

The nature of participation in internet activism: The case of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on Twitter

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Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree *Master of Arts in Communication* at the North-West University

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Examination: Oct 2017

<http://www.nwu.ac.za/>

PREFACE

This dissertation would not have seen the light of day without the help of a few individuals to whom I owe a big amount of gratitude:

- Firstly, my study supervisor, mentor and lifesaver, Prof. Lynnette Fourie, thank you for joining me and guiding me on this journey, through topic changes, and unknown methodologies, I would have no one else as my supervisor.
- My parents, Victor and Daleen Frazao, for supporting me every step of the way, financially and emotionally. I would not have been able to commence with my Master's study if you didn't urge me to do so.
- My sister, Vicky Frazao, who assisted me with the legal arguments regarding intervention and transnational activism within sovereign nations.
- My brother, Dmitri Frazao, for all your support and understanding.
- Mx. Hannelie Otto and Dr. Elbe Kloppers who continuously shared articles and provided advice.
- My friend and colleague, Helene Nieuwenhuis, for the language editing. I literally would not have been able to submit without your help.
- To Comine Howe, Michelle Groenewald and Caro Janse van Rensburg, for better friends I could not have asked. Thank you for your support, advice and encouragement. I can now finally also enter the Master's club with you (well hopefully).
- Lastly, my late grandfather, George Frederick Bothma, who always encouraged me to continue studying and learning more. I wish you could have been here to see me finish this study. This study is dedicated to you.

“Mense kan alles van jou af weg vat, maar wat jy weet en wat jy geleer het, kan niemand ooit van jou af neem nie. So moet nooit ophou leer nie.”

– George Frederick Bothma (1937 – 2017)

ABSTRACT

Political participation is a key principle in maintaining a healthy democracy by keeping governments and political parties accountable to the constituencies that elected them (Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:22; Issakson, 2014:244; Stockemer, 2014:201-202). However, when conventional forms of political participation, like voting, aren't sufficiently addressing the concerns of citizens, unconventional forms of political participation, like demonstrations, boycotts and petitions, increase (Stockemer, 2013:202).

With the development of *information and communication technologies* (ICT's) innovations like the internet, mobile phones and social media enhanced the way in which global collective action and the participation in activism such as social movements occur. Social media, as a result of the development of Web 2.0 allowed for platforms like Twitter to provide participants with the ability to build pervasive networks that can organise social action at a rate that was not possible before. Twitter specifically, supports a fast, constant and variety of engagement that contributes to activism movements whilst also indicating public responsiveness to certain content and information within the sphere of the movement (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2010:175; Howard & Hussain, 2011:36).

The *#ZumaMustFall* movement is an example a social movement that saw the use of internet activism, specifically on Twitter, as an essential tool to mobilise participation. The movement called for the resignation of South African president Jacob Zuma after various controversial issues in which he was involved (Van Onselen, 2015; Nhlabathi, 2015).

It is against the above mentioned theoretical context that the *#ZumaMustFall* movement was studied. Quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis were carried out against the theoretical framework of the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion.

The analysis indicated that the news media played an essential role in mobilising the movement after which power shifted towards grassroots individuals. Due to the empowerment of grassroots individuals they were able pressure local political parties and politicians to get involved with the movement. The movement's identity also played an important role in increasing participation. Only when the identity shifted from a racial narrative towards a collective identity, did the movement see more wide-spread participation. Ultimately, the increasing empowerment and shift in movement identity resulted in the offline application of the movement spreading from only Johannesburg and Cape Town to locations like Pretoria, other parts of Johannesburg and even Tanzania.

KEYWORDS

Democracy, Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion, Internet Activism, Online Participation, South Africa, Transnational Activism, Twitter, Unconventional Political Participation, *#ZumaMustFall*

OPSOMMING

Politiese deelname is 'n uiters belangrike beginsel as dit kom by die onderhoud van 'n gesonde demokrasie. Politiese deelname hou regeerings en politiese partye verantwoordbaar aan die belangegroep wat hulle verkies het (Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:22; Issakson, 2014:244; Stockemer, 2014:201-202). Wanneer konvensionele vorme van politiese deelname, soos stemmery, nie voldoende is om burgers se bekommernisse aan te spreek nie, word onkonvensionele vorme soos betogings, boikotte en petisies gebruik (Stockemer, 2013:202).

Die ontwikkeling van *inligting- en kommunikasietegnologieë* (IKT's) het innovasies soos die internet, mobiele fone en sosiale media meegebring. Hierdie innovasies het globale kollektiewe aksies en die deelname in aktivisme soos sosiale bewegings uitgebrei. Sosiale media en spesifiek Twitter, 'n produk van Web 2.0, laat deelnemers toe om alomteenwoordige netwerke te bou. Hierdie netwerke bied geleentheid om sosiale aksies te organiseer teen 'n koers wat nie voorheen moontlik was nie. Twitter spesifiek, bied vinnige en konstante geleentheid vir deelname wat ook 'n aanduiding is van publieke meelewendheid rakende sekere inhoud en inligting binne die beweging (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2010:175; Howard & Hussain, 2011:36).

Die *#ZumaMustFall* beweging is 'n voorbeeld van 'n sosiale beweging wat internet aktivisme, spesifiek op Twitter, as 'n hulpmiddel gebruik het om deelname te mobiliseer. Die beweging het aangedring op die bedanking van Suid-Afrikaanse president Jacob Zuma na vele kontroversiele kwessies waarby hy betrokke was (Van Onselen, 2015; Nhlabathi, 2015).

Hierdie teoretiese agtergrond was gebruik om die *#ZumaMustFall* beweging te bestudeer. Kwantitatiewe sosiale netwerk analise en kwalitatiewe inhoudsanalise was uitgevoer binne die teoretiese raamwerk van die Dialogiese Raamwerk van Transnasionale Diffusie.

Die analise het aangedui dat die nuusmedia 'n belangrike rol gespeel het in terme van die mobilisering van die beweging. Die mag is daarna oorgedra aan voetsoolvlak individue. Die gevolg van hierdie bemagtig het gelei tot voetsoolvlak individue wat druk kon plaas op plaaslike politiese partye en politici om deel te neem and die beweging. Die beweging se identiteit het ook 'n belangrike rol gespeel in terme van die verhoging van deelname. Eers wanneer die beweging se identiteit weg beweeg van 'n rasse-narratief na 'n kollektiewe identiteit het die beweging 'n verhouding in wydverspreide deelname gesien. Die gevolg van die toenemende bemagtiging en die verandering van die bewegingidentiteit het die aflyn toepassing van die beweging sien versprei van Johannesburg en Kaapstad na ander liggings soos Pretoria, ander gedeeltes van Johannesburg en selfs Tanzanië.

SLEUTELWOORDE:

Demokrasie, Dialogiese Raamwerk van Transnasionale Diffusie, Internet Aktiwisme, Aanlyn Deelname, Suid-Afrika, Transnasionale Aktiwisme, Twitter, Onkonvensionele Politieke Deelname, *#ZumaMustFall*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH

| | |
|--|-----------|
| QUESTIONS | 1 |
| 1.1 BACKGROUND | 1 |
| 1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT | 2 |
| 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS | 7 |
| 1.3.1 GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION | 7 |
| 1.3.2 SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS | 7 |
| 1.4 RESEARCH GOALS | 8 |
| 1.5 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT | 8 |
| 1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH | 9 |
| 1.7 RESEARCH METHODS | 10 |
| 1.7.1 LITERATURE REVIEW | 10 |
| 1.7.2 EMPIRICAL STUDY | 11 |
| 1.8 CHAPTER DIVISION | 12 |

CHAPTER 2: INTERNET ACTIVISM AND THE USE OF THE DIALOGICAL

| | |
|---|-----------|
| FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE | 13 |
| 2.1 INTRODUCTION | 13 |
| 2.2 CRITICAL THEORY AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AS A FORM OF UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION | 14 |
| 2.3 INTERNET ACTIVISM AS A FORM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION | 18 |
| 2.3.1 BROCHUREWARE | 21 |
| 2.3.2 ONLINE FACILITATION OF OFFLINE PROTESTS | 22 |
| 2.3.3 ONLINE ORGANISING | 23 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| 2.3.4 | ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION | 25 |
| 2.4 | THE ROLE OF TWITTER IN ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION..... | 27 |
| 2.5 | TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM..... | 29 |
| 2.6 | DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION | 31 |
| 2.6.1 | AWARENESS..... | 35 |
| 2.6.2 | TRANSLATION | 36 |
| 2.6.3 | EXPERIMENTATION | 37 |
| 2.6.4 | MOVEMENT APPLICATION | 37 |
| 2.7 | ADAPTION OF THE DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION ON AN ONLINE NATIONAL LEVEL..... | 38 |
| 2.8 | CONCLUSION | 39 |
| | | |
| CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS – QUANTITATIVE SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS | | 41 |
| 3.1 | INTRODUCTION..... | 41 |
| 3.2 | RESEARCH APPROACH: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACH..... | 41 |
| 3.3 | RESEARCH DESIGN..... | 43 |
| 3.3.1 | RESEARCH QUESTIONS..... | 43 |
| 3.3.2 | SELECTION OF DATA AND CONTENT | 46 |
| 3.4 | RESEARCH METHODS..... | 48 |
| 3.4.1 | QUANTITATIVE SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS | 48 |
| 3.4.2 | QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS..... | 51 |
| 3.4.3 | CONCEPTUALISATION..... | 52 |
| 3.5 | RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY..... | 55 |

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 3.6 | PROBLEMS AND RESTRICTIONS | 57 |
| 3.7 | ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS | 57 |
| 3.8 | CONCLUSION | 57 |
| CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION | | 59 |
| 4.1 | INTRODUCTION | 59 |
| 4.2 | ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION: #ZUMAMUSTFALL SOCIAL NETWORKS | 59 |
| 4.3 | DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF DIFFUSION WITH REGARDS TO THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT..... | 61 |
| 4.3.1 | AWARENESS..... | 61 |
| 4.3.1.1 | NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS | 61 |
| 4.3.1.2 | NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF IN-DEGREE CONNECTIONS..... | 74 |
| 4.3.1.3 | NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF OUT-DEGREE CONNECTIONS..... | 78 |
| 4.3.2 | TRANSLATION | 82 |
| 4.3.3 | EXPERIMENTATION | 93 |
| 4.3.4 | MOVEMENT APPLICATION | 101 |
| 4.4 | CONCLUSION | 108 |
| CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION..... | | 111 |
| 5.1 | INTRODUCTION | 111 |
| 5.2 | ADDRESSING THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS..... | 111 |
| 5.2.1 | THE EVOLUTION OF TWITTER ACTIVISM | 111 |
| 5.2.1.1 | CRITICAL THEORY | 112 |
| 5.2.1.2 | POLITICAL PARTICIPATION..... | 112 |
| 5.2.1.3 | NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY | 112 |

| | | |
|---------|--|-----|
| 5.2.1.4 | EMPOWERMENT | 113 |
| 5.2.1.5 | INTERNET ACTIVISM..... | 113 |
| 5.2.1.6 | TWITTER | 114 |
| 5.2.2 | DIALOGICAL DIFFUSION..... | 115 |
| 5.2.2.1 | TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM..... | 115 |
| 5.2.2.2 | THE DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION | 115 |
| 5.2.2.3 | AWARENESS..... | 116 |
| 5.2.2.4 | TRANSLATION | 117 |
| 5.2.2.5 | EXPERIMENTATION | 117 |
| 5.2.2.6 | MOVEMENT APPLICATION | 118 |
| 5.2.3 | AWARENESS DURING THE <i>#ZUMAMUSTFALL</i> MOVEMENT | 118 |
| 5.2.3.1 | INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND PUBLIC FIGURES | 119 |
| 5.2.3.2 | NEWS MEDIA | 119 |
| 5.2.3.3 | LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES | 120 |
| 5.2.3.4 | GRASSROOTS INDIVIDUALS | 120 |
| 5.2.4 | TRANSLATION DURING THE <i>#ZUMAMUSTFALL</i> MOVEMENT | 121 |
| 5.2.4.1 | DIALOGUE MEDIATION | 121 |
| 5.2.4.2 | DIALOGUE PARTICIPATION..... | 121 |
| 5.2.5 | EXPERIMENTATION DURING THE <i>#ZUMAMUSTFALL</i> MOVEMENT..... | 122 |
| 5.2.5.1 | RACIAL TENSION..... | 122 |
| 5.2.5.2 | SCEPTICISM..... | 123 |
| 5.2.5.3 | COLLECTIVE IDENTITY | 123 |
| 5.2.6 | MOVEMENT APPLICATION DURING THE <i>#ZUMAMUSTFALL</i> MOVEMENT | 124 |

| | | |
|---------|---|------------|
| 5.2.6.1 | TWEETS INDICATING THE INTENTION OF AN OFFLINE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MOVEMENT | 124 |
| 5.2.6.2 | TWEETS SHOWCASING ACTUAL OFFLINE APPLICATION OF THE MOVEMENT | 124 |
| 5.3 | ADDRESSING THE GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION | 125 |
| 5.4 | LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES..... | 127 |
| 5.5 | CONCLUSION | 127 |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY | 128 |
| | ANNEXURE A: LANGUAGE EDITING | 142 |

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2-1: Differences and similarities between *Cyberactivism 1.0* and *2.0* (Sandoval-Amazon & Gil-Garcia, 2014:368)..... 19

Table 3-1: Research design 43

Table 4-1: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Out-degree metrics.... 67

Table 4-2: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: In-degree metrics..... 69

Table 4-3: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Betweenness centrality metrics 84

Table 4-4: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Cluster coefficient Metrics 88

Table 4-5: Dataset 1 and 2 – General Analytics 93

Table 4-6: Dataset 1 – General Analytics: ANC, EFF, DA and Media groupings 94

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1: Timeline of President Jacob Zuma’s actions during the movement 6

Figure 1-2: Chabot’s (2010:106) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion..... 9

Figure 2-1: Tarrow’s (2005:105) Alternative Pathways of Transnational Activism..... 32

Figure 2-2: Chabot’s (2010:104) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism 34

Figure 3-1: Network graph example, indicating nodes and edges 48

Figure 4-1: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count 61

Figure 4-2: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count 62

Figure 4-3: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – News Outlets 62

Figure 4-4: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – News Outlets, EFF and public figure profiles..... 63

Figure 4-5: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Other politicians. 63

Figure 4-6: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – ANC. 63

Figure 4-7: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – DA..... 64

Figure 4-8: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by out-degree average..... 66

Figure 4-9: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by out-degree average..... 67

Figure 4-10: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by in-degree average..... 68

Figure 4-11: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by in-degree average..... 69

Figure 4-12: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by number of followers exceeding 30 000. 70

| | | |
|--------------|---|----|
| Figure 4-13: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by number of followers not exceeding 500 000. | 71 |
| Figure 4-14: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 100. | 71 |
| Figure 4-15: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 500. | 72 |
| Figure 4-16: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 100. | 72 |
| Figure 4-17: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 500. | 73 |
| Figure 4-18: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections..... | 74 |
| Figure 4-19: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge mentions | 75 |
| Figure 4-20: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge unique tweets..... | 75 |
| Figure 4-21: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections..... | 76 |
| Figure 4-22: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge mentions and tweets. | 76 |
| Figure 4-23: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections | 78 |
| Figure 4-24: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average in-degree connections..... | 79 |
| Figure 4-25: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections | 79 |
| Figure 4-26: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average in-degree connections..... | 80 |
| Figure 4-27: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by ‘replied-to’ tweets..... | 82 |
| Figure 4-28: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by ‘replied-to’ tweets..... | 83 |

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| Figure 4-29: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average betweenness centrality..... | 85 |
| Figure 4-30: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality..... | 85 |
| Figure 4-31: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality..... | 86 |
| Figure 4-32: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average betweenness centrality..... | 86 |
| Figure 4-33: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality..... | 87 |
| Figure 4-34: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness Centrality..... | 87 |
| Figure 4-35: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average cluster coefficient..... | 89 |
| Figure 4-36: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient..... | 89 |
| Figure 4-37: | Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient..... | 90 |
| Figure 4-38: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average cluster coefficient..... | 90 |
| Figure 4-39: | Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient..... | 91 |
| Figure 4-40: | Summary of the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> -movement on Twitter..... | 108 |
| Figure 5-1: | Chabot’s (2010) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion..... | 116 |
| Figure 5-2: | Summary of the participation in internet activism in the case of the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> movement on Twitter..... | 125 |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.1 BACKGROUND

Political participation is a key principle in maintaining a healthy democracy by keeping governments and political parties accountable to the constituencies that elected them (Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:22; Issakson, 2014:244; Stockemer, 2014:201-202). Political Participation can be defined as a phenomenon where an individual citizen intentionally chooses to influence political decisions directly or indirectly on different levels of the political system (Kaase & Marsh, 1978:42). Stockemer (2013:202) argues that when conventional forms of political participation, like voting, aren't sufficiently addressing the concerns of citizens, unconventional forms of political participation, like demonstrations, boycotts and petitions, increase.

The increasing development of information and communication technologies (ICT's) such as the internet, mobile phones and social media has played a big role in the changing nature of global collective action such as activism. These ICT's can be used by people to create pervasive networks that can organise social action at a rate that was not possible before. This phenomenon became visible in national movements *like #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall, #Right2Know* and transnational movements like the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, Je Suis Charlie and others (Della Porta & Mattoni, 2010:175; Howard & Hussain, 2011:36).

The evolution of the internet from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 allowed for the rise of social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter. These social media platforms can reach out to communities and individuals globally without almost any geographical limitations. Twitter specifically, created for fast, constant and variety of engagement that contributes to activism movements whilst also indicating public responsiveness to certain content and information within the sphere of the movement. Twitter's ability to provide participants with pervasive networks that allow for dialogue has led to an increase in participation in social movements. This dialogical nature along with an increase in accessibility and flexibility are all elements to increase empowerment of participants, subsequently increasing participation (Maireder & Ausserhofer, 2014:306; Lovejoy *et al.*, 2012). These participatory characteristics of Twitter made it a crucial tool in the rise of internet activism as a form of political participation. Internet activism can be divided into various categories ranging from online organising, to online activism participation¹. The various categories of internet activism enable the movements to

¹ Literature refers to this form of internet activism mainly as online participation, but to eliminate confusion, this study will refer to it as online activism participation.

distribute movement and ideology information across borders, organising offline movements simultaneously in various locations, and participating in online forms of activism (Earl & Kimport, 2010).

Various forms of online participation including online petitions, online support, social media discussions and even disruptive tactics like hacktivism² have been allowed for the spreading of information and increasing participation on a global scale, known as transnational diffusion (Earl & Kimport, 2010).

Transnational diffusion³ refers to the transnational brokerage and theorisation of forms of contentious politics, which are then adopted and adapted in places very different than their place of origin. When citizens from different countries start to participate in the same movements in their respective countries, these movements can be classified as transnational activism (Tarrow, 2005).

Chabot (2010:105-106) explains that dialogue is the key element of engagement in transnational diffusion. He describes his Dialogical Framework as a cycle which exists out of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application. Dialogue and engagement by means of this framework can be used to evaluate people's online activism participation. In this study, it is argued that that Chabot's Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion can be applied on a national level to study how an online activist movement evolves with in a specific country, for example the *#ZumaMustFall* movement in South Africa.

1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

The *#ZumaMustFall* movement forms part of a bigger South African political phenomenon that used the *#MustFall* narrative as a key message in driving participation. The *#MustFall* movement originated at the University of Cape Town on 9 March 2015 as a student-led protest calling for the removal of the Cecil John Rhodes statue. The protest was coined *#RhodesMustFall* and led to the removal of the statue of the British colonialist a month later (Bosch, 2017:221-222; Glen, 2016:83-85; Herman, 2015).

² Hacktivism is a term that describes activism by means of hacking.

³ It is important to note, that even though the word diffusion forms part of the term Transnational Diffusion, its meaning can't be equated to that of diffusion within the term Diffusion of Innovation. Diffusion of Innovation is a one-way-communication based process, whereas, Chabot (2010) determined that two-way communication is crucial within Transnational Diffusion.

After the removal of the statue, *#RhodesMustFall* evolved into a movement advocating for transformation and against institutional racism at the University of Cape Town. The concept of *decolonialisation* became central in maintaining the movement (Bosch, 2017:212-222; Chaudhuri, 2016). *Decolonialisation* asked for the removal of dominating colonial influence in the curriculum and spaces at higher education institutions in South Africa (Mpemnyama, 2015).

It was the narrative of *decolonialisation* that saw the movement diffuse to various other universities in South Africa and even beyond South African borders to the University of Oxford. It was at this stage that the movement evolved from the *#RhodesMustFall* movement, to the *#FeesMustFall* movement (Bosch, 2017:222). The core message of the *#FeesMustFall* movement recognised the need for *decolonialisation* of higher education, but advocated that the key challenge for students in South Africa is affordability of higher education. *#FeesMustFall* originally made its social media debut on 15 October 2015 with students at the University of the Witwatersrand being at the core of mobilising the movement. The movement initially called for a 0% increase in tuition fees for the year 2016. The movement however soon illustrated that its cause also included *decolonialisation* of academia, transformation of higher education institutions and the insourcing of outsourced workers (Baloyi & Isaacs, 2015; Findlay, 2015). Glen (2016:85) highlighted that this increase in demands, made the movement less coherent than the movement preceding it. The *#RhodesMustFall* movement had a central issue and was limited to one university, allowing for a more coherent plan of action. *#FeesMustFall* on the other hand had a lack of clarity in its evolving demands. Glen (2016:85) describes the incoherence of the movement as follows:

Were students simply asking for fees not to be raised in 2016, or for that and an end to outsourcing of workers, or for a major change of economic policy to provide free education to all? Or for universities to become non-colonial institutions not perceived to be hostile to black students?

Despite this, the movement's online traction increased, and saw national participation in recurring protests in 2016 (Hauser, 2016; Findlay, 2015).

It was on the *#MustFall* narrative that the *#ZumaMustFall* movement capitalised to gain traction and momentum in South Africa during the month of December 2015. The movement called for the resignation of South African president Jacob Zuma. President Zuma was seen as a controversial figure specifically during 2015. Some of the controversial issues he had to deal with included the Nkandla scandal, the potential purchase of a four-billion-rand jet, xenophobic attacks across the country, new displeasing visa regulations, the mismanagement of state-owned and parastatal organisations like Eskom, SAA and the SABC, and a significant student movement across the country protesting for a zero percent tuition increase (Van Onselen, 2015; Nhlabathi, 2015). The president's involvement and/or failure to address these issues made

South Africans question his ability to govern. The movement really took off after Jacob Zuma announced on 9 December 2015 that he was replacing Minister of Finances, Nhlanhla Nene, with Desmond van Rooyen without consulting or informing his cabinet. This replacement caused the currency to drop to a record low 5.4% against the US dollar. The movement gained immense online traction on 12 December 2015 and led to offline implementation in the form of marches in Johannesburg and Cape Town on 16 December 2015 that demanded the resignation of Jacob Zuma as the president (Van Onselen, 2015; Mawere, 2015; Bonorchis & Kew, 2015).

It was *#ZumaMustFall*'s capitalisation of the *#FeesMustFall* momentum that created some opposition to the first phase of the movement in December 2015. The movement initially struggled with authenticity and credibility due to it being seen as a white-led movement that only saw white participants mobilise for issues when it affected them. The biggest point of contention was regarding the lack of white South African's participation in and the critique of the *#FeesMustFall* movement (Satgar, 2016; Munusamym 2016).

The opposition against Zuma continued after the marches of 16 December 2015. During the State of the Nation address on 11 February 2016, protesters were gathering outside the parliament building to demand the resignation of President Jacob Zuma. The president then continued to condemn the *#FeesMustFall* movement on 25 February 2016. This condemnation played a significant role in persuading individuals who were opposed to the *#ZumaMustFall* movement to reconsider their opposition (Govender, 2016; SAHO, 2016).

On 17 March 2016, allegations of a state capture began to spread, solidifying the controversial Gupta family's grip on President Zuma. This was followed at the end of the month by the Constitutional Court ordering Zuma to pay back the Nkandla money (Van Dalsen, 2017). Zuma's decline in support became visible at the launch of the ANC's local election manifesto when a smaller than expected crowd attended the event at the Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium in the Eastern Cape (eNCA, 2016). The African National Congress subsequently lost three key metro areas (Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela Bay and Tshwane) during the 2016 local elections on 3 August 2016 (Laabu, 2016). During the Independent Electoral Commission's (IEC) announcement of the local election results, four women went to stand in-front of the podium whilst Zuma was delivering a speech, with placards urging for viewers to remember the woman only known as Khwezi, who Jacob Zuma was accused of raping ten years earlier (Pather, 2016).

After this, Jacob Zuma faced various institutional forms of opposition including questioning from the Public Protector regarding the State Capture, a failed parliamentary motion-of-no-confidence and calls to step down by ANC Chief Whip, Jackson Mthembu and Tourism Minister, Derek Hanekom (SAHO, 2016).

However, national collective opposition gained significant traction as Zuma removed Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan on 31 March 2017. This saw credit ratings agencies, Fitch and Standard and Poor's, downgrade South Africa's unsecured foreign-currency and local-currency-bonds to junk status (Le Cordeur, 2017; Brown & Malope, 2017). Seven days after this, a national shutdown was organised which saw significant participation on Twitter with the hashtag *#ZumaMustFall* organising various national marches and protests. This national march took place on 7 April 2017, with political opposition parties organising another march on 12 April 2017, known as the *National Day of Action* which marched to the Union Building in Tshwane (Mbatha, 2017).

Opposition parties used the momentum from April 2017 marches to call for a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in President Jacob Zuma. Opposition parties approached the Speaker of the House, Baleka Mbete, to allow the vote of no-confidence to be conducted through secret ballot. Speaker Mbete declined this initial request stating she doesn't have the constitutional power to grant a secret ballot vote. However, in June of 2017, the Constitutional Court ruled that the speaker does have the constitutional power to allow a secret ballot vote. On 7 August 2017, the speaker announced that the vote of no-confidence will be conducted by secret ballot, a decision which could possibly curb intimidation of members of parliament. This small victory was accredited to momentum created by the combination of the unconventional participation of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement, and the conventional participation of opposition parties and members of parliament (Phakati, 2017).

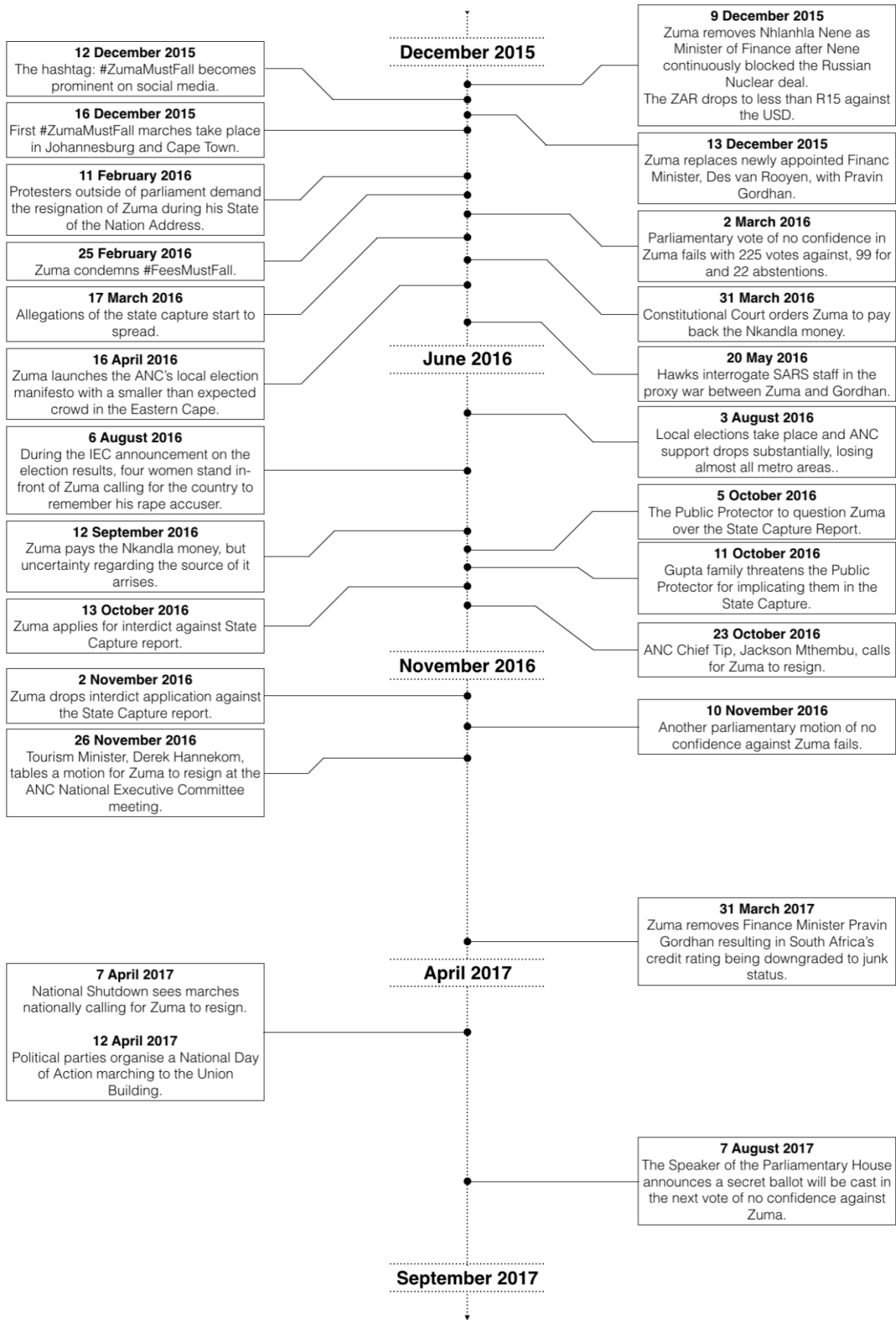


Figure 1-1: Timeline of President Jacob Zuma's actions during the movement

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.3.1 GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the nature of participation in internet activism regarding the case of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on Twitter?

1.3.2 SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.3.2.1 What role did the internet, and specifically Twitter, play in the evolution of activism movements, according to the literature?

1.3.2.2 What does the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level, according to the literature?

1.3.2.3 How was awareness of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement created on Twitter?

1.3.2.4 How did users engage with the *#ZumaMustFall* movement?

1.3.2.5 What role does movement identity have in the support of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement?

1.3.2.6 What content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the *#ZumaMustFall* movement?

1.4 RESEARCH GOALS

- 1.4.1 To determine what role the internet, and specifically Twitter, played in the evolution of activism movements by means of a literature study.
- 1.4.2 To determine what the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level by means of a literature study.
- 1.4.3 To determine how awareness of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement was created on Twitter by means of quantitative social network analysis.
- 1.4.4 To determine how Twitter users engaged with the *#ZumaMustFall* movement by means of quantitative social network analysis.
- 1.4.5 To determine what role movement identity had in the support of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement by means of quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis.
- 1.4.6 To determine what content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the *#ZumaMustFall* movement by means of qualitative content analysis.

1.5 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The central theoretical arguments are grounded by the broader meta theoretical framework of the Critical Tradition in communication studies. Craig (1999:146-148) explains that the Critical Tradition is focused on understanding society by means of questioning, critiquing and changing society to increase freedom and liberty.

Participation in the *#ZumaMustFall* movement is indicative of people questioning the social order of society. Twitter played an important role in mobilising individuals both online and offline to participate in a non-conventional way with the purpose of critiquing social order and trying to change way in which society functions (see section 1.1). Within this context, the study is based on two important theoretical viewpoints:

- The development of the internet and specifically Web 2.0 created opportunities for movements to diffuse information rapidly, organise offline implementations in various locations, and provide platforms to participate in online tactics, discussions and debates (Earl & Kimport, 2010). Web 2.0 saw the evolution of interactivity and engagement as a key two-way communication function of the internet. Internet activism thus made it

increasingly easier for various individuals to participate, giving them access to a form of political participation which wasn't possible before. Increasing access to political participation could serve as a form of empowerment, that gives citizens more power to hold their governments accountable (Vahabzadeh, 2001:616-619).

- Chabot's (2010) model known as the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion (see figure 1.2) is made up of four interrelated forms of communication. The first form of communication is awareness which will be able to study the amount of information a person has regarding a social movement. The second form of communication is translation, which will study the dialogue between the initial sender of the message and the receiver (in this case South Africans). The third form of communication is experimentation which will study how the receivers initially use this information in their own setting. The fourth form of communication is movement application which will look at how this initial experimentation creates a big social movement. Dialogue forms a crucial part in the role that diffusion plays in online activism participation (Chabot, 2010:106-107).

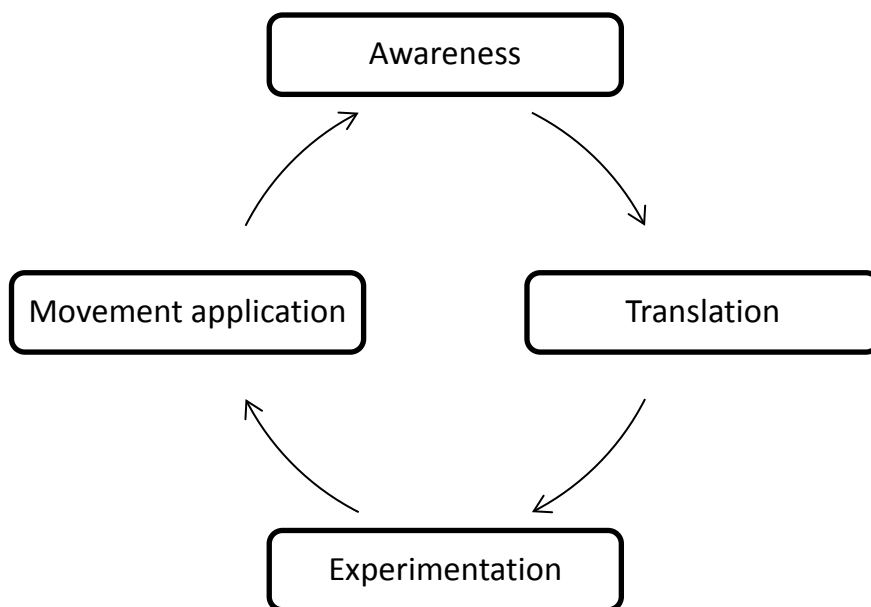


Figure 1-2: Chabot's (2010:106) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion

1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH

In this study, a mixed methods approach of qualitative and quantitative methods will be used. Du Plooy (2013:30) summarises a quantitative approach as an approach that allows for the measurements of observation in quantitative terms, the prediction and control of the research and mainly deductive reasoning. Fouche *et al.*, (2011:144) strengthens this explanation by

indicating that this approach provides descriptive data by measuring all the available variables. The quantitative approach will provide a holistic understanding of the processes of communication used to distribute information and engage in dialogue.

Du Plooy (2013:25) explains that the qualitative methodology allows the interpretation of patterns and subjective communication. A qualitative research approach will be used to analyse the way in which communication is engaged with and the content that is generated by means of that engagement. This study wants to gain an in-depth understanding of the unique phenomenon of transnational activism by means of social media. The quantitative approach will thus provide a deeper, in-depth understanding of the context within which the communication takes place. See section 3.2 for further explanation regarding the research approach.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODS

1.7.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature study will provide an overview of the evolvement of the Critical Theory and New Movement Theory as the overarching meta-theory within which this study is placed. The literature will further argue that social media platforms contributed to the evolvement of social movements as a form of political participation. Lastly, the literature review will discuss the importance of dialogue in diffusion of activism by looking at Chabot's (2010) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion and how it can be duplicated on a national level.

A search was piloted on the following databases: Nexus, EBSCOhost, SAePublications, Sabinet References and the Networked Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (NDLTD) and no other corresponding study has been done or is currently being done. However, more broadly previous master and doctoral works, specifically that of De Villiers (2016) and Beukes (2015), will be reviewed to get an overview of the phenomena of interactivity and dialogue on social media.

Tarrow (2005) and Chabot (2010) did ground-breaking research regarding transnational activism and both these researchers developed a model for transnational activism. Chabot's (2010) Dialogical Framework for Transnational Diffusion will form an important part of this study.

Researchers like Bennett (2003) and Della Porta and Mattoni (2013) are constantly researching the phenomenon of global activism. The work of these researchers will also be consulted in this study. The research conducted mainly focused on online participation as form of internet activism, transnational activism and diffusion.

The following academic journals will also be consulted: International Journal of Communication, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Communication and Journal of International Relations and Development. Research relevant to the *Arab Spring*, *Occupy Movement* and the *Je suis Charlie* movement was also consulted.

1.7.2 EMPIRICAL STUDY

- *Sampling and gathering of data*

The focus of this study is the *#ZumaMustFall* movement. This movement advocated for social and economic equality and is an example of internet activism that saw online activism participation. The study is limited to Twitter. Wellman (2000) explains that Twitter can be seen as a microblogging platform that allows for dialogue where all parties can equally engage on in what can be described as networked individualism. The time frame will stretch from December 2015 to May 2017.

Due to the pervasive nature of online networks, all tweets that formed part of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement was not collected. NodeXL⁴ was used to collect the data from Twitter. By using the keyword, *#ZumaMustFall*, two automatically randomised samples were collected by Twitter. The first sample (dataset 1) exists out of 12 000 tweets and was retrieved during December 2015. The second sample (dataset 2) exists out of 18 000 tweets and was retrieved during April 2017.

- *Quantitative method: Social network analysis*

For the first phase of the quantitative NodeXL will be used to analyse the data to indicate the most influential users and networks by means of social network (see section 3.4.1).

- *Qualitative method: Content analysis*

Qualitative content analysis will give an in-depth view into how the audience participated and what content was generated (see section 3.4.2).

⁴ NodeXL is software that analyses social media networks. It is an add-on template for Microsoft Excel that provides network analysis and visualization features by downloading quantitative and qualitative data from the internet and social media networks (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:53).

1.8 CHAPTER DIVISION

Chapter One: Introduction, Problem Statement and Research Questions

This chapter will give a brief background on the *#ZumaMustFall* movement and introduction to the study.

Chapter Two: Internet Activism and the use of the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion: A National Perspective

The second chapter will explain what internet activism entail by specifically looking at Twitter as a platform along with how the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion can be duplicated on a national level.

Chapter Three: Research Methods: Quantitative Social Network Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis

The fourth chapter will explain the research methods used in the study to answer the research questions.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Online Activism Participation in the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on Twitter.

This chapter will analyse the relevant information sampled.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter will conclude on the findings, and review the study holistically.

CHAPTER 2: INTERNET ACTIVISM AND THE USE OF THE DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one argued that the rise of *Information and Communication Technologies* (ICTs), specifically the internet, played a significant role in social movements and activism. The aforementioned chapter also gave a brief historic background regarding the *#ZumaMustFall* movement and argued that movements like these use internet activism to further their cause. Against this background, chapter two will further unpack the idea of internet activism.

This is going to be done by addressing the first specific research question: *What role did the internet, and specifically Twitter play, in the evolution of activism movements?*

In order to answer this question, this chapter will explain the rise of social movements and activism as unconventional forms of political participation, the different forms of internet activism and the role of Twitter in internet activism.

As discussed within this chapter, internet activism also played a role on a transnational level with regards to the diffusion of movements globally. Therefore secondly, the chapter will look at the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion to answer the second specific research question: *What does the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level, according to the literature?*

To answer the second specific research question, this chapter will examine the phenomenon of transnational activism as a broader concept, wherein the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion exists. Thereafter, extensive analysis will be given regarding the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism and its four processes: Awareness, translation, and experimentation and movement application. This chapter will lastly explain the way this above-mentioned framework can be implemented on a national online level.

2.2 CRITICAL THEORY AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AS A FORM OF UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The *Frankfurt School* is well known amongst political and communication researchers for its work done regarding the Critical Theory and the role it plays in understanding social movements and questioning power structures and hierarchy. The first ideas around Critical Theory came from philosophers like Max Horkheimer advocating for understanding society through questioning and critiquing the structures and power that came with a Capitalist society (Schlembach, 2015:987-989; Deranty, 2014:1209-1212; Horkheimer, 1972:221).

Horkheimer (2002:265) describes the purpose of criticism of society as follows:

The chief aim of such criticism is to prevent mankind from losing itself in those ideas and activities which the existing organization of society instils into its members. Man must be made to see the relationship between his activities and what is achieved thereby, between his particular existence and the general life of society, between his everyday projects and the great ideas which he acknowledges. Philosophy exposes the contradiction in which man is entangled in so far as he must attach himself to isolated ideas and concepts in everyday life.

Horkheimer thus argues that in order for social injustice to be addressed, developments would need to be enhanced, influenced or altered to achieve collective or individual enlightenment on two levels: (1) Through enlightenment and (2) by means of political action (Schlembach, 2015:987-989; Deranty, 2014:1209-1212).

The practical implications of the Critical Theory made room for social movements as a form of action to be taken against the power structures and hierarchies in question. It is specifically Habermas' second generation of Critical Theory that saw the roles of social movements as a prominent practical application of the Critical Theory. Habermas' epistemological approach towards the Critical Theory extends beyond the traditional definition of epistemology to include questions of truth, power, understanding and meaning. This allowed for an interpretation of understanding as a communicative process, specifically one that is dialogical in nature. The concept of dialogue is essential in Habermas' approach towards Critical Theory because it allows for true understanding between the subjective perceptions of truth and reality that exist. Due to this intersubjective nature of truth, Habermas argues that truth and power is interrelated. Truth can be distorted when power is brought into the equation (Schlembach, 2015:987-989; Deranty, 2014:1209-1212; Long, 2017:205-207; Habermas, 1984:286-307).

This distorted truth, Habermas explains, has created a relationship of *colonisation* which infers that people's culture, behaviour, relationships and careers are indoctrinated by the dominant ideology. The dominant ideology strives towards the ever-increasing acquiring of power and

money, placing the rights and freedoms of individuals as secondary (Habermas, 1996; Marojević & Milić, 2017:607).

As a result of this distorted truth placing the rights and freedoms of individuals as secondary, Habermas argues that action against these oppressive structures arise from three key interests of emancipatory politics of Critical Theory: (1) The ability to control and reconstruct your physical environment, (2) the ability to communicate amongst one another, and (3) freedom from political oppression. The Theory of *Communicative Action* highlighted this inherent importance of communication with each other in legitimising actions and decisions made by political entities. This public discourse as a form of political participation is indicative of a healthy democracy because it is interlinked with forms of conventional political participation (as discussed later in this section) like voting, as well as unconventional participation criticising governments and policies (Edgar, 2006:10,24,30,44; Specter, 2010:27; MacKendrick, 2008:41; Beukes, 2015:15).

In his earlier work the concept of emancipation is key for Habermas with regards to the wellbeing of society and he concedes to the fact that communication and dialogue alone are not sufficient in bringing about an emancipated, free and just society. Habermas eventually abandons the term *emancipation* from the Critical Theory because of unrealistic standards it might create. It is replaced with the term *justice* (Edgar, 2006:47-48, 93,144; MacKendrick, 2008:41-45. However, with regards to this change in terminology, Edgar (2006:47-48) suggests that there is room within rational dialogue between free and equal people to justify and support the idea of political emancipation within oppression.

One key golden thread within Habermas' work, the idea of self-reflection, alludes to the idea of empowerment. Dialogue is important in catalysing self-realisation and shifting power from one entity to the reciprocating entity (Freire, 1958:11). Melkote and Steeves (2001:335) argue that the origin of empowerment is the self-realisation of an individual that they are not powerless or at a disadvantage. Once engaged in dialogue that shifts power, only then can individuals make the cognitive action to act upon that power dynamic. Dialogue is thus a crucial catalyst for the internal realisation needed to enable empowerment. It is this dialogue-based empowerment which leads to grassroots level action in some form of political participation with the purpose of addressing oppression or structural infringements on freedom.

Political participation is an inherent part of a democracy. It can be defined as actions taken by citizens that affects the actions taken by political representatives. It allows for citizens to disseminate their interests to the government and other relevant political representatives.

Political participation thus serves as a way to establish communication between voters or the public, and the government or political issues shifting power from political structures to individuals, subsequently empowering individuals. This phenomenon forms part of a set of democratic principles that serve as indication of a healthy democracy, specifically because of the dialogical nature of public discourse which serves as a catalyst for empowerment (Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:22; Issakson, 2014:244; Stockemer, 2014:201-202).

Political participation can be classified as conventional or unconventional. Conventional participation or so called traditional political participation is mostly achieved by means of voting. However, other forms of conventional political participation include contributing to campaigns, communicating with public and political representatives, party memberships and participating in political rallies and canvases. In brief, conventional political participation can be described as any form of participation that influences the political process by means of the electoral arena. Conventional political participation thus occurs within the political structure. Participation is determined from the top, in this case the political system, to the bottom which would be the voter or the citizen. Conventional participation thus limits the participation by limiting the way in which participation can occur (mostly voting), subsequently limiting empowerment (Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:22; Stockemer, 2014:201-202).

This top-down approach towards participation is a contributing reason as to why, a global trend indicates that there is a decline in conventional political participation and an increase in unconventional political participation in democratic countries (Stockemer, 2014:202). Unconventional political participation takes place outside of the political structure, and is not dictated from the top to the bottom. Participation is thus organised at a grassroots level, increasing the extent to which participants are empowered by: (1) increasing access to participation and (2) shifting the dialogue from those in power to those at grassroots level (Stockemer, 2014:202; Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:21).

Even though according to Ekman and Amna (2012:283) a disenfranchisement from conventional political participation is the cause to a decrease in voter turn-out and civic engagement, Della-porta and Mattoni (2013:172) argue that citizens aren't less interested in politics. In a quantitative study done by Inglehart and Catterberg (2002) it is indicated that even though in 1981, 1990 and 2002 voter-turnout declined, in the majority of countries (16 out of 20 to be exact) there was an increase in political interest. With unconventional forms of political participation allowing participants the agency to decide when, where and how they want to participate. It is against this background that it becomes increasingly important to look at

unconventional forms of participation as a form of political participation that increases empowerment.

Unconventional forms of political participation can vary from violent revolutions and protests as seen in the American and French revolutions, to more modern forms of peaceful protests like demonstrations, boycotts, signing of petitions, and even e-participation as seen in Western countries⁵ (Stockemer, 2014:202; Bimber, *et al.*, 2015:21). One form of unconventional political participation is activism. Sandoval-Almazan and Gil-Garcia (2014:366) defines activism in its purest form as a political activity that strives towards a certain goal. This usually becomes an organised movement within a community that share similar ideologies.

This ideology-based unconventional forms of participation can be traced back to the 1980s when studies started to research the idea of *new social movements*. Habermas' (1984:286-307) contribution to the discussion of self-realisation and questioning truth, power, understanding and meaning manifested itself in new social movements that were formed to address issues of identity and meaning outside of the traditional realm of unions and political parties. Movements like the feminist, LGBT and environmental movements transcended politics of distribution to advocate for causes of collective identities, shared meaning and alternative lifestyles. The New Social Movements theory also sees a shift in power from wealth to information. The assumption is that labour movements have changed to identity movements, because material needs have been met in a post-material capitalist society, but human and identity liberation is yet to be freed in current society. The argument can however be made (in a certain context) that material needs which have not been addressed, is still addressed through new social movements. However, the material issue is not seen in isolation, but rather as part of an intersectional cause to gain greater social freedom (Phillion, 1998:80-81; Horton, 2003:1-2; Barker & Dale, 1998:67-68; Zugman, 2003:155; Vahabzadeh, 2001:616-619).

From the above-mentioned it is thus evident that with conventional political participation limiting the ways in which individuals can participate, unconventional political participation increased, subsequently empowering individuals more. This led, amongst others, to an increase in social movements being organised as a form of political participation. Social movement gained new impetus with the introduction of the internet into society. Internet development brought new opportunities for social movements. New social movements saw an increase in tactical ways in which they could organise, broadening the participation possibilities and subsequently increasing empowerment (Frick, 2016: 94). This gave rise to the idea of internet activism. The

⁵ There is being referred to Western countries specifically, because revolutions in the Middle East, like the Arab Spring can't be equated to peaceful movements in the West.

next section will discuss internet activism as a form of political participation, and the different ways in which the internet can be used to enhance social movements.

2.3 INTERNET ACTIVISM AS A FORM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Continuous enhancement of ICTs enable the unceasing development of the internet which allows for the expansion of information and communication channels (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia,2014:367; Tatarchevskiy, 2011:298; Kahn & Kellner, 2004:87).

The rise of the internet, and specifically the commercial use of the thereof, allowed for an evolvement of activism and a parallel growth in facilitation and organising of activism movements. This contributed to the birth of internet or cyber activism⁶ (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia,2014:367; Tatarchevskiy, 2011:298; Kahn & Kellner, 2004:87).

One of the biggest advancements on the internet allowed for a distinction to be made between Web 1.0 and the new Web 2.0. Sandoval-Almazan and Gil-Garcia (2014:368) argue that the advancement of the Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 also saw the advancement of internet activism from *Cyberactivism 1.0* and *Cyberactivism 2.0*⁷. The transformation of internet activism from *Cyberactivism 1.0* and *Cyberactivism 2.0* is mainly attributed to the radical transformation of the internet through advanced hypertext architecture (Kahn and Kellner (2014:88). Web 1.0 had a mostly one-way communicative nature which means that *Cyberactivism 1.0* mainly allowed for the flow of information to individuals by means of e-mail and passive websites. Web 2.0 on the other hand, established more participatory infrastructure that created a space for relationships to be formed on the internet and also saw the birth of blogs, wiki's and social media. The participatory infrastructure of Web 2.0 enabled platforms for online engagement and dialogue, increasing access for online movement participation. *Cyberactivism 2.0* thus, enabled people to actively participate and engage with movements by using internet tools (Tatarchevskiy, 2011:299; Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:365,368). Sandoval-Almazan and Gil-Garcia juxtapose the two generations as follows in Table 1 below:

⁶ Internet activism and cyberactivism is synonymous. This study will however refer to internet activism to ensure consistency.

⁷ These terms are specifically used by the authors.

Table 2-1: Differences and similarities between *Cyberactivism 1.0* and *2.0* (Sandoval-Amazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:368)

| | <i>CYBERACTIVISM 1.0</i> | <i>CYBERACTIVISM 2.0</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| PARTICIPANTS | International or regional | International |
| INFORMATION DIFFUSION | Passive websites and e-mail | Dynamic Websites, social media |
| ORGANISATION | Attached to a certain leader | Self-organised, many times without leadership |
| UPDATING OF CONTENT | Medium speed | Instant and permanently |
| RECRUITMENT | E-mail and website | Permanent online recruitment |
| INFORMATION FLOW | Limited to the organiser | Constant flow of data |
| LANGUAGE | Restricted to a region | No language restrictions |
| ENGAGEMENT | Offline engagement | Online permanent engagement |

The development of Web 1.0 and *Cyberactivism 1.0*, though still very one-way communicative in nature, specifically contributed to the evolvement of activism by advancing the scale of organising by speeding up diffusion, enlarging the audience and expanding the reach of the movement (Earl & Kimport, 2010:125). This advancement in the scale of organising became visible in examples like the *Battle of Seattle* that allowed for more than 70 000 participants to take on the World Trade Organisation in 1999 by means of online organising. The Mexican *Zapatista* Army of National Liberation’s use of the internet to diffuse information regarding their cause, served as motivation for activist movements around the globe, like *The Well*, to also receive information and participate in this new form of activism. The *Wikileaks* controversy can also be linked to the rise of internet activism. This group broadcasted a variety of government and other classified information on the internet (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:365; Kahn & Kellner, 2004:87; Kim *et al.*, 2014:144).

The development of Web 2.0 and its participatory nature saw internet activism move beyond diffusion of information. Social technologies, like social media, contribute to the forming of vast global networks, *the network society* as Castells (2000) refers to it. Social platforms like Facebook, Twitter and Youtube as well as access to western media via the internet, enables activists to transcend borders when communicating to and with global citizens. Increasing penetration of digital devices sparked an increase in the amount of instant forms of collective action (Bennet, 2005:203,217; Seo *et al.*, 2009:123; Della Porta and Mattoni, 2013:175). In this regard social media like Facebook, Twitter and Youtube also served as activism platforms

during civil unrests in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Tunisia and Syria (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:365; Kahn & Kellner, 2004:87; Kim *et al.*, 2014:144).

The start of the Arab Spring was marked with the death of Tunisian citizen, Muhammad Bouazizi, setting himself alight after being harassed by police. The video quickly diffused online and Tunisia saw increased protests against the corrupt government. Evidence of protests in Tunisia spread across the Middle-East subsequently mobilising similar actions in Libya, Egypt, Syria and Yemen. A similar movement occurred in Libya at the start of 2011 against President Muammar Qaddafi. Qaddafi was killed later that year. Attempts at democratic government in Libya was met with challenges from various terrorist and rebel groups, seizing oil terminals and cities. In Egypt protests against President Hosni Mubarak evolved into a military takeover of the government. *The Muslim Brotherhood* shortly thereafter gained control of the government after a parliamentary election. Another protest after the election saw 50 protesters die, and the *Muslim Brotherhood* being overthrown by military coup. A new constitution in Egypt was agreed upon by referendum and a new election saw Abdel-Fattah al Sisi being elected as president. Similar protests occurred in Yemen, and Syria, with Syria seeing conflict between the ruling dictator, Bashar Al Assad, rebel forces and the Islamic State terrorist group. Hundreds of thousands of Syrian civilians were killed by government forces and terrorist groups, with millions of Syrians fleeing to neighbouring countries. What all these uprisings had in common, was the use of internet activism, specifically social media, as internet activism platforms to distribute, organise and engage with citizens regarding protest action as reaction against oppressive regimes (Bowen, 2012).

A study done by Davison (2015:15) indicated that during the Arab Spring, social media was used for four different reasons within the movement: (1) organisation of offline activities, (2) capturing and distributing actions, (3) accessing information, and (4) taking action. Within the *Occupy Wall Street* movement, the internet organising and mobilisation of protests was at the core of the internet activism used in the movement. Dialogue and discourse, specifically on Twitter, became prominent in this movement which defined itself by consensus decisions as opposed to top-down organisation (Theocharis *et al.*, 2015:215; Smaligo, 2014:26-27).

These examples of the multi-purpose of internet activism within the *Arab Spring* and *Occupy Wall Street* movement coincides with Earl and Kimport (2010:125-127) who regard internet activism as a multifaceted phenomenon identifying, without chronological boundaries, four categories of internet activism namely, Brochureware, Online facilitation of offline protests, Online organising, and Online Activism Participation. This specific study will consider the four categories of Earl and Kimport as discussed in the next four sections.

2.3.1 BROCHUREWARE

Brochureware is a form of *Cyberactivism 1.0* that uses one-way communication to disseminate information through static websites. One of the reasons the Brochureware is classified as *Cyberactivism 1.0* is the fact that these websites can be classified as static because the information is not regularly changed and is designed and programmed by using html coding. The one-way and monologic nature of this communicative activism is highlighted by the fact that limited channels for feedback and contributions are available (Spinuzzi *et al.*, 2003:168).

Thus, due to the static nature of these websites there is no active participation on these websites (Earl *et al.*, 2010:429). Mills (2014:73) explains that the goal of the so-called passive informational media is to educate, mobilise and inspire current or prospective participants. Disseminated information can include procedural information, information regarding the movement, framing of the issue, ideological and other relevant information (Mills, 2014:73; Earl *et al.*, 2010:429).

However, there is disagreement amongst researchers regarding the benefits and detriments of Brochureware. On the one hand it is argued that Brochureware provides the movement with cheaper and more effective platforms to distribute information and materials, therefore it gives instantaneous access to high volumes of information through hyperlinks (Bennet, 2005; Tarrow, 1998). On the other hand Weber (2011:133-134) highlights the biggest detriment as the internet's lack of accountability, and that the agile nature of diffusion, allows for the fast-spreading of propaganda and inaccurate information.

The one-way nature of the communication thus means that the movement is dependent on a certain person or leader that controls the information flow (Mills, 2014:73), and seeing as there are limited feedback channels, engagement is restricted to an offline environment (Spinuzzi *et al.*, 2003:168).

Internet activism has however evolved from pure *Cyberactivism 1.0* tactics to tactics that have elements of both *Cyberactivism 1.0* and *2.0*. One of these tactics are online facilitation of offline protests, that will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 ONLINE FACILITATION OF OFFLINE PROTESTS

Earl and Kimport (2010:126) describe online facilitation of offline protests as a form of internet activism that presents information about specific activism and protest events that online visitors can become part of. This typically includes advertising and marketing of the time and place of the protest event but can sometimes be accompanied by supportive interactive elements such as forums and message boards.

The development of ICT's coincided with the development of mobile technology, providing increasing access to the internet through devices like mobile phones and tablets, enabling users to access the internet from wherever they are. This increase in accessibility, contributed to online facilitation of offline protests (Skoric *et al.*, 2011:4; Earl *et al.*, 2010:432).

The goal of this specific type of activism is to derive offline participation by reaching out to participants online. Some examples include logistical support, like finding accommodation and transport (Earl *et al.*, 2010:429). During a 2007 *United for Peace and Justice* protest in Washington DC, online platforms were used to organise transport opportunities for participants. Additionally, other platforms also provided protest placards that could be downloaded and printed to be used during marches (Earl & Kimport, 2010: 126).

Similar to that of Brochureware, this type of internet activism also uses websites as a platform of diffusion of information, but is distinguished from Brochureware in that the interactive element however allows for some engagement on an online level that isn't possible in Brochureware. These interactive elements can vary from message boards to forums. Platforms like forums, Facebook group and event invites, blogs and status updates allow for the further diffusion of and engagement with the relevant information. Information being diffused by means of dynamic websites and social media platforms allowing for the possibility of engagement, is indicative of elements of two-way communication from *Cyberactivism 2.0* being interspersed throughout the tactic. However, the main goal of this tactic is the facilitation of logistical arrangements for the offline protests, thus mainly diffusing of information through one-way communication as seen in *Cyberactivism 1.0* (Skoric *et al.*, 2011:4; Earl *et al.*, 2010:432). For example, the *Occupy Wall Street* movement used email communication to distribute information during their offline protest. The e-mail which included the iconic picture of a ballerina on top of the *Wall Street Bull* read:

The time has come to deploy this emerging stratagem against the greater corrupter of our democracy: Wall Street, the financial Gomorrah of America. On September 17, we want to see 20,000 people flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street for a few months. Once there, we shall incessantly repeat one simple demand in a plurality of voices.

The messages also spread to the online site, Reddit, where visitors voted the message to the top of the board making it more visible. Soon after that, an OccupyWallSt.org site was created, which further pushed information regarding the protest (Smaligo, 2014:12-16).

The organisation of this type of internet activism mainly relies on being dependent on a leader to create and manage a website, but it also allows for some interactive elements, that enable the movement to evolve beyond a movement leader to a more collective form of organising as seen the *Occupy Wallstreet* movements (Smaligo, 2014:12-16; Earl *et al.*, 2010:432). These characteristics categorise online facilitation of offline protests as *Cyberactivism 1.0* with occasional elements of *Cyberactivism 2.0*.

There is thus some form of participation within online facilitation of offline protests. In conclusion, engagement online is reserved mainly to facilitate logistics. Active engagement regarding the movement ideology still only occurs offline. The majority of the tactic is one-way in nature, simply distributing information without empowering receivers of the information through dialogue and engagement. When online organising becomes more important, the movements move to the domain of *Cyberactivism 2.0* as will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.3 ONLINE ORGANISING

The development of Web 2.0, has allowed for interactive platforms like social media, to provide tactics like online organising as a form of *Cyberactivism 2.0*. Earl and Kimport (2010:127) describe online organising as a phenomenon where entire movements or campaigns are arranged online instead of offline.

The foundation of online organising is based on the principals of traditional organising of activism. This process includes deciding upon a solution, identifying a change agent that will be able to provide the solution, leveraging the contingency to build power so that the change agent can provide the solution, and escalating attempts to increase the pressure if the attempts are not successful (Chow *et al.*, 2012:6).

Initially this type of internet activism started with e-mail communication to attract followers and create a network of followers forming the foundation of online organisation. However, the development of Web 2.0 saw the rise of social media sites that act as platforms to disseminate information which allows protesters and activists to coordinate events online by building online networks (Smith, 2009:1-2; Caren *et al.*, 2012:166).

Online organising as a tactic has three key benefits: (1) Cost-effectiveness, (2) accessibility, and (3) flexibility. This phenomenon was advanced by the growth of the internet which now allows people to send message at virtually no cost. Financially, online organising has less of a burden than offline organisations because online platforms, ranging from forums and chatrooms, to social networks like Facebook and Twitter are either free or low-priced. The low cost of organising allows for the movements to be organised internationally within various settings (Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:377; Smith, 2009:1-2; Caren *et al.*, 2012:166).

Secondly, online organising provides an increase in accessibility. The above-mentioned low financial restrictions, along with the global nature of the internet, broadens participation possibilities. Online organising is implemented at a grassroots level, meaning there is no central leadership (which is indicative of *Cyberactivism 2.0*). This provides easy access by lowering barriers of entry for participants by organising without the authority of a single figure in a decentralised manner. By not dictating participation at a top-down level, participants are provided with the agency of deciding when and how to get involved (Chow *et al.*, 2012:6; Sandoval-Almazan & Gil-Garcia, 2014:377).

This agency that is provided to participants allows for activism to be more flexible, the third benefit of online organising. With grassroots participants organising the movement, more malleable collective action is enabled through customising the movement towards localised communities of interest. This permits for online organising to be personal, direct and immediate, which is more persuasive in recruiting protesters and supporters. The *Cyberactivism 2.0* nature of online organising ensure that these messages can be sent internationally. This is facilitated by the globalised structure of the internet that enables online organising to garner national and international coverage (Smith, 2009:1-2; Caren *et al.*, 2012:166). Geographically this form of activism thus enables networking across geographical lines, whereas traditional organising was limited to certain areas. Online organising is also able to build a network of supporters that are larger and vaster, which provide the movement with an omnipresence on a national and international level. This omnipresence ensures that there is continuous online recruitment occurring (which is indicative of *Cyberactivism 2.0*) due to the online engagement which creates a constant flow of information (Paune, 2014:30; Etling *et al.*, 2010:9; Pariser, 2005:378; Smith, 2009:2).

The biggest critique against online organisation is that supporters don't realise that there still needs to be a leader that communicates face-to-face with the change agent or policy maker (Fradette, 1997:228).

The increase in accessibility through cost-effectiveness, the global access of the internet and flexibility, along with access to dialogical engagement allows for an increase in participation and empowerment by shifting the power to a grassroots level.

Brochureware, online facilitation of offline protests and online organising are fragments of internet activism. As discussed in section 2.3, the internet allowed for rapid, sophisticated and elaborated expansions that can see various internet activism tactics be used simultaneously within one movement. With the development of a more interactive internet, these three fragments are likely to be implemented within the fourth fragment, online activism participation, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.3.4 ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION

The words 'engagement' and 'participation' are some of the core indicators that researchers use when discussing new social movements and specifically online activism participation⁸. Earl and Kimport (2010:127) describe it as a form of internet activism where tactics are used to create engagement. Christensen (2011) and Harlow (2011:38) explain online activism participation as internet activism where internet users can actively participate in the movement, Harlow specifically highlights that this is a form of grassroots participation.

Some traditional examples of online activism participation include online petitions, online voting, letter-writing, e-mail campaigns, virtual sit-ins, virtual rallies and demonstrations, chat rooms, bulletin boards, donations, forum discussions and blogging (Christensen, 2011; Earl *et al.*, 2010:429,432; Stein, 2009; Strandberg, 2014:283; Susha & Gronlund, 2014:457). Online Activism Participation can however also include more disruptive and illegal tactics such as hacking of websites to deny service actions, politically motivated hacking and website hauntings (Earl & Kimport, 2010:127; Christensen, 2011; Earl *et al.*, 2010:429).

More relevant to this study however is the development of Web 2.0 and social networking sites that have revolutionised the way in which online activism participation takes place. Online Activism Participation specifically with the use of social networking sites allow for the participation of users on a global level by having a constant flow of diffused information which users engage with as is the case with a *Cyberactivism 2.0* tactic. This is indicative that Online Activism Participation functions without a top-down approach, but instead users hold the decision to participate. It is, however, the development of these platforms as a self-publication tool that has widened the possibilities for online activism participation. This brings dialogue and

⁸ Referred to as online participation in literature.

discourse to the forefront rather than mobilisation. Social networking sites have lowered the participation thresholds by increasing the speed and effectiveness at which information is distributed. This has led to users feeling more empowered in terms of expressing their opinions. It decreased the gap between the public and the elites because the cost of Online Activism Participation is much less than that of offline participation, increasing empowerment through access and dialogue which are essential factors in mobilising a social movement (Farinosi & Trere, 2010; Stein, 2009; Harlow, 2011:28).

Social networking sites equip users with different routes for online activism participation (Earl *et al.*, 2010:429). Networking channels such as blogs and videos have contributed to increasing grassroots initiated participation. These blogs, vlogs and podcasts have also evolved from one-way platforms to interactive two-way platforms. This has allowed for a digital environment with an increased amount of diffused information, interactivity and participation. Social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are created with engagement, commenting and sharing in mind. Online activism participation on social networking sites in its very essence is built upon dialogue and discourse as the way in which participation is practiced (Harlow, 2011:37). The core of Online Activism Participation on social networking sites can be described as an online contribution of a political expression or the voice of an opinion to contribute to an existing discourse or dialogue (Shaw, 2012; Nah *et al.*, 2006:232). This dialogical and participatory nature of social networking sites have allowed for the rise of engagement based on identity similarities and differences. Social networking sites provide participants with the means to engage and participate on their own terms. This agency provided to participants, empower them to dictate what the identity of the movement is by organising based on the similarities or differences that mobilises the collective (Harlow, 2011:28; Farinosi & Trere, 2010).

Facebook is an example of a social networking site that serves as a platform for political discussion, allowing users to contribute either by means of commenting or merely 'liking' a certain post. Beukes (2015:54) states that participation on Facebook ranges from merely subscribing to a page, to ideally engaging in dialogue by responding to feedback. This provides users with different means of participation whilst still creating a collective identity and a sense of community (Gustafsson, 2012:6; Harlow, 2011:14-16, 38).

However, researchers disagree on whether or not Online Activism Participation has actually increased political participation. The argument to be made against is that Online Activism Participation merely provide those already engaged offline with another means to participate online, but it doesn't necessarily increase participation of apathetic citizens (Christensen, 2011; Putnam, 2000; Kraut *et al.*, 1998).

Harlow (2011:6) has, however, explained that studies like that of neo-Nazi environmentalists done by Wojcieszak found that Online Activism Participation strengthened groups by an increase in collective identity that translates to offline mobilisation. Social networking sites provide a platform for increased participation which is comparatively free of cost and low in effort. This lowered-cost of engagement makes participation more flexible and contributes to benefits like increasing citizen knowledge, engagement and political interest, subsequently increasing collective identity which can be used to mobilise the movement offline (Gustafsson, 2012:4; Strandberg, 2014:278; Du Ziniga *et al.*, 2010).

The key characteristic of Online Activism Participation is that a movement can be driven on the internet through engagement and participation in the form of online dialogue. This is enhanced through various social networking sites. Sandoval-Almazan and Gil Garzia (2014) argue that the above-mentioned characteristics of Twitter are linked to the network being a product of Web 2.0 which places Twitter activism within the narrative of *Cyberactivism 2.0* as discussed in section 2.3. The next section will thus discuss Twitter and how it is the ideal platform for Online Activism Participation.

2.4 THE ROLE OF TWITTER IN ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION

The evolution of the internet, and specifically Web 2.0 saw the introduction of various social networking sites. Founded in 2006, Twitter is a friend-following and online messaging platform that is designed as a live communication board providing members with updates and information rapidly and almost in real time. Twitter has been referred to by many as a microblogging platform. Aldawani (2015:15) highlights that Twitter is a platform that allows for instant diffusion of information due to the efficient design but also due to millions of users utilising the network. The platform eventually evolved to enable members to engage with each other through mentions, support information through likes, and distribute existing information through retweets (Rogers, 2012:ix; Weller, *et al.*, 2012:xxix).

More importantly, the design of Twitter is structured in such a way that it allows for a message to reach above and beyond a user's direct network. Twitter provides opportunities for the formation of these online networks through features such as hashtags, direct messages and mentions. Twitter's dialogic nature that allows for users to share their experiences and opinions by engaging within a network that is an online political arena that has been shifted away from a mass-media system to a more networked public (Maireder & Auserhoffer, 2014:316). This implies that Twitter places stakeholders like the news media, politicians, celebrities, brands,

social movement groups and NGO's within reach of individuals and ordinary citizens to communicate and engage with directly (or at least create a perception of engaging with them directly) subsequently empowering them by providing them with the agency to dictate the discourse (Rogers, 2012:ix; Weller, *et al.*, 2012:xxix). These online networks are ideal for online activism participation because it provides access to entities in power.

Above and beyond Twitter's ability to create networks through dialogue, Twitter's quick flowing short messages allow for widespread and immediate dissemination of information. Elements such as Twitter's sporadic nature, ubiquity, minimal restrictions, and boundlessness all contribute to an increase in Online Activism Participation (Theocharis *et al.*, 2015:203-205; Brock, 2012:530; Veletsianos & Kimmons, 2016:2; Potts *et al.*, 2014:66; Maireder & Auserhoffer, 2014:306).

The hashtag function accompanied with the fact that all content is publicly visible by default, play an essential part in increasing traction by creating an online trend or viral topic (Bruns & Moe, 2014:17; Veletsianos & Kimmons, 2016:2). Other functions like mentioning a user, replying to a user or retweeting a message doesn't only perpetuate the reach, but it also creates an easy way for users to engage with messages (Halavais, 2014:35; Brock, 2012:530). These structural characteristics of Twitter have allowed for the network to be seen as a framework for discussion that enables dialogue, engagement, and relationship building to exist by decentralising communication and allowing individuals to participate in conversation that is of a horizontal nature, therefore contributing to a sense of empowerment by levelling the playing field in terms of the power dynamic (Veletsianos & Kimmons, 2013:361-362; Theocharis *et al.*, 2015:205; Brock, 2012:531).

This leads to the first theoretical statement:

Web 2.0 allowed for interactive social networking sites like Twitter to create a platform where individuals can participate in online activism through any contribution of political expression, voicing of an opinion and engagement in dialogue, whether through text visual material within the framework of a specific existing political discourse.

With clarification on Twitter's role and functionality within Online Activism Participation, it is necessary to look at the process wherein Online Activism Participation can be applied. The next section will discuss the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion to understand the way in which online activism participation on Twitter evolves online. In order to explain the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion, it has to be explained within the context of transnational activism wherein it was formulated.

2.5 TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

Global uprisings against oppressive political and economic powers have been fuelled by growing collective action known as transnational activism. More specifically transnational activism is seen as the sharing of beliefs and/or convictions regarding a specific issue across a network of activists apportioned globally in different environments creating what appears to be a 'global civil society'. This is done through global participation in reacting against undemocratic and socially unjust powers by mobilising participation through identity such as female, LGBTQI and racial equality (as seen in the phenomenon of new social movements) (Bennet, 2005:233; Del Felice, 2012:304; Pacheco-Vega, 2015:146; Del Felice, 2012:304; Friedman, 2011:201).

Transnational activism isn't new to the academic sphere, different researchers and theorists have been writing on the topic from a variety of perspectives. Various studies have focused their narratives around a modernistic approach where Non-Governmental Institutions (NGOs) exercise pressure on international (mostly political) institutions to bring about change in policy (Bennet, 2005:212; Pacheco-Vega, 2015:146; Rodriguez-Garavito, 2005:66; Rajagopal, 2005:190). It was only in the late twentieth century that transnational movements evolved towards a more participatory approach where the key change agents are local participants as opposed to local governments and pressure groups (Friedman, 2009:202). This coincides with the evolution of new social movements which saw social change as a participatory approach. Similarly international participation also saw an increase in a grassroots approach to transnational activism because of the globally transcendent nature of political identity (Horton, 2003:1-2; Barker & Dale, 1998:67-68; Zugman, 2003:155). In the context of the current study it is important to note that it was accelerated by the development of the internet and social media which empowered participants to organise and participate in movements on a global scale, increasing awareness and mobilising support transnationally (see section 2.3).

With regards to the more modernistic approach towards transnational activism, Friedman (2011:201-202) is of the opinion that local mobilisation and external pressure are the two factors that define transnational activism. He argues that external pressure is mostly exercised by groups from the global developed North that intercede for oppressed groups who are generally in the global developing South where local mobilisation can be attributed as the action taken by the local citizens in grievance of their oppression. This creates an environment by which the oppressor receives pressure from above (external pressure from organisations like the *United Nations*, *World Health Organisation*, *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation* or other countries) and below by means of local mobilisation amongst the citizens (Rajagopal, 2005:190).

The modernistic approach towards transnational activism can take one of two routes. The first route is where transnational support leads to local mobilisation which can either enforce movement building or lead to repression within the oppressed country. There is however a risk when transnational activism is initiated by external pressure. External pressure can either lead to political opportunity whereby local mobilisation occurs which leads to either repression or movement building. Secondly, a phenomenon, called the *Boomerang effect* can occur. In these instances, organisations or groups on local levels are faced with unreachable or even oppressive governments. These groups bypass the government to seek support and/or solidarity from external groups, mostly in Western countries. These groups appeal to their own governments to address the unreachable or oppressive governments (Bertone, 2004:14; Friedman, 2011:202).

Friedman (2011:201, 203) is therefore, critical of transnational movements because of the risk that exists with external pressure leading to paternalism which can create a dependency on neoliberal nations. This renders local actors ineffective in standing their own ground within the movement. When the movement isn't organised at grassroots level, the indication is that self-realisation hasn't occurred yet, and the empowerment which is needed for sustainability is lacking (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

National sovereignty is another ethical and legal barrier which makes it increasingly difficult for international actors to intervene. Law scholars have indicated the various amount of legal issues presented by transnational activism. International respect and adherence towards national sovereignty has placed before international actors a choice between remaining helpless on the side line or infringing on national sovereignty, much like the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is nothing binding countries to institutions like the *International Criminal Court* or the *United Nations* which means there is no real authority keeping countries accountable. If there is any possibility of keeping these actors accountable before the law, another issue arises: Transnational movements are profoundly dynamic and move at a fast pace, whereas judicial systems in contrast move slowly and follow due process. This could disenfranchise social movement supporters from appealing to a legal route (Houtzager, 2005: 221; Rajagopal, 2005:184, 187, 190; Friedman, 2011:202).

Because of the above-mentioned challenges that come with the modernistic approach to transnational activism, transnational movements have increasingly become dependent on networks to exercise more pressure on local and international actors through local participation. One dominant factor on which many transnational movements are reliant to build these

networks is the rise of the globalisation of media and ICTs. Friedman (2011:202) suggests that the factors upon which transnational movements are reliant, like globalised media and ICTs, should not be viewed in isolation. Friedman (2011:202) argues that the increase of information flow is as a result of a range of globalisation factors that include fast and affordable transport and the integration of economies.

As discussed in section 2.3, the global networks created by social media platforms allow activism movements to reach beyond national borders and interact with citizens on a transnational level, increasing the amount of movements implemented globally.

The networks created by these social technologies can be described as globally interdependent, with various movements seeing transnational participation as crucial towards the success of the movement. This enables the creation and sustaining of global relationships which are foundational to social movements (Bennet, 2005:217; Castells, 2000).

The focus and reliance on creating these transnational networks creates the opportunity to study the way in which these networks are formed, both nationally and internationally. The next section will provide an in-depth discussion on how the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion allows for these networks to be built and diffuse globally.

2.6 DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION

Both Chabot (2010) and Tarrow (2005) describe transnational activism as a movement creating a bandwagon for other countries to jump on and participate in, for example the *Arab Spring*. Importantly, the focus is on participation by other countries, thus they reject the modernistic perspective of transnational activism as an oppressed country being dependent on other countries for intervention. When studying Chabot and Tarrow's models, it is evident that transnational activism starts at national level before diffusing to a transnational level. Both models should therefore be studied holistically, so as to determine the way in which a new social movement develops within a country on a national level and eventually diffuse transnationally.

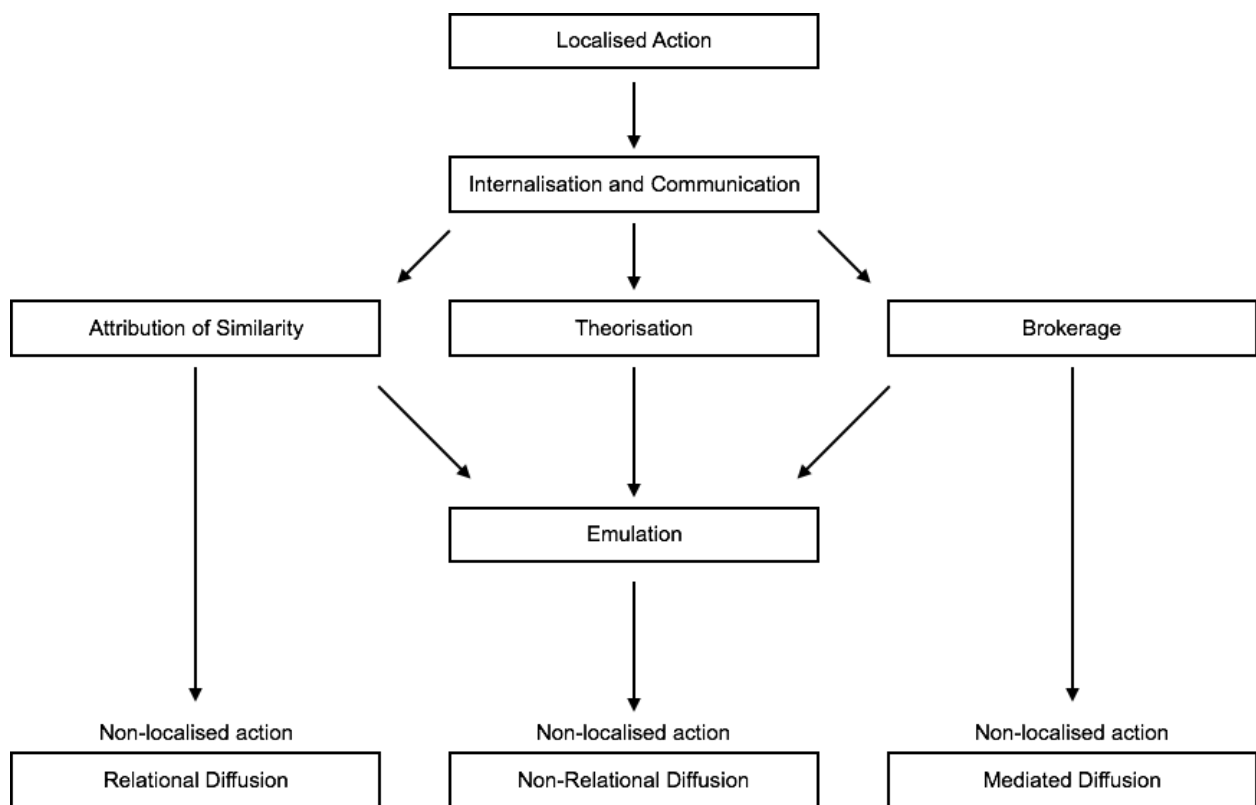


Figure 2-1: Tarrow's (2005:105) Alternative Pathways of Transnational Activism

The main contribution of Tarrow's (2005:105) model is that it illustrates the pathway of transnational diffusion (see figure 2-1). He points out that *localised action*, like a protest, is the start of the process of transnational activism. If the movement is successful it diffuses past country boundaries (*internalisation and communication*). The internalisation and communication initiates the transnational diffusion of the movement, which could evolve into one of three pathways. The first pathway is *attribution of similarity* where people who identify with each other communicate information and adopt action by means of established networks. The second pathway is *theorisation*, where a simplified interpretation of the movement is adopted by a group of people that doesn't necessarily identify with the people in the movement. *Theorisation* is usually accompanied by indirect channels such as mass media, internet or word of mouth. The final pathway is *brokerage*, where individuals or institutions create networks by means of previously unconnected sites. All three pathways *emulate* some elements of the movement that leads to *non-localised action*. These three different pathways develop into either *relational*, *non-relational*, or *mediated diffusion*. These three pathways are equally applicable to movements evolving on a national level and can be used to study the way in which diffusion leads to the development of new social movements within a country.

However, Chabot (2010:102-104) criticises Tarrow's (2005) model for not noting the nuance regarding interaction between the sender and the receiver. In contrast, Chabot (2010) views

interaction and dialogue as core elements in the process of transnational diffusion. Tarrow's (2005) model illustrates that diffusion is merely a one-way communication process which disseminates information from one phase to the next to generate awareness as discussed above. Therefore Chabot's (2010) dialogical module is controversial because it contradicts Tarrow's (2005) theoretical foundation of diffusion which is a one-way communicative process. Chabot's (2010:102-104) model however, not only argues that dialogue is constructive, but that after information is diffused, dialogue will naturally occur. In order to successfully emulate a transnational movement, dialogue must occur between the localised movement and the intended non-localised movement. In the context of a national movement this would imply dialogue between the already engaged participants and prospective participants. Importantly, this dialogue implies an equal relationship between communicators (not distinguishing between sender and receiver) which creates the environment in which critical thinking and mutual respect is at the core of the engagement. Dialogue therefore facilitates participation leading to empowerment (Rule, 2011:299; Freire, 1972; Freire, 1998; Melkote & Steeves, 2001). On a national level, Chabot's model can be used to study interaction in the form of dialogue to mobilise and create awareness amongst stakeholders and change agents like politicians and social movement groups.

In this study, dialogue will be studied and discussed, within the context of participation and empowerment.

Buber (1958) states that within dialogue the *primary words* that humans speak are *I-thou* and *I-it*. These words indicate relationships. The *I-thou* dialogue refers to present relations. In the words of Buber (1958:11):

'I become through my relation to the Thou; as I become I, I say Thou. All real living is meeting'.

The *I-Thou* therefor constitutes communication, relationship and becoming. This implies an equal relationship between the participants. In contrast the *I-it* refers to object relations; the relationship between self and other can be oppressive when the object is perceived as an obstacle to be dominated (Rule, 2011:298).

Rule (2011:298) indicates that it is upon Buber's *I-thou* primary words that Freire builds his understanding of self and other:

The antialogical, dominating 'I' transforms the dominated, conquered 'thou' into a mere 'it' in Martin Buber's phraseology. The dialogical 'I', however, knows that it is precisely the 'thou' ('not-'I') which has called forth his own existence. He also knows that the 'thou' which calls forth his own existence in turn constitutes an 'I' which has in his 'I' its 'thou'. The 'I' and the 'thou' thus become, in the dialectic of these relationships, two 'thous' which become two 'Is'. (Freire, 1972:135)

Freire very basically introduces dialogue as horizontal relationship between humans. He specifically states that the purposes of dialogue are to name and change/transform the world. Social change and transformation is mobilised through critical thinking, mutual respect, humility, trust, love, faith and hope. True dialogue must therefore be reflective of those values to be able to constructively empower and drive the required change (Rule, 2011:299; Freire, 1972; Freire, 1998).

Freire (1971:65) highlights that communication can't exist without dialogue and that without communication, true education ceases to exist. Dialogue thus serves as an important factor in facilitating communication by providing an equal platform for participation, shifting the hierarchical power towards an equal horizontal platform, empowering participants through access to communication and discourse but also by providing them with the necessary opportunity to educate themselves by engaging with information. Access to information through the opportunity to engage in dialogue assists participants with self-realisation by empowering them to engage on their own terms. The concept of self-realisation is thus crucial in increasing participation through understanding.

From the above-mentioned arguments, it is evident that dialogue plays a crucial role in participation with the aim of empowerment. It is against this background that Chabot (2010:104) developed the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion (see figure 3-2) that insists that dialogue leads to empowerment and ownership, which is crucial for the transition of one level of communication to the next.

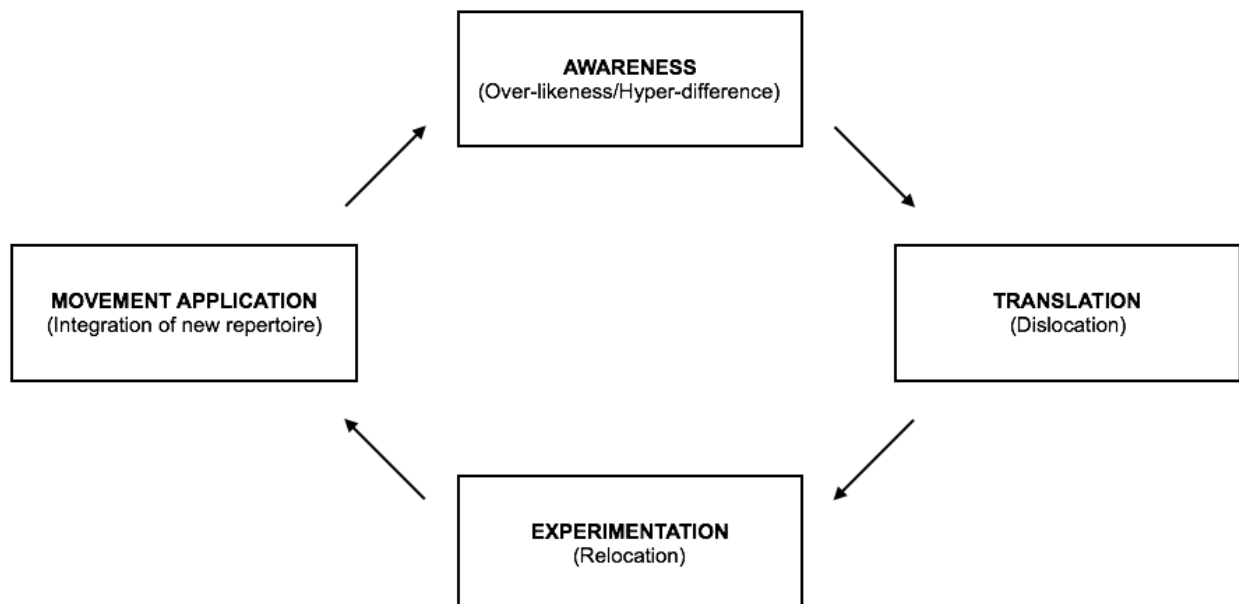


Figure 2-2: Chabot's (2010:104) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism

The circular process (which assumes dialogue) starts with awareness, then leads to translation, experimentation and movement application.

2.6.1 AWARENESS

Chabot (2010:104-105) lists awareness as the first phase within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion. Perpetuated by mass media, the awareness stage often communicates on a one-way level, either amplifying differences ("hyper-difference") or amplifying affinities (over-likeness) within their own social environments. Internet activism tactics like Brochureware is mainly placed for purposes of creating awareness.

However, Chabot (2010:104-105) argues that dialogue could enhance awareness, specifically on highly connected social networks. He highlights awareness as the stage where probable audiences initially get introduced to tactics or repertoires by relative actors in another country.

When studying the concept of awareness, Naaman, Boase and Lai (2010:189) indicate that there are three factors that differentiates *Social Awareness Streams (SAS)* from other types of communication:

SAS communication or dialogue is of public nature (or publically available),

SAS content is topic specific and concise,

SAS information consumption and communication exists within the context of a highly connected social space which is driven by online contact networks.

Awareness on social media is achieved through messages and information being communicated to audiences. This became a visible phenomenon during the *Arab Spring*. Different movements throughout different Middle Eastern countries became aware of uprisings and revolutions due to streams of messages from Youtube, Facebook, Twitter and various other social networking platforms. Some reports indicated that 24 hours of video was uploaded every minute to Youtube during the *Arab Spring*. These videos were distributed globally on various social platforms. In the same manner, Twitter was used to create awareness about events happening in Tunisia amongst countries like Jordan, Lebanon and Yemen (Ghannam, 2011:16-17; Al-Rawi, 2014:920-922). Dialogues and communication that were pertinent and relevant to uprisings against oppressive regimes were taking place on highly connected public social spaces like Twitter, Facebook and Youtube, subsequently enhancing awareness.

Against this background, it is argued in theoretical statement 2 that:

Awareness within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is seen as the first phase of the process that is evaluated as any form of information that is topic specific to a relevant movement that is being communicated on a highly connected social space that is available publically to online contact networks.

2.6.2 TRANSLATION

The second phase within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is translation (Chabot, 2010:104-105). Chabot (2010) describes this phase as the process of consequential conversation (dialogue) between likely senders and receivers. Even though dialogue is constant throughout the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion, dialogue is at the core of the translation phase.

Dialogue allows for a collective learning process to be part of emulation of the movement. This not only provides new understanding, but also provides agency among activists by empowering and providing ownership to them. Within Critical Theory, dialogue creates the opportunity for oppositional and challenging ideologies and it encourages emancipation and individual action which is crucial to the emulation of a transnational movement. Habermas specifically refers to dialogue as crucial in gaining understanding regarding intersubjective truths and realities that need to be confronted within social movements (Freire, 2000:87-124 Chabot, 2010:103-104; Habermas, 1984:286-307).

The conversation (dialogue) within this phase mainly focuses on the specific activism tactics outside of its original context. This conversation enables the forming of meaningful transnational relationships between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters due to the mutual interest in dislocation possibilities. On a national level, this conversation allows for the development of relationships between participants throughout various locations, within the borders of the country. To ensure a successful translation of ideas and tactics during the translation phase, the sender and receiver must establish a mutual relationship by means of dialogue.

Translation is therefore defined in the third theoretical statement as:

Translation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding activism tactics and mechanisms are discussed and exchanged by means of dialogue between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters who become simultaneously the sender and receiver of the communication by developing a mutual relationship.

2.6.3 EXPERIMENTATION

The third phase, experimentation, can generally be viewed as the relocation phase. Experimentation requires implementing the knowledge and mechanisms received from the translation phase into practice within the new social context. This is done by adopting small-scale direct action campaigns. Within this phase, dialogue mostly takes place between actors of the same newly adopted social context as opposed to the translation phase, where dialogue takes place between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters (Chabot, 2010:104-105). Freire's perspective on dialogue as an equal relationship between humans is still crucial within this phase.

This leads to the fourth theoretical statement:

Experimentation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding potential small-scale action campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between two newly movement adopters to enable to implementation of such campaigns.

2.6.4 MOVEMENT APPLICATION

The final phase within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is movement application where small-scale actions are expanded into a sustainable on-going social movement. This phase is successful when dialogue leads to new tactics getting implemented by an expanding base of participants (Chabot, 2010:104-105).

Dialogue within this phase will occur within the movement amongst participants who seek to enhance and grow the movement by communicating new ideas and tactics to be implemented.

Movement application is summarised in the theoretical statement 5:

Movement application within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby new information and knowledge regarding existing campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between movement participants to enable to expansion and enhancement of the existing movement.

2.7 ADAPTION OF THE DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION ON AN ONLINE NATIONAL LEVEL

Even though the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is within its definition transnational, it is argued in this study that it can be applied to analyse the way in which a national movement is diffused on a national level within online activism participation.

The phase of awareness (see section 2.5.1) states that information should be communicated on highly connected social spaces. Internet activism and specifically online activism participation are enhanced through highly connected social spaces on social media like Twitter. This can also be implemented on a national level by studying how audiences within the same national border, but at different geographical locations, are made aware of social movement tactics and actions.

The phase of translation (see section 2.5.2) specifies that information regarding the movement tactics are exchanged by means of dialogue between existing adopters and potential adopters. Within the parameters of online activism participation on a national level, one can apply the same principles of translation by studying how audiences within the same national border engage with each other regarding tactics and actions.

The phase of experimentation (see section 2.5.3) indicates that information regarding the implementation of potential small-scale action campaigns are exchanged amongst new movement adopters to enable such implementations. Within the parameters of Online Activism Participation on a national level one can apply the same principles of experimentation by studying how audiences within the same geographical border engage with each other on the implementation of new small-scale action campaigns.

The phase of movement experimentation (see section 2.5.4) indicates that information regarding existing campaigns are exchanged between movement participants to enable the growth of the movement. Within the parameters of Online Activism Participation on a national level, one can apply the same principles of movement application by studying how audiences within the same geographical border engage with each other on the expansion and enhancement of the existing movement and as a result what new content is generated from off-line implementations like marches and protests.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to provide an answer to the following research questions as discussed in chapter 1, section 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.2.2.

- *The internet, and Twitter's role in the evolution of activism movements.*

In order to answer the first question, a discussion on the Critical Theory and New Social Movements was needed to create the background upon which activism as unconventional political participation could be discussed. The development of new social movements saw a change from labour-focused movements towards identity-focused movements. The rise of information and communication technologies like the internet created a new platform for citizens to practice political participation. Internet activism is seen as one of the products of political participation in this new digital age. This chapter argued that internet activism can be divided into four different categories: Brochureware, online facilitation of offline protest, online organising and Online Activism Participation. It was also determined that Brochureware and Online Facilitation of Offline Protests can be classified as *Cyberactivism 1.0* and online organising and online activism participation as *Cyberactivism 2.0*.

The evolution of Web 2.0 provided interactive platforms like Twitter, whose immediacy and dialogic nature lends itself more to Online Activism Participation. It was argued that any contribution of political expression or the voicing of an opinion within the framework of a specific existing political discourse or dialogue on Twitter qualifies as Online Activism Participation.

Web 2.0 thus allowed for interactive social sites like Twitter to create a platform where individuals can participate in online activism through any contribution of political expression, voicing of an opinion and engagement in dialogue, whether through text visual material within the framework of a specific existing political discourse. Against this background, the second research question can be discussed.

- *The awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application phases of the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion on a national level.*

To answer the second question (see section 1.3.2.2), this chapter discussed what transnational activism entails in order to be able to create better understanding about the context wherein the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion can be applied. The point of departure of the framework is that transnational activism is the diffusion of movements across national borders.

Chabot's Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion identifies four phases or processes: awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application. Each of these phases highlights the importance of dialogue within transnational activism

It was argued that the principles of Online Activism Participation and the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism can also be applied on a national level within the parameters of Online Activism Participation by specifically using to the following theoretical statements:

- Awareness within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is seen as the first phase of the process that is evaluated as any form of information that is topic specific to a relevant movement that is being communicated on a highly connected social space that is available publically to online contact networks.
- Translation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding activism tactics and mechanisms are discussed and exchanged by means of dialogue between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters who become simultaneously the sender and receiver of the communication.
- Experimentation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding potential small-scale action campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between two new movement adopters to enable to implementation of such campaigns.
- Movement application within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby new information and knowledge regarding existing campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between movement participants to enable to expansion and enhancement of the existing movement.

The next chapter will discuss the research approach and methods used to study the data and content retrieved from *the #ZumaMustFall* movement.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS – QUANTITATIVE SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter argued by means of literature review that the development of the ICT's and New Social Movement Theory enhanced the tactics available to organise and mobilise social movements on online platforms like Twitter. The identity-based nature of new social movements, along with the Web 2.0's increase in accessibility and equal opportunity for communication, increased the opportunity for participation by for social movements, . This chapter will explain the research approach and methods that will include a combination of quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis that will be used to analyse participation in the *#ZumaMustFall* movement, within the parameters of the *Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion*, on Twitter.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACH

A mixed methods approach consisting of quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyse and discuss the data and content.

Du Plooy (2013:30) summarises a quantitative approach as an approach that entails the measurements of observation in quantitative terms, the prediction and control of the research and mainly deductive reasoning. Fouche *et al.* (2011:144) indicates that this approach provides descriptive data by measuring all the available variables. Very basically, quantitative research uses methods to collect and analyse data in numerical form. This allows for statistical analysis due to the quantifiable nature of the data. The purpose of quantitative research is to identify trends within the data. The advantages include the generalisation of findings by using large representative data sets and the replication of the research design. Babbie and Mouton (2009:53) also argue that social science should be value-neutral, and that quantitative statistical approaches are objective and disciplined limiting prejudice. However, Du Plooy (2013:38) argues on the other hand that this rigid and generalising approach towards research doesn't take contextual occurrences into account. Additionally, quantitative research is also not able to provide insight into the motivation behind the trends and behaviours (Goertzen, 2017: 12-13).

The quantitative approach is necessary in this study to holistically and statistically determine what and in which different ways the information regarding the movement is communicated to or

by the intended Twitter audience. Quantitative analysis will predominantly be used for network analyses by looking at nodes and edges within the determined social network.

Because of quantitative research's limitation to providing in-depth understanding regarding behaviour, qualitative research methods can be used to fulfil that need. Qualitative research is an approach used to gain in-depth and detailed insight through observation, interaction or analysis (Xuehong, 2002:47). Du Plooy (2013:25) explains that the qualitative methodology allows the interpretation of patterns in messages and subjective communication. This interpretation is done through a form of discovery in a natural environment allowing for complicated phenomena in communication to be studied and explored (Dirsko, 2008:85; Simmons-Mackie & Lynch, 2013:1282).

Qualitative research provide frameworks which enable the interpretation and analysis of complex data so as to generate and highlight various meanings that can be used to accurately and sufficiently describe phenomena. All of this occurs within a natural and uncontrolled setting (Ograjenšek & Gal, 2016:169; Yardley, 2017:295). A qualitative approach will thus allow for the study to gain an in-depth understanding of the unique phenomenon of transnational activism by means of social media. By analysing the way in which communication is engaged with and what content is generated, the study will be able to understand messaging and the context it is communicated in.

The qualitative and quantitative methods will be integrated in the form of a mixed-methods approach to complement and reinforce each other. This approach allows for a holistic and comprehensive understanding of communication phenomena, in this case participation in online activism. Quantitative methods provide data that will be able to indicate general trends, occurrences and themes such as participation by politicians, the news media and individuals as is the case with this study. Qualitative methods capitalise on these general trends, occurrences and themes identified through quantitative research, and is then able to zoom in on these findings to gain a deeper and more focused understanding of the reasons and motivations behind these themes. The study will therefore be able to affirm findings, and not only gain explanations as to how the phenomenon unfolded, but also why it unfolded (see McKim, 2017:202-203).

The next section will discuss the research design developed in the study.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The general research question this study aims to answer is:

What is the nature of participation in internet activism regarding the case of the #ZumaMustFall movement on Twitter?

In order to answer the general research question, specific research questions have to be addressed. Table 3.1 below will give an overview of the specific questions and the research design that will be used to address them.

Table 3-1: Research design

| Specific research question | Research Method | Theoretical statements | Concepts | Constructs |
|--|------------------|--|----------|------------|
| <i>What role did the internet and specifically Twitter play in the evolution of activism movements, according to the literature? (See section 1.3.2.1)</i> | Literature study | <p>Theoretical Statement 1</p> <p>Web 2.0 allowed for interactive social sites like Twitter to create a platform where individuals can participate in online activism through any contribution of political expression, voicing of an opinion and engagement in dialogue, whether through text visual material within the framework of a specific existing political discourse.</p> | n/a | n/a |
| What does the Dialogical Framework of | Literature study | | | n/a |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| <p>Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level, according to the literature? (See section 1.3.2.2)</p> | | <p><i>See Theoretical Statements 2 – 5 below.</i></p> | <p><i>See Theoretical Statements 2 – 5 below.</i></p> | |
| <p>How was awareness of the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> movement created on Twitter? (See section 1.3.2.3)</p> | <p>Quantitative social network analysis</p> | <p>Theoretical Statement 2</p> <p>Awareness within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is seen as the first phase of the process that is evaluated as any form of information that is topic specific to a relevant movement that is being communicated on a highly connected social space that is available publically to online contact networks.</p> | <p>Awareness</p> | <p>The three main constructs that will be used to measure the concept of awareness: (1) The number of followers, (2) the number of in-degree connections, and (3) the number of out-degree connections.</p> |
| <p>How did Twitter users engage with the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> movement? (See section 1.3.2.4)</p> | <p>Quantitative social network analysis</p> | <p>Theoretical Statement 3</p> <p>Translation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding activism tactics and mechanisms are discussed and exchanged by means</p> | <p>Translation</p> | <p>The three key constructs used to analyse translation are: (1) 'Replied-to' edges, (2) Betweenness centrality, and (3) Cluster coefficient.</p> |

| | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------------------|---|
| | | <p>of dialogue between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters who become simultaneously the sender and receiver of the communication.</p> | | |
| <p>What impact does movement identity have in the support of the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> movement? (See section 1.3.2.5)</p> | <p>Quantitative social network analysis and Qualitative content analysis</p> | <p>Theoretical Statement 4</p> <p>Experimentation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding potential small-scale action campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between two newly movement adopters to enable to implementation of such campaigns.</p> | <p>Experimentation</p> | <p>The constructs of most-used words, most-used hashtags and most-used word pairs, will be used as quantitative metric to measure the concept of experimentation. Social network analysis provide these metrics and they will give an indication of the general feelings towards the movement and whether the participation from those who are newly engaged in the movement is indicative of them supporting or opposing the movement.</p> <p>Experimentation tweets could be divided into four main constructs: (1) support in the form of online call to actions, (2) support in the form of advocacy, (3) opposition in the</p> |

| | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | | form of hostility and disagreement, (4) opposition in the form of cynicism. |
| <p>What content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the <i>#ZumaMustFall</i> movement?</p> <p>(See section 1.3.2.6)</p> | <p>Qualitative content analysis</p> | <p>Theoretical Statement 5</p> <p>Movement Application within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby new information and knowledge regarding existing campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between movement participants to enable to expansion and enhancement of the existing movement.</p> | <p>Movement Application</p> | <p>Through the inductive research method, two main constructs were identified in analysing the content: (1) The actors and methods that drive the movement off-line, and (2) the geographical reach of the movement application offline.</p> |

3.3.2 SELECTION OF DATA AND CONTENT

As discussed in the first chapter, South Africa has experienced fierce civil opposition against various social issues. This has resulted in various *#MustFall* Movements. One of these movements included a call for President Jacob Zuma to resign, named *#ZumaMustFall* (see section 1.2). The *#ZumaMustFall* movement is a telling example of a new movement within the realm of Critical Theory, using online platforms to disseminate information and engage in dialogue rapidly and communicated on a widespread level. The *#ZumaMustFall* movement saw citizens speaking out and mobilising against the actions of the President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma on Twitter and other online platforms. The movement also evolved from online participations to offline protests, indicating progression towards movement application which is the final phase in the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion. This movement is thus not only indicative of political participation by South African civil society, but also resembles the idea of an identity driven movement opposed to a class driven movement as is argued by the New Movement Theory. Therefore, this movement being placed within the narratives of the New Movement Theory and internet activism, makes it an ideal case for this research study.

This study will seek to use data and content from the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on the social media platform, Twitter. An essential argument in chapter two, made the case for Twitter as an ideal platform for online activism as seen in the first theoretical statement:

Web 2.0 allowed for interactive social sites like Twitter to create a platform where individuals can participate in online activism through any contribution of political expression, voicing of an opinion and engagement in dialogue, whether through text visual material within the framework of a specific existing political discourse.

The Twitter Application Programming Interface (API) enables the mining of this information in the form of a large datasets. This allows for easy analysis and research of data by using various tools such as Node XL and Gephi (Weller *et al.*, 2014:xxx). Twitter, therefore serves as an ideal platform to analyse the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on.

As explained in the first chapter (see section 1.2), the movement gained traction in December 2015 and is currently (October 2017) still prevalent. However, it isn't possible to analyse all the tweets and networks due to the high volume of data. The sampling was be done by means of The NodeXL⁹ which automatically collected the data from Twitter. The keyword that was be used to sample data was *#ZumaMustFall*. Two samples were collected. The samples were automatically randomised by the software and between 12 000 and 18 000 tweets have been retrieved during December 2015 (dataset 1) and April 2017 (dataset 2).

The first data set was pulled during December 2015 when the movement started to evolve after President Jacob Zuma removed Minister of Finance Nhlanhla Nene and replaced him with Des van Rooyen. Reporters and pundits speculated that Nene was removed because he didn't want to allow the nuclear deal with Russia to go through. After this removal of Nene, the South African Rand dropped to less than 15 ZAR against the US Dollar (Jammie, 2015; Letsoalo, 2015). The *#ZumaMustFall* hashtag became prominent on social media on 12 December 2015 and the first march was held on 16 December 2016 (Anon, 2017).

The second data set was pulled from early April 2017. End of March 2017, President Jacob Zuma had another cabinet reshuffle, removing Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan resulting in South Africa's economy being downgraded to *junk status* by credit rating agencies. The

⁹ NodeXL is software that analyses social media networks. It is an add-on template for Microsoft Excel that provides network analysis and visualization features by downloading quantitative and qualitative data from the internet and social media networks (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:53).

#ZumaMustFall hashtag gained traction and saw another national march taking place on 7 April 2017 (Andersen, 2017; Le Cordeur, 2017).

3.4 RESEARCH METHODS

Two research methods were used within this study: Quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis.

3.4.1 QUANTITATIVE SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

In its simplest form a network is merely a collection of *things*. The so-called *things* that are connected are known as nodes, vertices, entities or in many cases, people. Nodes are connected by what is known as edges, ties or links. A social network is created when nodes are connected with edges (see figure 3:1). These networks can include various characteristics such as the size of the network structure, the number of connections or relationships each of the nodes have, the type of nodes included in the network and density of existing relationships. Within the example of social media, a social network is created whenever profiles or people engage with other profiles or people, whether directly or indirectly (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:31-32; Hurtado-de-Mendoza *et al.*, 2016:233).

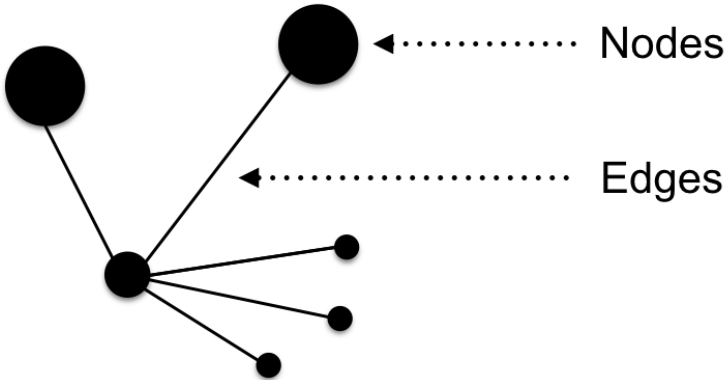


Figure 3-1: Network graph example, indicating nodes and edges

These social networks are analysed by means of network analysis. Du Plooy (2013:359) defines network analysis as follows:

"...analysis of the communication functions of individuals, and of dyadic, small-group and larger networks and relationships."

A Twitter network graph will be able to indicate the relationship between users that tweeted about a specific subject. The size of the node is linked to the number of tweets regarding the specific subject. The more a person (node) tweeted about a specific hashtag or subject the bigger the node will be. The edges connecting the nodes are indicative of mentions, follows or replies between users (nodes). Social network analysis will allow to understand how topics evolve, expand and grow over Twitter (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:33). This is done quantitatively by merely looking at the networks within big data sets.

Aside from analysing the visual networks, social network graphs also provide certain quantitative social network metrics that can be analysed to gain insight into the network.

- **Degree Centrality**

Degree centrality regards the number of connections that each node has. This is simply limited to a quantitative value of connections and does not weight the quality of each connection (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:40, Lieberman, 2014:8). In the case of this study, the degree centrality is the number of tweets (both sent and received) per profile.

A distinction can be made between in-degree centrality and out-degree centrality. In-degree centrality includes only the number of connections that the node receives (or pointed towards the node). The out-degree centrality on the other hand includes only the number of connections that the node sends (or pointed away from the node) (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:40; Heany, 2017).

In the case of this study, out-degree centrality is the number of tweets sent by a node (whether in the form of a tweet, a reply or a mention). In-centrality is the number of tweets a node received (whether in the form of a mention or retweet).

- **Betweenness centrality**

The betweenness centrality measures the frequency at which a node is on the shortest link between two other nodes. Betweenness centrality can thus be viewed as the likelihood of a the node being the most direct route between two people in the network (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:40; Lieberman, 2014:8).

In the case of this study, profiles with high betweenness centrality scores are more essential in ensuring a tweet or message gets delivered to other profiles.

- **Clustering coefficient**

Clustering coefficient measures the density of a node within the parameters of the edges they have connections with. With regards to this study, a high cluster coefficient would indicate that a profile has communicated mostly with profiles that they follow. A low cluster coefficient is indicative of a profile communicating mostly with profiles they have no ties to (Hansen *et al.*, 2011:41). This metric is key in measuring whether or the movement diffuses from profiles with relationships to profiles with no relationships.

Colour coding of nodes and edges have been done to indicate some of the key clusters of Twitter profile categories. Only the most prominent profiles were categorised into different colours.

Legend of node categories¹⁰

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Orange | Media |
| Yellow | ANC related profiles |
| Green | Celebrities and other public figures |
| Blue | DA related profiles |
| Red | EFF related profiles |
| Olive | Other political figures |
| Maroon | Brands and Private Companies |
| Purple | Public Groups/Social Media |
| Black | Grassroots individual profiles |

The edges were coded into three categories: Mentions, Replies and Tweets.

Legend of edge categories¹¹

¹⁰ Note that not all single profile has been divided into a colour category, only the most prominent profiles. The remaining profiles will be black and somewhat transparent. See figures 4.1 to 4:39.

| | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Green | Mentions (in most cases retweets) |
| Red | Reply to |
| Blue | Tweet |

3.4.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis seeks to document certain themes or signs present in messages. It is a research method that is applied to investigate, illustrate and gather features of messages. Qualitative content analysis specifically focuses on research problems that involve ideals, themes, styles and denotative, connotative and ideological meanings of a message (Du Plooy, 2013:213-219).

This method studies communication messages in magazines, newspapers, advertisements, social media messages, websites and documents. When conducting a content analysis deductively you need to develop operational definitions for the constructs that describe and analyse the concept. This is used to help with analysis and description of the messages.

This study however used inductive methods in analysing content. By stepping away from structured methodologies used in a deductive approach, inductive analysis can identify themes that are often concealed or ignored through predefined analytical procedures (Thomas, 2003:2; Woo *et al.*, 2017:257).

The process for inductive research is done by reading and reviewing the content multiple times. Through this process themes are identified and coded. Categories are thus developed during the analysis of the content. These categories can be used to explore similarities, differences and contradictions within the content (Thomas, 2003:3).

Through the inductive analysis, communication phenomena can be identified and analysed in-depth and descriptively (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:383-384).

There are some definite advantages and disadvantages to qualitative content analysis as a research method. Time and money are two of the biggest considerations that need to be considered when choosing a research method. Qualitative content analysis is economic in monetary value. There is no necessity for large research expenses or arrangements. The

¹¹ Not that not all edges have been divided into a colour category, only the most prominent edges. See figures 4.1 to 4:39.

process simply involves taking already available content from media platforms and analysing it. Also, access to the communication phenomena means that the research can be conducted without external factors that can influence the process for example dependability on people for interviews or focus groups. When making a mistake during research, content analysis makes it easier for the researcher to repeat the process, seeing as all the resources are at the researcher's disposal. This means that reliability is strengthened by the possibility of recoding (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:393; Vimal & Subramani, 2017:480-481; Graneheim *et al.*, 2017: 29-30).

Studying occurrences over a long time is a possibility with qualitative content analysis, because acquiring communication that occurred over a long-time period is more accessible. This method strengthens trustworthiness because it is an unobtrusive method that has a minimal influence on the message being studied. This is however not the case regarding the influence of the subjectivity of the researcher that can be obtrusive to the research. Another disadvantage of this method is that it can only be implemented on the recorded and written communication (Babbie & Mouton, 2009:393; Vimal & Subramani, 2017:480-481; Graneheim *et al.*, 2017: 29-30).

The next section will discuss the conceptualisation which contributed to the way in which the research methods were executed.

3.4.3 CONCEPTUALISATION

In order for social network analysis and content analysis to be actioned, guidelines are needed for the analysis. Even though, interpretation was done by means of inductive analysis, the second, third, fourth and fifth theoretical statements (see section 3.3.1) were taken as a point of departure and operationalised for both the quantitative social network analysis and the qualitative content analysis.

By looking at the four theoretical statements mentioned in table 3.1, participation on Twitter can be divided into the following concepts: The dissemination of information the movement to new audiences (awareness), the exchanging of and engagement with ideas and tactics regarding the movement (translation), online engagement in the form of support or opposition towards the movement (experimentation), and the showcasing of off-line movement tactics being implemented (movement application). These concepts represent the types of participation facilitated on Twitter.

- **Awareness**

The concept of awareness is derived from the second theoretical statement. The concept will focus on information that is publicly available, and communicated on highly connected social spaces like Twitter.

Awareness will be analysed by using social network analysis. The graphs will be generated sizing the nodes based on the three main constructs that will be used to measure the concept of awareness: (1) The number of followers, (2) the number of in-degree connections, and (3) the number of out-degree connections.

The concentration of edges will be the first visual element indicating where key awareness was created.

When sizing the nodes based on the number of followers, the analytical measurement would be that the, the bigger the node is, the greater the likelihood of potential awareness.

The sizing of nodes based on the number of in-degree connections will see nodes sized with accordance to the number of tweets received. This includes mentions and retweets. The analytical measurement in this case can be one of two cases: (1) the bigger the node, the more the profile was mentioned and tweeted at, or (2) the bigger the node, the more the profile's tweets were retweeted.

The sizing of nodes based on the number of out-degree connections will see the analytical measurement indicate that the bigger the node, the more they have tweeted and participated in the movement.

By filtering these graphs based on type of connection, above-average in-degree connections and above-average out-degree connections, the key profiles that were responsible for creating awareness can be identified.

- **Translation**

The third theoretical statement was used in identifying the concept of translation. The concept refers to the phenomenon of knowledge exchange through dialogue between existing movement supporters and potential movement supporters.

Translation will be analysed by using social network analysis. The three key constructs used to analyse translation are: (1) 'Replied-to' edges, (2) betweenness centrality, and (3) cluster coefficient.

'Replied-to' edges, will highlight which number of Tweets saw dialogue and engagement between profiles. Furthermore, it will also indicate which profiles contributed to dialogue and translation of ideas.

By filtering the graphs on an above-average betweenness centrality score, the analytical measurement will see which nodes play an important role in exchanging messages from one node to another.

By filtering the graphs on an above-average cluster coefficient score, the analytical measurement will be that, the fewer nodes there are the more disconnected the profiles are. This is essential in determining whether or not translation surpasses personal connections which will indicate the reach of dialogue and to what extent knowledge is being exchange.

- **Experimentation**

Experimentation as a concept is based on the fourth theoretical statement. The concept analyses the way in which information is exchanged about the movement by means of dialogue between participants who are newly engaged in the movement.

Experimentation will be analysed by using both social network analysis and qualitative content analysis.

The constructs of most-used words, most-used hashtags and most-used word pairs, will be used as quantitative metric to measure the concept of experimentation. Social network analysis provide these metrics and they will give an indication of the general feelings towards the movement and whether the participation from those who are newly engaged in the movement is indicative of them supporting or opposing the movement. The general feeling towards the movement can also be linked back to the identity of the movement.

Based on the narrative and identity surrounding the movement Tweets that received the most engagement, retweets and traction were selected as case studies for qualitative content analysis to analyse the motivation behind the narrative and identity.

Through an inductive approach towards qualitative content analysis (to be discussed in section 4.4.2), experimentation tweets could be divided into four main constructs: (1) support in the form

of online call to actions, (2) support in the form of advocacy, (3) opposition in the form of hostility and disagreement, (4) opposition in the form of cynicism.

- **Movement Application**

The fifth theoretical statement is used as the framework within which the concept of movement application is developed. This concept refers to the exchange of information through dialogue with regards to existing campaigns, with the purpose of expanding the reach of the campaign. This information being exchanged is often evidence of offline participation being exchanged online to increase the reach of the movement online.

Movement application will be analysed using qualitative content analysis. Tweets that received the most traction through retweets and engagements that contained content that showcased either intention to participate in offline participation or participation in offline participation were studied as a form of movement application.

Through qualitative content analysis (to be discussed in section 4.4.2), two main constructs were identified in analysing the content: (1) The actors and methods that drive the movement off-line, and (2) the geographical reach of the movement application offline.

Studying the actors and methods behind the offline participation, it is necessary to look at which stakeholders (i.e. the media, political parties, individuals, groups) drive the organisation of offline applications like protests and marches.

The geographical reach of the movement application offline can be studied by looking at images, videos and text overtly indicating cities, towns and landmarks.

The next section will discuss the reliability and validity of the study,

3.5 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Validity and reliability in any quantitative or qualitative research are essential in increasing trustworthiness and limiting error in a study (Roberts *et al.*, 2006:41). Reliability and validity are however two different concepts and should be discussed as such.

Reliability is achieved in a study when results are consistent and representative of a population to ultimately duplicate the study using the same methodology (Golafshani, 2003:598). Three important levels of consistency in research include: (1) Consistency if used by different people (inter-rater reliability), (2) consistency used during different times (test-retest reliability), and (3)

consistency within a single test (internal consistency reliability) (Roberts *et al.*, 2006:41-44; Golafshani, 2003:598-599).

In this study, reliability should be increased on both a quantitative and qualitative level. On a quantitative level, social network analysis metrics and graphs were created through NodeXL computer software. Because the input and collection of data is strictly implemented through software, human error is limited. This also allows for consistency to occur when the study needs to be duplicated by different people, during a different time.

With regards to the qualitative approach to research in this study, reliability was increased through an inductive approach to content analysis. This allowed for the reconfirming of coding and conceptualising of content which also increases the reliability of the research (Roberts *et al.*, 2006:43). NodeXL was also used to select the Tweets that needed to be analysed based on their performance, limiting the researchers bias in selecting certain content.

Validity on the other hand poses the question of whether the concepts and constructs in measures what it is intended to measure. Validity looks at the research instrument and whether or not it achieves the research objective (Golafshani, 2003:599; Roberts *et al.*, 2006:43).

In quantitative research, validity can be divided into external and internal validity. External validity asks whether the conditions and environment in which the study occurred are representative of the context and time in which the results will be discussed. Internal validity however focuses on the outcomes and the reasons for those outcomes. Internal validity can be evaluated on three levels: (1) Content validity, (2) criterion-related validity, and (3) construct validity. Content validity assesses whether content like questions within a survey is representative of the context in which it is carried out. Criterion-related validity occurs when tools like a survey can be compared to other validated tools relevant to the same phenomenon. However, the strongest form of internal validity is construct validity. Construct validity shows the relationship between the concepts and constructs within the study and the supporting theory and literature (Golafshani, 2003:599; Roberts *et al.*, 2006:43).

Various researchers have argued that validity isn't applicable in qualitative studies. The need however for trustworthiness is essential and methods increasing reliability and rigor is seen as the possible qualitative answer to validity. One of the concerns regarding validity in qualitative research is possible researcher bias in collecting, recording and interpreting data selectively. It is therefore necessary for qualitative researchers to actively minimise their personal biases by being non-reactive and creating analytical distance. Triangulation however can be used in

qualitative research to increase validity. Triangulation is achieved by combining multiple methods and approaches to validate consistency within the findings (Golafshani, 2003:602; Roberts *et al.*, 2006:44-45).

In this study, concepts and constructs were developed by analysing and interpreting existing literature and theory. These concepts were broadened through inductive interpretation of the data and content. This allowed for concepts to be validated through theoretical evidence. The collection of data and content through software limited researcher bias. Finally, validity was increased through the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods. The validity of quantitative findings were strengthened through corresponding and supportive qualitative findings.

The next section will discuss the problems and restrictions in this study.

3.6 PROBLEMS AND RESTRICTIONS

The majority of the study occurred without any significant problems and restrictions. There are however two minor restrictions/problems that the study faced.

NodeXL was used to collect the tweets that were analysed through social network analysis and content analysis. The software collects only the 18 000 of the latest tweets at that moment. Subsequently the data doesn't include all the tweets that were sent during the time frame.

The second hindrance in the study occurred during the colour coding of the nodes. Because of the big sample size, it wasn't viable to colour code each and every node. Nodes were however colour coded by significance of number of followers, in-degree connections and out-degree connections to ensure that all the key actors were classified within the respective groups.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All data collected is within the public sphere and freely available, there is therefore no ethical considerations other than providing reliable and valid findings.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter described and justified the use of an integrated quantitative and qualitative mixed-method approach to gain both high-level and in-depth knowledge on the phenomenon. An

explanation of both social network analysis and content analysis was provided to give clarity on the specific methods used to analyse the data and content.

The sample will include two datasets, collected from Twitter by using NodeXL. The datasets were collected at two different times in the *#ZumaMustFall* timeline and will be analysed comparatively to determine if and how the movement developed and evolved over time.

Awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application will be used as empirical constructs to help answer the research question posed in this study.

The next chapter will discuss the analysed results that were gained by means of quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter three the mixed methods research approach used in this study was outlined. Specifically, the focus was on quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis. In this chapter data obtained from above-mentioned methods will be analysed in order to answer the research questions (see section 3.3.1) pertaining to the empirical part of the study, namely:

The third specific research question which reads, *How was awareness of the #ZumaMustFall movement created on Twitter?*, will be addressed by using quantitative social network analysis to analyse simultaneously compare the first and second dataset within the awareness phase of the movement. This will be followed by the translation phase which will also use quantitative social network analysis to answer the fourth specific research question: *How did Twitter users engage with the #ZumaMustFall movement?*

The fifth specific question, will use both quantitative social network analysis as well as qualitative content analysis in an attempt to interpret the experimentation phase of the movement. The fifth question reads: *What role does movement identity have in the support of the #ZumaMustFall movement?*

Lastly, inductive qualitative content analysis on both datasets will be able to provide an answer to the sixth research question, *What content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the #ZumaMustFall movement?, as it pertains to the phase of movement application.*

This chapter is going to simultaneously analyse and compare the first and second dataset of the #ZumaMustFall movement as described in section 3.3. This will not only indicate what occurred in each phase, but also how the movement evolved from the December 2015 to April 2017.

4.2 ONLINE ACTIVISM PARTICIPATION: #ZUMAMUSTFALL SOCIAL NETWORKS

Nodes and edges of the social network graphs have been colour coded during the processing of the data as described in section 3.3.1. As a result, the groups most prominent within the network were used to classify the nodes. The edges were colour coded into three main categories: Mentions, Replies and Tweets (see section 3.3.1). The colour coding of both the

nodes and the edges were integrated within both datasets. The legends below indicate the categories used within the graphs.

Legend of node categories¹²

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Orange | Media |
| Yellow | ANC related profiles |
| Green | Celebrities and other public figures |
| Blue | DA related profiles |
| Red | EFF related profiles |
| Olive | Other political figures |
| Maroon | Brands and Private Companies |
| Purple | Public Groups/Social Media |
| Black | Grassroots individual profiles |

Legend of edge categories¹³

| | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Green | Mentions (in most cases retweets) |
| Red | Reply to |
| Blue | Tweet |

¹² Note that not all single profile has been divided into a colour category, only the most prominent profiles. The remaining profiles will be black and somewhat transparent. See figures 4.1 to 4:39.

¹³ Not that not all edges have been divided into a colour category, only the most prominent edges. See figures 4.1 to 4:39.

4.3 DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF DIFFUSION WITH REGARDS TO THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

This section will interpret findings from quantitative social network analysis for the phases of awareness, translation and experimentation. The findings retrieved from the qualitative content analysis will be interpreted to analyse the phases of experimentation and movement application.

4.3.1 AWARENESS

The first phase to be analyse is the phase of awareness in the #ZumaMustFall movement. This was done by studying any form of information that is topic specific to the movement that is being communicated on Twitter (see, section 3.2.2). The concept awareness was analysed by sizing the nodes in the social network graphs on three levels: (1) The number of followers, (2) the number of out-degree connections (tweets sent) and (3) the number of in-degree connections (tweets received) (See section 3.4.3 for an explanation of the constructs).

4.3.1.1 NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS

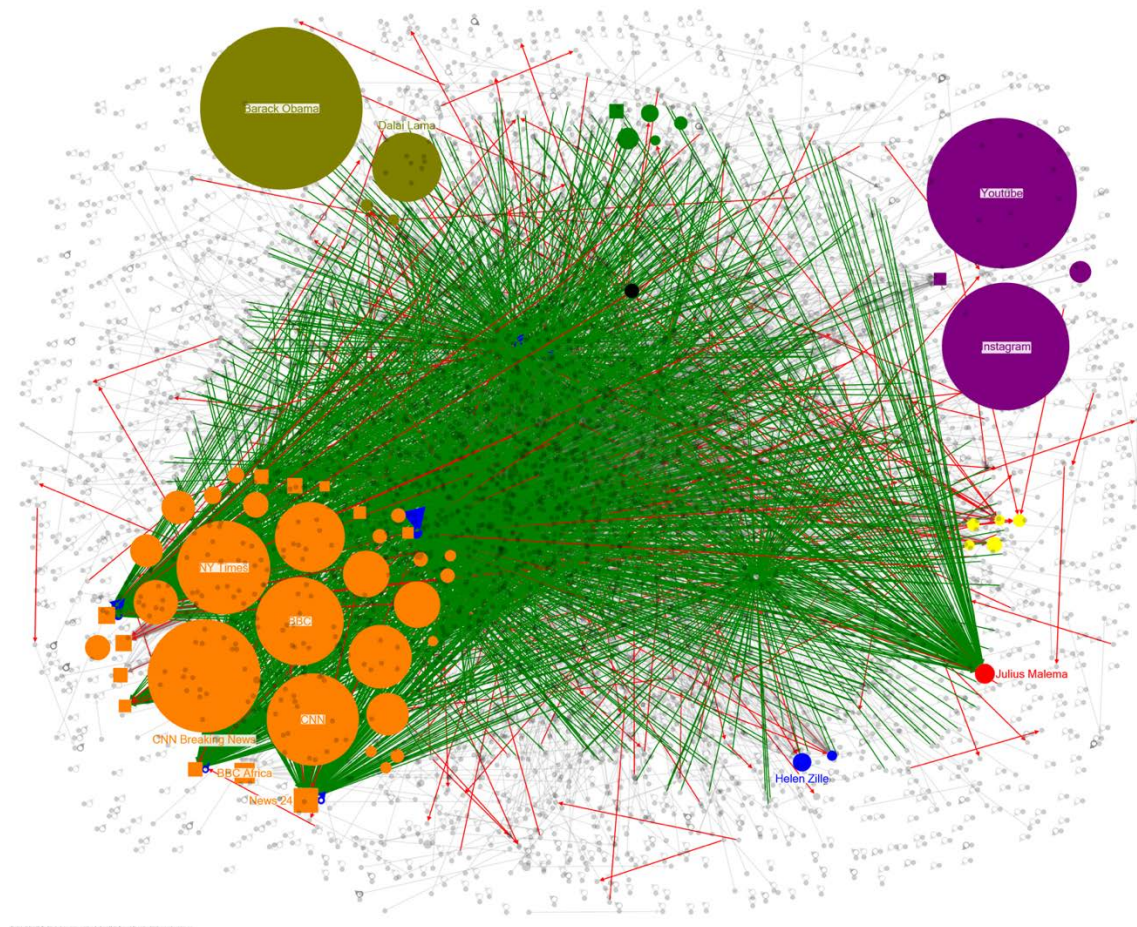


Figure 4-1: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count

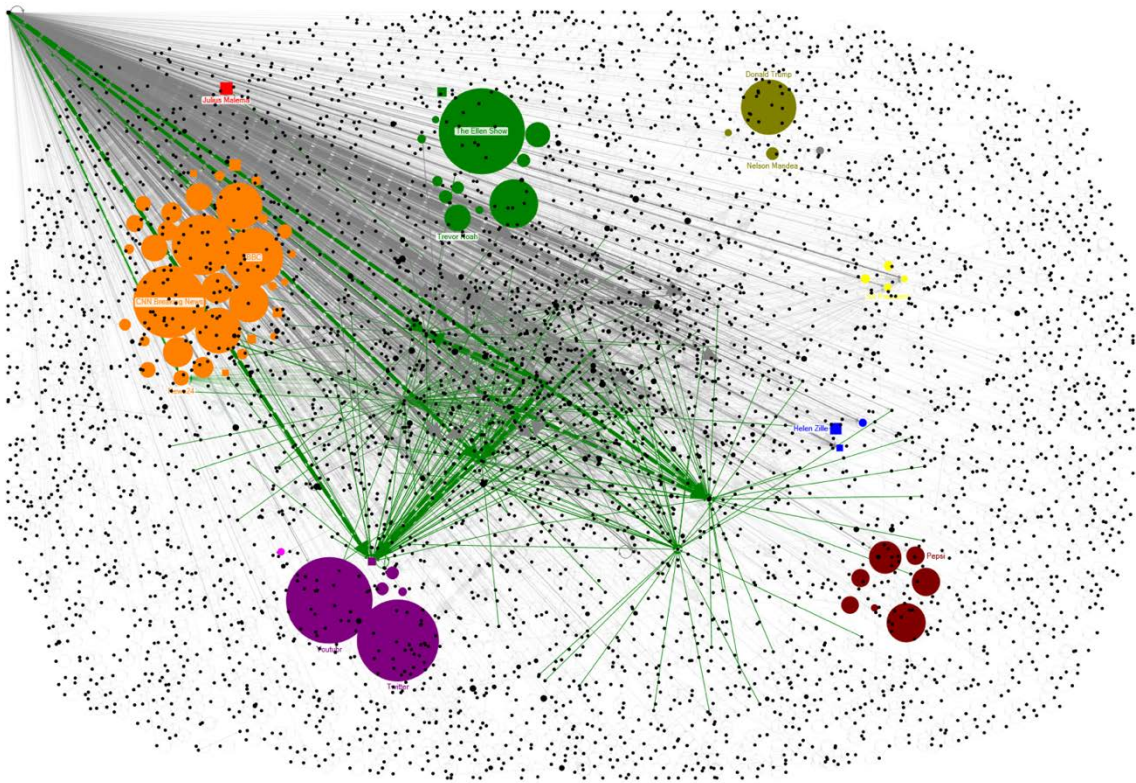


Figure 4-2: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count

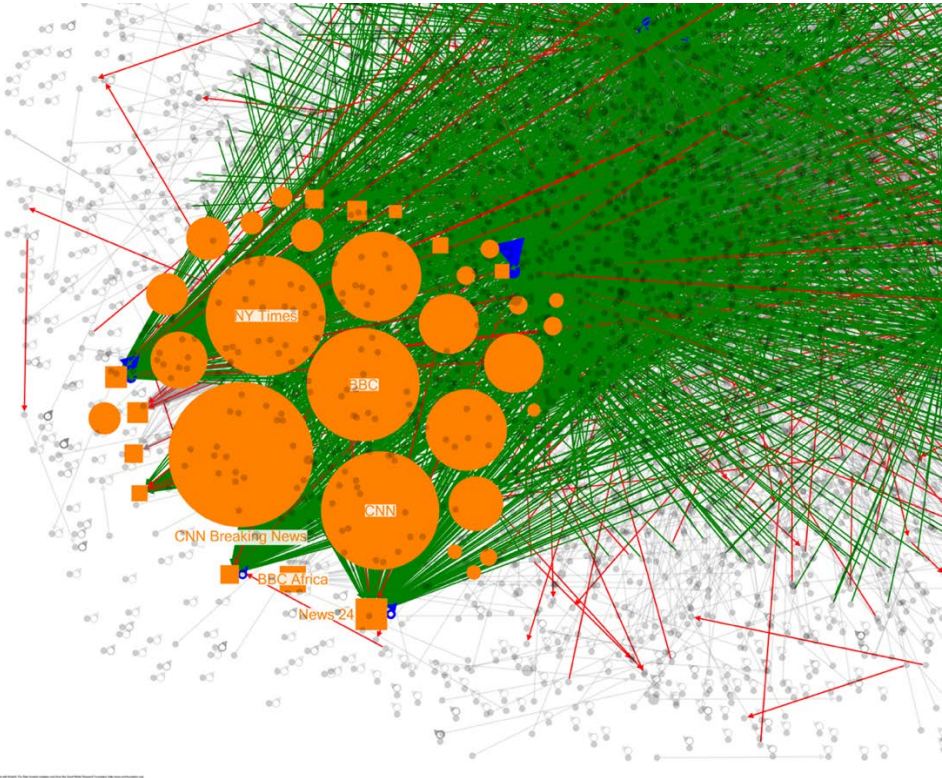


Figure 4-3: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – News Outlets

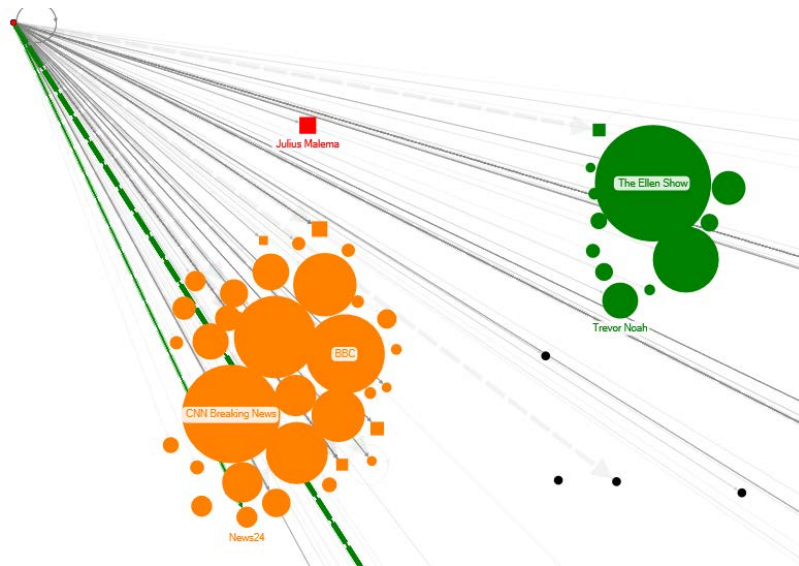


Figure 4-4: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – News Outlets, EFF and public figure profiles.

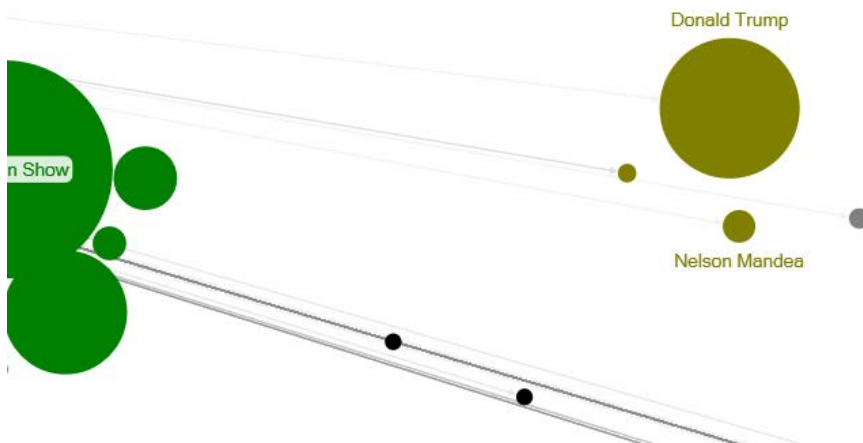


Figure 4-5: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Other politicians.

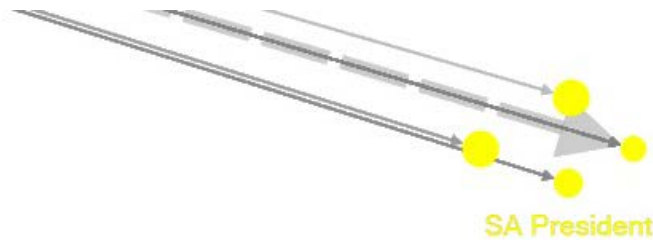


Figure 4-6: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – ANC.

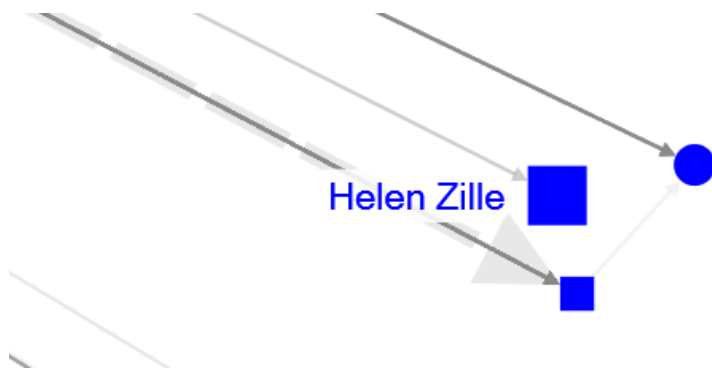


Figure 4-7: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – DA.

In figure 4-1 to 4-7 the size of the nodes are relevant to the number of followers they have. The bigger the node, the larger number of followers they have, and the assumption could be made that the likelihood of awareness is greater. In these specific graphs (listed above), those prominent nodes (or profiles) who have tweeted about the subject of *#ZumaMustFall* are represented by square-shaped nodes¹⁴. Those who only have been mentioned or tweeted to regarding the keyword is represented by circle-shaped nodes.

In the first dataset (December 2015), two prominent political profiles were featured, namely that of Barack Obama and the Dalai Lama. In the second dataset (April 2017), there was an evolution that not only included international political figures, but also saw a greater variety of public figure's profiles featured. One of the most prominent political profiles that received tweets was that of Donald Trump. The argument can be made that the shift from Barack Obama in the first dataset to that of Donald Trump in the second dataset is because of the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States of America. Some of the non-political public figures that also received tweets regarding the movement during this time were that of Ellen Degeneres and Trevor Noah. Although the focus of this study is primarily on diffusion on a national level, the above-mentioned findings is an indication that the *#ZumaMustFall* movement attempted to generate awareness on a transnational level. However, the involvement of these profiles are strictly limited to one-way message reception. There is no indication that receiving the message has actually translated into meaningful understanding, and in fact there is no feedback from those profiles. Nevertheless, the grassroots access that Twitter creates to engage with profiles like that of Barack Obama, the Dalai Lama and Donald Trump enables a sense of empowerment amongst individuals who have the opportunity to communicate with these powerful politicians, regardless of whether this communication is reciprocated.

¹⁴ This is only the case for the section of Network Graphs filtered on follower count

Other prominent nodes that featured was the profiles of other social media platforms as indicated in purple. In chapter two (see section 2.4) it was argued that the large following that Twitter profiles of social media accounts like Instagram and Youtube have make these platforms ideal for the dissemination of information to create awareness. However, the analysis of both datasets indicated that these profiles did not seem to play the expected significant role despite the engagement and communication that was directed at them. This indicates that profiles with a big following don't always reciprocate the engagement directed at them, because the amount of non-movement related information directed at them clutters the message and hinders the reception of the message. Thus, to sufficiently engage with these profiles and create awareness amongst them, a constant stream of communication directed at them is needed.

When looking at the red, blue and yellow coloured nodes, representing local political parties, it is expected in an unconventional form of political participation like a social movement, that local political parties would not play a significant role in mobilising citizens (see section 2.2). This argument is confirmed in this first phase of the movement where local political parties don't seem to contribute to generating a great likelihood of possible awareness in comparison to other profiles. This is indicative of the fact that the movement wasn't driven by political parties in the first phase, but was rather initiated and driven by grass roots participants. However, it is significant to note that opposition political party leaders were more involved in discussion during the second phase. While the profiles of Helen Zille and Julius Malema received significant tweets in the first phase of the movement, they didn't respond to the tweets and therefore did not contribute to the movement (see figure 4-1). However, as seen in figures 4-4 and 4-7 that changed over time with the second dataset indicating their prominent involvement in the movement after pressured from grassroots level mobilised them to do so. Regarding the profiles of political parties, the same trend was observed regarding the official profiles of the EFF and DA.

The same trend was however, not noticeable for profiles related to the ruling ANC party. Figure 5:6 shows that during the second phase, engagement with ANC profiles with a big following for example *SA President* was prompted, but there was not really any significant reciprocation from these profiles. The opposition parties were thus mobilised to partake in the movement, whereas the governing party's engagement is limited. This can be viewed as an attempt by the ruling party to disempower the movement. Habermas specifically highlights the importance of dialogue between opposing forces to resolve conflict (see section 2.2), but in this case, there is no significant reciprocation from the ANC.

Different than local political parties, the news media appears to be an overwhelming contributor to the movement in the first phase, as is evident from the first dataset. Not only is

communication directed at some big international news organisations, but interaction takes place with various Tweets being received from profiles like BBC Africa and News 24. It is highly likely that media still plays a part in setting the agenda by diffusing information at high rates online. It is also possible that the involvement of the international media could be an example of the paradigm of modernisation, with international media trying to influence the movement from the top down (see section 2.4). However, the paradigm of modernisation is limited through Twitter’s design that allows equal access to participants at a grassroots level to influence the agenda, subsequently empowering individuals by shifting power from the media to the individual (see section 2.4). This empowerment is specifically visible as the movement evolved overtime from 2015 (dataset 1) to 2017 (dataset 2). Although the media still played a role in 2017, there was a visible decline in the media’s contribution. This visible decline in the media’s contribution and the effect of individuals being empowered is visible in figure 4-2 that shows a concentrated number of edges in the top-left corner. This is due to an overwhelming amount of unique citizen/individual profiles that contributed to the network. This is indicative of a strong evolvement in the movement with agency moving from media to individuals. The movement sees significant growth as power is shifted to a grassroots level. The media’s role within the movement also played an important part in mobilising participation and assisting with building momentum, until eventually other stakeholders like local politicians started to get involved with the movement.

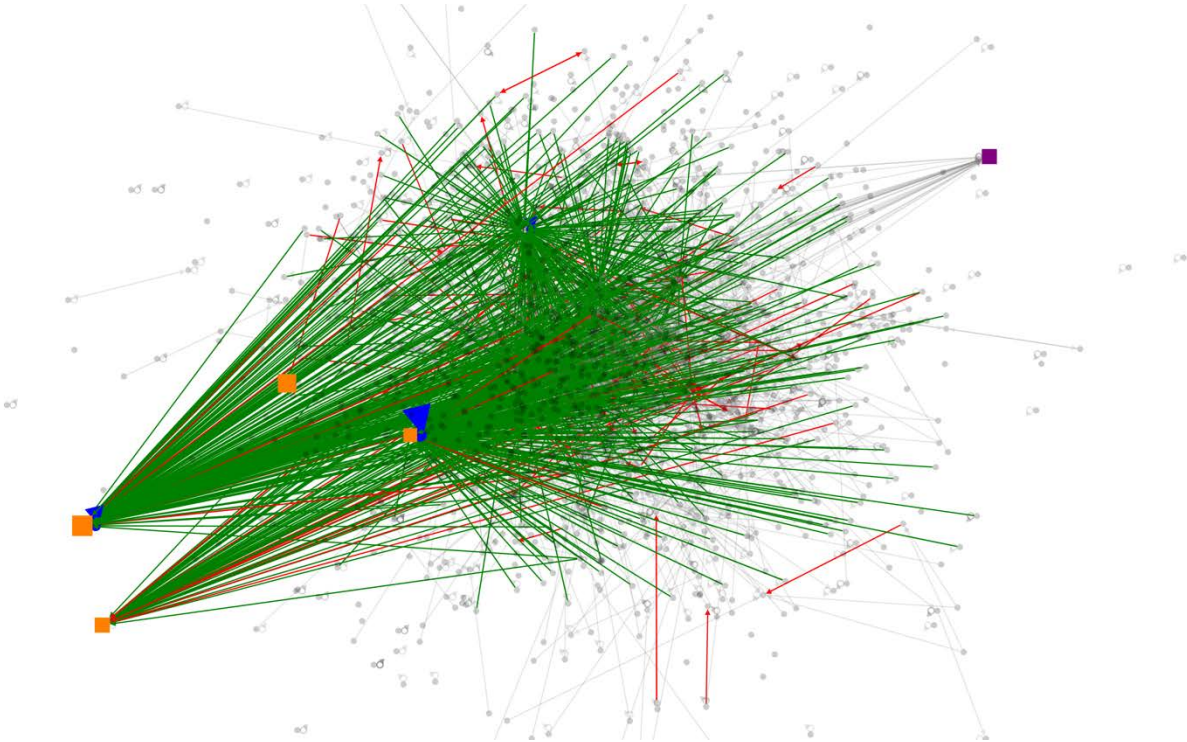


Figure 4-8: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by out-degree average.

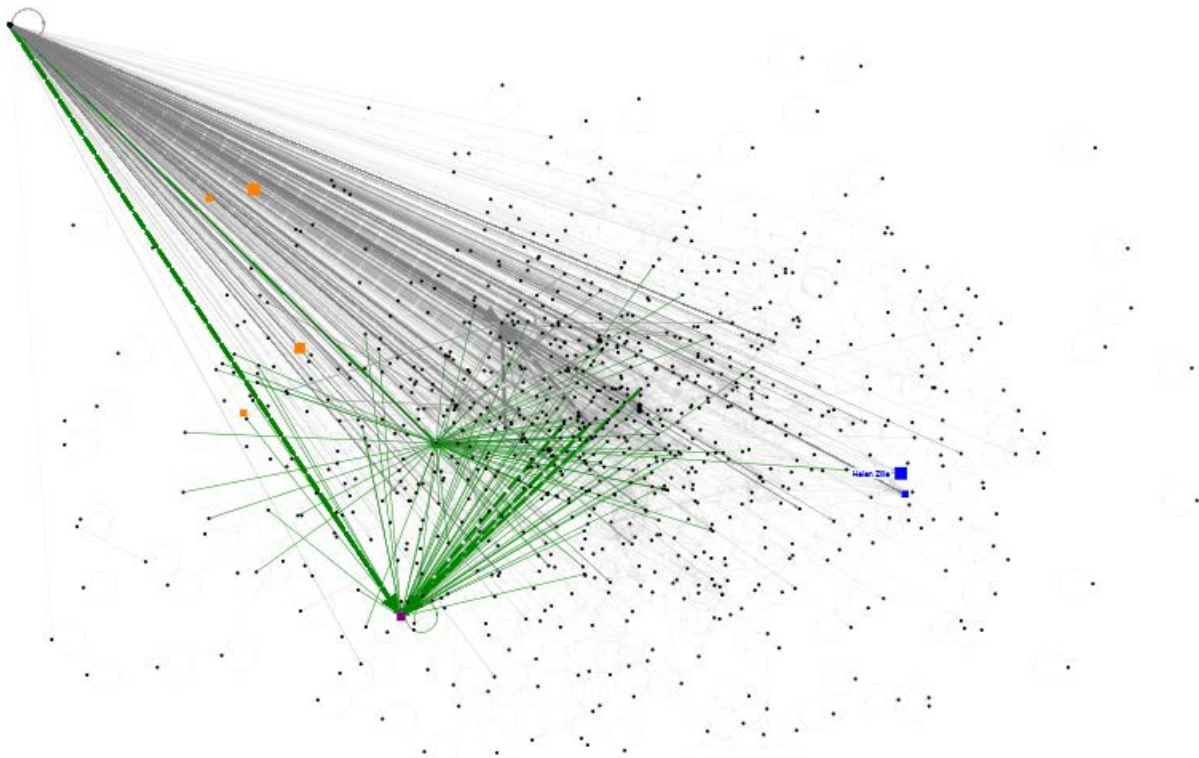


Figure 4-9: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by out-degree average.

Figures 4-8 and 4-9 are still sized on follower count, but filtered by out-degree average. (Note that section 4.3.1.3 will discuss graphs with nodes sized based on the out-degree rate.). By filtering the follower-count graphs by out-degree average, it is possible to see which of the nodes or profiles with the biggest following engaged with the movement at an above-average rate.

Table 4-1: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Out-degree metrics

| ELEMENT | DATA SET 1: 1/12/2015 | DATA SET 2: 7/4/2017 |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Minimum Out-degree | 0 | 0 |
| Maximum Out-degree | 87 | 57 |
| Average Out-degree | 1,802 | 1,477 |

From table 4-1 it is evident that the out-degree average declined from 1,802 in the first phase to 1,477 in the second phase. This means that every profile that tweeted about the movement more than 1,802 times are those who contributed to spreading awareness at an above average rate (as indicated in figure 4-8). However, this decline of tweets per user isn't an indication of

less participation activity taking place, but rather that the participation has diffused to more participants. This implies that the widespread awareness has started to translate into participation. When looking at “who” the source of the tweets were, this trend becomes even more clear.

Figure 4-8 indicated that most tweets within the first dataset were not generated by influencers with a big following, but rather at a grassroots level with assistance from the news media. Within the second dataset (see figure 4-9) the majority of tweets generated shifted even more from media outlets to grassroots individuals. The generating of tweets is essential in driving awareness. With Twitter allowing the media and grassroots to have equal opportunities to participate, it is possible for the movement awareness to be driven on a grassroots level in which individuals are empowered to participate as an equal partner (see section 2.4).

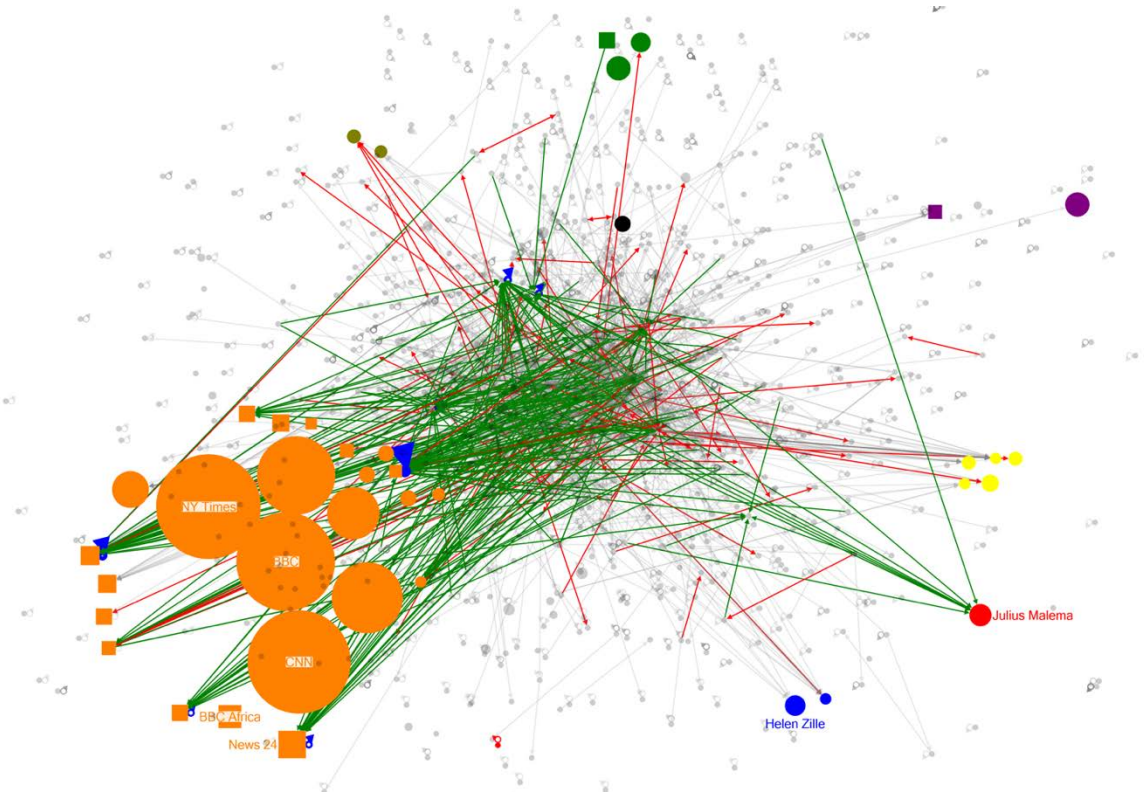


Figure 4-10: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by in-degree average.

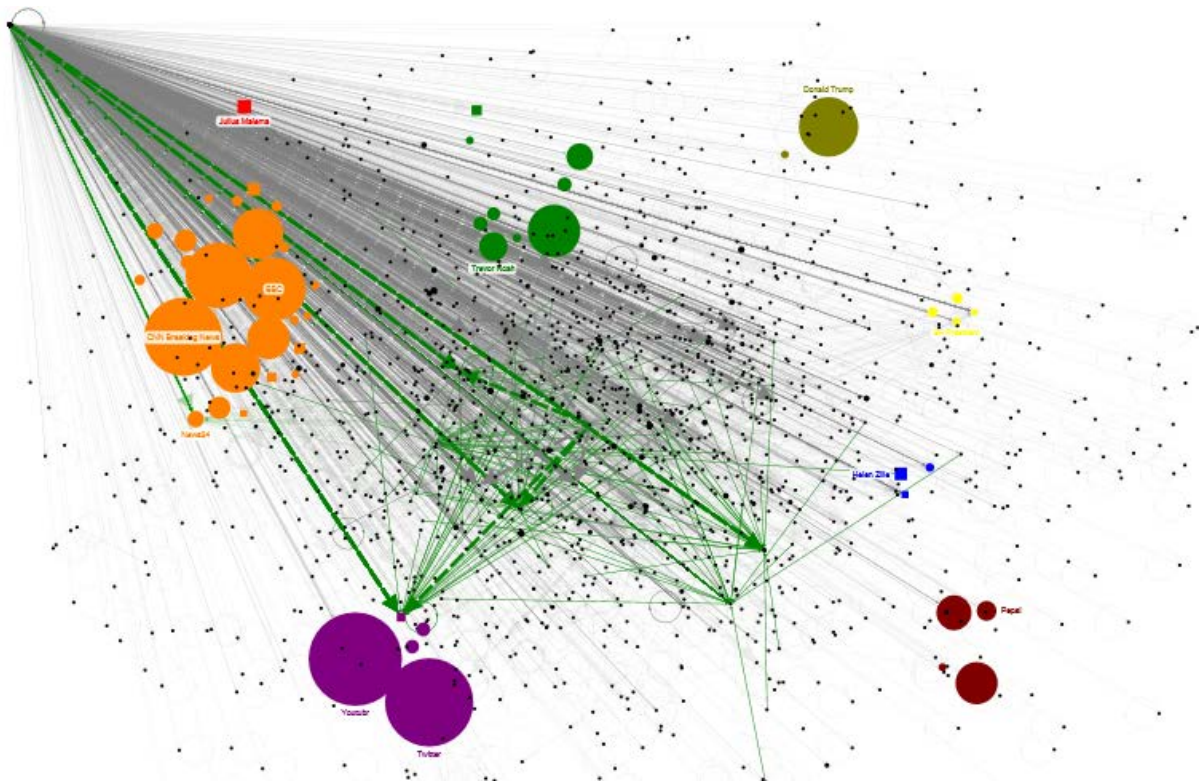


Figure 4-11: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by in-degree average.

Figures 4-10 and 4-11 are still sized on follower count, but filtered by in-degree average. (Note that section 4.3.1.2 will discuss graphs with nodes sized based on the in-degree rate.). By filtering the follower-count graphs by in-degree average, it is possible to see which of the nodes or profiles with the biggest following were mentioned and retweeted at an above-average rate.

Table 4-2: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: In-degree metrics

| ELEMENT | DATA SET 1: 1/12/2015 | DATA SET 2: 7/4/2017 |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Minimum In-degree | 0 | 0 |
| Maximum In-degree | 335 | 1936 |
| Average In-degree | 1,802 | 1,477 |

Figure 4-10 and 4-11 are representations of which nodes received above average in-degree connections. This indicates what nodes were tweeted at from other nodes more than 1,8 times in the first dataset and more than 1,4 times in the second dataset (see table 4-2). In-degree

Tweets are either replies to previous tweets or mentions. The way in which Twitter is setup, mentions are in most cases retweets. Profiles like BBC Africa, and News 24 (those nodes represented in square format), are some of the more known public profiles that received the most retweets. Whereas the New York Times, BBC, CNN, Julius Malema, Helen Zille are profiles who didn't tweet about #ZumaMustFall, but they were mentioned in Tweets at an above average rate.

In the second dataset, most profiles with a big following across the spectrum received tweets at above average rates, this increased from the first dataset where mostly the media and local politicians received tweets at an above average rate. The evolution of the movement could be seen in that grassroots individuals increased their communication to public figures, media outlets, international politicians, companies/brands and activism groups to try and increase awareness regarding the movement. The evolution from the first dataset to the second dataset saw a realisation that communication needed to be increased to change agents to ensure that awareness is achieved. This aligns with the argument in section 2.2 that grassroots participations are empowered through unconventional political participation where they decide the way in and the extent to which they engage with entities in power instead of being limited by conventional participation.

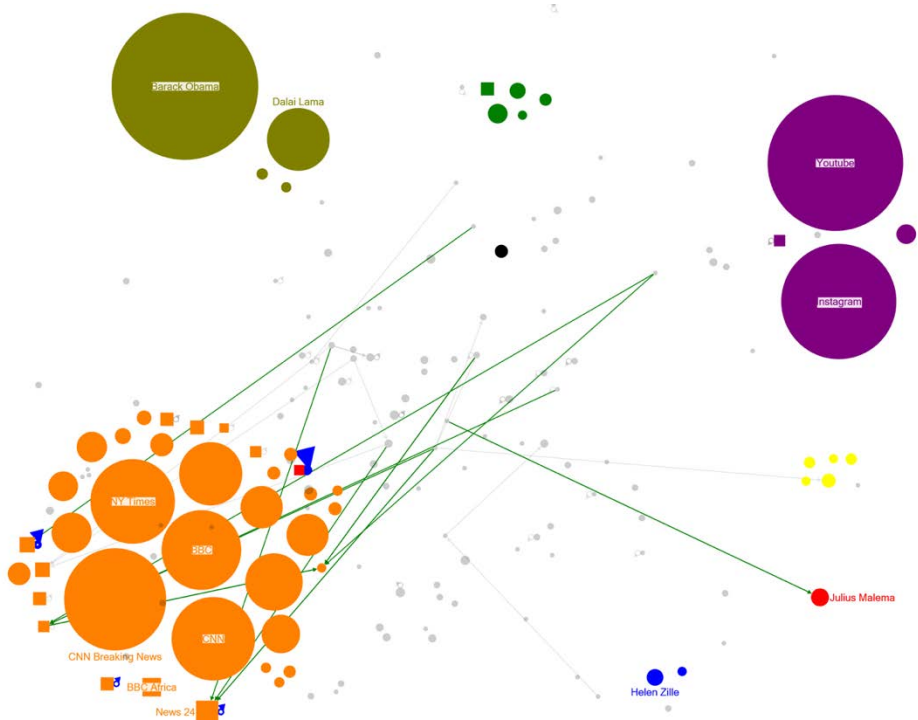


Figure 4-12: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by number of followers exceeding 30 000.

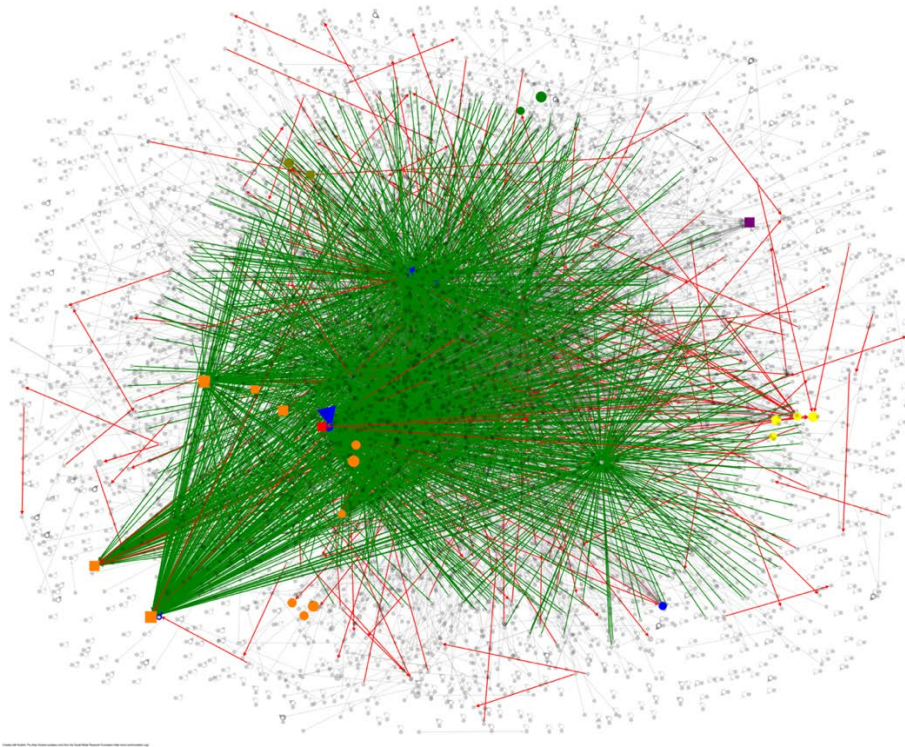


Figure 4-13: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by number of followers not exceeding 500 000.

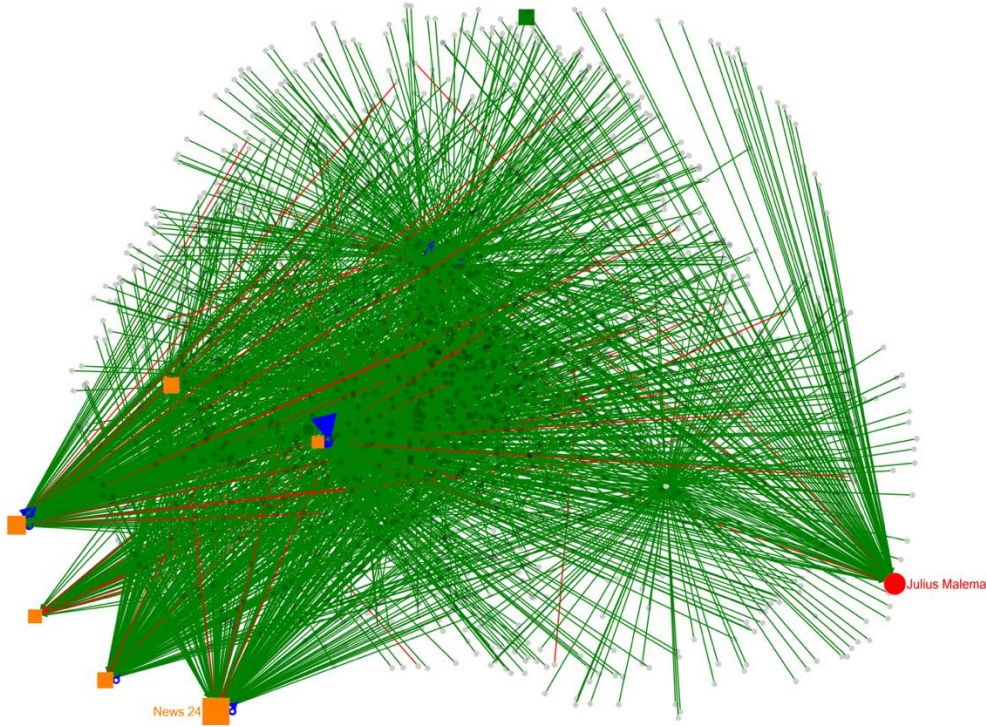


Figure 4-14: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 100.

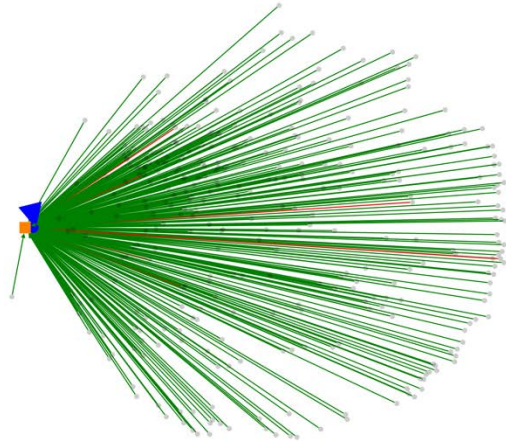


Figure 4-15: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 500.

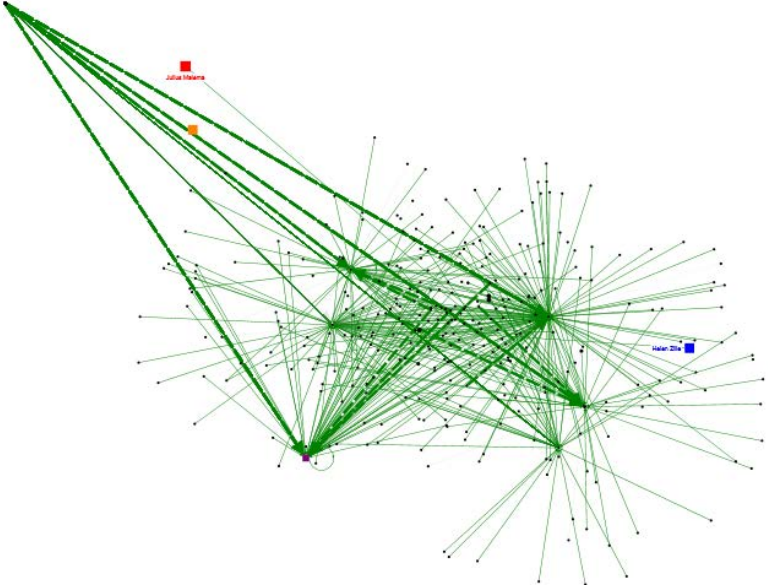


Figure 4-16: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 100.

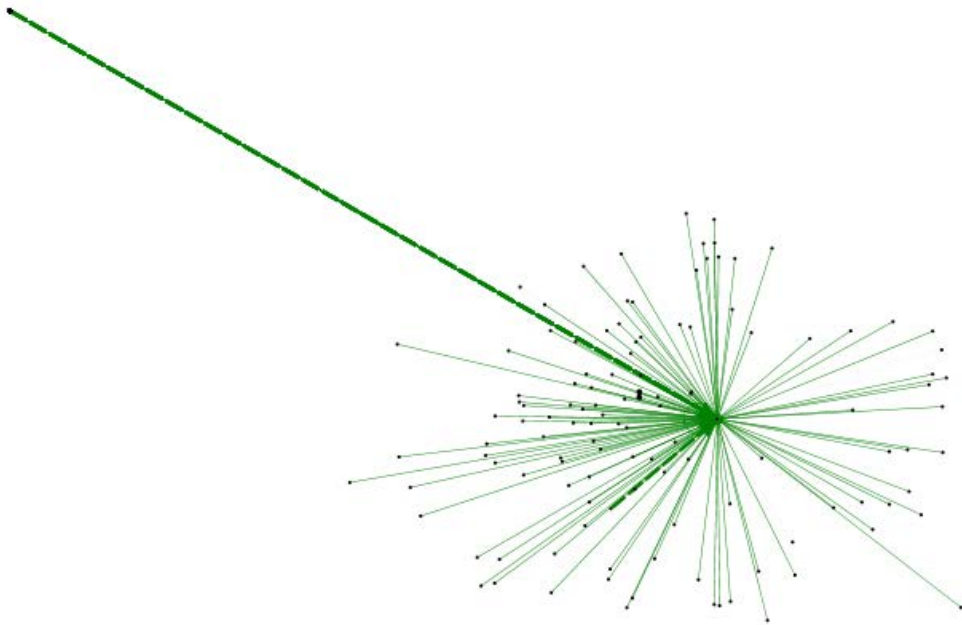


Figure 4-17: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on follower count – Filtered by edge retweet exceeding 500.

When referring to figures 5:12 and 5:13 below the argument that core awareness was driven through grassroots level participation, is amplified. Profiles with a big following (figure 5:12) saw a drastic decrease in tweets from the first phase to the second phase, where smaller profiles seem to dominate the communication being created in the second phase (figure 5:13). Thus, the drive from a grassroots level, though present in the first phase, increases in the second phase. This is reinforced through figures 5:14 to 5:17 which show which profiles were retweeted and mentioned the most. In the first dataset, media profiles who tweeted were retweeted at a high frequency. Julius Malema's Twitter profile was also tweeted to or mentioned at a high frequency. The first part of the awareness in the movement was initiated by the media but driven through individual profiles at a grassroots level towards supposed change makers like politicians, including specifically the EFF. This shows a grassroots effort enacting change through an empowered bottoms-up approach. In the second dataset, there is a clear indication of the evolution of the movement from the first dataset. The media footprint significantly decreases with most awareness being initiated and driven by individual profiles at a grassroots level in the second phase. Whereas in comparison to the first phase, the media was an important role player in driving awareness. As discussed in section 2.4, Twitter allows users to engage with stakeholders on equal footing which would not have been possible in an offline scenario. This phenomenon empowers individuals to lead and drive the narrative of the movement towards role players like the media and politicians as was the case in the first phase

of the movement. This increase in awareness amongst participants reduced the need for the media to initiate awareness, with individuals taking agency in creating the message.

4.3.1.2 NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF IN-DEGREE CONNECTIONS

The above network graphs (figures 4:1 - 4:17) were showed with node size being influenced by the number of followers of each node to see what possible awareness can be achieved. This section has the nodes sized with accordance to the number of tweets received (in-degree connections) – whether it is in the form of mentions or in a more likely case, retweets. These graphs don't indicate who tweeted most (out-degree), but who were most tweeted to, and whose tweets were most retweeted representing the destination or receptors of the diffusion of the messages.

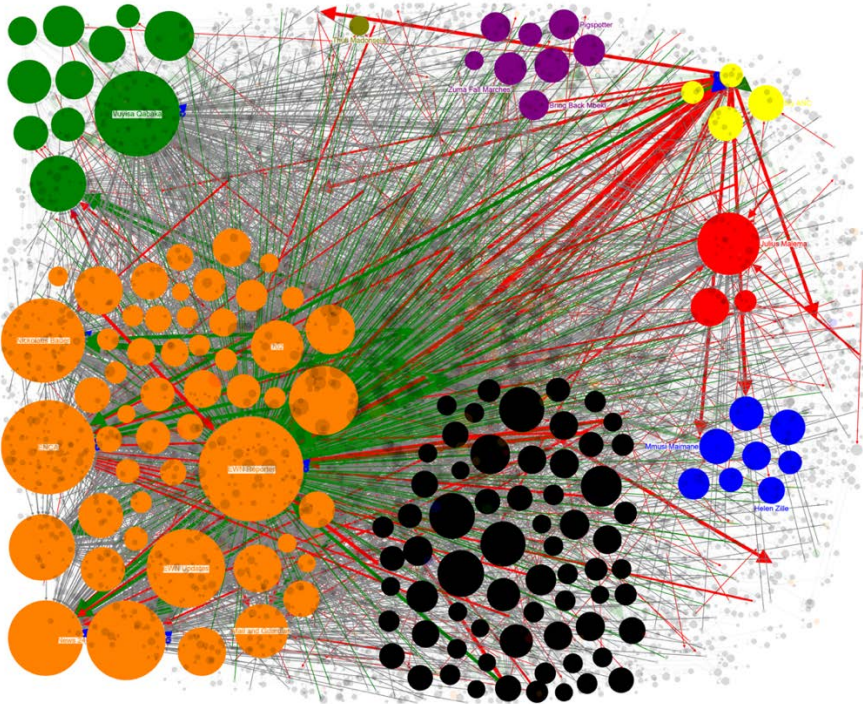


Figure 4-18: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections

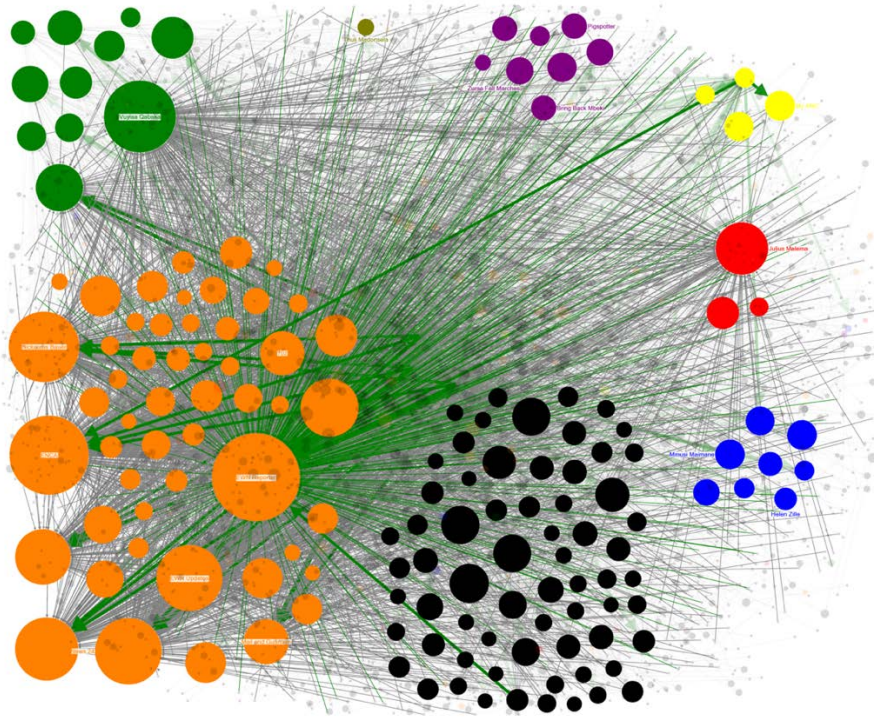


Figure 4-19: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge mentions

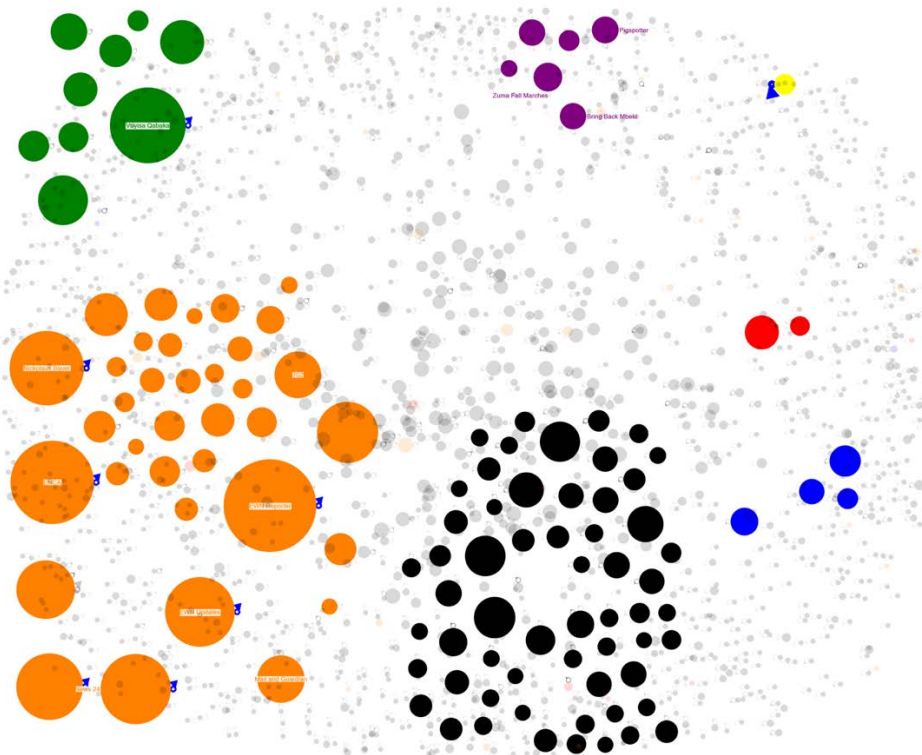


Figure 4-20: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge unique tweets

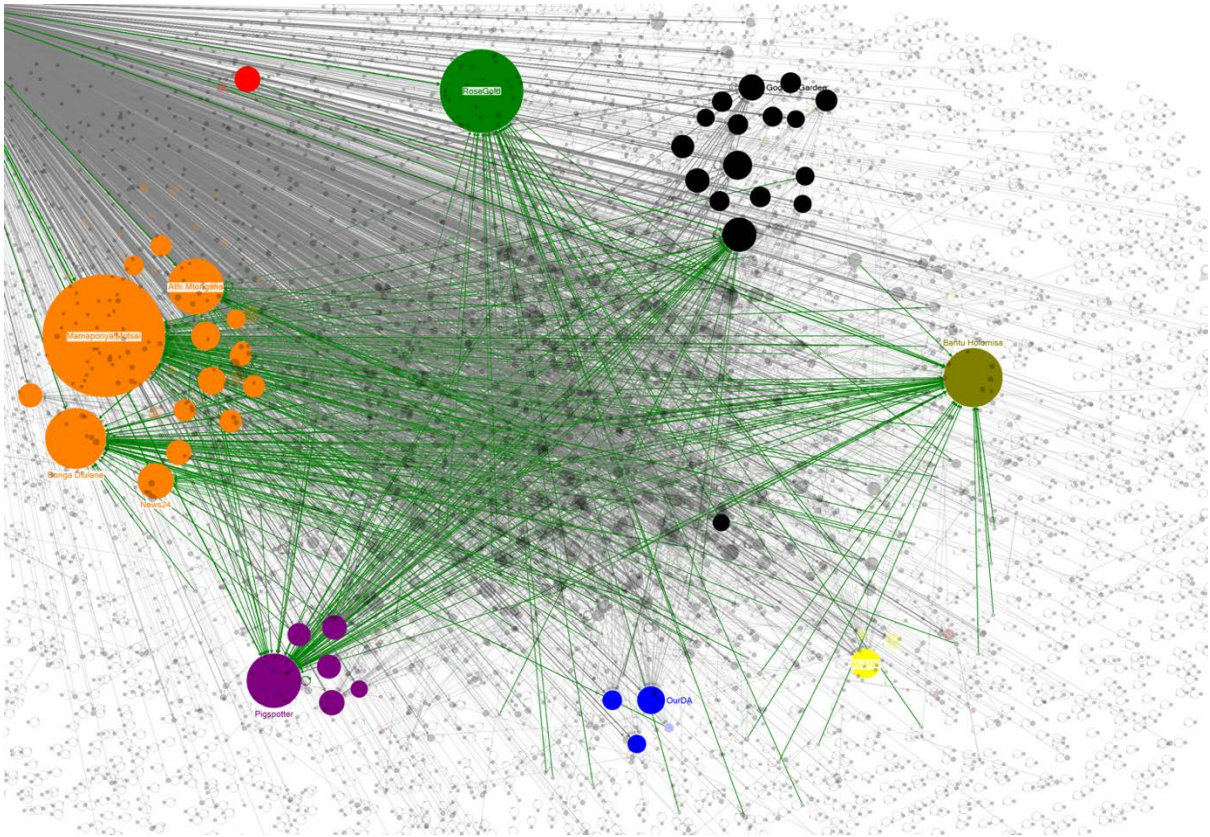


Figure 4-21: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections

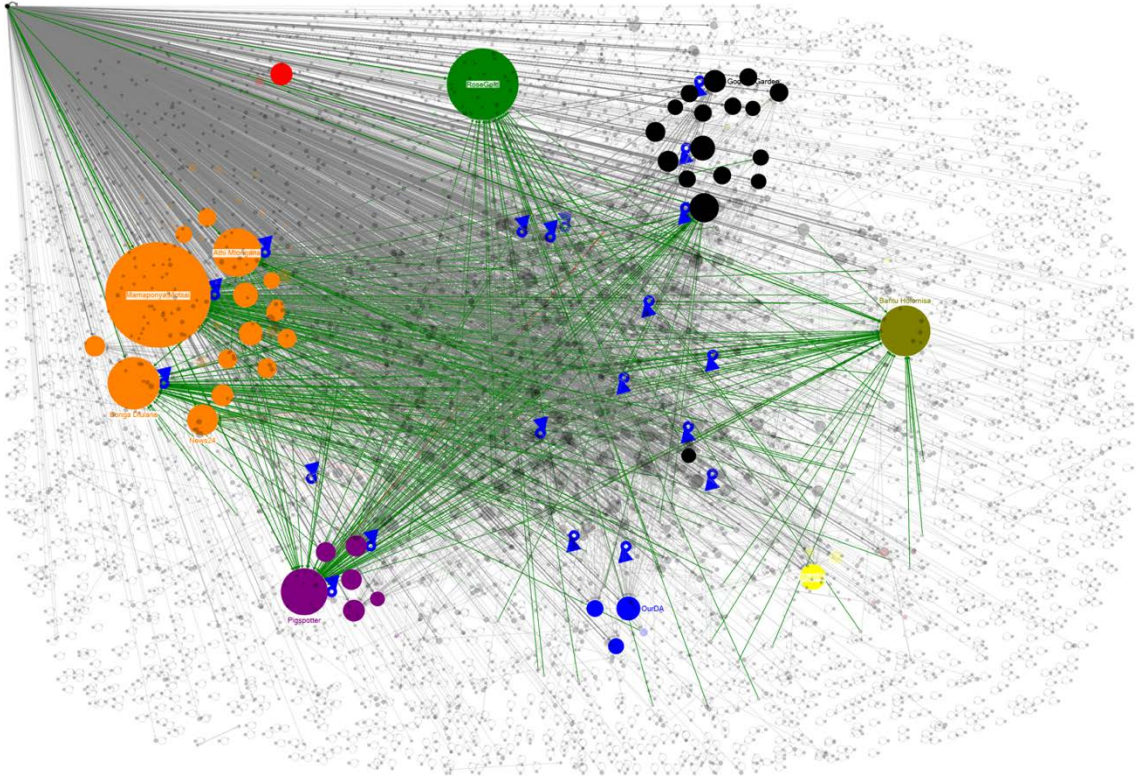


Figure 4-22: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by edge mentions and tweets.

It is important to note in figure 4-18 the two different type of visible edges. Those in green, are mentions (in most cases, retweets), those in red are replies (an indication of the phase of translation to be discussed in 4.3.2). Figure 4-19 only shows mentions (retweets) and has removed replies and unique tweets. In both figures, thicker green edges are indications of tweets that were retweeted the most. When looking at profiles who were most prominent as in-degree connections which received the most retweets, the argument that the news media and grassroots individuals remain important in the first phase of awareness as key in diffusing the message, is reiterated. Figure 4-20 illustrates the nodes who posted unique tweets. This figure also once again highlights media and grassroots profiles, with political profiles not being as active in generating new unique tweets regarding the movement. At this stage activism profiles like Zuma Fall Marches and Bring Back Mbeki (purple nodes), also gained traction with unique tweets. But they are not at the core of the awareness.

With regards to the second dataset (see figure 4-21 – 4-22), even though the media is still a prominent receiver of mentions, there is a significant decrease in comparison to that of the first dataset. However, there is a change in the type of media profiles from the first to the second dataset. Where the first dataset had a fair amount of news outlet profiles like *EWN Reporter*, *EWN Updates*, *eNCA*, *Mail and Guardian*, *News24* and *702*, the second dataset sees a move away from those outlet profiles to more individual journalist profiles. This is additional support for the argument that there is a shift away from a media drive to a more grassroots drive in the movement.

In figure 4-22 the profiles whose tweets have been retweeted the most are indicated by means of blue circles and triangles. When comparing this to the first dataset (see figure 4-20) the prominent tweets who created the most awareness was no longer dominated by media outlets. This is additional evidence that there was a decrease in grassroots individual profiles that were retweeted consistently. Reiterating the argument that the movement disseminated away from a group of core individuals to more individuals on a smaller but more wide-spread level.

These observations align with the argument in section 2.4 that Twitter's minimal restrictions and boundlessness leads to increased participation. The minimal restrictions on Twitter eases access for participation, and allows for dialogue which is crucial in empowering participants (see section 2.6).

4.3.1.3 NODE SIZE FILTERED BY NUMBER OF OUT-DEGREE CONNECTIONS

The network graphs discussed above were showed with node size being influenced by the number in-degree connections of each node to see what actual awareness was achieved. This section has the nodes sized with accordance to the number of tweets sent (out-degree connections). These graphs indicate which nodes tweeted the most, as opposed to in-degree connections which is indicative of what node's tweets gained the most tractions – this is largely influenced by the number of followers. That is the reason why node size by follower number and node size by in-degree connections correlate more than node size by out-degree connection as seen below.

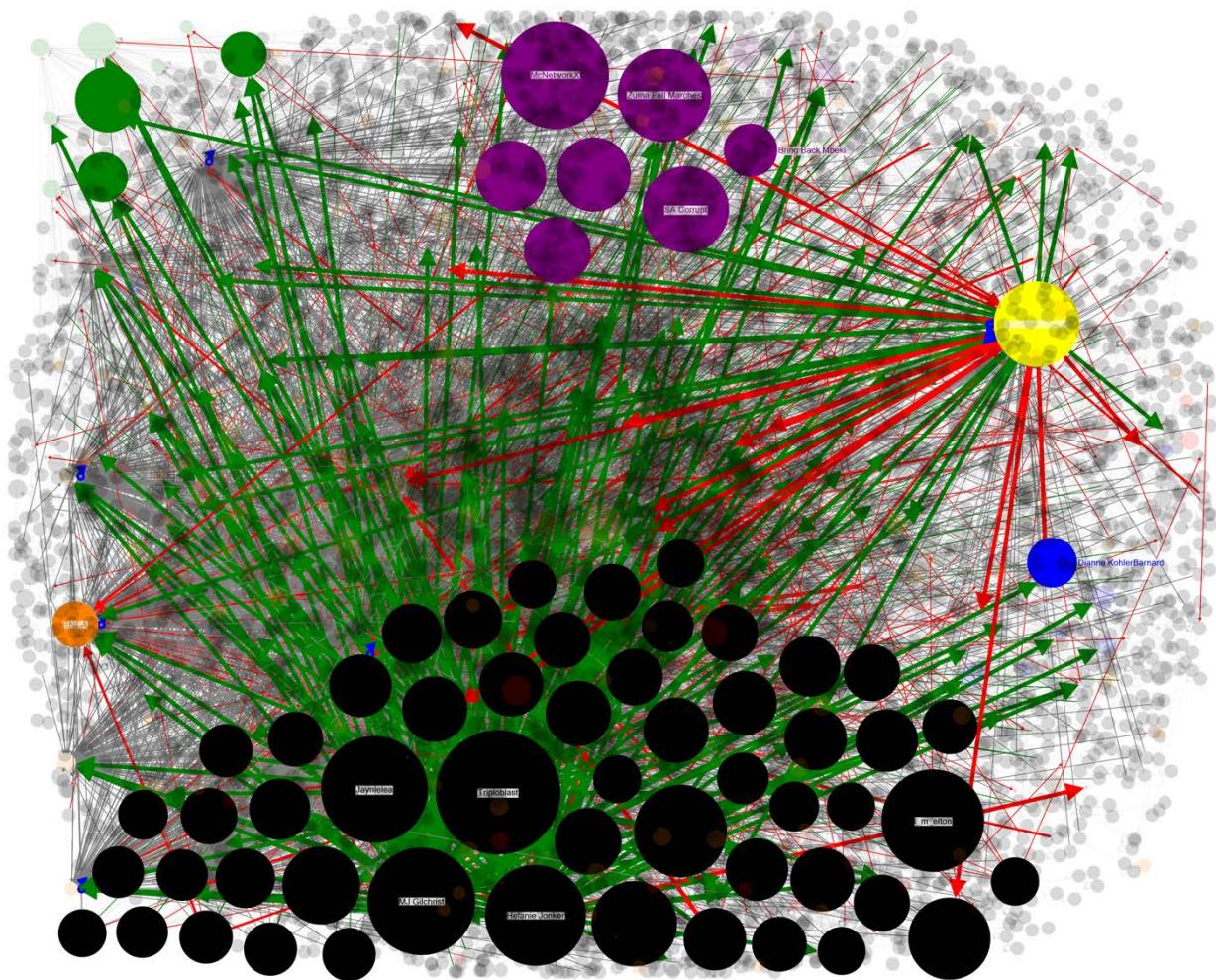


Figure 4-23: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections

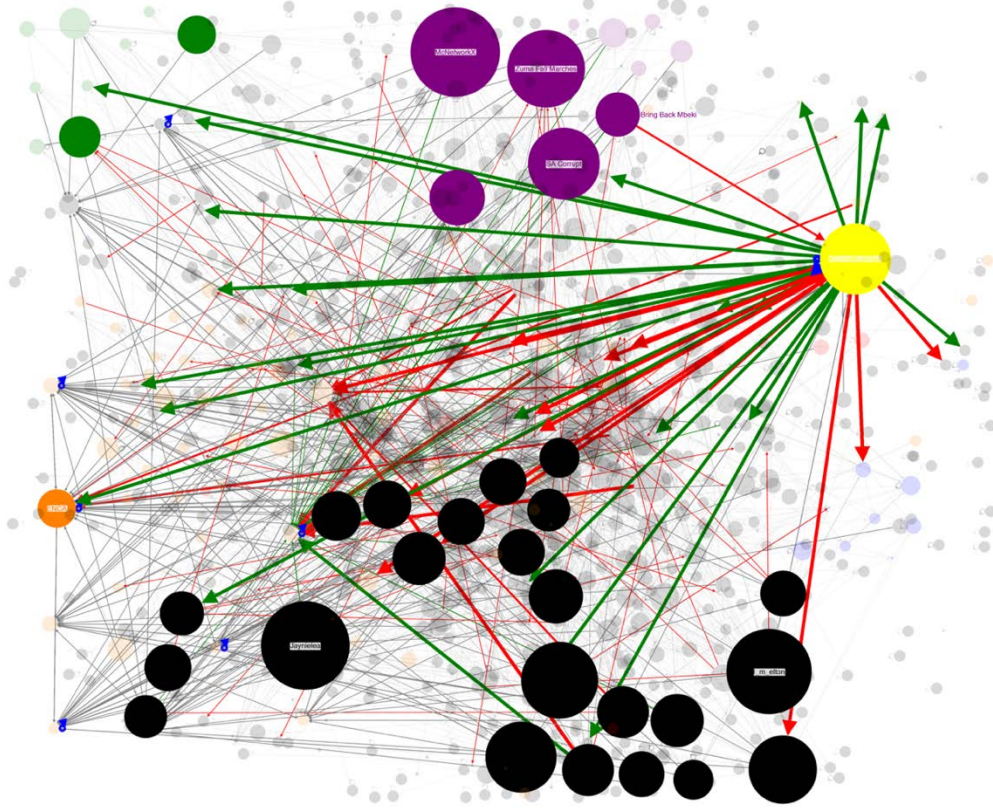


Figure 4-24: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average in-degree connections

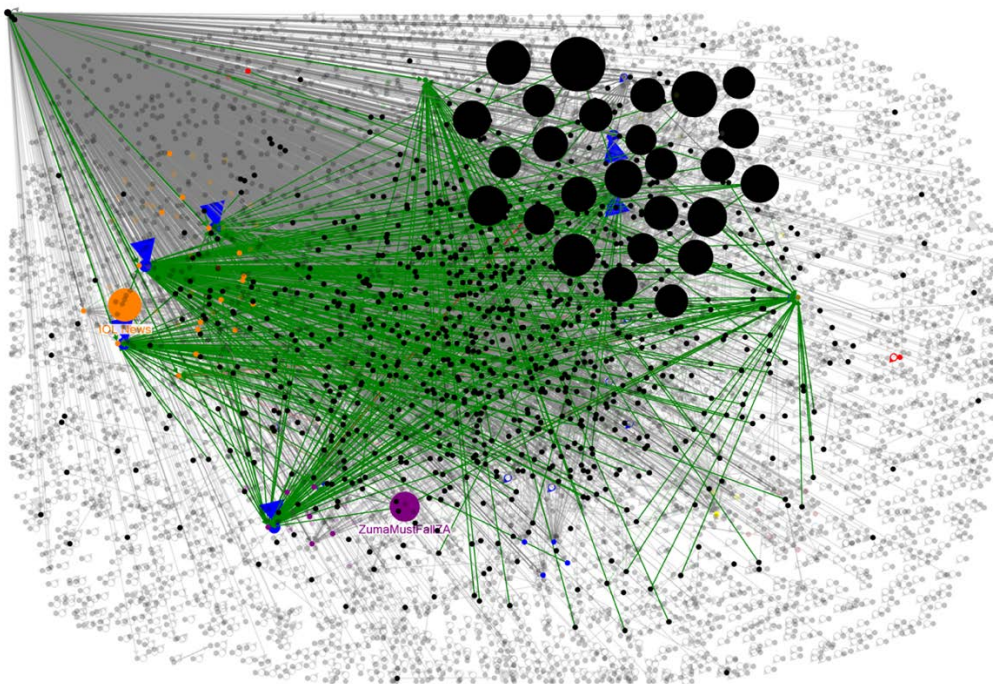


Figure 4-25: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections

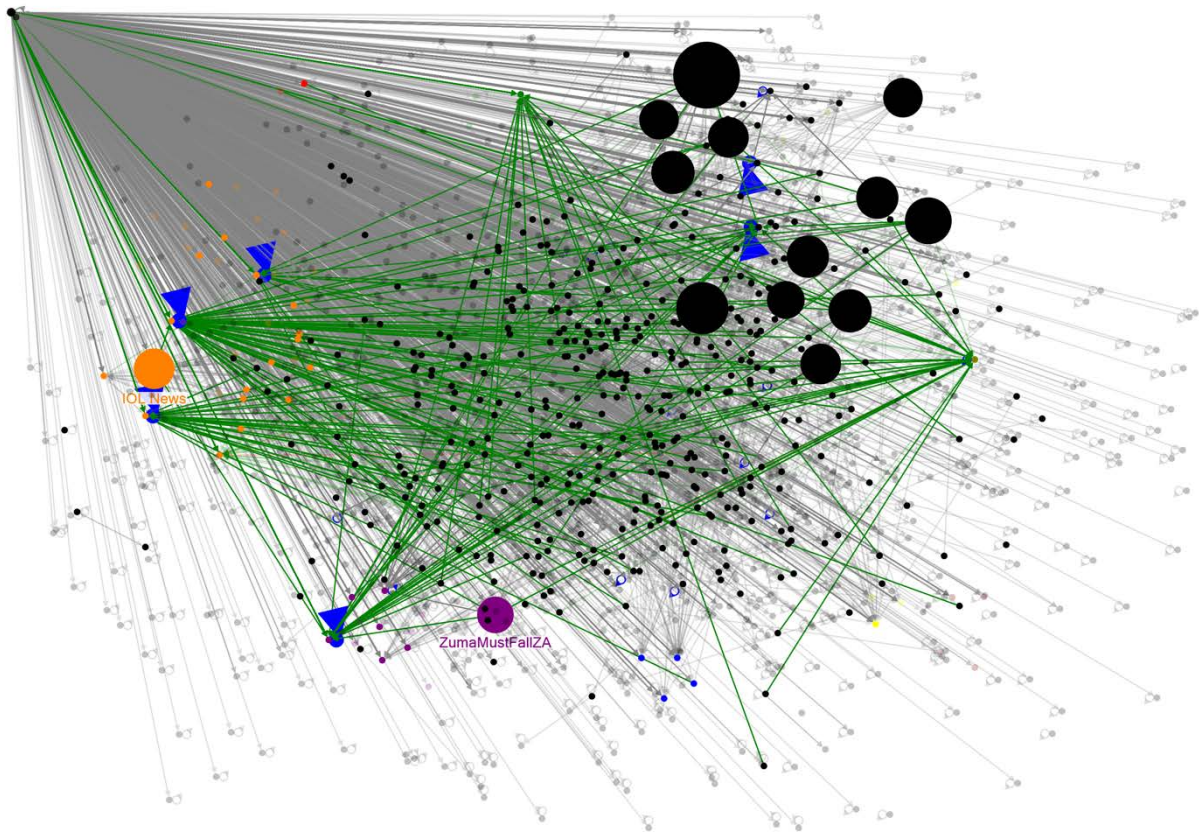


Figure 4-26: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average in-degree connections

Figure 4-23 indicates that grassroots individual profiles are the ones who largely had the highest frequency of tweets, along with public groups like Bring Back Mbeki and SA Corrupt within the first phase of the movement. When it comes to out-degree connections, the media once again plays a prominent part in generating tweets that contribute to awareness within the first phase of the movement.

The evolution of the first to the second dataset seen in sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2 also recurs with regards to out-degree connections. The role of the media decreases with grassroots individual profiles being the majority of the contributors to awareness through tweeting. However, the second dataset show more smaller citizen nodes than the first dataset. This is indicative of the movement disseminating to more wide-spread profiles instead of gathering around a core group. In both cases, we see a strong drive from a grassroots movement which is a result from the dialogical nature of Twitter (see section 2.2). Twitter makes it easier for movements like this to disseminate because the movement is nationally and even globally accessible and information is distributed rapidly (see section 2.4).

When filtering the out-degree connections by means of average in-degree connections in the first dataset (see figure 4-24), there is a significant drop-off of profiles, indicating that tweeting a lot doesn't necessarily equate to actual awareness. Rather a combination of high-frequency tweeting and the number of followers you have can play a role in generating awareness. However, in the second dataset (see figure 4-26) there is less of a significant drop-off of profiles than in the first dataset. This phenomenon shows that as the movement evolves, more profiles who received tweets also started to contribute to the movement by tweeting.

In conclusion, the media played a significant part in generating awareness, however, as the message diffused to more individuals, the two-way nature of Twitter sees Buber's (1958) argument of dialogue as an empowering phenomenon actualise (see section 2.4). Individuals are firstly made aware of the movement. This awareness empowers participants to drive the movement at a grassroots level, subsequently increasing awareness to even more potential participants. This grassroots level awareness along with the dialogical attributes of Twitter, also increases engagement, which is a crucial part in translation. Translation will thus be discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 TRANSLATION

Dialogue is at the core of translation. By looking at the process whereby information and knowledge regarding the movement is discussed and exchanged by means of dialogue, this section will be able to indicate the translation that occur between movement participants and potential adopters. Therefor this section will analyse ‘replied-to’ edges, betweenness centrality and cluster coefficient scores as unpacked in section 3.2.2.

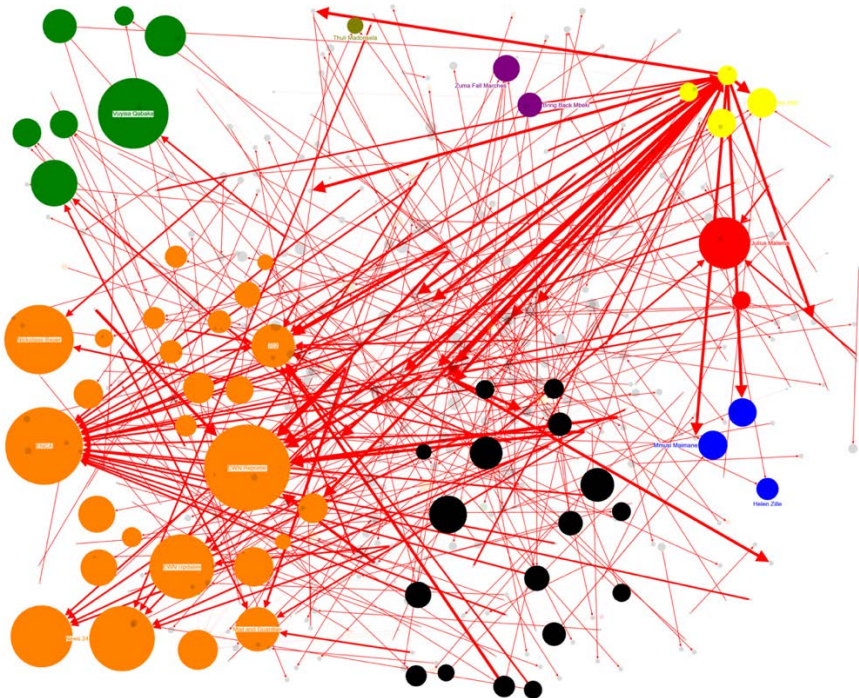


Figure 4-27: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by ‘replied-to’ tweets

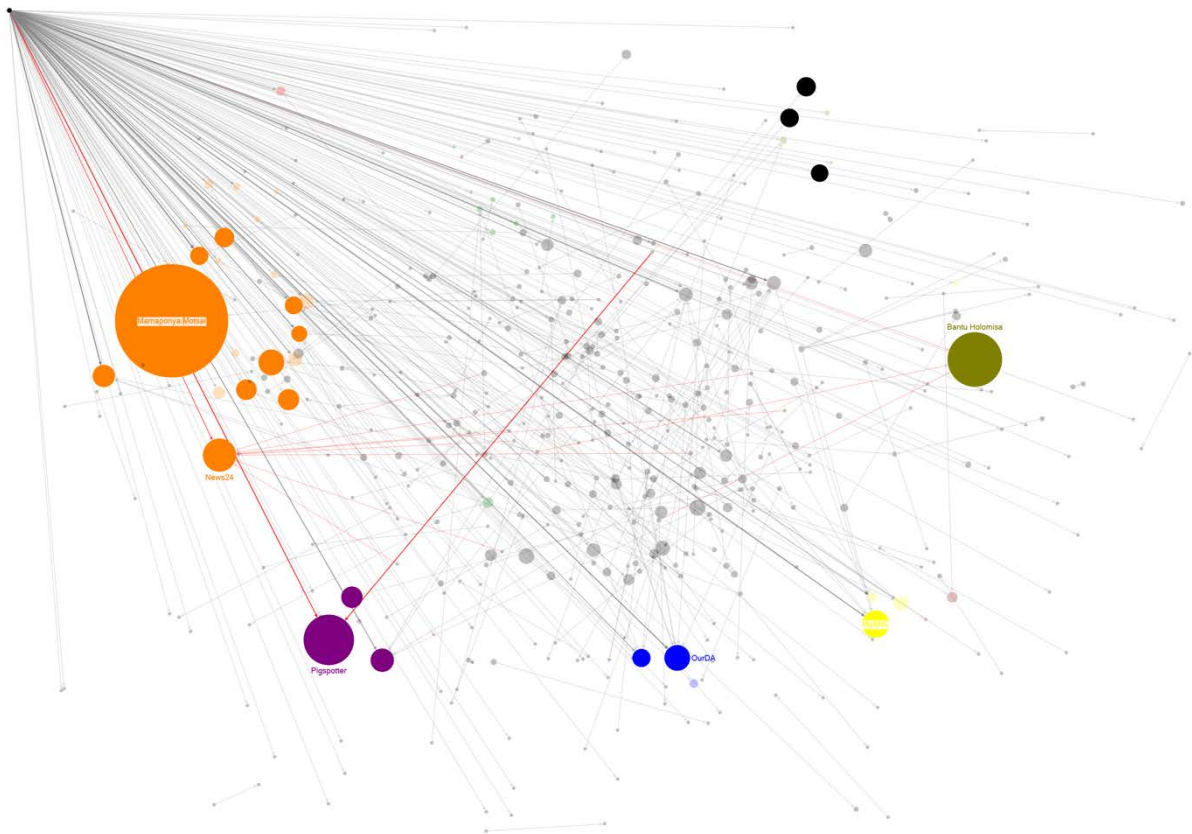


Figure 4-28: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by ‘replied-to’ tweets

Even though 66,9% of tweets in both datasets are retweets, which is indicative of awareness being created, 9,9% of all tweets indicate some form of dialogue through mentions and replies.

The evolution of the movement is clear when looking at how dialogue and interaction changes from the first to the second dataset. The first dataset shows a significant amount of dialogue involving the media and political party profiles. The dialogue mostly takes place on three levels: (1) Between political parties and grassroots individuals, (2) between the media and grassroots individuals, and (3) between political parties. The dialogue between the grassroots individuals and political parties, mostly occurs with the ANC. Within the first phase of the movement, this is indicative of the grassroots trying to directly address what is possibly the oppressive power. Dialogue between the media and grassroots individuals are quite prominent, and is evidence of the shifting of power from the media to the grassroots level through dialogue. To a smaller extend there is dialogue between the ANC, DA and EFF political party profiles, which essentially indicates that there is a disconnect between grassroots individuals and opposition political parties. In general however, this discourse on specifically the first two levels is crucial as Habermas would suggest, in gaining understanding regarding the movement and the ideology behind the movement (see section 2.2 and 2.6.2).

However, in the second dataset, the dialogue that essentially took place between grassroots individuals and groups in power positions like the ANC and the media, shifted away from those powerful profiles. The change indicated in figure 4-28 in the second dataset shows how dialogue in the movement spread to individual/citizen profiles. Taking these political and media groups out of the dialogue and shifting it to between individuals is indicative of power being moved away from political parties to collective grassroots groups and individuals. This is indicative of the empowering nature of dialogue argued by Freire (1958:11) as discussed in section 2.5. Dialogue affords individuals the opportunity to take control of the message and the narrative of the movement, shifting power from political parties and the media to a grassroots group enacting pressure from below to the top.

Table 4-3: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Betweenness centrality metrics

| ELEMENT | DATA SET 1: 1/12/2015 | DATA SET 2: 7/4/2017 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Minimum betweenness centrality | 0 | 0 |
| Maximum betweenness centrality | 2698700,413 | 36450422,642 |
| Average betweenness centrality | 11050,906 | 22452,283 |

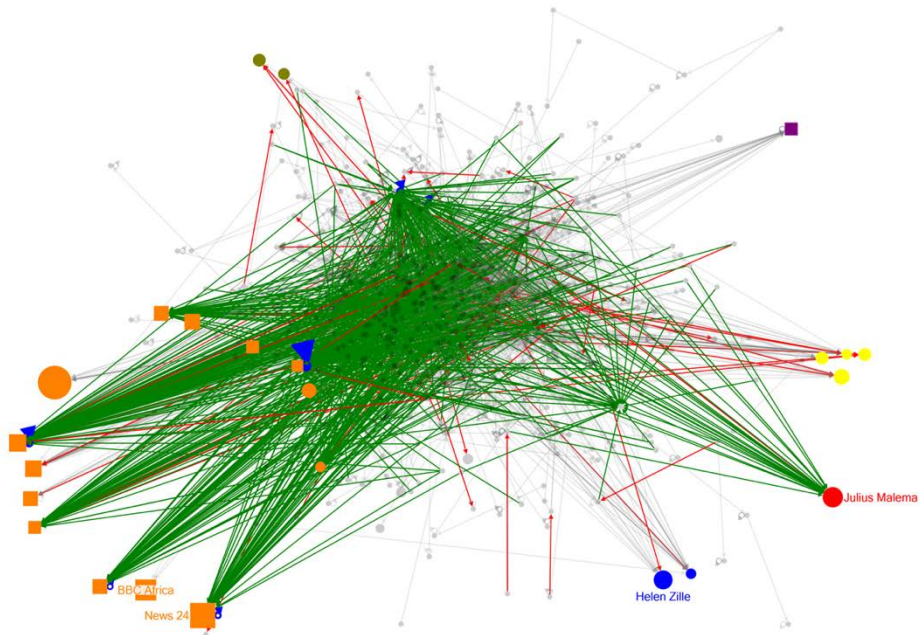


Figure 4-29: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average betweenness centrality

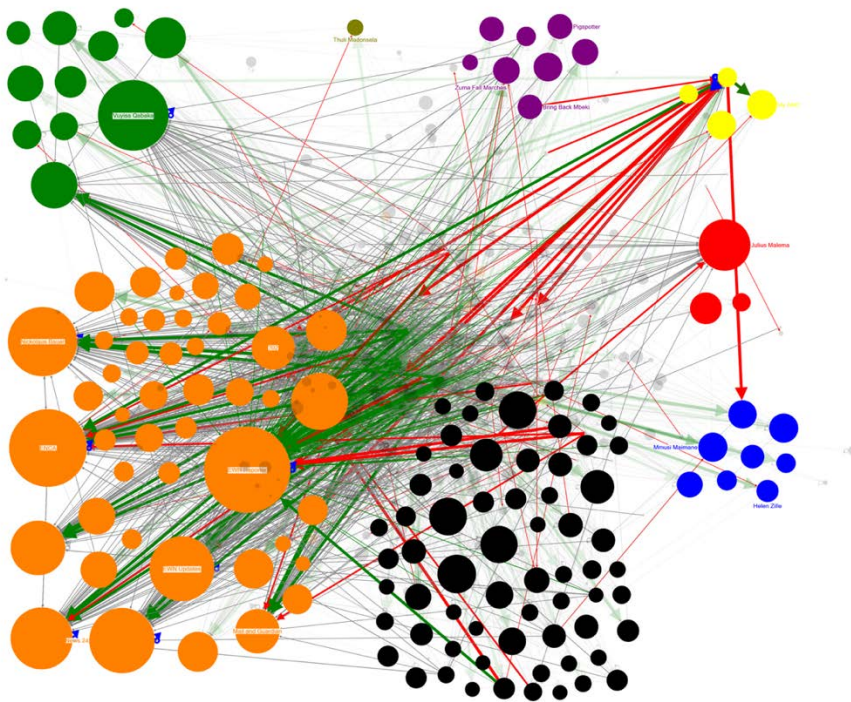


Figure 4-30: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality

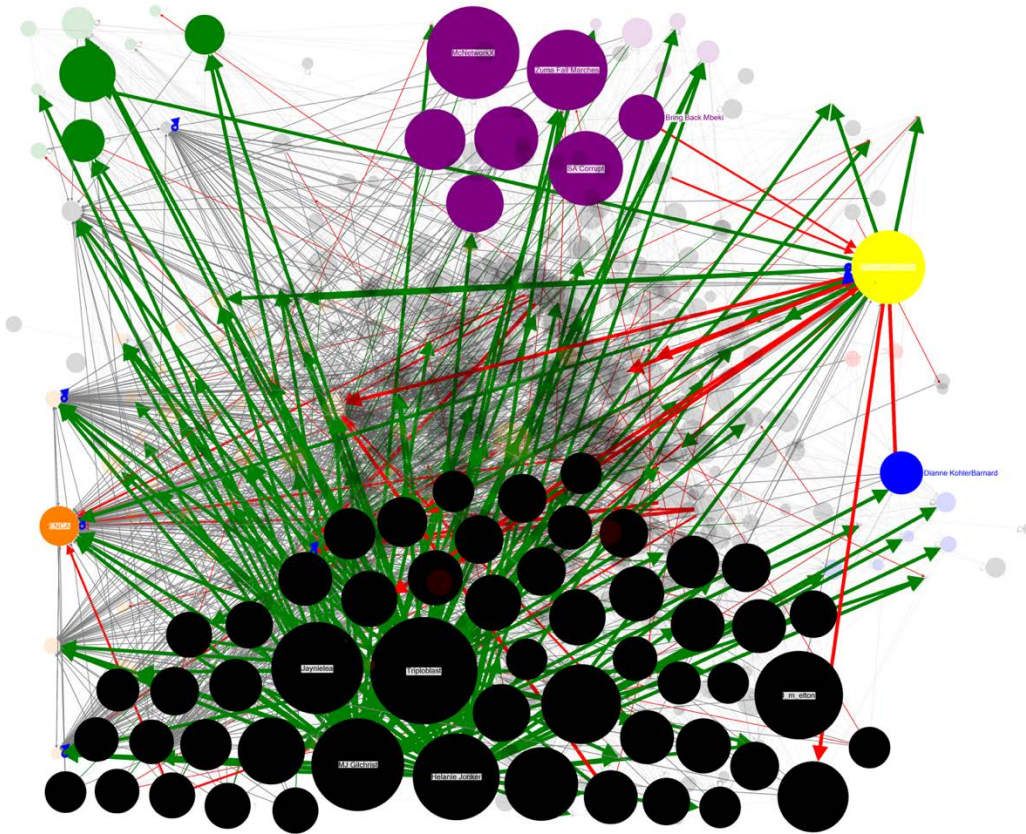


Figure 4-31: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality

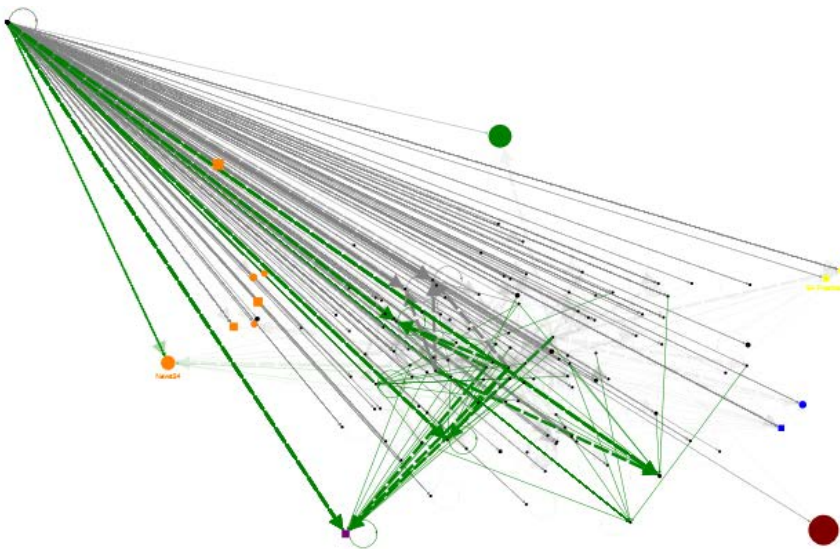


Figure 4-32: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average betweenness centrality

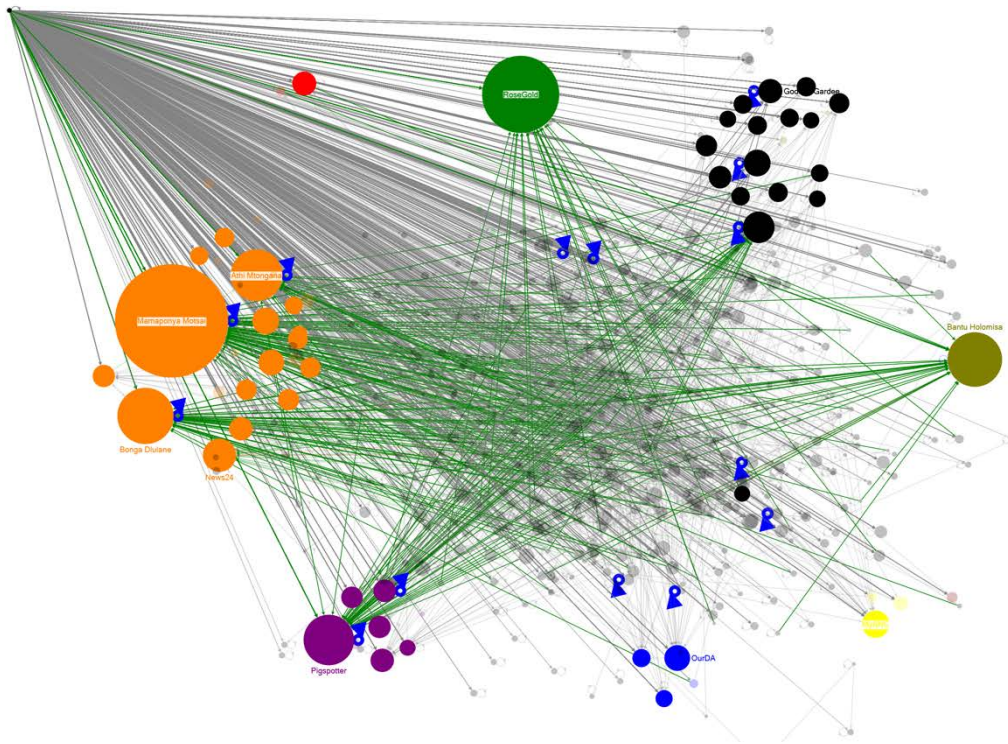


Figure 4-33: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness centrality.

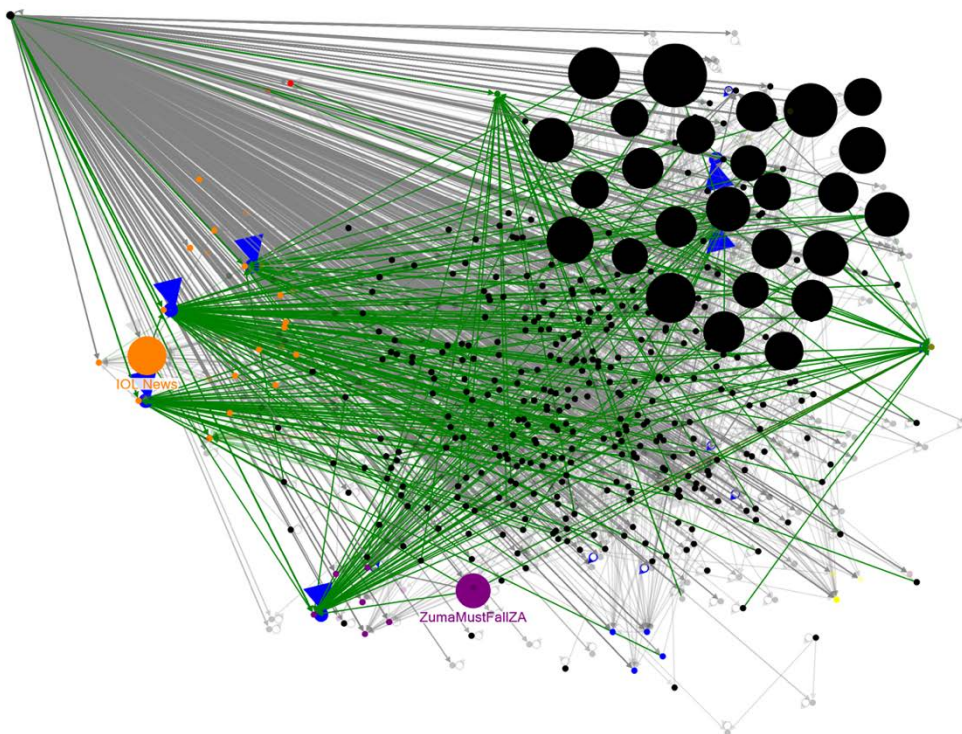


Figure 4-34: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average betweenness Centrality.

The measurement of betweenness Centrality is essential in seeing which nodes played an important role in getting messages from one node to another. In Figures 4-29, 4-30 and 4-31 we see those nodes who had a betweenness centrality score (refer to section 3.3.1) higher than the average of 11050 (see table 4-3). The average node is thus 11050 times in this network the shortest distance between two other nodes. Even though as discussed in section 4.3.1, profiles of politicians and public figures did not play a big role in creating awareness directly, they were however a crucial part in the translation phase as mediator of the message. Because these political profiles have mutual connections, they are often the link between exchanging the message from one individual to another. These mutual connections that exist with these political profiles can most likely be attributed to a shared political ideology. This specifically highlights that political identity can rally the movement, which is a core element of the New Social Movement Theory (see section 2.2). Even though political parties play somewhat of a role in this observation, the media and grassroots profiles still dominate the graph. Indicating that the majority of dialogue within the movement is more likely to happen around those profiles, subsequently indicating that the major mobilising factor wasn't political identity.

When looking at the second dataset (see figures 4-32, 4-33 and 4-34) there is an increase in the betweenness centrality score, with the average being at 22452. The average node is thus 22452 times in this network the shortest distance between two other nodes. The increase in betweenness centrality is a result of the increase of participants in the movement. Within the second dataset the involvement of political figures and the media decreases significantly from the first dataset. In the second phase, it is grassroots individual profiles that saw an increase in prominence with regards to betweenness centrality. This supports the argument that when a movement is empowering (through dialogue), and participation is made more accessible (through Web 2.0 platforms like Twitter), the movement is more likely to gain a wide grassroots traction (see section 2.2, 2.4 and 2.6).

Table 4-4: Social Network Analytics - #ZumaMustFall – Twitter: Cluster coefficient Metrics

| ELEMENT | DATA SET 1: 1/12/2015 | DATA SET 2: 7/4/2017 |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Minimum clustering coefficient | 0 | 0 |
| Maximum clustering coefficient | 1 | 1 |
| Average clustering coefficient | 0,056 | 0,030 |

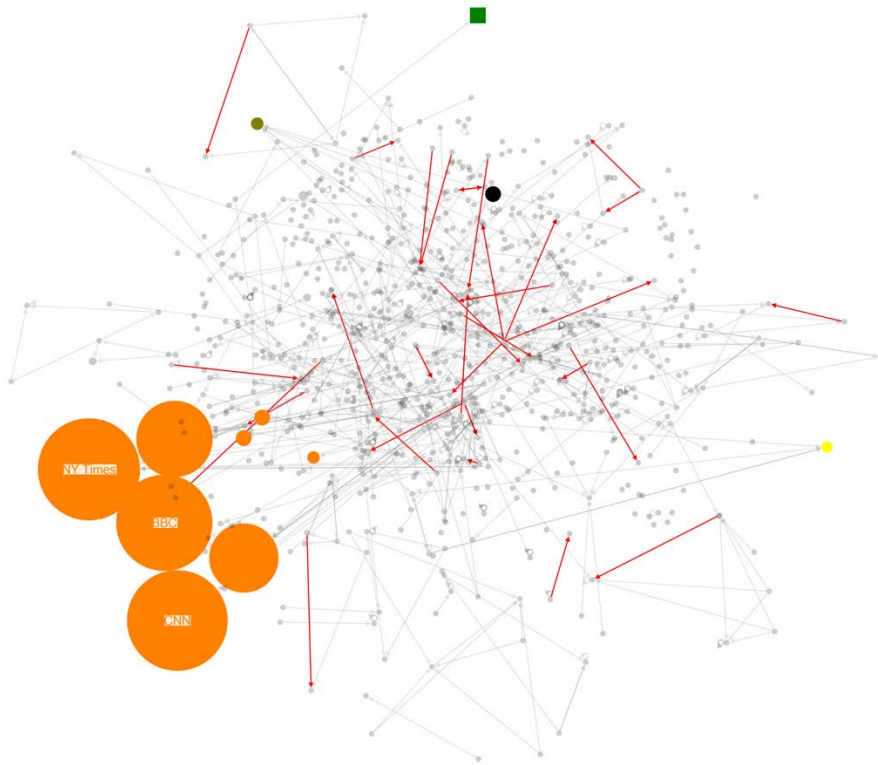


Figure 4-35: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average cluster coefficient

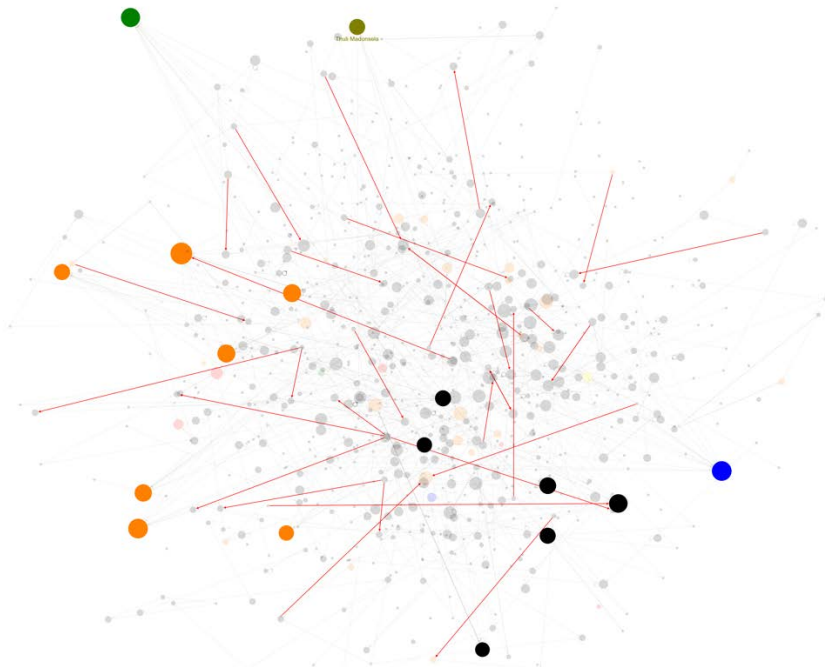


Figure 4-36: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient

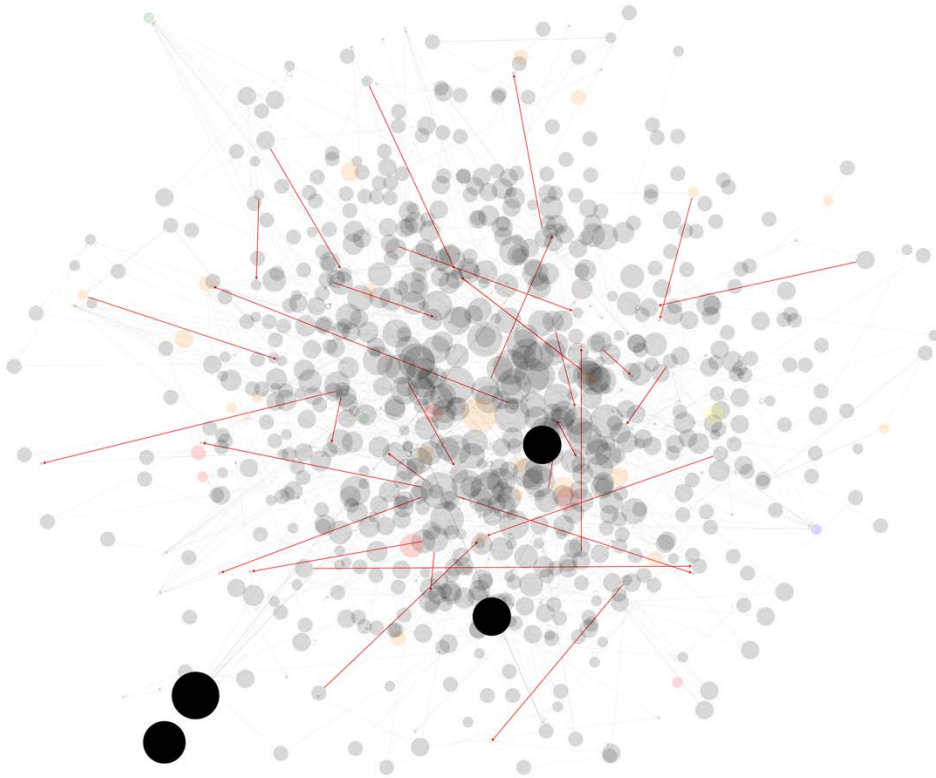


Figure 4-37: Dataset 1: Network Analysis Graph based on out-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient

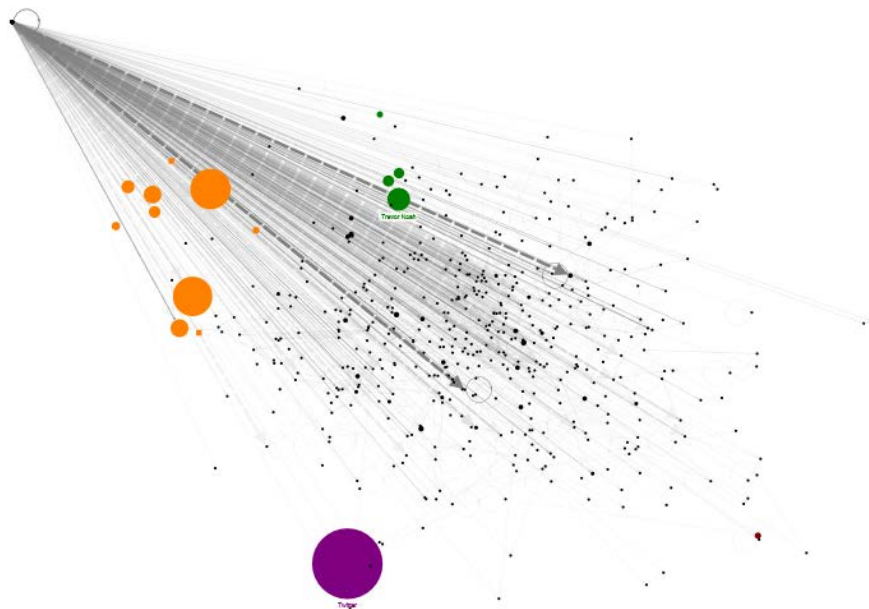


Figure 4-38: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on number of followers – filtered by average cluster coefficient

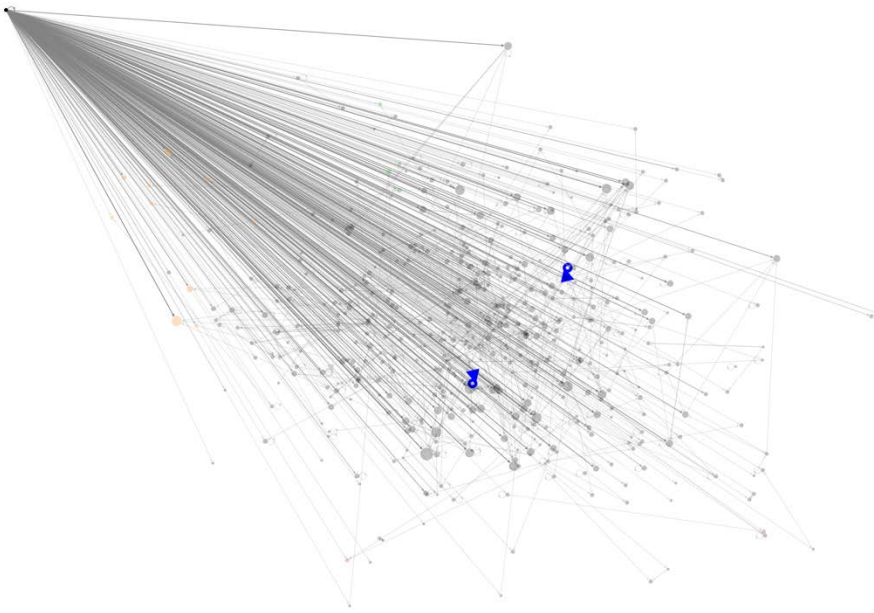


Figure 4-39: Dataset 2: Network Analysis Graph based on in-degree connections – filtered by average cluster coefficient

Figures 4-35 – 4-39 are indications of nodes with above average cluster coefficient scores. The higher the cluster coefficient score, the more connected all of the nodes are to each other. In the first dataset, figure 4-35 specifically shows that there are very limited connections amongst those nodes who were tweeted at. Whereas figure 4-36 shows more connectedness amongst profiles who tweeted the hashtag, specifically with citizen profiles. When cluster coefficient scores go up, the edges which are visible are replies as opposed to mentions and retweets. The dialogue and translation of the message specifically also takes place between citizen profiles, and not just between the media, public figures and politicians. This is however an indication that citizen profiles are more likely to engage in dialogue with each other when they are highly connected but don't hesitate to engage in dialogue with public figures/media. Individuals are empowered to engage in dialogue with power-yielding profiles, but the more disconnected the movement is, the less dialogue takes place outside of personal networks.

In comparison, the average cluster coefficient went down from 0,056 in the first dataset to 0,030 in the second dataset (see table 4-4). There is thus a decrease in connectivity amongst the nodes indicating the supporting trend of the movement diffusing to a more wide-spread network of profiles. When comparing the graphs of the first dataset (figure 4-35) and the second dataset (figure 4-39) the cluster coefficient of the media and political profiles have diminished to below average. This is a compelling manifestation of diffusion of the movement, showing that supporters of the movement might likely not even be connected to media and political profiles who were consequential catalysts at the start of the movement. Subsequently the translation

evolved from dialogue and interaction between the media and citizens to dialogue and interaction between citizens. The observation can be made that the movement evolved from a movement that had the characteristics of a modernistic, top-down approach, towards a more participatory grassroots level people's movement (see section 2.5).

In conclusion, the translation phase highlighted the importance of dialogue as a catalyst for empowerment. This is specifically visible with the dialogue being shifted away from the media and politicians towards more grassroots participation. The key role players participating and driving the movement will also influence the narrative and identity of the movement, a key factor that will be discussed in the next section regarding experimentation.

4.3.3 EXPERIMENTATION

Within this section, the experimentation with the movement will be analysed by studying what movement participants and adopters believe and feel about the movement and the offline implementation thereof by using a quantitative approach towards the language used online. Tables 5:5 and 5:6 below give an indication of what hashtags, words and word pairs were most often used throughout the various groups of profiles. By comparing the differences, it is possible to see what the feeling towards a movement is, and whether or not that idea is supported. Following the quantitative analysis, a qualitative content analysis will look at the content that was generated through tweets to gain a deeper understanding of the feelings and believes towards the movement.

Table 4-5: Dataset 1 and 2 – General Analytics

| Variable | Total Graph Count: Data Set 1 | | Total Graph Count: Data Set 2 | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|
| | Description | Count | Description | Count |
| Top Hashtags | Zumamustfall | 10887 | Zumamustfall | 15739 |
| | Zumamustfallmarch | 1742 | Antizumamarches | 6025 |
| | Feesmustfall | 580 | Sabcnews | 1954 |
| | Zumamuststillfall | 476 | Bayernaude ¹⁵ | 1936 |
| | Zumawillfall | 285 | Savesa | 1468 |
| | Ancemustfall | 205 | Zumamustgo | 1405 |
| | Meerkat | 168 | Saunites | 1278 |
| | Reconciliationday | 151 | Peoplesmarch | 1248 |
| | Southafrica | 149 | Marchforchange | 1062 |
| | anc | 136 | nationalshutdown | 664 |
| Top Words | Zumamustfall | 10503 | Zumamustfall | 15739 |
| | rt | 6982 | Rt | 11155 |
| | zumamustfallmarch | 1700 | Antizumamarches | 6027 |
| | march | 1578 | Even | 2076 |
| | south | 1042 | Zuma | 2059 |
| Top Word | Zumamustfallmarch, | 1210 | Zumamustfall, | 3247 |

¹⁵ sic (correct spelling: Beyers Naude)

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|------|
| Pairs | zumamustfall | | antizumamarches | |
| | Zumamustfall, march | 909 | Old, ladies | 1965 |
| | Cape, town | 520 | Dance, zumamustfall | 1943 |
| | Zumamustfall, marches | 512 | Ladies, even | 1941 |
| | South, africans | 485 | Even, made | 1941 |
| | Rt, ewnreporter | 450 | Made, little | 1941 |
| | South, Africa | 445 | Little, dance | 1941 |
| | Zumamustfall, protest | 406 | Antizumamarches, | 1935 |
| | Mandela, bridge | 346 | bayersnaude | |
| | | | Bayersnaude, | 1934 |
| | | sabcnews | 1933 | |
| | | Rt, emeliamotsai | | |

Table 4-6: Dataset 1 – General Analytics: ANC, EFF, DA and Media groupings

| Variable | ANC | | EFF | | DA | | MEDIA | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----|-------------------|----|-------------------|----|-------------------|-----|
| | Description | No | Description | No | Description | No | Description | No |
| Top Hashtag | Zumamustfall | 182 | Zumamustfall | 63 | Zumamustfall | 27 | Zumamustfall | 319 |
| | Zumamustrise | 37 | Zumawillfall | 24 | Zumamustfallmarch | 8 | Zumamustfallmarch | 30 |
| | Blackswakeup | 4 | Meerkat | 24 | Zumamuststillfall | 5 | Wm | 23 |
| | Fools | 3 | Feesmustfall | 6 | Joburg | 2 | Sabcnews | 18 |
| | Zumamustfallmarch | 3 | Zumamustfallmarch | 4 | Ancmustfall | 1 | Zumamuststillfall | 11 |
| | Zuma | 2 | Marikana | 2 | Vote | 1 | Feesmustfall | 8 |
| | Risejz | 2 | Anc | 2 | Zuma | 1 | Earlybreakfast | 6 |
| | Feesmustfall | 2 | Middleclassmarch | 1 | Listen | 1 | Dstv | 4 |
| | Whites | 2 | Pretoria | 1 | Anc | 1 | Southafrica | 4 |
| | apartheid | 2 | sabcnews | 1 | lusiter | 1 | iol | 4 |
| Top Words | Zumamustfall | 179 | Zumamustfall | 64 | Zumamustfall | 27 | Zumamustfall | 318 |
| | White | 115 | Now | 28 | March | 10 | Rt | 108 |
| | Black | 70 | Rt | 26 | Zumamustfallmarch | 8 | March | 61 |
| | En | 60 | Live | 24 | Rt | 5 | South | 33 |
| | Sellouts | 53 | Zumawillfall | 24 | Zumamuststillfall | 5 | Marchers | 32 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|---|---|------------------------------------|----|
| | Crap | 43 | Meerkat | 24 | Nelson | 4 | Zuma | 32 |
| | Ur | 41 | White | 14 | Mandela | 4 | Zumamustfallmarch | 31 |
| | Zumamustrise | 37 | People | 9 | Bridge | 4 | Cape | 29 |
| | Die | 37 | Feesmustfall | 6 | Anc | 4 | Mandela | 25 |
| | march | 36 | protest | 5 | tshwane | 4 | bridge | 25 |
| Top Word Pairs | Black, sellouts | 45 | Now, zumamustfall | 25 | Zumamustfall, march | 8 | Zumamustfall, march | 48 |
| | Zumamustfall, crap | 42 | Live, now | 24 | | | Mandela, bridge | 25 |
| | White, bikini | 29 | Zumamustfall, zumawillfall | 24 | Zumamustfallmarch, zumamustfall | 5 | Zumamustfall, marches | 22 |
| | White, bikinists | 22 | | | March, nelson | 4 | Cape, town | 21 |
| | White, racists | 14 | Zumawillfall, meerkat | 24 | Nelson, mandela | 4 | Company, gardens | 19 |
| | Stolen, wealth | 13 | White, people | 7 | Mandela, bridge | 4 | Nelson, mandela | 19 |
| | Zumamustfall, white | 11 | Zumamustfall, marches | 4 | Zumamuststillfall, zumamustfallmarch | 4 | Zumamustfallmarch, zumamustfall | 15 |
| | Bikini, boys | 11 | Zumamustfall, protest | 3 | South, African | 3 | South, Africa | 14 |
| | Bikinists, zumamustfall | 11 | Protest, picnic | 3 | March, braamfontein | 3 | South, Africans | 13 |
| | Capitalists, zumamustfall | 10 | Zumamustfall, petition | 3 | Zumamustfall, Tshwane | 3 | Zumamustfall, protest | 13 |
| | | | Riot, police | 3 | Zumamustfall, zumamustfallmarch | 2 | | |

Overwhelmingly, the core issue of the movement in the first phase is focused around a single individual, seeing a very strong call to action aimed at Jacob Zuma specifically. This is seen not only through the use of the hashtag *#ZumaMustFall*, but the hashtags *#Zumamustfallmarch*, *#Zumamuststillfall* and *#Zumawillfall* were also prominent in calling out Jacob Zuma. Additionally, hashtags like that of *#ANCmustfall* and *#FeesMustFall* highlighted the intersectional nature of the movement that has been built upon other social issues like corruption and unaffordable higher education. The *#ZumaMustFall* movement itself is thus a product of experimentation from movements such as *#FeesMustFall*. The movement capitalised on the momentum from previous movements, and contributed to a bigger national conversation. The *#ZumaMustFall* movement is thus one identity driven movement within a series of movements that seek to address equality, freedom and corruption (see section 1.2 and 3.3.2).

However, experimentation (as defined in section 3.3.1), exceeds online experimentation, and also included offline tactics. Frequently used words such as *march* and *protest* along with reference to specific dates like *Reconciliation day* and locations like *Cape Town* and *Mandela Bridge* is indicative of offline implementation being organised. There is thus indication of the

intention for online participation to be mobilised towards possible offline implementation. The global nature of Twitter has created access to a platform where the same movement can be organised to implement at both Cape Town and Johannesburg. This is indicative of the principles of transnational activism also being applicable on a national level (see section 2.7) and that online participation can evolve into offline implementation (see section 2.6.3).

Even though support for the movement in the first phase dominated the narrative, the sentiments towards the movement were not shared amongst all groups. A difference in words used amongst different political groups and the media highlights the fact that there was both opposition against and support for the movement. The Democratic Alliance (DA) and the media profiles have high frequency usage of words like *Joburg*, *Nelson Mandela Bridge*, *Cape Town*, *Company Gardens*, *Braamfontein* and *Tshwane* that refer to specific locations. There is a strong drive from these entities to mobilise the movement offline.

The ANC on the other hand, contested the idea of the movement and offline implementation of the movement. Tweets by ANC related profiles contained words/phrases like *fools*, *blackswakeup*, *sellouts* and *white racists* indicate strong opposition against the movement. The identity within the first phase of the movement is found within race (see section 1.2). The ANC labels the identity of the movement as a 'white' movement, calling out black participants for *selling out* their identity. This same identity within race is seen within the EFF group during the first phase of the movement. The EFF group opposes this experimentation not because of opposing the purpose of the movement, but questioning the hypocrisy of those wanting to organise it. Words like *protest picnic* is used as defence against the movement contrasting the idea of this *white-lead* movement against violent protest and struggles that black South Africans had to face under Apartheid.

Unaffiliated individuals (not related to a specific predefined group) have gained traction by tweeting their opposition to the movement and the idea of the movement. A tweet that reads '*The same people who are leading #Zumamustfall march are the same people who are against reconciliation. They think we are stupid*', implicates that the movement as a disingenuous movement because of the participants' failure to reconcile. The word *they* specifically serves to distinguish between two different groups of people. This idea is continued in a tweet that reads: *White people at the #ZumaMustFall march in Braam. But dololo attendance when we protest against structural inequality*. Once again there is being distinguished between *we* and *white people*. The hypocrisy is an important highlighted aspect through individuals' comment that the white participants won't protest against structural inequality. A similar tweet that reads, *The #ZumaMustFall bikini boys are more worried about the economy than they do about the*

appalling conditions farm workers experience, supports the feeling of hypocrisy by the movement participants who fail to address other national issues. The example below also sees race as an opposing narrative of the movement.



This above example however is less about white participants but more about the hypocritical actions by police when referring to so-called black movements (specifically #FeesMustFall) and so-called white movements like #ZumaMustFall.

The racial narrative from political parties that is carried-through to individuals not necessarily affiliated with a political party as discussed above, is evidence that the movement identity transcends traditional political identity. The movement finds the narrative and cause of the movement outside of political parties, aligning with the argument of New Social Movement Theory as discussed in section 2.2. Subsequently, the identity of the movement is thus essential in driving the movement.

Even though evidence show opposition against the movement due to ideological differences regarding race, there are also limited examples of opposition to the movement based on the inefficacy of the movement. This is highlighted in a tweet that reads, *pls clarify who will accept memorandum for this useless march #ZumaMustFall coz I don't think @MyANC_ will take suck memo??* On a deeper level the tweet questions basic principles of democracy and the governing party's ability to be held accountable by the citizens of the country. This cynicism can be counter-productive within a movement. It, however, did not seem to gain traction online, seeing as it only received three retweets and similar content didn't dominate the narrative.

Because the movement saw opposition in the first phase based on racial identity, the second phase of the movement saw a different approach towards the narrative and tonality to overcome the limited identity of race.

When comparing the frequently used words and phrases from the second dataset to the first dataset, *#ZumaMustFall* is still a prominent rallying factor but less so than in the first dataset. Phrases and words like *People's March*, *Save South Africa*, *SA Unites* signifies firstly the importance of collective action at a grassroots level. Softer terms like *March for Change* shows a need for the movement to look beyond the individual towards the goal. The movement's perception begins to move away from only addressing the cause, towards aiming for the results. This along with the use of the phrase *national shutdown* infers that the movement is more societally inclusive by attempting to holistically include different groups beyond political identities. The identity that is used for mobilisation in the second phase of the movement isn't politically or ideologically driven, but rather within the confines of being South African.



The above examples show tweets from individuals who highlighted that the movement is not about race but about leadership and the economy. With the influence of politicians reducing in the movement, it is highly likely that groups like the EFF don't gain the same amount of traction driving a narrative of racial division. Within the second dataset the move towards a more inclusive and collective approach within the movement that evolves beyond divisive racial narratives, more forms of experimentation occur.

One example of new forms of experimentation is evident in a tweet that reads, *RT if you 100% support #ZumaMustFall movement #cabinetreshuffle*. Thus tweet is a form of movement experimentation through means of prompting a show of support towards the cause.



The example shown above attempts to experiment with the movement by drawing comparisons with an international example in South Korea. The image within the tweets implies that there would be overwhelming support of the movement. The idea of overwhelming support is a result of the identity narrative of the movement shifting from race-based to country-based, also saw a decline in cynicism. The shift in identity saw an increase in participants and expansion of the movement, which in-turn created a new-found confidence in the functions of democracy and the ability to hold government accountable as is evident from the following example:



The above example shows how experimenting can move towards movement application by highlighting the tangible change that the movement can create. The tweet communicates the idea that this movement can create the possibility of the governing party losing power. This type of experimentation is essential because it shows how unconventional political participation can enact change on a conventional political level. This narrative is crucial in keeping the Dialogical Framework of Activism Diffusion active. The idea of possible change motivates the continuum of participation.

The type of identity that the movement uses to mobilise participants plays a crucial role in ensuring the success in support of the movement (see section 2.2). Only when the movement shifted its identity towards a more inclusive narrative, did opposition and cynicism start to fade.

4.3.4 MOVEMENT APPLICATION

Movement application is the final phase within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion. This phase can indicate the success of the previous three phases with regards to online participation in mobilising an offline tactic like a march or a protest. When dialogue along with a persuasive collective identity was established during the first three phases, empowerment will lead to the successful implementation beyond the online sphere. This section will study movement application by analysing content created in the lead up to and during offline implementation of the movement.

Movement application can be viewed on two different levels, as outlined in section 3.3.2: (1) Tweets showing the intention of an offline implementation of the movement and (2) tweets showing the actual off-line movement.

At the first level of movement application, the intention of offline implementation is an indication of who is driving the movement offline. A grassroots movement can organise an offline tactic on two-levels: (1) Drive organisations, parties or groups to organise these movements, or (2) organise online without the mobilisation of power groups like political parties.

Indication of the intention of off-line movement application in the first dataset is observed in a tweet that reads, *Today All around South Africa people will take to the streets to express themselves clearly. Zuma must go. #ZumaMustFall*. It is however not only individual tweets that indicate this potential application. The news media (specifically eNCA) is also involved with driving awareness about the potential movement application as seen in examples below:





Follow

#eNCAheadlines Fed-up South Africans countrywide will hit the streets today, calling for President Jacob Zuma to step down. #ZumaMustFall

6:07 AM - 16 Dec 2015

61 Retweets 40 Likes [User avatars]

16 61 40 [Icons]

The two above examples, however, indicates that the media isn't the organising force in the first phase, but it is rather a case of online organising resulting in the media creating additional awareness of this by sending reporters to provide updates on the march, and reporting on the march as it happens.

There a change from the first dataset to the second in that online organising saw a more inclusive call to action as seen in a tweet that reads, So we doing the national shutdown Friday. Let's not just tweet. Actions speak louder than words #ZumaMustFall #ZumaMustGo. The diffusion and evolvment of the movement is seen in the online organising that calls for a national shutdown. This evolvment in online organising also prompted political parties to organise within the second phase of the movement as seen in the example below:



Following

#RollingMassAction will continue until Zuma's goes. #ZumaMustFall #SaveSA



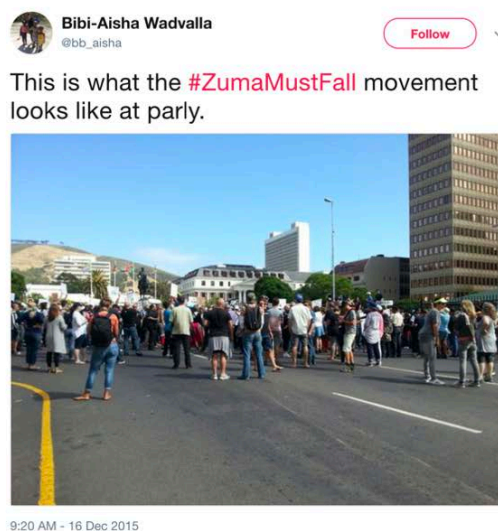
10:27 AM - 7 Apr 2017

This drive by politicians in this march, specifically Bantu Holomisa leader of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), show that political parties, UDM, IFP, DA and EFF support the

march. The collective narrative carries through even within political parties like the EFF, who were critical of the movement in the first dataset. The strong collective South African identity in the second phase of the movement thus allowed for the grassroots masses to demand involvement from political parties across ideologies.

The next section of movement application highlight tweets showing actual offline participation, with geographic diffusion as the key factor . The nature of online organising and participation allows for more wide-spread offline participation to occur. The success of the first three phases of the process will this result in the extent to which the movement is disseminated geographically offline.

The first offline implementation saw only participation at two locations, Johannesburg and Cape Town. With the South African parliament situated in Cape Town, movement application in the form of a march was implemented in the city as shown in the examples below:



Simultaneously a march occurred in Johannesburg, Braamfontein at the Nelson Mandela Bridge indicated by the examples below:



However, the second offline implementation saw an increase in offline geographic locations, and the extension of locations within previously-used locations. During the first dataset, Cape Town was one of the crucial locations for the movement application in the form of a march. The movement application was however limited to a march in-front of the parliament building.



SA Breaking News
@SABreakingNews

Follow

'Zuma Must Go' trucks obstruct traffic in CPT #zumamustfall #Zumamarch #Zuma #zumamustgo goo.gl/pwnaCd

10:25 AM - 7 Apr 2017

98 Retweets 101 Likes

Mark Stewart
@MA22ST

Follow

Trucks blocking the N7, Cape Town
#Zumamustfall #SAUnites
#AntiZumaMarches

9:21 AM - 7 Apr 2017

Movement application diversified in Cape Town during the second dataset. The examples above show different movement application tactics, including a march, disrupting of traffic and ambient messaging on the backs of trucks.

Johannesburg was another location that saw movement application during the first dataset that saw a march happening at the Nelson Mandela Bridge in Braamfontein. The examples below show that movement application diffused to different areas in Johannesburg including the Central Business District, Randburg and Edenvale.

JG (Johan) van Zyl
@JGvanZyl_ZA

Follow

#AntiZumaMarches #zumamustfall #zumamustgo #MarchforChange is getting moment in South Africa this morning. Come join in ANC! Lift the spirit

10:29 AM - 7 Apr 2017

may farah
@Mayfarah1May

Follow

#MarchforChange #SAUnites
#AntiZumaMarches #zumamustfall Edenvale
March for change horwoods farm

9:33 AM - 7 Apr 2017

Julian Jansen
@JulianJansen

Follow

Beyers Naude, Randburg on Friday
#zumamustfall



0:16

9:51 AM - 7 Apr 2017

20 Retweets 14 Likes

Belinda Pheto
@BelindaPheto

Follow

@NE_Tribune A number of businesses are closed here in Joburg CBD
#NationalShutdown #Zumamarch #zumamustfall



10:25 AM - 7 Apr 2017

Additionally the movement also spread beyond the original locations of Johannesburg and Cape Town to cities like Pretoria. The examples below highlight offline implementation in the form of a march at Church Square in the city of Pretoria.

Anton Meijer
@antonnies

Follow

#PeoplesMarch in Pretoria. Hundreds already gathered in Church Square. **#zumamustfall #AntiZumaMarch**



9:50 AM - 7 Apr 2017

Willie Venter
@Willie_Venter

Follow

Church Square filling up quite nicely
#zumamustfall



10:18 AM - 7 Apr 2017

The global nature of Twitter allowed for the movement to go beyond the borders of South Africa as a transnational movement seeing participation in countries like Tanzania indicated in the example below.



In the first dataset, the media played an important part at the movement application level with regards to communicating information on participation in the marches and disseminating information at the marches for further awareness. The second dataset once again sees less prominent media participation, with individual accounts being key in tweeting about their participation at the offline implementation.

Movement application thus sees a change in online organisation becoming more effective from the first phase to the second phase in pushing for political parties to collectively partake and organise. The movement also spread across geographical locations as a result of a shared collective identity as mobilising factor.

larger, more widely-spread group of supporters who participated in the second group of marches that saw increased support nationally and internationally. The awareness phase in the movement was enhanced by empowering participants through two-way communication and accessibility at a grassroots level (see section 4.3.1).

Engagement can be seen as an important catalyst for awareness, but it is the key attribute in the phase of movement translation.

Q4: How did Twitter users engage with the #ZumaMustFall movement (see section 1.3.2.4)?

Dialogue is a key in empowering participants and creating engagement. The first phase of the movement saw significant engagement taking place between the media and political parties. This dialogue is essential in creating understanding regarding the movement between individuals and specifically political parties who as a result got on-board with the movement during the second phase. The second phase of the movement then allowed for engagement to occur between individuals at a grassroots level. This moved power away from political parties and to the collective grassroots groups who was thus empowered enough to compel political parties to participate in organising offline implementations. The key finding discussed in section 4.3.2, showed dialogue at the core of the translation phase. Individuals at a grassroots level could shift dialogue and engagement and essentially dictated the message and narrative of the movement, showcasing the empowerment that occurred through dialogue.

By allowing grassroots participation, the narrative and identity of the movement was influenced by messaging from citizens as opposed to stakeholders like politicians, public figures and media outlets. The movement identity is visible within the phase of experimentation.

Q5: What role does movement identity have in the support of the #ZumaMustFall movement (see section 1.3.2.5)?

Section 4.3.3 showed that the first phase of the movement saw identity fostered within race. This resulted in initial engagement with the movement being met with scepticism and opposition. Two core issues that met opposition included: 1) racial tension and the idea that the movement is driven by white people only, and 2) scepticism that this movement wouldn't affect any tangible change.

This however changed with the second phase of the movement. The identity of the movement switched towards a more collective holistic South African narrative. This saw more inclusive and

collective language being used when communicating about the movements. This led to engagement that showed the movement wasn't about race, but a national issue that affected every citizen. This narrative drew more support, which subsequently led to Twitter users seeing the tangible change this movement could achieve. The identity of the movement thus coincides with New Social Movement Theory and the phenomenon of movement identity transcending traditional political parties.

The identity of the movement played an important part in mobilising participation towards offline implementation.

Q6: What content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the #ZumaMustFall movement (see section 1.3.2.6)?

Lastly, online organising in the first phase of the movement saw mostly the media pushing messages, opposition to the movement and imagery of marches happening in Johannesburg and Cape Town. However, with the change of the movement identity in the second phase, increasing participation and support at grassroots level saw calls for action, shows of support, and imagery of marches spreading from Johannesburg and Cape Town, to other cities and even other countries (see section 4.3.4). Twitter's global, immediate and two-way nature excelled the process of Dialogical Diffusion of Transnational Activism. Dialogue is a crucial element in this process because it 1) empowers participation at a grassroots level which in-turn sees an increase in participation and awareness, 2) allows for opportunity to engage with the identity of the movement which is essential in mobilising participation.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters gave an overview of the study as well as the *#ZumaMustFall* movement (chapter one), discussed the theoretical context of the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion (chapter two, unpacked the quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis methods that were used (chapter three), and analysed the online participation in the movement (chapter 4).

This chapter will conclude the findings by firstly addressing the specific research questions. Secondly, the general research question will be addressed and finally the limitation of the study as well as suggestions for future studies will be discussed.

5.2 ADDRESSING THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section will reflect on the conclusions made in the previous chapters to answer the specific research questions posed in the study.

5.2.1 THE EVOLUTION OF TWITTER ACTIVISM

The first specific research question reads:

What role did the internet, and specifically Twitter, play in the evolution of activism according to the literature?

Subsequently, the research goal that the question attempted to achieve is as follow:

To determine what role the internet, and specifically Twitter, played in the evolution of activism movements by means of a literature study.

To achieve this research goal, theoretical statements were conceptualised within the broader metatheory of the Critical Theory. The Critical Theory provided context for the New Social Movement Theory which became a prominent theoretical argument along with the development of ICT's as a catalyst for the evolution of internet activism which subsequently provided key insights in answering the first specific research question.

5.2.1.1 CRITICAL THEORY

The essence of Critical Theory is based on the questioning and critiquing of traditional power structures and hierarchy to address issues of social injustice through enlightenment and political action (see section 2.2).

Habermas's take on the Critical Theory focused on the concept of emancipatory politics as based on three crucial interests: (1) The ability to control your physical environment, (2) the ability to freely communicate and (3) freedom from political oppression. Political discourse is key in questioning power structures through political participation (see section 2.2)

The Critical Theory thus see political participation as form of challenging power structures. This was a key point of departure throughout this study.

5.2.1.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

A key attribute of a healthy democracy is active political participation. Conventional political participation like voting is essential in keeping those in power accountable. When conventional forms of political participation are not sufficient in keeping power structures in check, citizens can result to unconventional methods of political participation (see section 2.2).

Unconventional political participation is often enacted through social movements that use to tactics like protests, marches and boycotts. These social or activism movements create communities around shared goals and ideologies to enact a desired change (see section 2.2).

The concept of social movements mobilising around a shared ideology is the argument around which the New Social Movement Theory was formulated.

5.2.1.3 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

New Social Movement Theory argues that social movements evolved in a post-materialistic society from being driven by class to being driven by identity. Habermas' (1984:286-307) argues that self-realisation is a contributing factor in questioning power. Collective identity-based movements see identities like feminism and LGBTQ be dependent on participants first undergoing self-realisation to be able to subscribe or identify with the identity of the movement (see section 2.2).

Self-realisation and identity-based movements see increased participation through empowerment.

5.2.1.4 EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment is the key driving force behind the mobilisation of political participation. Dialogue is a crucial part in empowering individuals. Dialogue contributes to empowerment on two levels: (1) Internally through self-realisation, and (2) externally through changes in power dynamics. By engaging in dialogue, participants are enabled to question information as part of a process of education and enlightenment to self-realisation. Secondly, participation on own-terms, allow for empowerment by increasing the parameters of participation. When the way in which participation occurs is imposed from above, empowerment is limited to the participation structures implemented by the system in power. Social movements, as an unconventional form of participation allows for participation to occur at a grassroots level. Empowerment is therefore increased by allowing participants the agency to organise and participate on their own terms (see section 2.2).

Internet activism is an unconventional method of political participation that increases participation through increased access and agency.

5.2.1.5 INTERNET ACTIVISM

ICTs are continuously evolving and enhancing the way in which information and communication is exchanged. One of the key expansions and innovations is that of the internet which allowed for the globalised distribution of information. The internet itself has seen significant enhancements from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 (see section 2.3).

The internet also allowed for new methods and tactics to organise, mobilise and support activism movements, known as internet activism or *Cyberactivism* as referred to by Sanfoval-Almazan and Gilp-Garcia (2014). The evolution from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 subsequently saw the evolution from *Cyberactivism 1.0* to *Cyberactivism 2.0*. The one-way communicative nature of Web 1.0 and *Cyberactivism 1.0* enabled the rapid diffusion of information on a global scale. Web 2.0 and *Cyberactivism 2.0* saw the rise of participatory infrastructure that increased the possibilities for online engagement, interactivity and dialogue (see section 2.3).

The second chapter in this study indicated that there are four main types of internet activism: (1) Brochureware, (2) Online Facilitation of Offline Protests, (3) Online Organising and (4) Online Activism Participation. The tactic of Online Facilitation of Offline Protests and Brochureware,

mostly uses the internet as a platform for diffusion of information. They are thus mostly *Cyberactivism 1.0* tactics (see sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). *Cyberactivism 2.0* really start to become prominent in the tactic of Online Organising and Online Activism Participation. Where Online Organising uses online engagement to organise offline interventions, Online Activism Participation sees online engagement as a movement tactic itself. Example tactics include online petitions, online voting, letter-writing, e-mail campaigns, virtual sit-ins, virtual rallies and demonstrations, chat rooms, bulletin boards, donations, forum discussions and blogging (see sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4).

The evolution of Web 2.0 saw the rise of social networking sites which enhanced the possibilities for specifically Online Organising and Online Activism Participation.

5.2.1.6 TWITTER

Twitter is a social networking site that is ideal for the creation of online networks that reaches beyond a normal offline network. These networks allow for dialogue and engagement to take place between stakeholders at various levels, from individuals at a grassroots level, to stakeholders in power like politicians and the news media. Twitter enables rapid diffusion of messages and dialogue on a global level (see section 2.4).

In summation, the role of the internet and Twitter in the evolution of social movements can be contributed to the development of ICTs. The internet was an innovation that came into existence through the development of ICTs. The internet itself evolved from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 which saw the development of social networking sites like Twitter. Twitter provides a platform for online activism participation by allowing individuals the possibility to express political opinion and engage in dialogue. This is accelerated by Twitter's rapid and global nature, and the fact that dialogue occurs equally between all stakeholders, increasing empowerment.

Therefore, the first specific research question was addressed through the first theoretical statement which reads:

Web 2.0 allowed for interactive social networking sites like Twitter to create a platform where individuals can participate in online activism through any contribution of political expression, voicing of an opinion and engagement in dialogue, whether through text visual material within the framework of a specific existing political discourse.

Against the background, it was possible to unpack Dialogical Diffusion of Transnational Activism which is at the core of the second specific research question.

5.2.2 DIALOGICAL DIFFUSION

The second specific research question called for interpretation of the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion as follow:

What does the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level, according to the literature?

The research goal thus attempts to *determine what the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion's phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application entail on a national level by means of a literature study.*

In order to achieve this goal, a discussion of transnational activism was used to contextualise the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism. Within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism, theoretical statements were conceptualised with regards to the phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application on a national level to be able to answer the second specific research question.

5.2.2.1 TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM

Oppressive political and economic powers are continuously met with opposition from global collective forces. Transnational activism started as a modernistic phenomenon where NGOs pressured international political groups to enact policy changes. It eventually evolved in the late twentieth century to a more participatory phenomenon where grassroots participants were at the centre of mobilising the movement and garnering support. The grassroots mobilisation of the movement is key in ensuring sustainability. If a movement is not organised at a grassroots level, there is less of a likelihood that self-realisation would occur amongst local participants who need to ensure sustainability of the required change (see section 2.5).

This self-realisation is a result of empowerment through dialogue. Therefore, dialogue is at the core of Chabot's (2010) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism.

5.2.2.2 THE DIALOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL DIFFUSION

Chabot (2010) proposes the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism in response to Tarrow's (2005) model of transnational activism. Tarrow (2005) suggests that localised action like a march is the key point of departure for a movement to diffuse transnationally. Eventually this *localised action* diffuses transnationally by means of different routes. Chabot's (2010) key critique of Tarrow (2005) is based on (1) the fact that Tarrow doesn't recognise the importance

of dialogue that happens between the local sender and the international receiver and (2) the idea that Tarrow characterises transnational diffusion as a strict one-way communication process.

Chabot (2010) describes dialogue as a catalysing factor in getting the movement from one phase to the next. This aligns with Buber’s thinking about the empowering nature of dialogue, and Freire’s (1971) perspective on dialogue as change agent.

On this foundation of dialogue, Chabot (2010) developed the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Activism as a circular process that is initiated with awareness, leading to translation, experimentation and then movement application as shown in figure 5-1 below.

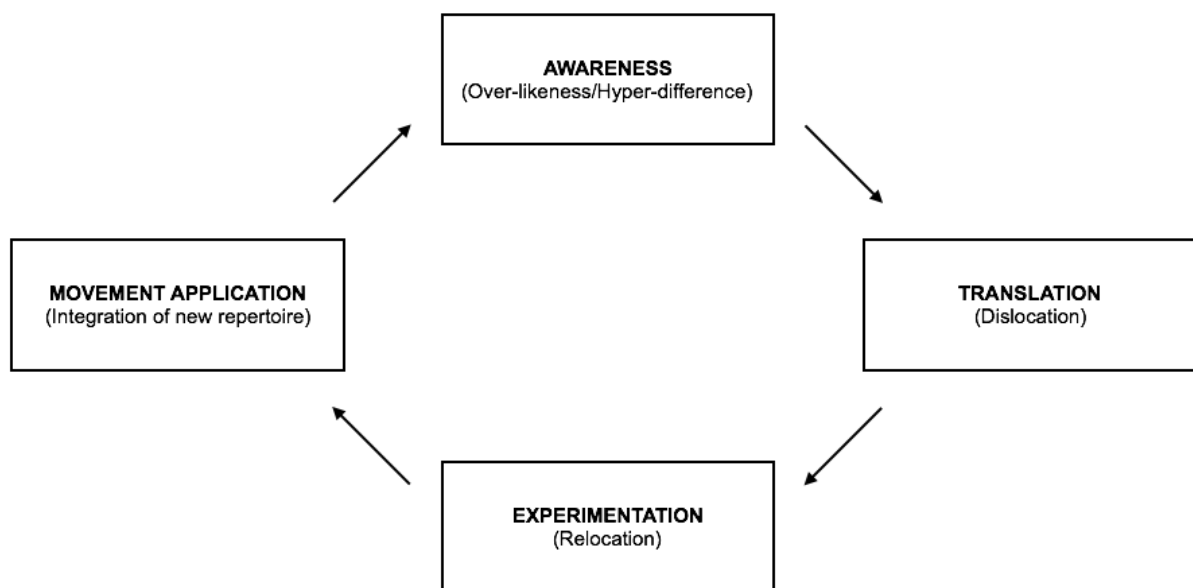


Figure 5-1: Chabot’s (2010) Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion

5.2.2.3 AWARENESS

The awareness phase is key in diffusing initial information to unknowing participants. Dialogue within highly connected social networks enhance awareness by increasing the reach through these networks (Chabot, 2010).

Communication that is classified as awareness adheres to the following three factors: (1) The communication takes place in a public space or environment that the public has access to, (2) the communication is concise and specific to a certain topic and (3) the communication and distribution of it takes place in a highly connected social space (see section 2.6.1).

Awareness is thus any form of information that is topic specific to a relevant movement, being communicated on a highly connected space like Twitter, which is also available to the public. It is against this background that the second theoretical statement was formulated:

Awareness within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is seen as the first phase of the process that is evaluated as any form of information that is topic specific to a relevant movement that is being communicated on a highly connected social space that is available publically to online contact networks.

This awareness leads to the next phase which is translation.

5.2.2.4 TRANSLATION

Translation sees the process of consequential dialogue taking place between movement adopters and potential movement adopters. This dialogue creates understanding and empowers participants by providing them with the freedom to engage on their own terms. Additionally, dialogue also provides for meaningful relationship to form which allows for ideas and tactics to be exchanged successfully (see section 2.6.2).

Translation is summated in the third theoretical statement as the process whereby information and knowledge regarding activism tactics and mechanisms are discussed and exchanged by means of dialogue between existing movement adopters and potential movement adopters who become simultaneously the sender and receiver of the communication by developing a mutual relationship.

The successful occurrence of translation will lead to the phase of experimentation.

5.2.2.5 EXPERIMENTATION

Experimentation sees the implementation of the knowledge and mechanisms received from the translation phase on a small scale (Chabot, 2010). This experimentation can see tactics, that are both in support of and in opposition to the movement, in specifically an online and offline environment (see section 2.6.3).

Based on this context, the fourth theoretical statement was developed:

Experimentation within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby information and knowledge regarding potential small-scale action campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between two newly movement adopters to enable to implementation of such campaigns.

Experimentation leads to the final phase which is movement application.

5.2.2.6 MOVEMENT APPLICATION

In Chabot's (2010) model, movement application is the final phase within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion. This phase is the process whereby small-actions within the experiment phase is evolved into an entire sustainable movement, both offline and online (see section 2.6.4).

In this final phase, dialogue is thus used to exchange information between participants to expand and enhance the movement, from an online and offline perspective. The fifth theoretical statement therefore reads:

Movement Application within the Dialogical Framework of Transnational Diffusion is the process whereby new information and knowledge regarding existing campaigns are exchanged by means of dialogue between movement participants to enable to expansion and enhancement of the existing movement.

In conclusion, the phases of awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application all have dialogue as a key concept in evolving a movement on a national and transnational level.

This theoretical framework was used to guide the empirical application of the study.

5.2.3 AWARENESS DURING THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

The third specific research question focused on the awareness phase of the *#ZumaMustFall* movement by asking the following:

How was awareness of the #ZumaMustFall movement created on Twitter?

Subsequently, the research objective is thus:

To determine how awareness of the #ZumaMustFall movement was created on Twitter by means of Quantitative Social Network Analysis.

In order to achieve this goal, quantitative social network analysis was used to study the networks based on the number of followers, in-degree connections and out-degree connections. This method indicates what profiles have the biggest following, received the most tweets and sent the most tweets as explained in section 3.4.1. The key role players that will be looked at

include international political figures, public figures, news media, local political parties and grassroots individuals.

5.2.3.1 INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND PUBLIC FIGURES

Both phases of the movement saw prominent political figures like Barack Obama and the Dalai Lama in the first dataset, and Donald Trump in the second datasets get tweeted at during the movement. Above and beyond the international political figures, Public figures including Ellen Degeneres and Trevor Noah also received tweets during the second phase of the movement (see section 4.3.1).

Despite this, these figures didn't seem to play a significant role. The profiles did receive tweets regarding the movement, but the lack of reciprocation can possibly be indicative that the movement didn't successfully generate awareness amongst these profiles. The tweets towards these profiles however are representative of a sense of empowerment that arises from the fact that grassroots individuals have the opportunity (or at least the perception of the opportunity) to communicate with these otherwise unreachable figures.

5.2.3.2 NEWS MEDIA

The news media played an important role in generating awareness regarding the movement, specifically during the first phase. The first dataset indicating that the news media was crucial in diffusing awareness of the movement. This allowed for the mobilisation of grassroots individuals and local political parties whose involvement increased during the second phase, with the news media's involvement as awareness drivers subsequently decreasing during the second phase of the movement (see section 4.3.1). This is indicative of a shift of power happening from the media towards grassroots individuals. In the case of both movement phases, even though the media was essential in generating awareness, they were not the key drivers of new tweets, but rather contributed to creating awareness by gaining significant amounts of retweets, once again highlighting the grassroots individual's involvement.

The change from the first phase of the movement to the second phase of the movement also saw a change in the type of news media profiles that were prevalent in the movement. The first phase saw profiles including *EWN Reporter*, *EWN Updates*, *eNCA*, *Mail and Guardian*, *News24* and *702*. This changed in the second phase with a decrease in these official profiles and an increase in profiles of individual journalists (see section 4.3). This highlights the increasing shift towards grassroots participation even with regards to news media.

5.2.3.3 LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES

Local political opposition parties, specifically the DA and EFF, were featured within both phases of the movement. In the first phase of the movement, the political parties didn't seem to contribute significantly in mobilising citizens. The profiles of two prominent local political figures, Helen Zille and Julius Malema received tweets during the first phase. However, they didn't seem to respond to these tweets at this stage (see section 4.3.1). This phenomenon changed with regards to the second phase of the movement. Pressure from grassroots individuals mobilised opposition parties to engage with the movement, with both the DA's and EFF's official profiles engaging in the online movement.

The governing party, the ANC, and related profiles like the *SA President* profile, also received tweets as part of the attempt to create awareness (see section 4.3). The lack of reciprocation from the governing party can be viewed as an attempt to disempower the movement by not providing them a channel to communicate with the party in power.

5.2.3.4 GRASSROOTS INDIVIDUALS

Despite the news media's role in generating awareness during the first phase of the movement, the majority of tweets sent were from grassroots individual profiles. This phenomenon grew even more during the second phase of the movement. Essentially, awareness can't be created without tweets being sent. Twitter enables the equal opportunity with regards to participation, which allows for the movement to be driven by grassroots individuals who are empowered as equal partners (see section 4.3.1).

In the second phase of the movement, grassroots individuals increased the number of tweets sent to public figures, the news media and international politicians in an attempt to gain awareness amongst these stakeholders. This aligns with the argument of unconventional political participation (see section 2.2) stating that empowerment is achieved through individuals participating beyond the scope of conventional political participation.

The movement did not only see an increase in grassroots participation from the first phase to the second phase, but also with regards to these grassroots individuals there was a shift from a core group of individuals to more individuals on a wide-spread level.

In conclusion, the news media played a prominent role in creating the awareness amongst individuals during the first phase of the movement. The initial group of individuals at a grassroots level attempted to create awareness amongst politicians on a local and international

level, but these stakeholders didn't seem to reciprocate. The second phase saw a decrease in the prominence of the media, with individual grassroots participation being disseminated to a larger group of participants. This diffusion also allowed for more communication to be directed towards local politicians who eventually started to get involved with the movement. Awareness is thus enhanced by Twitter's dialogical and accessible nature which increased empowerment amongst participants.

5.2.4 TRANSLATION DURING THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

To investigate the translation phase, the fourth specific research question asked:

How did Twitter users engage with the #ZumaMustFall movement?

The research objective thus reads:

To determine how Twitter users engaged with the #ZumaMustFall movement by means of quantitative social network analysis.

Quantitative social network analysis was used to analyse three key metrics in section 4.3.2: (1) 'replied-to' edges, (2) betweenness centrality and (3) cluster coefficient scores. These three metrics were key in identifying how engagement occurred on within the movement on Twitter, and who were the key stakeholders in ensuring that the engagement could take place.

5.2.4.1 DIALOGUE MEDIATION

The betweenness centrality and cluster coefficient of social network graphs showed how profiles were enabled to engage in dialogue. Political and public figures didn't play a significant role in creating awareness in the first phase of the movement, but these profiles, however, were essential mediators of the dialogue. These profiles had mutual connections that ensured that the dialogue could move from one connection to another. With regards to political profiles, these connections were attributed to a shared political ideology, which supported the idea of political identity as a possible mobilising factor within the movement. However, this phenomenon was limited, with the majority of the connections surrounding grassroots profiles. These connections around grassroots individuals increased in the second phase of the movement even more as participants were empowered through Twitter's accessibility (see section 4.3.2).

5.2.4.2 DIALOGUE PARTICIPATION

Only 9.9% of all tweets are either mentions or replies, which indicated dialogue as defined in this study (see section 3.2.1). Within the first phase of the movement, most dialogue essentially

took place on three levels: (1) Between political parties and grassroots individuals, (2) between the media and grassroots individuals, and (3) between political parties. The first two levels were examples of Twitter's empowering nature enabling dialogue to occur between the 'oppressed' grassroots groups and stakeholders in power.

The second phase of the movement saw the dialogue moving away from between grassroots individuals and politicians or the media, towards intra-grassroots communication. The power thus shifted away from politicians and the media, towards grassroots individuals who were able to control the message and narrative of the movement (see section 4.3.2).

In conclusion, as dialogue was shifting towards more wide-spread networks (grassroots individuals), from the first phase to the second phase, politicians and the media saw themselves less involved in dialogue and grassroots individuals saw themselves more involved in dialogue. This is indicative of the empowering nature of dialogue which subsequently allowed the grassroots level of the movement to determine the narrative and message of the movement.

5.2.5 EXPERIMENTATION DURING THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

With regards to the experimentation phase, the fifth specific research questions states:

What role does movement identity have in the support of the #ZumaMustFall movement?

The research objective is thus:

To determine what role movement identity had in the support of the #ZumaMustFall movement by means of quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis.

The three key insights that contributed to answering the fifth research question are answered around the themes of racial tension, scepticism and collective identity as determined through qualitative content analysis.

5.2.5.1 RACIAL TENSION

One of the narratives that drove opposition against the movement during the first phase saw racial tension as a key driver in identity. Political parties, ANC and EFF, saw themselves within that narrative using words and phrases like *blackswakeup*, *sellouts* and *white racists* to indicate their opposition to the movement based on race (see section 4.3.3).

This identity however transcended political identity with unaffiliated individuals tweeting their opposition to the movement within the same narrative. This racial narrative was built on arguments that (1) white people don't participate in movements that address structural

inequality, (2) that there is a difference in how the police treat white protesters and black protesters, and (3) that the white participants are against reconciliation (see section 4.3.3).

The racial tension narrative wasn't the only opposing identity within the first phase of the movement. Scepticism regarding the efficacy of such a movement was also an identity that garnered some attention.

5.2.5.2 SCEPTICISM

Scepticism with regards to the movement within the first phase was driven by the narrative that the outcome of the movement will not affect change within the governing party who would need to be mobilised to enact the demands (see section 4.3.3). This narrative is dangerous because it not only disregards a democracy's ability to keep government accountable, but it can be counter-productive in dissuading participation. This narrative however was limited and didn't gain significant traction (see section 4.3.3).

The opposing narratives decreased from the first phase to the second phase of the movement as a more collective identity arose within the second phase.

5.2.5.3 COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

The first phase of the movement was driven by language that mostly focused on the call for Zuma to step down. However, the second phase saw a change in language towards more collective and inclusive words and phrases like *People's March*, *Save South Africa* and *SA Unites* being used (see section 4.3.3). This is indicative of the identity being more collective and holistic, driven by the narrative of being a South African.

This identity saw a decrease in opposition. The narrative even addressed previous concerns about race with tweets advocating for the fact that the movement was not about race but about leadership (see section 4.3.3.).

This identity also led to new types of experimentation online asking for retweets in support of the movement. This also led to a decrease in cynicism with participants tweeting about the possibility of change through the governing party losing power in the next election.

In conclusion, as experimentation saw more inclusive language being used, a collective identity allowed for less opposition. This increased participation and supported the New Social

Movement Theory that argues that a movement is mobilised by an identity that transcends traditional political identity.

5.2.6 MOVEMENT APPLICATION DURING THE #ZUMAMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

Movement application is the final phase in the movement and subsequently the corresponding final specific research question reads:

What content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the #ZumaMustFall movement?

The final research objective thus reads:

To determine what content was generated by Twitter users in their participation in the #ZumaMustFall movement by means of qualitative content analysis.

The qualitative content analysis done in an attempt to answer this research question, yielded the following themes: (1) Tweets indicating the intention of an offline implementation of the movement and (2) tweets showcasing actual offline application of the movement.

5.2.6.1 TWEETS INDICATING THE INTENTION OF AN OFFLINE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Tweets that showed the intention of an offline implementation also subsequently indicated who was driving and organising the movement offline. The first phase of the movement saw the grassroots movement indicating their intention to attend a march. The media played an important role in reporting on the planned march, but they were not the organising force behind the application (see section 4.3.4).

The second phase of the movement also saw significant grassroots level organisation of a march offline. The difference in this phase however, was that local political parties were also mobilised in organising offline tactics. This was indicative of grassroots individuals being empowered to drive politicians to act outside the realm of conventional political participation (see section 4.3.4).

5.2.6.2 TWEETS SHOWCASING ACTUAL OFFLINE APPLICATION OF THE MOVEMENT

The first phase of the movement saw offline implementation through marches in Johannesburg and Cape Town, specifically around the South African parliament building. The movement saw an increase in participation and an increase in geographic locations within the second phase of the movement. The first phase saw Johannesburg protests around Braamfontein, this however

increased to other locations in and around the city including the CBD, Randburg and Edenvale. Additionally, new locations included Pretoria and even transnationally in Tanzania (see section 4.3.4).

In conclusion, the content that was generated in an attempt to participate in different movement tactics saw protests and marches increase to various geographic locations. Dialogue was essential in this process because it empowered participants which increased participation and awareness and secondly it allowed for engagement with the identity of the movement which was essential in mobilising participation.

5.3 ADDRESSING THE GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION

The general research question will be answered against the background of conclusions discussed above.

What is the nature of participation in internet activism regarding the case of the #ZumaMustFall movement on Twitter?

The above question will be answered by looking at the four key elements of online participation against the background of the Critical Theory and New Social Movement Theory: Awareness, translation, experimentation and movement application.

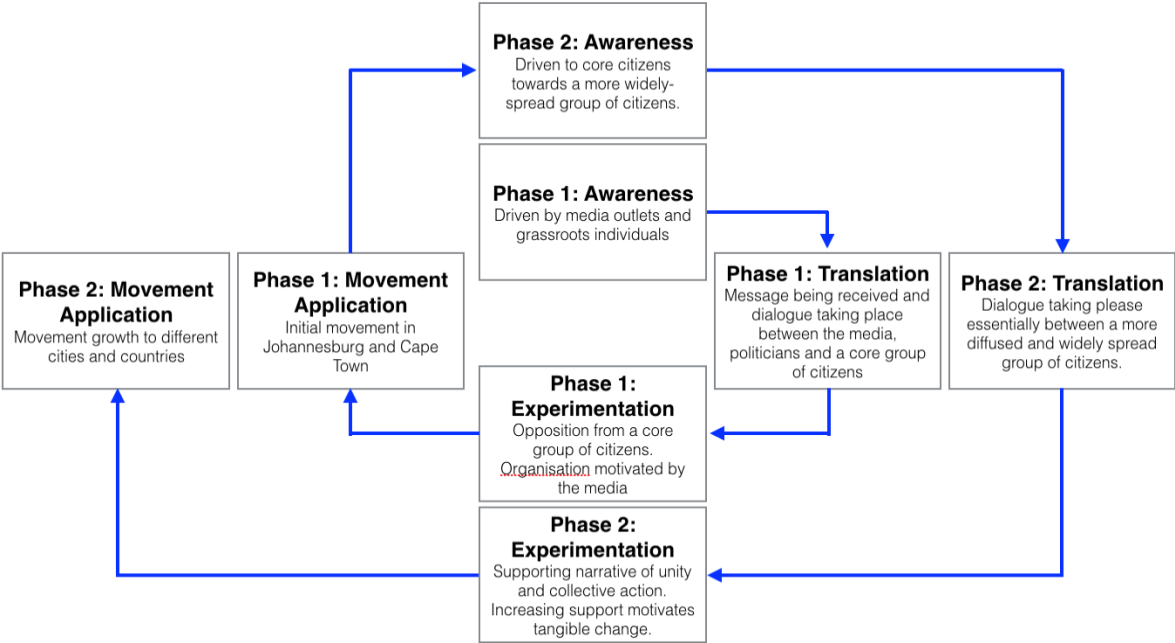


Figure 5-2: Summary of the participation in internet activism in the case of the #ZumaMustFall movement on Twitter

As summarised in the figure 5-1 above, the movement first saw awareness being created by the news media and grassroots individuals. Grassroots individuals were essential in generating the content needed for awareness, with the news media's contribution being attributed to its ability to receive high amounts of retweets.

With regards to translation in the first phase of the movement, dialogue essentially took place between grassroots individuals and stakeholders in power like politicians and the media. This is an important factor in empowering participants by providing them with a platform in which they can communicate as equal partner with groups that are in power.

Experimentation within the first phase of the movement saw opposing arguments being distributed and engaged with online. The key opposing argument found itself within a narrative of racial tension.

The eventual movement application saw marches taking place in key but limited areas in Johannesburg and Cape Town. This first phase of the movement was essential in driving awareness for the second phase.

The second phase saw awareness being created at a grassroots level that diffused to a more wide-spread network of individuals. This was also carried through within translation with dialogue now mostly taken place between grassroots individuals instead of with politicians and the media. This allowed the message and narrative of the movement to be driven on a grassroots level.

This grassroots driven narrative saw the rise of a more collective and inclusive identity. This new identity reduced opposing forms of experimentation and increased new forms of experimentation through online shows of support. Along with this support, online experimentation also saw participants being optimistic about the tangible effect of the movement.

This subsequently mobilised offline participation which saw an increased offline participation throughout various locations within and outside of South Africa.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

One key limitation of the study is with the collection of the data. NodeXL is not able to collect historic data. Tweets were thus collected on the specific dates as indicated. Thus, the study does not consider the evolution of the movement outside of the indicated timelines. Future studies should thus attempt to collect tweets on a more consistent basis to gain a more holistic view of the evolution of the movement.

The study was also limited to Twitter, and does not take into account online participation on other platforms like Facebook and Instagram which play an integrated role in the evolution of the movement. Additional studies can attempt to collect data from additional platforms and analyse the various content as an integrated process.

The *#MustFall* movements seem to remain prevalent in South Africa. Additional studies can look at similar movements like *#FeesMustFall* and *#RhodesMustFall* within the broader scope of the *#MustFall* narrative to be able to gain a more holistic view of the nature evolution of these forms of internet activism.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the nature of participation in internet activism with regards to the *#ZumaMustFall* movement on Twitter to address the general research question. This was done by first answering the specific research question as the background upon which the final general research question is addressed.

The study found, that as the *#ZumaMustFall* movement evolved over time, the nature of the internet activism became more grassroots driven because of the empowering nature of Twitter through dialogue and accessibility.

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ANNEXURE A: LANGUAGE EDITING



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To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby confirm that I completed the language editing on Shaun Frazao's dissertation titled:

The nature of participation in internet activism: The case of the #ZumaMustFall movement on Twitter

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Helene Nieuwerhuis', written over a horizontal line.

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