THE USE OF CANCELLATION AS A FORM OF COERCION FROM A BEHAVIORAL ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

Vinícius Winklam[1], Angela Cristina da Silva[2] and Izabel Cristina Soares[3]

ABSTRACT
The objective of this work is to analyze, from the functional analysis of behavior, occurrences of the so-called "digital cancellation", defined as withdrawal of support for a certain public figure as a consequence of the disapproval of some attitude, speech and/or positioning of the person in digital media. It is hypothesized that this phenomenon is an attempt at coercive control. Based on this, three cases of "cancellation" of digital influencers were analyzed: Bruno Aiub, Gabriela Pugliesi and Leonardo de Lima Borges Lins. The analysis methodology was the contingency analysis associated with the theoretical discussion of behavioral basis, through which the following contingencies of the cases of "cancellation" were identified: the variation of the consumer public; the content of comments on publications; and legal and financial measures. Such contingencies served as analyzers of the consequences of the behaviors of the "canceled". From this analysis, it is concluded that there is inconsistency in the application of aversive consequences, as well as the continuity of behaviors similar to the "canceled" in two of the three cases analyzed. Thus, "digital cancellation" can be understood as a coercive action, controlled by consequences other than behavioral change, with unpredictable results in the behavior of those who are canceled and with the incidence of side effects that maintain the behavioral pattern targeted by the "cancellation".

Keywords: Cancellation. Cancel Culture. Behavior Analysis. Punishment. Coercion.

[1] Psychology Student (Unicentro)
E-mail: viniciuswinklam@gmail.com
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0009-0005-3708-090X/
LATTES: https://lattes.cnpq.br/6183096300881399
[2] E-mail: angelacsilva@gmail.com
ORCID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-2622-7815
LATTES: http://lattes.cnpq.br/4680403742128328
[3] E-mail: izabelc.soaress@gmail.com
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8990-9186
LATTES: http://lattes.cnpq.br/5100309364773198

INTRODUCTION

The digital medium is a large, if not the main, source of dissemination and consumption of content, access to news, and a place for the creation of interpersonal relationships for many individuals (Federal Government, 2022). In the midst of this space, some people achieve a privileged level of recognition on social networks. These, known as content producers, digital influencers, *web celebrities,* among other names, are users with notoriety from the creation of audiovisual content itself or prominent professionals in certain areas who reach millions of people with their productions, comments and positions, establishing partnerships with major brands and

developing a financial activity at least partially linked to the digital environment (Karhawi, 2017). The recognition comes as a consequence of a great exposure of their private lives and constant contact with the public.

Thanks to this exposure, the attitudes, comments, positions, and opinions of influencers become constantly observed and the target of possible judgments. In this way, behaviors received as inappropriate or wrong by Internet users can be commented on, judged and responded to. In recent years, this dynamic has intensified and a term has begun to circulate inside and outside the networks: cancellation. "Digital cancellation" or "cancel culture" are recent phenomena and occur in different forms. Mechanisms present in the network such as the *block* function (blocking the possibility of interaction with a user), silencing users or terms to prevent the viewing of posts, direct and public contact with sponsoring companies and employers of users, and the possibility of large numbers of messages allow new forms of interaction between people. Due to the topicality of the theme, research on the subject is scarce, and despite some definitions found from previous studies, none completely met the demands of this research. Among our findings, we have the study by Silva (2021), who defined cancellation as the exposure of a fact that can generate public rejection, if deemed inappropriate. Da Silva (2021), in turn, used journalistic articles from *BBC News Brasil* and *The Telegraph*, along with a definition from the online dictionary *Dicio*, in an attempt to get closer to a possible characterization. In this vein, the *Macquarie dictionary* (2019) elected the English term *cancel culture* as the word of the year 2019, being defined as:

> Attitudes within a community that call for or provoke the withdrawal of support from
> a public figure, such as cancellation of an acting role, prohibition from playing an
> artist's music, removal from social media, etc., usually in response to an

accusation of a socially unacceptable action or comment. (Macquaire Dictionary, 2019, S/N).

We will use this definition to characterize digital cancellation, since it meets the demands of this research because it is a comprehensive, neutral term that is consistent with the processes informally observed in the experience as users of digital social media. We add that this type of withdrawal of support by followers is built on joint movements that seek the participation of other people. Therefore, methods of exposing and sharing canceled behavior are common to the practice of canceling.

Behavior analysis is a psychological and scientific approach aimed at the study of behavior that comprises human action from its relationship with the environment. From this perspective, behavior does not have a sense of the common sense of a simple doing, but of the relationship of the organism with the world around it (Tourinho, 2003). This theory is also interested in the fact that there is a controlling relationship between behavior and environment. Control refers to how antecedent variables and consequences produced by a given action influence the probability of incidence of certain behaviors in the future. Behavior analysis can be understood in different methodological strands: radical behaviorism, the philosophical basis of behavioral science; experimental behavior analysis; the production of experimental knowledge based on behavioral philosophy, which uses the control of variables; and applied behavior analysis, that is, the production of knowledge and practices applied to humans with the objective of solving problems and increasing quality of life, through training and behavior modification techniques (Tourinho, 2003).

Therefore, the hypothesis of this research is that cancellation can be interpreted in the light of behavior analysis, and can be investigated as an attempt to punish unwanted behaviors (Sidman, 2009). Thus, it is intended to analyze here both the variables suffered by the user targeted by the cancellation and the stimuli that control the act of users to cancel an influencer or unknown user in order to understand the results of the cancellation. To address digital cancellation, this research is based, in its analysis, on the perspective of radical behaviorism. For this, the analysis of behavior will be briefly presented through concepts of stimulus, response, reinforcement, punishment, aversion, escape and avoidance.

Based on these concepts, our objective is to investigate emblematic situations in which digital cancellation occurred explicitly, trying to understand the history of acquisition of the behaviors of the people involved, what are the actions of the cancelers, what are the environments in which these individuals were inserted during the occurrence of the behaviors, the consequences suffered by those who are canceled, as well as their behaviors after cancellation. For this, the methodology we used was functional analysis, an investigation method that, through the analysis of behavioral responses, consequences, acquisition history and contexts, allows us to understand the function of behaviors and how they relate to the environment, that is, through functional analysis we will seek to understand the contingencies that preceded canceled behaviors, what are the consequences arising from the cancellation and the occurrence of behaviors similar to the canceled, with the objective of understanding how the cancellation operated on the behavior of these individuals.

We hope that this work will contribute to the field of issues related to digital media, as it is an environment rich in human interactions and that is of interest to Psychology. From this article, we see the opportunity to build new knowledge that allows expanding the field of research, favoring the academic environment, but also promoting answers that help in the practice of the psychologist in situations like this, in addition to contributing to the users of the networks who experience such situations in their daily lives.

METHODOLOGY

According to Skinner (1954/2003), human beings are constantly acting on the environment through behaviors that are contingent on reinforcements or punishments. The consequences experienced by individuals influence the probability of the occurrence of a certain behavior in the future. Thus, it is understood that operant behavior is predominantly controlled by its consequences. Within the consequences of operant behavior there is reinforcement and punishment. Reinforcement is the contingency that increases the probability of a behavior occurring and keeps it strengthened in the body's repertoire. Positive reinforcement adds a desirable element, such as gaining followers; in the negative, the removal of an aversive stimulus occurs, such as the blocking of a divergent user. The concept of punishment refers to the contingencies that make the occurrence of the punished behavior less likely, and can be positive, when there is an addition of an aversive

stimulus (such as cursing), or negative, when there is the withdrawal of a reinforcing stimulus (such as loss of followers).

In addition, Sidman (2009) argues that punishment, unlike reinforcement, can be understood without associating it with effects generated in the individual's behavior. He defines punishment as the behavior, on the part of the punisher, of sequencing an action with the removal of a reinforcing stimulus or the addition of an aversive stimulus. However, there is no certainty of the effects of punishment on the punished individual, since it only teaches what not to do. It is also necessary to understand the concept of aversive control, defined by Sidman (2009) as the use of punishment, positive or negative, in an attempt to control the behavior of others. The author states that negative reinforcement can be used for similar purposes, rewarding the individual from punishment and threats. Negative reinforcement is also related to the avoidance and avoidance responses, since escape is understood as the attempt to withdraw the stimulus, and avoidance is understood as the avoidance of a possible aversive stimulus not yet present.

During life, an individual builds the behavioral repertoire that indicates patterns and actions and this repertoire is structured in contingencies. Within behavioral analysis, there are three levels of causality that act on behavior: the phylogenetic represents innate characteristics of the individual, such as hunger when needing food; the ontogenetic is related to the behavioral repertoire obtained through learning, contingent on the individual's life history; and the cultural is related to the acquisition of behaviors arising from the cultural practices of the group in which the individual is inserted.

Silva, Santos, and Paz (2021) state that generalized social reinforcers such as likes and positive comments can strengthen the occurrence of certain positions according to the user's behavioral repertoire. Here is a contextual observation: certain ideals, phenomena and behaviors are rejected by a large part of society, either by a historical formation that makes a certain event aversive, or by ethical or moral ideals contrary to certain values. The causes are varied, but the aversive character related to forms of discrimination, prejudice, ideals of hatred, among other behaviors, can produce responses of flight and avoidance in the form of silencing, blocking, among other behaviors.

In view of the growing participation of digital media in people's lives and, consequently, the growing search for answers related to phenomena resulting from this, Psychology is demanded as an area of knowledge whose knowledge and methods can be applied to the digital world. These are situations that dialogue with themes such as

personality formation, social repertoire and mental health. In a similar vein, Moreira (2023) argues about how current media, such as social networks, promote a change in the construction of individuals' subjectivity. When dealing with digital cancellation, several connected themes emerge, such as: the ability to deal with disagreements, the power of social reinforcement in digital media, the functionality of punishment systems without behavioral alternatives, and the emergence of vigilante actions amid the inefficiency of legal methods.

METHODOLOGY

We carried out the analysis based on the interlocution of B.F Skinner's (1979) concepts of punishment and Murray Sidman's (2009) concept of coercion with acts of cancellation of digital influencers from different platforms, based on published news that evidenced their repercussion on and off networks. We selected cases widely reported nationally, in which it was possible to access descriptions of the behaviors or captures of the behaviors themselves; We analyzed the fluctuation of followers and the number of views of publications on the user's digital platforms and comments received during the cancellation episode, looking for the presence of possible aversive consequences (drop in follower gain, follower loss, drop in view gain, aversive comments), and reinforcing consequences (follower gain, increase in view gain, positive comments). The platform used to access audience variation data was Social Blade (2023), a platform that makes data on social media accounts public. The intention was to observe the consequences that occurred in the digital environment after the so-called canceled behaviors. Seeking broad contextual observation, the method of contingency analysis will be used, which can also be called functional analysis. In this method, relevant and significant stimuli are analyzed (antecedent environmental events and characteristics, the behaviors related to these stimuli and the consequences generated by these behaviors), seeking to understand the effects and functions of such stimuli on the individual's behaviors. At the same time, we verified whether there were patterns in this behavior, its acquisition history, the maintaining contexts, as well as the strengtheners and weakeners of these patterns (Neno, 2016).

The cases chosen were the following: a) Bruno 'Monark' Aiub, video producer and podcast host; b) Gabriela Pugliesi, digital influencer; c) Leonardo 'Leo' de Lima Borges Lins, comedian. For this delimitation, the possibility of access to cases of cancellation through recordings of speeches or case news, the possibility of investigating consumer audience

numbers such as followers and views of posts, publications related to cancellation for analysis of public comments, situations where those canceled would have contact with the consequences of their actions were considered. These needs limited the selection of cases, such as the notorious case of cancellation of singer Karol Conká in her participation in the reality show Big Brother Brasil occurred without her immediate contact with the consequences of her behavior. These limitations were due to the decision to construct a solid definition of cancellation and a well-structured analysis methodology, possibly being the foundation of research for other cases.

The extraction of the data submitted to the analysis took into account the environment in which the canceled behavior occurred, the canceled behavior, the consequences of the behavior, and cases of similar behaviors that occurred after publication. Regarding the environment and behavior, video records of the analyzed behaviors were analyzed. In cases of unavailability of videos, news that described the cases were accessed. For the consequences, we analyzed the following categories of analysis: (1) changes in numbers referring to consumers of influencers' content, that is, the number of followers on social networks and the number of views on publications; (2) the fifteen comments with the most interactions made on canceled or cancellation-related posts; and (3) legal and financial measures related to the canceled behavior, which have been reported. For the analysis of the behavioral repertoire, behaviors similar to the canceled behavior were searched in publications of the research subjects.

RESULTS

BRUNO 'MONARK' AIUB CASE

In February 2022, during an interview with deputies Kim Kataguiri and Tabata Amaral, in a dialogue about the limits of freedom of expression, Bruno defended the possibility of the existence of a Nazi political party recognized by Brazilian law: "I'm crazier than all of you, I think the Nazi had to have the Nazi party recognized by law [...] if the guy wants to be an anti-Jew, I think he had the right to be" (sic) (Jornalismo TV Cultura, 2022). The next day he published a video on his X account (formerly Twitter) with an apology (G1, 2022):

> Oh guys, I wanted to make this video just to apologize. Because I made a mistake, that's the truth. I was very drunk, and I went to defend an idea that is an idea that happens in other places in the world, in the United States for example, but I went to

defend this idea in a very stupid way, I was drunk, I spoke in a very insensitive way with the Jewish community and damn, I ask for forgiveness, you know? Because of my insensitivity, but I also ask for a little understanding, it's been four hours of conversation, I was drunk, I was insensitive yes, make a mistake in the way I expressed myself, it implies that I'm defending abominable things, it's shit, err as fuck. I don't know, I ask for your understanding and I apologize to the entire Jewish community, I'm really sorry, I didn't want to be insensitive, it wasn't my intention, okay? I even invite the greatest representatives of this community to come talk to me, explain to me more about the whole story. Thank you.

The comments section of this post finds several critical responses. As for the category variation in the number of consumers of content broadcast, Bruno did not have any loss or gain of followers out of the normal in February in X. In the following month, he had a small loss (of 1251 followers) and in April, a substantial gain of 30115 followers. The YouTube channels Flow Podcast and Cortes do Flow, had inverse changes; Flow podcast gained an average of 80,000 subscribers in the three months leading up to the cancellation, 30,000 in the month of the cancellation, and approximately 63,000 in the three months following the cancellation. Cortes do Flow gained an average of 46,000 subscribers in the months leading up to the cancellation, gained 70,000 subscribers in February and an average of 63,000 in the months following the cancellation. Both YouTube channels decreased their view gains and only the Flow podcast had a negative balance[4].

Table 1 - Variation in the audience Bruno.

Month	Followers X @monark	Flow channel subscribers	Flow Cuts channel subscribers	Flow channel views	Flow Cuts channel views
November 2021	+14.363	+80.000	+40.000	+17.145,636	+20.994,681
December 2021	+1.709	+90.000	+50.000	+18.585,027	+29.172,710
January 2022	+5.566	+70.000	+50.000	+16.423,914	+21.513,863
February 2022	+3.976	+30.000	+70.000	-31.623,453	+12.387,772
March 2022	-1251	+40.000	+50.000	+10.282,428	+26.198,792
April 2022	+30.115	+40.000	+80.000	+13.170,206	+35.479,956
May 2022	+11.506	+50.000	+60.000	+16.151,996	+31.261,695

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from the Social Blade platform.

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[4] We kept the spelling used by users

As for the publication contingencies category, we analyzed the 15 most liked comments on the publication with Bruno's apologies on *X*. The post received 1309 republications, 28.6 thousand comments and 37.5 thousand likes. All the comments with the most likes were interpreted as aversive to Bruno. The most relevant, with more than 64 thousand likes, says: *"@monark you're tarnishing the image of potheads, please stop smoking marijuana immediately thank you"* (*sic*). It was made by rapper Matuê; the second most relevant, made by Ricardo Taves, with 42,500 likes, says

> As a Jew I do not accept your forgiveness and I will not understand anything. Alcohol has many effects, but Nazism is unjustifiable in any alcoholic or hallucinogenic state. If you get drunk on your business, that's your problem, but when you mess with a topic like these, none
> A waiver will suffice.

These comments were made by figures with many followers. The other 13 most relevant comments have fewer likes than Bruno's original post, and maintain an average of 16,353 likes.

Table 2 - Comments on Bruno's publication.

Comments	Number of tanned.
you are tarnishing the image of the potheads, please stop smoking weed immediately thank you	64.100
As a Jew I do not accept your forgiveness and I will not understand anything. Alcohol has many effects, but Nazism is unjustifiable in any alcoholic or hallucinogenic state. If you get drunk in your business, that's your problem, but when dealing with a topic like these, no excuse will suffice.	42.100
Monark apologized the most lame apologies in the universe: - he was drunk - it was 4 hours of conversation - ah but they defend it in the United States - please be understanding with me - Jews, please explain to me why Nazism is bad GO FUCK YOURSELF, MONARK! Damn it	29.300
No, Monark. Lynching is what happened in Barra da Tijuca, against Moise Kabagambe. You're just an adult who thinks you're a kid and can't be held accountable for the shit you say. "I was drunk", well, do me a favor! Accept your B.O., boy!	26.300
He talked shit and it wasn't the first time, fuck yourself there and endure the consequences... Casimiro would say:	17.200
my friends get drunk on the ride and the most they do is get close to my ear and say "tlg q I consider you very right" monark becomes a nazi...	12.200
Monark, unfortunately, has objective data that indicate that the spread of a discourse translates into the attitudes that the people who defend/listen to them will commit. It's not guesswork, there is data about that. More than knowing who is a Nazi, it is necessary to prevent Nazi ideas from spreading	10.400
If your ass catches fire, I hope the firefighter goes on vacation	6.700
It is not a lynching. People are just expressing their opinions, are you against free speech, Monark?	6.300

Look Monark, in all my years filling my ass with cachaça and drugs I never defended Nazism. I don't think it's okay to blame these things.	6.200
Understanding your asshole.	6.100
I have never seen anyone get drunk and start supporting Nazism. You were/are more than lucid in your words. Don't play the poor thing. If Brazil were a serious country, you would be in prison. NAZISM IS NOT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. NAZISM IS A CRIME!	5.800
He was wrong again. You can't use these arguments. You can't be drunk to deal with a serious matter. And you can't blame the drink. Nor ask for understanding. Reflect more a little and redo.	4.400
What drink is this that you drink and leave as a Nazi defender? The face doesn't even tremble.	4.100
"I was drunk" po buddy so if you run over someone drunk you just have to make a little video that everything is fine	4.100

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from @monark's post on the X website (Aiub, 2022.)

Bruno was fired from the *Flow podcast* after the case and had his 50% partnership in the company bought by his partner Igor Coelho (G1, 2022). Regarding similar behaviors, he created a new *podcast* on the *Rumble* platform, titled *MonarkTalks.* The program began to have freedom of expression as its central theme, similar to the dialogue of his canceled behavior. About the cancellation, Bruno said in an interview with the Cara a Tapa podcast (2022) that he regrets apologizing, that he regrets how he made the statement but not its content:

> I didn't apologize for my idea, from what I think, I still believe it, I still believe in the premise of the first amendment of the United States [...] but I apologized for the way I delivered this idea to the population, to the public [...] I shouldn't apologize, I should explain my point but the problem is that when you apologize you validate the narrative that you really did what they were imputing to you even if were not true.

Along with this, Bruno made a post on his Instagram profile (2022) satirizing the cancellation, along with a photo lying on a beach chair accompanied by the writing: "Not everything was canceled, thank God"

Functional Analysis of the Bruno case

History linked to canceled behavior.

Background	Behaviour	Consequences

Work with content production for the internet; Political values Libertarians; Controversial topics attract a large number of views.	Incite and talk about Controversial topics in seus podcasts	Discussion and promotion of topics of interest to you (positive reinforcement); Aversive responses to your comments (punishment positive); Audience gain. (reinforcement positive; Earning Compensation monetary (positive reinforcement).

Canceled behavior.

Background	Behaviour	Consequences
Presence of friends Kim Kataguiri and Igor Coelho in the conversation; Topic of conversation about freedom of expression.	To state that he defends the possibility of the creation of a Nazi party in the Brazil.	Continuation of the conversation (positive reinforcement); Negative comments from public. (positive punishment); Loss of sponsors (negative punishment); Public pressure to retract. (positive punishment); Termination of the Flow Podcasts company (negative punishment)

Request for exculpatory charges

Background	Behavior Consequences	Consequences
Negative comments from the public; Loss of sponsors; Public pressure for retraction.	Video post; Apology.	Aversive comments; Apology. (positive punishment); Likes and shares of the post (positive reinforcement).

Similar behaviors.

Background.	Behaviour.	Consequences.
Aversive comments; Liberal political values; Gain followers on *X.*	Incite and talk about controversial topics in their podcasts.	Gain of consumer public (positive reinforcement); Discussion and promotion of topics of interest. (positive reinforcement); Aversive responses to your comments (positive punishment).

GABRIELA PUGLIESI CASE

The digital influencer organized a party at her home in April 2020, in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, and videos of the party were published on her Instagram account. The next day, she used the same network by posting an apology video, now unavailable, in which she spoke about the case (G1, 2020). After the pronouncement, a three-month hiatus followed on her social network, when she made another statement regarding what happened, apologizing and talking about how she dealt with the situation in the meantime. This new publication has several negative comments. Regarding the variation in the number of content consumers, Gabriela has Instagram as her main network, in which there were both posts that led to cancellation and the posting of apologies. The loss of followers was considerable, resulting in a drop of 129,363 in the month of cancellation (April) and 113,246 in the month Gabriela returned to the network (July). As for publication contingencies, Instagram does not have a tool to search for comments on publications. Among the 56,525 comments, there was no publication that stands out in terms of the number of likes, but more comments interpreted as aversive were observed. Still, there are comments that supported Gabriela. This publication had 326 thousand likes as of the date we analyzed it in August 2023 (Pugliesi, 2020).

Table 3 - Audience variation Gabriela

Month	Instagram Followers @eusougabriela
January 2022	+48.378
February 2022	+33.810
March 2022	+320.320
April 2022	-129.362
May 2022	-129.362
June 2022	-129.362
July 2022	-113.246

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from the Social Blade platform.

Gabriela lost several partnerships with companies such as *HOPE, Baw, LBA, Body For Sure, Desinchá, Evolution Coffee, Rappi, Mais Pura and Liv Up*. Companies that have worked with the influencer have also spoken out, including *Kopenhagen, Ambev and Fazenda Futuro*. The specialist agency *BRUNCH* states that the financial loss may have been close to three million reais (Forbes, 2020). More broadly, the behavioral class of producing content for the internet ceased through the distancing of the user from the networks; more specifically, we do not see behavior similar to that canceled in the Gabriela case, which can be understood as an extinction. Among posts on her *feed* and highlights on Instagram, there were no more cases that disrespected the quarantine. There is even a publication about his vaccination against Covid-19 on July 13, 2021.

Functional Analysis Gabriela case

History linked to canceled behavior

Background	Behaviour	Consequences
I work with content production.	Share your daily life and lifestyle on your social networks.	Gain of followers (positive reinforcement); Earning Compensation monetary (positive reinforcement); Discussion and promotion of topics of interest to them (positive reinforcement).

Canceled behavior.

Background.	Behaviour.	Consequences
Beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic; Party with friends.	Publish a video disrespecting the isolation rules in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic.	Aversive comments (positive punishment); Loss of audience (negative punishment); Loss of sponsorships (negative punishment).

Request for exculpations.

Background	Behaviour	Consequences

Aversive comments; Loss of audience; Loss of sponsorships.	Publication of an apology about the Happened; Beginning of a hiatus on social networks.	Distancing from Aversive comments (negative reinforcement).

LEONARDO 'LEO' DE LIMA BORGES LINS CASE

In May 2023, a video published on the comedian's YouTube channel was removed by the São Paulo Court of Justice (TJSP). He confirmed the fact and made publications about "countdown" to remove the content. The video was a capture of a stand up comedy show that took place in Curitiba in 2022. In an excerpt of the video there was a racist joke: "[...] blacks can't get a job, but at the time of slavery they were born employed and thought it was bad" (Veja, 2023). On May 18, Leonardo made a post on X containing an image with the writing in capital letters: "05/16/2023 15:00 A COMEDY SHOW IS REMOVED FROM THE INTERNET AT THE BEHEST OF THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE" (Lins, 2023). The comments section has positive reviews and comments, and on Instagram there are mostly positive and compassionate comments. The publication was later deleted (Lins, 2023). On that day, he published a video on YouTube entitled "Léo Lins - want to know what a process of the public prosecutor's office is like?". The cover or thumbnail of the video contains the phrase "READING THE PROCESS LIVE", also in capital letters (Lins, 2023). As the cover of the video suggests, it consists of a reading of the lawsuit filed by the TJSP, related to the video with racist content. The comment session received positive and compassionate responses. In the category variation of consumer public. The month of May 14 represented a drop in views on the comedian's YouTube channel, however, the number of followers on Instagram and X and YouTube had an exponential increase. June and July brought a considerable increase in views on the YouTube channel.

Table 4 - Variation in Leonardo's consumer public.

Month	Registered Youtube @leolinsstanup	YouTube Views @leolinsstandup	Followers X @LeoLins	Instagram Followers @leolins
February 2023	+10.000	+1.338.226	-698	+32.848
March 2023	+10.000	+1.738.361	-1.195	+67.216

April 2023	+10.000	+1.622.260	-1.689	+44.270
May 2023	+40.000	+373.969	+12.143	+153.265
June 2023	+60.000	+3.403.395	+2.120	+89.302
July 2023	+50.000	+3.579.746	+1.490	+171.351

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from the Social Blade platform.

Regarding the publication contingencies, the YouTube video has 922 thousand views and 116 thousand likes and the selected comments have an average of 1,521 likes. All 15 comments seem reinforcing. X's publication had 3.3 million views and 21.9 thousand likes. Among the 15 most liked comments, 12 were apparently aversive, with an average of 1,127 likes and 3 comments were apparently reinforcing, with an average of 469 likes. The Instagram post had 110 thousand likes and 13.4 thousand comments and, among the 15 most liked, eight apparently aversive with an average of 1,611 likes and seven apparently reinforcing with an average of 2,416 likes.

Aversive	Tanned	Amplifiers	Tanned
That's why I made the L.	5444	But isn't that censorship? Oh yes, it's not about what you say it's about who talks	722
Come make a banner of yours here in the hood and tell me about the one from work of the slave.	3278	Put it on Rumble, because I haven't watched it yet!	380
If the comedy show is racist, xenophobic, ableist he is kind of a CRIME so the MP is right. The game continues.	829	make a show only with jokes mocking the white hetero man, It seems that it is the only category that you have the right to mock... kkkkk	307
Have you thanked Lula for the sanction of Law 14.532, an 'anti-joke' law? Bolsonaro warned that censorship would reach everyone, but while it was only with others, cool, you made the L for that!	801		

Bully deserves to know what, right?.. Bunch of Zé Ruela, making jokes with a minority is easy, in school there was always a bully doing that, it's a bunch of fools applauding around. All cowardly, soft ass. He is only male at mom's house. Bully deserves you know what, right?	662		
Do you make the L and have you claimed how?	619		
We have been warning for 4 years. But you called us bolsominion etc	574		
I will repeat: For lack of warning it was not! (it's too late now). That's why you can't stay out of politics and continue living a normal life, because censorship will reach everyone. All of this is result of what was already happening to other people, but you didn't give a damn. There are comedian arrested for months already, but why care, right?	445 342		
Take a bunch of distracted people! Make the L immediately! Hahahahaha.	202		
I missed the time when you were free to make your aggressive jokes and he as President of the Republic never censored you or persecuted you ???? Make the L	193		
While it happened with bolsonarists it seemed funny, right?! Good harvest of your sowing, you f#gave the whole country putting these dictators in power	137		

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from @leolins's post on the X website (Lins, 2023).

Table 6 - Comments on the publication Youtube Leonardo

Reinforcing Comments	Tanned
I'm gay, atheist, northeastern, brown, poor and I support you, Leo! Being a minority doesn't make me stupid! Keep up your work of freedom!	5100

He calls himself a comedian/comedian"... Dude, how ridiculous coming from a body that represents the Brazilian justice... Pqp. Léo Lins, your audience is with you.	3400
The guy is a GENIUS! He released the show in the form of reading the process. Far above average. I laughed more with this video because I heard the jokes with a more "serious" tone than when I watched the show (which had already made me laugh my ass off). Laughed at the same show 2 times. Hauahauahauaha. Go ahead, Leo!	2000
Is it serious that Leo used the public prosecutor's office to redo the show without causing a problem? What a genius!	2000
A Comedian being taken seriously and corrupt politicians being taken as a joke!	2000
A message to his colleagues: Those who support the guillotine forget that Robespierre was also beheaded. He who empowers oppression will soon end up being oppressed. As sure as night succeeds day. Go ahead, Leo.	1600
Politicians being taken as a joke and comedians being taken seriously. This is Brazil	1200
The guy is a skull! He reposted the show that was censored reading the lawsuit against the show itself. Too good!!	814
The comedians being taken seriously while telling jokes, and the politicians being taken in the joke while stealing our money kkkkk The guys returned the script to Leo Lins to re-record the show on youtube 100% within the law, after all it is a public document. AHHAHAHHA	750 718
The guy read the process and reproduced half of the jokes from the show that were taken off the air kkkkkkkk GENIUS KKKKKKKKKKKKKK	711
The video was so good that even the Public Prosecutor's Office watched it. It was so good that the Honorable Judge made a summary of the best moments. This is our Brazil!	700
Leo Lins is so good that even reading a process makes it interesting and makes 50 min pass as 5, these are difficult times.	679
I'm a proud Northeasterner "and this judge has to understand that a comedian can see us, politicians can't..."	648
The guy simply re-recorded the show itself by reading the process. Genius	509

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from @leolins's post on the X website (Lins, 2023).

Table 7 - Comments on Instagram publication Leonardo.

Comments understood as aversive.	Number of tanned.	Comments understood as reinforcing.	Number of tanned.
No dear, a video containing r4c1st4s offenses that was removed from the internet, this is far from humor!	2457	still not believing	2597
Show that you offend people with disabilities. I thought it was very FAIR!	2164	There is no such thing, man	2212
Those who commit crimes have to get used to a judicial decision	955	And there are still comedian finding it good!! How horr0r	5325
Racism is not humor and much less funny! He will study and learn to be a humorist with intelligence, he has a list of consecrated, successful comedians who give a show making the audience laugh without attacking, humiliating people.	996	Brazil is downhill, and the worst thing is to have a LOT of people thinking this is normal. Besides, we're together brother, let's move on	2186
Racism is NOT freedom of speech, hate speech is NOT a joke. It is not a matter of opinion, of finding it funny or not, it is a complex conflict between the right of those who speak and the rights of offended groups. What the Public Prosecutor's Office did is NOT censorship, it is the response to a valid legal conflict. There are several other conflicts of this nature, such as when someone suffers contempt, injury/defamation and the justice system has to answer about the limit between who/what is said and the impact of this on someone's social life/life. Leaving here my humble contribution because the debate here is very bad and uninformed.	1054	It is the beginning of the end. Incredible.	1771
A show of racism is not humor, it is a crime.	2726	And they still say that we live in a free and democratic country..!!	1524
Racism, pedophilia and xenophobia are not humor.	794	It's easy to solve this there... You just have to support Lula and you can make jokes with everyone, your videos will not be canceled and you still earn some money with Rouanet	1373
The guy says "blacks can't get a job, but at the time of slavery they were born employed and they also thought it was bad" and this is considered humor? Do you call the removal of this censorship? Even if you don't have a great deal of historical knowledge, what kind of job was that? Without a salary, being beaten, eating badly? Thinking about the context then it only gets worse. Years of slavery, of a type of heinous crime committed with the consensus of the time, which has brutal consequences in our society to this day. Finding this funny is sadistic, to say the least	2143		

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from @leolins's post on the Instagram website (Lins, 2023).

There was a judicial order to exclude the video and prohibit the publication of derogatory or humiliating content related to race, gender, culture, origin, gender, among others (Carta Capital, 2023). Regarding similar behaviors, Leonardo maintained a

behavioral pattern similar to the canceled behavior. He does comedy shows in Brazil and the United States, also having comedy content available to subscribers on Only Fans, on this network he posts excerpts from recordings of his shows, in one of them the comedian says "There's a joke here mega exclusive to you! If I post this video, on the same day my name comes out on the gossip pages!" (sic.). Publications with fatphobic jokes and that mention the cancellation itself exist, in one of them Leonardo asks "governors, city hall, NGOs and cancelers in general" to stop making "boycotts and repudiation notes" and then shows a theater full of spectators, stating "look what happens" (Lins, 2023).

Functional analyses in the Leonardo case

History linked to canceled behavior

Background	Behavior Consequences	Consequences
Interest in Jokes derogatory humor; Political-social values.	Do *stand-up shows*	Audience gain (comedy reinforcement using positive humor) Gain in monetary remuneration (positive reinforcement) Discussion and promotion of topics of your interest. (positive reinforcement)

Canceled behavior.

Background	Behaviour	Behavior Consequences
Interest in derogatory humor jokes; Political and social values; Existence of a consumer public; Gain of monetary remuneration.	Making a racist joke.	Gain in monetary remuneration (positive reinforcement); Discussion and promotion of topics of your interest. (positive reinforcement)

Similar behaviors

Background	Behaviour	Consequences
Prohibition of publications with discriminatory content; Legal determination to exclude the video.	Posts with similar content to the canceled behavior.	Existence of a consumer public (positive reinforcement); Gain in monetary remuneration (positive reinforcement); Discussion and promotion of topics of interest (positive reinforcement);

DISCUSSION

With this information collected, the present work continues to correlate these cases with knowledge of behavior analysis, with the objective of understanding the possible effects of cancellation on the behavior of canceled individuals.

Historically, punitive and coercive methods have been questioned by behavior analysts. Skinner (1954) understands punishment as a questionable technique, arguing that, in the long run, it is disadvantageous for the punished organism and for the punisher, since the reduction in the frequency of the punished behavior does not seem to be permanent, but momentary. Among the effects caused by punishment in the behavioral repertoire, we highlight the immediate decrease in the punished behavior, without delving into the antecedents that control the behavior and the emergence of an incompatible behavior conditioned by the recurrent punishment of another behavior. It is also necessary to take into account the occurrence of public and private responses such as guilt, shame or fear on occasions similar to that of the punished behavior and the negative reinforcement of behaviors that reduce or avoid the aversive stimulus.

This momentary effect can be observed mainly in the Bruno case, in which, after distancing from social networks, behaviors similar to those punished appear. At the same time, the increase in the occurrence of behaviors similar to the behavior punished in the Bruno and Leonardo cases can occur through a reinforcement of the avoidance of some negative consequences, such as producing specific content for a certain audience, which can prevent the occurrence of aversive comments.

In line with this, Sidman (2009) elucidates other side effects of punishment. In addition to the target behavior and the consequence, the environment in which this relationship occurs plays a major role in the behavioral repertoire. Thus, behavior such as making a racist joke or defending the existence of a Nazi party may not be punished in certain environments and reinforced in others, so that they may continue to occur in some circumstances, where issues such as the public or interlocutors do not result in punishing them. The Bruno and Leonardo cases show an occurrence of behaviors similar to those punished, but in different environments.

In addition, positive punishment opens space for reinforcement, so that the removal of the aversive stimulus of punishment is a form of negative reinforcement. In a case of escape from an already present stimulus, a way of learning how to act moved by aversion occurs. However, other consequences can maintain the behavior, such as children who

play dangerous games hidden from their parents or drivers who respect the speed of the road only near electronic radars. In cases of avoiding the stimulus even before its presence, contact with a certain environment related to punishment can be completely avoided (Sidman, 2009).

The Gabriela case can be related to these concepts. The avoidance with a three-month hiatus from social networks avoids any contact with aversive contingencies; Even if the behavior of disrespecting the pandemic remains (we are not affirming, but conjecturing), the behavior of sharing it has been punished, so that there is an escape from aversion even with the occurrence of the previously punished behavior. Thus, even with changes in behavior on social networks, behavioral change does not necessarily occur in other environments.

However, the relationships between behavior, environment and consequence on the internet undergo modifications in the mechanisms of the network. Fischer (2023), in a journalistic investigation, observed a significant change in the functioning of social networks in the 2010s. The birth of these channels in Silicon Valley was permeated by a libertarian worldview, a political revolution based on free networks for the expression of ideas; These ideals became problematic when networks reached global levels of reach and moved by a free, space-supported business model for advertising.

This financial model made the time online of users directly proportional to the profits obtained. Thus, the application of recommendation and content delivery algorithms aimed at greater audience retention were applied. In general, algorithms prioritize content related to controversial topics and related to strong feelings, such as fear and anger. Along with this, the delivery of content is done quickly and directly, often biased and even false. The feelings driven by these publications increase the retention of attention and, consequently, the time spent by users on the network, in addition to the repeated recommendation of similar content to users.

Thus, the act of canceling does not occur completely spontaneously, as do canceled behaviors. Behaviors that can be canceled for their controversial content are reinforced through the number of hits; Canceling behaviors can be reinforced both by participating in a cause or fighting a problem, but also by likes, shares, and concurring responses. Both canceling behavior and cancellable controversial behaviors flow together with an algorithm guided by access and screen time.

Among the cases analyzed, it is necessary to consider the effectiveness of the action of loss of audience, support and consumption. The Gabriela case is a more functional example in a dynamic in which the behavior of sharing the break of quarantine is not part of its ordinary content and presented a loss of audience; the Bruno and Leonardo cases have actions that, despite being rejected by certain users, do not escape a standard of the content produced, not generating loss of the public already accustomed to these actions. Without the withdrawal of the public, the cancellation leverages and publicizes the events; critically exposing ordinary content, such as a comedy show by Leonardo or a speech from a *podcast* by Bruno, to an audience that already consumes this material can be ineffective in exposing something that is considered wrong.

The legal and financial consequences are in a murkier place for analysis, as they apply to crimes such as defending the existence of a Nazi party and racist comments and should be punished. Understanding whether the acts of cancellation allowed sponsoring companies or justice authorities to have access to these events was not our goal, but it is worthy of analysis in the future. Finally, we highlight the apparent ineffectiveness of behavior change through cancellation; The lack of control of contingencies, the low opportunity and reinforcement of different behaviors, and the limited fight against behavior and not its structure of acquisition of the repertoire do not seem to have the desired effect. In addition, the "exile" made as a mode of cancellation makes it impossible to reinforce desirable behaviors and can have very harmful side effects. The lack of contact with dissenting and moderate people can limit interaction with more extreme individuals and the Bruno and Leonardo cases show a displacement of audience and content closer to their cancellation cases.

CONCLUSION

Within the proposal of a methodological bridge between the analysis of behavior and the concept of cancellation, together with a rich method both quantitatively and qualitatively, the present research intended to analyze, from the functional analysis, three cases of cancellation that contemplated people with notoriety and a large audience in the digital environment. Analyzing the canceled behaviors, antecedents, contingencies, consequences, and behaviors after the cancellation, we observe the function of their actions and the effects of the consequences they suffered. With this observation, it was possible to relate the events to the theoretical contributions of behavior analysis, to

understand possible behavioral processes experienced by individuals and to raise hypotheses about the results of cancellations.

Our initiative was to build a methodological path, but the study was limited in terms of racial and gender profile and users with less digital presence (fewer followers). However, the methodological structure made available allows for future investigations that can explore other facets of cancellation, analyze cases of repeated cancellations suffered by the same person, investigate cases of cancellation of people who are not influencers, politicians, traditional media workers, among others.

We reiterate that, despite the evidence of an inefficiency of cancellation as a modifier of the behavioral repertoire of individuals, manifestations contrary to problems such as racism, anti-Semitism and disrespect for public health may not be guided by behavioral change. This work, although not agreeing with such positions, did not aim to qualitatively analyze the political, stigmatizing, prejudiced positions, attacks on minorities and other problems, but sought to understand the possible side effects of such actions on the individuals who manifest them, believing that this understanding can contribute to better results in political and social struggles.

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