

# **Impeachment or Coup? Twitter narrative disputes in Brazil**

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## **Introduction**

On August 31, 2016, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff was ousted from power, after having been reelected to office less than two years before. It was the second time a President faced impeachment since Brazil's transition to democracy in the mid-1980s. However, while the process that ended the mandate of President Collor de Mello was highly consensual within civil society and among political parties, Rousseff's impeachment was an extremely divisive one. Her reelection, in 2014, was achieved by a narrow margin of votes, in what was probably the most polarized Presidential election in the country's recent history. For some, Rousseff's impeachment was legal, and institutions performed their democratic roles; for others, it was an illegal parliamentary coup.

Indeed, the arguments used to legitimize impeaching Rousseff have been disputed and controversial. Brazil has a Presidential system, with narrow limits as to when and how the Legislative branch can initiate impeachment proceedings. In this context, arguments in favor of the impeachment necessarily had include formal accusations of crime, because having perpetrated a crime is a legal requirement to initiate impeachment proceedings, but they also included broader critiques related to the country's political and economic instability.

The declining popularity of President Rousseff can be traced to the protests of June 2013, when millions of Brazilians took to the streets, mobilizing various agendas and demands, and presenting harsh criticism of political institutions in general, and of Dilma Rousseff in particular. On June 21, 2013, when Rousseff addressed the nation, two hashtags became trending topics on Twitter, one in favor of the President and the other against her (Recuero 2014), in a sort of rehearsal of the offline and online polarization that took control of the country in the following years.

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In fact, one notable feature of the debates around the impeachment is that they have been conducted both online and offline, mainly on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. These platforms became “arenas of power struggle” (García, Von Bülow, Ledezma, & Chauveau, 2014), in which groups, organizations and individuals seek to disseminate their own framings of events and issues. As Jeffares has argued, it “never has it been cheaper, easier or quicker” to do this (Jeffares, 2014, p. 12). To understand the political turmoils the country is facing, then, it is important to look at how people communicate online.

The “coup” narrative has been disputed since at least March of 2015 (Jovem Pan, 2015). For over a year, the use of the word was contested by pro and against impeachment groups, but also by individuals that took to the social media to make sense of the constant political changes in Brazilian politics. As we show in this paper, “coup” was framed, mainly, in association with democracy, mobilization, corruption and daily situations, but these framings changed across the periods analysed here. Irony, sarcasm, humour and offensive language were communication strategies widely employed by Twitter users to express their disagreement, anger, discredit, and confusion over the discussions.

In this article, we analyze the disputes over the meanings of “golpe” - coup in Portuguese. Our research focuses on the frames related to the term “coup” on Twitter, in April and August of 2016. We build on the social movement literature on framing and the literature that seeks to understand how discourses and ideas spread online (Recuero, Zago & Basto, 2014; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013). We agree with Benford and Snow, who argue that it is important to understand “the meaning work” - “the struggle over the production of mobilizing and countermobilizing ideas and meanings” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613) - performed by social agents, which renders specific events meaningful and guide action by gathering support and mobilizing potential adherents to a cause.

We seek to contribute to better understanding the use of social media in framing efforts, in a context of strong political polarization and distrust in which democracy is in the center of the narrative disputes. In contentious episodes, how do actors dispute frames in social media? More specifically: what are the narratives constructed around the concept of “coup”, and how were these mobilized online? How have these frames changed through time? In trying to answer these questions, we are also contributing to better understanding one of the most important political crisis of Brazil’s democratic history.

## **Methods and Data**

This paper presents an exploratory analysis of framing strategies in the case of the impeachment of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. The impeachment process extended formally from December of 2015 to August of 2016. We focus on the analysis of two specific moments, the April and August votes in Congress, which marked the first great decision towards the impeachment and the final trial, respectively. Comparing those moments allowed us to understand how framings were built, transformed, reallocated and deconstructed.

We employed content analysis to access the aforementioned frames present in the tweets of the April and August votings. After reading a sample of the tweets, we

inductively constructed the codebook to guide the categorization of the sample extracted (see the codebook in the appendix). After a first reading and coding attempt, we adjusted the codebook to contemplate the other frames identified. Then we conducted a second coding attempt among six codifiers, which afterwards went through a confiability test.

In order to analyse the framings around the term "coup" on Twitter, we categorized a sample of 1,951 unique tweets, selecting half of them from each period of analysis. 49 tweets were offtopic and were discarded. The categorization process was divided in three steps. First, we determined if the tweet was in favor or against the impeachment, and when the positioning of the author was unclear, we classified the text as "undefined". Then, we analysed the texts in terms of the language used, assigning it into two major classes: irony and literal meaning. We also identified them based on another typology: offensive language. The first two were mutually excludent - a tweet can't be ironic and literal at the same time -, whereas the offensive language can be used not only in literal text but also in ironic ones.

Finally, we proceeded to the framings themselves, i.e. to the definition of the frequent topics addressed in the tweets about the impeachment process that mentioned the word "coup". The messages that did not fit any of the framings analysed were categorized as "others". The framings are not mutually excludent, all tweets could present one or more framings, except for the "others" category. We inductively defined the main topics mentioned by the users, which were: democracy, economy, minorities, corruption, international, ideology, daily life, media, history and mobilization - for details about what specifically was included in each class, see our Codebook (Appendix 1).

We also conducted two semistructured interviews with leaders of the impeachment campaign, to better understand the political context in which the messages were exchanged and to learn about how they see the construction of discourses online. The interviews offered insights that complemented the content analysis of the sample of tweets.

### *Collecting and processing data*

We used Python programming language to collect data through the Twitter Streaming API<sup>4</sup>. We collected mentions of the terms "democracy" and "coup" - in Portuguese - on Twitter between March 31st and September 26th of 2016. This covers the period from the beginning to the conclusion of the impeachment process in Congress. For this article, we focused on two periods of three days each: 16-18 April and 30 August - 1 September. We are including the day before and the day after the two most important votes in Congress: on April 17 the House of Representatives confirmed the opening of the impeachment process, and on August 31 the Senate voted for the ousting of Dilma

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<sup>4</sup> The data delivered by the Streaming API does not include all of the tweets containing the term requested. Twitter informs that it sends from 1% to 40% of the statuses corresponding to the criteria presented. It is not clear how Twitter determines which tweets are delivered, what imposes a limit to the conclusions reached through this kind of data. Nevertheless, it is a great volume of information that can advance our understanding of the questions proposed above.

Rousseff, finally ending the impeachment process. These were two periods of intense interaction on Twitter.

We then proceeded to the data processing, when we selected the retweeted statuses that used the term 'golp' (the root of the word "golpe", coup in Portuguese). We decided to focus on retweets to filter messages that had greater impact (the ones that were resent at least once), i.e. those that mobilized and engaged users online. When an user retweets the content of another user's Twitter status he validates and engages with it (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010, p.1). From the JSON database delivered from Twitter, we used Python to build a database that contained the following information: date of creation, id, retweeting user, retweeted user and retweeted text. We also redefined our text corpus to only those status that mentioned the root of the word "golpe", which includes the words related to coup in Portuguese (we implemented regular expressions to do so). The next step was to eliminate the statuses that were written in Spanish, with the help of the "langid" library on Python. We also used Python (the library subsample) to extract a random sample of 2000 unique tweets from the 471,160 tweets of our final database. The sample was, then, submitted to human content analysis, which was submitted to validation inter codifiers to certify the quality of the analysis.

#### *Trial and error - Computational and social sciences*

We first intended to analyse the associations among framings, meanings and ideas across the six days selected from our data with the help of IRaMuTeQ, a free software for statistical analysis of units of texts (Camargo & Justo, 2013). IRaMuTeQ would allow us to perform lexicographical analysis and to apply statistical tests and clustering techniques that would reveal patterns of associations among words and other variables.

IRaMuTeQ presented various inconsistencies because of the different forms internet users abbreviate and transform Portuguese words in order to be more funny, expressive or to save characters on Twitter. The results delivered were unsatisfying to pursue our first strategy.

The second alternative to deal with the great volume of data we acquired was to use Python libraries such as NLTK ou Scikit Learn to classify them accordingly to the categories defined on the content analysis. For the first class of categories, pro, against or undefined tweets, the model was fairly successful, but for irony and framing detections, we weren't able to achieve an acceptable level of accuracy (our model performed less than 30% of accuracy for the framing detection). We<sup>5</sup> executed a Python code<sup>6</sup> that takes our 970 tweets sample from the voting in April as a learning sample and then executes the classification of the whole database with a machine learning algorithm incorporated in the NLTK library. For all of the tweets collected in the six days of interest, our classifier obtained a 66% accuracy. This is the next step we intend to work on.

Although this was our initial proposal, Twitter data revealed itself to be a challenge for softwares and libraries to deal with when it comes to classification or clustering

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<sup>5</sup> We are immensely thankful to Alexandre Gomes (<http://alegom.es/>), our computational science teacher for the great effort in guiding us through this process and building the final classification code.

<sup>6</sup> See more details at: <https://github.com/code4pol/artigo-impeachment-enquadramento-golpe>

attempts. Language and the dynamics of internet linguistics and expressions turned out to be obstacles we still have to tackle in order to continue the present work. Therefore, for this paper we decided to only present the preliminary and exploratory results from the random sample extracted from our database, classified manually.

### **Framing in 140 Characters**

The literature on framing and collective action has long pointed to the relevance of how actors present their messages, both within organizations and campaigns, as well as to other actors. Framing, the “signifying work or meaning construction” (Benford & Snow, 2000: 614) is, undoubtedly, a key task in any kind of collective action. By framing messages in a certain way, the actors provide specific diagnostic and prognostic solutions and motivation for mobilization (Benford & Snow, 2000). Framing is also important to “simplify and condense aspects the world out there” (Benford & Snow, 2000: 614) and to create bridges and collective identities, in what is commonly a dynamic process of integrating new views, extending meanings, or narrowing them (Caniglia & Carmin, 2005).

Frames are constructed through overlapping processes that are discursive, contested and strategic (Benford & Snow, 2000). It involves ongoing dynamics of assembling, reaffirming, bridging, separating, combining, expanding or reducing the interpretation in question, through interactions that are marked by conflict, in the midst of the struggles over demands. Importantly, for the goals of this paper, different and opposing organizations and actors engage in framing contests, challenging each other’s diagnosis and prognosis (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Collective action frames “underscore and embellish the seriousness and injustice of a social condition or redefine as unjust and immoral what was previously seen as unfortunate but perhaps tolerable” (Snow & Benford, 1992 apud Baud & Rutten, 2004: 1). They are, consequently, a fundamental component to explain how threads of ideas and understandings of social and political realities develop, spread and ultimately are part of the process of social change. When investigating frames, one may look at the medium through the messages spread, and, of course, the content of the message. The popularization of the Internet and, more specifically social media networks (SNS), changed the way and speed of dissemination of ideas. As one leader of a pro impeachment organization declared, in a matter of hours it is possible to mobilize and align thousands of activists around a movement’s demand (Oliveira, A., personal communication, 11/10/2016).

The increased relevance of social media in campaigns around the world does not contradict these ideas about framing and the role of frames in mobilization. It does, however, present both scholars and activists with new challenges. While the continuous role of formal organizations and centralized control has been a matter of much debate within the literature on the impacts of digital technologies on activism, it seems safe to argue that social media enhances the possibility of more fragmented and individualized action. In the specific case of Twitter, the rules of this platform - namely, the need to limit messages to 140 characters - impact the ways in which frames can be presented. In spite

of the increased interest of the social movements literature on how mobilizations are related to the use of internet, there are few studies that perform framing analysis to explain how ideas are constructed online. We intend to contribute to this effort as we investigate framing contests in a case of online activism.

From 140 million internet users in Brazil<sup>7</sup>, around 18 million have a profile on Twitter<sup>8</sup>, a micro-blogging social networking site (SNS) created in 2006 which allows users to instantly share pieces of information that fit 140 characters, known as "tweets". These can be texts about various topics including the user's personal life, his opinion about a political event, or even a reply, forwarding or comment to another user's text (Bastos, Raimundo, & Travitzki, 2013).

Twitter users may also, nowadays, use different types of media contents to engage online, such as links, images and videos. Twitter's unique features are the display of stream messages listed in a reverse chronological<sup>9</sup> order and the construction of directed connections between users - one can follow another without being followed (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010, p.2). Due to these characteristics, Twitter is understood as a special platform for searching for content online, which allows access to what other people are talking about a certain topic - a searchable talk -, fomenting the formation of online communities of shared values that can easily expand (Zappavigna, 2011, p.789). Another Twitter affordance is the *shareability* (Papacharissi, 2012: 1992), the relative ease of creating and sharing content on it, which allows the users to "eyewitness" other's ideas and opinions and intensify the connectivity between them (Holton & Lewis, 2011). Information is to share not to withhold, then, encouraging dynamic flows of information and ideas (Papacharissi, 2012 p.1992).

Along with the architectural features of Twitter described above, the use of hashtags also facilitates the viralization and diffusion of messages. The words preceded by the hash symbol can be traced on Twitter, identifying the texts and profiles that use them. They have been used, along with memes and clever short phrases by individual actors and organizations, to launch a sort of symbolic slogan across tweets (Tremayne, 2013). The hyperconnectivity and shortened virtual distances fostered by Twitter may help creating discursive communities that engage in framing building and dispute processes. These potential interactions on Twitter is what makes the study of framing through this platform especially relevant.

This connectivity is commonly promoted by the use of humour, irony and sarcasm, which may facilitate the diffusion of frames. The use of humour in collective action frames is not, in itself, a new thing. Humour, irony and sarcasm have long been part of the communication efforts of social movements<sup>10</sup>. As Martin has argued, the use of humour helps seal bonds between people and convey emotions and knowledge, which fulfills a social need to connect (Martin, 2007, p.17-19). Studies of social protest have also highlighted the impacts of humour, which "can strengthen and forge long-term

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<sup>7</sup> <https://goo.gl/eQdu7Z> . Accessed on 17th November 2016.

<sup>8</sup> <https://goo.gl/ck3YS7> . Accessed on 17th November 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Twitter has created a function that alters the order of the tweets presented on the timeline according to their popularity, but the user still has the choice to stay with the chronological timeline.

<sup>10</sup> For a review that includes a variety of historical case studies, see Hart and Bos 2008.

responses like feelings of affection, solidarity, and loyalty among activists” (Hart 2008: 12).

Humor is considered an important way of connectivity in computer mediated communication (CMC) and, of course, social networking sites (SNS) such as Twitter. Writing before the boom of SNS, Baym argued that computer-mediated communication can potentially "create group solidarity, group identity, and individual identity" by facilitating self presentation and developing common understandings around different subjects (Baym, 1995:2).

Twitter's connectivity structure is related to a pattern of practices that are "informal, conversational, opinionated", in which it is frequent to use humorous language and approaches, including irony and sarcasm, as well as to connect with users on a more personal level (Holton & Lewis, 2011:14). The essence of humor is "incongruity, unexpectedness, and playfulness" (Martin, 2007:6), recognizing ambiguities, contradiction and interpretative diversity about a certain topic. Therefore, it can be helpful to understand the different ideas and meanings in dispute around political narratives online.

### **The Impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff**

The 2014 Brazilian Presidential election was, arguably, the most nail-biting and polarized race of the recent democratic period. Dilma Rousseff was elected for a second term in office by a difference of a little over 3 millions of votes (TSE, 2015). Less than a week later, two organizations – “Free Brazil Movement” (MBL) and “Come to the Streets” (VPR) – sparked protests using watchwords such as “PT out”<sup>11</sup> and “corrupts out”. On this day, around 2,500 people took part in the protest at São Paulo’s main avenue (Uribe, Lima & Lima, 2014). In the following months, were witnessed the massification of the mobilizations and the radicalization of the demands. In 13<sup>th</sup> March 2016, millions of people went to the streets around the country, in at least 239 cities (Estado de S. Paulo, 2016)<sup>12</sup>.

Weeks after the elections results, the demand for Rousseff's impeachment was defended only by a minority of civil society groups. Opposition parties had not officially approved the demand (Uribe et al. 2014), but supported, instead, the thesis that the elections had been rigged (Matais, Rosa & Bulla, 2014). Between November 2014 and April 2015, even some of the organizations that called for protests against the government did not agree on what should be the goal – if they should ask for resignation, election audit, new elections, impeachment, withdrawal from office or even military intervention (Tatagiba; Trindade; Teixeira, 2015). The MBL, for example, argued that they did not agree with institutional rupture and advocated for more transparency and cleaner elections.

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<sup>11</sup> PT (Workers’ Party) was Dilma Rousseff’s party.

<sup>12</sup> We do not have reliable sources of information on the number of street protestors. The numbers cited in this paper are approximate numbers mentioned in the media.

The protest of March 15, 2015, represented a milestone in terms of organizations' mobilizing capacity because of its large dimensions – around a million people went to streets on that day (Tatagiba; Trindade; Teixeira, 2015). From that point onward, opposition parties and political leaders reassessed their positions in order to define an explicit support to the claim for impeachment of ex-president Dilma Rousseff (Lima, 2015). During the protests of 12<sup>th</sup> April of that year, MBL, VPR and “Online Revolted” (ROL)<sup>13</sup> unified their discourse in favor of impeachment.

For some of these organizations, calling for the rallies in favor of the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff made sense not only because of corruption scandals, or because of the economic crisis, but also because it was perceived as an opportunity to end the power cycle of the Workers' Party government - that was about to begin its fourth period at the presidency - and its progressive public policies (Gobbi, 2016). It also represented a chance to present themselves as viable political and mobilizing alternatives - identified with right-wing ideals -, ready to attract new social actors unsatisfied with the country's prospects (idem, 2016).

As these demonstrations gathered strength, groups contrary to the impeachment also articulated to organize events in defense of Rousseff's government. On August 20, 2015, a rally was called by a group of key social movement organizations: the Homeless Workers' Movement (MTST), the Unified Workers' Central (CUT), the National Students' Union (UNE), the Brazilian High-School Students' Union (UBES), the Front of Fight for Housing (FLM), and trade unions. In 2016, the anti-impeachment protests gained force, reaching a peak of mobilization on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, when there were rallies in at least 55 cities (Góis, 2016).

It is important to understand the historical and political context in which the impeachment campaign took place. The leftist Workers' Party (PT) had arrived in power after the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2002, with the support of a broad coalition of political parties that crossed the ideological spectrum. In 2010, after being reelected, Lula successfully campaigned for his self-designated successor, Dilma Rousseff, to be elected president. Although Lula continued to have extremely high rates of popularity, Rousseff was little known to the public and perceived largely as a technocrat. Pulling off her election required the construction of a new and even broader coalition, part of which involved seeking out the vote of more conservative actors. However, Dilma never reached the peaks of popularity or the political support that Lula had.

As her second term began, Dilma Rousseff faced a “perfect storm”, with which she was unable to deal. Most especially, she faced the erosion of her support coalition in Congress, in the context of an economic crisis and of the impact of the operation of the Brazilian Federal Police against corruption (nicknamed “Car Wash”). This police operation started in March 2014, and the investigations reached the central power and parties allied to the PT between September and October of that year. The popularity of the PT and of Dilma's government was shaken by the accusations, the imprisonment of

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<sup>13</sup> These three organizations got centrality after having been considered by the media the leaders and spokespeople of the protests. Nevertheless, they are not the only ones that called protests.

key political figures, and recurrent condemnations. In a context of increasing fragility, the government was unable to avoid the election of a foe to the Presidency of the House of Representatives: Eduardo Cunha. He officially broke ties with the government in July 2015 and authorized the opening of the impeachment proceedings in December of the same year.

The allegations of the impeachment proponents were that Dilma Rousseff had resorted to unlawful budget-balancing tricks during her second mandate – which, according to these actors, was a crime that justified the impeachment process. After that, a special committee of deputies wrote a report in favor of the admissibility of the accusations against Rousseff. On April 17th, the report was taken to the plenary in order to be approved or vetoed by the representatives. In a tense voting, the majority of deputies decided in favor of the opening of the impeachment proceedings, which advanced to be ruled by the Senate. On 12th May, the trial was open at the Senate, which led to the temporary ouster of the President. The process was finally closed on 31th May 2016, with the ultimate determination for Dilma Rousseff to leave office, made by the Senate plenary. Vice-president Michel Temer assumed the political power as chief of the Executive branch.

### **A Coup is a Coup is a Coup - or not?**

During the voting for admissibility of the impeachment process in April, and the final voting that led to the ousting of Rousseff in August, Twitter users posted euphorically about these political events. Many of them engaged on the impeachment debates by using the term "coup", as part of messages and/or through the use of hashtags such as #nãovaitergolpe (which can be translated roughly as #thecoupwillnothappen) (Von Bülow, Dias & Santiago, 2016). The term was mostly used by those that were against the impeachment, who used it as a master frame to simultaneously define and delegitimize the process. However, as we show below, beyond this master frame, the word “coup” was framed in different ways, even among anti-impeachment actors, who referring to a diversity of ideas and narratives online. The word “coup” was also mentioned by Twitter users that were in favor of Dilma’s ousting, who disputed its meaning and its occurrence or simply made fun of the whole notion, and it was mentioned by those who refrained from presenting a clear position in favor or against the impeachment.

The diverse and dynamic characteristics of framing processes on social networking sites are still little explored by the social movement framing literature, a gap to which we want to contribute. The empirical questions we aim to answer are: which frames, related to the use of the term “coup”, did actors with different positions (against, in favor, or neutral/undefined) mobilize while engaging on Twitter? How have they changed through time?

In this paper, we present a very preliminary analysis of the main frames related to the word “coup”, which were mapped through the classification of our sample of two thousand tweets (see the codebook used in the Appendix). First, we analysed the whole sample, considering both time periods, to find the most and less frequently used frames.

Then, we compared the two time periods, in order to have a temporal notion of the framing process around the term "coup".

The majority of the tweets using the word 'coup' were against the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (67.8% of the sample and 64% of the whole database<sup>14</sup>). This is not surprising, since this was the master frame that galvanized the arguments against the impeachment. Nonetheless, some of the messages used the word to show support for the impeachment proceedings (15.5% of our sample and 18% of the database). An important part of the sample (16.7% of our sample and 17% of the database) mentioned the word "coup" without presenting a clear position in favor or against the impeachment of the President. This finding underscores the heterogeneity of positions along the discussions over the political process in question, which cannot be reduced to two poles, even if polarization was the overall tendency. As the framing literature would lead us to expect, we observed framing contests, that associated "coup" to multiple arguments. The majority of the tweets (75.9%) in our sample employed the word "coup" in its literal sense, but a significant part (24.1%) used it ironically. 9.8% of all of the tweets used, in turn, offensive language. Finally, the topics of democracy (31.7%), mobilization (8.9%) and corruption (8.2%) were the most mentioned to characterize what the coup is - or is not – and to justify actors' positions.

This preliminary analysis shows us that the legitimacy and legality of the process of the impeachment, and the references to the democratic structures as important aspects of the Brazilian State, were both central topics of the frame of "democracy", which mobilized a significant part of the actors that engaged on the debate online. The undefined posts were less prone to discuss democracy (11.4%), while almost 40% of the other two groups disputed the framing. The messages against the impeachment tended to denounce the anti-democratic character of the political proceedings or accusations, questioning its legitimacy. Most of the tweets using this frame alleged to defend the democratic institutions and respect them. Some of the hashtags most used during the campaign against the impeachment on Twitter were related to the "defense of democracy", such as #forthedefenseofthedemocracy (*#emdefesadademocracia*) and #everyonefordemocracy (*#todospelademocracia*) (Von Bülow, Dias & Santiago, 2016). At the same time, these tweets revealed a distrust of the democratic institutions responsible for the impeachment trial. This can be noticed in some of the most retweeted status, such as this from ex-president Rousseff: "the second one, the parliamentary coup concluded today through a *juridical farce*, it overthrows me from the mandate I was elected by the people #fightalways" (Table 1 in the Appendix).

On the other hand, the proimpeachment tweets highlighted the compliance of actors to the norms and laws throughout the formal process. Proimpeachment organizations had put a lot of effort on finding a legal path to oppose the reelection of Dilma Rousseff. After the 2014 elections, various groups unsuccessfully tried to spread the idea that they were rigged. Then, the focus was redirected to the possibility of an impeachment. As one of the leaders of VPR described during an interview, some of the organizations reached out

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<sup>14</sup> Only to this general description about the positioning of the texts about impeachment (pro, against or undefined), we present the preliminary outputs of our human-supervised classification of texts made by coding process on Python (for details, see Methodology session).

to respected Brazilian lawyers to assess what were the chances of this alternative. After the 2014 federal budget accounts were rejected by the Accounts National Court, part of those groups articulated to write a document that could support the formal proceedings. Adelaide Oliveira a VPR national leader declared the organization, along with other groups, were in close contact with well-known lawyers months after Rousseff's reelection. As soon as the rejection of the accounts evidenced the existence of fiscal crime, the groups were fully committed to demanding it (Oliveira, A., personal communication, 11/10/2016).

The argument of the VPR leader summarizes the approach of the proimpeachment actors, who fought for the advancement of the formal process and the diffusion of messages to advocate for its importance and legality. When it gained momentum, in 2016, the focus was less on mobilizations on the streets and more on reassuring its legality, which explains the use of democracy framings in the proimpeachment tweets.

The frame of mobilization - the reference to impeachment as a motive for mobilization and for popular struggle -, was the second most used. Although the distrust on the democratic institutions marked the frame of democracy applied by the users against impeachment, calling for street demonstrations still revealed trust on the democratic capacity of the civil society mobilization. The quick development of the formal proceedings also reinforced the sense of urgency in articulating street demonstrations. Then, the tweets against the impeachment were more active in calling for mobilizations while reaffirming it was a coup than the pro-impeachment ones - 12.1% of the tweets against the impeachment used this framing, whereas only 1.3% of the texts in favor of the process refer to protest or any form of direct action.

The third most used frame was corruption, a topic that gained force since the first mobilizations against ex-president Rousseff in 2014 (Arruda, 2013). Due to the advance on the investigations of "Car Wash Operation", by the Brazilian Federal Police, accusations of corruption became the backdrop of the whole debate about the impeachment process. Approximately 9% of the pro and against impeachment tweets debated corruption, albeit only 2.5% of the undefined ones did so. This frame was related to distrust on the legitimacy of the impeachment institutional process for the anti-impeachment narratives, as we can see at: "The greatest corrupt congressman of Brazilian history is in charge of the coup. And you cheer! Poor ignorant devils. Take Cunha<sup>15</sup> home.". In the texts in favor of impeachment, in turn, the corruption frame was used as a way of reinforcing the need for impeachment - one term frequently used by this group is "petralha", which associates the Worker's Party (PT) to a criminal gang. As we saw on the democracy framings, the corruption framing was also contended by the pro and against the impeachment tweets.

When comparing the three groups - pro, against and undefined - in terms of language use, we observed that the pro-impeachment and undefined tweets employed ironic and literal messages almost to the same proportion (47.5% and 45.5% were ironic, respectively). The tweets against the impeachment use much less irony (13.5%). This is

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<sup>15</sup> Eduardo Cunha was the president of the Deputy Chamber that presided the session in which the admissibility of the impeachment process was voted.

a relevant aspect of our analysis due to the significant difference between the groups. In an interview with one leader of an organization that called the pro impeachment protests, we found that humor is commonly used as a strategy, as she puts it:

“in fact, humor helps to deconstruct politics. The greatest weapon to fight bad politicians has always been irony.[...] Humor is the most corrosive weapon against bad politicians. Against the good ones as well, because humor is corrosive, it deconstructs.” (Bueno, P. personal communication, 11/03/2016).

Even if the pro-impeachment users that applied humor on their tweets were not linked to these organizations, the deconstruction function of irony and sarcasm was indeed explored by them as a way of undermining and challenging the frames of "coup". A relevant part of the texts refers to daily situations in order to do so. From the 24.1% of the whole sample that was characterized as ironic content, 29.4% associated coup with everyday situations - such as the most retweeted status of the period of April (see Table 1), in which the user associates the coup with the prices he pays for the photocopies at the university. By relating the coup to trivial events of their daily lives, these messages bring the debates to the situated world of the regular individual and, at the same time, the gravity and importance of the topic is put into question.

Although irony was mainly used for this reason, we saw that humor plays also a role of recognizing ambiguities, contradiction and interpretative diversity about a certain topic. To lesser extents, it was also used to give new meanings to coup. Part of the pro impeachment tweets that used irony also addressed topics such as democracy (12.5%) and economy (10.4%). While using ironic language, some users defended impeachment by trying to reframe the narratives around coup - e.g. a text that says "Almost 10 million of unemployed in our country. Is this coup?".

In terms of the use of offensive language, 9.6% of all of the pro impeachment posts and 8.2% of all of the against ones applied it to present their views. Only 4.6% of all of the undefined ones did the same. We considered an offensive approach the use of aggressive words to address the positions opposite to what one agrees with - using word such as "idiot", "retarded" and so on (see the coding book in the Appendix). It informs us about the intolerance towards different thoughts expressed online, which hinders the dialogue between groups with opposite views. An example of tweet that represents this polarized situation is: "If you support this coup, please unfollow me".

Speaking of polarization, it is also important to notice that a significant portion of the tweets with an unclear position about the impeachment used irony (45.5%). This points to the complexity of the discussions and to the heterogeneity of participants. Some actors avoided positioning themselves in one of the poles, but, rather, used irony and humor as a way to express themselves politically and criticize the political system at the same time. Humor can then also be a way of engaging on the debate without clearly stating a position about it. This aspect can be noticed by the analysis of the use of the hashtag "#impeachmentday" during the voting for admissibility of the impeachment at the House of Representatives. The hashtag reached the *trending topics* on Twitter at this day and mobilized a varied and wide range of actors that could not be easily situated in either the groups against nor the groups in favor of the impeachment (Von Bülow, Dias

and Santiago, 2016). The main feature of the accounts that reached most centrality on the interactions over the use of the hashtag "#impeachmentday" is the use of humor (idem, 2016).

The analysis of the other frames shows important differences among the narratives mobilized by the three groups - pro, anti and undefined, as well as within these groups. A good example is the frame relating the "coup" to the country's economy. While almost 10% of the proimpeachment posts presented economic arguments, 4.3% of the texts against the impeachment and 3.4% of the undefined ones took this framing. This tells us that the topic of economy was most mobilized by a proimpeachment constituency, mainly to criticize the economic situation and governance of former president Rousseff. Moreover, the accusation held against ex-president Dilma was related to the way she managed the federal budget, allegedly breaking the Brazilian fiscal law. The economic topic was also frequently used in proimpeachment tweets in order to reaffirm such position, bridging legal and arguments about the rising cost of living.

The frame of ideology in relation to the "coup" was also used differently by the three groups. 12.9% of the pro impeachment messages associated the coup narrative with ideological positions of the groups against the impeachment, whereas only 4.2% of the against and 3.7% of the undefined ones used this framing. The use of this frame informs us about how frequently the debate was permeated by ideological categorizations. Most of the tweets in favor of the impeachment referred to the ones against it as left-wing oriented or defenders of the Worker's Party, as exemplified in this message: "if the meaning of coup in the communist dictionary is to take the PT from power, I am proud to be a coup-plotter #weareallcoupplotters". For this group, the ideological component of the impeachment process clearly matters.

At the same time, the frame of media is more frequent in the tweets against the impeachment than in the other two groups. 9.4% of the messages against the impeachment connected the coup to the way Brazilian media was portraying the process. Some of them stressed how mainstream outlets were "coup plotters" because of the biased coverage of the impeachment process. Many of these also emphasized the difference between the Brazilian and the international journalistic coverage during the period - 15.8% of those that mentioned the media also mentioned the "international" topic. Differently, only 2% of the proimpeachment posts and 4.9% of the undefined ones discussed how the media talked about the process.

Although the discussions over minorities (3.2% of all tweets) and history (5.8% of all tweets) were not so recurrent, either in the whole sample or across the three groups analysed, proimpeachment messages were the ones that used the minorities framing more frequently (5.9%), and the against ones used historic framings more often (6.6%). Those framings are relevant because they were present in the most retweeted tweets over the final trial in August (see Appendix 2). In the following section, the less frequent frames will be analysed in more detail, as we compare the period of April and August.

#### *April versus August - what changed?*

From the first major institutional event, the authorization by the House of Representatives to start the impeachment proceedings, on April 17, to the final vote, on August 31, some of the ways in which actors framed their arguments about the process changed. The comparison between both periods gives us an important temporal notion of the framing process, and how different ideas were mobilized over time. This is relevant due to the intrinsic dynamic nature of the framing process, as Benford and Snow (2000) argue:

"Taken together, research on the core framing processes indicates that collective action frames are not static, reified entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity. Hence, framing is a dynamic, ongoing process." (Benford & Snow, 2000: 628)

We present the differences and similarities of the frames associated to "coup" across the period of April and September, considering the position of actors about the impeachment. Moreover, we analyse the most retweeted texts in these two moments, in order to see not only the frequency of the use of the frames, but also the significance that certain topics acquired online (see Tables 1 and 2 in Appendix 2). It is important to emphasize that, in August, the ousting of Rousseff was taken as given, which meant a "defeat" for those against her impeachment, as well as a "victory" for those who defended it. Seeing how framing was affected by this context enables us to better understand how actors mobilized online negotiated a shared understanding of the new context, or even urged others to affect change (Benford & Snow, 2000: 615).

In general, the distributions of the three groups - pro, anti and undetermined - did not change much. About a third of the tweets were against the impeachment in both moments, while the pro messages went from 17.1% to 14%. The undefined ones went from 14.1% to 19.2%. Nonetheless, some important differences between the two moments were identified.

First of all, the use of language changed significantly from April to August. While the proimpeachment tweets relied less on irony (from 51.8% to 42.3%), the messages against the impeachment became more ironic (from 10.2% to 16.8%). The offensive language was more associated to the coup narratives in August than in April - from 5.4% to 10.2% for the whole sample. For the texts against impeachment it almost doubled, increasing from 5.2% to 11.1%, whereas it also raised in the pro-impeachment ones (from 5.2% to 10.9%). This aspect shows a rise in the aggressivity across the framing building process. Additionally, the increase in the frequency of the use of the ironic language in the texts against the impeachment shows us it has also been a counter-strategy, applied to express incredulity with the voting result - which can be exemplified by this tweet: "congratulations to the ones who plotted the #coup! they got the endorsement of the Supreme Court and of a relevant part of the population! #genious #myths"<sup>16</sup>. In addition, of these actors, 24.5% talked framed the coup in terms of daily topics, a category that also increased for the portion of the tweets against the impeachment (from 2.7% to 8.2%).

Some frames were also mobilized differently through time. The proimpeachment tweets mentioned more often the topic of democracy during the Senate voting (from

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<sup>16</sup> <https://twitter.com/ReporterFurao/status/771052818203639808>. Accessed on 17th November 2016.

27.7% to 38.7%). On the contrary, the messages against the impeachment debated less this subject (from 39% to 34%), following a different tendency from the total sample. This can be explained due to a controversial split on the voting at the Senate determined by the President of the Supreme Court who conducted the trial. According to the impeachment legislation (Law Number 1.079, from 10 April 1950), the accusation process would imply in two sanctions, when accepted: the removal from office and the loss of the political rights for eight years. However, on 31st August, senators voted 42 to 36 not to bar Rouseff from public office (in a separate vote), which opened the door for her to run for elective positions in the near future. Because of that, many pro impeachment users associated this separate vote and the maintenance of Rouseff's political rights to an actual "coup".

The frequency of the use of mobilization frame decreased (from 13.1% to 4.7%), especially for the anti-impeachment texts, from which 17.8% to 6.3% was around this topic. This is important because it seems that the appeal to the streets to these actors was less strong after the impeachment definition than before. On the other hand, when we analyze the 20 most retweeted tweets of the second period, we see that ex-president Dilma referred to the popular fight in most of her posts, identifiable by the use of hashtags such as #fightalways. In addition, this was one of the most used hashtag of the period, in reference to the popular struggle that should start from the impeachment trial<sup>17</sup>.

Another topic less frequent in August than in April was corruption, which fell from 10% to 6.4% on average. This reduction was pertinent for both actors in favor (from 10.2% to 8%) and against impeachment (from 11.7% to 7%). This shows us that corruption has lost some of its importance at the final trial, but was still capable of mobilizing actors engaged on the debate around the impeachment process on Twitter. Tweets about economy decreased in texts pro-impeachment (from 12% to 7.3%), what can mean a lesser importance of economic aspects in the mobilization of actors during the final trial.

On the other hand, some frames were more used in August than in April. This is the case of ideology, which increased from 10.2% to 16.1% for the three groups. The texts applying it most continued to be the ones identified as pro impeachment, in which the ideological references were even more used (from 9.8% to 16.1%). On the opposite, this frame was a little more used by against impeachment users (from 3.1% to 4.7%) and in undefined ones (from 2.9% to 4.3%). This aspect also shows us that "coup" was increasingly associated to ideological elements for the ones in favor of impeachment.

In the case of the tweets that did not present clearly a position in favor or against the impeachment, we saw that only the daily situations (18.2%) framing was employed in more than 10% in the April period, while in August only the democracy (12.8%) framing was present in more than 10% of the messages. This group was also the greatest responsible for the 'others' occurrences, around 40% for each month. These findings may point to the perceived distance or distrust in the political institutions and the framings presented by the pro and against groups, with low connection or appeal to the everyday problems of people.

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<sup>17</sup> This information was obtained by our programming work on Python (see Methodology session).

Looking at the frequencies of other frames, the topic of history, although still not central, mobilized more actors on Twitter during the voting process at the Senate (from 4.2% to 7%). The posts against impeachment were the ones that used this frame the most frequently in both periods (5.1% and 7.6%). It is important to emphasize that this topic was relevant in terms of number of retweets. Four of the most retweeted statuses of both periods were related to this frame (see Tables 1 and 2 - Appendix). This can be also observed to the frame of minorities. Even though it was not common in neither groups (was used around 3% in general in both periods), it was present in the most and in the second most retweeted tweet in August and in April, respectively.

It is also significant to stress how the kind of actors whose messages got more repercussion changed. In the first three days, individual profiles were the majority of the 20 most retweeted posts. In the trial days, however, Dilma Rousseff was the actor with the most centrality - 10 of them was of her authorship. In her texts, she adopted a more emphatic discourse, denouncing the impeachment as a broad coup, against the nation, minorities, her party and her legacy as a politician (Table 2). Rousseff's tweets express some of the framings associated with the coup plot - mainly minorities, democracy, ideology and history -, but also expressed how they were broadened and consolidated over time.

### **Conclusion: preliminary findings and a research agenda**

We contribute to the literature on framing by trying to apply its concepts to a study focused on the uses of internet and political engagement online, in which the actors gain centrality. Our framing study focus was the dynamics of the disputes around the framing of "coup" online. We tried to understand how Twitter has been appropriated dynamically, in Brazil, as an arena of political contention where organizations, political actors and individuals share and dispute ideas that resonate and interact with the offline events. It is a space that has been contested and incorporated by individuals and political organizations in social movement dynamics.

From the data analyzed, we can formulate some findings about how the framings associated to the debates about the impeachment were mobilized on Twitter. The frames associated with the word "coup" were heterogeneous and disputed. The central debate around this term was related to the institutionality and the democratic nature of the impeachment process itself, as well the reference to corruption matters. All the same, the use of irony was first mostly mobilized by pro impeachment and undetermined texts, but it was also adopted by actors against Dilma's leave office at the final voting process. This point to the widespread perception of the contradictions in politics, as well as it can mean an attempt to take part in the debate, without clearly positioning about it. Despite our effort, it is still a challenge to understand the role that humor plays on engagement online.

The messages against the impeachment were first more aligned with a mobilizing and convincing narrative, avoiding irony and highlighting the questionable and alleged anti-democratic aspects of the process. By the end of the trial, the actors posting these messages referred less frequently to the need of social demonstrations and were more

aggressive and ironic than before, what might reflect the deterioration of the debates across groups and the exhaustion of some of the framing conflicts.

The pro impeachment and undefined tweets were more frequently ironic from the beginning. It may point to the fact that those who defended the impeachment did not perceive the need to justify or legitimize it, being more engaged in undermining or reframing the meaning of coup. When trying to give a new meaning to "coup", they referred mainly to democratic, economic or corruption topics. At the end of the process, and with the possibility of the impeachment process to end up successfully to the actors in favor of it, they focused on processual aspects of the impeachment, often adopting the strategy of stigmatizing the opposing arguments.

Still, for those against the impeachment, after the definite ousting of the president, it was time to warn about possible losses in social rights and harmful results of policies that could be implemented by the new government. They tried to look at the future and warn about how history would be written for the next generations, arguing that it would be clear by then that "it was a coup". For those in favor of it, it was time to reorganize forces. For the portion of the actors on the halfway of both sides, it was better to laugh about it.

Based on the results of this paper, we outline a future research agenda. We understand it is necessary to improve our computational techniques in order to perform the content analysis with the whole database, as we indicated in the methodological session. We also intend to enrich our analysis about the actors that mobilized the different frames on Twitter, as well as to expand the scope of actors interviewed, so that we can determine how heterogeneous these actors are and why they used different frames. In theoretical terms, we will keep investigating how humor plays a role in political engagement online, and what are the consequences and meanings of this approach. Finally, we stress the need to better comprehend the relation between online framings and offline social mobilization, which is a research agenda that presented itself as a next step.

## Appendix 1 – Codebook for Content Analysis

Categories	Definition
<b>Pro impeachment</b>	Clear positioning in favor of the impeachment process. Identifiable by strong critics to Rousseff's government, by the defense of the institutional legal proceedings of her ouster, by reinterpretations of the word "coup", or similar matters.
<b>Against impeachment</b>	Clear positioning against the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff. Identifiable by a naturalized use of the term "golpe" (coup in Portuguese), by the reference to the institutional process as problematic, or similar matters.
<b>Undefined</b>	Unclear positioning about the impeachment. Identifiable by the description of third party opinions without adding comments or critics, evidence of confusion or doubt about the topic, use of humour in order to shy away from the debate. (E.g.: It doesn't interest me if there will be coup or not, I just want it to end soon because I have classes tomorrow").
<b>Irony</b>	The author makes considerations in which the literal meanings don't correspond to the pretended meanings (E.g.: "What a beautiful day for a coup against Brazilian democracy"). We also include sarcasm, a more aggressive kind of humor which targets individuals.
<b>Literal meaning</b>	The author makes a consideration in which the literal meaning corresponds to the pretended meaning.
<b>Democracy</b>	Topics related to aspects of the democratic state that abides by the rule of law. Discussions around the institutionality of the impeachment process were also included in this category, such as the debate about the existence of a crime which would justify Rousseff's ouster.
<b>Economy</b>	Topics related to economic and fiscal aspects of the government, such as income distribution; and messages that refer to class issues. E.g.: tweets that consider the impeachment elitist, or argue that who is the most affected by it are the poor.
<b>Minorities</b>	Topics about social minorities, such as women, LGBTT, race, indigenous people, among others. Regardless of the approach to these matters, a text that is related to this theme were included in this category. That means that a tweet that accuses the "coup" to be sexist as well as one that uses de image of a women to make his point are related to the frame of minorities.
<b>Corruption</b>	Tweets related to moral matters around the impeachment, such as the investigations of Brazilian Federal Police against corruption. Identifiable by the use of words as "robbery", "thieves", "assault".
<b>International</b>	Tweets that mentioned other countries and their positioning about the impeachment in Brazil, such as texts that comment the positioning of the international media, or that remark manifestations that occurred in other countries.
<b>Ideology</b>	Texts referring to ideologies while commenting the impeachment process. Here are included the "isms" such as fascism, conservatism, communism, socialism or related terms such as "reactionary". We also included in this class tweets about religion and that contains stigmas such as "petralha" (term used inference to supporters of the Worker's Party) or "coxinha" (term used to refer to advocates of impeachment and mostly identified with right-wing ideas).
<b>Daily life</b>	Topics related to daily life of the average Brazilian citizen, such as their love and familial relationships, movies, sports, work and struggles of everyday life.
<b>Media</b>	Tweets that comment the media's coverage of the impeachment. Identifiable by critics made of "Globo" (Brazilian main communication vehicle), and by association of the ouster of Dilma and the way newspapers approached the event.
<b>History</b>	Tweets that refer to past events, such as the military coup of 1964 in Brazil, the impeachment of Collor of 1992, or that is related to the idea of historical legacy, making previsions of how the impeachment of Dilma will be interpreted by history.
<b>Mobilization</b>	Tweets in which the impeachment is associated to popular struggle, referred as a cause that demands social mobilization. Identifiable by references to acts, demonstrations and to a camping near the Congress that occurred during the voting days.
<b>Offense</b>	Use of offensive and harmful words, such as dirty words or defense of violence.
<b>Others</b>	Tweets that did not fit in the other categories.

## Appendix 2 – Most Retweeted Tweets

**Table 1. The 20 most retweeted tweets from the first period of analysis - April**

Type of author	Position	Frame	Most retweeted tweets - April 16-18, 2016
Super user	Undefined	Daily life	Coup is how much I spend with photocopies every month (golpe é o q eu gasto com xerox todo mês)
Congressman	Against	Minorities, economy	In the name of LGBT people, of black people exterminated at the ghettos, of the public workers of the cultural area, of homeless/landless I vote no to the coup! ( <i>em nome da população lgbt, do povo negro exterminado nas periferias, dos trabalhadores da cultura, dos sem-teto/terra, voto não ao golpe!</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Others	Announcement to the nation against the coup! ( <i>pronunciamento à nação contra o golpe!</i> )
Journalist	Against	History, minorities	The guy went to the microphone, dedicated his vote to the greatest torturer of 1964, praised the 2016 coup and you are baffled about the spitting? This country is insane ( <i>o cara foi no microfone, dedicou o voto ao torturador-mor de 64, louvou o golpe de 2016 e cês tão chocados é com o cuspe? esse país tá louco</i> )
Super user	Undefined	Others	'Ok, Congressman, you can go home it's lam' - 'I want to keep saying impeachment of Dilmaaa' - 'Congressman, go to sleep' - 'Coup!!!!!!' ( <i>ok deputado já pode ir pra sua casa são uma da madrugada</i> ) - 'eu qro continua falandoimpeachmentneadilmaaa' - 'deputado vai dormi' - 'golpe!!!!!!')
Celebrity	Against	Corruption, democracy	The greatest corrupt congressman of brazilian history is in charge of the coup. And you cheer! Poor ignorant devils. Take Cunha home. ( <i>o maior corrupto da história do brasil comanda o golpe. e vocês vibram! pobres diabos ignorantes. levem o cunha pra casa.</i> )
Regular user	Against	History	You insist 'it is not a coup', then Bolsonaro comes and says: "they lost in 1964 and will lose in 2016". It's hard to use other word... ( <i>vcs insistem que 'não é golpe', aí chega o bolsonaro e diz 'perderam em 64 e vão perder em 2016'. aí fica difícil usar outra palavra...</i> )
Journalist	Against	Media	Congratulations brazilian media for absurdly defending the coup ( <i>parabéns imprensa brasileira pela defesa escrota do golpe</i> )
Congressman	Against	Media	You don't need to get angry watching Globo News support the coup. Turn on TV Brasil (EBC): honest coverage and respects you! ( <i>vocês não precisam passar raiva assistindo à globo news apoiar o golpe. liguem na tv brasil (ebc): cobertura honesta e respeita você!</i> )
Regular user	Against	Minorities	Congresswomen against the coup appreciation tweet ( <i>deputadas contra o golpe appreciation tweet</i> )
Journalist	Against	Democracy	Coup is for those who fear the streets and the ballot boxes #wheretheweakdon'tstandachance. ( <i>golpe é pra quem tem medo de rua e de urna. #ondeosfracosnaotêmvez</i> )
Celebrity	Pro	Daily life, corruption	If you lied on your resume and they found out, if you are incompetent or stole they can't fire you from your job, you should just scream the coup will not happen. ( <i>se vc mentiu no currículo e descobriram, se é incompetente ou roubou não podem te demitir da onde trabalha, basta gritar não vai ter golpe.</i> )
Congresswoman	Against	History	It can't be normal that a Congressman praises the 1964 coup and admits that what happens today is also a coup and get applauded ( <i>não pode ser normal um deputado exaltar o golpe de 64 e admitir que o que acontece hj também é golpe e ser aplaudido</i> )
Super user	Undefined	Daily life	It is really a coup when you don't give me a chance. ( <i>golpe mesmo é você que não me dá a famosa chance.</i> )
Super user	Against	Democracy	No, no, coup no, those who didn't get the votes have to respect...! #Dilmastayscoupaway ( <i>não, não, golpe não, quem não teve voto tem que respeita...! - #dilmaficagolpesai</i> )
Super user	Undefined	Media	impeachment 2016 - impeachment now x the coup will not happen. - 17/04 - 2pm - Globo, Band, Record and RedeTV! - House of Representatives ( <i>impeachment 2016 - impeachment já x não vai ter golpe - 17/04 - 14h00 - globo, band, record e redetv! - câmara dos deputados</i> )
Journalist	Against	Others	It's hard not to get fascinated by the northeastern rhetoric of Silvio Costa PTdoB. He spoke with the heart in his hands and truth in his mouth against the coup. ( <i>é difícil não se fascinar com a retórica nordestina de silvio costa do ptdob.falou com o coração na mão e a verdade na boca, contra o golpe</i> )

Journalist	Against	Mobilization, media	Brasil cheers, the internet cheers, the protests spread through the country, and the press, that is compromised by the coup doesn't say a thing. ( <i>o brasil vibra, a internet vibra, as manifestações cobrem o pais de cabo a rabo. e a imprensa, como o rabo preso no golpe, não conta nada.</i> )
Super user	Against	Ideology, history	Little Bolsonaro says: God - Family - Military - 1964 coup - A very nice person, the boy. ( <i>bolsonarinho citou: - - deus - familia - militares - golpe de 64 - - gente boa demais o rapaz.</i> )
Celebrity	Against	Democracy	I don't earn money from the government, I'm not a part of the Worker's Party but I sure am not manipulated! The coup is all over our faces! #nocouphere ( <i>não recebo do governo, não sou petista,mas o que eu não sou mesmo é manipulada! golpe que está escrachado na nossa cara! #golpeaquinhãopassa</i> )

**Table 2. The 20 most retweeted tweets from the first period of analysis - August**

Type of author	Position	Frame	Most retweeted tweets - August 30 - September 1, 2016
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Minorities	The coup is against the people and the nation. It is misogynic, it is homophobic, it is racist. It's the imposition of intolerance, prejudice, violence #fightalways ( <i>o golpe é contra o povo e a nação. é misógino. é homofóbico. é racista. é a imposição da intolerância, preconceito, violência #lutarsempre</i> )
Journalist	Against	Democracy, economy	There are two groups celebrating the coup against Dilma: those who will take away rights from the workers and those who don't know yet they will lose them. ( <i>Tem dois grupos comemorando o golpe contra dilma: os que vão tirar direitos dos trabalhadores e os que ainda não sabem que vão perdê-los.</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Mobilization	The coup is against the social movements and unions and against those who fight for the rights in all of its renderings #fightalways ( <i>O golpe é contra os movimentos sociais e sindicais e contra os que lutam por direitos em todas as suas acepções #lutarsempre</i> )
Celebrity	Against	Democracy	I am extremely sad and disappointed with this farce. Happy is the one who believes it was fair, that it is not a coup. ( <i>Estou extremamente triste e decepcionada com essa farsa. feliz é aquele que acredita que isso foi justo, que isso ã é um golpe.</i> )
Super user	Against	Economy	If you support the coup and is a worker... Well... I have terrible news. ( <i>Se você apoia o golpe e é trabalhador..... bem..... tenho péssimas notícias</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	History, mobilization	It is the second coup d'état that I face in my life #fightalways ( <i>É o segundo golpe de estado que enfrento na vida #lutarsempre</i> )
Regular user	Undefined	Others	@crisilobo Honestly think that with Temer as VP of Dilma the PMDB will attempt a coup to take over power (Dilma won't last two years) (@crisilobo sinceramente acho que com o temer vice da dilma o pmdb, vai dar um golpe para assumir o poder (num dou 2 anos para dilma))
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Democracy, history, mobilization	The second one, the parliamentary coup concluded today through a juridical farce, it overthrows me from the mandate I was elected for by the people #fightalways. ( <i>O 2º, o golpe parlamentar desfechado hoje por meio de uma farsa jurídica, me derruba do cargo para o qual fui eleita pelo povo #lutarsempre</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Democracy	The votes are not Michel Temer's, they were won by me. If I had committed a crime, they would go to the VP. But it didn't happen like that. It is a coup #fordemocracy. ( <i>Votos ã são de michel temer, foram obtidos por mim. se eu tivesse praticado crime, iriam p/ o vice. mas ã foi assim. é golpe #pelademocracia</i> )
Celebrity	Against	Democracy, ideology	If you think artists who are against the coup were bought by the Rouanet Law, 1º #TemerOut, 2º do your research about the law, 3º my ideology is not for sale. ( <i>Se vc acha q artista q é contra o golpe foi comprado pela lei rouanet, 1o #foratemer, 2o pesquise a lei, 3o minha ideologia ã está a venda</i> )
Media outlet	Against	Democracy, history	The 2016 coup is the greatest retrocess of brazilian democracy since 1964. ( <i>Golpe de 2016 é o maior retrocesso da democracia no brasil desde 1964</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Democracy, history	The first one, the military coup, supported by the truculency of the guns, by repression and torture, hit me when I was a young activist. #fightalways ( <i>o 1º, o golpe militar, apoiado na truculência das armas, da repressão e da tortura, me atingiu quando era uma jovem militante. #lutarsempre</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Mobilization	But the coup was not plotted only against me and my party. It is just the beginning. #fightalways. ( <i>Mas o golpe não foi cometido apenas contra mim e contra o meu partido. isto foi apenas o começo #lutarsempre</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Democracy	They convicted an innocent and concluded a parliamentary coup #fightalways. ( <i>Condenaram uma inocente e consumaram um golpe parlamentar. #lutarsempre</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Others	Full announcement from President Dilma after the conclusion of the parliamentary coup. ( <i>Íntegra do pronunciamento da presidenta dilma após aprovação do golpe parlamentar</i> )

Super user	Undefined	Media, daily life	Fátima Bernardes and William Bonner just announced they got divorced! This is a coup! #JN. ( <i>Fátima Bernardes e William Bonner acabam de anunciar que se separaram! isso sim é golpe!</i> )
Congressman	Pro	Democracy	If there was a coup in 2016, it was to overthrow a president that committed crime and to not make her ineligible! The snake is still alive! ( <i>Se houve golpe em 2016, foi cassar um presidente q cometeu crime d responsabilidade e e ã torná-lo inelegível! a jararaca ainda está viva!</i> )
Ex-president Dilma	Against	Democracy	They don't take over power through direct vote, as me and @lulapelobrasil. They take power through a coup d'état #fightalways. ( <i>Não ascendem ao governo pelo voto direto, como eu e @lulapelobrasil. apropriam-se do poder por meio de um golpe de estado #lutarsempre</i> )
Politician	Against	Others	It was a coup. ( <i>Foi golpe.</i> )
Regular user	Undefined	Others	Michel Temer said he won't tolerate anymore the word 'coup' neither take insults. ( <i>Michel Temer disse que não vai mais tolerar o termo 'golpe' e nem levar desaforo para casa</i> )

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