THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEW BRAZILIAN PUBLIC SPACE: (DIS)SOCIAL ARTICULATION FROM CYBERSPACE

A geografia do novo espaço público brasileiro: (des)articulação social a partir do ciberespaço

La geografía del nuevo espacio público brasileño: (des)articulación social desde el ciberespacio
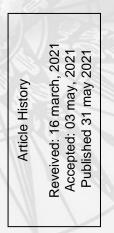
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SUMMARY

This article aims to analyze the formation/structuring/consolidation of the new Brazilian public space from the dialectic involving cyberspace and physical space. To this end, with the adoption of the dialectical method, the phenomenon is discussed from some recent social events in the country's history, starting with the days of June/2013, passing through the impeachment that dismissed the President of the Republic in 2016, through the electoral process 2018, the COVID-19 pandemic and, more recently, the annulment of the processes involving former President Lula. These facts are considered turning points in the social, cultural, political and economic life of the country, as they change, in a broad sense, the way in which Brazilian society relates. It is noticed that virtual social networks form a new spatiality in the country, woven by the informational flows of modernity, with a direct reflection on the streets, forming spaces of cohesion there and here, through thoughts and ideologies. Thus, this article analyzes what seems to be the most contemporary form of appropriation of space. To this end, the cognitive and sensory process involved in the construction of these spatialities based on cyberspace is discussed, as well as the ways in which these (dis)articulate the grouping of congeners (ideas and people) and (re)organize life in society . It is noticed that the new Brazilian public space carries with it some characteristics of its genesis, that is, it follows with a strong inclination to the conservative political ideology. Moreover, it reflects a new form of colonialism on the march, which contains discreet forms of domination and socio-spatial segregation in the Global South.

Keywords: Cyberspace. Brazilian public space. Social (dis)articulation.

RESUMO

Este artigo tem por objetivo analisar a formação/estruturação/consolidação do novo espaço público brasileiro a partir da dialética envolvendo o ciberespaço e o espaço físico. Para tanto, com a adoção do método dialético discute-se o fenômeno desde alguns fatos sociais recentes da história do país, iniciando-se com as jornadas de junho/2013, passando pelo impeachment que destituiu a Presidenta da República em 2016, pelo pleito eleitoral de 2018, pela pandemia da COVID-19 e, mais recentemente, pela anulação dos processos envolvendo o ex-presidente Lula. São fatos considerados pontos de inflexão na vida social, cultural, política e econômica do país por alterarem, em sentido lato, a forma como a sociedade brasileira se relaciona. Percebe-se que as redes sociais virtuais formam uma nova espacialidade no país, tecida pelos fluxos informacionais da modernidade, com reflexo direto nas ruas, formando espaços de coesão lá e cá, por intermédio de pensamentos e ideologias. Assim, este artigo analisa esta que parece ser a forma mais contemporânea de apropriação do espaço. Para tanto, fala-se do processo cognitivo e sensorial envolvente na construção destas espacialidades assentes no ciberespaço, bem assim, das formas pelas quais estas (des)articulam o agrupamento de congêneres (ideias e pessoas) e (re)organizam a vida em sociedade. Percebe-se que o novo espaço público brasileiro carrega consigo algumas características de sua gênese, isto é, segue com forte inclinação à ideologia política conservadora. Outrossim, ele reflete uma nova forma de colonialismo em marcha, que encerra em si discretas formas de dominação e de segregação socioespacial no Sul Global.

Palavras-chave: Ciberespaço. Espaço público brasileiro. (Des)articulação social.

RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar la formación / estructuración / consolidación del nuevo espacio público brasileño desde la dialéctica entre el ciberespacio y el espacio físico. Por ello, con la adopción del método dialéctico, se discute el fenómeno a partir de algunos hechos sociales recientes de la historia del país, comenzando con los días de junio / 2013, pasando por el juicio político que destituyó al Presidente de la República en 2016, para las elecciones de 2018, por la pandemia de COVID-19 y, más recientemente, por la anulación de los procesos que involucraban al expresidente Lula. Estos son hechos considerados como puntos de inflexión en la vida social, cultural, política y económica del país, ya que cambian, en un sentido amplio, la forma de relacionarse de la sociedad brasileña. Se advierte que las redes sociales virtuales configuran una nueva espacialidad en el país, tejida por los flujos informativos de la modernidad, con reflejo directo en las calles, formando espacios de cohesión aquí y allá, a través de pensamientos e ideologías. Así, este artículo analiza lo que parece ser la forma más contemporánea de apropiación del espacio. Por tanto, hablamos del proceso cognitivo y sensorial involucrado en la construcción de estas espacialidades basadas en el ciberespacio, así como de las formas en las que (des) articulan la agrupación de congéneres (ideas y personas) y (re) organizan la vida en sociedad. Se advierte que el nuevo espacio público brasileño lleva consigo algunas características de su génesis, es decir, sigue con una fuerte inclinación hacia la ideología política conservadora. Además, refleja una nueva forma de colonialismo en marcha, que contiene formas discretas de dominación y segregación socioespacial en el Sur Global.

Palabras-clave: Ciberespacio. Espacio público brasileño. (Des)articulación social.

1 INTRODUCTION

The new Brazilian public space, an expression coined by Bosco (2017), was born in the demonstrations that became known as "June journeys" that took place in 2013 in the

country. Even if they initially sought to improve public transport and curb the increase in fares in countless cities, they were soon increased with quite diffuse interests, but which throughout their triggers were metamorphosing, providing in the aftermath the reappearance of the conservative right, consequently, intensifying the political polarization in the country.

Continuous act, despite President Dilma having been elected in 2014 for her second term, her downfall had begun in 2013, driven by the rise in the use of virtual social networks in the country and the crisis of representation brought to surfaced by the June days. It didn't take long until, in 2016, his end was sanctioned with an impeachment process.

These two facts are considered here as protagonists, given that they not only changed the Brazilian political agenda, but also reorganized media communication and made the interpersonal relationships of Brazilians different (reconfigured notion of identity). In this sense, virtual social networks formatted a new spatiality, whose characteristics could not be properly appreciated and debated. by Geography's ligth so far. It can be seen, thus, that there is a fight for an epistemology of space capable of understanding this process of formation, whose reality for Brazil is recent and which remains in constant edition.

In this sense, this article aims to analyze the formation/structuring/consolidation of the new Brazilian public space from the dialectic involving cyberspace and physical space. To this end, the phenomenon is discussed from some recent social events in the country, starting with the days of June/2013, passing through the impeachment that removed the President of the Republic in 2016, through the electoral process of 2018, through the COVID-19 pandemic and more recently, for the annulment of the processes involving former president Lula. It starts with a geographical concern in order to seek to understand the changes arising from these facts, considered turning points in Brazilian social, cultural, political and economic life.

In view of the exploratory and explanatory nature of the present study, the investigation was instrumentalized with bibliographical, documentary and news research in relation to the analyzed facts. So, a seam was operated between different authors who are so dedicated to understanding cyberspace (even if located outside of Geography) and discussions related to different aspects of life in society with the analytical treatment of sources, leaning on the dialectical method, which according to Gil (2008, p. 14) "[...] provides bases for a dynamic and totalizing interpretation of reality, since it establishes that social facts cannot be understood when considered in isolation, abstracted from their political, economic, cultural influences, etc. [...]"

Thus, the article was structured in two sections: initially, the cognitive and sensory process involved in the construction of this new public space in the country (sometimes referred to here as cyberspace) is geographically discussed. The aim is to point out an epistemic path that favors the dissolution of the conflicts of geographic imaginaries, established by this other spatial layer.

Then, the genesis of this new Brazilian public space is investigated, whose common feelings are both shared shoulder to shoulder in the streets and byte by byte in virtual networks. There is talk of a broad re-signification of various aspects of Brazilian social life, interfering in the welfare state, redirecting the role of the state, the media, political disputes, etc.
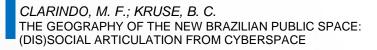
The article closes, but does not conclude, pointing out that Geography plays a significant role in understanding the dialectic involving 'real' space and 'virtual' space. The conflict of geographic imaginaries is far from over, but it cannot be ignored, to the point of thinking of the new Brazilian public space as just another element of social life, nor as a substitute for real relationships.

2 OTHER NETWORKS, FLOWS AND APPROPRIATIONS: THE CONFLICTS OF GEOGRAPHIC IMAGINATION IN VIRTUAL SPACE

The plurality of Geography does not obscure the fact that its experience is mostly based on spatial discussions of life in society, at different times and regardless of approaches, whether they are more inclined to physical or human perspective. In this alignment, the Earth's spellings are being delineated from various spatial concepts over the years (territory, landscape, region, networks and others).

All this conceptual arrangement has its importance within different geographic niches, from the classics to the emerging ones (or what is considered emerging). There is talk of different spatial cuts that are intended to deepen the understanding of social nuances, from the most concrete to the most abstract.

> A basic concept is that space constitutes an objective reality, a social product in a permanent process of transformation. The space imposes its own reality; therefore society cannot operate outside of it. Consequently, in order to study space, it is necessary to apprehend its relationship with society, since it is what dictates the understanding of the processes effects (time and change) and specifies the notions of form, function and structure, fundamental

elements for our understanding of production of space (SANTOS, 2008, p. 67).

In the Anthropocene, the difficulty in clearly distinguishing what is natural work and what is human work is also reflected in the impracticability of separating knowledge in order to indicate where the technical ends and where the social begins. It is known that the linear positivist method, even affiliated with rationality (foundation of traditional geography), is not enough to understand the technical-scientific-informational environment, as Milton Santos calls it, whose materiality is fast, fluid and fragmented (SANTOS, 2006 , 2010, 2014). Thus, it becomes imperative to discuss other epistemes of space.

The incorporation of technical, mechanized and later cybernetic objects into social reality tends to replace human speed with artificial speed. In practice, the impression is that time has accelerated and trivialized events, functioning as a speed machine just like that of information. Contemporary fluidity is above all virtual, interconnected by cables and informational signals capable of providing the same news to all countries in the world. Scientific and informational technologies, in this bias, made it possible to transform the local into global and vice versa (SANTOS, 2006, 2010, 2014).

Thus, mechanisms, structures and instruments were created for this new spatial reality. However, as a mirror of capital society, this creation marginalized and accentuated spatial fragmentation, given that not all agents were able to keep up with the speed and fluidity of the system. Thus, it can be seen that the fragmentation of space results from the disharmony of those who experience spaces of haste, to the detriment of those conducive to slowness (in the non-pejorative sense of the expression). (SANTOS, 2006, 2010, 2014).

The fragmented visibility, therefore, gains substance in the analysis of the gaping social inequality existing between countries and within these countries. Billions of human beings live completely oblivious to the reality of capitalist culture, to the fluidity and speed of the world. Starting from this liquefied materiality (BAUMAN, 2009), virtual space helps to change spatial structures thanks to its fable that the world is one, a kind of global village, that everything would be conducted at the same time and homogenized by a uniform market global regulator. However, the illusion of this democratic regulatory market is unmasked when concrete data are exposed, inwhich a few urban centers concentrate and regulate more than half of all world financial transactions. (SANTOS, 2006, 2010, 2014). It will be observed later that, not by mere chance, these same countries are the poles that hold the largest internet services in the world.

The virtual space, therefore, is nothing more than a restructuring reality of the capitalist system itself (CASTELLS, 1999). It acts as an integral part of a broad project of centrality/domination, which also carries with it diffuse interests, which serve as an engine for capital. In these terms, despite the fact that cyberspace is not new and has a considerable debate in the academic environment, the appropriation of these spaces in Brazil, considered here as "public spaces" (marked by virtual social networks), still do not occupy the right place in the geographic agenda.
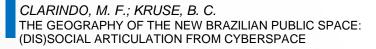
It must be considered that a large part of geographic spatial concepts were thought of from contexts in which modern signs began their appearance in society. Even when approached in the postmodern "condition" (Harvey's perspective, 1992)[1] it is perceived that there is an epistemic basis whose roots are located in praxiological foundations, therefore, more concrete of life in society, in a way that they advance in a very simple way on non-tactile discussions - such as spatial appropriation from emotional aspects, superhuman or spiritual, about neglected and favorite spaces, digital/virtual, etc.

The perception that Geography still needs to enter people's homes has been recurrent among contemporary geographers, especially those whose focus is based on the phenomenological bias. This view implies a necessary review of scales, objects and practices. Abstract (non-absolute) and non-tactile spatialities are part of this need.

In Geography, it is noticed that there is a theoretical inclination to think about the construction of spatialities through the human senses. However, the spatiality that is constructed virtually and that is discussed in this article implies other directions, which is based (at first) only on the sense of vision as a spatial organizer. Buzai (2004) argues that spatial intelligence is based on visual aspects, thus, the non-presence of other perceptual-visual components in the structuring of thesespatialities do not justify its denial. Furthermore, there are linguistic and cultural codes permeating such constructions, which makes these spaces, even if virtual, a latent reality for modern Geography.

They are spaces that are in line with the modern rationalist perspective, that is, they are sustained by the coldness of mathematical algorithms. Indeed, virtual spatialities, even with human action behind their formatting, transfigure feelings, sensations and notions. Simmel, when discussing the advancement of metropolises, in a historical context preceding

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[1] The option for David Harvey's perspective is due to the fact that his analysis of the postmodern condition critically groups the relationship between other forms of oppression arising from a new cycle of space-time compression, which in a conflicting relationship with the past that imposes the flexibility of accumulation on different sides, guided especially by the almost coercive rise of other cultural models (which in this case under study are not always typical of the Global South).

that of digital social networks, evaluates the existence of an objective culture, when the citizen has his personality ripped from him by the modernities around him, in the words of the author:

> The individual has become a mere link in an enormous organization of things and powers that wrest all progress, spirituality and values from their hands, to transform them from their subjective form into the form of a purely objective life. It is only necessary to point out that the metropolis is the genuine scenario of this culture that goes beyond all personal life. Here, in the buildings and educational institutions, in the wonders and comforts of space-age technology, in the formations of community life and in the visible institutions of the state, offers such an overwhelming wholeness of crystallized and depersonalized spirit that the personality, for so to speak, cannot hold under its impact (SIMMEL, 1973, p. 23-24).

It so happens that virtual spatiality is above and at the same time intertwined with the notion of metropolis, megalopolises, etc. It embodies a conflicting spatial notion, given that its projection takes place on different scales and in different formats, whether rural or urban, small, medium or large cities. In this way, virtual spaces put geographic canons into question.

The new spatialities reformulate the notions between distances and proximities. Buzai (2004) argues that information within cyberspace transits at different times, which are independent of real proximity. To illustrate, the author adds that data traffic from New York to Buenos Aires takes about 480 milliseconds, while from the Argentine capital to Paraguay, a neighboring country, it takes about 2765 milliseconds. This difference in data traffic time leads us to think of a center-margin relationship (corroborating with the perception of other domination strategies), when some countries hold the domain of technologies and others – especially in the global south, at most, appear as mere users, sometimes dependent on such technologies.

In addition, as stated by Simmel in 1973, modernity (in a broad sense) has also re-signified the notion of identity, of belonging, dismantling habitus.[2] In this wake, the new ways of relating spatially give a new meaning to social movements, unfold and recover new ways of managing the economy, guide the political agenda, etc. In an expanded reading, virtual spatialities extend the rite of objectification of human life, depersonalizing the subjects, but

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[2] Bourdieu (2007) understands by habitus an entire arrangement that makes up the interaction and human perception of life in society (religion, ethnicity, education, nationality, profession, among others).

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concomitantly and contradictorily imprinting other personalities on life in society that can even change feelings common to the nation, due to the ease of agglutination of ideas.

There is progress in the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in Brazil. However, this has been happening unevenly, far from being democratic, so that in many regions of the country, ICTs remain luxury items and out of reach. On the other hand, its expansion becomes numerically relevant, giving rise to reflections.

Where there is a strong presence of ICTs, a contradiction is perceived, given that there is an atrophy of the individual culture, which seeks to face the hypertrophy of the objective culture, that is, it culminates in the will of the modern individual to establish himself by exaggerating in postures personal, becoming more and more particular, seeking to "preserve its most personal essence" as Simmel (1973) refers, but which simultaneously has another meaning, when taken by the notion of set. In this bias, infinite ideas are propagated at all times, multiple identity and cultural performances are created. "And in this sense, the new century presents itself with new perspectives for the analysis of the relationships that are established between the real world and the virtual world at different scales in the context of Cyberculture". (BUZAI, 2004, p 5, our translation). On Di Méo (2014) the virtual space:

> It is characterized by an unprecedented material of human beings mobility, information and goods (true "general mobilization", creating a "culture of mobility"), as well as by the phenomenon of "hyper-spatiality". "By hyperspatiality," writes Lussault, "I mean connectivity's crucial new role of systematizing the possibility of connection (communicative instantaneity): as we move from one site to another, then to another, 'at will' via hyperlinks, we can link any space to another through communicational hyperlink instruments - a smartphone, a personal computer, a GPS, any terminal, etc. Here's a new way of organizing the spatialization of societies that is slowly entering the smallest compartment of the lives of individuals and groups" (Mr. Lussault, The Advent of the World, 2013). More abstract variant again (that of all memories of all computers) of this new virtual space, cyberspace, totally fluid, indescribable, erases all forms of territories and borders: is it the space of tomorrow, indefinitely connectable from gigantic conurbations that would cover the earth? (DI MÉO, 2014, p. 56, our translation).

Pierre Lévy conceptualizes cyberspace as a new means of communication that arises from the worldwide interconnection of computers and points out that "Every 'deterritorialized' entity is virtual, capable of generating diverse concrete manifestations at different times and determined places, without, however, being itself tied to a particular place or time." (PIERRE LEVY, 2009, p. 47).

Indeed, cyberspace is not tied to a specific place or time. On the other hand, these are not characteristics that could make it a mere component of/for social life, conceptually distancing it from truly spatial perception by geographic science. In these terms, it is understood that fleetingness is a fundamental element of this new order, but it is a concrete reality insofar as it is materialized by human action. There is, therefore, a new geographic imaginary surrounding human perception, which sometimes contains a spatial notion in itself and which in others serves to instrumentalize, with its connections, the formation of other spatialities in the real world.

Doreen Massey (2007) points out that globalization is a narrative centered on time and not on space. In this way, it can be evaluated that the production of cyberspace Is the maximum expression of globalization, with all the strategies of domination that it can bring together. As they are spatially asynchronous, these spaces can materialize in a diffuse manner at different geographic scales, and may constitute a reality in rural and urban areas, small and large cities, etc.

Perhaps at a hasty look, this presence may sound democratic and interesting, but when carefully observing the discourses and the ideology it carries, especially when there is the action of algorithms focused on the capitalist global market, a submission bias is perceived (a kind of ongoing virtual neocolonialism). It is a new expression of colonialism, not always dependent on or involving relations between states, but commonly related to the colonialism of being, especially in the colonization of imaginaries based on the cultural dimension of consumption.

The apparent temporal synchronism with the "world in a rush" can also be questioned, since cyberspace allows the confluence of past, present (more present than ever due to the almost real-time perception of different scales and phenomena), and future, as an irrefutable arrival door of the future, at the same time as it is also a sine qua non condition for the development of a further geographical understanding of social life.

The current historical moment reconfigures even the postmodern notions of fluidity, perhaps the great protagonist of this spatial rearticulation is the smart mobile phone (smartphone). Product of the 4th Industrial Revolution and the Internet of Things (internet of things), since 2008 these devices have revolutionized the forms of communication and

interpersonal interaction, considering that they make each subject a node in a worldwide network of connections.[3]

The immediacy with which these spatialities are created is accentuated with access from smart mobile phones, further reinforcing their fluidity/liquidity. The use of smartphones for different types of connections represents a double and alternating form of spatial organization: on the one hand, material space interacts with virtual space, and on the other, the opposite. The nodes made up by individuals carrying these devices form a world-network of connections (personification of Castells' network societies), while what circulates in these world-networks directly reflects on people's sociability (also at the local level).

There is also a body-to-body relationship involved with this, reinforcing the existence of a spatial and temporal notion that is organized with and through these networks (sustainers of virtual spatiality). It is noted that the issue of body-space/space-body is a recent discussion in national Geography (HAESBAERT, 2020), therefore, it deserves a further separate study.

Smartphones have made the occupation of virtual space and its different networks more democratic. In general, it can be said that cyberspace is more democratic than the so-called material spaces, since there is no silencing of voices, as long as there is equal access. In these terms, the expressions and relationships in these networks are more inclusive, either because of the feeling of "impersonality" that governs them or even because they demand few resources for the expression of thoughts.

Within this context, more and more people get acquainted to the different social networks that exist in these spaces and also get involved with numerous issues, which before 2014 were somehow marked by the country's mainstream media. Social movements themselves today operate within virtual networks, many of them were born in this medium and later materialized, as is the case of "MBL (Movimento Brasil Livre)" and "Vem pra Rua".

In addition to reconfiguring social movements, commerce, amorous flirtations, the networks imprinted a notion of impersonality in the ways of relating. The possibility of 'hiding' behind a profile whose photographs, interests and even one's own name can be edited, makes it easier for many others to exist within the same "I".

Personality conflicts contribute to the uniqueness of these spaces, given that "Psychological Geography" (an emerging debate in Geography) is entangled in the cognitive

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[3] There are currently approximately 220 million active cell phones in Brazil (FGV, 2019), which could amount to 1 for each inhabitant if equally distributed.

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appropriation of space, even before it materializes in human sensory planes. Perhaps the association of the geographical perspective with psychoanalysis studies can contribute to this spatial understanding. Thus, in addition to a macro perspective of analysis, the subject's individual spatial expression becomes, then, also the object of a geographic review, a fact that may instigate other researchers to discuss ulteriorly – especially those affiliated with phenomenological/hermeneutic methods.

It remains, at this point, to understand that the new Brazilian public space is based on cyberspace and that its genesis/structuring/consolidation is related to the use of multiple virtual networks. As this use proliferates, different forms of relationships between virtual and real materialize (continuous flow), including new forms of social stratification are produced.

Thus, it aligns with Buzai (2004) when the author points out that cyberspace is a new way of exploring and dominating. For the author, just as the Romans dominated the terrestrial roads, the British the seas, the United States the air, a new dispute opens for the control of cyberspace from now on. Consequently, coloniality reappears towards the global south alongside a myriad of other influences, with the north maintaining the main role in the construction of these spatialities, where the largest global digital companies are located (Facebook, Twitter, Google, etc.), consequently, where the algorithms capable of guiding multiple instances of social life, virtual or otherwise, come from.

Guattari (1981, p. 64) adds that "[...] cassette tapes or extermination camps are no longer necessarily used: instead, people are tried to control people with almost invisible ties that tie them more efficiently to the mode of production capitalist (or bureaucratic socialist)". Thus, one cannot fall into the trap of considering this new Brazilian public space (whose expansion continues steadily) as a mere instrument that facilitates life in society, not even as a substitute for the real, it is both as the other. Perhaps it is this dubious characteristic that makes it difficult to resolve in the geographic imaginary.

3 THE GENESIS, STRUCTURING AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE NEW BRAZILIAN PUBLIC SPACE

In order to understand the genesis of the new Brazilian public space, it is necessary to remember the famous "June journeys", in 2013, when the streets of the country were taken over by protesters who initially contested the increase in public transport fares in several capitals of the country, with highlight for the São Paulo metropolis. That year, the demonstrations quickly took shape and were increased by demands associated with urban

mobility, maintaining an articulation via virtual social networks in an unprecedented way in the country, accompanied by heated discussions since then.

Such manifestations externalized several dislikes of the Brazilian population accumulated over the years, in particular, reflections of the 2008 Crisis. Roughly speaking, the real estate crisis of 2008[4] initially occurred in the USA, among other factors, as a result of the wide availability of credits in the market. The so-called real estate bubble reached its peak due to high rates of default and unemployment, which incapacitated a large part of the population to honor its debts. Not even the sale of financed houses managed to settle the debt, causing a domino effect in other economic sectors and in the world. It should be noted that the non-resolution of this and other economic crises is a natural feature of capital, which plastically and shrewdly displaces them in space and time (HARVEY, 2019).

Along with the US crisis, the eastern part of the globe was also bubbling with social protests, which would directly reflect on street participation. In short, secular tensions of dictatorial and oppressive regimes ended up erupting in a wave of demonstrations that spread across the Arab world, triggering one of the main contemporary transformations in the Middle East.

One of the landmarks of this popular insurrection is in Tunisia, when the 26-year-old merchant Tarek al-Tayyib Muhammad ibn Bouazizi refused to pay bribes to the police and had his goods seized and, dissatisfied, decided to set himself on fire in protest. (TOMMASI FILHO, 2017).

This fact, which could be an isolated case in Tunisia, gained even more strength with the death of the young man, who had his body 90% burned, generating riots and protests in the street. In parallel with a context of eastern corruption, strong repression and a fragile economy, in late 2010 and early 2011, crowds of people took to the streets demanding change (TOMMASI FILHO, 2017).

Quickly, other Arab countries also joined the demonstrations, following what would later be called the "Arab Spring". Among the adherent countries, Algeria, Jordan, Mauritania, Oman, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Palestinian territories, Sudan, Djibouti, Bahrain and others stand out. In addition, such demonstrations had the support of much of the western side (TOMMASI FILHO, 2017).

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[4] It is worth mentioning that Apple smartphones (a giant in the field of technologies) also started to gain the world in 2008. Thus, it is possible to suggest a connection between the crisis, the propagation of its effects and the popularization of these devices (especially among more economically affluent).

Similar to what happened in Brazil, the Arab demonstrations had television coverage, but had a decisive role in the speed and fluidity of the internet (notably Facebook). Together with the global interconnection of news vehicles, the information guaranteed overwhelming repercussions and political and social transformations were immediate. The ripple effect of this movement made possible regional transformation on a scale never seen before in the Arab world. As a result, there was the deposition of despotic dictators and oppressors in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, who had to leave power, due to the revolutionary events of the Arab Spring (TOMMASI FILHO, 2017).

Social unrest and popular demonstrations were already intertwined with virtual spaces, including projections in the world-space. In these terms, it can be seen that the economic and popular dissatisfaction evidenced with the June/2013 days was not restricted to the Brazilian context, insofar as it came from the conjunctural remnants of the capitalist crisis, anti-corruption struggles and economic fragility worldwide.

Although Brazil was not so affected by the 2008 crisis (thanks to some policies by former President Lula to encourage consumption and reduce the rate of some taxes), in 2013 the scenario was no longer so economically favorable. Brazilian discontent was vigorously reflected in the virtual spaces, which spread critical discussions of the government and also culminated in feelings of frustration and injustice in the country. In addition, the channeling of investments in infrastructure, construction of soccer stadiums, airports, roads and so on, aiming to host the 2014 Soccer World Cup, was the target of much criticism and dissatisfaction (ESTANQUE, 2014).

These multiple social discontents personified the first "face" of the June days, given that it was clear at the beginning that it was a movement without cohesion, insofar as there was no concrete proposal for change or a determined ideological orientation. It was, therefore, a generalized dissatisfaction, without central coordination.

However, there was a search for the potential enemy, i.e. a culprit for chaos. It did not take long for the executioner to be personified in the figure of the President of the Republic at the time (Dilma Rousseff), who was publicly rejected in various socio-historical moments in the country. The agenda quickly also entered the demand for a "FIFA standard" health and education system (ESTANQUE, 2014).

In addition to the journalistic reports that address the insults, several videos on YouTube showed demonstrators uttering offenses against the former president, including in São Paulo when in the middle of the opening of the World Cup in 2014, in front of numerous global authorities. It becomes clear as soon as the initial movement lost its purpose, giving

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room for other agendas and claims. It is true that the demonization of Dilma was so great that the demonstrators, in aggressive and violent tones, pronounced crimes against the honor of the President of the Republic without caring about the legal implications or social judgments for their conduct – a feeling of land without law on virtual social networks, which later collaborated/forced the enactment of Federal Law n.º 12.965/2014, considered the "civil milestone of the internet in Brazil".

The demonstrations, immediately, resulted in a crisis in which part of those involved said they were not represented by the politicians in office at the time. (AMARAL, 2013). In a matter of days, the fight became "against corruption" and even addressed the search for political reform.

Braga (2013) points out that 3 million Brazilians gave form to the demonstrations that took place in June/2013, in more than 140 cities, composing the biggest wave of popular mobilization in the history of the country. Below, in figure 01, one can see one of these manifestations in the largest capital of the country, in which there are banners asking for the removal of Geraldo Alckmin, Governor of the State of São Paulo at the time.

Figure 01– Demonstrations of 2013 and their diffuse faces.

Source: Camargo (2013).

As the initial guidelines were based on increasing the fare of urban public transport, there were militants with different political positions (left and right), united by a common cause. However, the confusion of agendas in the air and different claims, attributed thanks

to the fluidity of "social networks" in covering crowds, made left-wing demonstrators gradually abandon the movement. Therefore, the flag that the demonstrations began to raise would move away from the typical social struggles of the left. Thus, the left versus right dichotomy is starting to be reheated in the country.

In this context, the Brazilian right reappeared vigorously on the political scene, quickly gaining support from virtual media, notably Twitter and Facebook. Thus, armed with an already well-established and evident ideology, the streets were once again occupied by protesters, however, contributed only by the Brazilian political right:

> In the ebb, what remained was the new right, which soon organized itself into social movements with a strong virtual presence and, driven some time later by the free fall of the economy and by the Lava-Jato operation, returned to occupy the streets, now massively and without ambiguities, asking for the end of corruption, the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and, here and there, the return of the Armed Forces. (BOSCO, 2017, p. 62).

It should be noted that the right endorsed by Bosco (2017) is also not constituted of a cohesive mass, oscillating between moderate conservatism and the reactionary extreme right. The maximum of these demonstrations was the impeachment of President Dilma, on the grounds that only her removal could lead to the recovery of the country, as shown in figures 02 and 03.

Figure 02– Protesters asking for the impeachment of the present Dilma Rousseff

Source: ISTO É (2016).

It agrees with Bosco (2017) that this is ground zero for the collapse of Lulism and the structuring of a new way of discussing politics and identity articulation, which had already been tried by other countries, but which in Brazil was still new. Preceding Twitter and Facebook, the social network Orkut (which operated between 2004 and 2014) was massively used by Brazilians, however, notoriously for more recreational and less combative purposes, so that their communities and the connections established between people did not were able to change the role of the media in the country.

Furthermore, the social and economic period during the years of dominance of Orkut was different. This is because, in this period, Brazil was witnessing social ascension, triggering, of course, a period of social tranquility. The data show that from 2003 onwards, labor market and economic indicators improved, with an average of 5.4% to 5.5% up to 2010. The wage level also increased more than inflation, allied to the context of redistributive policies and popular credit subsidies. Such indicators made possible the real increase of the minimum wage and strengthened the Brazilian consumption power (ESTANQUE, 2014).

Figure 03– Delivery of the request for impeachment of President Dilma to the then President of the Chamber, Deputy Eduardo Cunha

Source: IELA (2017).

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Figure 03 shows that in addition to well-known politicians on the national stage (such as Eduardo Cunha in the center, Jair Bolsonaro, Flávio Bolsonaro, and others), previously unknown figures in civil society, such as Kim Kataguiri, who made a name for himself as co-founder of the Movimento Brasil Livre. The MBL is a movement born in digital social networks and that acted as a major protagonist of the demonstrations that led to the fall of President Dilma.

The presence of the young Kim at this table unequivocally attests to a change in the national political agenda, whose representativeness crisis forced the old policy to consider reinventing itself or even operate it at times. Furthermore, in communion with the changes in the political perspective, the old national media, when not spared from insults by the demonstrations, was also forced to reinvent itself (unfinished process), especially by sharing the protagonist role with the virtual media.

As a result, Brazil witnessed a true right-leaning reinterpretation of Alice radio, born in Bologna, Italy, in 1974 and one of the most important free radio stations in the world. At the time. Guattari (1987) explains, in his essay entitled "Millions and Millions of Alices in the Air", that after the fall of the state monopoly on communications in Italy, many amateur radio stations proliferated. The ease of construction and decentralized transmission, with a vocabulary as diverse as usual for people in the region, made them multiply, under different purposes, ranging from the extreme left to the extreme right.

The growths of the 2013 demonstrations, as they gained strength, were increasingly influenced by anti-political and conservative forces, as well as the media also began to act on these fronts. In a similar way, the new Brazilian public space gains an amplitude never seen before in the country's communication. Its genesis is in the June days, but its fixation in the national daily life is, therefore, in the impeachment of President Dilma, whose process remained concluded in 2016.

In 2018, during the presidential elections, the new Brazilian public space was decisive in the campaign and asserted the left versus right duality. Also, a new expression in English is beginning to be present in the national vocabulary: Fake News. It is an expression adopted to characterize misleading news, whose presence was persistent in the 18 election when the presidential election was won by the extreme right in the country, represented by former deputy Jair Bolsonaro.

Indeed, political polarization ended up entering social life in an exasperated way, starting to divide society in an atypical way, strongly influenced by the new Brazilian public space. Despite the social problems in Brazil and the crisis of the civilizing model that has

plagued the world for a long time, in March 2020 a virus previously unknown to modern medicine makes its first appearance in China and quickly spreads around the world. The coronavirus, as SARS-CoV-2 was nicknamed, ended up re-signifying the influence of the new Brazilian public space (perhaps in the world) in the society daily life.

Once isolated in quarantine, several countries saw the proliferation of medical appointments via video call, work at home – home offices, purchases of different products through virtual networks, artists performing online, among other practices that constituted true alternatives to the real world. . The pandemic, at first, could represent a chance on the national scene to overcome political polarization (because of the basic humanitarian issue), however, what we saw was also an aggravation and the spraying of reactionary ideas, such as: anti-vaccine messages, information with all sorts of geopolitical conspiracy theories, fake news involving cure/diagnosis of the disease, among other barbarities.

Nevertheless, Brazil in 2021, already quite fragile on different fronts (economically, socially, culturally, environmentally...), being the 2nd country in the number of absolute deaths from the coronavirus (when these data were extracted in April/21), is watching in its troubled political life one more episode, which revived suspended clashes and which could perpetuate political polarization, especially in the virtual sphere: the annulment of the convictions of former President Lula.

On March 9, 2021, the largest media in the country and several around the world reported that the conviction of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva had been annulled[5]. The respective annulment returns to foment and possibly with more force, the feeling of a divided nation. In practice, such a discussion that is born in the core of legal science, ends up reflecting in other Brazilian spatialities, in the cultural, political and economic life of the country. The reflections will drag on until the end of the 22nd electoral contest, given that former President Lula has now become eligible again.

The aforementioned facts, in addition to their in-depth debate, certainly represent turning points in Brazilian political and social history, since, in addition to having changed

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[5] This is Criminal Action No. 5046512- 94.2016.4.04.7000, filed at the 13th Federal Court of the Judiciary Subsection of Curitiba, which judged Petrobras/SA facts. The annulment of the conviction questioned the fact of the competence of the judgment of the respective Court. See, the Habeas Corpus filed by Lula's defense questioned the competence of Curitiba, since for the case in question, there was no way to apply the procedural connection that would authorize the process to be judged in Curitiba because the conducts attributed to Lula "were not directly directed to specific contracts entered into between the OAS Group and Petrobras S/A" (FACHIN, 2021). The jurisdiction of the court in Lula's case should be where the alleged offenses took place, namely Guarujá (in the case of Tríplex) and Atibaia (in the case of Sítio) and São Paulo in the case of the Lula Institute. That is, to simplify, in the Federal Courts of São Paulo.

the national political agenda, they rearticulated interpersonal relationships in the country, with significant changes in the identification process. People's politics. These were hurried processes, but which left a (somewhat disturbing) legacy, above all because they contributed to making the contemporary Brazilian subject even more off-center.

This decentering is also the product of a flood of technological propositions that make social relations increasingly diluted in modern signs. The new way of relating socially demands that Geography continuously (re)focus some of its approaches. They are new forms, functions, structures and processes of spatial organization that do not find efficient conceptual ballast for their understanding:

> However, like newspapers, magazines, periodicals and other types of printed material, these (electronic) media are both the expression of the globalizing, disembedding trends of modernity, and instruments of these trends. [...] In short, under the conditions of modernity, the means of communication do not mirror realities, but partly form them. (GIDDENS, 2002, p. 31-32).

Without aesthetic, linguistic commitment, scarce moral and/or legal filters, the new Brazilian public space grows projecting thousands of pieces of information at all times, usually short but far-reaching ideas. It is a new moment in the country, which Geography must address, under penalty of losing sight of such transformations, if it does not.

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article sought to understand the genesis, formation and structuring of a new public space in Brazil from a geographic discussion of virtual social networks. Therefore, it starts from the premise that the birth and strengthening of this new spatiality in the country is linked to some historical facts, such as: the real estate crisis of 2009, the Arab spring and, also, a Brazilian context of economic and social dissatisfaction.

Such events triggered the demonstrations that took place in June 2013, a movement that deliberately grew and gradually consolidated itself as a right-wing movement. Then, the importance of cyberspace in the country was confirmed with the president's impeachment process. The process asserted the Brazilian political duality and made the new public space an ally in the construction of a right-wing political agenda, which during the successive PT mandates (2003-2016) were ostracized.

Since these two events, others have been added in a dialectic relationship between virtual and real in a clear trend of massification of the use of the new Brazilian public space

for different agendas (cultural, economic, political, etc.). In geographical terms, the construction and/or appropriation of this new spatiality challenges some traditional theoretical notions. The modernity (in the broadest sense of the word) experienced in radio and television communication was completely reformulated, at first by computers and then by smart phones.

A whole range of social issues was altered from these connections. Today, there is a real spatial notion that is often inseparable from the virtual one. Understanding the movements that operate with and through these two spatialities (real/virtual) is not like understanding May 1968, for example. The speed of propagation, reach and mitigation by society are extremely faster.

Thus, from the geographical point of view, this article contributed to indicate that the new Brazilian public space is as unequal as the material space. Participating in this space is authorizing to have access to it. It's not like going to a public park bench and interacting with the other people around.

This requirement for interaction has a double effect: 1st it means that only a certain social class can interact in these spaces; 2nd, in effect, it contributes to this same social class grouping around virtual and subsequently real agendas. Recently, it has been observed in Brazil that movements of the political right are quite effervescent, organizing persistent political acts (empirical view).

It would be premature to state an association between the Brazilian political right and the social class that can access the internet in the country, but it remains a hypothesis to be verified in future studies. Effectively, the new Brazilian public space is fertile ground for Geography, which can act in it and with it in different ways, from classical approaches to new readings.

Immediately, there is a lack of phenomenological geographical studies in these spatialities. The reduction of scales of analysis in Geography has been shown to be an important way of mitigating social effects imperceptible by generalist analyses. Investigating the internet as a world-space or a world-network has its degree of importance, but when it comes to the domination relationship identified in this study, it becomes imperative to start from the other end, that is, from the place.

The social context of the global south recovers this inversion. In such ways, as important as measuring voices is measuring silencing. The absences and emergencies postulated by Boaventura de Sousa Santos in the context of southern epistemologies are perfectly appropriate and necessary for studies of this nature.

The investigative possibilities have been expanded with the use of smartphones, social relations are increasingly plural in these virtual spaces and, likewise, are being transmuted to the real with enormous speed. However, the imaginary Geographical fields become plural, which imposes the need to arrange inter and transdisciplinary perspectives to seek to capture such changes.

The importance of cyberspace was endorsed recently, when the Brazilian Federal Government classified, through Decree n.º 10.282/2020, the internet and communication services as essential, that is, that they cannot suffer interruptions. The legal recognition of this importance presents an irreversible path, that is, cyberspace is and will be a persistent presence in Brazilian social life.

It remains to be concluded, therefore, that the new Brazilian public space has re-signified the entire social life of the country, even for non-adherents or those who do not have technology in their daily lives. So that, geographically speaking, such spatialities constitute a latent reality and assume, contradictorily and simultaneously, a real and virtual posture. If for States it is important to know how to "dominate" this space to guarantee its sovereignty and global centrality, for science (especially for Geography) it is essential to know it so as not to lose sight of the understanding of the socio-spatial relations involved with cyberspace.

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