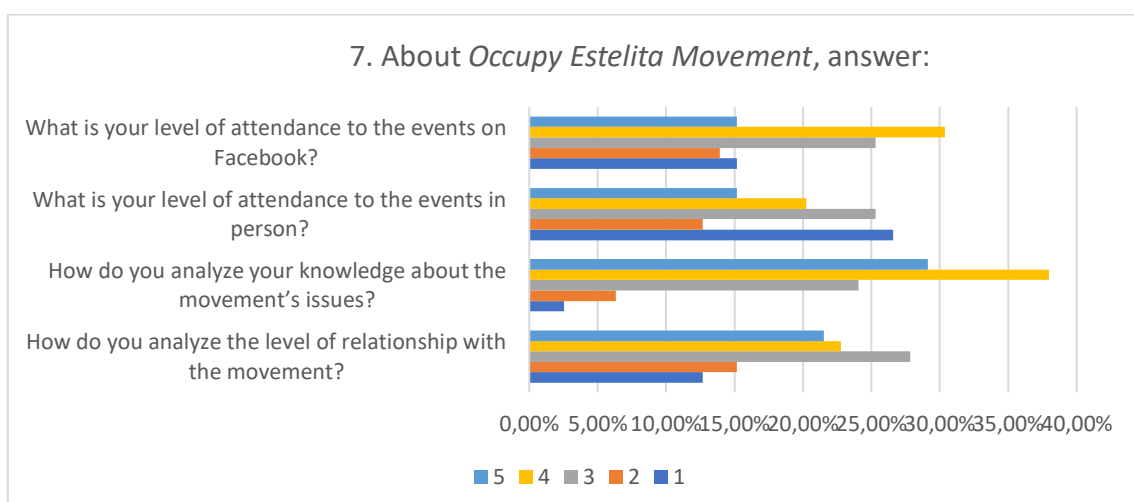
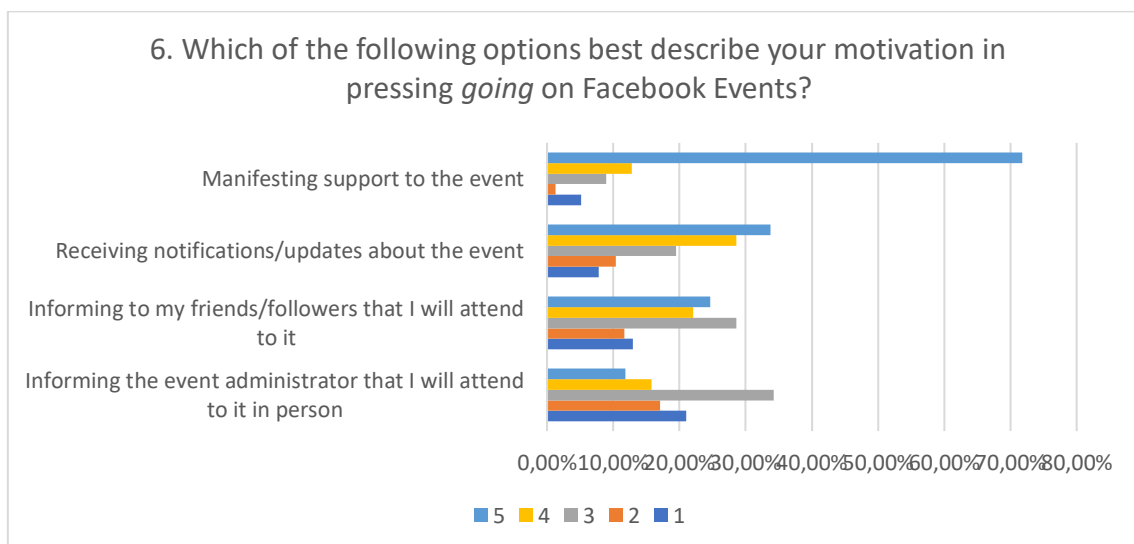
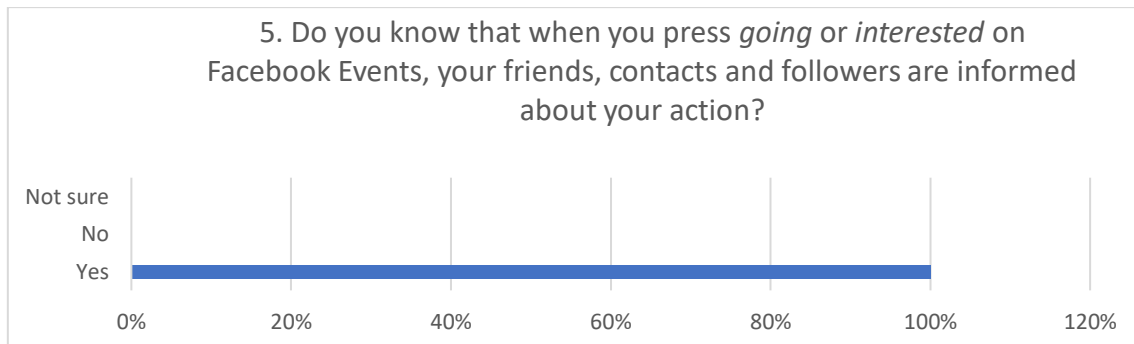
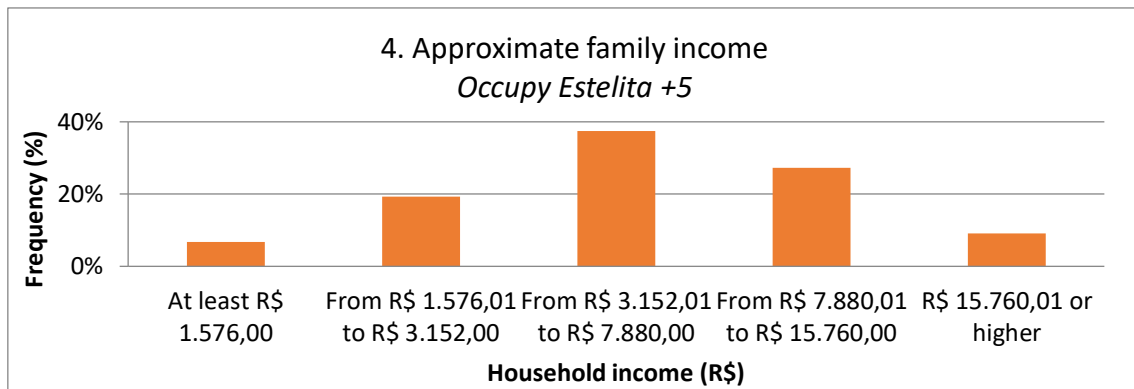


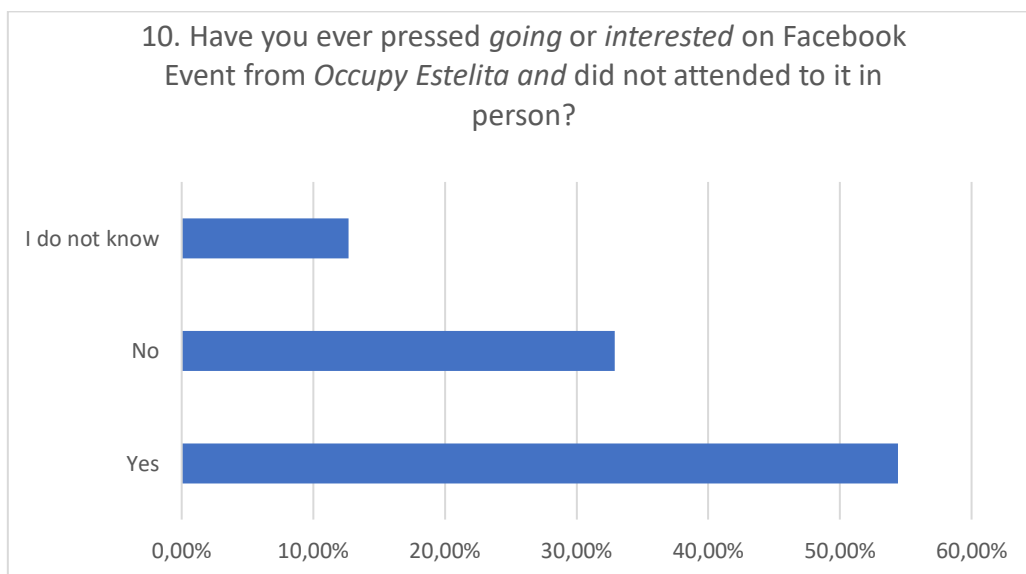
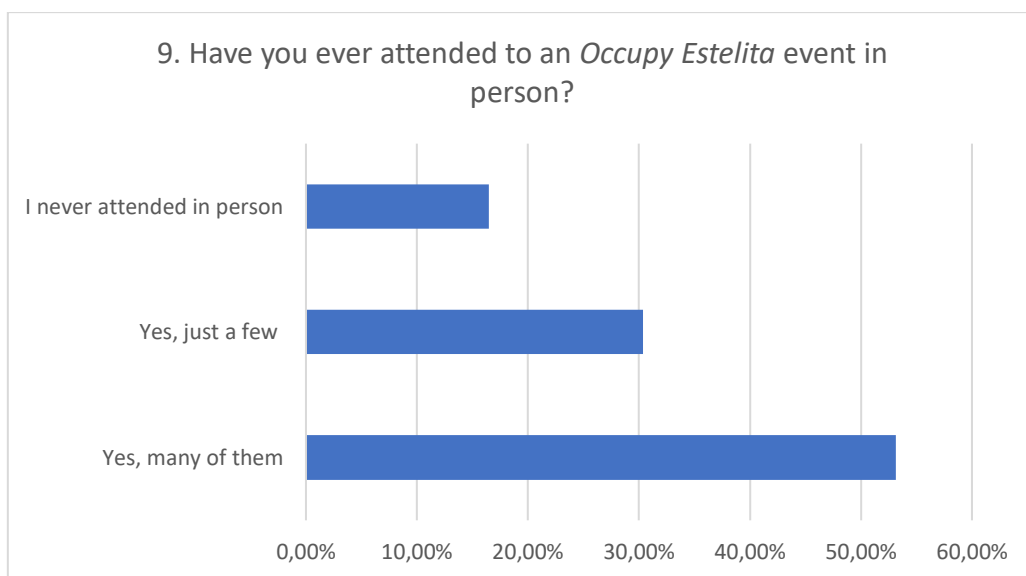
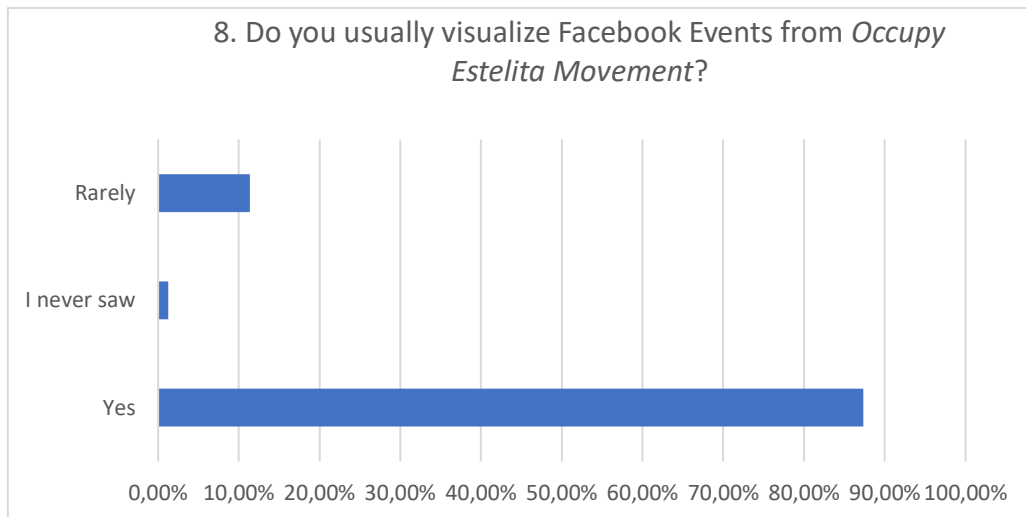
14. Which of the following words you consider that are NOT in accordance to the *Political Act for Freedom of Speech*? (Mark as much as you consider it is necessary)



## Appendix D – Results Questionnaire II

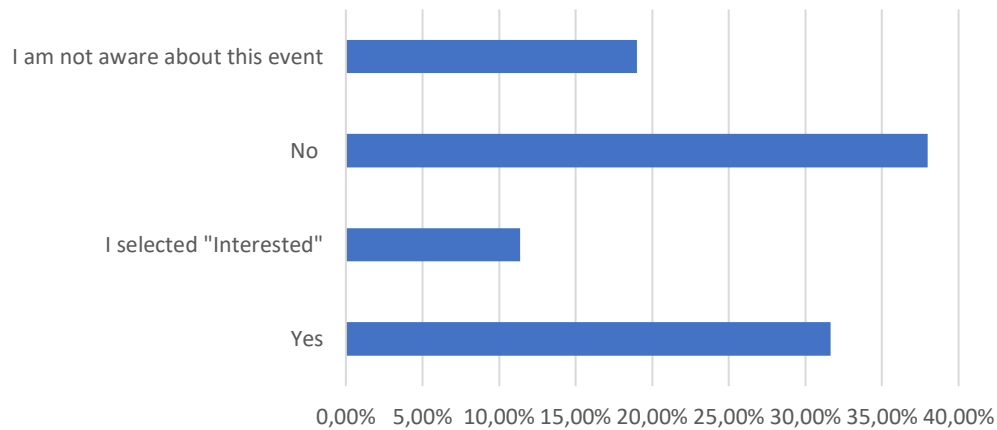




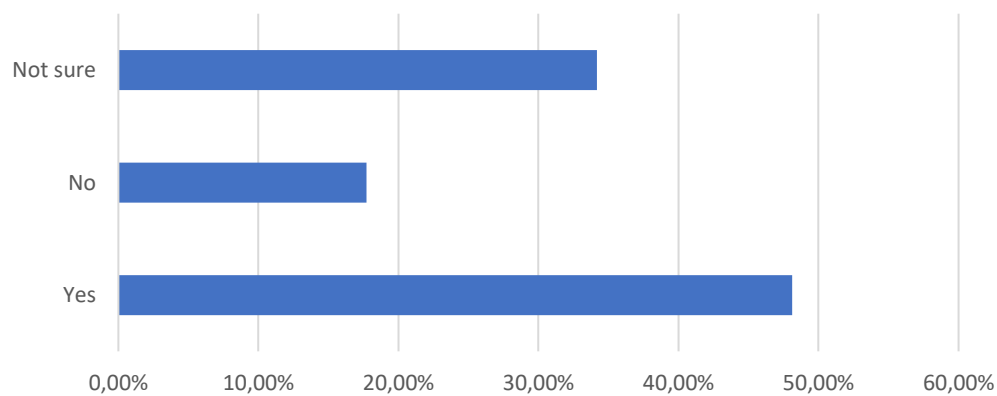




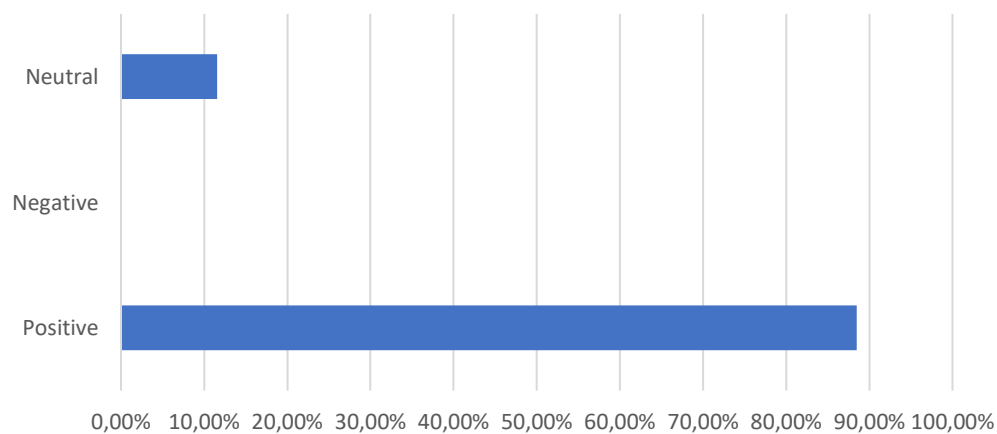
11. Have you pressed *going* or *interested* on Facebook to the event *Occupy Estelita +5*



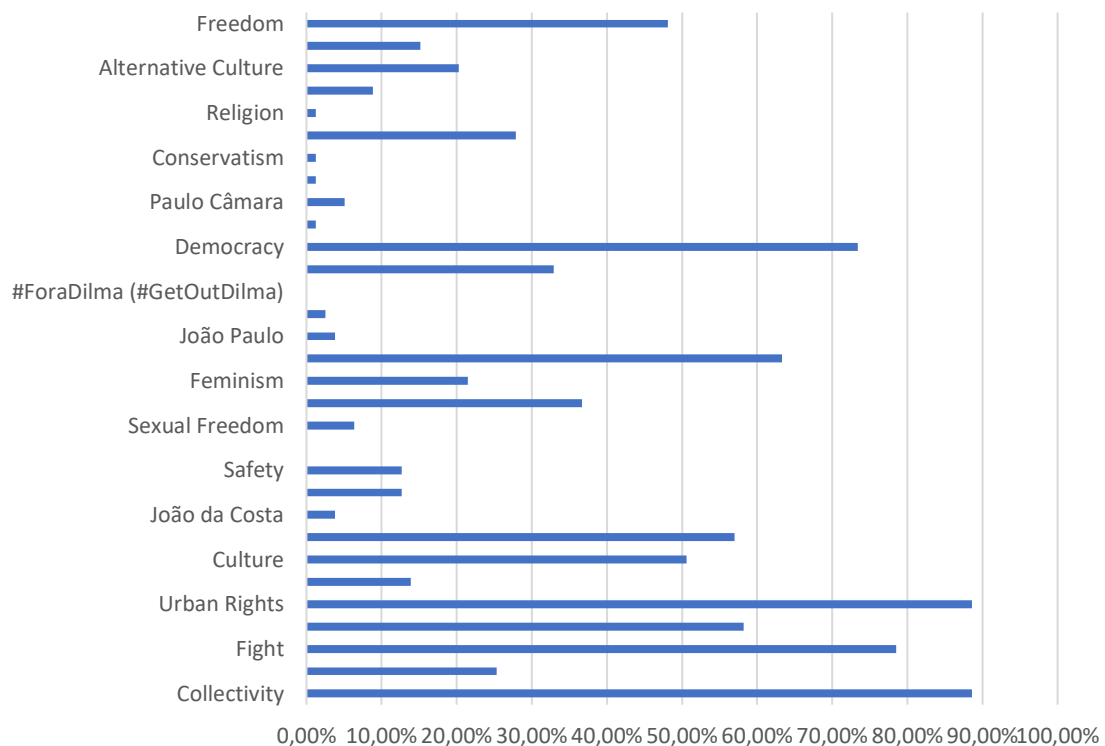
12. Do you intend to attend in person to the event *Occupy Estelita +5* (It means, are you going to the José Estelita Pier to this event)?



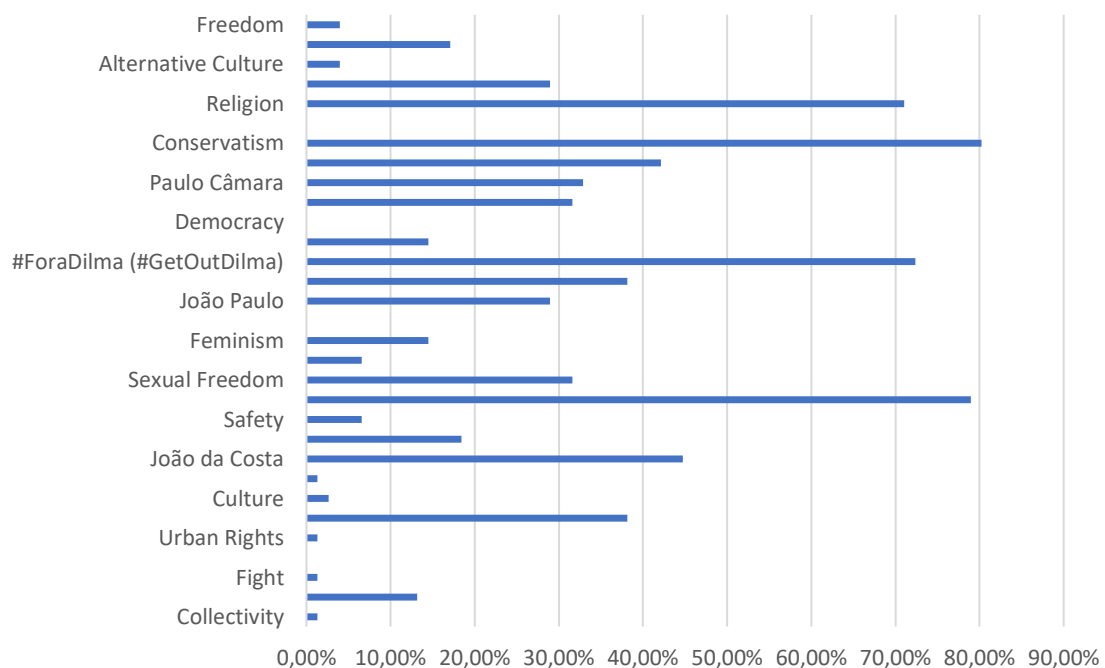
13. In your opinion, attending to the event *Occupy Estelita +5* is considered:



14. Which of the following words you consider that they are related to the event *Occupy Estelita +5*? (Mark as much as you think it is necessary)



15. Which of the following words you consider that are NOT in accordance to the event *Occupy Estelita +5*? (Mark as much as you think it is necessary)



## **Appendix E – In-Depth Interview Script**

Inform people they identity will be protected.

Profile:

1. I would like to hear first about you (what do you work with, study?, where do you live?
2. Where do you have access to internet?
3. Do you access internet on smartphones?
4. How do you express your internet usage?

Social Networks:

5. What do you think about Social Networks?
6. What do you think about Facebook? Do you like it?
7. Do you know the Events Platform on Facebook? What do you think about it?
8. Do you usually attend to events on Facebook?

Occupy Estelita:

9. Do you know the Occupy Estelita movement?
10. Have you ever been at the Pier in person? What do you think about the Pier?
11. Do you remember how did you hear about Occupy Estelita for the first time?
12. Do you consider yourself an Occupy Estelita activist?
13. Do you consider yourself an activist in other movement?
14. Have you ever seen an Occupy Estelita event on Facebook?
15. Have you ever attended in person to some of them?
16. How do you describe your political orientation?

## **Appendix F – Resumo Expandido em Português**

### **Confirmo presença! A participação de usuário do Facebook em Eventos enquanto Ato Performativo Político no Movimento Ocupe Estelita**

#### **Introdução**

O Brasil é o país com o maior número de usuário em Redes Sociais na América Latina de acordo com o eMarketer (CANALTECH, 2016). Um documento publicado pela empresa coloca o Facebook como a Rede com maior número de usuários na região. No Brasil, 95% das pessoas que usam alguma Rede Social estão no Facebook.

O Facebook é um website de Rede Social fundado por Mark Zuckerberg em 2004, enquanto estudava psicologia em Harvard (PHILLIPS, 2007). Em, 2017, foi considerado por Alexa – uma organização da Amazon focada em análise de dados – como o terceiro website mais acessado do mundo (AMAZON, 2017). Ao redor do mundo, o Facebook foi uma plataforma muito importante para promover engajamento em movimentos sociais (CASTELLS, 2015). Considerando a importância do Facebook como ferramenta de livre acesso para Movimentos Sociais, pesquisar seu uso e analisar seu potencial em contexto político é muito importante.

Neste capítulo, trazemos à tona o papel da internet em movimentos sociais no Brasil, bem como buscamos refletir a cerca da apropriação política que usuários da web fazem das plataformas de redes social. Mais ainda, buscamos no caso das Jornadas de Junho compreender como a internet tornou-se um espaço propício a organização de protestos, frente a uma mídia extremamente controlada e monopolizada.

#### **Ocupe estelita**

Buscamos, a partir deste capítulo, revisitar a história do Cais José Estelita e do surgimento do Movimento Ocupe Estelita, a fim de evidenciar as características próprias de organização do movimento e abrir caminhos para, em capítulos seguintes, aprofundarmos nos seus desdobramentos.

#### **Teoria da performatividade aplicada às Redes sociais**

Neste Capítulo, buscamos discutir a teoria. Para tanto, traremos nesse resumo expandido uma tradução de pontos chave que contribuem para a compreensão do trabalho.

De acordo com Sibilia (2008) as redes sociais virtuais se apresentam como um território por excelência propício à exibição do “Eu” em sociedades pós-modernas. Através de um longo estudo de como *blogs*, *vlogs* e outras linguagens se apropriam de códigos linguísticos próprios a outros gêneros como a biografia ou o diário pessoal, a autora traz à tona inúmeros tensionamentos entre a vida pública e privada como efeitos que se fazem presentes nas interações mediadas pelos *websites* de rede social.

Através da análise de Sibilia (2008), parece emergir, um complexo cenário a ser ilustrado e cuidadosamente estudado pelas ciências sociais: faz-se necessário delinear as fronteiras entre (1) uma exibição do privado e (2) uma construção narrativa do *self* por meio da linguagem. No primeiro ponto, leva-se em conta um tipo de indivíduo passivo, sendo invadido pela tecnologia ou até mesmo a possibilidade do desejo de exposição do indivíduo de si. Entretanto, no segundo, a referência não se faz em relação a uma exposição da privacidade. Tomaremos como exemplo o funcionamento dos Reality Shows a fins de esclarecimento.

Um indivíduo participante do Big Brother, por exemplo, não possui controle completo da narrativa. Ainda que as personagens possam manipular suas ações e comportamentos, ciente de que estão sendo filmadas, é o diretor do programa de TV quem decide, através de processos de edição ou mecanismos de intervenção durante a produção do programa, o papel que cada um exercerá na narrativa. A partir disso, retomamos os dois pontos a fim de esclarecer que a diferença está no controle da narrativa pelo sujeito que escreve sua própria narrativa de si.

A construção de um perfil em uma rede social depende de uma sucessão de práticas e escolhas. No Facebook, por exemplo, o usuário deve definir seu nome (ou apelido), foto de perfil, imagem de capa e responder uma série de perguntas sobre o onde vive, trabalha, onde estuda e outras preferências. Além disso, a possibilidade de utilização do botão “curtir” em algumas páginas é também parte importante da construção de um perfil, uma vez é que criada, a partir de múltiplas utilizações dessa ferramenta, um *database* sobre os interesses do usuário. É exatamente aqui que a performatividade emerge como um fenômeno passível de ser investigado.

Na teoria dos atos performativos de Austin, publicada em *How to do things with words* (1975), o autor percorre um longo caminho analisando, inicialmente, dois tipos de

enunciados: constativos e performativos. Para Austin (1975) existe uma importante diferença entre dizer algo que pode ser considerado verdadeiro ou falso como “está chovendo”, e dizer algo como “eu aposto”. No primeiro exemplo, o enunciador constata algo apenas dizendo que está caindo água do céu. Na segunda circunstância, por sua vez, o significado do enunciado é ampliado devido a práticas culturais que fazem da aposta um ato, um tipo de acordo. O mesmo acontece com “eu prometo” ou “eu juro”. Alguns enunciados performativos, de acordo com Austin (1975) apenas ocorrem quando pronunciados por uma voz autorizada. Este seria o caso de “eu te batizo”, cujo ato apenas pode ser consumado se o enunciador que o proferiu possui autorização para tal, como um Padre, por exemplo.

Contudo, Austin (1975) propõe na continuidade de sua obra uma revisão dessa teoria inicial, afirmando que todos os atos de fala podem ser performativos em alguma instância de enunciação. Se uma criança está saindo de casa para jogar futebol e sua mãe diz: “está chovendo”, ela não está apenas dizendo que está caindo água do céu, mas também notificando a criança de que não deveria sair naquele momento. Isso significa que sob camadas mais visíveis do enunciado é possível encontrar atos performativos, a depender das intenções de quem os profere. Exemplos como esse se seguirão ao longo de todo esse texto, uma vez que a “performatividade vive nos exemplos”. (SEDGWICK; PARKER, 1995, p. 12)

Existem três dimensões de atos performativos: locucionários, ilocucionários e perlocucionários. (AUSTIN, 1975, p. 98) Alguns enunciados, como no exemplo anterior, podem ser categorizados em todas as três dimensões. Locucionário é o ato de dizer algo. Ilocucionário é o ato executado através do proferimento. Perlocucionário é, então, a intenção em provocar certos efeitos na audiência. Quando uma mãe diz a seu filho “está chovendo”, ela primeiramente pratica a ação de dizer, em seguida ela executa um ato – notifica seu filho a respeito das condições climáticas não estarem propícias à prática esportiva – e, finalmente, a mãe tenta evitar ou restringir a saída do filho. Conforme elucidamos aqui as condições de interpretação desses enunciados interdepende dos significados compartilhados coletivamente através de processos culturais e tradicionais.

A teoria de Austin (1975) resultou em diversas proposições teóricas tais como a interseção entre “performatividade” e “práticas teatrais” (SEDGWICK; PARKER, 1995). Além disso, foi também ressignificada nos trabalhos de Jacques Derrida (KRISTEVA, 1981) através do desenvolvimento do conceito de *Différance*. Baseado nos escritos de Saussure (2006), Derrida propõe pensar a linguagem como produto de duas diferenças

primeiras – entre sons (fonética) e significados (semântica). Aqui, adotaremos a exemplificação de Biesecker (1989): quando procuramos por uma palavra no dicionário, este não nos fornece as coisas concretas as quais se referem as palavras, mas outras palavras que serão usadas para o estabelecimento de comparações e por fim, para o entendimento de seu significado. Assim, significados existem em comparação – em um sistema de alteridade. Se a produção de significados é relacional, o mesmo ocorre com os atos performativos. “[*Différance*] é a condição estrutural que torna possível que performemos um ato”. (BIESECKER, 1989, p. 118)

Assim, neste primeiro momento, propõe-se que analisemos como a teoria de Austin (1975) pode ser utilizada no intuito de refletir sobre as interações linguísticas promovidas através das redes sociais virtuais.

### **Operacionalizando análises em Redes Sociais**

Como primeiro passo, busca-se refletir acerca da importância de *websites* de redes sociais, na forma como processos comunicacionais se estabelecem. Assim, esse estudo recorrerá ao trabalho de Latour (2007) sobre a Teoria Ator-Rede (ANT). Nas propostas do autor, em *Reagregando o Social* (2007), é trazida à tona a importância de se atentar às instâncias de mediação, não como uma ferramenta passiva envolvida nos processos sociais, mas como sendo atores centrais, responsáveis pela construção de significados durante as interações.

Se você puder, com a maior tranquilidade, sustentar que pregar um prego com ou sem um martelo, ferver água com ou sem uma panela, transportar comida com ou sem um cesto, andar na rua com ou sem roupas, zapear a televisão com ou sem o controle remoto, parar um carro com ou sem o freio, fazer um inventário com ou sem uma lista, administrar uma empresa com ou sem a contabilidade são exatamente as mesmas atividades, que a introdução desses implementos comuns não muda nada "de importante" na realização das tarefas, então você está pronto para visitar a Terra Longínqua do Social e desaparecer daqui. Para todos os outros membros da sociedade esses implementos fazem muita diferença e são, pois, segundo nossa definição, atores - ou, mais exatamente, *partícipes* no curso da ação que aguarda figuração. (LATOUR, 2012, p. 108)

A teoria de Latour (2007) chama atenção para a importância dos códigos sociais intrinsecamente associados às estruturas das redes sociais, os quais afetam o tipo de interação que os sujeitos desenvolverão utilizando tais *websites* e redes sociais (como

Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, etc.) e dispositivos (como computadores, *smartphones*, *tablets* etc). Existem outros dois pontos que Latour (2007) enfatiza em sua obra que são primordiais a qualquer proposta metodológica que tenha o social como objeto. O primeiro é que analisar o fenômeno social não é delimitar um “estado estável de coisas”. (LATOUR, 2007, p. 1) O segundo é que se deve levar em consideração que o pesquisador é parte do fenômeno e não um observador analisando uma manifestação transcendental.

Os sociólogos do social parecem pairar como anjos, transportando poder e conexões quase imaterialmente, enquanto o estudioso da ANT tem de arrastar-se como uma formiga, carregando seu pesado equipamento para estabelecer até o mais insignificante dos vínculos. (LATOUR, 2012, p. 47)

Latour (2007) propõe como método algumas ferramentas para analisar a ANT através da Cartografia da Controvérsia. De acordo com Venturini (2010), quando perguntado sobre instruções para sua teoria da cartografia, Latour respondeu: “apenas observe as controvérsias e diga o que você vê”. (VENTURINI, 2010, p. 259) Para Venturini (2010), a resposta de Latour não é tão simples. O autor identifica o problema como sendo o significado de “apenas” no enunciado. Venturini (2010) propõe três significados ou consequências do uso de “apenas”. A primeira consequência é que a cartografia social não requer nenhuma teoria ou metodologia específica. Pesquisadores devem estar abertos quando se deparam com a manifestação do objeto. A segunda consequência é que pesquisadores não devem fingir-se imparciais. A perspectiva do observador deve ser considerada. A terceira consequência é que pesquisadores devem reconsiderar sua atitude frente aos objetos de estudo. Ou seja, a observação dos atores deve ser levada em consideração, uma vez que participantes e investigadores estão ambos imersos no fenômeno social.

A partir dessa perspectiva, o presente trabalho pretende oferecer uma aplicação da teoria dos atos performativos em complexos fenômenos sociais como as interações em *websites* de Redes Sociais. Para tornar possível uma análise mais profunda, empregaremos como objeto de análise o uso da plataforma de Evento<sup>37</sup> no Facebook.

Um Evento de Facebook é uma página criada dentro desta rede social por qualquer usuário com a intenção de convidar pessoas a comparecer a um evento. Nessa página,

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<sup>37</sup> Evento será utilizado como letra maiúscula quando se referir ao nome da plataforma do Facebook.



usuários do Facebook convidados e não convidados<sup>38</sup> podem encontrar informações sobre onde ocorrerá o evento, em qual horário, quem é o responsável pela organização e também a descrição da proposta/objetivo do evento. Os usuários podem interagir com a página de Eventos no Facebook escolhendo uma dentre três opções de botões: “Confirmar presença”, “Tenho interesse” ou “Ignorar”<sup>39</sup>. Caso “Ignorar” seja selecionado, o convite simplesmente desaparece. Entretanto, caso o usuário selecione “Confirmar presença” ou “Tenho interesse”, o *website* reage com algumas operações (MANOVICH, 2001), como: (1) informa ao organizador do Evento no Facebook sobre a aceitação do convite ou da demonstração de interesse; (2) as conexões dos usuários – chamados de “amigos” pelo Facebook – recebem notificações sobre o interesse em comparecer ao Evento; (3) o usuário passa a fazer parte de uma lista de convidados confirmados ou interessados – aberta e disponível a qualquer usuário; (4) o usuário se conecta com a página e dá permissão ao Facebook de enviar a ele notificações sobre quaisquer mudanças que venham a ocorrer na descrição do Evento – mudança de local, horário etc – ou nova publicação. Todas essas reações (*output*) do Facebook a um *input* – ato de pressionar um botão – ampliam os significados envolvidos nas interações com a página. Por exemplo, se alguém tem interesse em comparecer a um Evento no Facebook – ou seja, pressiona o botão “Confirmar presença” ou “Tenho interesse” – mas essa pessoa não gostaria que outros usuários do Facebook soubessem sobre seu interesse em ir a tal evento. Nesse caso, não seria uma alternativa cabível selecionar esses botões. Por outro lado, se alguém não está certo se terá ou não tempo de comparecer a um evento, mas gostaria de exibir a outros usuários do Facebook seu interesse, essa pessoa poderia pressionar algum dos dois botões e simplesmente não comparecer ao evento pessoalmente. A questão é que entre pressionar um botão – dizer alguma coisa – e ir a um evento – fazer o que foi dito – existe uma variedade espectral de significados e possibilidades. E aqui colocamos mais uma questão: será mesmo isso que foi dito?

Em 2013, o Facebook iniciou o teste, em sua versão em inglês, de uma nova atualização da plataforma de Eventos. Naquela época, as opções de botões para interagir com as páginas de Eventos eram diferentes das atuais. Ao invés de “Interested”

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<sup>38</sup> Neste caso depende da natureza do Evento no Facebook. Ele pode ser público (aberto a quaisquer usuários) ou privado (apenas convidados tem acesso às informações).

<sup>39</sup> Na versão em inglês do website, encontra-se: “Going”, “Interested” e “Ignore”.

(interessado) o usuário encontrava “*Maybe*” (talvez). Sobre essa mudança, o site da *Revista Forbes*<sup>40</sup> publicou um artigo onde compara os significados de ambas as opções:

Ao selecionar a opção ‘Tenho interesse’, você está indicando ao organizador do Evento que está interessado, mas ainda não decidiu. Além disso, ao pressionar ‘Tenho Interesse’, você receberá notificações e atualizações dos Eventos. Selecionando ‘Talvez’, parece ambígua a real intenção em relação ao Evento.<sup>41</sup> (CHOWDHRY, 2015, tradução nossa)

De acordo com Chowdhry (2015), a atualização visava encontrar uma palavra mais adequada, evitando problemas de ambiguidades nos significados. Para um articulista da *The Next Web*, “se você pressiona ‘*interested*’ você continuará a receber notificações e outras atualizações dos Eventos, mas não receberá a culpa por ser alguém indiferente”. (WILLIAMS, 2015) Essas análises enfatizam as complexas dimensões de dizer algo através desses botões. Não se trata apenas de dizer “Interessado” ou “Talvez”. Pressionar esses botões é também fazer alguma coisa – informar as pessoas – e provocar certos efeitos a depender de como é interpretada cada escolha – como no caso de se considerar o usuário que utiliza “talvez” como alguém indiferente ou desinteressado.

Esse último exemplo deixa claro que considerar o ato de pressionar um botão como performativo não está apenas relacionado ao fato de comparecer ou não a um Evento. Informar amigos através do botão “Confirmar presença” pode ser considerado como um ato performativo em si mesmo. Porém, vejamos o seguinte caso: um usuário pressiona o botão “Confirmar presença”, mas não tem a real intenção em comparecer ao evento pessoalmente. Neste caso, trata-se ainda de um caso de ato performativo, porém, um “performativo infeliz”. (AUSTIN, 1975, p. 132)

### **Performativos infelizes e performatividade**

Recorrendo a teoria dos Atos de Fala de Austin (1975) e seu exemplo acerca do ato de prometer, desenvolveremos primeiramente a ideia de performativos infelizes e a seguir, como esse conceito pode ser utilizado para entender o fenômeno dos Eventos do Facebook.

<sup>40</sup> Disponível em <<https://www.forbes.com>>. Acesso em: 27 ago. 2017.

<sup>41</sup> “By selecting the “Interested” option, you are indicating to the event organizer that you are interested but cannot decide yet. And if you press “Interested,” you will receive notifications and updates from the events. Selecting “Maybe” seemed ambiguous about whether you would actually show up to the event.”.

Quando alguém diz “eu prometo”, o sujeito não está apenas dizendo algo mas performando uma ação – um tipo de acordo onde a audiência desenvolve expectativas sobre o cumprimento. Assim, existe um ato locucionário de dizer “eu prometo”, um ato ilocucionário de fazer um acordo e um ato perlocucionário de dar esperança à audiência sobre o cumprimento do que foi proferido. Entretanto, em caso de não cumprimento, perderia o enunciado a instância performativa? A resposta de Austin (1975, p. 135) é que não. Quando alguém diz “eu prometo” em certas circunstâncias, para certos indivíduos, o ato performativo ocorre por si e não depende do cumprimento da promessa. O caso de não cumprimento do ato é chamado de performativo infeliz. Assim, prometer, perguntar, protestar, jurar, etc., são atos performativos em si mesmos.

O mesmo pode ser considerado quando analisamos interações nos Eventos do Facebook, quando os usuários pressionam o botão “Confirmar presença” e simplesmente não comparecem. O ato de pressionar “Confirmar presença” foi realizado e não depende do comparecimento. A essa possibilidade de amplificar os significados de comparecimento ao Evento no Facebook chamaremos nesse artigo de performatividade.

Performatividade refere-se ao conceito de Butler (1997) fundamental ao desenvolvimento de sua Teoria Queer. De acordo com a autora, a resignificação da palavra *queer* é politicamente adotada apenas devido à possibilidade dos enunciados performativos se adaptarem às circunstâncias de fala, a depender das intenções do falante e sua audiência presumida. Butler (1997) coloca que:

A reavaliação de termos como ‘queer’ sugere que o ato de fala pode ser ‘retornado’ pelo falante de forma diferente, que isso pode ser utilizado de forma contrária à proposta original e performatizar efeitos reversos. De forma geral, então, sugere-se que o poder de mudança de alguns termos marca um tipo de performatividade discursiva que não é uma discreta série de atos de fala, mas uma ritualística cadeia de resignificações cuja origem e fim permanecem indefinidos e desafixados. (BUTLER, 1997, p. 14, tradução nossa)<sup>42</sup>

Assim, é possível concluir que a performatividade depende dos efeitos produzidos pelos atos performativos uma vez proferidos. Quando Goffman (1956) analisou as interações face a face, o autor defendeu que uma vez negociado e compreendido o que

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<sup>42</sup> “The revaluation of terms such as ‘queer’ suggest that speech can be “returned” to its speaker in a different form, that it can be cited against its originary purposes, and perform a reversal of effects. More generally, then, this suggests that the changeable power of such terms marks a kind of discursive performativity that is not a discrete series of speech acts, but a ritual chain of resignifications whose origin and end remain unfixed and unfixable.”

está envolvido na situação, os indivíduos administram a exibição do “*self*” de acordo com as percepções previamente identificadas (de forma consciente ou não). Então, as interações sociais ocorrem de acordo com o que atores e audiência esperam um dos outros.

É exatamente essa possibilidade de modulação do ato de fala na interação verbal que torna o conceito de performatividade operacional nas interações dos atores em Redes Sociais. Retomando a crítica de Latour (2007) à pesquisa do social, traz-se à tona a necessidade de se considerar a aplicação da Performatividade como apenas uma possibilidade. Além disso, é importante compreender que a análise dos pesquisadores também depende do envolvimento dos mesmos com o fenômeno e consequentemente da capacidade de inferência sobre possíveis significados que emergem em cada circunstância.

### **Ato Político-Greístico em Defesa da Liberdade de Expressão**

Como um dos frutos do Movimento Ocupe Estelita<sup>43</sup> na cidade do Recife, um grupo de manifestantes fundou uma troça de carnaval intitulada de Troça<sup>44</sup> Empatando Sua Vista, na qual os foliões saíam às ruas durante as festividades fantasiados de prédios e utilizando máscaras com os rostos do prefeito da cidade, Geraldo Júlio e do governador do estado de Pernambuco, Paulo Câmara, fazendo uma crítica ao modelo de gestão da cidade que privilegia os interesses privados em detrimento dos públicos.

No dia 25 de fevereiro de 2017, sábado de Carnaval, entretanto, o grupo não pôde ir às ruas do bloco Galo da Madrugada, que sai anualmente no centro do Recife. Policiais foram até o local onde os manifestantes se reuniam antes de ir acompanhar o bloco naquela manhã e apreenderam – sem mandado judicial – as fantasias que seriam utilizadas pelo grupo.

Toda a ação da polícia foi filmada por um dos manifestantes e postada instantes depois no Facebook. O vídeo foi visualizado por 369 mil pessoas.<sup>45</sup> Os policiais militares

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<sup>43</sup> O Movimento Ocupe Estelita (MOE) é um movimento de ocupação urbana que emergiu no Recife em 2012 em prol da defesa de uma área pública com valor histórico-paisagístico-arquitetônico-cultural da cidade. A área encontrou-se ameaçada após ser leiloadada pela prefeitura e arrematada por um consórcio de construtoras (consórcio Novo Recife) que planejava a construção de 12 torres empresariais ao longo do terreno, substituindo os atuais galpões do século XIX.

<sup>44</sup> Troças são grupos carnavalescos tradicionais nos carnavais do Recife que saem às ruas de forma organizada para brincar durante as festividades.

<sup>45</sup> O número foi checado no dia 26 de julho de 2017. O vídeo está disponível em <<https://www.facebook.com/plugins/video.php?href=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fanjelykreis%2Fvideos%2F10210979395017053>>. Acesso em: 26 jul. 2017.

estão sendo investigados por abuso de autoridade. (GUERRA, 2017a) De acordo com uma reportagem publicada pelo *Jornal do Commercio* em 2 de março de 2017, o Governador de Pernambuco (Paulo Câmara), o Secretário de Defesa Social (Angelo Gioia), o Comandante da Polícia Militar (Vanildo Maranhão), o chefe da Política Civil (Joselito Kehrle) e o prefeito do Recife (Geraldo Júlio) estavam presentes na reunião de monitoramento que acontecera na manhã daquele dia no Centro Integrado de Comando e Controle de Pernambuco, local de onde a ordem de apreensão foi emitida. (GUERRA, 2017b)

A reportagem confirmou que o veículo utilizado pela polícia na ocasião foi registrado como em “missão especial” e que os manifestantes foram vistos pelo Centro Integrado de Comando através de câmeras deixando um prédio com as fantasias. A Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB) publicou em sua página oficial no Facebook uma carta desaprovando a ação policial e considerando o ocorrido com uma ameaça à liberdade de expressão.

Diante dessa ação policial, o grupo criou um Evento no Facebook intitulado “Ato Político-Greístico em Defesa da Liberdade de Expressão”, Evento este tomado como objeto de análise dessa pesquisa.

## **Metodologia**

Com o intuito de analisar as interações dos usuários com o Evento através dos botões “Confirmar presença” e “Tenho Interesse”, já tidos como objetos de atos performativos por essa pesquisa, aplicamos um questionário formatado através da plataforma *Survey Monkey*. O questionário, publicado na página do Evento em questão, visou encontrar pistas para prováveis significados atribuídos ao uso dos botões nesse caso específico. O Evento “Ato Político-Greístico em Defesa da Liberdade de Expressão” foi escolhido como objeto de pesquisa porque nos propusemos a investigar as possibilidades de performatividade em Eventos de manifestação política, organizados por movimentos sociais. A dificuldade de se trabalhar com Eventos passados – que já aconteceram – se mostrou latente, na medida em que o material destas páginas se perdia pelos fluxos acelerados da rede. Assim, durante a realização da pesquisa, o surgimento do Evento analisado se mostrou oportuno a uma investigação e, ao mesmo tempo, demandou pressa na elaboração de métodos de pesquisa que atendessem aos questionamentos que

emergiram frente ao objeto. O questionário foi publicado em 1 de junho de 2016 e foi respondido por 100 pessoas em uma semana, tempo em que ficou disponível *on-line*.

### **Discussão dos resultados preliminares e hipóteses do Questionário I**

A maior parte dos usuários que respondeu à pesquisa (95,45%) declarou estar ciente do fato de seus contatos e seguidores na rede serem informados sobre confirmações realizadas por eles em Eventos no Facebook. Em relação às motivações em confirmar presença, 72,41% disseram ter a intenção de manifestar suporte à causa defendida no Evento. Cerca de 45% declararam interesse de receber notificações sobre o evento e 34% em informar ao administrador do Evento que estarão presentes pessoalmente.

De acordo com as respostas do questionário, 68% dos usuários disseram não estar necessariamente informando que irão pessoalmente ao evento quando confirmam presença em um Evento no Facebook.

Quando perguntados a quantos eventos do Ocupe Estelita – movimento social de origem da troça carnavalesca – os usuários compareceram pessoalmente em 2016, 47% responderam “nenhum”. Enquanto 86% declararam considerar uma atitude positiva comparecer virtualmente a esse Evento no Facebook.

É possível dizer que a ideia de “manifestar suporte ao evento” aciona um efeito de exibição. Quando alguém diz que quer “manifestar” algo, este não apenas diz algo, mas faz algo através da linguagem. Manifestar (2017), de acordo com o *Dicionário Michaelis* significa “tornar(-se) manifesto, público ou notório; declarar(-se), pronunciar (-se).” Assim, manifestar é um ato performativo que se realiza a partir do ato locucionário de dizer “Tenho interesse” ou “Confirmar presença”.

O fato de 68% das pessoas dizerem que utilizar o botão de “Confirmar presença” não significa/implica necessariamente o/no comparecimento ao evento, nos direciona para o levantamento da hipótese do exercício de atos performativos infelizes (AUSTIN, 1975), os quais, embora não culminem no efeito de comparecimento, ao compartilharem de uma multiplicidade de significados, executam uma série de atos que são consumados como no caso de “manifestar-se”.

### **Conflitos entre o espaço real e o virtual**

Seguimos a página do Evento “Ato Político-Greístico em Defesa da Liberdade de Expressão” desde sua criação em 3 de março de 2017. Neste dia, às 18 horas o Evento já

possuía 192 usuários interessados, 126 confirmados e 1,7 mil convidados. Sete horas depois o número de convidados saltou para 2,1 mil.

No dia 12 de maio de 2017, dia em que ocorreu o evento, a página no Facebook marcava 472 confirmados e 776 interessados. O local previsto para a realização do ato era o Marco Zero, localizado no Bairro do Recife, onde naquele dia era comemorado oficialmente o aniversário de 480 anos da cidade. Chegamos ao Marco Zero por volta das 16 horas, horário previsto para começar a manifestação, porém o grupo não foi avistado. Fomos informados por organizadores de que a concentração da troça ocorreria em uma rua próxima, a Rua do Apolo. Por volta das 17 horas caminhamos até o encontro do grupo que ainda se organizava para sair em passeata rumo ao Marco Zero. A rua vazia e chuvosa possibilitou a contagem do número de manifestantes que foram ao ato naquele dia: vinte. A princípio não era intuito dessa pesquisa contar o número de pessoas que faziam parte do encontro, uma vez que isso poderia ser uma tarefa difícil de ser realizada frente a um grande número disperso. Porém a concentração do pequeno grupo em uma rua vazia possibilitou que a contagem fosse realizada.

Somando os 776 interessados no Evento do Facebook aos 472 confirmados, tem-se que 1.248 usuários da Rede Social declararam interesse no Evento. Essa discrepância encontrada entre o ambiente virtual – do Evento no Facebook – e real – da realização do ato nas ruas – chama atenção para um fenômeno que apresenta rupturas com a função de organização de eventos proposta pela plataforma do Facebook. A pluralidade de significados envolvidos no ato de clicar em “Confirmar presença” ou “Tenho Interesse” dá margem a usos diversos das páginas de Evento no Facebook por seus usuários, não se restringindo a um comprometimento de indicar ou não comparecimento efetivo.

Os conflitos entre o espaço real e virtual se concretizam na ressignificação que os atos de fala possibilitam a partir de uma série de efeitos possíveis que se alternam na medida em que emergem novos significados e novas formas de interação. Assim, está no uso que se faz da plataforma, a potencialidade de se estabelecer rupturas entre o plano dos territórios real e virtual. Essa discussão é bastante cara quando levantada acerca de atos políticos promovidos por movimentos sociais, cujos manifestantes recebem a alcunha de ativistas de sofá, em certas circunstâncias. Esse tensionamento entre o virtual e o real não é aqui tomado como uma discussão entre uma passividade ou atividade dos manifestantes, mas a partir da potencialidade de performatividade na medida em que meios de intervenção política são recriados utilizando-se de efeitos de linguagem que tomam para si ressignificações dos atos de fala.

A partir da teoria de Austin (1975) é possível deslocar do fenômeno a ideia de qualquer eventual responsabilidade que teria o manifestante em comparecer presencialmente ao local do evento, uma vez que a teoria nos permite olhar para uma ampla possibilidade performativa, exercida pelo uso dos botões na página do Facebook. Está na relação entre a plataforma (que há de ser considerada como ator) e seus usuários a ampliação das possibilidades de significado. À luz da teoria Ator-Rede (LATOUR, 2007), propomos visualizar o fenômeno de não comparecimento do ato da troca Empatando Sua Vista – contrastando com os dados de interação coletados na página do Evento no Facebook – como resultado de uma dinâmica de rede que é engendrada a partir das possibilidades linguísticas e interacionais que a própria plataforma Facebook oferece. Ainda que usuários possam ressignificar os processos interacionais a partir de seus usos, a plataforma fornece uma arquitetura que possui grande influência nas dinâmicas interacionais. Por fim, cabe propormos, como próximo passo à reflexão, pensarmos se seriam espaços como o Facebook, pré-moldados, que não permitem construções coletivas de sua arquitetura, o território ideal à articulação de movimentos sociais, uma vez que a rede se mostra ineficiente para provocar o engajamento de pessoas em atos presenciais.

## **Ocupe +5**

Neste capítulo, analisamos o evento Ocupe +5 e aplicamos a mesma metodologia utilizada no evento anterior, a fim de compreender as motivações dos usuários em marcar presença no Facebook.

### **Mergulhando nas motivações com entrevistas em profundidade**

A diante, aplicamos entrevistas em profundidade em participantes do evento Ocupe +5. Essas entrevistas são analisadas e contrastadas com resultados de pesquisa de autores que acompanharam movimentos similares em outros países ao redor do mundo, como o 15M, na Espanha, e o Occupy Wall Street, nos Estados Unidos da América.

### **Subvertendo o conceito de ocupe**

A proposta, nesse item, é buscar referências sobre o que se compreende como características de uma ocupação e analisar como essas características são subvertidas quando o uso dos eventos no Facebook afastam as pessoas da participação *in loco* nos protestos.



## CONCLUSÃO

A possibilidade de se performatizar presença em Eventos pode ser bastante ineficiente em movimentos sociais, como no primeiro caso analisado, onde as pessoas não apoiaram a manifestação fisicamente. Isso pode ser bastante perigoso, porque algumas pessoas ficam mais expostas a situações de violência policial. Ao final, argumentamos que, entre os entrevistados, o fato de um deles ter ido ao evento, offline, e não ter sido convidado no Facebook, nos mostra que existem possibilidades mais orgânicas de engajamento em movimentos sociais, um chamado para a presença do corpo como um convite a fazer parte da revolução, construindo movimentos coletivamente. Isso não significa que os eventos no Facebook não sejam importantes. Isso significa, sim, que eles operam em diferentes objetivos que não exatamente o de provocar engajamento em espaços offline, mas, em algumas vezes, apenas espalhar uma ideia.

Entretanto, ideias necessitam de corpos ocupando espaços, como vimos em movimentos citados anteriormente e até no início do Movimento Ocupe Estelita, provocando disruptions e construindo mudanças sociais.

Também enfatizamos a importância da performatividade nos movimentos de resistência. De acordo com Fuchs (2012), Castells (2015) estava errado em considerar apoiadores como parte do Movimento Social, quando o autor levou em conta as opiniões deles em sua pesquisa. Embora apoiadores (online) e ativistas (offline) façam coisas diferentes, ambos são participantes das ações do movimento. Apoiadores são considerados importantes em espalhar ideias do movimento online embora não atuem necessariamente no espaço físico. A performance online não provoca disruptions no espaço físico, mas ela é responsável por manter o movimento aparecendo na Timeline das pessoas - motivados pela criação de Eventos no Facebook por membros do Movimento.

Como perspectivas para futuras pesquisas nesse campo, trazemos à tona a importância de discutirmos profundamente as relações entre os territórios reais e virtuais no contexto dos eventos do Facebook. É importante analisar esses territórios e estabelecer características que os façam reais ou virtuais, ao invés de simplesmente considerarmos relações online e offline.