

# What you need to know before engaging in digital art guerrilla

---

**Luciana Mizutani**

Universidade Estadual de  
Campinas – UNICAMP  
Campinas, SP, Brasil

[lumizu@gmail.com](mailto:lumizu@gmail.com)

[orcid.org/0000-0002-8936-5780](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8936-5780)

---

**Abstract** | Entering into the algorithms of digital networks means entering the realm of digital advertising that attracts users through the “free” sharing of videos, images, texts, and social interactions. To remain relevant, it is necessary to comply with the unspoken “terms of use” of platforms, which primarily aim for profit. This text emerges as a provocation that challenges these rules, pointing out hacks for digital political art guerrilla to subvert the original purposes of platforms of these advertising companies.

**KEYWORDS:** Political art. Digital media. Digital guerrilla.

---

**O que você precisa saber antes de entrar na guerrilha artística digital**

**Resumo** | Adentrar nos algoritmos das redes digitais é ingressar no domínio da publicidade digital que atrai usuários com a “gratuidade” de compartilhamento de vídeos, imagens, textos e interações sociais. Para se manter relevante é necessário estar de acordo com as “regras de uso” não expressas das plataformas, que visam primordialmente o lucro. Esse texto surge como uma provocação que tensiona essas regras, apontando hackeamentos para a guerrilha artística política digital subverter os propósitos das plataformas dessas empresas publicitárias.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Arte política. Mídia digital. Guerrilha digital.

---

**Lo que necesitas saber antes de entrar en la guerrilla artística digital**

**Resumen** | Adentrarse en los algoritmos de las redes digitales significa ingresar en el dominio de la publicidad digital, que atrae a los usuarios con la “gratuidad” de compartir videos, imágenes, textos e interacciones sociales. Para mantenerse relevante, es necesario alinearse con las “reglas de uso” no expresadas de las plataformas, cuyo objetivo principal es el lucro. Este texto surge como una provocación que cuestiona esas reglas, señalando hackeos para la guerrilla artística política digital y subvirtiendo los propósitos de estas empresas publicitarias.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE:** Arte político. Medios digitales. Guerrilla digital.

---

Enviado em: 30/09/2024  
Aceito em: 22/11/2024  
Publicado em: 04/12/2024

*If you're not paying for the product, then you are the product.*

- Andrew Lewis

## Introduction

It is conceivable that those who experienced the transition from analog life to the inclusion of digital in everyday routines considered the change of enjoying previously unattainable works and materials via the internet to be positive, whether for financial reasons or due to the lack of such productions in the mainstream<sup>1</sup>. Even virtually, this new way of accessing information, knowledge, education, communication, and artistic productions sparked utopian futuristic visions of decentralized power in a more plural and therefore liberating world. While similar perceptions about the internet persist today, the lack of transparency in social media algorithms makes it evident that the results have been the opposite, with a centralization of data and power in the hands of a few digital advertising companies.

Despite their names poorly reflecting their business models, these corporations are often referred to as “*big techs*” or technology giants. However, what is commercialized is not the technology itself, as it is only used as means to an end for delivering digital advertising. Broadly speaking, technology is employed to collect, store, and process massive amounts of user data, which is converted into profit maximization by targeting content and advertisements to users most likely to purchase specific products<sup>2</sup>.

To attract users, companies offer “free” digital platforms for social interactions, sharing videos, images, files, texts, information, entertainment, functionalities, and so on. Upon joining these platforms, content creators gain access to this vast number of users, are provided with creation tools and are lured by the dream of achieving visibility and potentially turning this activity into a profession. However, with a few exceptions, most of the time this comes down to precarious and poorly paid work. The base of users and content creators provides these companies with extensive social reach, enabling them to influence or even set the agenda for public debate. This model’s unprecedented efficiency within capitalism generates annual revenues comparable to those of small developed countries<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It would be a “dominant trend” commonly tied to the interests of large capitalist conglomerates.

<sup>2</sup> Available in :<<https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/rfi/2024/02/29/meta-e-alvo-de-queixa-por-violacao-de-privacidade-no-sistema-de-assinatura-paga-de-instagram-e-facebook.htm>>. Accessed on June 10, 2024.

<sup>3</sup> To do this, you can compare the earnings of platforms and GDPs of European countries, available at: <<https://www.poder360.com.br/economia/big-techs-batem-recorde-em-2023-com-lucro-de-us-327-bilhoes/>> (MARCOLINO, NÓBREGA, 2024) and at:<<https://pt.tradingeconomics.com/country-list/gdp?continent=europe&ref=nucleo.jor.br>>(TRADING ECONOMICS, 2024). Accessed on May 8, 2024.

Without any transparency, there is a growing number of reports about user data breaches and even the sale of private information<sup>4</sup>. This combination of economic power and social influence enables them to successfully undermine any initiatives aimed at creating legislation to regulate the digital space<sup>5</sup>. Laws regulating the digital environment in many countries remain lenient or nonexistent, favoring the perpetuation of these companies' techno-feudalism.<sup>6</sup>

On these platforms, users experience a virtuality that creates presentifications and proposes new forms of communication and technology-mediated experiences. Technological virtuality, although not tangible, is not inherently derealizing and, therefore, does not oppose the notion of reality. By updating the present, virtuality actually becomes an integral part of what we perceive as real (LÉVY, 1996). This is an expanding field, undergoing a process of sedimentation and consolidation into virtual epistemes that integrate into daily life. Digital platforms are becoming increasingly intertwined with everyday routines, to the point where considering a complete withdrawal from them is equivalent to abandoning life in society, or at least a significant part of it.

This virtual field, which overlaps with the material concreteness of daily life in a symbiotic relationship, serves as a mediator for interpersonal relationships, commercial agreements, legal transactions, etc. To encourage subscription in digital platforms, services that appear to be free are offered, as not all of them charge usage fees. However, these services are, in fact, "paid for" by users when they consume advertising displayed on the platforms, as seen in online search engines, email services, mobile apps, online programs, websites, data clouds, streaming platforms, and social networks<sup>7</sup>.

Virtuality as part of the real is exemplified in the profession that has emerged from the networks: the influencers. They are living examples of existence "for sale" in the showcase of digital networks, which have become models to be copied, followed, and listened to. These multimedia productions, although they do not always show it, are in some ways "scenes" that have been conceived and constructed to communicate with a targeted

<sup>4</sup> Available at :<<https://g1.globo.com/economia/tecnologia/noticia/2018/12/19/facebook-compartilhou-mais-dados-com-gigantes-tecnologicos-do-que-o-revelado-diz-jornal.ghtml>>. Accessed on June 10, 2024.

<sup>5</sup> One example in Brazil was Google's marketing actions against bill 2630 in 2023, which would establish standards, guidelines and mechanisms for transparency in social networks and messages. Available at: <<https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2023/05/02/google-faz-acao-abusiva-para-influenciar-o-debate-diz-relator-do-pl-2630.htm>>. Accessed on May 25, 2024.

<sup>6</sup> Technofeudalism defines a socioeconomic structure in which power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of large technology corporations. In this system, large technology companies function as "feudal lords," while technology users, their precarious workers, and other social actors operate as "vassals" or "serfs," with limited access to power and resources.

<sup>7</sup> Originally called "social media" for facilitating interaction with people from social circles and connecting users with common interests, these networks have, over time, become centers for advertising and opinion formation. For this reason, it becomes more appropriate to redefine them as "digital media".

user niche. Those who acquire greater visibility become idols, capable of influencing behaviors and shaping public debates, without needing to be experts on the topics at hand.

The act of being observed transforms the event itself, which, in the case of performing artists, tends to manifest in the micro level - through actions, gestures, and movements - as well as in the broader composition of the scene, including the script, language, aesthetics, among others. The framing of a camera represents a potential audience, and by establishing a bond with this "observer", the relationships of presence<sup>8</sup> are altered, consequently affecting the work itself. Expanding the notion of "scene" to encompass everything we observe on digital platforms might seem like a radical idea, however, what is produced as online content often lies somewhere between a formal scene, where all participants are aware of the theatrical context, and an unpretentious everyday moment casually recorded and shared.

The intersection of this with the political sphere can be particularly harmful, as elected politicians transfer their responsibilities of proposing laws and overseeing the *polis*, to their actions on social media. The essence of political action changes drastically, with political goals that defend the interests of the population being pushed to the background. According to these parameters, the pursuit becomes about staying in the spotlight through the viralization<sup>9</sup> of content, view counts, and likes<sup>10</sup>. Guided by the principles of digital influence and condemned to follow the rules of entertainment, the public image of these political figures transforms into a tailor-made scene for digital networks.

The construction of scenes here takes on a sinister dimension, as its purpose shifts to promote the image of a political figure and produce entertainment, both of which are not necessarily based on elements of reality. Dishonest simulations of combative stances are created, along with disinformation campaigns that provoke outrage and fear. As these figures lose themselves in character, the dialogue - essential for public debate - becomes obstructed. For this reason, understanding these communication strategies designed for digital networks becomes a starting point for curbing the actions of these hate influencers politicians, and possibly a key to turning the tide in favor of the progressive left's digital guerrilla warfare.

---

<sup>8</sup> Here we adopt "presence" as in Feracini, who approaches it in a collective relational way, encompassing not only the performer but also an emancipated spectator and the space-time in which they are inserted. In this case, there would be no individual responsible authors, but rather a collective creative ontogenesis, in which presence itself would be generated and nourished by this collective creative process (FERRACINI, FEITOSA, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Internet term used when a material is quickly shared by a large number of people.

<sup>10</sup> A form of positive interaction on digital networks. On some platforms, there are various possibilities for reactions such as "I don't like it", "surprised", "thank you", etc.

These politicians are in symbiosis with digital advertising companies, which are built on the “attention market”<sup>11</sup>, where profits are maximized as users spend more time on their platforms. The means to achieve this can be unscrupulous, as engagement increases in the face of strong emotions, whether real or manufactured, such as anger, outrage, or feelings of inadequacy regarding beauty standards, among others. These hate influencer politicians tend to produce content that generates high user retention, and algorithms reward them with visibility to users who are more likely to engage with their ideologies. Even aware of the severe harm inflicted on users, these companies continue to maintain toxic digital environments because they are more profitable and favorable to their power-driven agendas. (WAKEFIELD, 2021)

The digital landscape today is so problematic that it is hard not to be overwhelmed by pessimism or resignation, whether in the political sphere, activism, or the artistic field. In *Estratégias da arte em uma era de catástrofes* (Strategies of art in an Age of catastrophes), Maria Angélica Melendi<sup>12</sup> (2017) addresses the current challenge of fighting against massive systems capable of neutralizing, and even absorbing, the very critiques directed at them. For this reason, Melendi acknowledges that a strategy of action that merely denies these structures may not be effective. She suggests that it might be preferable to engage in the system while maintaining a reasonable margin of autonomy, which could allow for the creation of a space for encounter and negotiation: “An appropriate strategy seems to be to resist this institutionalization, inserting oneself into the heart of the institution, contaminating it with a virus that does not destroy it, but that exposes its scars and wounds, its strengths and weaknesses”. (MELENDI, 2017, p.70)<sup>13</sup>

When looking at this business model, it is understandable that people with progressive and left-wing political alignments may be resistant to or averse to interactions that are primarily or exclusively mediated through digital networks. Choosing to abstain from being on digital networks at a personal level is understandable, however, would it be strategically advisable for the progressive field or for resistance arts as a whole?

<sup>11</sup> The term refers to an economic model where user attention is treated as a resource and monetized, primarily through advertising.

<sup>12</sup> Maria Angélica Melendi (1945 - ), professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais – Brazil, working in the areas of linguistics, arts and social sciences. She is the coordinator of the research group “Strategies of art in an Age of Catastrophes”.

<sup>13</sup> Translation by the author. Original text: “Uma estratégia adequada parece ser resistir a essa institucionalização, inserindo-se no cerne da instituição, contaminando-a com um vírus que não a destrua, mas que denuncie suas cicatrizes e suas chagas, suas forças e suas fraquezas.” (MELENDI, 2017, p.70)

Ruud Koopmans<sup>14</sup> argues that the interactions between social movements and political authorities are no longer driven by the result of direct face-to-face confrontation. According to the author, interactions have become mediated by the ways in which the actions of these social movements and political events are portrayed in the mainstream media, which is now interconnected with digital networks. In this context, deliberately choosing not to engage on digital platforms is strategically ineffective. However, this does not mean that collaboration between social movements and digital networks guarantees the subversion of the *status quo*, as, in most cases, these attempts fail. Still, Koopmans asserts that, in democratic societies, often through digital networks, some of these communicators manage to become visible and can promote and create room for social movements and agendas. (KOOPMANS, 2004)

Action on digital networks should by no means be seen as a substitute for in-person actions, protests, and movements. However, without them, these in-person mobilizations will face great difficulty in gaining space in a broad public debate. It is neither an easy nor a dignifying task to join the digital guerrilla, but it is an urgent necessity in light of the current global 4th wave of the far-right<sup>15</sup>. Online “success” is often related to profit and market rules, which can be thought of as veiled “terms of use.” In order to gain space and relevance, it is necessary to find hacks in platforms that, without regulation, favor hate speech, neoliberal ideologies, sponsored content, and fake news that generate engagement. Lamenting the unfair power dynamics of technofeudalism will do little to change what has historically always been an unequal struggle. However, if we do not engage, defeat is certain. At the very least, let us annoy these scoundrels by giving them trouble!

### **Hacking the main “rules of use”**

Choosing to adhere fully to the platforms’ principles when creating digital content, as if they were “rules of use”, means uncritically accepting without restrictions what optimizes corporate profits. If the goal is guerrilla resistance and crafting spaces of resistance, at least some of these “rules” need to be broken or bent. However, the battleground is uneven and heavily skewed against resistance, so fighting on all fronts will likely result in a quiet disappearance orchestrated by algorithms, rendering production irrelevant in terms of distribution. Flexibility is necessary, even if reluctantly, to achieve visibility and relevance

<sup>14</sup> Ruud Koopmans (1961 - ) is a Dutch sociologist and political scientist whose research focuses on immigration, social integration, social movements and public policy. He is currently a professor at the Humboldt University of Berlin.

<sup>15</sup> The 1st wave was after World War II; 2nd wave 1950-1960; 3rd wave 1980-1990 (BOLGHERINI, VITTAR, 2022).

on these platforms. But what are the parameters? Which concessions can be made, and which principles must remain non-negotiable? Is it possible to find balance within this equation in the dynamic environment of digital networks? How can one handle the contradiction of fighting against while simultaneously integrating into a technofeudalist architecture?

Artists can have the advantage in digital networks, as elements highly valued by these platforms are often taken into consideration when composing works of art, such as: creating experiences and dialogue with the audience, communication, and enjoyment. Thus, if user retention is secured - which is what the platforms aim for - more loopholes can be created for hacking this digital advertising structure. Developing strategies for distribution, communication, and digital production is a crucial element in the several paths to join the guerrilla movement, and this endeavor can be facilitated by observing certain principles in analyzing the battlefield. Many of these patterns can be hacked, as content creators, artists, and activists demonstrate daily by finding ways to circumvent the profit-making "rules of use" of these companies.

Platforms are built with specific concepts in mind: YouTube focuses on videos, TikTok on short videos, Instagram and Pinterest on images and photos, Twitch on live video streaming, X (formerly Twitter) on short texts, WhatsApp and Telegram on messaging, and so on. User loyalty to these platforms is strong and challenging to break. Even a huge influencer like Felipe Neto<sup>16</sup> was unable to successfully migrate his followers to the new video platform he launched in 2017 (PESSOA, 2017). Empowering the working class to own the means of production is a foundational vision of the political left, and enabling content creators to own the platforms they use would be a significant step in that direction. While initiatives like these do not find viable paths to realization, digital production remains tied to digital advertising companies. In this current scenario, operating across multiple platforms to engage users on each one of them has become the standard practice among content creators. Developing content specifically tailored for each platform, or at least customizing it to adapt to their distinct architectures, is recommended due to the different algorithms each platform employs.

It is essential to consider that, regardless of the platform, one of the most appealing aspects for users is the customization of their experience. Platforms curate feeds<sup>17</sup> with

---

<sup>16</sup> A prominent Brazilian influencer, entrepreneur, and content creator known for his significant impact on digital media platforms.

<sup>17</sup> Feed on digital media designates the flow of content, the sequence of blocks that the platform algorithms organize for users. These blocks can contain various media or be a multimedia combination of videos, news, music, texts, images, forums, links, among others.



topics, people, and products that are likely to capture their attention. The pursuit of connection becomes essential, for example, with content: that invites participation; that addresses topics of interest; that develops an interactive narrative; that is analogous to a conversation; or creates the immersion of a game. Whether through a photo, a brief story, a video, or audio, it is necessary to craft a scene or situation which the observer finds engaging, interactive and relatable. This creates a brief spectacle designed for a single viewer but one that can be replicated indefinitely.

Users tend to be loyal to specific formats and themes, for instance, TikTok users are not looking for texts, X users seek the latest news, and someone subscribing to a cooking channel is not expecting real estate tips, and so on. This is the “rule”, however, hacks are possible and require creativity. A notable example is the controversial federal deputy from Minas Gerais - Brazil, André Janones, on Facebook. He conducts part of his political communication within buy-and-sell communities in the platform’s “groups”<sup>18</sup>, regularly frequented by users seeking good deals. By targeting specific groups in cities across Minas Gerais, Janones appropriated the geographic scope enabled by the platform, and effectively tailored his posts to reach potential voters.

The processing of big data<sup>19</sup> collected by platforms through user interactions creates an extensive map that includes interests, residential and current location, gender, age, purchasing power, political alignment, search and consumption history, occupation, and other factors. This mapping not only allows for the personalization of each user’s experience but also generates insights about the user data as a whole. These data are leveraged to maximize profits through the attention market, with companies fine-tuning their algorithms to prioritize various formats, themes, and content durations at strategic moments. These changes occur without prior warning, and can drastically shift the distribution of content overnight.

The shift is particularly impactful when the specialty or type of content from a channel is deprioritized in favor of another format. For instance, creators of short, meticulously crafted animations that take a long time to produce can suffer significant drops in views if the distribution of longer videos is suddenly favored. This occurred in 2020 when YouTube prioritized long livestreams due to the pandemic, which was reversed when the platform was ousted by TikTok, prompting YouTube to favor the distribution of shorter videos, often just a few minutes long.

<sup>18</sup> Facebook is organized into 5 tabs: home page, video, marketplace, groups and games. Even though there is a marketplace on Facebook, it is also common for trades to take place in Facebook groups in Brazil.

<sup>19</sup> Big data is a term used to describe extremely large and complex data sets that can be analyzed to extract meaningful information and patterns. The term “big data” refers not only to the size of the data, but also to the speed at which it is generated and the variety of sources and formats in which it appears.



Although there are examples of content creators who manage to circumvent, to some extent, certain platform-driven boosts or discouragements, these are usually already established profiles with a loyal follower base. For channels newly entering the digital guerrilla, defying these primary “rules” can have severe consequences, potentially making content distribution unfeasible. The channel *Tempero Drag (Drag seasoning)* (PEREIRA, 2015), featuring the drag persona Rita Von Hunty, is an example of one that persisted with her performance-lectures on literature, Marxism, politics, and other topics, with durations aligned with the subject matter, without radically yielding to the platforms’ “preferences.” Despite the impact on distribution, the channel remains one of the largest left-wing Brazilian politics channel on YouTube.

The frequency of posts is another key factor for distribution, as the attention market thrives on user loyalty. Channels that post daily tend to have better distribution than those with longer or erratic intervals. While some complex productions with sparse updates manage to create loyal followers, few channels perform well with less than one post per week or at least one every 15 days. A science communication channel that circumvents this “rule” of frequency while excelling in animation, editing, and scripting quality is channel *Nostalgia*<sup>20</sup> by Felipe Castanhari (2011). It’s worth noting, however, that the risks increase exponentially with sparse productions, as months of work can be lost if distribution is impacted by an element that “displeases” the platform, which could be something secondary in the work, such as a copyrighted soundtrack or a production title containing a word that the platform discourages<sup>21</sup>.

When possible, it is advisable to minimize intervals between posts, which can be achieved with short, less elaborate materials, such as brief clips extracted from more detailed productions.

Tempero Drag  
on Youtube



Felipe Neto  
on Youtube



<sup>20</sup> Although this channel is not strictly political, scientific channels end up taking on political contours with the rise of the far right, because for their ideologies and worldviews to prevail, it is necessary to attack those who refute them, that is, science, academia, scientific methodologies, etc.

<sup>21</sup> Terms that refer to violence or that have the potential to encourage dangerous practices are some examples of words that are discouraged from being used. Political channels that need to use these words often use alternative spellings such as: r4p3 or n4zi\$m.

## Visibility, legitimacy, and resonance on digital platforms

One of the most prominent progressive left channels in Brazil, *Meteoro Brasil* (*Brazil Meteor*), structures its productions around three communication mechanisms: visibility, legitimacy, and resonance (*Meteoro Brasil*, 2019). These concepts are explored in Ruud Koopmans' article *Movements and media: selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere* (2004), which emphasizes the media's influence on political developments, particularly in social activism that combine in-person and digital strategies. While the article focuses on communication aspects, its principles of distribution are highly relevant when studying the scene made for digital platforms. From it, we can extract clues and thoughts to craft scenes that can achieve significance in public debate.

Koopmans (2004) defines **legitimacy** as the average of reactions in the public sphere, whether supporting or rejecting an agent or message; *visibility* refers to the number of communication channels through which a message is transmitted and with what relevance; *resonance* is connected to the reactions or responses that a message is capable of generating.

**Resonance** and **visibility** are often proportionally linked, for instance, high visibility tends to generate high resonance. The same happens in the other direction, when a message resonates strongly, it often goes viral, gaining visibility on digital networks or even in mainstream media portals. This interconnection can be exemplified by editions of the reality show *Big Brother Brasil* – BBB (DOURADO, 2002), where the high resonance and visibility of participants tend to be temporally framed by the duration of that particular season.

**Visibility** and **resonance** are mechanisms that can be quantified through metrics such as follower counts, views, interactions, shares, time spent by users on each production, and monetization<sup>22</sup> - whether supported by advertisers, users, or the content creators themselves. It is through these numbers that the platforms' algorithms define the relevance of a channel or production, which directly reflects on distribution. Consequently, channels consistently aim to boost these numbers through strategies like encouraging subscriptions, shares, interactions in live chats, likes on their content, as well as offering giveaways and benefits to subscribers and/or supporters.

Achieving high **legitimacy**, **resonance**, and **visibility** represents the ideal scenario for influencing public discourse. The *Instituto Conhecimento Liberta* or ICL (Knowledge is Freeing Institute) serves as an example of a progressive channel that has rapidly and

---

<sup>22</sup> Process of making something profitable that originally generates no revenue.

effectively gained relevance in the public debate by incorporating these three mechanisms from other agents. The ICL's strategies include partnerships for rebroadcasting its classes, lectures and documentaries on channels that share same target audience; hiring journalists for its news programs who hold credibility due to their association with major traditional media broadcasters; and offering courses led by people with high legitimacy and visibility in their respective fields.

This type of transfer of notoriety and reputation is a hallmark of digital networks, serving as the main currency for influencers. They convert this relevance into income, either through companies that pay for the marketing of their products, or via smaller channels that pay to be mentioned or featured on larger platforms.

Entering into dissonance with one of these interlocutors is another way to raise the levels of these communicative mechanisms. Once again, dissonance often resides in a space between a staged scene and genuine disagreement, similar to the promotional build-up of a sport fighting match, where the animosity between competitors is frequently exaggerated to aid marketing efforts. When agents with visibility, resonance, and legitimacy respond to a provocation, they effectively "validate" the provocateur as relevant to the public debate and worthy of a response. Therefore, ignoring provocations from agents with low relevance becomes a wise strategy. However, disregarding the hate speeches or crimes of provocateurs who already possess one or more of these mechanisms can be a strategic mistake, as demonstrated in the cases of former Brazilian president Bolsonaro and the far-right's ideological guru, Olavo de Carvalho.

This provocation tactic is widely employed by the far-right, which increases the toxicity levels of digital platforms, as these confrontations often involve attacks on democracy, human rights, and minorities, while also frequently incurring in crimes of slander and defamation. On the other hand, it is a double-edged sword, as the rise in relevance tends to benefit both parties involved. The content creator Henry Bugalho a writer and philosopher in the progressive field, experienced this phenomenon of growth in his channel after attacks from a far-right influencer, who will not be named in this article specifically to avoid boosting his visibility or online searches.

It is worth noting that the confrontation approach itself is not inherently problematic, as it can be employed without harm to society or legal violations, much like the previously mentioned promotional strategies for sporting events. Some influencers intentionally make controversial or incorrect posts as part of a strategy to generate resonance, knowing that correcting or refuting disagreements is a common behavior among social media users.

Singer Anitta<sup>23</sup>, for instance, uses this tactic with notable results: she shares a disagreement or doubt online, generating resonance for the topic, subsequently, before the wave of discussions subsides, she provides her resolution to the issue. This dynamic was evident in mainstream media coverage following her posts expressing uncertainty about her vote in Brazil's 2022 presidential elections, culminating in her announcement of support for President Lula (MORAES, PORTO, 2022). When effectively executed, this confrontational strategy can be highly efficient, it made a fight in online posts between actress Luana Piovani and football player Neymar Jr. spark a broader public debate about the privatization of marina areas - a topic that might otherwise have gone unnoticed in the media (LIMA, 2024).

Topics, events, and terms that are generating interactions and posts get more widely distributed, and productions that adhere to what is resonating can benefit from this. In addition to addressing the topic, it is essential to "communicate" this to the platforms, which is achieved through hashtags. Hashtags, represented by the hash symbol (#) preceding words and phrases, help organize the themes of online productions and function like the "keywords" of scientific articles<sup>24</sup>. Major events such as concerts, movie premieres, trends<sup>25</sup>, or commemorative dates tend to gain momentum during their resonance cycle, so even simple posts using a strategic hashtag, like photos from attending a major event, can drive engagement and boost visibility across channels.

Understanding the use of hashtags is fundamental to the production of online content. Hashtags adopted by the far-right that already have resonance cannot be countered by not using them, for example, the tactics of using *#elenão* (Not him) on the networks to avoid the use of former president Bolsonaro's name while he had the visibility of office, had an effect only in the bubble of the progressive left. To break through the bubbles of digital media, it is more effective to associate *#Bolsonaro* and *#Mito*<sup>26</sup> (*Myth*) with negative things, with his crimes, since it makes people who always interact with certain content, receive this information through hashtags. The tactic of not using a hashtag makes sense if the topic or person in question has low visibility and resonance, such as to referencing the *#inelegível*<sup>27</sup> (ineligible) in his moments of irrelevance on the networks.

---

<sup>23</sup> Brazilian singer, songwriter, and businesswoman known for her impactful presence in pop culture and her strategic use of social media to engage with political and social issues.

<sup>24</sup> The use of hashtags is also recommended for practical reasons, as the online environment speeds up the grouping of hashtags by turning them into clickable links that redirect users to posts with the same themes.

<sup>25</sup> It is some type of production that is being widely shared. Common trends on TikTok include performing choreographies, physical challenges, games, analogous dramaturgical structures, dubbing or lip-syncing content, etc.

<sup>26</sup> This is one of the ways Bolsonaro's followers call the former president.

<sup>27</sup> Ineligible is one of the ways left-wing call former president Bolsonaro after he lost his political rights for 8 years after he attacked democracy by summoning ambassadors from foreign countries to question the electoral system.

The far-right effectively shapes online debates through its organizational strategies, maintaining thematic unity in collective posts, which generates visibility and resonance. The CPMI<sup>28</sup> on Fake News revealed to the public the existence of a group of Bolsonaro government advisors operating on digital media under the command of Carlos Bolsonaro<sup>29</sup>. Known as the “gabinete do ódio” (Office of Hate), they functioned as a “digital militia”, orchestrating disinformation and smear campaigns (OLIVEIRA, 2019). Currently, even without funding or influence from the executive branch, this core group remains active, as Bolsonaro-aligned politicians continue to focus collectively on the same topics weekly. This coordination enables them to successfully associate terms on digital platforms, such as linking “patriot” to “Bolsonaro supporters”, “leftist” to “communist”, “PT” (Partido dos Trabalhadores or Workers’ Party, same party of President Lula) to “corruption”, and “regulation” to “censorship”.

Contesting and repositioning or re-signifying terms and symbols is crucial for digital guerrilla efforts, which is unlikely to succeed without joint action by progressive and leftist agents. Some initiatives have been proposed, such as the “gabinete do amor” (Office of love)<sup>30</sup>, but none have managed to unify the democratic field on digital media. This is not about following a leader in an echo chamber behavior that blindly amplifies messages, but rather about the temporal thematic organization of posts by political agents. Centralizing multiple voices around a single topic can create resonance to influence debates, such as: establishing minimum wages for currently uncovered categories; advocating for abortion legalization; reforming the military pension system<sup>31</sup>; or decriminalizing drugs.

This organization could also assist in the “marketing” of the agendas by proposing easily understandable terms that capture the essence of the debate, avoiding obscure or incomprehensible language for the general public, such as “arcabouço fiscal” (fiscal framework)<sup>32</sup> or “orçamento secreto” (secret budget)<sup>33</sup>. Additionally, it could advocate for replacing terminologies that, for the broader audience, have been negatively associated by the extreme right. For instance, influencer Felipe Neto suggests using “digital constitution” instead of “regulation of media”, the former brings an idea with high legitimacy in society,

<sup>28</sup> The Parliamentary Mixed Inquiry Commission (CPMI) is a tool of Brazil's National Congress composed of both deputies and senators, aimed at investigating matters of public interest involving potential irregularities. CPIMs have investigative powers similar to those of judicial authorities, including the ability to summon witnesses, request documents, and conduct inquiries.

<sup>29</sup> Carlos Bolsonaro is a Brazilian politician, a city councilor in Rio de Janeiro, and the son of former President Jair Bolsonaro.

<sup>30</sup> Available at: <<https://www.instagram.com/gabinetedoamorbr/>>. Accessed on June 3, 2024.

<sup>31</sup> Military pensions in Brazil are often criticized for their privileged status compared to the general social security system. Notable examples include lifetime benefits for unmarried daughters and payouts that surpass the average received by other retirees.

<sup>32</sup> Name given to the tax regime that passed through the legislative houses in Brazil in 2023.

<sup>33</sup> Name given to a type of allocation of funds for parliamentarians in Brazil in 2020.

linked to law and legislation, whereas the latter evokes notions of restriction or censorship of free speech (VIEIRA, 2024).

Within academia it may seem unusual or even presumptuous to address topics outside one's field of expertise, however, broadening the range of topics can be advantageous for guerrilla warfare on the networks. Platform algorithms work by default, recognizing themes, productions and channels of interest to certain users, which creates bubbles of interactions and categories of subjects. Addressing issues in digital guerrilla warfare, whose main focus is not political, makes the algorithms relate other factors, associating resonances from different areas. This breaking of digital bubbles makes it possible to reach users who would not normally be reached. An intriguing example of leveraging non-political channels is found in Rapha Prado's channel, which combines humor, cooking, and politics, where he creatively teaches recipes like "motociabata com minion rings"<sup>34</sup> or "dadinho de tá pior, cara".<sup>35</sup> (PRADO, 2006)

Finding ways to address current issues, within the specialty of the person producing the content, seems to be a responsible and ethical way to take advantage of the boost generated by the resonance of a topic. One channel that carries out an interesting action in linguistics, problematizing the construction of media discourse, is that of content creator Jana Viscardi. In the "Notícias incríveis" (Incredible News) series, which is launched while there is still resonance for the news, Viscardi analyzes the ways in which communication takes place, and the discourses highlighted through linguistic choices. (VISCARDI, 2007)

Some topics and personalities create bubbles, such as fan communities around a celebrity or artistic work, and it is possible to devise strategies to associate this with online activism. One approach is to create content related to popular themes on digital platforms, such as mass culture or pop culture. There are channels that specialize in popular topics, which sometimes touch on political issues, like Casimiro Miguel or Cazé, who became famous for his soccer broadcasts filled with good humor (FERREIRA, 2022). Another possibility is to focus on specific niche topics, which tend to generate a smaller but more engaged follower base, as these communities often have fewer opportunities to discuss, inform themselves, or advocate for a particular cause. A niche example of online activism and awareness is Lucas Raniel<sup>36</sup>, who addresses news, taboos, and shares his daily life living with HIV.

<sup>34</sup> A parody name that combines "ciabatta with onion rings" and "motociata" (motorcade) of minions". "Minion" is a term used by the left to refer to the followers of former President Bolsonaro.

<sup>35</sup> A parody name that combines the dish "dadinho de tapioca" (tapioca cube) with "dados de tá pior, cara" (data says that is worse, dude).

<sup>36</sup> Available at: <<https://www.instagram.com/lucasrael/>>. Accessed on June 3, 2024.



It is also possible to approach content more broadly by mixing topics from different niches, which, in turn, increases interest in the production but also raises competition among creators covering the same content. The main themes addressed are a key factor in audience loyalty. Excessive variation in subject matter tends to generate disinterest, while being too narrow does not encourage the algorithm to break through the usual bubbles. A channel that successfully blends broad niches such as pop culture, philosophical issues, politics, and current events is the already mentioned *Meteoro Brasil*, which has an extensive portfolio of videos exploring these intersections.

Choosing niches is about defining a target audience. As the project evolves, just as platforms adjust their algorithms, digital producers also recalculate their routes. Initial plans and expectations do not always fully anticipate how the project will evolve over time. The aforementioned *Henry Bugalho* channel has already focused more on philosophy and literature than politics, while *Tempero Drag* was once intended to be a cooking channel. The experience of those who produce, the interaction with the public, the platforms, and events in the world lead to revisions, redesigns and reshaping of the projects' themes and aesthetics.

Allow me to briefly share my experience in digital content production. I am trained as an actress, and when I started my journey on digital platforms, my goal was to create scenes focused on political militancy<sup>37</sup>. At first, I used traditional scenic elements, such as characters, situations, and comedy scripts with jokes about political events. Over time, these defined characters gave way to a persona that existed somewhere between a performative body and my social body, shaped by my intersectionalities – as a woman, artist, left-wing activist, researcher, among others. This hybrid sought to translate the surreal nature that reality had become, not only by commenting on it but also through the construction of in tune poetic. This transformation occurred due to a combination of factors: the large number of creators already dedicated to political comedy sketches with characters; the connection of this production with my PhD research, which pushed me toward more experimentation in this “new stage” with its own rules and specificities; and finally, because this form aligned more closely with my activist intentions, both in content and in form.

This new form of scenic construction generated a different kind of response from those commenting on the production, with remarks about the form itself, how the language made the topic “lighter”, or about the wit of the humor. It is, of course, a personal take, however the production is permeated by the relationships established with architecture and

---

<sup>37</sup> Available at: <[https://www.tiktok.com/@lu\\_mizu/video/7186666183221988614? r=1& t=8qqUhhUgehC](https://www.tiktok.com/@lu_mizu/video/7186666183221988614? r=1& t=8qqUhhUgehC)>. Accessed on 11/24/2024.



spectators, and the adaptability necessary for dialogue. It is not about “pleasing” the viewer, but rather an exercise in the porousness of the relationship, a search for genuine dialogue, which is specifically mediated by platforms, predominantly through metrics such as views, likes, and textual interactions in the chat or private messages.

When dealing with scientific communication, more layers are added to these points. The same goes for channels that follow institutional or professional parameters, such as the medical field or journalism, which require elevated levels of legitimacy for the production to have credibility. Being in the academic sphere, post-graduation, or being part of a student or research group tends to create this high degree of legitimacy. However, legitimacy is not enough for a message/agent to become visible or resonate. According to Koopmans (2004), this is because there is no debate on issues that are at the extremes of legitimacy, high or low, and it is a matter of consensus.

*It is another way to measure quality.* Unlike academia, legitimacy does not govern the dynamics of digital platforms. There is no required degree or formal education needed to produce content for digital media, and content verification by the platforms only occurs when there is suspicion of terms of use violations. The “critique” of digital content does not necessarily pass through the scrutiny of experts, instead, the evaluation of content happens through interactions with users mediated by the platforms, sometimes through comments from other content creators on their channels, and indirectly through distribution algorithms that are based on user retention.

The lack of academically recognized standards naturally generates distrust in the quality and reliability of digital productions, especially since they operate in the attention market. Productions open to contributions may not have their quality guaranteed, however, to broadly consider them of low legitimacy is a hasty judgment. Fields that rely on a large network of knowledge can be enhanced by the digital environment. This judgment, often applied to influencers, also carries a dose of prejudice, perhaps because these productions take into account mechanisms of visibility and resonance.

By way of example, some initiatives have become effective precisely because they are not exclusively the responsibility of academic experts, as is the case in the creation of digital encyclopedias and the development of free software. Scarce contributions have, for example, made it impossible for some initiatives to create digital encyclopedias whose initial plan was to be fed exclusively by specialists. Although it is not free of errors and inaccuracies and, in some cases, lacks depth, Wikipedia, which allows contributions from ordinary users, is a project of relevance and legitimacy in the area of digital encyclopedias. Similarly, the

community of free software developers has collectively managed to develop programs that compete with expensive proprietary programs and platforms.

Since legitimacy operates within a qualitative rather than a quantitative field, it becomes a battleground of dispute between political spectrums. Each political group seeks to validate its theorists and worldviews while rejecting those of opposing factions. While high legitimacy once functioned communicatively for the traditional right, the rules of the game have shifted with the rise of the attention market. Politicians used to repeat broadly accepted generalities, such as being “against corruption” or “against privilege”, and the traditionally co-opted media would label their enemies as opponents, as being against these slogans, thereby assigning them low legitimacy.

With digital networks, this strategy was shattered, and the traditional right was swallowed up by the ultra-right. Without the need for mediation by the big press on digital networks, politicians began to fight, under this new perspective, for the scarce space of influence in the public debate. Aiming to retain users who are potential voters, politicians began to organize their communications according to the mechanisms of resonance and visibility, and caring less about legitimacy.

Despite the interrelationship between these three mechanisms, it is crucial to consider how to manage legitimacy when producing content for digital media. On this matter, Koopmans tells us that: “Ideally, the speaker would like high resonance and high legitimacy, but will usually have to settle for less because normally high resonance is only achieved at the cost of an increase in controversiality and thereby a net decrease in legitimacy” (KOOPMANS, 2004, p. 375).

Legitimacy is not as directly transferred to the stage as visibility or resonance, which are easily quantifiable. This is accentuated by the fact that the discourse of the scene moves between fiction and non-fiction, and it is necessary to observe the fictional perspective - of characters and the context of the fable -, and the non-fictional perspective - of artists and the historical context. In non-fiction, there is the legitimacy of the group of artists who make up the whole work, and this is no different from legitimacy in communication. Another layer of legitimacy needs to be considered when overlapping the discourse mediated by a character who inhabits the fictional field with the non-fictional historical context. The superimposition or collage of these materials can subvert the message in non-fiction, and the result be different from the discourse in the fictional field. As when making a satire of upper social classes, where a speech that reveals class oppression becomes a criticism rather than a defense of this behavior. The dual nature of the scene’s legitimacy means that it does not automatically project itself outside the work but is noticed in a more subtle way.

Thus, the variations in the way, degree, and context in which legitimacy is perceived in the scene become crucial points for reflecting digital production.

The decline in legitimacy can be seen, for example, outside the discursive field, in aesthetics that simulate everyday life and create the impression that there is no pre-established script, no initial objective, which makes emotions and actions appear spontaneous. Videos recorded in cars, in domestic spaces, on the street or in stores are multiplying on channels for recipes, politicians, comedy sketches or even advertisements. It is like a new kind of “realism”, produced to simulate an authentic slice of life, where the degrees of fiction present in these productions are deliberately camouflaged.

It is as if we have become a bit like the character Truman Burbank, played by Jim Carrey in the movie *The Truman show* (WEIR, 1998), in which this character is unaware that his life is actually a television program. Truman interacts with actors he believes to be family, colleagues and friends, and lives through situations proposed by directors and scriptwriters. Little by little, he begins to find what he knows as “reality” strange, and when he discovers that his life is staged, he chooses to leave the show to discover the world outside the program. On digital networks, unlike Truman, even when they perceive these spaces of semi-fiction, users seem to choose to maintain the illusion, as if they were choosing a world filled with paid advertising or a “simulation” that disguises itself as non-fiction.

The choice of accessible language, or language that deviates from the cultured norm and/or the asepsis of the news, is a common choice on digital media. Even though the content is intended to be of the same quality, with the intention to democratize knowledge, this bias reduces the sense of legitimacy of the content. I purposely speak of the “feeling” of legitimacy and not the legitimacy itself, because this perception does not escape linguistic prejudices, from valuing the cultured and elaborate norm to the detriment of simpler and clearer forms of communication. Of course, different languages change the knowledge itself, however it is worth separating as “feeling” the cases in which a certain language is used only as a mechanism to alter the perception of legitimacy. The channel of Chavoso<sup>38</sup> da USP (Chavoso from State University of São Paulo) exemplifies this “sensation” of decreased legitimacy by using the language of the “ghetto” in his content. The content generates accessibility, and not only translates, but recreates philosophical knowledge in the language of the periphery, updating it. (TORRES, 2019)

---

<sup>38</sup> “Chavoso” is a slang Brazilian refers to a “key” can be used in the sense of someone that grabs attention, stylish, or in the sense of trouble, alluding to the “key to jail” (prison).

Performing what you set out to do, poorly or insufficiently is another way of lowering your legitimacy, such as overinterpreting, using visibly crude costumes or scripts that lack dramaturgical polish. In some cases, it's about accepting the impossibility of doing something with excellence, like people who recreate the fashion looks of celebrities and famous designers with everyday objects and materials. In others, it's an aesthetic choice, as in the case of the Porta dos Fundos (Back Door) video production company, which produces comic effects by escaping from what would be the standard aesthetic, from what is considered "excellence" in audiovisual production. It's a tenuous threshold to be explored, and it's curious how maintaining this slightly lower level of legitimacy, requires mastery, because if you go beyond this threshold, either up or down, the production loses interest and the comedy fades away.

These are just a few examples that illustrate the strategies for handling communication mechanisms. Some principles are rigid and allow little room for negotiation, while others are open to approaches as varied as the creativity of the producer. So far we have discussed some of the "rules" of the platforms, experiments to circumvent them and communication mechanisms that influence distribution. However, how can the resistance scene contribute to digital guerrilla warfare? What powerful materials could emerge from this intersection?

Instituto  
Conhecimento Liberta  
on Youtube



CazéTV on Youtube



Henry Bugalho  
on Youtube



Lucas Raniel  
on Instagram



Rapha Prado  
on Youtube



Chavoso da USP  
on Youtube



Jana Viscardi  
on Youtube



Anitta  
on Instagram



## Art in the digital guerrilla

The languages emerging from the digital realm can hardly be classified into singular fields such as theater, cinema, pedagogy, politics, journalism, performance, etc. Without awareness of the classifications and terminologies that organize practices and studies in these fields, hybrid materials are blended with unorthodox methodologies. These works fuse excerpts, languages, materials from various fields, themes, narratives, characters, and

whatever else might contribute to their composition. To encompass such heterogeneity, the results require umbrella terms like “communication”, “content”, “creation”, or “production”. Content creators experiment with the composition of materials where limitations of imagination or technical constraints - such as hardware, software, locations, etc. - have a greater impact on production than the principles taught in formal education, where tutors associate forms with types of content, linking them to aesthetics and historical periods.

From a text-centric perspective, it would be harsh to classify digital production as belonging to the performing arts. However, when analyzing the articulation of scenic components, as outlined by Pavis, where the hierarchy between elements is de-emphasized, we can recognize the scenic within digital production. Pavis examines elements such as space, time, and rhythm from both the fictional and non-fictional perspectives, which resonates with the dual nature of digital networks, in which the actants - where personas or influencers might fit - navigate this hybrid field where fiction and non-fiction overlap within the scene. (PAVIS, 2007 *apud* GRAZIOLI, 2019)

This can be exemplified in the sharing of experiences that undergo a process of staging, as seen in countless online productions reporting trips, restaurant visits, service usage, illnesses and treatment diaries, and aesthetic procedures, among others. There are specific formats that deviate from language-based narratives, portraying events from an individual's perspective, often referred to as POV (point of view). In such content, we observe an actant positioned between fiction and non-fiction, navigating a situation that serves as the core theme of the production.

Although the de-hierarchization of elements is not always a conscious choice in digital production, it aligns with Pavis's perspective. By disregarding hierarchies, the collage of materials in digital scenes can break away from conventionality, sometimes even appearing disjointed. This can be seen, for instance, when videos exploring the making of an object or artwork are juxtaposed with content centered on political or philosophical discourse, creating new relationships between form and meaning.

It might, however, be premature to assert that such productions could be fully encompassed by contemporary theories and practices of the stage. Observing these approximations, on the other hand, could enrich field studies by sharing nomenclature and concepts, and by analogy, contribute to these digital artistic productions establishing themselves based on their own epistemes, ethics, and/or aesthetics. In practical terms, the similarities between elements could serve as a starting point for stage artists to create for digital environments, as they already possess a certain degree of expertise and familiarity with these performative principles.

The description of works of art as a fragment, as something unfinished, is a frequent practice in fields like performance, and also common in digital production. The tight deadlines imposed by algorithms, which penalize delays in distribution, drive content creators to maintain an active online presence, often planning daily posts. Particularly for small teams in digital projects, it is nearly impossible to achieve excellence across the entire production chain, which, for video content, includes scripting, crafting scenic elements, recording, editing, preparing promotional materials for posting, and managing interactions with users. Each production becomes an episode within a larger series, a form suspended in time, where the parts collectively shape the project's whole. This kind of artistic production embraces imperfection, opens itself to interaction with the audience, and the process of finding or forging pathways during one's own journey, accepting the unfinished work, in the fragments of the possible.

If the conflict, with the architecture made by the algorithms of digital advertising companies, can be internalized and organized within the digital artistic experience, a potent space is cracked open for content production, that can then address themes, aesthetics and characters that would have little or no space in the mainstream media and commercial art. A true democratization of the internet requires full social participation across its entire production chain: access, creation, consumption, theorization, financing, and critical reflection. In this context, hacking these structures can become a driving force toward that goal, since the concrete realities of minorities contexts, their diverse social dynamics, or non-normative corporealities can take center stage in artistic works and communication. This freedom to compose with materials could promote practices, agents, and cultural elements that have been historically neglected or erased. Although few initiatives may successfully overcome the blockade of technofeudal algorithmic overlords, those that do will become symbolic voices in public debate, that will be able to revisit and champion the flags of plurality, equity, democracy, human rights, etc.

Historical guerrilla artists have diverging views on the relationship between politics and art. Artur Barrio<sup>39</sup> asserts that a work is inherently political, while Cildo Meireles<sup>40</sup> argues that art is not born political but can acquire political dimensions over time (MIZUTANI, 2023). These differing yet non-exclusive perspectives coexist at the intersection of politics

---

<sup>39</sup> Artur Barrio (1945 - ) Portuguese-Brazilian artist, exponent of the artistic avant-garde Guerrilla Art, recognized for his works of conceptual art and performances that explore themes such as violence, politics and identity. One of his best-known works is the "Bloody Bundles".

<sup>40</sup> Cildo Meireles (1948 - ) Brazilian artist, exponent of the artistic avant-garde Guerrilla Art, known for his conceptual artworks and installations that often address political and social issues. His creations include famous pieces such as "Inserções em Circuitos Ideológicos" (Insertions into Ideological Circuits) and "Tiradentes: Totem Monument to the Political Prisoner".

and art on the internet. There are militant artists, activists, and communicators who actively engage with the artistic field, directly participating in political conflict, building social base movements, in the dispute over the historical memory of both the present and the past. Indirect pathways also emerge, such as occupying digital spaces with non-normativity, marginalized knowledge, and non-hegemonic practices. These approaches can gain political nuances, even unintentionally, since they often become targets of attacks by conservative forces and the far-right.

The far-right's reaction to anything that does not align with their worldview tends to be violent, perhaps because their foundation is fragile and cannot be countered with reality and reason. Consequently, they naturally seek support in more malleable matters, such as memory. Memory is a field of constant dispute, shaping both the portrayal of the present and the interpretation of the past, which can include "fakes" that were virtually created to pass as facts. Fighting against the *status quo* is a colossal task, confronting structures rooted in hereditary privileges, which makes defeats more frequent than victories. Winning the battle over memory directly influences judicial decisions, press narratives, academic theories, and how history is portrayed. Memory is subject to these power dynamics, and institutions periodically fail, for example: by granting amnesty for dictatorship crimes; forgetting the victims killed by these regimes; portraying white people as heroes in the belated abolition of slavery; or blaming minorities that are the actual victims of daily violence. In such cases, the arts of resistance can be one of the few spaces where symbolic restorations are possible, a process that can be accelerated and amplified through digital networks.

If the far-right perspective is rooted in their desires and faith, art guerrilla warfare based on logic may have limited impact, and struggle to recreate the surrealism that is to inhabit the disputes for memory between worldviews. In this context, art can claim yet another role, the creation of experiences that transcend factual communication.

The podcast *Medo e Delírio em Brasília* (*Fear and loathing in Brasília*), by Pedro Daltro and Cristiano Botafogo, is a project that goes beyond traditional concepts of journalism, communication, and event analysis. Initially describing themselves as "an acid diary of this army-green government, this grotesque bad trip we got ourselves into", the production now presents itself as "a hallucinatory podcast about politics with the latest news of what is left of Brazil" (DALTRO, BOTAFOGO, 2020). Through collages of historical archives, narrations, parodies of communication aesthetics, and original sound creations, the podcast recreates in audio the whirlwind that is living in Brazil. This production that blends heterogeneous materials, when viewed through the lens of art, resembles methodologies employed in post-



dramatic theater. However, as a characteristic production of the digital polyphonic era, it is unlikely to fit neatly into a single field. While digital epistemes are still being developed, analyses often borrow from other domains, as seen in Miriam Hermeto de Sá Motta's<sup>41</sup> approach, who uses concepts from history and music to discuss this project. The researcher highlighting the totality of what is heard, where elements intertwine to create a soundscape, a whole that would be composed of: narrative content close to the journalistic field; historical audio documents, including speeches and statements from political figures; and "vírgulas sonoras" (sound commas), such as sound effects and edited, fragmented phrases that construct sensations and meanings (SCHAFFER, 1991 *apud* MOTTA, 2024).

The dialogues with the artistic field intertwine with the specificities of digital production, sharing inspiration, concepts, themes, compositional methodologies, theoretical frameworks, and the recreation of experiences and memories. The observation of these hybridizations must be fluid and sensitive to the scenarios of each moment, which is why we address, in this article, principles rather than rules. After all, art that aims to be guerrilla art is that which strengthens and empowers the causes and the people who resist!

Medo e Delírio em  
Brasília on Spotify



## Last words

It may seem obvious to say that when entering digital media, one must network and engage in a state of dialogue. A monologue in the middle of a crowd will inevitably fade within the public sphere, where countless voices seek scarce opportunities to speak. We compete for space and influence where interactions that undermine social organization and amplify the spectacle of barbarism proliferate. Here, digital guerrilla warfare becomes an effort against the tide, which is why dividing function holes tends to amplify the strength of progressive collectives, ultimately contributing to the fortification of citizenship. Being part of a network is, or should be, an exercise in dialogue and humility, particularly when navigating digital guerrilla warfare. Choosing approaches, strategies, and niches means acknowledging the impossibility of addressing every social ill, every cause, every injustice,

---

<sup>41</sup> Professor at the History Department of UFMG. She works in the areas of History of the Republic of Brazil and History Teaching.

or encompassing all perspectives. However, within a network of guerrilla fighters, it is possible to stand together, hold no one's hand astray, and have a chance at fighting this long-standing, unequal class war that stretches across generations.

It is reasonable to think that those considering joining the digital guerrilla are already familiar with online networks and consume the work of other guerrilla creators, who can serve as examples and references for their projects. If these productions have reached a broad audience and aspiring guerrillas, it is likely they have hacked platform "rules of engagement" and discovered unique ways that ensure their place in public debate. Using these characteristics as references is beneficial, as long as they do not become rigid goals. Established channels often operate with larger teams and more robust structures, so, when embarking on digital guerrilla ventures, it is unrealistic to aim for the same quality, output, or production timelines. Furthermore, the public sphere is limited and does not necessarily accommodate an oversaturation of overly similar productions.

Listening is essential. Generosity in listening, to what strengths and even the hatreds of the far-right, is what allows one to avoid "preaching only to the choir", making it possible to burst bubbles and expand the base of resistance. The search for strategies of action relies on these dialogues, as well as on shaping the identity of the production. Considering the dynamics of online networks, it is beneficial for this identity to be flexible and open to the changes of platforms and socio-political events.

To find paths and places of empowerment, one must experiment, be open to listening to users, platform data, and, embedded with this insight, regroup, replan, adapt, and produce another episode that is part of a larger project, which will take shape in the relationship between the creator, the media, and the audience. The path and its landscapes are learned in the very act of walking, and the necessities of guerrilla action may reveal themselves in unexpected stops along the way. Take the first step. There is no certainty, but nothing is set in stone. Take the first step. Stumble, get up. Take another first step, then another, and another... until it becomes a journey. The destination is ours.

## References

BOLGHERINI, Silvia, VITTAR, Daniel. **Agora, vivemos a quarta onda de partidos de direita**. Entrevista com Silvia Bolgherini. São Leopoldo: Insituto Humanitas Unisinos, 2022. Disponível em : <<https://www.ihu.unisinos.br/categorias/623044-agora-vivemos-a-quarta-onda-de-partidos-de-direita-entrevista-com-silvia-bolgherini>>. Acesso em 21 de junho de 2024.

BUGALHO, Henri. **Canal do Henry Bugalho**. YouTube, 2006. Disponível em : <<https://www.youtube.com/@HenryBugalho>>. Acesso em 01 de junho de 2024.

CASTANHARI, Felipe. **Canal Nostalgia**. YouTube, 2011. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/@nostalgia>>. Acesso em 19 de maio 2024.

DALTRO, Pedro, BOTAFOGO, Cristiano. **Medo e delírio em Brasília**. Spotify, 2020. Disponível em :<<https://open.spotify.com/show/4GTrddwqYaFDOuNUPcsRaX>>. Acesso em 07 de junho de 2024.

DOURADO, Rodrigo. **Big brother Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: Rede Globo, 2002.

ECO, Humberto. O fascismo eterno. In:\_\_\_\_\_. **Cinco Escritos Moraes**. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2002.

EMPOLI, Giuliano da. **Os engenheiros do caos**. São Paulo: Vestígio, 2020.

FERRACINI, R.; FEITOSA, C. A Questão da Presença na Filosofia e nas Artes Cênicas. **OuvirOUver**, [S. l.], v. 13, n. 1, p. 106–118, 2017. DOI: 10.14393/OUV20-v13n1a2017-8. Disponível em: <https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/ouvirouver/article/view/37043>. Acesso em: 25 set. 2024.

FERREIRA, Casimiro Miguel Vieira da Silva. **CazeTV**. Twitch, 2022. Disponível em :<[https://www.twitch.tv/cazetv\\_/videos](https://www.twitch.tv/cazetv_/videos)>. Acesso em 01/06/2024.

GRAZIOLI, Fabiano Tadeu. O texto dramático e a cena teatral: elementos de análise a partir de Patrice Pavis. **Linguagem & Ensino**, Pelotas, v. 22, n. 1, p. 337-352, jan./mar. 2019

INSTITUTO CONHECIMENTO LIBERTA. **Canal Instituto Conhecimento Liberta**. YouTube, 2020. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/@InstitutoConhecimentoLiberta>>. Acesso em 24 de maio 2024.

KOOPMANS, Rudd. Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere. **Theory and Society**, 33, 367-391, 2004.

KRIEGER, Eduardo Lyra. **@edukrieger**. Instagram, 2014. Disponível em :<<https://www.instagram.com/edukrieger/?hl=pt-br>>. Acesso em 24 de maio 2024.

LEHMANN, Hans-Thies. **Teatro pós-dramático**. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2007.

LEVITSKY, Steven; ZIBLATT, Daniel. **Como as democracias morrem**. Tradução de Renato Aguiar. 1. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2018.

LÉVY, Pierre. **O que é o virtual?** São Paulo: Editora 34, 1996.

LIMA, Talyssa. Luana Piovani x Neymar: entenda briga entre atriz e jogador que viralizou nas redes. **CNN Brasil**. 2024. Disponível em :<<https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/esportes/futebol/luana-piovani-x-neymar-entenda-briga-entre-atriz-e-jogador-que-viralizou-nas-redes/>>. Acesso em 07 de junho de 2024.

MARCOLINO, Aline; NÓBREGA, Ighor. "Big techs" batem recorde em 2023 com lucro de US\$ 327 bilhões. **Poder 360**, 2024. Disponível em :<<https://www.poder360.com.br/economia/big-techs-batem-recorde-em-2023-com-lucro-de-us-327-bilhoes/>>. Acesso em 08 de maio 2024.

MELENDI, Maria Angélica. **Estratégias da arte em uma era de catástrofes**. Rio de Janeiro: Cobogó, 2017.

METEORO BRASIL. **Tudo o que você desaprendeu para virar um idiota**. São Paulo: Planeta do Brasil 2019.

MIZUTANI, Luciana. **Bora militar junto? A cena digital como campo de guerrilha**. Tese (Doutorado em Artes) Instituto de Artes, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, 2023.

MORAES, Carolina, PORTO, Wagner. **Entenda como Anitta, ao declarar voto em Lula, pode impactar as eleições de 2022**. São Paulo: Folha de São Paulo, 2022. Disponível em :<<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2022/07/entenda-como-anitta-ao-declarar-voto-em-lula-pode-impactar-as-eleicoes-de-2022.shtml>>. Acesso em 01 de junho de 2024.

MOTTA, Miriam Hermeto de Sá. Usos e abusos da ditadura militar no tempo presente: reflexões sobre um início de percurso de pesquisa. Uberlândia: **II Jornada de Pesquisas em História** - PPGHI UFU, 2024. Disponível em:<<https://www.youtube.com/live/fP2ghyJ72hE>>. Acesso 06 de junho de 2024.

OLIVEIRA, José Carlos. **Joice Hasselmann denuncia "milícia" e "gabinete de ódio" na disseminação de fake news**. Brasília: Agência Câmara de Notícias, 2019. Disponível em :<<https://www.camara.leg.br/noticias/622252-joyce-hasselmann-denuncia-milicia-e-gabinete-de-odio-na-disseminacao-de-fake-news/>>. Acesso em 01 de junho de 2019.

PEREIRA, Guilherme Terrei Lima. **Tempero Drag**. You Tube, 2015. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/c/temperodrag>>. Acesso em 19 de maio 2024.

PESSOA, Daniela. **Felipe Neto lança aplicativo oficial e declara guerra ao YouTube**. Rio de Janeiro: Veja Rio, 2017. Disponível em :<<https://vejario.abril.com.br/programe-se/felipe-neto-lanca-aplicativo-oficial-e-declara-guerra-ao-youtube>>. Acesso em 19 de maio 2024.

PRADO, Raphael. **Rapha Prado**. YouTube, 2006. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/@raphaprado>>. Acesso em 18 de junho de 2024.

SENKO, Jen. **The brainwashing of my dad**. Cinco dedos películas, 2015.

SCHAFER, R. Murray. **O ouvido pensante**. Tradução de Regina Porto. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1991.

STANLEY, Jason. **Como funciona o fascismo: a política do nós e eles**. Tradução de Donaldson M. Garschagen. 1. ed. São Paulo: L&PM, 2018.

TORRES, Thiago. **Chavoso da USP**. YouTube, 2019. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/@ChavosodaUSP>>. Acesso em 24 de maio 2024.

TRADING ECONOMICS. **PIB - Lista de países - Europa**. Disponível em :<<https://pt.tradingeconomics.com/country-list/gdp?continent=europe&ref=nucleo.jor.br>>. Acesso em 08 de maio 2024.

VIEIRA, Felipe Neto Rodrigues. **Felipe Neto: É preciso defender uma "Constituição" do ambiente digital**. YouTube: Canal Instituto Conhecimento Liberta, 2024. Disponível em :<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5vyM0n4hEXA>>. Acesso em 03 de junho de 2024.

VISCARDI, Janaína Martins. **Jana Viscardi**. YouTube, 2007. Disponível em : <<https://www.youtube.com/@JanaViscardi>>. Acesso em 01/06/2024.

WAKEFIELD, Jane. **Facebook under fire over secret teen research**. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-58570353> Acesso em 09/05/2024.

WEIR, Peter. **O Show de Truman**. Paramount Pictures, 1998.