

#BLACKLIVESMATTER AND OTHERS HASHTIVISMS: LANGUAGE AND ITS ROLE ON VIRTUAL PROTESTS

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Abstract

This research is a literature review that aims to investigate the use of hashtags (#) as a form of protest and social struggle, understanding that this form of activism can be seen as one of the phenomena of language, seen as a characteristic of social networks. We seek to investigate what implications this activism, called hashtivism, can bring to the non-virtual, for this purpose, we bring as object of study the #blacklivesmatter, which although it has been used over the years, had its greatest popularity in times of COVID 19 pandemic. In the first session, we bring a brief history of social networks from their beginning to the present (GONÇALVES, 2012; LEMOS, 2005; KORENICH et al. 2013, among others); we continue to elucidate discussions about virtual and social activism, marked by the use of the symbol called hashtag # and a representative phrase (KOSNICK AND FELDMAN, 2020; GOSWAMI, 2018; CABALLERO E GRAVANTE, 2018, among others); then, we will pay more attention to #blacklivesmatter, initially discussing racism and its facets and the use of hashtivisms as a form of claim for equality (RIBEIRO, 2019; ALMEIDA, 2019). We used the researches of the Pew Research Center (2020), to point out how #blacklivesmatter grows and decreases in networks and what factors lead to these occurrences. Finally, we will connect this new way of using language and its signs with the ideas of Maturana (1992) and his studies on language biology. We hope that this research can contribute to reflections about language in the virtual context, understanding that virtual and social are not only dichotomies, but can be positively or negatively intertwined.

Keywords: Hashtivism; Social networks; Language

Resumo

Esta pesquisa se trata de uma revisão de literatura que tem por objetivo investigar o uso dos hashtags# como forma de protesto e luta social, entendendo que essa maneira de ativismo pode ser vista como um dos fenômenos da linguagem, característico das redes sociais. Buscamos investigar quais implicações esse ativismo, chamado de *hashtivism*, pode trazer para o não virtual, para tanto, trazemos como objeto de estudo o #blacklivesmatter, que embora já tenha sido utilizada ao longo dos anos, teve sua maior popularização em tempos de pandemia. Na primeira sessão, trazemos um breve histórico sobre as redes sociais de seu início até a atualidade (GONÇALVES, 2012; LEMOS, 2005; KORENICH et al. 2013, dentre outros); prosseguimos elucidando

discussões sobre o ativismo virtual e social, marcado pelo uso do símbolo chamado hashtag # e uma frase representativa (KOSNICK AND FELDMAN, 2020; GOSWAMI, 2018; CABALLERO E GRAVANTE, 2018, dentre outros); em seguida, daremos maior atenção a #blacklivesmatter, discutindo inicialmente sobre o racismo e suas facetas e o uso dos *hashtivism*s como uma forma de reivindicação pela igualdade (RIBEIRO, 2019; ALMEIDA, 2019). Utilizamos as pesquisas do *Pew Research Center* (2020), para apontar como o #blacklivesmatter cresce e decresce nas redes e quais fatores levam a essas ocorrências. Por fim, conectaremos essa nova forma de utilizar a língua e seus signos com as ideias de Maturana (1992) e seus estudos sobre biologia da linguagem. Esperamos que essa pesquisa possa contribuir para reflexões acerca da linguagem no contexto virtual compreendendo que virtual e social não são apenas dicotomias, mas se entrelaçam positivamente ou não.

Palavras-Chave: Hashtivism; Redes Sociais; Linguagem;

INTRODUCTION

In 2007 the social network Twitter reinvented the use of hashtags as a new way to expose sentences and coordinate ideas using few words, Goswami brings us: “Twitter first introduced the hashtag as a mean to coordinate conversation online” (GOSWAMI, 2018, p. 04), starting in 2007, the hashtag quickly reached different social medias as people started using it frequently. Yang (2016) shares: “Within this temporal framework, individuals contribute to the co-production of narratives by hashtagging their personal thoughts, emotions, and stories” (YANG, p.14).

In 2011 the hashtag gained a “new face”, it began to be seen as a way to promote activism, we can call it *hashtivism*, the neologism appeared for the first time on the online International edition of British daily newspaper - The Guardian in September 2011 (GOSWAMI, 2018). After the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street Movement people could observe that hashtags could and were being used as a political instrument for revindications.

This research aims to try to understand, through review of literatures, how the *hashtivism*s as a phenomenon of the language have impacted our society; What are their global and local consequences in a short and long period of time? It is possible to see that those hashtags appear on Twitter trends for weeks and even months, but then, when a new movement appears new hashtags emerge and the other ones get down. An important question is: Do people awareness’ remain even when that hashtag is not on trend anymore?

Recently (unfortunately), we watched the murder of George Floyd, then hashtags came up on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, the virtual world shared that hashtag and made physical manifestations in different countries supporting black people, at the same time, the black writer Djamila Ribeiro has been considered one of the most read writer in Brazil during the COVID – 19 pandemic, she writes about racism¹. Does the *hashtivism* #BlackLivesMatter have anything to do with that? And then? will people keep having an antiracist mind?

Thinking about other *hashtivisms*, in 2013 many Brazilian citizens started sharing the hashtag #ogiganteacordou, for days lots of Brazilian reunited on the streets making protests against the old government, the hashtag #ogiganteacordou was on the top trends, nowadays we have an ultraconservative man commanding our country².

In January 2017 people from all over The United States came out to streets to participate of marches supporting women, on Instagram there were 1,257,766 photos and videos with the hashtag #WomensMarch³, on the other hand, especially now, during this pandemic, the number of femicide is increasing.

On the book “#HashtagActivism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice” written by Sarah J. Jackson, Moya Bailey and Brooke Foucault Welles (2020), the authors tell us: “hashtag activism works to naturalize and center the politics of counter publics, develop repertoires of political contention, and attract allies” (p. 185), so, when we share a hashtag to promote *hashtivism* who will be benefited?

Kosnik and Feldman (2019) wrote a book which focus on hashtags that we are forced to remember (#identity: Hashtagging Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nation), the writers also aim to answer how the *hashtivisms* “have served as labels, metadata, organizing ideas, and rallying cries for the last several years of our lives” (p.02).

¹ Available on: <https://www.contextoexato.com.br/post/pequeno-manual-antirracista-de-djamila-ribeiro-tornase-o-livro-mais-vendido-do-brasil20200617>. Access on July, 27th,2020.

² Available on: <https://twitter.com/oglganteacordou>. Access on July, 27th, 2020

³ Available on: <https://www.refinery29.com/en-us/2017/01/137803/hashtag-activism-trend>. Access on July, 27th, 2020.

We believe that hashtags have had a great impact on the virtual and non-virtual world, therefore, how deep is this impact? Can it really make difference in a short and long period of time? Have hashtag creators being using them to manipulate us? I intend to find data to answer these questions.

To start this research first we used Google Search to find studies about Black Lives Matter movement, social media, social networks and hashtags, finding this way books, papers and websites about the mentioned themes. On this paper, we make a review of literature with important authors that help us to achieve our goals. We also used the Pew Research Center researches about political hashtags on trends, which brought us reports about the lifetime of some *hashtivism*s from when they went viral to now.

We intend to connect the information we have got to the Biology of Knowledge proposed by Maturana (1992) where he writes about language, emotions, politics and education and understand how new ways of linguajar, in this case the hashtags, can influence in the antiracist movement.

SOCIAL MEDIA

According to Gonçalves (2012) after the industrialization our entire society lived a social reconfiguration through the beginning of the modernization, when new technological developments start.

But, only in the end of the 20th century the technology of information began to have its space, being consolidated in the 21th century with the popularization of the internet. Lemos (2005, p.2) brings us:

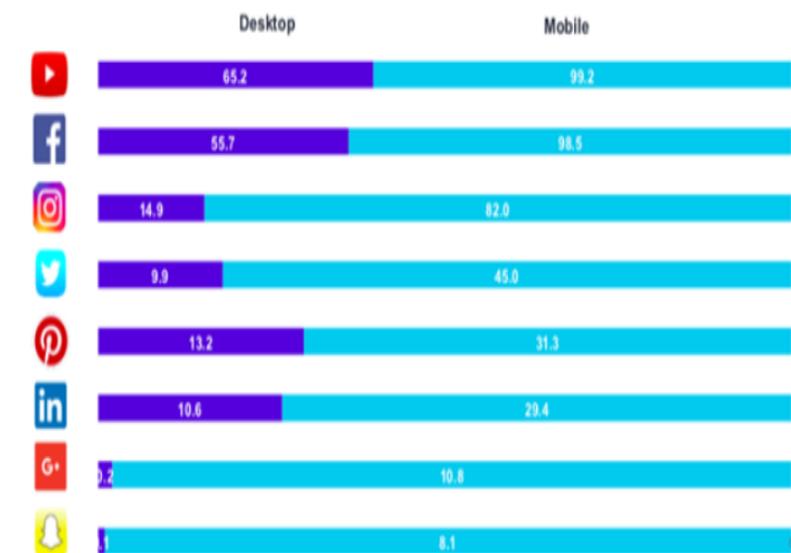
A informatização da sociedade, que começa na década de 70 do século XX, parece já estar estabelecida nas principais cidades ocidentais desenvolvidas. O que está em jogo nesse começo de século XXI é o surgimento de uma nova fase da sociedade da informação, iniciada com a popularização da internet na década de 80, e radicalizada com o desenvolvimento da computação sem fio, pervasiva e ubíqua, a partir da popularização dos telefones celulares, das redes de acesso à internet sem fio (“Wi-Fi” e “Wi-Max”) e das redes caseiras de proximidade com a tecnologia “bluetooth”. Trata-se de transformações nas práticas sociais, na vivência do espaço urbano e na forma de produzir e consumir informação.

Nowadays we live the “connection era” where we are easily connected to private devices as laptops and cell phones which we can call nomadic access, it means, the devices and the internet connection is with us wherever you are. According to Korenich et al. (2013) “The introduction of the World Wide Web enabled the proliferation of social media to a much broader audience, setting the groundwork for Social Media 2.0.” (p.237), this new groundwork has given to marketing companies a variety of ways to show themselves and a vast range of consumers.

It’s noticeable that from the social media is born the term social network (TELLES, 2011), this second one has as main role to gather people and link citizens all over the world, who can expose their pictures, add friends, share feelings as My space, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and others, which have changed the ways of consuming and relationships, being used to spread commercials, share researches, find a date, talk to people far and near you, being eventually updated to attend the needs of their users.

Since the 2000s social networks started to be part of the routine of million of people around the Globe. Santana and Lima (2017) bring us that in 1994 was the beginning of the social networks’ idea with the *Geosites* which allowed people to create webpages limited to their region. When the internet conquer expansion the social networks gain space and millions of adepts, in 2002 Fotolog and Friendster, the first one was used to share pictures linked with users emotions, and the second one was used to make virtual friends (SANTANA; LIMA, 2017); In 2003 we have Linkedin and MySpace; In 2004 Flickr, Orkut and Facebook; 2006 Twitter was launched; 2010 Instagram appeared.

About our country, Brazil is the one who most uses social media in Latin America, about 88% of the Brazilian population access primarily YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, twitter, Pinterest, Linkedin among others, and most of these 80% of people use their cell phones to have access to them. Data from 2019 show us the social media and networks most used in Brazil nowadays and what devices are used the most by people to connect to them:

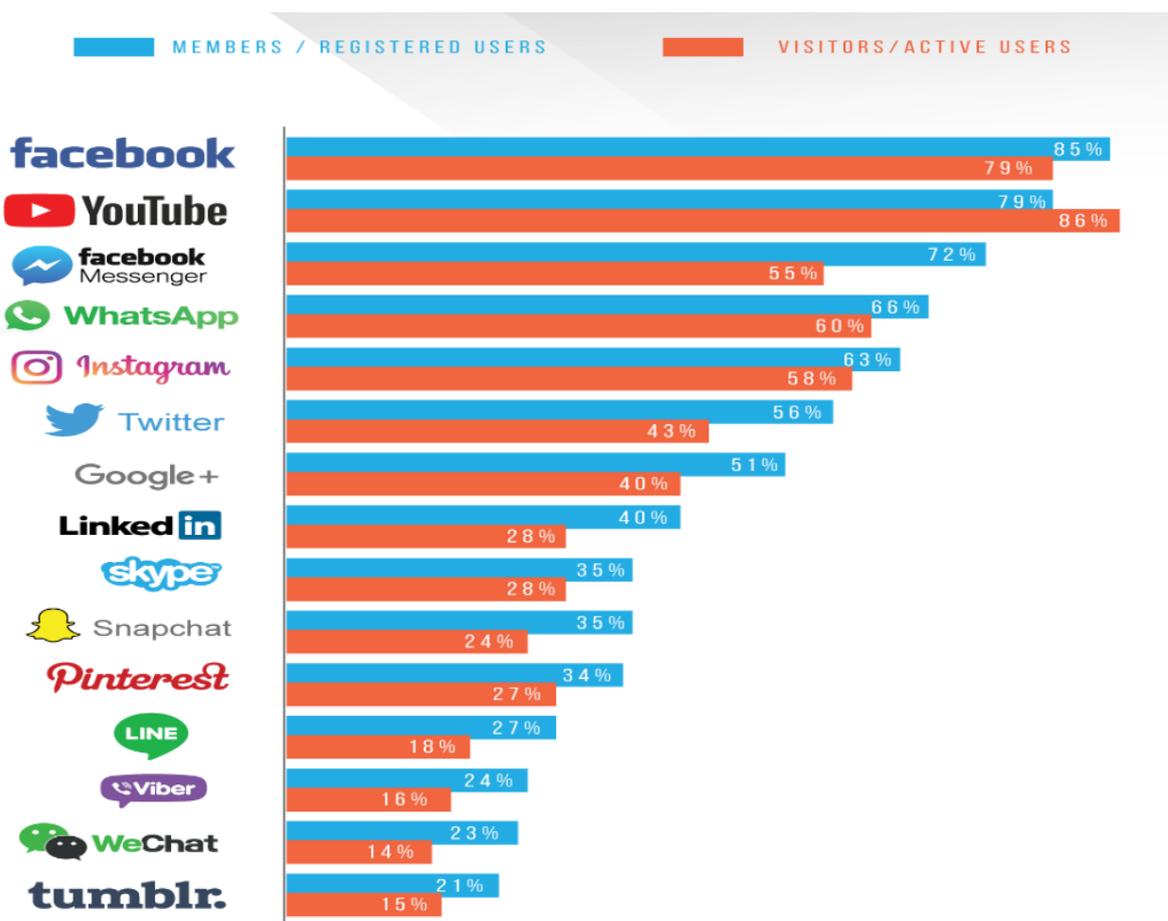


Graph I: Social Media most used in Brazil and devices

used to get connection to them.

It's possible to see that YouTube, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter have led Brazilians ways of social interaction; We may say that their opinions have influences on what they see and share on those social networks. When we talk about the world, the website ONUNews shows us that nowadays 4,1 billion of people have access to internet, this number corresponds to 53,6% of the world population⁴. About the most globally used social media and networks we have:

⁴Available on: <https://news.un.org/pt/story/2019/11/1693711#:~:text=O%20uso%20da%20Internet%20continua,popula%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20de%20todos%20o%20mundo>. Access on August, 1st, 2020.

Graph II: World most used social medias⁵

Since billions of people have been using social media, we can say that they have been affected by them, by other users and also as social medias grows the number of online marketing groups also grows, therefore this web of relations also builds new ways of language use. All information shared online may affect our emotions, points of view, likes, consume, it means, while we think we are being influential using those social medias we also are being influenced by them. The influence may occur by songs, images, videos and most of all through language as we write a text, put subtitles on a picture, share or even read the commercial of a product or send an audio message.

⁵Available on: <https://www.digitalinformationworld.com/2019/01/most-popular-global-social-networks-apps-infographic.html>. Access on August, 1st, 2020.

As far as real and virtual life walk together a new way of revindications has started, characterized by the use of hashtags, a new way of activism using social networks. According to Jackson, Bailey and Walles (2020) “In the twenty-first century, the proliferation of social media has enabled the widespread study of and speculation about the impact of digital technologies on politics, activism, and social change.” (p.27), the social media has become worthy of researches through its number of users and what those users have been using them for. Real people taking problems from the real life to the virtual world, can the virtual interaction make any social change? First of all, it’s important to understand that the dichotomy between social and virtual world must be rethought. We will continue talking about it on the next topic.

SOCIAL NETWORK, SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND *HASHTIVISM*:

Since the Social Media 1.0 the goal of the social networks was to connect people all over the world. According to Gonçalves (2005, p.28):

Eles servem para estabelecer uma aproximação entre as pessoas em diferentes níveis, como amigos, conhecidos, colegas de trabalho etc. Dentro desses ambientes, as pessoas trocam e compartilham, das formas mais variadas, diferentes tipos de mensagens, conectados através de uma relação chamada amizade. Isto, porque as conexões que são realizadas entre os indivíduos ocorrem através de opções como “aceitar”, “adicionar”, “recusar” ou “excluir amigos”, que é como são chamados todos os contatos, ou melhor, todas as conexões que cada pessoa realiza nesses sites de redes sociais. (p. 28)

As the first goal of social media and social networks was to connect people worldwide, the users could have the feeling of being influential somehow, Goffman (1972) brings that the human being have many reasons for trying to control the impression that they make on others, according to the author, we make performances and play parts online setting our online identity.

We can say that the real world connects itself to the virtual world as we shape our needs to the social media space, the social media becomes a space to social activism when it is hard to be heard by our “physical society” and we use the virtual to expose our needs.

According to Jackson, Bailey and Walles (2020), marginalized groups such as African Americans, transgender people, and others victims of prejudice and racism have long been excluded from the elite media space and seen as voiceless, therefore these people have started using the social media as Twitter “to make identity-based cultural and political demands, and in doing so have forever changed national consciousness.” (p.25)

A remarkable scene happened in 2011 with the Arab Spring and then the Occupy movement which were spread around the world, both events were sociopolitical and aimed to modify the reality of different nations, the difference is that those movements started online on Twitter, and used the hashtag (#) and few words as a way to call people to the streets. According to Kosnik and Feldman (2020, p.23):

Hashtags, which are discursive and user-generated, have become the default method to designate collective thoughts, ideas, arguments, and experiences that might otherwise stand alone or be quickly subsumed within the fast-paced pastiche of Twitter. Hashtags make sense of groups of tweets by creating a searchable shortcut that can link people and ideas together.

Researches show that the hashtag was brought by the social network Twitter, which was created in 2006, it allowed users only 140-character communications at a time, in 2007 the hashtag followed by a sentence or even a word started to be used as a way to connect group of people who have the same interests, according to the same authors (op.cit): “Since this user created innovation in 2007, hashtags have been so normalized by Twitter users that their use has spread beyond the platform and been incorporated into other social media spaces such as Facebook, Instagram, and Tumblr.” (p.23); In 2011 the hashtags began to be seen as a way to promote activism, better saying *hashtivism*, the neologism appeared for the first time on the online International edition of British daily newspaper -The Guardian in September 2011 (GOSWAMI, 2018). “Hashtag activism, a term that first appeared in news coverage in 2011, describes the creation and proliferation of online activism stamped with a hashtag. We argue that this online activism leads to material effects in the digital and physical sphere (JACKSON; BAILEY; WELLES, 2020).

Since the #ArabSpring lots of hashtivisms became visible and shared by millions of people, aiming to reunite people who have the same thought and influence the social world,

rising some awareness and trying to change situations of injustice. In Brazil we can point out the #Vemprarua, all over the world we can point out #BlackLivesMatter and nowadays we have been sharing the #stayhome.

It's important to remember that before the hashtags, and even before the internet becomes popular, sentences or few words had been used for social manifestations, in Brazil we had in the end of the military dictatorship people gathering on the streets saying "Diretas Já" or in the beginning of 90s "ForaCollor", that time they used posters and their voice (literally). It's interesting to see that these kinds of sentences are now used on networks and spread much easier than before.

Still talking about Brazil, researches show us that the protests of 2013 for example, had a great number of people participating on them on the streets because of the online call:

The protests of June 2013 were the biggest Brazil experienced since the country's redemocratization process during the 80s/90s. In São Paulo, the largest Brazilian city, they begun on the 6th of June, had their peak on June20th, when one million people took the streets on 75 different Brazilian cities, and lasted until July. This wave of protests is called by some researchers and protesters as Jornadas de Juho (something like June Journeys). (SANTOS, 2018, p .130)

We can connect the use of the virtual world, having the *hashtivism*s as a characteristic, to Technopolitics. As we are political beings and our practices are political practices, the technology has been a mean of gathering people around a common desire trying to influence, or make others conscious, and make difference in the social sphere. According to Caballero e Gravante (2018) this new way of revindications, technopolitics can be seen "as a transformative and decentralizing mediation grounded in the democracy of the code as a pooled construction of possible reality on the basis of digital culture and collective cocreation" (p.25), it's important to understand that all these online transformations make real though the use of language, Oliveira and Carneiro (2020, p.35) bring us:

A linguagem tem, então, papel central na compreensão das mudanças e da comunicação: ao mesmo tempo, a linguagem é influenciada pelas mudanças na forma de perceber o mundo e pelas novas formas de comunicação [...] por meio da linguagem que as mudanças sociais oriundas da adoção da tecnologia acontecem the authors also makes us understand that.

In the next session we will learn about and analyze a *hashtivism* that were world-wide shared rising awareness on the Antiracist movement, connecting the information found to Maturana's considerations about Language, emotions, politics and education.

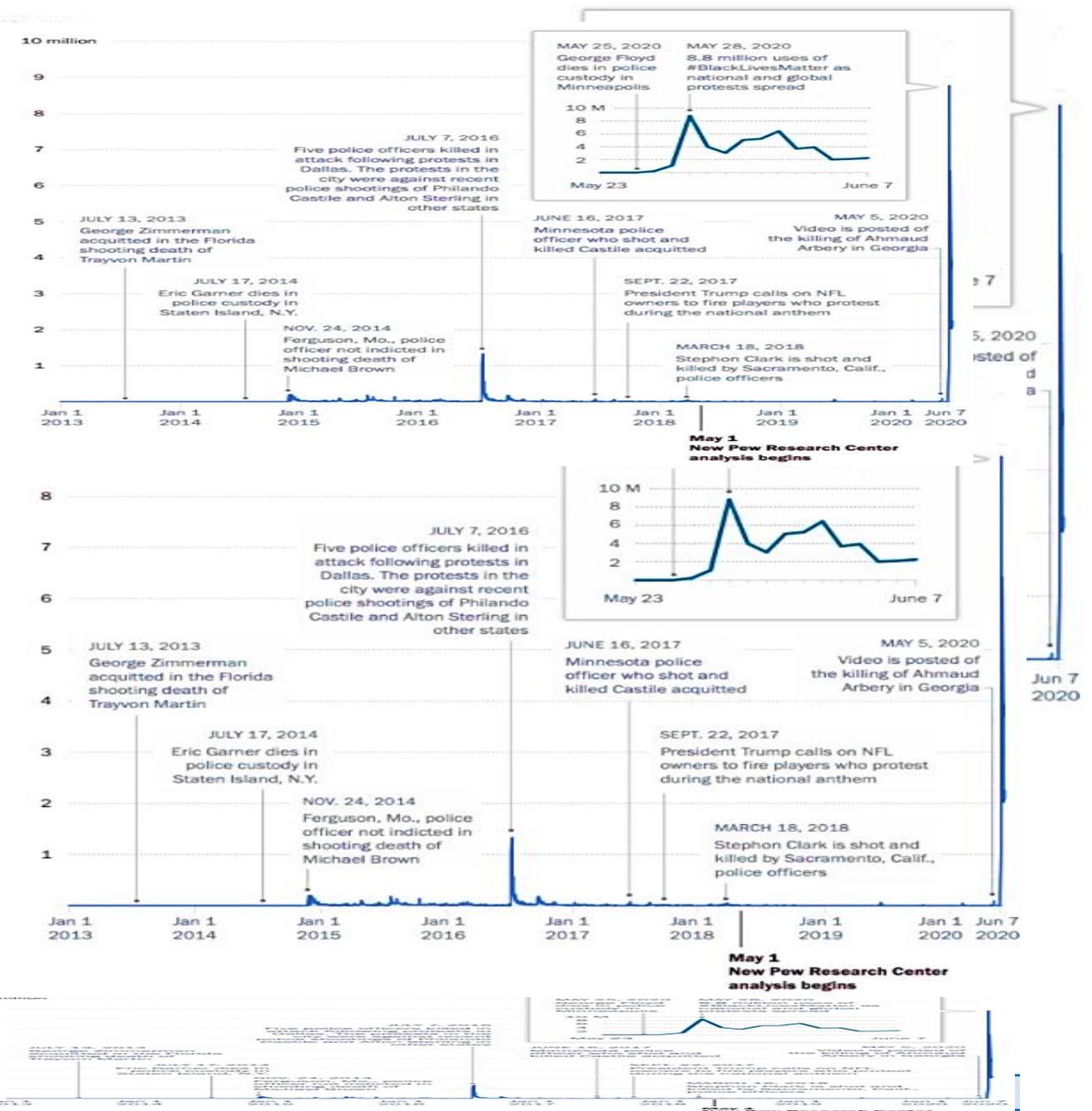
#BlackLivesMatter

Practices of racism have left profound marks in the contemporary world. In the pandemic moment that we are living in, many of us have had the privilege of working from home, this may indicate that we are having more contact with television, newspapers and social media, therefore, for black people, the fear and uncertainty brought by the COVID-19 pandemic become even stronger when they see and hear even more forcefully black people being murdered, showing that the danger is not only in the damage that the virus can cause, but in the social, psychological damage that still persists. The philosopher and writer Djamilia Ribeiro (2019) writes about the need of talking about this theme as a matter of survival and denouncing the harsh and unequal reality. Silvio Almeida (2019, p.12) show us:

o racismo – que se materializa como discriminação racial – é definido por seu caráter sistêmico. Não se trata, portanto, de apenas um ato discriminatório ou mesmo de um conjunto de atos, mas de um processo em que condições de subalternidade e de privilégio que se distribuem entre grupos raciais se reproduzem nos âmbitos da política, da economia e das relações cotidianas. O racismo articula-se com a segregação racial, ou seja, a divisão espacial de raças em localidades específicas – bairros, guetos, bantustões, periferias etc. – e/ou à definição de estabelecimentos comerciais e serviços públicos – como escolas e hospitais – como de frequência exclusiva para membros de determinados grupos raciais, como são exemplos os regimes segregacionistas dos Estados Unidos, o apartheid sul-africano e, para autoras como Michelle Alexander e Angela Davis o atual sistema carcerário estadunidense.

As our society changes and new technologies gain space, the internet has also become a means by which language can be used to claim situations of racism that have interrupted lives in various parts of the world, observing that as black people must occupy every space, the technology is being used as a space which can reach more people and make many more people aware of situations of injustice lived by black people worldwide.

The virtual movement shared as #BlackLivesMatter started in 2013 after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of unarmed black teenager Trayvon Martin. According to Pew Research Center (2018) “#BlackLivesMatter has become “an archetypal example of modern protests and political engagement on social media” (p.02), quoting the same source, from 2013 to 2017 this # was shared more than 30 million times on Twitter, without counting others social networks. The number of tweets increases again after the murder of George Floyd in May, 25:



the #BlackLivesMatter increase, in three days after the video about the murder of George

It is possible to see that when a tragedy happens the number of people sharing the #BlackLivesMatter increase, in three days after the video about the murder of George Floyd, Floyd, this *hashtivism* was globally shared 8.8 million times.

Different from the other movements, this *hashtivism* didn't become viral because of celebrities' posts, but for specific situations of racism in the United States, shared by antiracist groups and then by people of different parts of the world. It's important to remember that the antiracist movement in the U.S. has a long history, having a great wave in the 60s due to movements led by Martin Luther King Jr., Malcom X and Black Panthers among others.

We understand that the spaces of social revindications have changed and one of the reasons is the internet access. It's necessary to remember that in the past those antiracist leaders had to travel city by city conducting protests, nowadays we can see that the protests start by the use of hashtags, and then come back to the streets, Maturana (1992, p.11) tells us:

El lenguaje como fenómeno, como un operar del observador, no tiene lugar en la cabeza, ni consiste en un conjunto de reglas, sino que tiene lugar en el espacio de relaciones y pertenece al ámbito de las coordinaciones de acción como un modo de fluir en ellas, no como algo en citas. Si cambia mi estructura, cambia mi modo de estar en relación con los demás y, por lo tanto, cambia mi "lenguajear". Si cambia mi "lenguajear", cambia el espacio del "lenguajeo" en el cual estoy y cambian las interacciones en que participo con mi "lenguajeo."

Throughout the History spaces have changed, virtual and real world are connected, as the real transposes the virtual and vice versa the ways of *linguajar* change, and new relations and auto consciousness brought by the real and virtual worlds united for a cause (*hashtivism*) may change our structures and mode.

Once again, despite of the number of people who have shared #BlackLivesMatter according to the Pew Research Center (2019) most of the people who shared the Twitter was Black people. We can recall what we mentioned above an "objectivity in parenthesis" by those who understand the motivation of this *hashtivism* and keep sharing it with no need of a tragedy to persist on this idea, and the ones who may be included on an "objectivity out of parenthesis".

About these up and downs Caballero e Gravante (2018, p. 27) say:

Nowadays, the Web is becoming the space or environment/memory of popular culture. But, as Héctor Schmucler cautioned, the escape velocity poses a problem between memory and communication in so far as they are characterized by contrasting elements: instantaneousness, simultaneousness and on the brink, the timelessness of communication versus the duration, persistence and slowness of memory.

What the authors mentions above makes us reflect on the effectiveness of the *hashtivism*s in a long period of time, bringing a contrast between the timelessness of the virtual movement and the need of keep the real reason in mind.

CONSIDERATIONS

To analyze hashtags, it demands a large amount of time and readings since many factors could be studied in different fields of knowledge as History, Sociology, Language, Discourse Analysis among others. On this paper we proposed to bring first a review of literature and then the attempt of analyzing the #BlackLivesMatter hashtags through the quantity of twitters and what that number could be correlated too. A range of theorists was brought and many more could be used to enrich this research, however we based most of our analyses on Maturana's writings about Language, emotions, politics and education. Most of the *hashtivism*s, beyond the ones mentioned on this paper, are an attempt of accepting the other, we can give more examples like: #gaypride, #IstandforRefugees, #Lebanon and many others (which are worthy of more studies). Maturana (1992) brings us: "*sólo son sociales las relaciones que se fundan en la aceptación del otro como un legítimo otro en la convivencia, y que tal aceptación es lo que constituye una conducta de respeto*". (p. 09), this quote remembers us that this search for this acceptance of others is trying to use the virtual to make the difference in the social relations.

It's important to remember that the #BlackLivesMatter can appear and be shared on web with different forms like all letters small (#blacklivesmatter, #metoo), first letter of each word having capital letter and so on, but all of the ways have the same purpose.

Caballero and Garrante (2018, p.26) work on a perspective that the social revindications which have gained space on the Web is able to change the relations and also our culture:

The digital revolution has modified and redesigned conceptually the conventional media system by shaping new forms of production and organization of information mediation. The mutations that introduce the “Internet galaxy” into the new social morphology are particularly visible in the perturbations and interruptions of social activity which affect culture. These reticular and centrifugal transformations of the new cultural ecology go a long way to enabling the political subject of post-modernity to permeate reality itself, customize the world, appropriate possible and real worlds of interaction with his or her imagination, and design new rationales of local participation and development.

Despite of the ups and downs of the *hashtivism*s it’s important to notice that somehow, they can touch on people’s ways of view about a determined group of people who have been in a vulnerable situation. Being able to change the culture when actions against the focus problem are taken. Because of #BlackLivesMatter the racist officers who killed black people for no reason also were judged, and the media made the world know that there is a group of people who stand for others, and it’s important to remember that the language as a coordinated and consensual action allow us to reflect on what we see, and on what’s written as a way to protest, Maturana (1992) collaborate with us saying: “*si no estamos en lenguaje no hay reflexión, no hay discurso, no decimos nada, simplemente somos sin serlo hasta que reflexionamos sobre el ser.*” (p.17)

It’s noticeable that the twitters analyzed on this research do appear most of the time on the web in English, what makes us observe that the hashtags are also a way to spread the English language and even people who doesn’t know the English language could understand the goal and reflect on the themes, “*no podemos dejar de notar que los seres humanos somos humanos en el lenguaje, y al serlo, lo somos haciendo reflexiones sobre lo que nos sucede.*” (p.16)

Unfortunately, as the technopolitics becomes strong on our post-modern society, people and politic parties have invested in fake news to gain votes and influence people in their own favor, lies easily spread on internet have impacted politics and thought of many Global citizens, what reinforces the need of keeping reflecting on what we read or is shared on internet, searching the auto conscientization.

We are also invited to reflect on the patriarchal society which is based on competitiveness and negation of the other, in which we need to struggle everyday online and offline to be recognized as person, a human.

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