

DIGITAL ACTIVISM AND NEW SUBJECTS OF DISCOURSES: THE NARRATIVES OF “OCUPA ESCOLA” MOVEMENT IN FACEBOOK

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ABSTRACT

Based on the Brazilian secondary student’s movement, known as *occupy* (2015-2017), we intend to observe how the discourse enunciated from the perspective of students on social media accumulate and transmit movements, in a complex configuration that subverts the logic of statements transmitted on social movements in Brazil’s traditional media. We have adopted the concept of the multitude (Negri, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2015) to investigate, in which ways, students of the movement “Ocupa Escola” manifest identity expressions on their Facebook profiles. In a qualitative analysis of Facebook *fan pages* that use the selection of the most followed and shared Facebook profiles as a criterion, we highlight the themes of horizontality, autonomy and of a movement without leadership; the openness to diversity and the insistent need to reaffirm governmental care with public schools. In this composition, there are no isolated categories. The themes are articulated and the strategical procedures of identity expressions of the movement operate in connection. Finally, we discuss some of the aforementioned procedures that our analysis allowed us to identify.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

“Ocupa Escola”; secondary occupations; *occupy*; digital activism; Facebook; identity demonstrations

RESUMO

A partir do movimento *occupy* de estudantes secundaristas brasileiros (2015-2017), buscamos observar como o discurso enunciado da perspectiva dos manifestantes na rede acumulam, transmitem e movimentam sentidos, em uma configuração complexa que subverte a lógica de enunciados veiculados sobre movimentos sociais na mídia tradicional do Brasil. Adotamos o conceito de multidão (Negri, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2005) para investigar de que modos estão sendo manifestadas as expressões identitárias do movimento “Ocupa Escola” nos seus perfis do Facebook pelos próprios sujeitos desse movimento. Em uma análise qualitativa de *fan pages* do Facebook, tomando como critério a escolha dos perfis mais seguidos e mais partilhados pelos estudantes manifestantes, entre as regularidades percebidas na análise, destacamos com mais intensidades os temas da horizontalidade, autonomia e de um movimento sem liderança; a abertura à diversidade e a insistente necessidade em reafirmar o cuidado público com a escola. Nessa composição, não há categorias isoladas. As temáticas se articulam e os procedimentos estratégicos de expressão identitária do movimento operam em conexão. Discutimos ainda alguns desses procedimentos que a análise permitiu identificar.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

“Ocupa Escola”; ocupações secundaristas; *occupy*; ativismo digital; Facebook; manifestações identitárias

INTRODUCTION: "OCUPA ESCOLA" MOVEMENT AS AN OBJECT THOUGHT IN THE LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL SENSE OF MULTITUDES

The occupation movement by Brazilian secondary and university students, known as "Ocupa Escola", "Ocupações Secundaristas" or "Primavera Secundaristas" – whose context of it rising will be better explained in the next section, can and should be understood in the context of emergency of new ways of production and distribution of narratives that occurs in our contemporaneity. As a political potential for social and cultural transformation, we start from the perception of informational richness which can be found in the statements expressed by secondary occupations in Brazil, and how we observed how these manifestations accumulate, transmit and move senses in digital social media, in a complex configuration that is associated with different activist, political, educational, cultural and social fields. Additionally, the manifestations present new possibilities for communication, as the narrative of "Ocupa Escola" movement was mostly constructed from the perspective of its demonstrators. Thus, subverting some of the statements about the movement disseminated on Brazil's traditional media.

When looking at pieces of communication that secondary students produced on social media themselves, our attention was drawn to the diversity and multiplicity of "selves" present in them, as well as the potentialities resulted from it. According to Malini (2016)¹, the occupations are composed by different collective identities: "they are, simultaneously, social movements (feminism, student movement, environmental, movement for the right to the city etc.) and cultural movements (hip hop, funk music, slow food, etc.)", which configures a "political mentality, never experienced before in school curricula" (Malini, 2016a, s.p). These characteristics guided us to the concept of the multitude (Negri, 2003, 2004, 2014); Hardt and Negri (2005); Silva, Nonino and Macedo (2016), in an attempt to understand how flows between processes of singularization and identity have been expressed by the communication channels of this movement. Therefore, the political senses of the concept of the multitude were used for the purposes of this paper, since their perspective opens a space for us to think about unrepresentative singularities and singularities that keep their own strength inside a relational dynamic that simultaneously builds itself and the whole (Negri & Hardt, 2005). Having that in mind, our objective is to investigate how the identity expressions of "Ocupa Escola" movement in Brazil are manifested in the demonstrators' Facebook profiles.

According to Negri (2004), a multitude is characterized by three main conditions: first, it is an immanence, in the sense of being a power itself as a set of singularities and multiplicity of subjectivities in which each individual or a group of individuals is singular. The one becomes the multiple (Negri, 2004, p. 15); second, it is a concept of class, of a non-working class, but that constitutes the "social cooperation for production" (Negri, 2004, p. 15); and finally, it is a concept of power (the most important of the three for us) as it surpasses the mass. Yet, it is capable of autonomous and independent development, and of breaking with the idea of a "passive category in front of the constituent

¹ Retrieved from <https://medium.com/@fabiomalini/o-ecossistema-socio-midiático-do-ocupatudo-cf589a0781af#.bf0voi6i7>

power” (Negri, 2003, p. 139). The multitude is, therefore, a “multiplicity that acts” (Negri, 2004, p. 18). From this conceptualization, discussions on singularities and identities, possibly found in multitudes arise.

We aim at looking at student occupations movement through the lens of the multitude. We understand, however, that the multitude will neither be uniform nor be an identity unit. What we want is to precisely perceive the *between*², that is, the place where differences are articulated and negotiated. Thus, our objective is to understand, to what extent, an identity multiplicity arises, and how it relates to the power of the multitude. We agree with Silva and colleagues (2016) when they point out that a thought about the multitude does not imply “the exteriority of singularities in relation to identities. Identity, as an up-to-date existent, is only a specific occurrence of singularity, which we understand as potentiality” (Silva et al. 2016, p. 182)³. The definition of singularity goes through the processes of singularization as a “differential *devenir*” (Guattari & Rolnik, 2011, p. 56). They are nomadic, non-hierarchical elements, with characteristics of multiplicity (Guattari & Rolnik, 2011). Consequently, we look at multitude as a perspective that requires thinking to the opposition between diversity and a desired uniformity. It implies detecting diversity in its richness, in other words, “it is in the richness of its infinite expressions that the multitude reveals its creative potential” (Negri, 2002, p. 455). For Neri, it is a model which breaks with uniformity and embraces diversity in its own ontological consistency.

“OCUPA ESCOLA”: A BRIEF CONTEXTUALIZATION OF STUDENT OCCUPATIONS IN BRAZIL (2015 – ONGOING)

Following the occupation booklet elaborated by Argentinean and Chilean students, and motivated by abrupt deterioration of the precarious conditions of Brazilian public schools, secondary students started the occupation movement in São Paulo, in November 2015. Those occupations that started in São Paulo spread all over Brazil until December 2016. They not only took shape in a local and punctual sense of a country with a precarious education, as they also took shape in a global scenario that has diachronically been transformed since the social movements linked to the digital era, such as the “Arab Spring”, the “Occupy Wall Street”, the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt and the Spanish movement known as the “15-M”.

According to Perissé (2011)⁴, who wrote the book *Words and Origins*, the word “occupy” comes from Latin *occupare*. It is formed by the prefix *ob* and the verb *capere*, which refer to meanings such as: “to catch”, “to capture”, “to conquer” (Perissé, 2011, s.p.). The use of the verb *occupy* and the term “occupations” in Brazil, a Portuguese speaking country, come from recent transformations of the meaning of *occupying* (#occupy) in

² According to Deleuze and Guattari (1995), “between things is not a localizable correlation that goes from one to another and vice versa. Instead, it goes in a perpendicular direction, in a transverse movement that carries one to another” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1995, p. 37, our highlight).

³ Retrieved from <http://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/intexto/article/view/66964/39613>

⁴ Retrieved from <http://palavraseorigens.blogspot.pt/2011/11/quem-ocupa-se-preocupa.html>

the English language. *Occupy* was nominated Word of the Year in 2011 by the American Dialect Society⁵. In the following year, Samy Alim, director of the Center for Race, Ethnicity and Language studies at Stanford University (2012a, 2012b)⁶, had some of his texts published suggesting the movement *Occupy Wall Street* as the main origin of new meanings for the word "occupy/occupation". Not long ago, occupy meant military operation for Samy Alim. However, the term today is a synonym for a progressive political fight. For Salim (2012a, 2012b), countries, armies, and polices have always occupied territories by the use of force. Yet, for him, colonizers occupied countries rather than "discovering" them. Nevertheless, the term today is associated with "denouncing injustices, inequalities, and abuse of power. It is not only about imposing oneself in a space: occupying also means transforming spaces" (Alim, 2012a).

The school occupations in Brazil arose when students of public schools in the state of São Paulo understood that the "school reorganization" imposed by the governor of the state, Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB⁷), was an abuse. His decision would close more than 90 schools and relocate more than 300.000 students to other schools. In response to it, the students, then, occupied the schools at the end of 2015 and continued with it in 2016. At that time, they claimed for better conditions in education, and protested against the passing of some bills such as the 44 (privatization of education)⁸ and the 190 (school without party)⁹. More recently, students protested against PEC – 241, which freezes public expenditure in education and health for the next 20 years, which directly affects the poorest people in the country. Against PEC – 241, the "Ocupa Escola" movement grew bigger and public universities all over the country joined it¹⁰. A wave that spreads through mimicry and contagion (Bentes, 2016)¹¹. More than 1.110 schools, institutes, and universities were occupied in 2016.

In the case of Brazil and the occupation movement carried out by students, one cannot forget that the term "occupy" also means to fill out. The occupier, however, is

⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.americandialect.org/occupy-is-the-2011-word-of-the-year>

⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.revistaforum.com.br/2012/01/01/a-palavra-do-ano-e-occupy/> and http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/21/what-if-we-occupied-language/?_r=0

⁷ Brazilian Social Democracy Party.

⁸ Known as PL 44 – bill 044/15 – understands that private non-profit organizations can enter into partnerships with the government in order to carry out activities in areas such as education, health, culture and preservation of the environment. As a consequence, those private organizations would receive governmental resources and even physical structure that belongs to the State Government. This bill has direct implications on the privatization of public education. Retrieved from <http://www.al.rs.gov.br/>

⁹ Known as bill 190/15 – It is in favor of the program called "School Without Party", whose main motto is "education without indoctrination". One of the main controversial points of this project lies in the idea that educators should not discuss, in school spaces, themes, and content that may contradict the moral convictions of students' parents. Retrieved from <http://marcelvanhattem.com.br/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/PL-190-2015-escola.pdf>

¹⁰ PEC 241 – Proposed Amendment to Brazilian Constitution 241/16 – it proposes a limit for public expenditure for the next 20 years. It is advocated by the administration of Michel Temer, interim president who took office after the impeachment of former president Dilma Rousseff in 2016. In social networks, this PEC is called by its critics #PECdofimdomundo, #PECdamaldade, #PECdamorte. Retrieved from http://www.camara.gov.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra;jsessionid=279D613E05929958381B2D3EEC573B4E.proposicoesWebExterno2?codteor=1468431&filename=PEC+241/2016

¹¹ Retrieved from <https://revistacult.uol.com.br/home/a-ultima-maca-do-paraiso/>

not necessarily the owner nor the controller of the place, but that one who has the “possession of”. Brazilian students have territorially occupied their educational institutes. They have, however, in other ways, occupied digital networks. Consequently, they have been present in traditional media, even though in a disproportionately small volume in relation to the size of their organization. In this perspective, the “Ocupa Escola” Facebook profiles were formed to break with current codes and, thus, raise an audible voice. Together with its political-educational objectives, we also find operational objectives of communicative-aesthetical-political order in the movement that, undoubtedly, provoked rupture and disruption (Rosário, Silva & Silva, 2016)¹². We will move on to next section, where we will present our way of looking at the object. Finally, we will discuss the main results of the analysis.

METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

For the purposes of this study, we aimed at perceiving the connections, regularities, and irregularities that secondary students produced about themselves and about the movement of which they are part. One of the main features of the movement had in Brazil was that, despite being relevantly manifested on Twitter, it was on Facebook that the secondary students had their official channel for creating official pages for the occupation. In 2016, we noticed a great volume of Facebook pages coming up as the movement was growing up. Consequently, each school that joined the movement created its own Facebook fan page.

Our object of analysis is the Facebook profiles of “Ocupa Escola” movement. In the so-called “profile era”, the Facebook profile is a channel that “reproduces the network logic, makes it clear who shares and who follows content (...). It is a break with the idea of the portal, the client/consumer and the emission/reception relation”. Therefore, we consider the profile of social networks as being a “public expression, a public space that produces new collective experiences”¹³. This expression can produce discursive dynamics that help us understand identity issues within the phenomenon.

In order to representatively compose our *corpus*, we have analyzed four *fan pages* of the movement. Two important national profiles, one profile from one specific state (Rio de Janeiro) and finally, one specific profile of one occupied school (Padre Reus School, Porto Alegre). For the selection, we have accessed the public data of Labic – Laboratory of Image and Cyberculture studies¹⁴ of the Federal University of Espírito Santo – Brazil. The data we have accessed were about the media ecosystem of student occupation. We used those data so that we could select our fan pages by using the criteria of impact – pages with a greater number of occupant followers and the most shared pages by secondary students¹⁵. According to Labic, the fan pages with the greatest amount of

¹² Retrieved from <http://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/intexto/article/view/67924/39623>

¹³ Statements given in an interview by Fábio Malini, published in the video of Toturra, 2016

¹⁴ The website page of the laboratory is available at <http://www.labic.net/labic/>

¹⁵ All data we expose here are made available by Labic. They were obtained through metadata provided by Facebook and the

followers were: "Não fechem minha escola" (216.000 fans), "O mal educado" (83.000 fans), "Escolas do RJ em luta" (38.000 fans), "Jornalistas Livres" (674.000 fans) and "Mídia Ninja" (1.2 million fans)¹⁶. Complementarily, the most shared fan pages by the channels of the movement on Facebook were: "O mal educado", "Não fechem a minha escola"¹⁷, "Escolas do Rio em Luta", "Greve Educação Estadual RJ", "Jornalistas Livres" e "Mídia Ninja"¹⁸. Therefore, there is a repetition of the same pages, except "Greve Educação Estadual RJ", which follows the criterion of most shared profiles.

For the purposes of this work, we excluded from the analysis the following profiles: "Jornalistas Livres" and "Mídia Ninja". Despite being vehicles of non-traditional Brazilian media, or activist media, the aforementioned profiles are still not representative pages created "by the occupations". The very fact that the three most followed and shared pages are "Não fechem minha escola", "O mal educado" e "Escolas do RJ em Luta" shows us that secondary students chose to control their narrative and knowledge production about the movement from the perspective of those who carried it out. We added the fan page "Ocupa Padre Reus" to the previous three fan pages to analyze identity manifestations in their more specific expression of a single school and not only pages that function as information centers for several other occupations (the case of the three first ones).

In our analysis, we take into account the "perspective of the method as a reflected follow-up of what is being done". Where, the method itself finds "the clues for its methodological control in its own development" (Braga, 2011, p. 9)¹⁹. We sought inspiration in cartography, as Deleuze and Guattari thought emerges as one of the rhizome's principles²⁰ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995). These authors understand that cartography is not a specific doctrine, nor do we take it here as such. We follow the cartographic inspiration to analyze our object. Furthermore, we ground our method on Kastrup (2009), who understands Deleuze and Guattari's cartography as being a "method (...) that aims at following a process, rather than represent an object" (Kastrup, 2009, p. 32). Additionally, Kastrup (2009) defines features for the cartographic work. They are panoramic observation, concentrated observation, landing and zooming on the object, the need for cuts and finally, the composition of maps through attentive recognition and the discourse as an event and connection of regularities (Kastrup, 2009). Our main goal is to look at the identity expressions that the secondary students put into circulation. We look at them through the perspective of the possibility of creating landscapes, connecting multiple fragments in their nature of multiplicity and connection.

use of the software Adilio, which was produced by Labic itself. Retrieved from <http://www.labic.net/labic/>

¹⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.labic.net/labic/>

¹⁷ This page can be consulted at <https://www.facebook.com/naofecheminhaescola/>

¹⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.labic.net/labic/>

¹⁹ Retrieved from <http://compos.org.br/seer/index.php/e-compos/article/viewFile/665/503>

²⁰ "The rhizome refers to a map that must be produced, constructed, detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable. With entrances and exits and with lines of escape" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995, p. 33). According to them, the rhizome has no centered systems, hierarchical communication or pre-established connections. It is a non-centered movement, with no organizing nucleus, with no beginning or conclusion.

"OCUPA ESCOLA" PROFILES

In their Facebook pages, students write their manifestations. They write texts, show pictures and videos of their occupations. Moreover, they show how they keep the buildings clean and organized their classrooms; they show how they organize workshops, lectures and round table discussions for students; they ask for donations of items such as food, bedding, and hygiene products. Furthermore, students use Facebook profiles to publish invitations to events and street demonstrations. Finally, yet, importantly, it is common that students use these pages in order to position themselves on many topics. Not only do the students share news about "Ocupa Escola" itself, but they also share news about the current political situation of our country and agendas that defend diversity. Also, the students share news about all police repression that students have to face in the occupied schools. We only analyzed content posted in 2016 in each of the four fan pages as we explained in the previous section. We understand, however, that the movement had different results in 2016, compared to 2015. As we read the posts and separated those ones that seemed to be more elucidative, thematic regularities emerged in the process. Similarly, we saw connections between themes and identity expressions on the fan pages.

To see how students present themselves on Facebook helps us understand the multiplicity of the movement, without the multiple identity faces presenting a reduction in its characteristic of power. We remember that according to Silva and colleagues (2016) "there is a singularity in all qualities before they are updated into a state of things, and, consequently, individuated". Yet, "one cannot isolate the singularity and identity of its effect on the signal chain" (Silva et al., 2016, p. 186). So, how do the singularities found in a political, activist multitude individuate in the references of "Ocupa Escola"? In our qualitative analysis, we identify groups and recurrent themes that get close to each other, they are never isolated from each other. Because of size limitations, we will address three themes that seemed to be the movement's most significant identity expressions, which relate to the concept of multitude power.

HORIZONTALITY, AUTONOMY AND MOVEMENT WITHOUT LEADERSHIP

Milton Santos (1996) points out that the concept of horizontality is a homologous and complementary event in everyday relationships, whereas the concept of verticality refers to hierarchical events. According to Santos (1996), a horizontal constitution strengthens traits of union and sharing in a society. Horizontality is linked to the processes which occur in everyday life and it includes relationships of solidarity and resistance – social, cultural or geographic. In a space of horizontality, "the survival of the group, regardless of its members having different interests, depends on solidarity, which is indispensable and generates a visibility of a common interest" (Santos, 2000, p. 53)²¹.

In the analyzed *fan pages*, the theme of horizontality is present in posts and occupant students' interviews given to media and shared in videos that went viral in Brazil.

²¹ A reflection on the concept of horizontality applied to horizontal codes in the occupations of Rio Grande do Sul was previously made in an analysis that can be found in Rosário et al., 2016.

The occupation is a movement that makes us feel part of the school, it is a *democratic space where everyone has a voice*, differently from what the school usually is. The occupation guarantees us to be in a space without oppression and emancipatory. For this reason, when we occupy the school, we occupy it with our agenda of claims. We occupy the school *in order to change the vertical way that decisions are made. Nobody ever asks us anything about the school. Are not we important? Do not we have rights? The occupation showed us we do*²². (our emphasis)

When referring to the school as being a democratic space where everyone has a voice, the occupations, once again, brings us to the multitude, not to a unified body, but to set of singularities that is an "active social actor", a vehicle of "absolute democracy", in which the immanent autonomy accounts for the general will (Negri, 2003; Silva et al., 2016). As they want to challenge the "vertical way decisions are made", the occupants understand, in their profiles, that they need support, as long as they supporters' desire do not overlap with the occupants'. "A multitude needs a political project to come into existence" (Negri, 2004, p. 40).

May the secondary students gain their own autonomy, *without being ruled by university students* (principally). Without autonomy, there is a risk of everything becoming a post-modern "odara". *The solidarity of social movements is important* to strengthen the occupants' fight. *However, what is more important is that collective deliberations belong to the dynamics of these actors* who fight against high school reform and PEC 241. Otherwise, the occupation movement will become a tautological fetish²³. (our emphasis)

The secondary students claim to be autonomous and self-governed. They follow an organizational and political procedure: they deliberate through assemblies, they seek to practice horizontal networks on the internet and challenge the vertical order in occupied spaces. We see secondary students incorporating codes of a new conception of a social movement to their expressions on Facebook. At the same time, they reject traditional party movements which are strongly marked by a verticality in their organization:

Without belonging to any political party, the challenge of building a strong resistance was troubling. Secondary students showed how strong they are, their commitment and willingness to win this fight: we have started an act that brought together thousands of students and sympathizers. *This brought despair to the occupied institution's administration as they saw they hierarchy disappearing before the students*²⁴. (our emphasis)

²² Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/EscolasRJemLuta/?fref=ts>

²³ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/mal.educado.sp/?fref=ts>

²⁴ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/EscolasRJemLuta/?fref=ts>

Another example: "after we cleaned the classrooms, it was sad to see them hierarchically organized again. What a pity!"²⁵. We see here identity strategies of de-identification and disembodiment of leaderships, as associations to institutions come into existence. Therefore, there is not a unification in the agenda of vindications. Yet, there are no leaderships and there is an effort to reinforce this discourse:

*"This movement belongs to all of us. If we are not all together, we will not accomplish anything", said Ana Julia, a 16-year-old occupant student, who reinforces that the occupations are carried out by all students – She asked that the photo for this interview had all her colleagues, not only herself*²⁶.

As the occupations go through a process of de-identification with institutions, schools, political parties and traditional forms of leadership, they get closer to the idea of the multitude as a power of cooperation and expression (Negri, 2004). However, this phenomenon is not a problem for the occupations political project. This is the case of Ana Julia Ribeiro's interview on a video that went viral among the occupant students: "our only fight is for education. We belong to a non-political party movement. We are a student movement for students. We are a movement that is worried about the future" (Ribeiro, 2016).

We believe that, by denying verticality and leaderships, the movement chooses an identity strategy of resistance, since it subverts the *status quo* of how institutions are organized and exert autonomy and self-organization where there were discipline and obedience before. Also, students insist in the logic of sharing by embracing the absence of unity. However, those who understand "the concept of multitude sees it as a new identity that aims at dominating others" (Negri, 2004, p. 42). The occupations with their multiple voices in action, multiple vindications, and faces, together with their union, deliberation and collective collaboration breaks with the numerical alternative between singular and plural. It is the multitude and "not multitudes" because "multitude" does not emphasize, for us, any unity. Instead, it emphasizes the common political and social capacity of a multitude" (Negri, 2004, p. 42).

OPENNESS TO DIVERSITY

One of the criticisms that multitude makes is that, in modern societies, the identity of singularities was unified by unifying identity into concepts such as people, nation, race, individual (Negri, 2004; Silva et al., 2016). A multitude, in opposition to a people, therefore one, is multiple and has innumerable internal differences that will never be reduced to a single unit or identity. "Different cultures, races, ethnicities, gender and sexual orientation; different ways of work; different ways of living; different worldviews, and different desires. The multitude is a multiplicity of all these singular differences" (Hardt, 2005, p. 12).

²⁵ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ocupa.padreco/>

²⁶ Ana Júlia Ribeiro, secondary student on an interview for Rossi, *El País Brasil*, 2016. Retrieved from http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/10/28/politica/1477657388_783213.html

It is not enough for us that education is free (...) We do not want schools to teach us only the necessary content for *vestibular*²⁷. We want a school that forms people capable of transforming the world. We want our teachers to be free to teach us about politics, gender, and sexuality. (...) We want education to fulfill its liberating role and to promote changes in each one of us and in society. That's why we occupy schools. Because we want changes²⁸.

As we read the students' publications and connect the themes that emerge in this article, a deep connection with the agenda of openness and respect for diversity and, more importantly, the requirement that this thought is part of everyday school life presented itself as one of the most present lines in this panorama of "Ocupa Escola" identity expressions. The first statement that drew our attention was a large number of workshops and round table discussions about themes such as feminism, respect for the transsexual community, racism and violence against women. Additionally, the way the secondary students expressed themselves included non-cisgender communities in their texts. The students often adopted the elimination of definite articles in Portuguese that indicate gender linked to either feminine or masculine gender (the students used, for example, "todEx", tod@s"). Similarly, the type of shared material was giving us indications of how a movement of strategic identifications is constituted within this great theme of diversity.

Of course, we can remember that the "Ocupa Escola" movement is carried out and enunciated in its profiles, mainly by secondary students, who are still young in age and in academic experience – not all perspectives on diversity are addressed in their theoretical, philosophical and social complexity. Yet, it is shocking to see how their profiles do not only oppose to the bad conditions of education in the country, to the government, to political parties, and to the verticality of traditional political institutions, but also to what Preciado (2011, p. 18)²⁹ calls "straight sex-political epistemologies" and other forms of maintenance of dominant privilege. In Ana Julia's interview, already mentioned in this paper, one can see her saying, for example: "*escola sem partido* is an affront. It is a school with no critical sense. A racist school. It's a homophobic school. (...) We are in 2016, and do you want to impose a project like this on us?" (Ribeiro, 2016). By approaching different strategically chosen collective identities, the secondary students express themselves as a group that is intrinsically connected to the acceptance and production of difference. This is an essential condition to think of singularities of a multitude being individuated within the logic of multiplicity.

Different classes. *Gender and sexuality* Debate? *We made it! Because we are the generation of inclusion!* Debate on *feminism*? *We made it! Because the excellent student's organization is beautiful!* *Women who fight for their rights!*

²⁷ *Vestibular* is a test in Brazil that secondary students take after their high school senior year. It is a mandatory test in Brazil for those willing to study at any university, public or private.

²⁸ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ocupa.padrecos/>

²⁹ Retrieved from <https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/ref/article/view/S0104-026X2011000100002/18390>

Debate on *racism*? *We made it! Because racist oppressors will not pass!*³⁰ (upper case by authors)

Therefore, we understand that there are singularities of the movement that are, from the perspectives of transformations and movements, semiosis that "Ocupa Escola" experiences. They float in relation to diffuse and multiple identity expressions. Yet, they allow us to perceive a certain de-identification that is necessary the existence of the multitudes, as pointed out by Preciado (2011).

Likewise, when we see legitimacy and relevance of the identity causes that the "Ocupa Escola" students have chosen to vindicate, together with a strategy of popular support, since their posts with these themes generated *shares* and positive comments, we might identify vectors of singularity and multiplicity that are present in the movement, that is, the power of the multiple that remains immanent. The spirit of the common is present once again. A common interest that exists due to the respect for differences. Differences that share a common ground of action and oppose to a radical anti-individualistic political view that is part of a multitude (Hardt & Negri, 2005). By having debates about gender, sexism, rape culture, by proposing their own workshops and discussions and by recording videos and parodies of popular songs in Brazil that are about their topics of interest, the secondary students manifested both their fight and their creative way to express themselves. Our secondary students are not a student movement, they are not a black movement, they are not a feminist movement, a trans movement, workers' movement: they are flows that cross and touch their surfaces in all these identity territories, without belonging solely to any of them.

"OCUPA ESCOLA" IS NOT A CHAOS: NARRATIVES ON OCCUPATION X INVASION

"Ocupa Escola is not a chaos"³¹

One of the statements that most drew our attention was the constant statements about the exercise of the public care of the secondary school students in relation to their occupied schools. Many posts aimed at registering the care with the public patrimony. Additionally, many posts registered improvements in classrooms, outdoor areas, and gyms. Some other posts aimed at inviting the community to join the movement and participate, "multirões". Photos, videos of the improved areas. The theme of public care seems to show some declarative strategies in search of legitimization and transformation of negative attributions to the movement (related to the chaos, disorganization, desire for not having class, for example) in possible and desirable places of power.

We occupy because we fight for a public and quality education. Even if many insist on saying that it is because we are vagabonds, a mass of maneuver,

³⁰ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ocupa.padreco/>

³¹ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ocupa.padreco/>

etc. By the way, why do people insist on calling us futile and idle even when we decide to take politics into our hands?³²

The occupations are true *public lessons of collective construction*. In the occupation, we have to organize our food, security, communication and take care of our entire school. (...) We organize workshops with topics that we do not usually have in our school. We would have them, however, if the school was made for us³³. (our emphasis)

In publications like these, and in others such as: "we're not there to make noise. We're not joking. We, the students who are in school, are not vagabonds" (Ribeiro, 2016), we see the efforts of the secondary students to subvert the idea that occupation is related to invasion, to demonstrators as "unoccupied", "vagabonds", mess makers and futile. When we follow Bentes (2016) we understand that occupations (of different types) can be understood as a political device that emerges from symbolic disputes in the fields of the public space, the imaginary and language. For this theme of public care and the reinforcement that "'Ocupa Escola' movement is not a chaos". What we are seeing is a symbolic fight towards the deterritorialization of the negative meanings associated with the movement.

In their quest for reverberation of what constitutes the experience of occupations, the secondary students strive to have public acceptance and, especially in those publications, to deterritorialize old concepts linked to demonstrators or to the student movement, or simply to the fact that they are adolescents sharing the school environment; therefore, they seek to gain support from the wider community and strip their identity bonds to stigma and misrepresentations.

In Brazil, such a narrative strategy is successful as a formula to call attention to the occupations, to arouse the solidarity of volunteers and to attract Brazilian public figures who began to participate in events and actions in schools, showing their support for this tactic of the public care. Artists gave concerts, famous chefs who participated in cooking reality shows went to schools to prepare students' food. Yet, every action of this kind often went viral, innumerable shares and more focus for "Ocupa Escola" movement. In conclusion, we can see the profiles of "Ocupa Escola" producing expressions that attempt to: challenge old logics, communicate new territories and re-elaborate the identifications and the legitimation of this social movement.

CONSIDERATIONS

The movement of Brazilian schools known as *Occupy* participates in a new form of distribution in the space already adopted by other movements with a strong connection with the logic of networked society: a mixture of physical and territorial spaces with

³² Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/EscolasRjemLuta/?fref=ts>

³³ Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/EscolasRjemLuta/?fref=ts>

spaces of flows, on the internet. From a communicational point of view, this flow does not only bring great informative and creative value, but it also points to a new, more complex and open wave to dissent: in a search on the many Facebook pages that were created by occupant schools, we found very different forms to communicate. Moreover, we found objectives/goals that differ from one school to another, without homogeneity of intentions since the beginning of the movement. Additionally, they are characterized by elements which Bentes (2015) describes as the multitude-media: that of the production of communication by affectation and of the own irregularities and challenges that emerge in order to produce plural narratives, since to some extent, activism does not admit this alternation of perspectives when it is imprisoned by a discourse of truth.

At this point, we saw on Facebook pages of the movement a wide space of multiplicity, without horizons of unity or totalization. Furthermore, we saw identity statements less close to a robust and totalizing identity, and more associated with the idea of multiplicity, a logic in which the immanence there creates a necessary power to collectively increase the power of a group. Among the regularities we perceived in the analysis, we can highlight: guidelines such as *quality education with critical sense*; criticisms of *police repression towards the movement*; *the resistance against an illegitimate government* and, finally and, therefore, object of specific attention in this paper, *the subjects of horizontality, autonomy and of a movement without leadership*; *the openness to diversity and the insistent need to reinforce public care with the school*. In this composition, there are no isolated categories. The themes are articulated, and connected; the strategic procedures of identity expression of the movement do not operate in isolation. The analysis allowed us to highlight some of these procedures, such as the search for popular support; the support to strategic identifications with the profile, desires and the movement ethical-political positioning; the exploration of different collective identities; the use of profiles on Facebook to manifest identities of resistance; and efforts to transform negative and stereotyped identities of occupation understood as invasion, student movement, and adolescent students into places for transformation and power.

In the manifestations of "Ocupa Escola", we saw traces of vindication, deterritorialization of meanings on the school and on student posture, activism, and power. We continue to believe in the productivity of analyzing movements like this from the perspective of political, social, and cultural actions of multitudes. The statements on the Facebook profiles of "Ocupa Escola" analyzed here point to clues of how old statutes of social movements identity can be rethought. Additionally, the analysis show how a common language is organized from the encounter of desiring singularities that produce events, "a language that is born from indignation and protest, from the fatigue of always being in situations that have no way out" (Negri, 2014, s.p.)³⁴. Although different identities can be identified amongst the secondary students, perhaps the return to this connection between identities and singularities is a necessary problematization for the demands of our time: "the multitude organizes itself to the base of passions that walk

³⁴ Retrieved from <http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/noticias/proa/noticia/2014/06/antonio-negri-e-a-multidao-que-comanda-a-historia-4520222.html>

along with resistance; when the multitude moves, it is never a simple mass, it is a plural richness of life elements" (Negri, 2014, s.p.).

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