The Role of Social Media during the Brazilian Protests of 2013

by

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Abstract

In 2013, Brazil witnessed a turning point in its recent political history with the largest social mobilization since the military dictatorship. The purpose of this paper is to describe the role that social media played during this time. To this end, framing and gatekeeping theories will be reviewed and employed in the analysis of messages and frames being in the coverage of *O Globo* — one of the most widely read newspapers in Brazil—and on the social media platform Twitter. This paper will explain the development of the protest movement, identifying the relationship between mass media and politics in Brazil to establish the connection between the government and the newspaper. The Vinegar Protests' use of 'alternative media' to challenge the mainstream media's framing in order to communicate the message created by a strong and unified public sphere. This research shows how a leaderless movement, with no support from the mainstream media, used the social media to successfully push for a vote for impeachment several years later.

Keywords: Protests 2013; Brazil; Social Media Role; Vinegar Protests;

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Chapter 1.   Introduction

Rafael Braga Vieira woke up every day to the same routine of getting out of his cardboard bed and gathering cans and bottles trashed on the streets of downtown Rio de Janeiro to earn some money for disposing them in the trash or taking them to the recycling centers. There was no reason to believe June 20th of 2013, would be any different for Rafael, a homeless citizen. Except that on that day almost one million people took over the streets of downtown Rio de Janeiro in protest, leading the police to wander the streets searching for "vandals." At that point the police were arresting anyone who was suspected of vandalism. To his misfortune Rafael was in the wrong place at the wrong time and with the wrong kind of bottles in hand. Even though Rafael showed no sign of having been part of the protests, he was carrying two bottles of cleaning products that were considered by the police as flammable and explosive. The danger of the bottles led the police to take Rafael into custody. The mixture of testimonies from the police and from Rafael, led to an inconclusive report, which produced a sentence of five years in jail for this homeless citizen whose only crime was simply trying to earn a living.

This was one of thousands of stories that took place during the latest mobilization that shook Brazil in 2013. Brazil has a long history of social movements taking over the streets and fighting for social and political change. Before the Vinegar Protests, the name by which the 2013 movement was known, Brazil mobilized twice,

once in the 1960s and again in 1992, demanding freedom of speech and end of corruption, respectively. But it was in 2013 that Brazil awoke to its biggest protest yet, this time demanding strong structural changes and expressing numerous different concerns.

With every one of the movements and protests in Brazil, the mainstream media was active in reporting the developments and taking a stance towards or against the demands. During the military dictatorship (1964-1985), the press had little-to-no freedom and the newspapers and magazines that refuted the military command were forcefully shut down. Yet, mass media had an immeasurable role in the shift from the military to democratic leadership. In the 1990s, newspapers and magazines led the investigations against President Fernando Collor de Mello laid down the foundation for his impeachment in 1992 (Reis, 2003).

During the first two movements, mass media was the only means of communicating or reporting on said issues. This was not the case in the 2013 protests. In 2001, the Internet had already spread to twenty percent of Brazilians, according to the Brazilian statistics IBOPE. By 2013, during the 2013 protests, the social media played a big role, alongside mainstream mass media, in reporting the events. Not unlike other social movements, mass media and 'alternative media' (such as social media) coverage contrasted in many ways.

But this was only one of the ways in which the protests in Brazil resembled others around the world. Researchers and theorists have often studied the birth, development, and leadership of social movements. Based on Poell and Borra (2011) and Gamnson's (2013) findings, the Vinegar movement had aspects and qualities that

were characteristic of previous mobilizations. An example of this is the good relationship with the 'alternative media' and the fact that the protests were led by the worker class, but it lacked funding and leadership.

Communication is a key element to every social uprising, with some forms of communication playing a more significant role in some movements compared to others. In the Arab uprisings that began in 2010, the social media are credited with a significant role due to the governmental censorship on broadcast media and other communication avenues (Ali & Fahmy, 2013). The Tea Party movement in the United States used the mainstream media to spread its message due to its enormous influence and financial stability (Pullum, 2014). The Vinegar Protests, in turn, relied on social media for several functions, which will be investigated in this research study.

The objective of this paper is to identify the role of social media during the protests. Was the social media balancing the information that was being put out there? Or was it agreeing with the mass media, just on a different tone? The critical analysis of the mass media and the social media will identify what were the messages being sent by both in order to understand if there was a difference in interests and ideas from both sides or if they were in alignment. The purpose of the study will be to showcase the major frames from Twitter and the mainstream media's presentation of the Vinegar Protests in order to understand the critical relationship between the media and protest movement.

In order to understand the purpose of these messages, chapter 2 will first use of the writings of Porto (2012), and Pieterse and Cardoso (2014) to establish the relationship between the government and the media, and how social movements in

emerging societies, like Brazil, depend on this relationship and of media to further develop their political sphere. Both authors focus on the democratic procedures and the media's influence in the governmental system of Brazil, focusing as well on the TV *Globo*'s agenda, the broadcasting channel of the media conglomerate *Globo* Group.

Taking into consideration that, despite its international coverage, the protest's details may still be unclear, chapter 3 discusses the writings of Filho, D'Andrea, Bastos et al., among others, to determine the best possible timeline of events in order to situate the reader. This will explain the full scale of the movement, from its conception to its culmination. This setting will also describe the relationship between the mass media and the social media in order to clarify their stances towards the protests.

Chapter 4 will explain the theoretical framework that will be used for the content analysis, by exploring framing theory and gatekeeping theory to showcase their applicability in this study. Scheufele's work on framing and media effects is used to define framing and its application in the context of mass media in Brazil. Gatekeeping will explain the process of information selection in the mass media in order to create such frames with the support of Deluliis' writing on "Gatekeeping Theory from Social Fields to Social Networks." Entman's "Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power" is used to tie both theories together in application to the fight for political power in democratic systems. The research will then apply the same theories to the social media explaining the relative difficulty in assessing the role of gatekeeping and the impact of framing on Twitter by protestors. In order to identify said frames and the gatekeeping purpose of both the mass media and the social media, Chapter 5 will explain attention throughout this research to the reading of the articles by explaining critical discourse analysis and what is the technique and idea behind it through Johnstone's volume,

"Discourse Analysis." This chapter will also explain the search criteria used to aggregate the sample pool for both the articles and the tweets.

The last chapter of this paper cover the results of the research, including the frames identified during the reading of the articles, the critical analysis of these readings and the identification of the purpose of the frames. This section will be focused on my interpretation of the articles with the support of the theories previously identified and the explanation of this reading through discourse analysis. This will also include the reading of social media tweets to identify the purpose of the opinions being expressed and disseminated through that medium.

Chapter 2.   Media Background

Since Brazil's independence from Portugal in 1822, the country has struggled to democratize its system of government and shifted through several systems, including, but not limited to, imperial and military dictatorships. The process of democratization in Brazil was complicated due to the country's immense gap between the high and the low social classes (Fleury, 2014). Over the past two decades, Brazil has struggled to develop and implement a democratic system that would reduce social inequality and provide proper social care.

> The analysis of the way the economic, cultural, and institutional constraints have affected the construction of the Brazilian welfare state demonstrates how the absence of important requirements for welfare state development has led to a mixed and sometimes hidden institutional framework that enables the prevalence of private interests in the public policy. (Fleury, 2014, p.12)

According to Fleury (2014) and Scherer-Warren (2014), despite the country's need for a better social infrastructure, education and health were not in the government's top priority two decades ago, and still are not on their priorities now. The issue of social infrastructure generated conflict between the segments of the population and the government marking the country with social movements that mobilized the different social strata towards a similar goal. "The first dimension, the material demands of daily life, is the major mobilizing factor of the local movement's bases for the formation of the

so-called popular movement" (Scherer-Warren, 2014). Matos goes on to explain the democratization of the Brazilian media, as it is key for the development of a just and democratic country. She brings to highlight reports from the UN on the issues facing Latin America in order to develop a better media system and public communication structure, one of which is the tension between institutional powers of the country. "The fact of the matter is that media organizations in Brazil still cultivate close ties to particular political parties […]" (Matos, 2014). Matos also mentions an interview she had with the former vice director of journalism at TV Cultura, Gabriel Priolli, who says that the entire idea of a public TV was wrong as the government only wanted a place to defend itself from the attacks that were being done on the government in 2005. She also stresses the fact that the media in Brazil focuses more on entertainment and consumerism, rather than on political debates. She concludes her research by saying that "the mainstream commercial media in Brazil are still highly vulnerable to both internal and external political as well as economic pressure" (Matos, 2014).

Porto's main argument is that "the changes in TV *Globo*, Brazil's dominant media company, both reflected and shaped the complex process of democratization that took place since the end of the military dictatorship in 1985" (Porto, 2012). Porto argues, just like Fleury, that the development of the mass media aided or injured the development and establishment of a new democratic regime. He suggests several levels of identifying and connecting media opening with political accountability. The level that is relevant for this paper is what he calls "social accountability," which is the "process by which civic groups and the media render public officials accountable for their actions or omissions" (Porto, 2012). This accountability is what generates social uprising, as the

population sees the problem, and the lack of actions towards fixing it, and takes to the streets to demand change.

He concludes his book by affirming that media conglomerates such as *Globo* Group have the power to dictate and shape new democracies, such as Brazil. However, he also claims that the democratization process has forced TV *Globo* to adapt, suggesting that "democratization might limit the ability of media companies to exercise political influence, depending […] on the configuration of state and civil society relations" (Porto, 2012). He claims that at the current democratic state of Brazil, there is more freedom for media agencies to participate in political debate and therefore shape the democratic structure.

Throughout the formative years of Brazil's government, media censorship took on different forms. The press was particularly suppressed during the military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. Those media organizations that opposed the government were shut down. It was not until 1985 that censorship was eliminated in Brazil with the end of military dictatorship. Even with the censorship imposed by the government, mass media was very influential in demanding the removal of the military and the impeachment of President Collor de Mello, during the movements of 1964 and 1988. "Brazilian mass media, especially newspapers and magazines, were instrumental in pressing for and overseeing the transition from military to democratic rule in the late-1970's, [through] a process known as abertura politica (political opening)" (Reis 2003).

Reis' analysis of the press states that the media, since their advent, had the important role of keeping the government in check, as watchdog, and in several occasions even being responsible for the change of governmental structures. I would

argue that they haven't been doing so as of late and were indecisive about their position during the protests in 2013, shifting sides as the protests develop and largely withholding from pages descriptions of activists' motives and demands. Since the impeachment of President Collor, the media has abstained itself from politics and governance and some broadcasters and newspapers have actually been supporting the government, as it is seen by the lack of coverage in their front page on political issues.

The image above is a screenshot from an analysis made by Georgiapsantos in a website called PageOneX. An analysis retrieved from the website PageOneX done by Georgiapsantos offers a tool to identify items in the first page of selected newspapers (Georgiapsantos, 2013). This analysis looked on the front page of the newspaper from June 1st to June 30th and searched for the way in which the newspaper depicted the protesters. Yellow is when the newspaper called it a Protest, red is for Violent Protest, blue is for Protestors and orange is for Vandalism. As you can see the protest only made the first page on June 7th. The development as well shows the change in tone from the newspaper, which started calling it Violent Protest and Vandals for the most part, to end between the 18th and the 24th of June by calling them Protests and Protestors.

Alternative Media

Communication is a key component of any social movement, as activists need to send their message and attract more participants to the movement. But how can activists properly divulge their message if the mainstream media avoids or denies sending it? Brazil has an Internet penetration rate of over 85 million people with access to the Internet as of 2013 (IBGE 2013) and most of this use goes towards search for news and information (Reis, 2003). Parra (2015) starts by doing a historical account of

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the need for communication for social movements and grassroots integration. Explaining how social movements came to understand the need to adopt grassroots integration, Parra says that "[s]ocial movements who stand by grassroots integration have insisted that alternative communication is essential to shape 'a media agenda allied to social movements'" (Parra 2015). This can clearly be seen during the protests in Brazil in 2013, where "alternative media" has been the go-to means of communication for the protesters.

Moreover, Parra goes on to explain the different channels for alternative media in Latin American countries through means of field research. Her conclusion is that Latin America has a history of social struggle and a need to stand up to those problems and grassroots integration is a result of that need. She says that the "alternative media offers spaces that can link local, continental, and global realities, issues, and alternatives" (Parra 2015).

A good definition of "alternative media" is one made by Parra in her essay. She defines, for the purpose of her paper, "alternative media" as:

> [N]on-private and collective forms of property; a participatory and flexible mode of management; alternative ways of funding with voluntary work and social activism media content that address different and complex realities with innovative aesthetics, formats and genres (Parra 2015)

Even though the "alternative media" discussed in this paper does not fit in all of Parra's qualifications, such as "non-private" and "alternative ways of funding," and understanding that Parra's definition is only one of many, it does provide all other

characteristics as it offers an alternative view to events from a non-governmental perspective.

Alternative media, which includes social media due to its inclusion of "alternative content" even though the companies themselves (Facebook and Twitter for example) are mainstream businesses, has been sought out and studied recently due to its involvement on several protests and revolutions around the world. In Shirky's analysis The Political Power of Social Media he addresses some of these revolutions and what was the role of social media during these processes. He uses examples of cases where revolutions were successful with the aid of social media and when it has failed. His conclusion is, just like Saad Filho argued, that social media is not the responsible, or even a guarantee of victory, for these revolutions, but rather, it is a tool to aid and speed up a process that otherwise would last months. He focuses on the actions and reactions of United States of America's foreign affairs in trying to control global Internet freedom. For the purpose of our analysis, I will focus on his more general assumptions that do not include the United States involvement. Shirky's theory is that no revolution, with or without the aid of social media, can be successful without a strong public sphere directed towards the same goal and already constraining governmental actions.

Historically we have seen media influencing social change through the development of the public sphere, which started with the printing press. Shirky also uses of Habermas' writings to exemplify this point by saying that the printing press created a public space where the concerns of the public sphere could be communicated. He brings up the concept of "the conservative dilemma," first said by Briggs. He says

The dilemma is created by new media that increase public access to speech or assembly; with the spread of such media (…) a state accustomed to having a monopoly on public speech finds itself called to account for anomalies between its view of events and the public's. (Shirky, 2001)

He concludes his essay by bringing some of the sceptical concerns to the fore and arguing that the use of social media does not guarantee a successful revolution. Whether it's the weakness of the public sphere or the result of strategic outcomes of the revolutionaries, the governments are both aware of these tools and capable of utilizing them in response.

There are also those who think of some "alternative media" as a new means for reporting. Kwak et al.'s analysis of Twitter tackled whether or not the social network can be perceived and analyzed as a news source. Theirs is an empirical study of Twitter by means of collecting data from user's profiles, trending topics, tweets, and retweets. Even though their conclusion does not answer their question of whether it is or it is not a news media, one can conclude that Twitter is an excellent way of propagating a message.

Information diffusion is a process that a new idea or an action widely spreads through communication channels. […] We treat retweets as communication channels of information diffusion and observe that retweets reach a large audience and spread fast (Kwak et al., 2010, p599).

With that said, the use of alternative media, or more specifically Twitter, would be an excellent tool for activists to spread their ideas and complaints to the larger audience and mobilize people. This is precisely what was done during the protests of 2013 in Brazil.

Chapter 3.   Protests Timeline

This movement came to be called the Vinegar Protests due to the intensive use of tear gas by the police to disperse the crowd of protesters. Brazilians soon discovered a way to counter the effect of the tear gas, by filling facemasks with vinegar or simply wiping their eyes with it.

As I mentioned before, Brazil has a history of social movements, but unlike the Vinegar Protests, the previous movements had a clear economic and political issue. In 2013, in the international perspective, Brazil's economy was booming, the literacy levels were increasing and Brazil would host the World Cup, which would lead an external viewer to question the reason for the protests. D'Andrea's study sets to understand precisely that. "[P]opular protests in times of relative prosperity should not be necessarily seen as an anomaly. […] [S]ocial upheavals most likely happen not when life conditions are at their worst, but rather when incipient improvements have been felt by the populace" (D'Andrea, 2014, p939).

To explain the movement, however, I read a paper called "The Mass Protests in Brazil in June-July 2013" by Alfredo Saad Filho. The protests started on June 6th with a group called Movimento Passe Livre, which is an autonomous group that has existed for several years now and their goal has been to provide free public transportation for all citizens and gathered two thousand people. The movement was complaining about the

0.20 centavos increase on the bus fare in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Using Pullum's categorization, this was the emergence of the movement (2014). The press coverage of this stage was dooming, complaining about the traffic issues it was causing and the movement's unrealistic demands, but barely covering the police attacks on the demonstration ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013). The following day, June 7th, the movement already doubled in size, gathering five thousand protestors, and by June 11th it had already mobilized 10 thousand people to the streets. June 13th is the date in which some authors are led to believe is when the media changed its tone ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013), as this was when a journalist was shot in the eye by a rubber bullet from the police, generation revolt among fellow co-workers. In the two weeks that followed the movement moved to its coalescence phase, with protestors entering the national congress in June 18th and increased in size reaching over one million demonstrators across the country on July 20th. Saad Filho points that also at this point the media changed its tone in a sudden move and started calling people to the streets. The movement included young workers, students, and the wider middle class who participated for a variety of personal and collective reasons—from bus fares to corruption to government overspending on FIFA World Cup stadia. He said "anyone could come up with their own demand, and if they were individualist and anti-political this was even better TV" (Saad Filho 2014).

By June 21st when the federal government decided to pressure Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which have some autonomy in policies such as bus fare increase, to return bus fares to what it was, the movement was already out of hand, demanding much more than reduced fares. This protest was like so many that happened around the world, organized through social media, mainly Facebook and Twitter, as organizations

such as *Vem pra Rua* (Come to the Streets) and *Movimento Brasil Livre* (Free Brazil Movement) incited people to participate. To Saad Filho this was their biggest problem. Saad Filho argues that movements of this scale should begin on a physical public space to organize ideas and action plans, to which the social media would aid on spreading. He said "Twitter and Facebook are good ways to exchange discrete morsels of information, but they do not allow the exchange of ideas and the formation of bond of trust" (Saad Filho, 2014, p4)

Another account of the events portrays the movement in a completely different view. While Saad Filho states the demise to be due to a lack of organization and an online dependence, another authors describe it as massive and successful precisely due to its online presence. In the paper, they begin by explaining the national context of the movement. "The fact is that Brazil's emerging economy has been attracting global attention" ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013) While some would argue that the booming on Brazil's economy would give no reason for Brazilian's to rebel, that would not necessarily be the case, as internally Brazil was not seeing the same economic boom. Their account of all the issues that led to the birth of the movement is overall accurate and detailed. They bring out all the reasons for society's national discontent—the bus fare rise, inflation, the fact that Brazilians pay some of the highest taxes in the world, the overspending on the World Cup, the corruption trials, and many others.

The most important section of their paper is the relationship with the media. While Saad Filho would focus on the lack of leadership, they used the concept of media framing to analyze the discrepancies between the mass media and the "alternative media". The focus of the mass media on the Black Blocs shows clear agenda setting, not to mention lying about the actual amount of protesters in the streets. Activists did not

instigate the violence that happened on the streets, as they made it clear in their social media. Instead, the Black Blocs led it, "individuals who support anarchism, which use the same tactic within a manifestation, thus appearing as if they are a single group" ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013). Poell and Borra (2011) also refer to the Black Blocs during their G20 analysis, "[o]n 26 June, it came to a clash after a group of so-called 'black bloc' demonstrators broke away from the protest route, smashed the windows of a few stores, and set four police cruisers ablaze" (p696). Yet, the Black Blocs dominated the mass media coverage of the protests despite constituting a very small contingency of the movement.

Mass media representations discussed are extremely selective in what they choose to transmit to the viewers. More than that, the media tends to frame demonstrations mainly through the marginalization, which in turn makes by standing citizens feel like they are not represented by these protesters. ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013)

The Black Blocs was one of the reasons for the protests to have decreased in numbers. People became afraid of going to the streets and being perceived as violent, when they were in fact peaceful protesters. There was also the fear of getting hurt, either by the aggressive participants or by the police. Another reason was the promise of reforms made by the government. With the hope of a better tomorrow, protesters came home and waited for the promised reforms.

D'Andrea work also fits in the connection of the movement with the media as it attempts to unite the old Tocqueville saying "societies evolve like kites in the sky, flying upward against the winds of historical force" (D'Andrea 2014, p940) and the future as "[p]opular upheavals have coincided nearly simultaneously with the dissemination of cell

phones and broadband Internet across the developing world" (D'Andrea 2014, p941). His idea is to say that even in times of economic stability, or especially during these times, people will rise to fight for rights they believe to be missing. And he connects the Vinegar Protests, as well as the North African movements, to a moment where Internet access reaches a the broader public, therefore giving a voice to those in need of one.

To best understand how this unfolded, it is important to analyze how this movement was presented to the general public—those who may not have participated but followed the news. On one hand, we have the mass media that during the first protests paid little to no attention to the events, then turned to call the protesters to the streets as it grew and made for good audiences, but ultimately they turned to call them "vandals" and focused on the violence of the Black Blocs as if they were part of the protest movement, and had little coverage of the police violence. (Leal 2013). Leal's graphics for her research are really confusing and cluttered, making it difficult to understand her numbers, but her analysis portrays the dramatic coverage of violence.

Mourão actually expands that idea to include Twitter, saying that this was also covering riots and acts of vandalism. Her study noted that "the general public on social media posted content more favorable to the protests, including tweets supporting the demands of the *Movimento Passe Livre* [free ride movement]" (Mourão 2014, p2). Her graphics are very clear to understand showing that 59% of the mass media coverage was focused on riots and 16% in confrontation, while 64% of the social media coverage was focused on the debate. (Mourão, 2014).

During protests, mainstream media will cover the dramatic and focus on what is visible, in the case of most protests that would be violence. "Violence, which is visible,

especially tends to become the central theme in demonstration reporting, whereas considerations of the protest issues, as well as background developments, and of the issues involved, tend to be excluded" (Poell and Borra 2011, p.697). For that reason activists tend to rely on social media to transmit their messages and concerns, as it is their way of directly telling the public their own account of the events.

Their study also analyzes which of the "alternative media" are best for this purpose. Their conclusion, using G20 figures for their study, is that the best social media for the activists would be Twitter due to it's power of retweet to expand the reach of the message to a wider audience, as we have seen in Kwak et al's work. "One of the main problems of activist reporting was […] that ultimately the resulting account was based on the observations and experiences of a small group of insiders" (Poell and Borra, 2011, p.708). What they are trying to say is that alternative media ends up doing the same thing that the mainstream media is doing, framing the events from one point of view. It is important to notice, though, that social media doesn't only provide tools to connecting people to one another and spread the opinions that serve their purpose, opponents and adversarial groups also have access to this media and can propagate different opinions.

The Vinegar Protest, like so many that happened around the world, was also organized by social media-mainly Facebook and Twitter (D'Andrea, 2014). Saad argues that movements of this scale should begin on a physical public space to organize ideas and action plans, to which the social media would aid on spreading. He said, "Twitter and Facebook are good ways to exchange discrete morsels of information, but they do not allow the exchange of ideas and the formation of bonds of trust" (Saad 2014, p.4). In order for a movement to succeed, with the support of the people who use social media, it

requires a strong public sphere that already holds some sort of power over the government.

The movement opened way for many changes and demands in the coming years. Even though the protests frizzled out in the end of 2013, the public pressure on the government remained and the social accountability towards the politicians increased.

Chapter 4.   Theoretical Framework

How did the mainstream media cover the movement and how did the activists portray their strategies? "The public spheres internal to social movements are almost always very critical of the mass media and its portrayal of them" (Angus 2001, pp. 74). This was no different during the Vinegar Protests. This was mainly due to the mass media's frames. Sheufele conceptualizes framing as two circumstances: media framing or individual framing. Unlike what we have been led to believe, framing is not only when the news chooses to tell a side of a story in detriment to another side. "Media frames [are] conceptually defined […] as 'a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events…The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue'" (Sheufele, 1999, p.106). In other words, he defines media framing to be a professional guide to understanding the events and controversy of an issue. "Individual frames are defined as 'mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information'" (Sheufele, 1999). What he means here is that the individual framing is when a person use of personal knowledge to place the information received and makes sense of it. In this case framing is not a one-way street; it requires the participation of both the mass media and the audience.

This idea of framing was largely used by the mainstream media in Brazil during the Vinegar Protests. From a communications point of view, this protest had the makings of a failed protest. Downing agrees in his paper that alternative media users should

receive more focus and be better studied. "A focus on social networks lends itself well to research on social movement media uses, especially if it not hobbled by rigid adherence to empiricist procedures" (Downing, 2008,p.46). Downing critiques the lack of study in both social movements and social movement media.

Alternative media has been sought out and studied recently due to its involvement on several protests and revolutions around the world, as it has been seen in Pullum and Gamsom's papers. In Shirky's analysis, he addresses revolutions like the Philippines protests and the Arabic Spring, and what was the role of social media during these processes. He uses examples of cases where revolutions were successful with the aid of social media and when it has failed. His conclusion is that social media are not largely responsible for, or even a guarantee of, victory, for these revolutions. Rather, they are a tool to aid and speed up a process that otherwise would last months.

> The more promising way to think about social media is as long-term tools that can strengthen civil society and the public sphere. […] According to this conception, positive changes in the life of a country, including pro-democratic regime change, follow, rather than precede, the development of a strong public sphere. (Shirky, 2001, p.3)

This is the situation in Brazil whereby the government was accustomed to being the source of the news by controlling the information being sent to the media. This manifested in form of mainstream media focusing on the Black Blocs violence and portraying it as the wider movement's violence. Focusing on riots and public destruction instead of the actual demands of the protesters. According to a study by Poell and Borra (2011), mass media's framing of the events is not done precisely as the way that Sheufele (1999) describes. "As a consequence [of framing], some people choose to

distance themselves from the current political and social uprisings by alienating and belittling the movement as a whole" ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013). The essay "It's Not Just 20 Cents" was produce as a student project for a 2013 class at the New York University. The framing from the mainstream media did not only focus on the violence perpetrated by the Black Blocs but also by the violence from the police. This created a general fear of association with the movement and a concern that participants would be identified as violent anarchists. Furthermore, it could also result in physical injury with the police response to these groups. This fear was one of the reasons for the diminishment of the protests in July 2013 and also for the toning down on social media as people anxiously waited for the promised reforms.

Porto's other paper Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil does a further study on how politics uses media, in the TV aspect, to deliver their message (2007). He claims that TV *Globo* plays a major role in Brazil, as it is the main source of news and entertainment for the public. "When asked to evaluate the performance of nine institutions, voters placed the Catholic Church in first place and TV *Globo* in second" (Porto, 2007, p.20). He claims that the TV have a history of taking sides and that during the time period studied, it had an unusual unbiased coverage of the election, but that the main focus during that period was the economic instability of the country.

But not only the mainstream media used of framing to send out their information during the protests of 2013, the alternative media, or more specifically Twitter, was widely used during the protests by the participants to spread what they believed was the other side of the story. Twitter was an excellent tool for activists to spread their ideas and complaints to the larger audience and even mobilize people. This is precisely what

was done during the protests of 2013 in Brazil. Activists used Twitter with hashtags such as #Nãoépor20centavoséportDireitos (#Itsnotabout20centsitisaboutRights), #BrasilLivre (#FreeBrazil) and #OGiganteAcordou (#TheGiantHasAwaken) to transmit their message to the public. These also presented frames that were believed to better showcase what was best for the movement.

The best understand these frames, however, it is imperative that another theory, gatekeeping, be taken into consideration. According to Deluliis (2015), Lewin (1947) established gatekeeping as a marketing case study. He used the metaphor of family decision-making around food to explain the four concepts in gatekeeping—channel, section, force and gate. Channel is the method, or where the food comes, garden or store. Section is the point at which decision is made, like how to cook the chosen food. Force is what influences the decision, positive or negative, like really wanting a food but it is too expensive. And finally gate is the point in which the force changes direction, you don't want to buy the food because it is too expensive but once you do, you want to eat it. The one making the choices, in this case the housewife is the gatekeeper (Deluliis, 2015). When considering gatekeeping theory, it is natural to think about the mass media and the newspapers, as the gatekeeping of this medium is obvious to identify. The channel would be where the information comes from, that could be an expert or a witness. The section would be how it is delivered, video or print. Force would be the pros and cons of publishing that information. And the gate would be the published article. The gatekeeper in the newspaper industry would likely be the editor, with varying degrees of seniority. In a media level, he mentions the research done by White (1950), where the gatekeeper is the editor and he selects the stories based on his own personal background.

Deluliis' article also takes into consideration the applications of gatekeeping in relation to Twitter. In the case of Twitter, he refers to a research made by Barzilai-Nahon in 2008 where the authors consider the users to be the gatekeepers as they are completely in charge of what they post and what they consume. Another research by Xu and Feng "found that politically active Twitter users reached out most often to journalists with similar political leanings" (Deluliis, 2015, p.17). The users in Twitter have complete control on what they want to pass along and by retweeting something they find important, they are spreading the message and deciding if that is worth being seen by their followers or not.

This concept of social media independence was highly disputed by Ali and Fahmy. They claim that social media and citizen journalism follows the same standards and control that the mainstream media follows. "Through gatekeeping practices, mainstream media continue to maintain hegemony over information disseminated by citizen journalists" (Ali & Fahmy, 2013). Their assumption that every citizen journalist wants to be recognized by the mainstream media, appear in the papers or on the side of the website is by far erroneous. They use examples of the recent Arab Spring and how this played out in Iran, Egypt and Libya. In those cases, they claim that citizen journalists were forced to comply with mainstream guidance as the government enforced high censorship over them. At the same time, some people managed to bypass the censorship and posted information that went viral in the international community (Ali & Fahmy, 2013). This bypass shows that even with censorship and the desire to follow mainstream demands, when necessary, citizen journalists will find a way to spread their message.

Entman (2007) in his paper connects political power and influence to both framing and gatekeeping theories. He explains gatekeeping as personal journalistic bias and institutional bias that influence what content goes into the newspaper and how is this content written. According to his theory, journalists and institutions use framing to valorize or give political power to a certain group over the other. He defines framing as "the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation" (Entman, 2007, p.164). In his paper, Entman calls gatekeeping as agenda setting, in my view, they both represent the same concept. His definition of agenda setting matches Deluliis definition of gatekeeping. For him, agenda setting "can thus be seen as another name for successfully performing the first function of framing: defining problems worthy of public and governmental attention" (Entman, 2007, p.164).

Chapter 5.   The Methodology

The analysis of the collected data was done using critical discourse analysis (CDA). The purpose of this technique is to identify the language being used in the discourse, as texts have the purpose of transmitting a message the language used in the text will clarify the purpose of the text. Johnstone explains that "every linguistic choice – every choice about how to produce discourse, but also every choice about how to interpret it – is a choice about how the world is to be divided up and explained" (2008). These choices transmit an ideology and it is this ideology that this paper seeks to understand, the purpose of the messages from the newspaper and from the social media. To perform the analysis I have collected data surrounding seven important milestones during the first month of the protest. The first three milestones come from the research done by Leal where she states the marks being June 6th with the presence of 2,000 protestors, June 7th by 5,000 and June 11th by 10,000 protestors. This was the beginning of the protests and it marks the rapid growth in popular participation in a short period of time (Leal, 2013). The remaining dates were extracted from Amorim's (2015) research, June 13th was when a journalist was shot in the eye by a rubber bullet and another journalist was arrested in São Paulo, June 18th was when the participants entered the National Congress building in Brasília, June 20th was when there were approximately 1.4 million protesters in 130 cities – social media declares that it was closer to two million – and lastly June 21st was when President Rousseff gave a statement (Amorim & Angonese, 2015). These seven dates mark big changes, threats,

and accomplishments during the initial phase of the protests and that would be of relevance to both the newspaper and the social media. I have divided the seven dates into four groups that were pertinent to the development of the protests, those being: Group I – "The Protest Build-up," it includes the events from June 5th to June 12th; Group II – "Attacking the Messenger," includes the events from for June 13th to June 16th; Group III – "Reclaiming State Institutions," with the events from June 17th to June 19th; and Group IV – "Protest Crescendo," with the final events from June 20th to June 22nd. Sundays are the big editions of the newspapers in Brazil, with that in mind I have also analysed the 23rd, which falls on a Sunday, to see the retrospective presentation in the papers of the events so far, which became Group V – "Retrospective." For groups I, II, III, IV and V, there is a collection of 554 Tweets and 248 articles that were spread as shown in the graph below in absolute numbers.
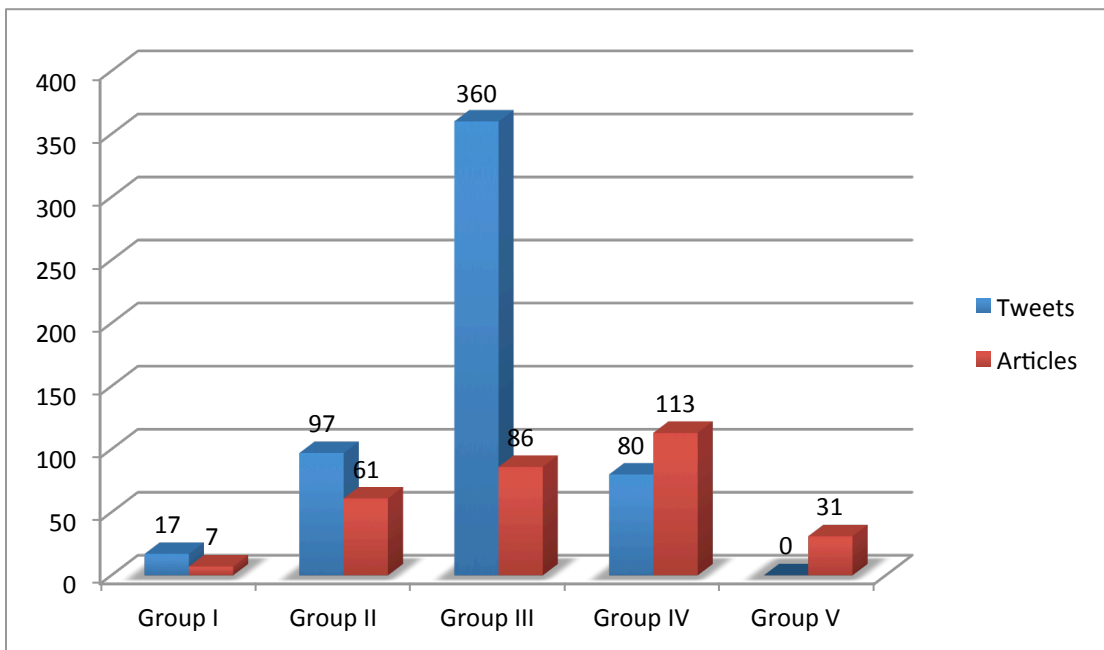

Table 1 – Total Data per Group

There were three reasons for using Twitter as the main source of analysis for the social media. First, Twitter as a communication tool offers short, concise, and immediate messaging which greatly appealed to the protestors in Brazil, making it the most used by the protestors. Bastos et al. says that "Facebook and Twitter reportedly played an important role in the organization of public outcries, facilitating communication between protestors and live streaming the demonstrations" (Bastos et al., 2014, p.1) They go on to claim that the protestors relied on the geographical tags in Twitter messages to join the mobilizations. (2014) Second, Twitter, by virtue of its function, can be considered a mix between alternative media and a news media. Kwak et al. analyses Twitter to understand its information-spreading capabilities. "Information diffusion is a process that a new idea or an action widely spreads through communication channels […] we observe that retweets reach a large audience and spreads fast" (Kwak et al, 2010). Third, despite a lot of criticism towards the use of social media for organizing protests, Twitter worked as a source of incentive for the general public. "With Facebook and Twitter and the like, the traditional relationship between political authority and popular will has been upended, making it easier for the powerless to collaborate, coordinate, and give voice to their concerns" (Gladwell, 2010).

As mentioned before, Twitter was not responsible for creating social mobilization, nor was it responsible for maintaining it. Twitter during the Vinegar Protests, played the role of motivating and facilitating the organization by explaining the action plan, the gathering points, and giving voice to those that were being part of it. As Shirky said in "The Political Power of Social Media," it requires a strong and stable public sphere to start a movement; the role of social media is just to be a tool, not to strengthen the public sphere (Shirky, 2001). Gladwell agrees with Shirky when he says that "the platforms of

social media are built around weak ties, [but] there is strength in weak ties" (Gladwell, 2010, p.7). Twitter doesn't demand brave acts for social participation, as it lessens the requirements for participation.

> Several Internet and social media activists started to develop their own content about the "20 Cents Movement," made available via blogs, e-mails, newsgroups, videos, etc., in order to transmit their interpretation of the context to the other activists. […] Therefore, approximately one week after its emergence, the "20 Cents Movement" lost its initial focus as interactions via social media gave activists moral and intellectual autonomy, allowing them to challenge Brazilian public policies in general. (Joia, 2015, p.7)

The broadening of demands, caused by the spread through Twitter, was most likely the main reason for the participation that the movement gathered, as people saw in this the opportunity to complain about the issues that affected them the most.

The selection of Tweets was done by searching through the Twitter database selecting the dates between the 5th and the 22nd of June of 2013 for the hashtags identified on Recuero et al.'s and Mourão's papers, the selected ones were: #vemprarua (#cometothestreets), #nãoépor20centosépordireitos (#itisn'tfor20centsitisforrights), #nãoépor20centavos (#itisn'tfor20cents), #brasillivre (#freebrazil), #ogiganteacordou (#thegiantawoke), #passelivre (#freefare), #mpl, #acordabrasil (#wakeupbrazil), #changebrazil, #mudabrasil (#changebrazil), #primaverabrasileira (#brazilianspring), #todosjuntosporumbr (#alltogetherforabr), #vdevinagre (#vforvinegar), and #nãosãosó20centavos (#itisn'tjust20cents). The search also focused on the main accounts in order to restrict the search. These seventeen Twitter accounts represented some accounts that were created solemnly for the protests and some that were accounts

generally in favour of the government, those being: @MBLivre, @AnonymouBrasil, @VemPraRua_br, @MST_Oficial, @mtst_, @Afrentebrasilpop, @VemPra_Rua, @mpl_sp, @changebrazil1, @passelivre_es, @VemPraRuaSP, @MovBrasillivre, @changebrazil_en, @MPLCURITIBA, @_VamoPraRua, @acordaaibrasil, and @vamoprotesta. The result was the compilation of 554 tweets.

For the mainstream media, this paper will analyze the articles published by *O Globo*. There were three reasons for this choice—the financial connections, the readership, and their historic relationship protests. Regarding *O Globo*'s financial incentives from the government, Porto (2012) claims that "both Lula and Rousseff belong to the PT [Workers' Party] and represent political forces that have not been particularly sympathetic to TV *Globo* and other media conglomerates" (Porto, 2012). Despite his allegations that the Workers' Party was not sympathetic to *Globo* group, two smaller newspapers in Brazil published stories affirming the revenue spent by the government for advertisement. According to *Jusbrasil*, PT's government spent approximately a third of their advertisement budget on *Globo* group, which amounted to approximately 52 million Brazilian Reais (approximately 16 million U.S. Dollars) from 2011 to 2016. CartaCapital another small newspaper affirms that *Globo* group received 6.2 billion Brazilian Reais (approximately 1.9 billion U.S. Dollars) in the past twelve years from the government budget, which represents about half of their total media investment in advertisement. This information clarifies that *Globo* has a conflict of interest, while it claims and promises to be fair and just, a big part of its revenue comes from governmental budget, which gives grounds to other medias such as *Jusbrasil* to call *O Globo* a conservative media that promotes governmental policies. The second reason is the readership. According to a survey on media consumption habits done by the

Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência da República (Department of Social Communication of the Presidential Republic) in 2015, approximately 21% of the interviewed sample reads the newspapers at least once a week with the purpose of being informed (SECOM, 2015). According to another research done by ANJ (Association of National Newspapers), in 2013 *O Globo* was the third most sold and read newspaper, nationwide, with a circulation of 267.542 both print and digital (ANJ, 2013). Third is the history that the newspaper has in participating in social uprisings. *O Globo* actively participated in all the political transitions throughout Brazil's history, supporting the removal of President Goulart and instated the military regime in 1964, pushing and reporting for the end of the military dictatorship in 1980's, and investigating allegations that lead to the impeachment of President Collor in early 1992 (Reis, 2003). "In the 1990s, newspapers and journalists played a very important role in denouncing social and economic problems such as poverty, homelessness and political corruption" (Reis, 2003).

The selection of the data was based on a research using the articles database LexisNexis from the 5th to the 23rd of June, using the following terms: "Protestos OR redução de tarifa OR manifestação OR vandalos OR passeata AND NOT Turquia AND NOT Irã AND NOT Taksim AND NOT Evangélicos AND NOT Igreja AND NOT cpi AND NOT seleção AND NOT energia AND NOT Indio AND NOT Poluição AND NOT exibição AND NOT estupro AND NOT Argentina". The search also selected only newspapers and focused on *O Globo*, yielding a total number of 248 articles.

Chapter 6.   The Analysis

Some research has been previously done on language use by mainstream media in representing protestors as well as the protestors' reactions on Twitter to physical violence during the movement. Leal (2013) focused on two major words—protesters and vandals—to determine how the mainstream media portrayed them. Her conclusion is that the mass media changed their language and focus according to the level of participation, from vandals to protesters. Mourão did another research, her findings claim that the mass media focused solemnly on conflict, setting the demands aside (Mourão, 2015).
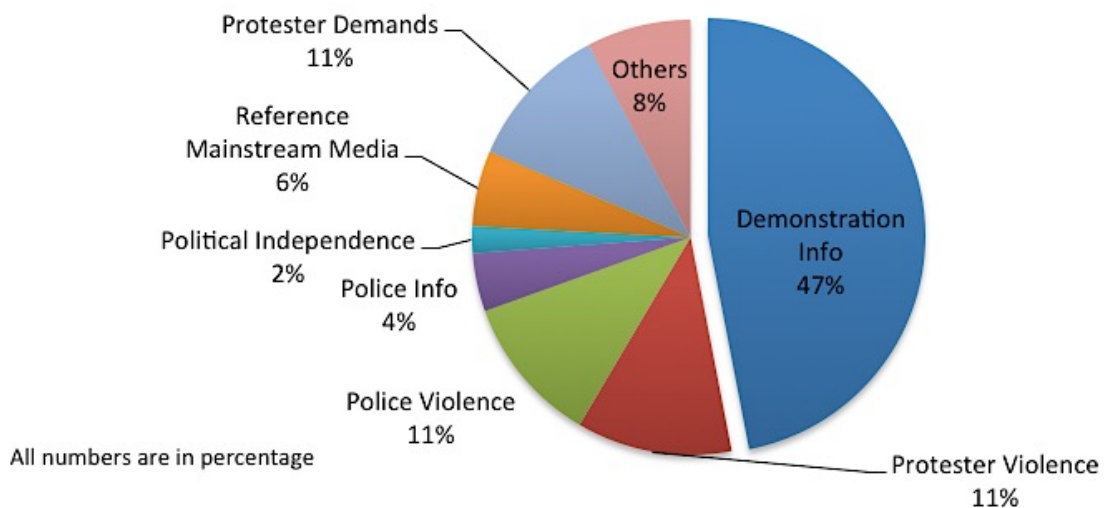
Twitter

All numbers are in percentage

Table 2 – Twitter Total Percentage per Frame

The Twitter analysis of the 554 Tweets resulted in approximately 16 frames, the most recurrent ones being what I classified as: a) Demonstration Info, b) Protester Violence, c) Police Violence, d) Protester Demands, and e) Reference Mainstream Media with 258 (46.57%), 62 (11.19%), 60 (10.83%), 60 (10.83%) and 31 (5.60%) of the total pool respectively. "Demonstrations" were all the tweets that explained where the protests were going to happen, what the protestors were doing and how they were doing it. In this frame was also included the hacking acts done by "Anonymous Brasil" as these were considered acts of manifestation such as @AnonymousBrasil "Estaremos nas ruas hoje. Hoje será um dia que vai entrar para a história" ("We will be at the streets today. Today will be a day that will be part of history") and @AnonymousBrasil "Hackeado ensinosuperior.sp.gov.br/sis/lenoticia.…" ("Hacked ensinosuperior.[…]"). Violence was all the tweets that had a violent intonation or used violent language and expressed a normalization of this violence, or saw violence as necessary or called for an end to violence, such as @AnonymousBrasil "A verdade é que um carro queimado não é nada perto do que eles fazem com nós, agora eles só mantém foco nesse carro" ("The truth is that a burnt car is nothing close to what they do to us, now they only focus on this car") and @VamoPraRua "A unica coisa ruim dos protestos ontem foi que teve algumas pessoas lá que só estavam agitando e arrumando problemas em algumas cidades" ("The only bad thing in yesterday's protests was that there were some people that were there agitating and creating problems in some cities"). Police violence were all the tweets that mentioned and criticised acts of violence committed by the police, such as @VemPraRuaSP "Digo e repito: Algo está estranho. A polícia é 8 ou 80: ou acaba com os manifestantes violentamente ou não faz quase nada. Repararam? Pensem" ("I say it and repeat it: Something is strange. The police are 8 or 80: either they stop the protesters violently or they don't do almost anything. Did you notice? Think") or

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@AnonymousBrasil "Tropa de Choque atira em manifestantes sentados cantando o Hino facebook.com/photo.php?v=48…" ("Shock troops shoot at protestors sitting singing the anthem"). There was a smaller amount of only 21 (3.79%) tweets that mentioned the peaceful presence of the police such as @ AnonymousBrasil "Policial se recusa a cumprir ordem e é retirado de posto" ("Police officer refuses to comply with orders and is withdrawn from post"). Mainstream mentions were when there was a mention to what the mainstream was showing or criticism towards it, such as @AnonymousBrasil "A globo news disse que são 300 mil pessoas. Mas já passou de 1 MILHÃO !!!" ("Globo news said that there are 300 thousand people. But it is already over 1 MILLION!!"). Besides these, there was a significant number of tweets that focused on the protesters' demands. These were divided in three: a) fare (when the tweets focused on the high priced transportation fare), b) against the world cup (when the tweets focused on the high cost of the stadiums, high expenses for the cup over basic care), and c) general demands (when the tweets talked about all other demands like corruption, healthcare and infrastructure). These three categories together constituted 60 (10.83%) tweets.
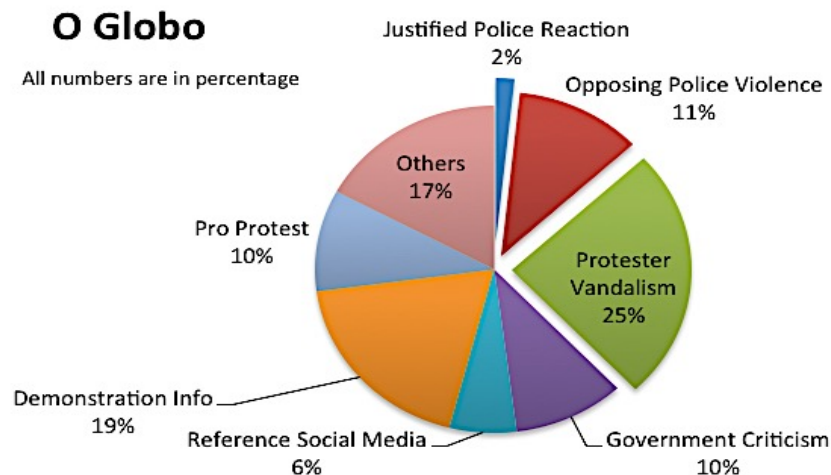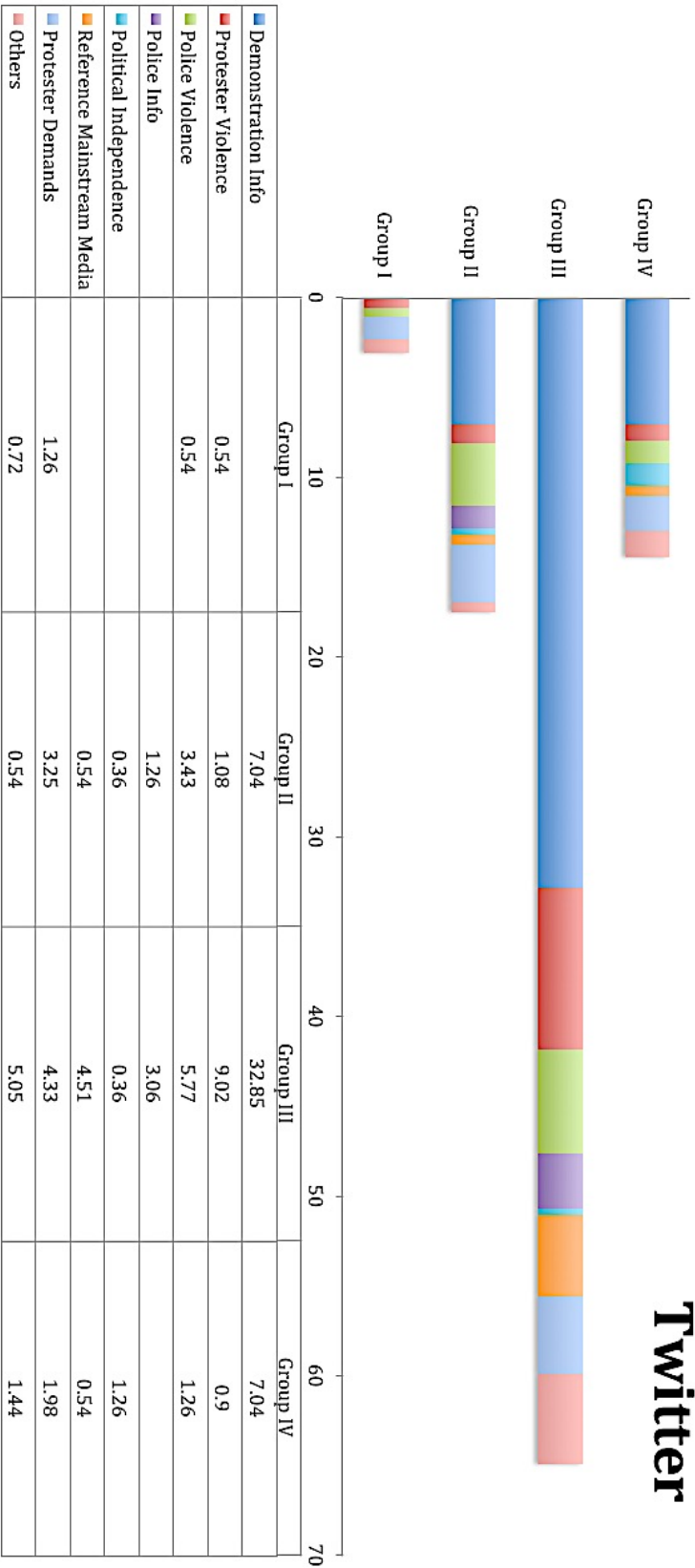

Table 3 – *O Globo* Total Percentage per Frame

O Globo analysis of the 248 articles resulted in approximately 16 frames, keeping in mind that, unlike Tweeter, often an article would contain more than one frame resulting in a total of 298 mentions, the most recurrent ones were what I classified as: a) Protestor Vandalism, b) Demonstration Info, c) Governmental Criticism, d) Opposing Police Violence and e) Pro Protests with 69 (23.15%), 55 (18.46%), 30 (10.07%), 34 (11.41%) and 30 (10.07%) of the total pool respectively. Vandalism and violence were all the articles that used the word vandalismo (vandalism) or violencia (violence) to describe the protestors or their actions such as the sentence "O ato mais violento aconteceu em São Paulo, onde manifestantes atearam fogo a paus e cones e fizeram barricadas na Avenida 23 de Maio, no horário do rush" ("The most violent happened in São Paulo, where protestors set fire to sticks and cones and barricaded 23 of May avenue, on rush hour"). Factual stories where when the reporting was talking about the facts or historical facts, such as "Treze manifestantes que participaram do protesto contra o aumento da tarifa do transporte público na terça-feira passada continuavam presos ontem em São Paulo" ("Thirteen protestors that participated in the protests against the increase of public transportation fare on last Tuesday remained arrested yesterday in São Paulo"). Against police violence were all the articles that condemned and criticised acts of violence committed by the police, such as "A Anistia Internacional emitiu nota afirmando que vê com 'com preocupação o aumento da violência na repressão aos protestos contra o aumento das passagens de ônibus no Rio de Janeiro e em São Paulo'" ("Amnesty International issued a note affirming that see with 'concern the increase of violence and repression to the protests against the increase on the bus fares in Rio de Janeiro and in São Paulo"). Pro protests were characterized by promoting the protests as a good, justified and democratic manifestation, such as "E os participantes não se restringem aos que estão no Brasil. O professor de jiu-jítsu e representante do projeto

social Vão Vive, Cadu de Oliveira, de 38 anos, mora fora do país e não pensou duas vezes antes de participar da manifestação que aconteceu anteontem no Central Park, um dos pontos turísticos mais famosos de Nova York" ("And the participants are not restricted to those that are in Brazil. The jiu-jitsu professor and representing the social project Vão Vive, Cadu de Oliveira, 38 years-old, lives outside the country and didn't think twice before participating of the protests that happened the day before yesterday in Central Park, one of the most famous touristic points of New York"). Fewer articles presented frames such as police actions as reactionary or justified, social media mentions (mentioning what was being said in social media or the newspaper's hashtags in Twitter) and others, these included worker strikes, against the world cup, and against the wealthy class participation. Of these, "Others" was the largest with 50 (17.1%) mentions and included not only journalists' opinions, but also letters to the newspaper.

Twitter

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
Demonstration Info		7.04	32.85	7.04
Protester Violence	0.54	1.08	9.02	0.9
Police Violence	0.54	3.43	5.77	1.26
Police Info		1.26	3.06	1.26
Political Independence		0.36	0.36	1.26
Reference Mainstream Media		0.54	4.51	0.54
Protester Demands	1.26	3.25	4.33	1.98
Others	0.72	0.54	5.05	1.44

The above numbers are in %

Table 4 – Twitter Frames per Group

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O Globo

The above numbers are in %

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Justified Police Reaction	0.67	0.34		0.67	0.34
Opposing Police Violence		3.69	4.36	3.02	0.34
Protestor Vandalism	1.01	5.37	3.69	11.74	3.02
Government Criticism		1.68	3.36	3.69	1.34
Reference Social Media	0.34	1.01	1.68	2.68	0.34
Demonstration Info	0.34	2.68	6.38	6.38	3.02
Pro Protest		0.67	3.69	4.03	1.67
Depredation					
Others		5.03	5.7	5.7	0.67
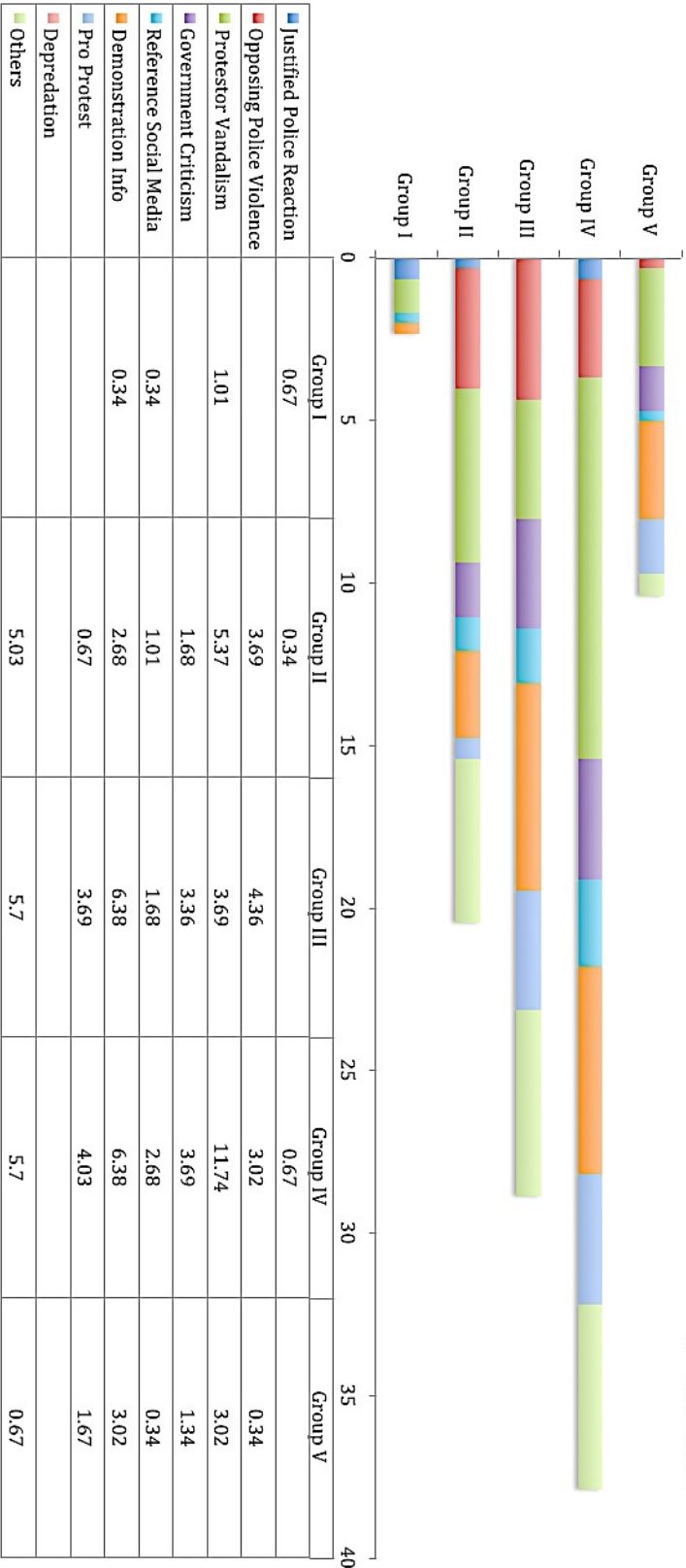
Table 5 – *O Globo* Frames per Group

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In order to better understand the development of each phase of the protests, an analysis of both Twitter and *O Globo* was conducted per group, as it is shown in Graphs B and C above. For Group I – "Building-up the Protest," that gathered the dates from the 5th of June to the 12th of June, compiled seventeen tweets (3.06%) and seven articles (2.35%). Twitter users' mainly focused on "Protestor Demands" (41.2% of the 3.06%), "Police Violence" (17.65% of the 3.06%), and also having mentions of protestors' violence (17.65% of the 3.06%). *O Globo* focused on "Protestor Vandalism" (42.86% of the 2.35%), "Reference Social Media" (14.29% of the 2.35%) and "Justified Police Reactions" with (28.57% of the 2.35%). At this stage, it is understood that Twitter users were attempting to draw more people to the streets, which seems to have been successful as the movement grew from two thousand people to ten thousand people in five days, while *O Globo* was defending the police's brutal actions against the protestors by portraying their actions as violent and destructive.

Group II – "Attacking the Messenger", surrounds the attack done by the police to a journalist on site reporting on the manifestations gathered 17.51% of tweets and 20.47% of frames in articles. Out of the 17.51% of tweets, Twitter users kept the focus on the "Demonstration Info" with 40.21%, while still mentioning "Police Violence" in 19.60% of the time, but kept showcasing the "Protestors Demands" in 18.56% of the tweets. *O Globo*, on the other hand, mentioned violence (from both the protestors and the police) in 43.75% of the 20.47%. The remaining mentions focused on "Demonstration Info" (13.11%). The violence mentioned by the newspaper at this stage, while still discussing protester violence, changed the tone and instead of protecting the police, it started accusing law enforcement officers as one of their own had been targeted and injured. . The newspaper also started talking about the demonstrations in a

more impartial away, while Twitter users changed the focus from promoting the demands to spreading information about the movement. It is my understanding that at this point the protest had become so broad in demands, ranging from bus fares to boycotting the World Cup, that instead of trying to keep up with all the demands in the social media, it focused on alerting those interested on what were the next steps being taken during the protests.

Group III – "Reclaiming State Institutions", included the major take over of the National Congress in Brasília when the original plan was just to protest around it. The most mentioned frame, out of the 64.98% of the total tweets for that day, 52.30% were in reference to "Demonstration Info". The second largest focus was on "Protestors' Violence" amounting to 14.37% of the total. The remaining tweets focused on "Reference Mainstream Media", "Protestor Demands", "Police Violence", "Police Info", "Political Independence" and "Others". The newspaper 22.09% of the total 28.86% were on "Demonstration Info", 15.12% were "Opposing Police Violence", 12.79% were "Protestor Vandalism" and 12.79% were "Pro Protest". 11.63% of these were "Government Criticism" with sentences like "A falta de ligação dos manifestantes, com qualquer partido, sugere que se trata de mobilização contra os Poderes instituídos" ("The lack of connection from the protestors with any party suggests that the movement is about the instituted powers"). While Twitter users continued to focus on spreading information about the protests, *O Globo* completely changed its tone from the first phase of the protests and now was also spreading unbiased information on the protests, while still focusing on violence actions from both the police and the protestors.

Group IV – "Protests Crescendo", this was the last big phase of the protest and included the biggest protest of June with approximately 1.4 million people (even though

protestors claim it was two million) and President Dilma's speech. The majority of tweets again focused on the spreading "Demonstrations Info" with 48.75% of the total 14.44% of tweets. 13.75% were destined towards "Demands", 8.75% for "Police Violence" and 8.75% for "Political Independence". The remaining focused on "Reference Mainstream Media", "Protestors' Violence" and "Others". *O Globo* identified 37.92% of the total frames in this period, the biggest of all the phases, of which the largest used was "Protestor Vandalism" with 30.97% of the total mentions. 10.62% of mentions were "Pro Protests" and 16.81% were "Demonstrations Info". Only 9.73% were "Government Criticism". Twitter users carried on what it had been doing through the past phases and continued to focus on demonstrations information, however, it went back on talking about the "Protests Demands" as it gathered the largest groups in 130 cities. It is my opinion that Twitter users felt the need to connect this large amount of people by emphasizing the reason that they were there. The newspaper, while it also addressed the demonstrations in a lesser level, it continued to focus on violence, except that it this phase the mention of police violence was minimal (less than 10%), which again suggests the newspaper's need to detach the reading public from the movement by accentuating the image of violence initiated by the *Black Blocks.*

Group V contained only 10.4% of frames, while no tweets were gathered for this date. Of those, 29.03% were Demonstrations Info, 29.03% talked about protestors' depredation of public property and 16.13% were Pro Protests. This implies that the biggest weekly edition of the paper chose to focus on the unbiased description of the demonstrations, while the other biggest focus, once again, was on violence initiated by the protestors. The police violence was only mentioned on 3.23% of the cases, implying that it was not of relevance to the newspapers.

The vast majority of tweets, about 46.5% of the total gathered, focused on the demonstrations and explained to the viewers what actions were taken by the movement in pro of the protests, where they could find medical support and refuge, where to meet for new gatherings, amongst others, which signifies the biggest use of this social media was to organize the protest and aid the protestors, gather support and attract more people to the movement. Another 45% of the tweets focused on the various "Demands", "Police Violence" and "Police Presence", "Protestors' Violence", the fact that the movements supported no parties and the mainstream mentions. The remaining 8.5% of tweets classified as "Others," focused on minor and sporadic issues such as celebrity support and opposition, government monitoring of social media, and the mention of social media themselves.

The most constant frame for the articles, about 23% of the total gathered, focused on the vandalism and violence, accused the protestors of destruction and violence against the police with constant use of degrading words such as vandalism, which signified that the biggest focus of this newspaper was to demonstrate the violence generated by the protestors. Only 13% of the articles focused on the violence led by the police, and a small number of these still considered such violence justified. An encouraging 18.5% of the articles remained unbiased focusing on the facts and the history of protests, or showcased the demands of the protesters. Only 10% were in favour of the protests, justifying them by explaining the demands. And 10% was against governmental ruling, policy or actions in relation to the movement. In total, 41% of the mentions, or 122 mentions, focused on violence in general, coming either from the protestors or the police, justified or not.

When looking into these frames, one notices their purpose according to each media entity or institution they belonged to. When looking at Twitter information, the clear focus on the demonstrations showcasing their development and the actions being taken by the participants serve the purpose of attracting more people to the cause as it promotes change. The language used on Twitter by users focused on promoting activists' actions by degrading the actions taken by the government and the police, while telling the viewers that there are people out there protesting to make your life better, therefore encouraging the reader to join the cause. Less than 11% of the tweets talked about police brutality, keeping the focus on violent acts to a minimum, only mentioning it to demand justice and show that the government wants to silence the movement with violence. Another 10% focused on the actual demands, as you can see this number is also small. This movement, as stated before, was atypical, as it didn't have a sole purpose or demand. As people felt the need to join, they brought with them new demands and concerns, making it hard for the social media to showcase all the demands, therefore, also keeping it to a minimum. The language with which the activists spoke about their own violent acts mostly used positive words instead of negative and avoided talking about the small groups that were vandalising the city.

On the other hand, *O Globo*'s biggest focus with 41% of its mentions was on violence. A little more than 23% focused on protestors' violence and used words such as vandals, destruction, and invasion. Some 11.4% of these were against police violence stating the exaggerated use of force or the criticism of international and local authorities. A small 1.8% of this number talked about police violence as necessary and as a reaction to the initial violence from the protestors. Another small 1.8% of that amount talked about the protestor's actions with words that were not degrading such as depredation.

Lastly, 3% talked about the conflict between the police and the protestors without taking any sides, mainly stating what had happened. The mass media frames corroborate with what is said in "*It's not Just 20 Cents*" when the authors write that "the media tends to frame demonstrations mainly through marginalization, which in turn makes by standing citizens feel like they are not represented by these protesters, hence causing the sense of 'otherness' explained by Hall" ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013). With this perspective, the goal of the mass media were to showcase the violence for one of two reasons: to convince people to stay in their homes and not participate, therefore supporting the government's ruling; or to sell more newspapers, as the mass media in Brazil tends to be a form of entertainment. Either way, the contrasting focus between the mass media and the social media suggest that the purpose of the social media posts were to balance the coverage of the protests by providing alternative information to the viewer.

This leads us to make a case about the gatekeeping practices of both media. Ali and Fahmy suggest in their paper that citizen journalism is still controlled by mainstream media gatekeeping. They argue that citizen journalists, seeking recognition from the media, will write according to what is being portrayed by the mass media (Ali and Fahmy, 2013). I would argue differently by saying that even though those performing gatekeeping in the social media, in this case Twitter, are analysing what the mainstream media is saying, they are posting the opposite as a form of counter-balance. As Deluliis said in his paper, the gatekeepers of Twitter are the users themselves. The users are the ones analysing and selecting what needs to be posted in Twitter to serve their purpose (Deluliis, 2015). In this case, their purpose is to attract more people to the movement, as previously stated.

Chapter 7.   Conclusion

This research set to discover the role that social media played in the protests that took over Brazil in June of 2013 and were known as the Vinegar Protest. Did social media comply and followed the frames and purposes set by the mainstream media or did it conflict with those frames in order to give balance to the story? In order to answer these questions, this paper reviewed media background and its relationship to the democratic system in Brazil. It was argued that the mass media, in specific *Globo* group, play an important role during the establishment of a democratic regime in the country. The argument made was that the media industry in Brazil cultivates strong relations with political parties and authorities in the country, being of great influence to the fate of the regime but also being influenced by them (Matos, 2014). Another argument was made that the mainstream media serves as a watchdog forcing the political system to be accountable for its actions in the eyes of the public sphere (Porto, 2012).

The need for digital development and the inclusion of social media in the country was also considered. Claiming that the social media aid the communication between people and therefore strengthen the public sphere lends credence to the argument that the Internet must be better disseminated in the country (Shirky, 2001). Internet usage in Brazil is still in big divide, reaching a mere 49% of the population as of 2012. Despite those low numbers, in 2014, Brazil had more active cellphones than people, and of those, 76% were smartphones, thereby increasing the successful

dissemination of Internet amongst the population (Joia, 2015). This gives justification for the high user interactions in the social media during the Vinegar Protests.

In June 6th of 2013, the population started protesting, sparked by the rise on the public transportation fare. The protests, which started with two thousand people on the 6th, rapidly grew to a peak of an estimated 1.5 million people in 130 cities around the country on the 20th of June (Reis, 2003). The more people that joined the movement, the more demands the movement had, going from decrease of bus fares, to end of corruption and improvements in health care and education. Some claim that the reason behind so many people joined the protests were because of the huge social media usage ("It's Not Just 20 Cents," 2013). Others argue that the social media distracted the purpose of the protests and created a demand that was too broad and too many to be accomplished (Saad Filho, 2014). D'Andrea argued that the social media was not only helpful in organizing the protests, but a necessary tool to give balance to a biased story being told by the mass media (2014).

To understand if the claim of balance was accurate, this research compiled a sample of 554 posts and 248 articles for an analysis. The posts came from Twitter as the main source for the social media during that period. These tweets were based on seventeen Twitter accounts and fourteen hashtags that were widely used during the protests. The sample article sample were selected from the newspaper *O Globo*, the third most read newspaper in Brazil. The search for the articles were based on research terms to narrow the sample to only those during this period and in reference to this protest, as well as only published by this newspaper.

The analysis of this sample was done in accordance with the theories of framing, as explained by Sheufele, Entman and Porto, and gatekeeping, as explained by Deluliis, Ali and Fahmy, and Gladwell. Downing's theory of social movements and alternative media was also taken into consideration when pursuing this research. In the Twitter sample, eight major frames were identified, determining that the focus of this media was on the activists' demonstrations and actions. In *O Globo* there were ten major frames, four of them of them in relation to a form of violence, determining that the main focus of this media was on the violent acts.

Noting that each medium had an entirely different focus and that those often contrasted against each other, the social media, in the case of this protest, played a balancing role to the story that was being told in the press, thereby allowing viewers to see the side of the protestors, their explanation of their acts, and their demands. This communicative practice gave contrast to the message sent by the newspaper, which was a focus on violent performances. The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that Twitter, subsumed the vast number of specific demands from the various groups that participated in the movement and that collective decision-making by Twitter users online chose not to focus on the demands in order to attract more people to the protest. This may have happened for fear that if some felt they didn't belong because the reason why they were complaining was not part of the list, they would not participate. Instead Twitter users focused on depicting the actions, movements and information about the movement itself.

More research is required in order to understand more closely the role that social media played during this protest, as it would be required to broaden the research and gather Facebook posts to the analysis. Based on this preliminary and exploratory

study, and as an initial result, it is clear that the social media's crucial role in the 2013 protests in Brazil was to balancing the messaging against the backdrop of a biased mainstream press' focus on violence.

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