

Ph.D. Dissertation

Global Fairness in Digital Interaction:

A rhizomatic analysis of social imaginaries

Verónica Yépez Reyes

GLOBAL FAIRNESS IN DIGITAL INTERACTION: A RHIZOMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

Verónica Yépez Reyes

Department of Design and Communication
University of Southern Denmark

Ph.d. dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities
University of Southern Denmark

Main supervisor: Prof. Nina Bonderup Dohn

Co-supervisor: Prof. Johannes Wagner

May, 2016

'we can insist that food be not just ecologically sound but socially fair—to the extent that fairness is possible in an unequal world.'

(Warne 2011:160)

Cover: Raquel Carrasco Santos, artisanal crabber from El Oro, Ecuador

Photo: © Martina León 2011 - brocoli444@hotmail.com

Print: Print & Sign, SDU

To Mami and Papi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation brings to an end three outstanding years in Denmark that were made possible thanks to a scholarship from the National Secretariat for Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (SENESCYT) of Ecuador. I also owe thanks to the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador (PUCE) for their support, and to the Doctoral School of the Humanities at the University of Southern Denmark for accepting my research project. I have been able to travel so far and engage in this academic journey and I am very grateful to all the people who have contributed to it.

I am in debt to my supervisor Nina Bonderup Dohn for her numerous and detailed observations, for her professional advice, timekeeping and preciseness, but mostly for her continuous support and encouragement to bring this dissertation to completion. I also wish to thank my co-supervisor Johannes Wagner, who always brought thoughtful and inspiring perspectives to my study, changing constantly the drift of the analysis.

I wish to extend my gratitude to all the people from the Department of Design and Communication (IDK) of the University of Southern Denmark at Kolding campus. The list is too long to name all the administrative and academic staff with whom conferences, meetings, lunches and fellow breakfasts have been shared. Thank you very much for your support, your patience, your encouragement for speaking Danish and explaining to me those taken-for-granted things, and also for blaming the bad weather in chorus with me. I am especially grateful to the members of the Research Group *Didaktik, Design og Digitalisering*, for hosting me and sharing their inspiring projects in each session.

My gratitude goes also to my enthusiastic fellow PhD students at IDK, who have made my life in Denmark straightforward, have helped me more than once with language gaps and misunderstandings and with whom I have gone through this academic journey. Special thanks to Else Lauridsen for her help with the Danish translation, for her endless support, for the interesting discussions and arguments, and for all the shared chocolates.

I am also grateful to the organisations studied for their active work in pursue for global fairness, and to their staff, particularly to Johanna Renckens from VECO Andino and Johan Lindahl from the SSNC, who have set time aside in their busy agendas to help me understand posts and tweets.

I have been blessed to have a second family in Denmark (*Mor, Far, Rikke, Stine*), who have always been there during these three years, encouraging me and even taking care of my daughters while I wrote and read. The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without all their love, help and support.

In addition, I am also thankful to my sister Amparo, who has been an online support and help 24-hours-a-day, rephrasing and clarifying my misfortunes. Finally, I am so very grateful to my husband Victor and my daughters Avelina and Rebeca who have followed me in this adventure, have grown with me and cheered this opportunity to learn and live.

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This study addresses and links three features of the social: social imaginaries, social movements and social media. Its aim is to answer the question of whether and how are the social imaginaries of global fairness present in digital interaction.

The term ‘social imaginary’ was first coined by Greek-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis (1987) referring not to something unreal or fictitious existing only in the mind of an individual, but to the shared frameworks within which people organise their collective social world. This notion has been revisited throughout time by different scholars, among whom Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor’s work *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2004) is renowned. In 2009, political scientist Manfred Steger suggests the rise of the global imaginary and within it, the emergence of alter-globalisation imaginaries led by social movement organisations, countering market-driven globalisation (Steger & Wilson 2012; Steger et al. 2013).

At the core of this project is the understanding of communication as a tool for change (Marí Sáez 2012; Chaparro 2015; Tufte 2015) sustained on digital interaction, which is defined as the multi-way communication process mediated by the internet and the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs). It is considered a hybrid type of communication, both individualised and connected at once (Castells 2013).

While a number of studies using both online and offline research methods (Mosca 2014) have analysed current social movement organisations (SMOs), the research is scarce on SMO-enabled digital interaction in the public realm. This project aims to fill this gap following for 18 months the Facebook and Twitter accounts of five European social movement organisations and their local branches for Ecuador.

The study claims that the structure of digital interaction is rhizomatic, building on the rhizome metaphor as a structure of thought proposed by French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987). Digital interaction addresses multiple, diverse and scattered concerns, networks, and events, which are apparently disconnected, yet key concepts find linkages and emerge. Digital interaction also affords a multiplicity of languages to communicate simultaneously and asynchronously, which is otherwise unthinkable in face-to-face communication.

However for the analysis of the contents in digital interaction for advocacy, the study takes an approach of grounded theory in search of shared ideas, desires and notions of participants that could portray social imaginaries.

Findings illustrate positive and negative affordances of organisationally enabled social media for advocacy purposes, referred throughout as Advocacy 2.0, in parallel to the stages of development of the internet itself.

The process followed by Advocacy 2.0 is suggested to be cyclical and composed of four stages: posting, sharing, cooperating and acting. These stages are increasingly demanding and consequently, decreasing in participants. While the first three stages happen completely in the digital world, the last stage of acting refers to both connective and collective (physical) engagement.

The analysis proposes that expressivity plays an important role in digital interaction corresponding to the first two stages of this cycle. Heterogenic discourses are not unified, as some are utopian, others dystopian, and many are neutral, disinterested or dispassionate.

Moreover, discourses in digital interaction are multiple and apparently disconnected. Market-oriented imaginaries stemming from the neo-liberal economic system are tangled with global fairness imaginaries sustained on economic, gender and social equality, environmental conservation and farming practices, trading and politics.

Consequently, social imaginaries of global fairness are present in digital interaction and can be viewed from the stage of cooperating, suggesting both reflection and involvement in the discussion, to the stage of acting, in which participants commit to collective action in the physical world. Digital interaction enables the connection of people and issues, regardless of place, time and social and cultural differences.

Advocacy 2.0 provides the means for people to share their concerns and interact digitally for realising their hope for global fairness.

DANSK RESUMÉ

Denne afhandling behandler og sammenfatter tre sociale fænomener: sociale forestillinger (eng. “social imaginaries”), sociale bevægelser og sociale medier. Projektets formål er at besvare spørgsmålet om, *hvorvidt og hvordan de sociale forestillinger om global retfærdighed er til stede i digital interaktion.*

Begrebet “sociale forestillinger” blev introduceret af den græsk-franske filosof Cornelius Castoriadis (1987). Sociale forestillinger refererer ikke til noget uvirkeligt eller fiktivt, som kun eksisterer i enkeltpersoners hoveder, men derimod til fælles konstruktioner, indenfor hvilke mennesker organiserer deres kollektive sociale verden. Begrebet er gennem årene blevet anvendt af forskellige forskere, herunder i den canadiske filosof Charles Taylors anerkendte værk *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2004). I 2009 argumenterede politolog Manfred Steger for fremkomsten af globale forestillinger, herunder udviklingen af forestillinger om alter-globalisering, som anført af sociale bevægelser bekæmper og imødegår markedsdrevet globalisering (Steger & Wilson 2012; Steger et al. 2013).

Centralt i projektet står forståelsen af *kommunikation som et redskab for forandring* (Marí Sáez 2012; Chaparro 2015; Tufte 2015). Afhandlingen fokuserer på digital interaktion, der defineres som internetmedieret flervejskommunikation i brugen af informations- og kommunikationsteknologier (IKT). Digital interaktion regnes for at være en hybrid kommunikationsform, idet den på én gang både er individualiseret og forbundet (Castells 2013).

Der findes et antal studier af nutidige organiserede sociale bevægelser (OSB), undersøgt med både online og offline forskningsmetoder (Mosca 2014). Der er imidlertid ikke forsket meget i offentlighedens digitale interaktion i regi af OSB. Med dette projekt ønsker jeg at ændre herpå, idet jeg i 18 måneder har fulgt fem europæiske sociale bevægelser og deres Ecuadorafdelinger på Facebook og Twitter.

I projektet undersøger jeg både *strukturen* i den digitale interaktion og *indholdet* af den. Hvad det første angår, bygger undersøgelsen på den antagelse, at strukturen i digital interaktion er rhizomatisk. De franske filosoffer Gilles Deleuze og Felix Guattari (1987) bruger den rhizomatiske metafor som et billede på tænkning. Digital interaktion vedrører mange forskellige og spredte emner, netværk og begivenheder, som tilsyneladende ikke er forbundne, men som uafhængigt af hinanden forbindes gennem fælles koncepter. Digital interaktion giver også mulighed for, at mennesker kan kommunikere på forskellige sprog, og at kommunikationen kan foregå simultant og asynkront, hvilket ville være utænkeligt i ansigt-til-ansigt-kommunikation.

Hvad det andet, *analysen af indholdet*, søges der med udgangspunkt i grounded theory efter fælles idéer, ønsker og meninger hos deltagerne i digital interaktion.

Resultaterne illustrerer, hvordan organisationernes kommunikation på sociale medier kan påvirke advokeringsformål positivt og negativt (hvilke "affordances" sociale medier har herfor). Begrebet Advokering 2.0 anvendes igennem afhandlingen som en parallel til Web 2.0-begrebet.

Afhandlingen præsenterer en cyklisk model for den digitale interaktionsproces. Processen består af fire faser: at poste, at dele, at samarbejde og at handle. Disse fire faser er stigende i krævende og dermed også aftagende i antallet af deltagere. Mens de første tre faser udelukkende finder sted i den digitale verden, refererer den sidste handle-fase både til fysiske og digitale handlinger.

Analysen indikerer, at mulighederne for at udtrykke sig i de første to faser spiller en vigtig rolle i digital interaktion. Heterogene diskurser bliver ikke forenet, da nogle er utopiske, andre dystopiske, og mange er neutrale, uinteresserede eller uengagerede.

Der er desuden mange diskurser i digital interaktion, og disse er tilsyneladende ikke forbundne. Markedsorienterede forestillinger, som udspringer fra det neoliberale økonomiske system, filtreres sammen med forestillinger om global retfærdighed, herunder økonomi, køn og social lighed, miljøbeskyttelse og landbrugspraksis, handel og politik.

Der eksisterer således sociale forestillinger om global retfærdighed i digital interaktion, og disse kan ses i samarbejdsfasen, hvor de kommer til udtryk igennem både refleksion og indblanding i diskussionen, og i handlefasen, hvor deltagerne forpligter sig gennem kollektiv handling i den fysiske verden. Digital interaktion muliggør sammenknytning af mennesker og problemstillinger, uafhængigt af tid og sted og sociale og kulturelle forskelle.

Advokering 2.0 skaber mulighederne for at mennesker kan dele problemstillinger og interagere digitalt for derigennem at realisere deres håb om global retfærdighed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	v
English Abstract.....	vii
Dansk Resumé.....	ix
Table of Contents.....	xi
List of Tables and Figures.....	xv
List of Acronyms.....	xvii
Introduction.....	1
Methodological approach.....	2
Chapter outline.....	3
I. Conceptualising Social Imaginaries.....	7
1.1 Introduction.....	7
1.2 Different approaches to the study of social imaginaries.....	8
1.3 New modern/national social imaginaries.....	12
1.4 Emergence of the global imaginary.....	15
1.4.1 Operationalising the global imaginary.....	17
1.4.2 Alter-imaginaries of globalisation.....	19
1.5 Conclusion.....	21
2. Social Movements and Advocacy.....	23
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 Scholarship on social movements.....	24
2.2.1 Collective behaviour theory.....	24
2.2.2 Resource mobilisation theory.....	28
2.2.3 Political process perspective.....	33
2.2.4 Framing processes approach.....	39
2.2.5 New social movements approach.....	43
2.3 Defining social movements.....	48
2.4 Latin-American trends in social movement studies.....	49
2.5 The senses of advocacy and SMOs.....	52
2.6 Conclusion.....	54

3. A Communicative Landscape.....	55
3.1 Introduction.....	55
3.2 Early communication studies.....	56
3.3 Communication for development and social change.....	58
3.3.1 Structural approaches to communication for development and social change..	60
3.3.2 Cultural and political approaches to communication for social change.....	62
3.3.3 Participatory communication.....	64
3.3.4 Social Movement learning.....	66
3.4 ICTs and digital interaction.....	69
3.4.1 The Web 2.0.....	72
3.4.2 Critical views of the Web 2.0.....	73
3.5 Social media sites.....	75
3.5.1 Twitter: between social networking and social media.....	77
3.5.2 Facebook: connecting networked individuals.....	84
3.6 Conclusion.....	91
4. Connected Activism.....	93
4.1. Introduction.....	93
4.2 The metaphor of the rhizome.....	94
4.3 Activism and the internet.....	95
4.3.1 A first era of connected activism: TANs.....	95
4.3.2 The GJM, a second era of connected activism.....	97
4.3.3 Mapping the rhizome of the GJM.....	98
4.4 Advocacy 2.0.....	102
4.5 Affordances of Advocacy 2.0.....	104
4.6 Conclusion.....	106
5. Researching Digital Interaction.....	107
5.1. Introduction.....	107
5.2 SMOs studied and their performance in digital media.....	108
5.2.1 Hivos.....	114
5.2.2 IBIS.....	116
5.2.3 Oxfam Intermon.....	119
5.2.4 SSNC (Naturskyddsföreningen).....	121
5.2.5 Vredeseilanden (VECO).....	123
5.3 Data collection.....	124
5.3.1 Twitter.....	125
5.3.2 Facebook.....	126
5.4 Methodology.....	128
5.4.1 Rhizomatic analysis.....	128
5.4.2 Analysis procedures in Twitter.....	129
5.4.3 Analysis procedures in Facebook.....	130
5.5 Conclusion.....	137

6. Digital Interaction for Advocacy	139
6.1 Introduction.....	139
6.2 The cycle of digital interaction	140
6.3 Mapping digital interaction.....	142
6.3.1 The principles of connection and heterogeneity.....	142
6.3.2 The principle of multiplicity.....	156
6.3.3 The principles of cartography and asignifying rupture	163
6.3.4 Decalcomania	167
6.4 Advocacy 2.0 on Twitter.....	170
6.5 Conclusion	171
7. Discourses of Global Fairness	173
7.1 Introduction.....	173
7.2 Interacting digitally for advocacy	174
7.2.1 Posting	177
7.2.2 Sharing.....	178
7.2.3 Cooperating and acting.....	179
7.3 Expressivity.....	185
7.3.1 Flaming.....	186
7.3.2 (Meta) communicating	190
7.3.3 Topic dispersion	192
7.3.4 Multilingualism	194
7.3.5 The emotive function of digital interaction	196
7.4 Core ideas.....	199
a) Conserving nature.....	199
b) Stressing equality	200
c) Eco-farming.....	202
d) Globalising concerns	205
e) Trading and economic issues	206
f) Assessing policy	209
g) Miscellaneous categories	212
7.5 The social imaginaries of global fairness.....	216
7.6 Conclusion	218
Conclusions	221
References	225
Appendix: Posts Analysed	241

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table I.1	Facebook and Twitter accounts studied	3
Figure 1.1	MDA process	20
Figure 2.1	Polity model	33
Figure 2.2	Mobilisation model	34
Figure 2.3	Political process model of movement emergence.....	35
Figure 2.4	Components of contentious politics.....	36
Figure 2.5	Mobilisation in contentious politics: dynamic interactive framework.....	37
Figure 2.6	Processes of transformation of a social movement.....	43
Figure 3.1	Google search trends of ‘Social Media’ vs ‘Social Network’	76
Figure 3.2	Social media between interpersonal and mass communication	77
Table 3.2	Visualisation of mentions in a Twitter’s newsfeed.....	81
Figure 4.1	The GJM viewed through the principles of the rhizome	98
Figure 4.2	Artistic decalcomania technique	101
Table 4.1	A typology of connective action	103
Table 5.1	Organisations studied and their digital media.....	110
Table 5.2	Performance on Facebook and Twitter of the SMOs studied	111
Table 5.3	Data sources of the study	112
Figure 5.1	@IBIS_Denmark on Twitter merges IBIS and OXFAM logos.....	119
Table 5.4	Facebook posts analysed.....	127
Figure 5.2	Word cloud of Vredeseilanden’s hashtags.....	129
Figure 5.3	Screenshot of first coding cycle in Excel of post O_5194.....	130
Figure 5.4	Legend of first coding cycle in Excel	131
Figure 5.5	Nodes in NVivo from initial coding of post O_5194.....	131
Table 5.5	Topics emerging in a first coding cycle	132
Figure 5.6	Example of intermediate coding cycle in a comment.....	133
Figure 5.7	Screenshot of coding bars in NVivo	133
Figure 5.8	Visualisation of connected categories in digital interaction	134
Figure 5.9	‘Conserving nature’s tree diagram	135
Table 5.6	Second coding cycle: defining major categories.....	136
Figure 6.1	The cycle of digital interaction for advocacy.....	140
Figure 6.2	Development of the stages of the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy	141
Figure 6.3	Variation in numbers of Twitter followers over a month	142
Figure 6.4	AntiScampi campaign 2014 printable material.....	144
Table 6.1	‘Shrimp-bombard’ connective action call.....	145
Figure 6.5	Geolocalisation of Oxfam Intermon’s Facebook posts.....	145
Table 6.2	Number of retweets and mentions among organisations	146
Figure 6.6	Tweets and retweets of SMOs	147
Figure 6.7	Retweeted tweets.....	148
Figure 6.8	Twitter enabled connective action	148
Table 6.3	The 10 hashtags more retweeted by each account	149
Table 6.4	Hashtags shared by three SMOs	150
Figure 6.9	Path of enabled connective action on Facebook	152

Table 6.5	Comment threads on Facebook posts.....	154
Table 6.6	Digital interaction on Vredeseilanden and VECO Andino’s Facebook pages ...	155
Table 6.7	Languages of Facebook posts	157
Table 6.8	Languages of Twitter posts	158
Figure 6.10	Pictures of Jaqi Aru on Twitter and Facebook	160
Figure 6.11	Retweeted hashtags from Oxfam Intermon’s Twitter	163
Figure 6.12	Retweeted hashtags from Hivos’ Twitter	165
Figure 7.1	Differences in numbers of comments and likes in a shared post	175
Figure 7.2	Linking, sharing and commenting	176
Figure 7.3	Replies from posting owners.....	178
Figure 7.4	Tree diagram of ‘communicating’	190
Figure 7.5	O_5184 Oxfam Intermon’s fundraising campaign	193
Figure 7.6	Tree diagram of ‘setting the mood’	197
Figure 7.7	Major categories present in digital interaction for advocacy	199
Table 7.1	Core concepts in advocacy discourses	216

LIST OF ACRONYMS

APC	Association for Progressive Communications
API	Application Programming Interface
CDI	Centre for Development Innovation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CFSC	Communication for Social Change
CAQDAS	Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CONGDE	Coordinator of Non-Governmental Development Organisations
DR	Danish Broadcasting Corporation
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
GCE	Global Campaign for Education
GJM	Global Justice Movement
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
Hivos	Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
LED	Light-emitting Diode
MDA	Morphological Discourse Analysis
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
NPO	Non-for-profit Organisation
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NPO	Nonprofit organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
SMS	Social Media Sites
SMI	Social Movement Industry
SML	Social Movement Learning
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SNS	Social Networking Sites
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SSNC	Swedish Society for Nature Conservation
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
ToC	Theory of Change
TD	Transition Discourse
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UR	University and Research Center
VECO	Vredeseilanden Country Office

WSF	World Social Forum
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
WUNC	Worthiness, Unity, Numbers and Commitment
WUS	World University Service
WWW	World Wide Web

INTRODUCTION

The ubiquitous presence of the internet and the extended use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) allows social movements from gender to human rights, education, environment, food and peace to interconnect with each other and spread their concerns in the global sphere.

The development of the internet has changed the way social engagement in advocacy takes place. Consequently, social movement organisations (SMOs) are less information brokers that spread local and global concerns into the public sphere, and more enablers of collective action that is both personalised and connected with like-minded networks of participants worldwide through the affordances of the internet and ICTs.

At the core of this project is the understanding of *communication as a tool for change* (Chaparro 2009; Marí Sáez 2012; Tufte 2015) sustained on digital interaction: the multi-way communication process that is afforded by the internet and the use of ICTs. The main research question guiding this project is *whether and how are the social imaginaries of global fairness present in digital interaction*.

In 1964, Greek-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis coins the notion of the ‘social imaginary’, referring not to something unreal or fictitious existing only in the mind of an individual, but to the shared frameworks within which people organise their collective social world. This notion has been revisited throughout time by different scholars, among whom Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor’s work *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2004) is renowned.

In 2009, Manfred Steger suggests the ‘rise of the global imaginary’, a step forward from Taylor’s modern imaginaries. Inside the imaginaries of globalisation, Steger suggests a full-blown ideology that is not ‘simply calling for an end to market-driven, neoliberal economic globalisation but is proposing a coherent *global* alternative to this model’ (Steger & Wilson 2012:452). This ideology is addressed in his work *Justice Globalism* (Steger et al. 2013).

The analysis focuses on social imaginaries that illustrate this shared notion of global justice, which I prefer to call ‘global fairness’. Fairness is considered a more accurate sense of the notion of justice. Fairness’ sense is on human interaction not on tools to warrant its application; it deals less with laws, rules and the administration of punishment and rewards. In this way, the concept of ‘global fairness’ is open to a global understanding of equality, solidarity, sustainability, participation and change; core concepts sustained in Steger’s study. These same concepts are behind proposals to move beyond capitalism in the work of scholars such as

Arturo Escobar (2012), Michael Albert (2014), Cynthia Kaufman (2014), Manuel Chaparro (2015).

Moreover, a challenge of the study has been to deal with a multiplicity of languages involved in digital interaction. *Fair* is the precise sense of justice pointed out in the data from the Danish 'retfærdig', the Swedish 'rättvisa' and the 'Dutch' 'eerlijke'. The term 'fair' is also used for commerce that is socially just, environmentally sustainable and healthy for humans and for nature: fair trade.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study operationalises the metaphor of the rhizome as a structure of thought proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987). Its principles of connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, cartography, asignifying rupture and decalomania guide the analysis of the way concerns are shared in digital interaction for advocacy.

Rhizomatic plants, such as mangroves, ginger or bamboos, have developed a number of adaptations due to the dynamic conditions of their habitats: they have no centre, no defined boundaries and spread in multiple and heterogeneous ways through semi-independent nodes that renew, grow and regenerate by their own. Throughout the dissertation, digital interaction is suggested to deploy a rhizomatic structure. But for the analysis of the actual content of the discourses I use the approach of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss 2015) through a cyclical process of coding (Saldaña 2015) to find the composition of the *thicker* roots of the rhizome.

Over 18 months (from January 2014 to June 2015), the project followed the Facebook and Twitter accounts of five European SMOs and some of their local branches for Ecuador: Hivos (the Netherlands), IBIS (Denmark), Oxfam-Intermon (Spain), the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC - Sweden) and Vredeseilanden (Belgium).

As an Ecuadorian student in Denmark, I am particularly interested to see how digital interaction for advocacy takes place globally yet with a geographical constraint, therefore the criteria for selecting the SMOs analysed includes: a) having a transnational scope while working in partnership with local organisations in Ecuador, and b) having a strong presence and performance on digital media.

Following the first criterion, in order to ensure diversity, no two organisations with headquarters in the same European country were selected. For instance, IBIS was chosen as it is a strong organisation in Denmark, where the study physically took place, even though its local office for the Andean region has been closed since 2014. Nevertheless, IBIS still works with local organisations in the region, and its communication channels consistently address Latin American concerns. Another organisation studied is the SSNC. This only has offices in Sweden but works in partnership with local organisations in Latin America, therefore digital

interaction on the social media sites of Redmanglar Internacional, a Latin American network that includes Ecuadorian organisations and has strong web presence, was selected as the ‘local’ partner for SSNC. Vredeseilanden and Hivos have their own offices and communication channels in the Andean region that were also followed (see Table I.1).

Facebook		Twitter
Hivos	Non-profit organisation	@hivosorg
Hivos America del Sur	Non-profit organisation	@HivosSudAmer
IBIS Denmark	Charity organisation	@IBIS_dk
Oxfam Intermon	Non-governmental Organisation (NGO)	@OxfamIntermon
Naturskyddsförening (SSNC)	Community organisation	@naturskyddsf
Redmanglar Internacional	<i>Personal profile</i>	@redmanglar
Vredeseilanden	Organisation	@vredeseilanden
VECO Andino	Non-governmental Organisation (NGO)	@VECOAndino

Table I.1 Facebook and Twitter accounts studied

All organisations were approached before the start of the project and agreed to take part, moreover their communications staff provided assistance during the retrieval and analysis of the data. A challenge of the study has been to analyse digital interaction happening in different languages. It is not only that SMS are managed in different languages, within comment threads digital interaction also takes place simultaneously in different and unexpected languages from the main language stated in the profile of each account.

While I am proficient in three languages (Spanish, English and Danish), to be able to follow discourses in other languages I used online translation, mostly Google translate and the Facebook translation feature. This enabled me to quickly grasp the rough meaning of posts and comments.

As for the final analysis of selected data, I had the assistance of an international network, mainly from colleagues from my department at SDU and also members of the organisations studied. With their help, I was able to decipher complex comments due both to typos and a lack of language context, which online translators could not provide. Therefore, the analysis was mostly enhanced by the affordances of the Web 2.0, but in some cases it did turn into a hybrid of connected resources and in-person assistance.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Three features of the social are addressed in this study: social imaginaries, social movements and social media. Consequently, the project starts with a literature review of these three subjects, the last one framed into the field of communication for social change.

Chapter 1 *Conceptualising Social Imaginaries* develops an exegetical analysis to establish the meaning and scope of social imaginaries and address the different approaches to this notion. The chapter concludes by sustaining that, despite their intangibility, social imaginaries are very ‘real’, thus feigning permanence, social imaginaries are dynamic and in constant change.

Chapter 2 *Social Movements and Advocacy* addresses the field of collective action and how this has been studied in the different schools of thought. To exemplify the emphasis posed by each school of thought, one of the organisations of this study is addressed, namely SSNC. The reason for referring to only one of the organisations rather than all of them, is to provide an example for illustrative purposes only.

This is particularly relevant for the analysis of communication in the next chapter, as communication particularly shares a background with the school of sociology. The chapter defines social movements as informal networks between a multiplicity of actors sharing common purposes, social solidarities and exercising counterpower. The chapter then moves into an analysis of SMOs and advocacy and explains how both are linked to the ‘global justice movement’ (Della Porta 2009b; Steger & Wilson 2012), which started with the advent of the new century.

Chapter 3 *A Communicative Landscape* asks how has the field of communication emerged and how the sphere of communication for social change is understood. As the literature suggests, it emerged as a model for the ‘diffusion of innovations’ (E. M. Rogers 1983) in developing countries in the 1960s and was soon re-signified by its addressees, turning the media into a vehicle for change. Particularly interesting is the analysis of social movement learning, which is inspired by the work of Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (2005), in which engagement in social movements is suggested as a form of informal collective learning which is about change and counters unfair social structures.

The second part of the chapter addresses the development of ICTs, particularly the evolution of the internet into a participative, collaborative and interactive network, referred to as the ‘Web 2.0’. The chapter analyses social media sites within the Web 2.0 and particularly refers to the architecture of Facebook and Twitter approached in this study.

Chapter 4 *Connected Activism* brings together the three previous chapters, driven by the question of how collective action has entered into the new media ecologies afforded by ICTs. The chapter builds on ‘the logic of connective action’ proposed by Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg (2013) to suggest the emergence of Advocacy 2.0. In parallel to the stages of the internet, Advocacy 2.0 refers to the type of ‘organisationally enabled connective action’ which allows networked participants to take part in digital interaction through social media provided by SMOs.

The chapter introduces the metaphor of the rhizome proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and suggests its operationalisation for the analysis of the complex structure of the scattered,

yet connected (physical and virtual), and networked issues of advocacy for global fairness within digital interaction.

Chapter 5 *Researching Digital Interaction* is a methodological chapter. It starts by presenting the five SMOs of this study, focusing on their digital media. It then explains how the data was collected and the steps taken in the approach of grounded theory for the analysis of discourses in Facebook.

Chapter 6 *Digital Interaction for Advocacy* describes how digital interaction takes place in the Facebook and Twitter accounts of SMOs. Posts and tweets are suggested to follow a cycle of four stages: posting, sharing, cooperating and acting. These stages become increasingly demanding and consequently decreasing in participants, as they advance. While the first three stages happen completely in the digital sphere, the last stage of acting refers to both connective and collective (physical) action.

The chapter explains the way posts and tweets spread in digital media through the principles of the rhizome of multiplicity, heterogeneity, asignifying rupture, cartography and decalcomania. This structure could provide the means for social imaginaries to spread globally. Although the chapter suggests a negative affordance of Twitter in the data analysed, namely that it does not enable different perspectives from that of the SMOs to actually appear.

Chapter 7 *Discourses of Global Fairness* describes how the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy takes place in Facebook posts. It deals with two different layers of analysis: the expressivity layer, which manifests in posting and sharing, and a second layer which deals with *cooperating* and *acting* in digital interaction, and leads to the emergence of core concepts in the discourses.

The core concepts identified in discourses are equality (economic, gender, cultural and social), environmental conservation and farming practices (eco-farming), policy, globalisation and trading. These core categories, as well as other miscellaneous categories, move away from a hierarchical structure to a rhizomatic structure of digital interaction for advocacy.

The analysis suggests that social imaginaries in discourses are globalised and a sense of fairness, sustained in equality, nature conservation, policy and trading practices, is stressed in the rhizomatic structure of digital interaction for advocacy.

I. CONCEPTUALISING SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

*there is no need to stress that the social imaginary, as
we understand it, is more real than the 'real'*
(Castoriadis 1987:140)

I.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops as an exegetical attempt to present one of the main concepts of this study, that of the 'social imaginaries'. It starts from a historical perspective and expands this concept to current critical approaches by answering two specific questions:

- What are social imaginaries?
- How has the study of the social imaginaries developed?

The term 'social imaginary' was first coined in 1964 in the work of the Greek-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis. The chapter revisits the work of Castoriadis (1987), Bronislaw Baczko (1984/2005), the 'theory of the social imaginary' proposed by Juan Luis Pintos (2001) and the approach of the 'new social imaginaries' (Arthurs 2003; Taylor 2004; Anderson 2006).

It then focuses on current approaches, suggesting the emergence of global imaginaries (Patomäki & Steger 2010; Steger et al. 2013; Garcia Canclini 2014). At the core of this research project are global imaginaries that suggest an alternative model of society to the hegemonic market-driven imaginaries (Steger et al. 2013).

Political scientist Manfred Steger refers to the alter-imaginaries of globalisation as those of 'global justice', I prefer to term them *global fairness*. Fairness is a more accurate sense of the notion of justice to describe the current endeavours of society for advocacy. Fairness is less structural (laws and rules, punishment and rewards) and more human, open to a global understanding of equality, solidarity, diversity, egalitarian participation and environmental responsibility.

1.2 DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

Social imaginaries, understood as symbolic matrixes or frameworks within which people organise their collective world; where imagination, not simply reason, plays a part in the construction of social practices with a widely shared sense of legitimacy, is the concept that steers this research project. This section analyses how the notion of social imaginaries has been conceptualised over time.

The concept of the social imaginary goes beyond the aesthetic notion that associates imagination and creativity to the fine arts: poetry, music, painting and sculpture. By intentionally placing together two vague and yet very meaningful notions, the Greek-French philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis¹ (1987) builds a philosophical understanding of the social imaginary. This has been considered as a theoretical framework for analysis and inquiry from a variety of perspectives from the social sciences and humanities (see e.g. Strauss 2006; Mountian 2009; Agudelo 2011; Salazar 2012).

Castoriadis argues that the way in which societies live cannot be analysed only from what can be sensorial perceived, nor from something thought (rational): ‘we cannot understand a society outside of a unifying factor that provides a signified content and weaves it with the symbolic structures’ (1987:160). This unifying factor is what he refers to as a ‘social imaginary’. The imaginary of a society in a certain period is contained in ‘its singular manner of living, of seeing and of conducting its own existence’ (1987:145).

Social imaginaries mould societies, and give a specific orientation to them, over a determined period. For instance, women were prevented from attending higher education programmes until well into the 20th century, ascribed to a social imaginary that a good education would make women unfit for marriage and motherhood. This social imaginary was fuelled by Harvard professor Dr. Edward Clarke’s study from 1873 which suggested that studying too much affected the health of young women, causing serious damage to the nervous system and infertility (Lowe 2003).

For women to have access to higher education, these social imaginaries had to change. The type of change takes place in what Castoriadis terms as ‘the social doing’ (1987:147), this is when society provides the means to make evident a need to reconceptualise imaginary significations and re-establish harmonious life. Therefore, social imaginaries are dynamic and adapt to different circumstances, contexts, periods and societies.

In the psychoanalysis school of Jacques Lacan, the notion of the social imaginary takes a different turn from that of Castoriadis’ understanding. Castoriadis argues that the imaginary is

¹ Castoriadis coined the term ‘social imaginary’ first in his essays published in the journal *Socialisme ou Barbarie* under the pseudonyms Paul Cardan and Pierre Chaulieu. In 1975, these essays were compiled in the book *L’institution imaginaire de la société* that was first translated to English in 1987 as *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Throughout this chapter, I refer to the reprint of this book from 2005.

far from being just *an image of* something else, a mere representation of something different (1987:1-6). However, the common and conventional grasp of the ‘imaginary’ is rooted in the ‘other’ understanding derived from psychoanalysis, which considers the imaginary as qualifying a false, inexistent and fictitious reality (D. Cabrera 2004). As John Rundell (2013) states:

[The imagination] is viewed as equivalent to fiction, phantasy, madness, irrationality, and thus an essential untruth in relation to reason and/or reality. The imagination is pushed into the underworld and made equivalent to, if not demons of the soul, then to shadows which disappear once the cold light of understanding is thrown onto them. (Rundell 2013: 3-4)

The philosophical and scholastic grasp of the ‘social imaginary’ suggested by Castoriadis provides the term with a broad and enhanced meaning. Dilip Gaonkar (2002:1) suggests that Castoriadis offers the ‘fullest contemporary elaboration’ of the social imaginary while Claudia Strauss (2006:324) argues that Castoriadis’ notion of the social imaginary embeds a ‘greater role to the power of creative ideas’.

Rundell considers that Castoriadis’ notion of the social imaginary becomes a solid elaboration through a ‘war on three fronts’: 1) against Marxism’s functional analysis of society, 2) against structuralism, especially to the Saussurean school of linguistics, and that 3) these two battles are subsumed into a critique on the way reason has been viewed in the 20th century.

An example of the social imaginary provided by Castoriadis is the notion of the nation, sustained in a threefold imaginary reference to a ‘common history’ (1987:148); it is imaginary since:

- 1) It is ‘sheer past’
- 2) It is not really ‘common’ since members of the society have not lived nor shared those past experiences, and
- 3) What is known as, and is the basis for, collective identification is largely mythical.

The imaginary is conceived of as ‘real’, but not perceived by the senses, and therefore nor is it a ‘rational’ component of human common understanding, as the example of ‘common history’ shows.

The social, in the ‘social imaginary’, is expressed as ‘society’, understood as ‘a network of relationships among autonomous adults’ (1987:94). Nevertheless, in this relationship, society is in permanent conflict. As Castoriadis posits:

[Society] requires that people, as producers or as citizens, remain passive and restrict themselves to performing the task it has imposed on them. When it notices that this passivity is like a cancer within it, it encourages initiative and participation, only to discover that it cannot bear them, for they question the very essence of the existing order. (Castoriadis 1987:95)

This quotation will be further discussed in the next chapter, in relation to the emergence of social movements. As put forward by Castoriadis, the social imaginary, while conceptual and therefore abstract, is a notion that needs to rely on the symbolic to express itself and to actually ‘exist’, ‘to pass from the virtual to anything more than this’ (1987: 127). Therefore, Castoriadis suggests that the social imaginary encompasses two aspects: 1) the ‘actual imaginary’, or what he calls ‘the imagined’, which ultimately remains in the subjectivity, and 2) the ‘radical imaginary’, which is more concrete; it is its way of representation:

[Social imaginary significations] can exist only through their ‘incarnation’, their ‘inscription’, their presentation and figuration in and through a network of individuals and objects, which they ‘inform’—these are at once concrete entities and instances or copies of types, of *eide*—individuals and objects which exist in general and are as they are only through these significations. This relation *sui generis* to social individuals and things makes of them social imaginary significations and forbids our confusing them with significations in general, even less our treating them as fictions, pure and simple. (1987: 355-356)

Castoriadis points at the role these imaginary significations play in defining the ‘being of the group and of the collectivity’. This is understood as the group’s ‘identity’, which is made up by the world, the relation of the collectivity to it, and to the objects it contains. Social imaginaries are considered ‘immanent’ to a society, therefore the social imaginary needs to be understood as a dynamic construction that is in constant flux in the society to which it refers.

Another prominent scholar theorising on the social imaginary in the 1980s is the French-Polish philosopher Bronislaw Baczko (2005). Baczko also points to the relation between the social imaginaries and the collective identity. However, unlike Castoriadis, Baczko gives a normative turn to the social imaginary: ‘one of the functions of the social imaginary is that of organising and mastering the collective time on a symbolic level’ (2005:30, my translation).

Baczko suggests that the social imaginary has a definite intervention in the collective memory, where the reminiscence of the actual events is far less important than the imaginary and symbolic representations that a society has constructed around them. As an example, he refers to the events in Paris of May 1968, and argues that, in both testimonies and remembrances of the events, there is an underlying perception of the irruption of imagination and utopia in the public sphere. He argues it is not particularly important if the events were not so imaginative and utopian, since the collective memory amplifies the symbolism in which ‘imagination’ was enclosed.

In 1995, the Spanish sociologist Juan Luis Pintos proposes a *Theory of the Social Imaginaries and its Methodology* that operationalises social imaginaries as analytical tools to perceive, explain and intervene in social life. Pintos' theory, until recently, has not been available in the Anglophone sphere (see e.g. Randazzo et al. 2011) compared to the burgeoning literature available in Spanish and Portuguese².

As a constructivist approach, Pintos' theory is developed from the perspective of sociology and Niklas Luhmann's *Social Systems Theory* (Aliaga & Pintos 2012). Luhmann (1982:131) suggests that 'social systems are self-referential systems based on meaningful communication'. Meaningful communication both constitutes and interconnects the events or actions that build up social systems, in this sense social systems are referred to as 'autopoietic' (capable of reproducing and maintaining itself), a terminology borrowed from the study of biological systems. Social systems 'exist only by reproducing the events which serve as components of the system' (:131).

Pintos' theory refers to the subjective frameworks that provide a sequence and priority to perceptions (i.e. spatial, temporal, historical and cultural) which can be operationalised in, for example, tactics, strategies, programmes and policies at the organisational level, and that are also manifest through their symbolic dimension in legends, myths, and culturally shared stories.

Through a 'code of relevance/opacity' the theory analyses what is inside and outside socially constructed schemes. To explain this code, Pintos (2001, 2004, 2005) uses the example of the lens of a camera in a soccer match: something 'relevant' is visible to the lens of the camera whereas something else remains out of sight, acquiring the condition of 'opacity'. The position of different cameras at a game determines a diverse range of viewpoints and establishes a multiplicity of relevancies as well as many opacities.

In social life, this refers to those issues that, despite being present, current and almost ordinary, society is actually blind to; they are not a matter of concern, of neither agreement nor disagreement, they are simply opaque and impenetrable.

By applying the code of relevance/opacity it is suggested that it is not possible to refer to one single reality, therefore contemporary social systems are considered 'policontextural':

In a policontextural society, differentiation does not suggest a framework within which some partial activity might be thought of as essential, as all activities are recognised as essential. ... Unlike the 'context' (and the admitted adjective 'contextual'), which has as its primary reference the environment, contexture refers to the complexity of a system ...

² About this issue, Pintos argues that 'the traditional academic isolation of Hispanic scholars, resources scarcity and economic limitations faced in the last years have determined our intense dedication to the Spanish-speaking realm, leaving aside this flank [the English-speaking sphere] so important in the academic and cultural world' (personal comm., 28.06.14).

As to maintain this multiplicity of possibilities, meaning must always be linked to the plurality; in that sense, a binary reduction of possibilities can never take place («or this or the other»), at least a triad must be considered («this, the other or another»). (2005: 43; translation mine)

The quotation above must not be taken literally; if Pintos speaks of policontextural systems, a triad will never be enough, nor can the number of possible perspectives be counted as a limited number. The landscape should then remain open to a multiplicity or plurality of valid perspectives.

As put forward by Francesca Randazzo et al. (2011:108) '[the theory of the social imaginary and its methodology] is far from being a recipe to be followed and methods are not always explicit'. A number of empirical studies building on Pintos' theory of the social imaginary combine this systemic perspective with linguistic and semiotics to analyse discourse. For example, Pintos and Marticorena (2012) develop a 'socio-cybernetic discourse analysis methodology' in their study of the social imaginaries involved in health attention. The methodology applies a linguistic analysis by defining 'lexemes' and 'sememes' as units of meaning based on Algirdas Greimas' structural semantics and analysing them through the use of the relevance/opacity code proposed by the methodology of the social imaginary. The 'cybernetic', rather than being a conceptual notion, refers to the use of Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) and visualisation through tables, charts, word clouds and word chains.

Julio Cabrera et al. (2009), in their study 'Poor Rich Latin America. Rebuilding the "Latin America" imaginary', intertwine Pintos' theory of the social imaginary with a semiotics discourse analysis framework grounded on elements of Roland Barthes' semiology. The core concept in this study is to understand different existing imaginaries of Latin America in Spain, analysing both the official perspectives expressed in the media and that of the immigrants living in the country.

The study analyses how, in both cases, there is an expressed duality between rich and poor. While the Latin Americans stress the richness of the land and its productivity, they end up with an imaginary of fatality, dispossession and condemnation by external forces determining the imaginary of the 'poor'. In parallel, the government stresses the fact that the region is open to foreign investment and is a good market to invest in, forging the imaginary of the 'rich', but in order to avoid past recipes of colonialism it builds on the imaginary of 'cooperation', focusing on development, cultural and social programmes for 'the poor'.

1.3 NEW MODERN/NATIONAL SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

At the end of the 20th century, the notion of the social imaginary acquires novelty in the work of a group of scholars researching 'how globalization of culture and communication is

transforming contemporary societies' (Gaonkar 2002:2). The outcomes of their research are published in a special issue of the journal *Public Culture*, concerned with the emergence of what is termed the 'new social imaginaries'.

Globalisation is a concept invoked by scholars from different academic disciplines 'to describe a variety of changing economic, political, and cultural processes that are alleged to have accelerated since the 1970s' (Steger 2009b:23).

In the history of economics, the end of the 1960s marks the collapse of the Bretton Wood system of fixed gold convertibility exchange rates and regulated international trade. The 1970s upholds the explosion of neoliberal economic ideas and policies, stressing principles of the free-market, the reduction of the welfare state, the downsizing of government and the deregulation of the economy. It is in this landscape that new social imaginaries arise.

Within the logic of globalisation, scholars examine the construction of 'new social imaginaries' that could be described in parallel to the study of the 'new social movements', processes of collective action that started at the end of the 1960s. Chapter 2 will focus on social movements; here the focus is only on the concepts behind the emergent social imaginaries.

Gaonkar (2002) is among the group of scholars that theorise upon the 'new social imaginaries'. He argues that, while Castoriadis builds his work of the social imaginary by 'reacting against the deterministic strands within Marxism', the 'new social imaginary', while familiar with the work of Castoriadis, responds to a 'radically different intellectual and political milieu signalled by the cataclysmic events of 1989 and their aftermath' (:1).

Another scholar of this group is the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor. His work 'Modern Social Imaginaries' (2002, 2004) gives rise to a concerted definition of the social imaginary:

By social imaginary, I mean something much broader and deeper than the intellectual schemes people may entertain when they think about social reality in a disengaged mode. I am thinking, rather, of the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations. (Taylor 2002:106; 2004:23)

Taylor suggests that modernity is 'inseparable from a certain kind of social imaginary' and that this social imaginary, rather than a set of ideas, 'is what enables through making sense of, the practices of a society' (2004:2). Taylor's understanding of the social imaginary is heavily inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983/ 2006).

Anderson (2006:6) defines the nation as 'an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. He describes the nation as imagined in all of its dimensions. Firstly, it is imagined since 'the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them'; then it is 'imagined as limited' since even the biggest nation will define boundaries 'beyond which lie other nations;

it is 'imagined sovereign' since the 'emblem of national freedom is the sovereign state', which is imbued in the social imaginary of modernity, and finally, it is 'imagined as a community' because, regardless of inequalities, the 'nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (2006:6-7).

According to Anderson, the national imaginary ('imagining the nation'³) in the 18th century was the result of superseding three 'fundamental cultural conceptions': 1) the idea of a unique script-language that 'privileged access to ontological truth', 2) the believed divine status of monarchs and, 3) the conception of cosmology and history as indistinguishable. The rise of nationalism required a 'secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning' and nation-states 'always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future' (2006:9-10).

In the work of Taylor, modernity is considered as the 'great disembedding' (2004:49). Individuals from earlier societies were unable to imagine themselves outside of their particular context; they were always, and all times, 'embedded in society'. Modern societies introduce a break from this as individuals are first able to conceive themselves as 'free individuals', with the development of 'print-as-commodity' (Anderson 2006:37) providing the means to spread this freedom.

As suggested by Taylor, social imaginaries are not expressed in theoretical terms, rather they are carried in images, stories and legends, and in the ways ordinary people display their social surroundings; it is possessed by a majority, not restricted to scholarship or to a single sphere of society. Social imaginaries derive 'from the usual, the quotidian, from everyday attitudes, behaviours, and opinion making [They flow] from events and ideas, the realities that citizens live with most intimately and immediately' (Arthurs 2003:580).

Taylor argues that it is impossible to talk about a unique social imaginary, since multiple modernities are envisioned, and thereafter multiple imaginaries. The three broad notions that characterise what Taylor names as 'Western modern social imaginaries' are: 1) the market economy, 2) the public sphere and 3) the self-governing people or civil society.

Arjun Appadurai (2000), another scholar from the 'new social imaginaries' group, suggests that, while globalisation has increased social exclusion, 'a series of social forms has emerged to contest, interrogate and reverse these developments' (2000:3). Appadurai visualises an emerging worldwide order, a new social imaginary resisting global market economy, anchored in horizontal relations 'on behalf of the poor', which he terms 'grass-root globalisation' or 'globalisation from below', headed by nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and concerned about matters of equity, access, justice and redistribution.

³ Throughout Anderson's *Imagined Communities* the term 'national imaginary' is never present. It is first from Taylors' work *Modern Social Imaginaries* (2002, 2004) that the understanding of the 'national imaginary' is given to Anderson.

1.4 EMERGENCE OF THE GLOBAL IMAGINARY

Almost a decade after the studies of the ‘new social imaginaries’, political scientist Manfred Steger and his group suggest the emergence of the ‘global imaginary’ (Steger 2009c, 2009d, 2009a; Patomäki & Steger 2010). The global imaginary could be considered a step forward to Anderson’s (1984) dictum: ‘The reality is quite plain: the “end of the era of nationalism”, so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight. Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time’ (2006:3). The concept of ‘nation-less’, rather than Anderson’s ‘nation-ness’, seems to put forward the current global imaginary.

The work of Steger and his group focuses on the subjective dimension of globalisation considering that ‘while its material dimension is certainly important, it would be a serious mistake to neglect globalization’s subjective aspects related to the creation of new cosmopolitan and hybrid identities linked to the thickening of a global imaginary’ (2013a:214). The advent of the 21st century determined the decline of the national imaginary and the dawning of the global imaginary, leading to common understandings and practices that recognise a global scope in all human activities (Steger 2009a).

In order to understand the emergence of the global imaginary, Steger and his group utilise morphological discourse analysis (MDA), a methodological approach that sees language as critical to analysing the way that ideologies distort, legitimate, integrate and ‘decontest’ values and claims (Steger et al. 2013). This approach builds on Michael Freeden’s (2013) ‘morphological analysis of ideology’, considered among the school of post structuralism.

According to Aletta Norval (2013) contemporary poststructuralists have revitalised the study of ideologies, ‘they distance themselves from the end of ideology thesis, popularized in the 1960s by Lipset and Bell, and argue that our world is deeply and inescapably ideological in character’ (:156). Freeden’s model suggests that ‘because morphology relates to patterns and structure, it invokes a consideration of the rigidity or flexibility of such structures as loci of linguistic and semantic power’ (2013:124).

Freeden studies words as ‘essentially contested concepts’, where disputes over their meanings ‘will in some cases be irresolvable rather than contingent’ (:119). Words turn into contested concepts by means of polysemy, attribution of value or appraisal. This is the case for concepts such as liberty or democracy. When putting these words together with other logically possible words, there is a reduced number of acceptable combinations, as Freeden exemplifies: ‘equality cannot simultaneously contain the conceptions of identity and of similarity nor – in the real world – the conceptions of equal desert and equal outcomes’ (:119).

As sustained by Steger et al. (2013:11) the success of ‘decontested’ ideas is that they are gradually held as truth by large segments of the population, in that way those are no longer taken as assumptions but as ‘the way things are’. Freeden explains the notion of ‘decontestation’ as follows:

An ideology attempts to end the inevitable contention over concepts by decontesting them, by removing their meanings from contest. ‘This is what justice means’, announces one ideology, and ‘that is what democracy entails’. By trying to convince us that they are right and that they speak the truth, ideologies become devices for coping with the indeterminacy of meaning ... That is their semantic roll [But] [i]deologies also need to decontest the concepts they use because they are instruments for fashioning collective decisions. That is their political role. (Freeden 2003, cited in Steger et al. 2013:11)

Freeden argues that ideologies possess an elaborate structure composed of clusters of concepts that could be separated into three categories: core, adjacent and peripheral. Core concepts are the ones that signal the presence and long-term durability of an ideology and are ‘indispensable to holding the ideology together’ (2013:125). For example, the notion of ‘liberty’ is a core concept of liberalism, it is both ubiquitous and indispensable and therefore it is present in all manifestations of liberalism. Adjacent concepts are also key concepts but with different proportional weight in each manifestation of the ideology. Close to the concept of liberty is the concept of autonomy, which could be present, or not in the discourse of liberalism. In other instances, autonomy could even be rejected, or contested due to its paradoxical condition, as explained by Castoriadis (1987:107): ‘this “action of one freedom on another freedom” remains a contradiction in terms, and a perpetual impossibility’. Moreover, the concept of liberty in combination with other adjacent concepts (autonomy, democracy, private property) could pull liberal ideology in different directions. The third category refers to peripheral concepts, which change at a faster pace, both diachronic and cultural, as suggested by Freeden. This is the case of the concept of colonialism or empire, concepts that are unable to reattach to the core and adjacent concepts after a period.

When analysing ideologies, concepts are in constant flux between the three categories described above (core, adjacent and peripheral). Through processes of decontestation, conceptual inconsistencies or contradictions are provisionally eliminated. As suggested by Freeden, ‘decontestation is bolstered both by rational and irrational preferences, each assisted by emotions –pride, loyalty, anger, or fear– and strong passions of commitment that lock them further into place’ (:121).

A process of decontestation can be observed in the inclusion of prefixes such as ‘neo-’, or ‘post-’ to modernity’s ideological ‘-isms’: for example, neoliberalism, neocolonialism, postsocialism, postcommunism, neofascism and neoNazism. These prefixes suppose both an acknowledgement of these concepts as contested while providing them with renewed potentials (Steger 2009d).

Steger and Paul James (2013) suggest the subjective dimension of social life takes place across three interrelated layers: ideologies, imaginaries and ontologies. Each of these progressive layers contain ideas, meanings, sensibilities and subjectivities that could be separated only as an analytical exercise, providing ‘a useful way of tracking the changing, contradictory and overlapping nature of subjectivities’ (2013:23).

In this sense, the authors propose that, when ideologies (‘normatively imbued ideas and concepts’) become embedded in the dominant commonsense of a period or a place, they turn into social imaginaries. The third step is when these ideas define the ‘ways-of-being-in-the-world’ as the current ontologies of ‘linear time, territorial space and individualized embodiment’ (Steger & James 2013:23).

In Steger’s work, the social imaginary is defined as ‘patterned convocations of the lived social whole’:

The notion of “convocation” is important since it is the calling together—the gathering (not the self-consciously defending or active decontesting activity associated with ideologies) of an assemblage of meanings, ideas, sensibilities—that are taken to be self-evident. The concept of “the social whole” points to the way in which certain apparently simple terms such as “our society,” “we,” and “the market” carry taken-for-granted and interconnected meanings. (Steger & James 2013:31)

Steger considers the notion of the ‘social whole’ to go beyond the dominant sense of community that prevailed in Taylor’s definition of the social imaginary. The *social whole* supposes a higher level of understanding where ‘the perception of intensifying social interconnections have come to define the nature of our times’ (Steger & James 2013:29). While the term ‘international relations’ is embedded into a national imaginary that suggests understandings between communities within the borderlines of a nation-state, this term becomes contested when describing relations that are no longer circumscribed to national boundaries. Here the ‘global imaginary’ emerges, destabilising the former national imaginary.

1.4.1 Operationalising the global imaginary

The global imaginary is suggested to be strengthened, among other things, by technological change and scientific innovation (Steger 2009d). Globalisation has involved subjective processes, particularly the ‘thickening of public awareness of the world as an interconnected whole’ (Steger 2009a:9), which has only been possible through expanding people’s ‘mental-geographical and chronological horizons’ (Steger 2009d:182).

Globalisation has also created new ways to delimit the world. References to a division between North and South are often provided when talking about the global (e.g. Ebrahim 2003; Thompson & Tapscott 2010; Chakravartty 2014). Rafael Reuveny and William Thompson (2007) suggest the concept of the North-South divide came into the realm of international relations following the end of the Cold War. Before, the global axis used was ‘West-East’, situating the wealthier nations in the West and the Soviet Union and China in the East. The need to categorise every nation saw the West become ‘the First World’, the East ‘the Second World’ and less competitive and developed nations became ‘the Third World’. But, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a new categorisation was needed. The First World became

‘the North’ and the Third World ‘the South’, and progressively, as economies changed, countries from the Second World joined one or the other.

Julian Eckl and Ralph Weber (2007) argue that the binary opposition ‘North-South’ is lopsided, in the same way the binary opposition ‘West-East’ ‘favoured over the other throughout most of the “Western” narrative’(:4):

The notion ‘North-South’ seems to be indicative of an above/below situation: hence we appear to move up when going north and to move down when heading south. This indication strengthens the case against using a binary to label the problematique at hand, for the ‘North’ might thus easily be taken as the dominant side of a lopsided binary, standing for the more real, the better, and the higher. The ‘South’, by contrast, would assume the meanings associated with the recessive side. (Eckl & Weber 2007:5)

Some scholars refer to a country’s membership of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to define the boundaries of North and South (e.g. Rohrschneider & Dalton 2002; Karlsson et al. 2007). The OECD was created in 1960 by 18 European countries plus the United States and Canada. It now consists of 34 countries including those with emerging economies such as Mexico, Chile and Turkey⁴, making the use of OECD membership for a clear-cut distinction of the boundaries of North and South becomes difficult. However, as suggested by Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell (2012), the term ‘Global South’ functions more as a metaphor with reference to a history of ‘colonialism and neo-imperialism’.

Nestor Garcia Canclini (2014) is another scholar who embraces the notion of the social imaginary in relation to globalisation processes. In his work *Imagined Globalization* he analyses the complex, paradoxical and conflicting imaginaries that define social interaction and have contributed to the architecture of globalisation. Globalisation is being recognised as a historical stage in which ‘the convergence of economic, financial, communication and migratory processes accentuates the interdependence between vast sectors of many societies and generates new flows and structures of supranational interconnection’ (:40). He stresses that imaginaries are sustained in metaphors and narratives, which give order to dispersed meanings, and are highlighted in a globalised world.

The author plays with the ambiguity of the term ‘imaginary’ in his analysis. He suggests that global imaginaries are translated in processes of cooperation and exchange of material and cultural goods that move across countries, and through messages that are coproduced and circulated at a transnational level. At the same time, he considers that globalisation is imagined because ‘integration embraces some countries more than others or because it benefits elite sectors in those countries but remains a fantasy for the majority’ (Garcia Canclini 2014:15).

As suggested by Garcia Canclini, globalisation has destabilised all that was previously known, therefore it is from the perspective of culture that it is possible to act differently ‘from those

⁴ OECD. Members and Partners. <http://www.oecd.org/about/membersandpartners/> Retrieved 11.04.2015

who see globalization as an exclusively economic exchange' (2014:xxxvii). He stresses the fact that the notion of globalisation is so pervasive that 'even the poor or marginalized cannot disregard the global':

When Latin American migrants arrive in northern Mexico or the southern United States they discover that the factory that hires them is Korean or Japanese. Moreover many of those who left their country arrived at that extreme decision because 'globalization' shut down jobs in Peru, Colombia, and Central America, or because its effects—combined with local dramas—made the society in which they always lived too insecure. (Garcia Canclini 2014:xxxix)

Steger (2003) argues that the imaginaries of globalisation define different ideological realms. The hegemonic globalism ideology is that of 'market globalism', which emerged in the 1990s, superseding the ideas of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism refers to the resurgence, starting in the 1980s, of the ideas of freedom and liberation, namely 'liberalism' as postulated by the British philosopher John Locke in the 17th century. In his work Locke promoted the ideas of capitalism against feudalism and monarchy (Kaufman 2014). Neoliberalism surged through a policy of privatisation, fiscal austerity and reductions in government spending to enhance the role of the private sector in a capitalist economy. As sustained by Kaufman:

This led to a worldwide challenge to any forms of government intervention in national economies, and a push for the privatization of public ownership of everything from utilities and pension systems to schools, as well as for a deregulation of everything from food production to rules on how capital flows between countries. (Kaufman 2014:15)

Steger and Ravi K. Roy (2010) suggest that a characteristic of neoliberalism is the way it succeeded in translating its ideas and claims into concrete policies and programmes, which led market globalism to turn into the hegemonic ideology of globalisation.

However, as the next section shows, new voices are challenging the fatalistic idea that views globalisation from a dictum of planetary market and capitalism as the only possible model for human interaction. As Kaufman (2014) observes: 'getting outside of the bubble of capitalist ways of imagining social relations helps us to challenge the idea that we must accept things as they are because there is no alternative' (:103).

1.4.2 Alter-imaginaries of globalisation

Steger and his group suggest the emergence of global imaginaries involves, not only the ideology of market globalism, but the existence of three other variants of globalism ideologies: imperial globalism, religious globalism and justice globalism (Steger 2009d, 2009b, 2013b).

The ideological claims of imperial globalism were broadly enounced following the attacks of 11 September 2001 when ‘many market globalists believed that the best way of maintaining the viability of their project was to toughen up ... some of their ideological claims to fit better the neoconservative vision of a benign US empire backed by overwhelming military power. As a result, market globalism morphed into imperial globalism’ (Steger 2005:31).

Religious globalism entered the stage after the events of September 11 as well. It describes particularly ‘jihadist Islamism’, the contemporary armed ‘jihad’, which deals with the religious duty of Muslims to maintain their religion. The attacks against the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, the terrorist attack in Copenhagen in February 2015 and in Brussels in March 2016 can be framed in this ideational system.

This study focuses on the third alter-globalisation ideology suggested by Steger and his group, that of ‘justice globalism’. It deals with the construction of the global imaginary of justice, which embraces globalisation as outside from the market-oriented imaginary and the neoliberal economic system. As suggested by Steger and Erin Wilson, ‘progressive thinkers and activists have gradually developed and articulated a form of political ideology that is committed to social justice not just at the national level but increasingly at the global level as well’ (2012:441).

In relation to justice globalism, Steger and his group studied 45 organisations considered as part of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) by applying Steger’s variant of Freedon’s MDA to analyse their discourse. The methodological process starts by disaggregating ideational systems present in the discourse into core, adjacent and peripheral concepts.

The second step evaluates the ‘ability to arrange concepts of roughly equal significance into meaningful “decontestation chains” or “central ideological claims”’ (2013:12). In other words, this assesses the way concepts are put together and enounced in effective claims that produce particular meanings. Finally the analysis identifies ‘context-bound responsiveness’ in relation to the discourse, these are the practical alternatives undertaken in a concrete time and place to reorient public issues in order to strive for agency. Figure 1.1 illustrates this methodological process.

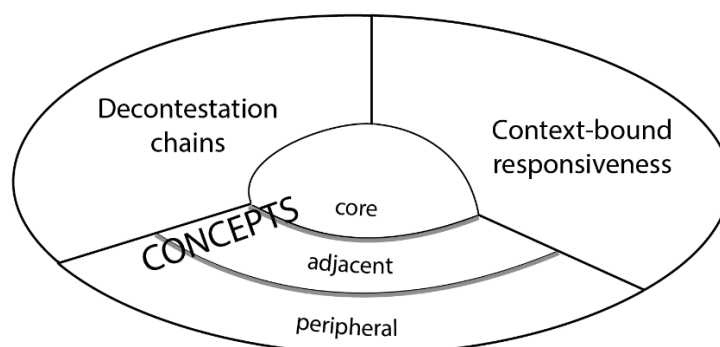


Figure 1.1 MDA process

Applying this methodology, the authors identify seven core concepts that portray justice globalism: 1) paradigmatic change, 2) participatory democracy, 3) equality of access to resources and opportunities, 4) social justice, 5) universal rights, 6) global solidarity and 7) sustainability (Steger & Wilson 2012; Steger et al. 2013).

One characteristic of political belief systems is that of absorbing, discarding and rearranging ‘large chunks of the grand ideologies’ and, at the same time, incorporating new ideas (Steger 2009a). This can be observed in the introduction of ‘participatory’ as an attribute of democracy, which differs from the conventionally accepted ‘representative’ that has been the dominant form of democracy in practice. The same happens with the attribute of ‘social’ ascribed to justice, which is different to the established ‘procedural’ justice. In addition, new contemporary concepts of ‘paradigmatic change’ and ‘sustainability’ enter into play. This is just to mention the core concepts, since the study identifies a wide range of adjacent and peripheral concepts and the ‘sophisticated formations of meanings’ that evolve around these seven core concepts (Steger et al. 2013:44).

Five core ideological claims (‘decontestation chains’) are identified: 1) Neoliberalism produces global crises, 2) Market-driven globalisation has increased worldwide disparities in wealth and wellbeing, 3) Democratic participation is essential for solving global problems, 4) Another world is possible and urgently needed, and 5) People power, not corporate power!

The study identifies responses of justice globalism to three substantive contexts (‘context-bound responsiveness’): 1) the global finance crisis, 2) the global food crisis and 3) the global climate crisis. In regard to these responses, the study suggests that ‘most justice globalists reject market-based solutions that exercise power through markets and commodities, whether in the form of derivatives, food futures, or carbon credits’ (2013:152).

Justice globalism, considered an alter-globalisation ideology (and not anti-globalisation as has been claimed by a number of scholars), is at the core of the GJM (Langman 2005; Routledge et al. 2006; Della Porta 2009b; Gee 2011; Funke 2012a; Reitan 2012a). The GJM is further addressed in Chapter 2 where collective action and advocacy efforts are put forward.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Social imaginaries, despite their intangibility, are very real: they are recognised as something existent and socially common; they enable collective practices, are enacted in many different ways and are shared in communication and social interaction (Castoriadis 1987; Taylor 2004; Baczkó 2005; Steger 2009d; Coca et al. 2011). This does not imply that social imaginaries are fixed, thus feigning permanence; social imaginaries are temporary collective frameworks, subject to change.

The understanding of social imaginaries has led scholars to use different methodologies, building on variants of discourse analysis, to build models that are used as toolkits to analyse their flux and emergence.

Currently, social imaginaries involve the notion of a globalised world, therefore authors such as Steger and Garcia Canclini speak about global imaginaries. This introduces a further level of complexity with which to approach the 'social whole', one that urges the abandonment of customary oppositions and dualities (e.g. the local and the global) to address the complexity of meanings of a globalised world.

2. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ADVOCACY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on social movements and advocacy organisations and the ways collective action has been studied from the different schools of thought. The following questions are central for the development of the chapter:

- How has the field of collective action been studied in the different schools of thought?
- What are advocacy organisations, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and social movement organisations (SMOs) and how are they linked to collective action?

It starts by presenting the different schools studying social movements and ends each section with an analysis of one of the organisations studied in this project, namely the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC). This was chosen at random out of the five organisations studied, and is given only as an example to illustrate the main features of each school's perspective.

Building on the work of Sidney Tarrow (2011), Mario Diani (2012), and Manuel Castells (2013), the chapter proposes the following working definition: social movements are informal networks between a multiplicity of actors sharing common purposes, social solidarities and exercising counterpower.

All the organisations studied in this project work in Europe and in Latin America, consequently Latin American trends in the study of social movements are also referred to. Finally, the chapter analyses the senses of advocacy present and the different nomenclature used to refer to these organisations in scholarship, stressing that this project terms them as 'social movement organisations' (SMOs) sharing the imaginaries of global fairness.

2.2 SCHOLARSHIP ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The 1960s is considered the point of departure for a flood of research regarding social movements and collective action (Della Porta & Diani 2006; Tarrow 2011). During this period, the public arena was filled with movements that substantially differed in form from the recognised movements of the 19th and early 20th century, which had stemmed from working-class-based organisations.

Mario Diani (1992) identifies four different schools of thought in the study of social movements: the *collective behaviour theory*, *resource mobilisation theory*, *political process perspective*, and the *new social movements approach*.

In Diani's classification, the *framing processes approach* is considered with the 'new social movements approach'. However I refer to it separately, as the fourth of the schools considered among the 'structural approaches' to the study of social movements (Smith & Fetner 2010), and particularly influential in the United States. The new social movements approach has been mainly associated with a European drift, considered as a cultural identity approach.

This section introduces the different approaches leading to current perspectives about social movement organisations. At the end of each section, I sum up the main ideas of the different schools in a short analysis of one of the organisations of this project: the SSNC (*Naturskyddsforeningen*), as an example of a SMO.

2.2.1 Collective behaviour theory

In a satirical mood, Cristina Flesher Fominaya and Laurence Cox (2013) suggest that the start of any account on social movements research begins with 'a tale of the bad old days of collective behaviour theory' (:7). Although sometimes omitted in literature, this school goes beyond former theories of collective behaviour (e.g. contagion theory) from the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the work of Gabriel Tarde (*Monadology and sociology, 1893*), Alexis de Tocqueville (*Recollections: The French Revolution of 1848, 1893*), Émile Durkheim (*The Division of Labour in Society, 1893*) and Gustave Le Bon (*The Crowd: A Study of Popular Mind, 1896*).

These theories focus on the abnormal, unconscious or inconsistent behaviour of individuals acting collectively, and social movements were considered along with panics, crazes, crowds, rumours and riots (McPhail 1989; Buechler 2004). Contagion theory suggests a psychological study on the irrationality of crowd behaviour to analyse social movements. Mass society theory views social movements as 'masses', constituted by individuals who have lost their autonomy and are easily alienated to act outside the normal institutions of society, causing a dangerous rupture to the existing order (Tuaza 2010).

Scholarship from collective behaviour theory no longer analyses collective behaviour as performed by irrational actors 'led by their emotions alone' (Smith & Fetner 2010:29) but makes an effort to give meaning to collective action.

Therefore, it is unhelpful to entirely dismiss the collective behaviour school of thought since it is a step forward from former collective behaviour theories and its contributions are deeply rooted in current understandings of social movements and their organisations. As Donatella Della Porta and Diani (2006) stress, the study of social movements 'owes many of its insights to students of the collective behaviour school' (:13) who were the first to consider social movements to be meaningful collective endeavours.

The second edition of Principles of Sociology (1971) contains Herbert Blumer's section on 'collective behaviour' in which he describes two forms: *elementary* and *organised*.

- *Elementary collective behaviour* involves all manners of spontaneous, natural and essentially unorganised ways in which people interact, taking the form of *crowds* (e.g. mobs, strikes, riots, fads), *masses* or *public*.

People interacting in *crowds* act under intense emotional states which leads to the development of rapport among participants. *Masses* differ from crowds as these are composed by anonymous individuals from 'all walks of life' (different social strata, class, vocation, etc.). Little interaction between members takes place in a mass; it is very loosely organised. *Public* is a group of people confronted by an issue who hold divided ideas about it and engage in discussions around it. This is considered a type of elementary collective behaviour because it emerges spontaneously in response to a situation.

- Social movements illustrate the transition from elementary collective behaviour to *organised behaviour*:

As a social movement develops, it takes on the character of a society. It acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, an enduring division of labour, social rules and social values -in short, a culture, a social organization, and a new scheme of life. (1971:199)

Blumer develops a lifecycle approach to social movements. In this, social movements pass through four stages: social unrest, collective excitement, formal organisation and institutionalisation.

In 1962, Neil Smelser proposes the *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. His work focuses on outlining the determinants that underlie occurrences of collective behaviour through a set of four value-added elements:

- 1) *Structural conduciveness*, the available means for expressing grievances, e.g. communication channels.

- 2) *Strain*, the source of conflict.
- 3) *Generalised beliefs*, defined as a way to reduce the ‘ambiguity created by conditions of structural strain’ (:81) (e.g. rumours).
- 4) *Episodes of collective behaviour*, conceived as ‘the action of the impatient’ (:72); a quick search for immediate solutions to conditions of strain.

Social movements are considered to ‘stem from complex and multiple structural strains’ (1962:291). Smelser distinguishes between two types of social movements:

- 1) *Norm-oriented movements* have narrow scope and attempt to ‘restore, protect, modify or create norms in the name of a generalized belief’ (:271).
- 2) *Value-oriented movements* intend to challenge the broader system and result in, for example, new laws, stirring committees, political parties or associations.

The work of Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1972) is also regarded as central to the school of collective behaviour. They stress that social movements are characterised by sustained activity and enthusiasm over an extended period, contrasting to extended ephemeral crowds. Long-term objectives, sustained strategies and group identity determine the continuity of social movements.

As Turner and Killian illustrate, a short-range objective such as lynching a kidnapper could hardly develop into a social movement, although the determination of society to control kidnapping could give rise to a movement with sustained activity towards the accomplishment of this goal. Another distinguishing characteristic of a social movement is that it makes demands on the community as a means toward changing society with a larger scope than the group’s own betterment.

Their work focuses on the reasons for the emergence of social movements. They criticise ‘grass-root approaches’ in which frustration and deprivation are considered the sole motivations for social movements to arise. They suggest that the reasons why people act collectively in a social movement are more complex than a simple grass-root explanation, stressing the need to examine the full situation around a social movement’s rise and life.

Turner and Killian are reluctant to consider the lifecycle approach of organisations ascribed to social movements by scholars such as Blumer, claiming this type of analysis is ‘taking for granted the idea of success’, since a movement must be regarded as successful to achieve the next stage (Turner & Killian 1972:255).

Collective action is considered the result of a perceived unjust social normativity that claims for an organised society to act upon its transformation. The first step is to collectively define a situation as one of injustice rather than of ‘great misfortune’ or ‘a twist of fate’. Thus, in order to define a situation as unjust, support is essential: ‘the claim of a victimized group is not a

moral issue so long as it is purely the expression of self-interest. Support and sympathy from those who have nothing at stake let the disadvantaged see their situation as involving a principle wider than their personal plight' (1972:264). This is the essence of advocacy and how advocacy organisations activate.

This approach emphasises four issues:

- 1) Movements are in a state of flux, of constant change, and as such, the conditions that strengthen a movement at one time could have an opposite effect at another time.
- 2) Movements are shaped by the dynamic orientations of value, power and participation.
- 3) External relations, external publics, external support and opposition also shape the course and character of movements.
- 4) Movements involve normative transformations.

As mentioned in the introduction, in order to visualise the scope of each school I will focus on one of the SMOs in this study, namely the SSNC, pointing out the main issues to be analysed from the different approaches of each school.

SSNC stems from the Swedish Environmental Movement

Naturskyddsföreningen began more than 100-years-ago as a social movement with a broad environmental orientation to protect Swedish nature. Its original name was Svenska Naturskyddsföreningen (SNF); the national reference is no longer present in its Swedish name but is included in the English translation, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC).

As suggested by the school of collective behaviour, social movements stem from complex and multiple structural strains. In Sweden, in the 1890s and 1900s, the radical socio-economic change processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and the efficiency of agriculture and forestry systems had their boom (Haraldsson 1987).

Structural conduciveness was optimal for this social movement to take place, as a government system of parliamentary democracy enabled meetings and lobbying to occur in which studies by scholars of Uppsala University, suggesting the need to protect Swedish forests and wildlife, were presented. As a result of these social demands, in 1909 the first conservation law was passed in Sweden and Europe's first national parks designated: Abisko, Stora Sjöfallet, Sarek, Garphyttan, Sonfjället and Gotska Sandön.

Building on Blumer's lifecycle of a social movement, the emergence of the SSNC faced the following four stages:

- 1) There was public concern about the increasing degradation of Sweden's nature and wildlife due to industrialisation and forest exploitation.
- 2) As a result of this concern, a group of scholars from Uppsala University and other engaged people decided to take action.
- 3) On May 16th, 1909 the SSNC was institutionalised.
- 4) These days the SSNC is a well-established organisation with extensive recognition both in Sweden and worldwide and is a member of a number of international environmental bodies.

Previously, the SSNC could have been referred to as a value-oriented movement, challenging the broader system. However, in order to achieve its goals, the SSNC has also displayed episodes of norm-oriented action, for example the reinforcement of laws, the creation of national environmental plans; the adoption of an acid rain campaign and an anti-dam campaign.

2.2.2 Resource mobilisation theory

The school of collective behaviour faced 'relentless criticism' (Della Porta et al. 2006) from resource mobilisation theorists who see it as failing to study the social movement itself, analysing instead the system and context that led to the rise of collective action (Canel 1997). While former scholars were concerned about finding the reasons for collective action ('why a movement'), a new generation of studies were more interested in analysing 'how' a social movement happens and the means available for it to happen (Melucci 1985).

The resource mobilisation school is considered a pioneer in addressing organisations within social movements (Clemens & Minkoff 2004; Milan 2013). Jean Cohen (1985:675) suggests that 'despite their differences, all versions of the resource-mobilization approach analyse collective action in terms of the logic of strategic interaction and cost-benefit calculations'. As Tarrow (2011) reminds us, this school developed at the precise historical moment where economics 'was emerging as the *master* social science' (:23), therefore its focus is on how resources mobilise in order to bring people into action.

The work of Mayer Zald and Roberta Ash (1966) is considered one of the first contributions to a major shift from previous 'social psychological approaches to organizational and structural

perspectives' (Garner & Zald 2012:7). Zald and Ash consider social movements to manifest themselves through the following two types of organisations:

- 1) *Inclusive*, in which membership requires minimum initial commitment
- 2) *Exclusive*, whose members have gone through a long period of initial commitment and selection, and are required to spend much time and energy on the movement's affairs

An example of an inclusive organisation is the National Educators Union of Ecuador, where all teachers from the national schooling system are automatically considered members. However, these same teachers could be part of an exclusive organisation such as a local NGO whose aim is to protect cultural expressions such as marimba dancing.

However, SMOs differ from other kind of organisations:

- They *aim to restructure society or individuals*, but they do not intend to provide them with a regular service. This distinguishes SMOs from governmental dependencies.

Although both types of organisations work on public issues, the goal of SMOs is not to provide services but to make sure the corresponding bodies fulfil their work. For instance, if an organisation's goal is the protection of wildlife, it will not only pursue the construction of a facility for endangered species, rather through public acts, demonstrations, lobbying and campaigning it will pressure authorities to enforce protection laws that could provide physical and legal shelter for endangered species.

- They are *characterised by an incentive structure* in which purposive incentives, oriented to seek some change in the *status quo*, predominate. The economic classification of 'incentive systems' proposed by Peter Clark and Wilson (1961) considers them fundamental for the existence of an organisation. Incentives are given in exchange to individual activity.

Three major types of incentives are identified: *material*, *solidary* and *purposive*. *Material* incentives refer specifically to monetary retributions or goods that can be translated into monetary rewards; *solidary* incentives are intangible and are independent from the precise ends of the association (e.g. identity, friendship, status); *purposive* incentives are also intangible but have direct correspondence to the ends being sought by the organisation, (e.g. education for all, equality of rights).

Another aspect stressed in Zald and Ash's work is the environment in which organisations function. The environment at large, external to the organisation itself, comprises all the actual and prospective members and supporters of the social movement, as well as the target structures or norms that the organisation wishes to change. They see three environmental aspects as critically affecting SMOs:

- 1) *Changing conditions*, which determine the flux of supporting sentiments ('ebb and flow of sentiments'). This tends to affect inclusive organisations more since allegiances to other groups and values lead members 'rather [to] switch than fight' (:331).
- 2) *Changes in the direction of the organisational goals*, which are suggested to follow the path of the 'Weber-Michel model' (:327), a blending of the main statements of Robert Michels's Iron Law of Oligarchy and Max Weber's rationalisation of the organisational structure.

The Weber-Michel model suggests that, over time, an organisation finds its niche in society through accommodation in its goals (conservatism and organisational maintenance) and in structure (oligarchisation: a hierarchical organisation with leaders turning into administrators). Due to a lack of any major successes, organisations are characterised by apathy; leadership becomes complacent and more conservative, more interested in maintaining its position than challenging the established pattern, and as a result the whole organisation becomes more conservative, since the initial radical goals could 'endanger' the newly achieved 'secure niches'. Upon both success and failure, exclusive organisations are more likely to continue and take on new goals, while inclusive organisations are more likely to vanish following success.

- 3) *Competition between organisations with similar goals*. In an attempt to succeed or avoid failure, similar organisations get involved in direct interaction through cooperation, coalition and merger. However, these interactions could affect both members' commitment and the goals of the organisation.

Another prominent scholar from the resource mobilisation approach is economist Mancur Olson. Olson challenges the generalised assumption that organisations (of any kind) 'exist to further the common interest of groups of people' (1971:7). He suggests this idea comes from the widely accepted premise of the 'rational, self-interested behaviour' of individuals, which leads them to work together. On the contrary, he considers that the organisations' common interest does not eliminate purely individual interests.

Olson considers it fundamental to analyse the size of the group (or organisation). In small organisations, individual contributions (or a lack of them) result into noticeable differences in the welfare of others in the group, while in large groups there will always be a tendency for 'free-riding' where members of the group will not voluntarily engage in action, presuming others will do it for them. Consequently, Olson suggests it is fundamental to focus on the actual incentives provided for people to stay in an organisation.

In 1976, John McCarthy, together with Mayer Zald, introduced the acronym SMO into the landscape of social movement studies as part of their 'resource mobilisation theory'. Resource

mobilisation theory challenges the common assumption that shared grievances and generalised beliefs are preconditions for the emergence of a social movement, rather it proposes that, for a SMO to act, 'grievances and discontent may be defined, created and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organisations' (1976:1214).

The analysis of social movements should address both adherents and non-adherents. *Adherents* are individuals and organisations that share goals and can become *constituents*, part of the *staff* and the professional *cadre*, providing there are resources to support this. In the non-adherents group, it is possible to distinguish between '*bystander public*', those members of society who do not oppose the movement nor its organisations, and *opponents*.

The task of resource mobilisation in the first instance is to convert non-adherents into adherents. The next level is to turn adherents into constituents. When constituents, adherents, bystanders and opponents benefit directly from the accomplishment of the SMO's goals, they are regarded as '*potential beneficiaries*'. In order to enlarge the group of potential beneficiaries, some SMOs expand their target goal. But, as both authors point out, establishing objectives that are too broad could be a dangerous move as it may result in an SMO overlapping with other SMOs and consequently risking a drop in support and resources. A third level of resource mobilisation attempts to convert bystander publics, who are potential beneficiaries, into adherents, and a fourth level mobilises as adherents those bystanders who are not potential beneficiaries.

Once conformed, SMOs operate like any other organisation; they depend upon their relationships to the media, to the authorities and interact with other SMOs to accomplish their goals. Social movements are formed by more than one SMO.

SMOs are understood in parallel to firms (market organisations); the aggregation of SMOs who share the preferences of a social movement constitute a social movement industry (SMI), and the aggregation of industries constitute the social movement sector. However, to define the proper SMI both McCarthy and Zald draw parallels with the problem faced by economists of selecting broader or narrower criteria for grouping firms. The problem occurs when SMOs have broader goals that overlap between industries' established criteria (e.g. SMOs working on issues of human rights, education, development, agriculture and women).

This theory applies the economic model of 'supply and demand' to analyse the flow of resources necessary for social movement activity and the 'costs and rewards' of individual and organisational involvement. It is considered that 'for most of the population the allocation of resources to SMOs is of lower priority than allocation to basic material needs such as food and shelter ... The SMOs compete for resources with entertainment, voluntary associations, and organised religion and politics' (McCarthy & Zald 1976:1224). The tactics chosen for achieving the social movement goals are influenced both by competition between SMOs and cooperation.

The emergence of a SMO

Désirée Haraldsson (1987) applies resource mobilisation theory to her historical analysis of the emergence and first 50 years of the SSNC (at that time known as the Swedish Society for Nature Protection). She suggests that a common interest in the protection of nature was necessary but not enough for the organisation to be established. The legal basis provided by the 1909 Swedish nature protection laws allowed the association's activities, and for these laws to pass 'nature protection was subordinate to economic expansion - and by demonstrating that the government could win new resources - tourist, aesthetic, emotional, national, scientific, forest, and thereby in the long run economic resources' (:218).

Under Olson's approach, members of the SSNC would have particular self-interests that led them to support the organisation, for example public recognition, visibility and social contact. The first testamentary donation that the SSNC received in 1930 from the wealthy Maria Pripp could be viewed in this way.

The donation allowed Anna Lindhagen, a well-known Swedish figure and social reformer, to buy two small islands for the organisation: Stora and Lilla Sandböte. These islands are no longer owned by the SSNC, they are reserves of natural and historical heritage run by the Archipelago Foundation⁵.

As a young organisation, SSNC's resources were mostly non-material, composed primarily of experts with great specialist knowledge and prestige, which allowed the organisation to reach decision-makers and influence politicians.

Later, the SSNC 'used considerable resources in becoming a popular movement' (Haraldsson 1987:2). Strategies for recruiting new members included provision of information through their annual yearbook *Sveriges Natur (Swedish Nature)* and arrangement of conferences and meetings with target groups and collectives.

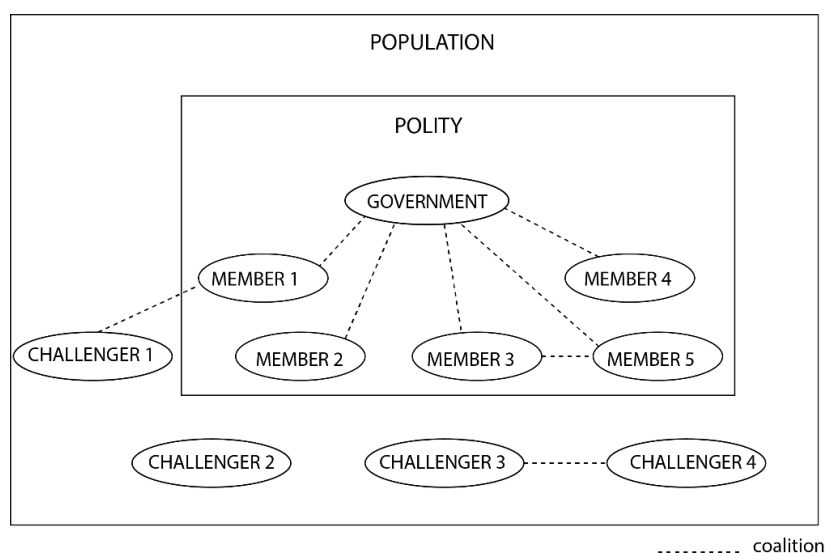
Periods of success and decay characterise the first decades of the SSNC's existence. The main goal of forming a national social movement was threatened by a regional split, which resulted in the establishment of smaller organisations with different, specific interests scattered along the country. This split helped to spread the goal of nature protection through society but, from an organisational perspective, it resulted in competition between organisations chasing a similar membership base and the weakening of the SSNC.

⁵ The Archipelago Foundation. Sandböte. <http://archipelagofoundation.se/omrade/sandbote/> Retrieved 29.04.2015

2.2.3 Political process perspective

The analysis of social movements from a political perspective has its ‘foundational stone’ (Tarrow 2011:27) in Charles Tilly’s work from 1978. For the analysis of collective action, Tilly uses two models: the ‘polity model’ (Figure 2.1) and the ‘mobilization model’ (Figure 2.2).

According to Tilly, collective action ‘consists of people’s acting together in pursuit of common interests’ (1978:1-11). The *polity model* seeks to show the interaction between society (‘population’) and polity (the collective action of the members and the government). This interaction comprises: (a) a government, which is defined as the organisation controlling the means of coercion with the population, (b) contenders that could be both *members* (those having ‘low-cost’ access to the resources controlled by the government) or *challengers* (excluded groups), as well as (c) coalitions that bring together contenders and/or governments to coordinate collective action. (Figure 2.1)



(Tilly 1978:3-2)

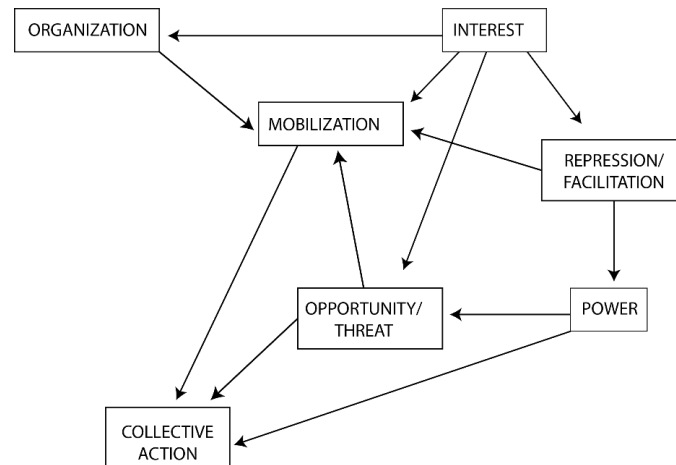
Figure 2.1 Polity model

According to this model all contenders struggle for power, which is for entering (challengers) or remaining (members) in the polity. Entries to, and exits from, the polity are determined by changes in resources controlled by each contender, by the rates at which resources are given and taken, and by changes in the coalition structure. As suggested by Tilly, the model resembles interest-group politics.

The *mobilisation model* (Figure 2.2) analyses the behaviour of a single contender, encompassing seven interrelated components:

- 1) *Interest*: gains and losses resulting from grouping interactions with other group.
- 2) *Organisation*: group structure and division of labour.
- 3) *Mobilisation*: ways to acquire resources (material or in-material).

- 4) *Opportunity/threat*: the relationship between the group and the context involving issues of
- 5) *Power*
- 6) *Repression/facilitation*, and
- 7) *Collective action*: the actual events where people act together to pursue a common interest.



(Tilly 1978:3-7)

Figure 2.2 Mobilisation model

While the model suggests analysing all components together, when applied to the study of particular social movements, further attention has been given to opportunities/threats for challengers to accomplish their goals and to issues of repression/facilitation from the side of government for the action to take place (Tarrow 2011). In this landscape, social movements are viewed as challengers in society, lacking routine access to decision-making (polity). Once they succeed, they become polity members, acquiring routine access to decision-making (Oliver et al. 2003).

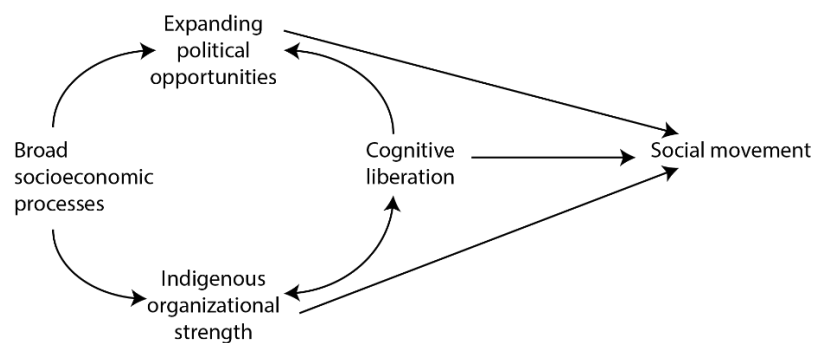
In words of Tarrow (2011:27), ‘a fully-fledged “*political process model*” of social movement mobilization’ was provided by Doug McAdam in 1982. McAdam’s model stresses two structural factors:

- 1) The *level of organisation* of the claimants (‘aggrieved population’), which serves to mobilise resources that serve to support ‘tactical forms’ that supply leaders to direct their use, participants to carry them out, and communication networks for dissemination.
- 2) The alignment of groups within the context or *political environment* (‘structure of political opportunities’), which is crucial for the exercise of political leverage to allow or restrict mobilisation and the accomplishment or failures of goals. As McAdam

suggests, ‘while excluded groups do possess the latent capacity to exert significant political leverage at any time, the force of environmental constraints is usually sufficient to inhibit mass action’ (McAdam 1982:39).

These structural factors need to convey what McAdam terms ‘cognitive liberation’, the transformation both of consciousness and of the behaviour of the group involved, empowering the group and the individuals within it to act and challenge the system for change.

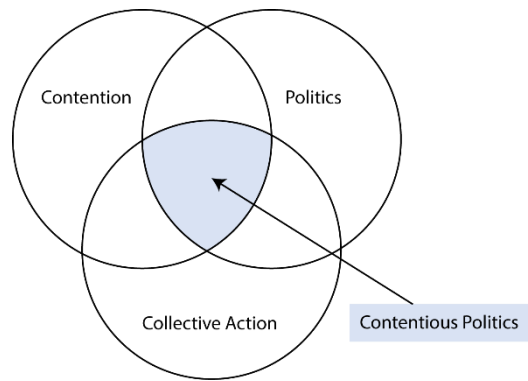
The combination of these three sets of factors: level of organisation, political environment and cognitive liberation, in a political environment with broad socioeconomic processes of change or instability, determines the emergence of a social movement (Figure 2.3).



(McAdam 1983:51)

Figure 2.3 Political process model of movement emergence

Both Tilly’s models and McAdam’s ‘political process model’ are considered ‘static’ (Buechler 2011) insofar as they assume pre-existing forms of organisation and fixed ways in which collective action develops. In 2001, Tilly, Tarrow and McAdam build the ‘*dynamics of contention*’ model. This model moves from a static analysis of political opportunities, mobilisation structures and social change to identify dynamic mechanisms that put those variables in relation, through ‘contentious politics’. This is ‘episodic rather than continuous, occurs in public, involves interaction between makers of claims and others, is recognized by those others as bearing on their interests, and brings in government as mediator, target, or claimant’ (McAdam et al. 2001:5). Contentious politics suggests the interrelation of three main elements: *contention*, *collective action* and *politics* (Figure 2.4).



(Tilly & Tarrow 2007:7)

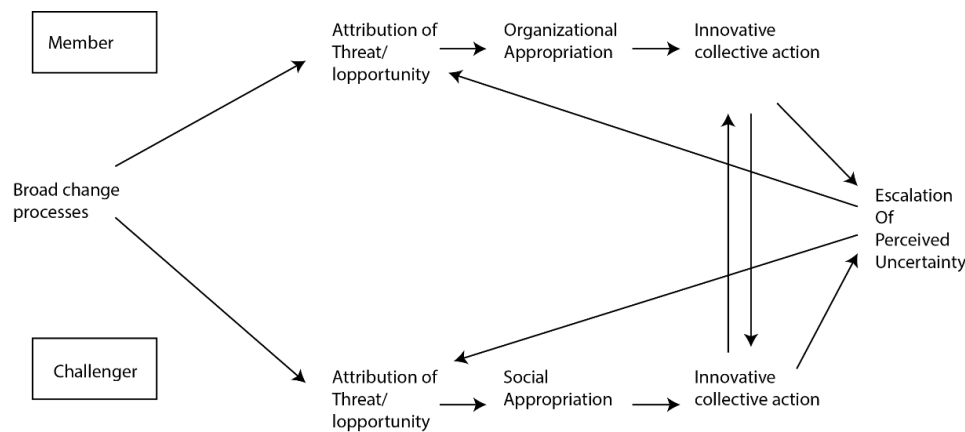
Figure 2.4 Components of contentious politics

- 1) *Contention* involves ‘making claims that bear on someone else’s interests’ (Tilly & Tarrow 2007:4). It implies the existence of at least two ‘contenders’. Contention can range from arguments over everyday decisions (e.g. choosing a ‘fair trade’ product in the supermarket, taking part in a sponsored race) to debates over public matters (e.g. taxation, pumping oil from the rainforest).
- 2) *Collective action* refers to coordinated efforts that take place on behalf of shared interests, which does not necessarily involve any sort of contention. For instance, collective action takes place when groupings of people in an organised space work together to accomplish a common goal (e.g. a sports team, an office department).
- 3) *Politics* refers to interaction with agents of government, this can be direct interaction or through activities bearing governmental interests.

Collective claims in contentious politics are grouped into three categories: identity, standing and programme (Tilly & Tarrow 2007; Tilly & Wood 2013):

- 1) *Identity* refers to a claim of recognition of the existence of the actor (e.g. indigenous group, mangrove peoples, the LGBT community)
- 2) *Standing* claims asserts that the actor belongs to, and deserves membership rights within, the regime (e.g. excluded minorities, supporters of a regime, recognised producers).
- 3) *Programme* claims call for support or opposition to a particular concern (e.g. stop child labour, support agro-ecology).

The *dynamics of contention model* identifies two possible catalysts for boosting a social movement, one stems from ‘broad change processes’, not just socioeconomic as in McAdam’s model, political, cultural, and economic environments can also play a part; the other is a perceived increase of uncertainty in society. (Figure 2.5)



(McAdam et al. 2001:45)

Figure 2.5 Mobilisation in contentious politics: dynamic interactive framework

The *attribution of threat/opportunity* considers that these need to be assessed beyond an objective evaluation, through subjective confidence in the desired success of an action. In other words, it is not enough to know the number of participants or when and where the action will take place, self-confidence and the support of the group are needed to result in mobilisation rather inert.

Other factors included in the model are *social appropriation* and *organisational appropriation*. This could refer, for example, to physical sites for mobilisation that allow resource-poor populations to overcome their shortfalls, or organisational deficit could be countered by appropriating existing organisations and turning them into vehicles of mobilisation.

Innovative collective action refers to both contained forms of contention (familiar and accepted) as well as transgressive forms, relying in their novelty and uncertainty. Recent uprisings which began in 2011, such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street and M15 Indignados, show a creative, transgressive form of appropriating the physical space, as well as the virtual space of the internet for collective action.

Tilly and Wood (2013) put forward three major elements to identify a ‘well-blown social movement’:

- 1) *Campaigns*: a sustained, organised public effort making collective claims on target authorities
- 2) *Social movement repertoire*: an array of claim-making performances including public meetings, processions, demonstrations and statements that account for political action
- 3) Participants’ public displays of *WUNC*, an acronym for *worthiness* (e.g. displays of sober demeanour: neat clothing, the presence of dignitaries, mothers with children), *unity* (e.g. matching badges, banners) *numbers* (e.g. headcounts, signatures, emails) and *commitment* (e.g. braving bad weather, the visible participation of men, women, children, elderly people, people with disabilities etc.)

The existence of a democratic system is a necessary condition for the formation and proliferation of social movements, which are less frequent when democracies are limited, and are totally absent in non-democratic regimes.

Extensive democratisation is characterised by regular and categorical relations between government and citizens, a breadth of rights and obligations (e.g. paying tax, an obligation to vote, equality between genders, ethnicities etc.), consultation or participation in decision-making processes, and protection for vulnerable citizens (McAdam et al. 2001; Tilly & Wood 2013).

Environmental politics in Sweden

The SSNC started a few months after the adoption of the first environmental law in Sweden. This provided the means for the organisation to function and enhance the application of the law. Public demonstrations, lobbying and other repertoires of contention are benchmarks in the 100-year history of the SSNC. For instance, in 1919 a law allowed the construction of a dam inside a national park, this received broad opposition from the SSNC and determined one of its future lines of action.

The history of the SSNC supports Tilly's premise in that, once it had succeeded as a social movement, the SSNC became a polity member with full access to decision-making. The SSNC is not only a polity member in Sweden. In 1948, SSNC becomes one of the founding members of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) fostering the Swedish environmental concern at an international level (Pino del Carpio et al. 2013).

The emergence of the SSNC represents an episode of contentious politics. Other episodes of contentious politics can be viewed from the different activities which the SSNC has been involved with throughout the years.

For instance, in 1985 the SSNC started a large forest campaign called 'Levande skog' (*Living Forest*). This campaign called for a change in the legislation to give more extensive consideration to nature in forestlands.

Per Simonsson et al. (2015) analyse the driving forces and interactions for the adoption of 'retention forestry', a modified form of clear-cutting that aims 'to integrate the conservation of biodiversity with timber production and to preserve other ecosystem services by retaining important elements during harvests' (:154). Retention forestry is considered a 'paradigm shift for forest management' (:155) as it is based on an ecosystem-oriented approach. Collective action has determined this change of forestry policy in Sweden and has led to this practice being extended to other countries as well.

Another example of contentious politics is the ‘Anti Scampi’ campaign concerned with the socio-environmental treat to nature from consumption patterns. The Anti-Scampi campaign started in 2011 as part of the project ‘Mat med god eftersmak’ (*Food with good aftertaste*) (Tynneron 2013). Research on shrimp farming and its extensive negative impacts to the environment and to local communities ground the campaign (e.g. C-Condem 2007; SSNC 2011). After three years, the campaign succeeded with a national ban to tiger shrimp imports from at least two Asian countries.

Organised demonstrations by civil society actors, both members and enthusiasts, focused on giant shrimp retailers, restaurants and supermarkets. Different local and national mass media were also approached. Digital channels were used including SSNC’s webpage, an Anti-Scampi Facebook page, YouTube, Twitter (#antiscampi) and blogs, both by the SSNC and others. A campaign widget was distributed and installed on hundreds of blogs including fashion bloggers, ‘mummy’ bloggers and media blogs.⁶

2.2.4 Framing processes approach

The framing processes approach calls attention to social movements’ ‘cognitive and ideational factors such as interpretation, symbolization and meaning’ (Oliver et al. 2003:227). One of the major representatives of this approach is David Snow. The work of Snow et al. (1986) is considered a step beyond McAdam’s ‘cognitive liberation’ as it involves interactive meaning negotiation and engagement in the action of participants involved in social movements (Nepstad 1997).

The framing process approach is also included in the dynamics of the contention model (McAdam et al. 2001; Tarrow 2011) analysed in the section above. Framing processes view social movements as ‘signifying agents engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for protagonists, antagonists, and bystanders’ (Snow 2004:384). Framing is considered an active, processual phenomenon involving agency and contention. It is a process that is underway, entailing agency from SMOs or movement activists, and involving a meaningful generation of existing, as well as new or challenging, meanings (Benford & Snow 2000).

Framing processes scholars build on Erving Goffman’s *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1986/1974) and apply it to the study of social movements. Frameworks help to give meaning and organise experiences.

As Snow (2004:384) stresses: ‘meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead through interactively

⁶ Interview with Mona Wallin, communication officer for the Ani-Scampi campaign (8.10.2013)

based interpretive processes'. Within social movements, meaning is built in interpretative discussions and debates in which participants engage, as well as in contention with adversaries, which could be countermovements or even the media.

Benford and Snow (2000) suggest that collective framing requires that participants:

- negotiate a shared understanding of a problematic issue (condition or situation)
- come to an agreement that this needs to change
- make attributions regarding blameworthiness (who or what is responsible)
- articulate an alternative set of arrangements (activities to perform) and
- urge others to act in concert to affect change. The two latter tasks suggest a step forward from sole subjective interpretation into a type of active participation in social movements.

Three core framing tasks are identified:

1. *Diagnostic*, which refers to problem identification and attribution of blame and causality
2. *Prognostic*, which offers a problem to the solution through targeting, strategy and action tactics
3. *Motivational*: persuading participants through a call to successful action

In the work of Snow (2004), beyond these core tasks it is suggested framing could be generated, developed and elaborated by another three overlapping processes: *strategic*, *discursive* and *contested*:

1. *Strategic* processes involve collective framing: articulation, bridging, amplification, extension and transformation.
2. *Discursive* processes refer to oral and written communicative interactions that involve frame articulation and frame amplification/punctuation.
3. *Contested* processes refer to that which activists need to challenge: counterframing by movement opponents, bystanders and the media; frame disputes within movements, and the dialectic between frames and events.

Snow's work is devoted to defining the different processes of collective framing. He suggests the following classifications:

- *Frame articulation* involves packaging together events and experiences, so they are presented together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion.
- *Frame bridging*, at the individual level, links unorganised groups (sharing some common grievances) with a structurally organised body (e.g. a grouping with an ideologically congruent SMO); at the organisational level, frame bridging is the mechanism for the construction of networks among SMOs, movement recruitment and growth.
- *Frame amplification or punctuation* refers to clarifying, reinvigorating and stressing values or beliefs. It is suggested that the meaning of events and their linkages to individual personal experiences is often covered by ambiguity or indifference. Therefore, a process of disambiguation, connection and enlivening of frames is required in order to support collective action.
- *Frame extension* refers to broadening individual or group frames to cover larger issues promoted and sustained by a SMO. Since ‘the programs and values that some SMOs promote may not be rooted in existing sentiment or adherent pools, or may appear to have little if any bearing on the life situations and interests of potential adherents’ (Snow et al. 1986:472), a process of framing extension is required. This process is at the core of transnational social movements, linking local grievances with SMOs worldwide. Different tactics and strategies are used for frame extension, for example recruiting music, arts or sport stars to support a campaign to attract otherwise uninterested individuals.
- *Frame transformation* happens when programmes and causes of SMOs are not part of the lifestyles and routines of participants’ interpretive frames. In such occasions ‘new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or "misframings" reframed’ (Goffman, 1974 cited by Snow et al. 1986:473). A taken-for-granted situation needs to be reframed to be seen as injustice and as such a claim for change can be made: ‘the shift involves a change from fatalism or self-blaming to structural-blaming, from victim-blaming to system-blaming’ (Snow et al. 1986:474). Frame transformation is at the core of the global justice movement, challenging hegemonic market globalisation to move towards global fairness.

Framing processes to produce change

Through diagnostic framing processes individuals get to share concerns around the destruction of nature, the negative impacts of the extensive use of natural resources and the consequent effects this has. They are able to identify the problem and apportion blame and responsibility. These framing processes led to an increase from 548 SSNC members in its first year to more than 203,000 members in 2014⁷.

At a prognostic level, collective frame bridging called for the establishment of other organisations fostered by the SSNC such as Sveriges Fältbiologiska Ungdomsförbund (now known as Fältbiologerna or Nature & Youth Sweden) and the Sveriges Ornitologiska Förening (*Swedish Ornithological Society*).

Another example of frame bridging took place in 1987 when the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) supported the start of the international North/South Secretariat of the SSNC. SSNC's work on a global scale now involves more than 60 partner organisations worldwide.

SSNC's global work can be viewed as a type of motivational framing, persuading participants of successful action as stated in their documentation about global work: 'Tillsammans för en stark global miljörelse' (*Together for a strong global environmental movement*).

Global partnership has recently been framed into an understanding of 'grön rättvisa' (*green fairness*). It is suggested that 'environmental problems know no national boundaries. Therefore, we cooperate with organisations around the world. Together we make the world greener and more equitable. We call it #grönrättvisa'⁸. The hashtag #grönrättvisa is included in most of the information referring to environmental projects outside Sweden supported by the SSNC. This works as a type of discursive framing through frame articulation that brings together instances of international cooperation. It is also a form of frame bridging that invites individuals to share the underlying ideas of the global partnerships.

⁷ Naturskyddsföreningen. *Mer än 100 år av envis kamp* <http://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/om/var-historia> Retrieved 09.04.2015

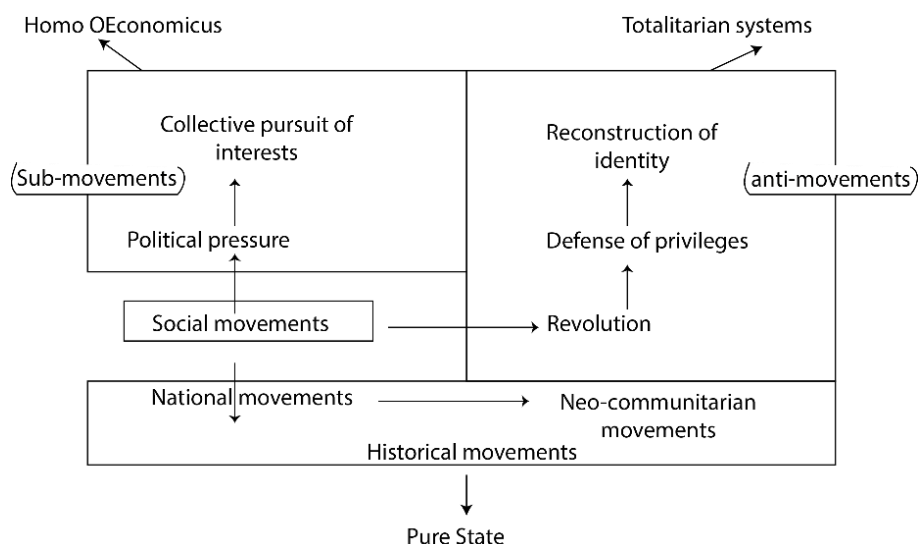
⁸ Naturskyddsföreningen. Facebook. 01.09.2015 TILLSAMMANS FOR GRÖN RÄTTVISA (*Together for green fairness*) <https://www.facebook.com/naturskyddsforeningen/posts/10153445155351609>. Retrieved 22.03.2016.

2.2.5 New social movements approach

Fominaya and Cox (2013) criticise the reduction of all European social movement studies under the umbrella of the *new social movements approach*, arguing that all the burgeoning literature developed throughout the years in Europe cannot be synthesised into one perspective. In fact, the *new social movements approach* brings together a number of different traditions of social theory and political philosophy; it is also referred to as the ‘identity paradigm’ (Cohen 1985; Tuaza 2010). New social movements are considered ‘carriers of a new political paradigm and heralds of a new era labelled postindustrial, postmaterialist, postmodern, or postfordist, depending on the theoretical perspective of the respective author’ (Kriesi et al. 1995:238).

Alain Touraine, one prominent *new social movements* theorist, suggests that: ‘if we consider the world today, the most dynamic representation of social life is neither optimistic functionalism, pessimistic structural Marxism, nor pragmatic strategic conception of social action but the call for identity and community’ (1985:769). The author considers that social movements move around two interdependent axis: social conflict and cultural stakes. Social conflicts move beyond political or institutional conflicts to conflicts relating to the production of social life and culture.

Touraine analyses three processes of transformation that turn a social movement into either (a) a more instrumental action (b) a more integrative and communitarian movement or (c) a historical movement (Figure 2.6).



(Touraine 1985:765)

Figure 2.6 Processes of transformation of a social movement

In the first process, a social movement expresses ideas and convictions that are different from regular practices (e.g. non-negotiable demands to basic rights). Political pressure intrinsically

asserts that its own action will never reach the desired goal. However, political pressure tends to move into the collective pursuit of interests and as a result social conflict ends when an economic rationality reigns (as in the concept of Homo Oeconomicus or the Economic Man). This view lies at the base of research mobilisation studies that focus on a structural analysis of collective action.

The second process describes more radical movements, sheltered by 'negative' conflict behaviour. A social movement moves into a revolutionary movement when actors identify with values that suggest the image of a homogeneous community; opponents are immediately transformed into enemies to be defied. After its triumph, a revolution builds a new socio-political order that could lead to extreme totalitarian systems. In the words of Touraine, 'social movements are limited on one side by Homo Oeconomicus and, on the other, by Big Brother' (:762).

A last process of transformation takes place when a conflict is defined by a passage from an old cultural understanding to a new one or a change in the societal type determined by historical facts occurs (e.g. the change from monarchical systems to national democratic states). A passage from social movements to national movements is the clear illustration of this type of historical movement. Cultural, ethnic, indigenous and other innovative types of movements also depict this process of transformation.

However, the 'negative' form of national movements are neo-communitarian movements, those that reject a historical transformation if it puts traditional values and forms of social organisation at risk:

From limited Western neo-communitarian tendencies or sects to fundamentalist, nativist, indigenous ideologies and to the powerful Islamist movement, the planet is more dominated today by the opposition between social and democratic movements on one side and neo-communitarian States or political groups on the other than by the internal social conflict between capitalism and socialism.(Touraine 1985:758).

Historical movements are dissolved by the intervention of the State, understood as an agent of historical development and not as the centre of the system, as is the case with totalitarian regimes.

Another prominent scholar from the *new social movements* is Manuel Castells. The second volume of his trilogy *The Information Age*, 'The Power of Identity' (2009) first published in 1997, is devoted to issues of identity in regard to social movements. *Identity* is considered a defining principle for social organisation. 'Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation'(:7).

Castells stresses the importance of detaching the notion of 'identities' from that of 'roles'; while roles organise functions in social life (e.g. teacher, mother, theatre performer, manager) 'identities' organise the meanings or purposes of one's action. But, as he stresses, roles or

identities originated from ‘dominant institutions’ can also be internalised and given meaning by an actor, as when the role of motherhood becomes an essential part of a woman’s self-definition. Therefore, a ‘collective identity’ is socially constructed and refers to a process of rearranging the meanings of all individual and collective backgrounds according to social determinations and cultural projects.

Castells (2009) suggests that a context marked by power relationships is always present in the construction of identity. He categorises three types of identity-building processes: *legitimising*, *resistance* and *project* identity.

- A *legitimising identity* generates a civil society, composed by organisations, institutions and its actors. This kind of identity is suggested to be introduced by the ‘dominant institutions of society’ (:8) in a way that enables them to extend their domination.
- A *resistance identity* is generated by those actors who are devalued by the logic of domination. The creation of ‘communes’ or ‘communities’ is the result of an identity of resistance. As Castells suggests, this is the expression of ‘the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded’ (:9).
- A *project identity* process takes place when social actors build a new identity to seek the transformation of the social structure. Castells suggests that this process produces ‘subjects’: ‘Subjects are not individuals, even if they are made by and in individuals. They are the collective social actor through which individuals reach holistic meaning in their experience’(:10).

Castells suggests that, in the information era, the nature of society as a whole is that of a project identity. Consequently, he proposes the theory of the ‘rise of the network society’ which is ‘constructed around personal and organisational networks powered by digital networks and communicated by the Internet and other computer networks’ (Castells 2013:xxvii).

Castells suggests that the practices of social movements is what defines them. In this way, social movements do not represent something else, as has been suggested in previous studies. Rather, social movements are the result of the contradictory situation that they seek to address:

Social movements exercise counterpower by constructing themselves in the first place through a process of autonomous communication, free from the control of those holding institutional power. (Castells 2012:9)

Alberto Melucci (1985) is another scholar of *the new social movements* approach. He demands a shift away ‘from empirical generalizations to analytical definitions’(:794) in the study of social movements. By empirical generalisations, he is referring to an approach that identifies social movements as a unity of analysis to which goals, choices, interests and decisions are

attributed. Instead, he suggests that social movements need to be considered as 'a system of social relationships' (:794).

Collective action takes place when actors have defined themselves in the interaction, negotiation and opposition with others around a 'system of reference'. Melucci defines a social movement as 'a form of collective action (a) based on *solidarity*, (b) carrying on a *conflict*, and (c) breaking the *limits of the system* in which action occurs' (:795).

The concept of *solidarity* is contained in the notion of 'collective identity', 'the capability of recognizing and being recognized as a part of the same system of social relationships' (:794). *Conflict* is defined as the struggle between two opposing actors for the same resources to which both give value, while the *limits of the system* are the barriers established by the society. Melucci goes beyond the idea of analysing collective action through a single empirical social movement, he prefers to speak of 'movement networks' composed of 'groups and individuals sharing a conflictual culture and a collective identity' (1985:799). Movements are described as a sort of 'new media', bringing to the public sphere issues that 'every system doesn't say of itself, the amount of silence, violence, irrationality which is always hidden in dominant codes' (:812). However, social movements do not stop by providing information and denouncing, they suggest another pattern to follow.

Melucci analyses society from its 'postmaterial' condition, the idea that a great deal of everyday life is cultural production, not connected to the need for survival or reproduction. Movement networks need to be analysed inside these postmaterial informational societies, where the capability of collecting, processing and transferring information determines the survival and development of contemporary systems.

Movements need to translate their message into 'policies', which refer to an actual modification of the system. Through movement networks a 'new political space is designed beyond the traditional distinction between state and "civil society": an intermediate public space, whose function is not to institutionalize the movements nor to transform them into parties, but to make society hear their messages and translate these messages into political decision making' (:815).

SSNC: a new social movement

Sweden's environmental movement from which the SSNC was born dealt with a cultural conflict in civil society between those who exploited natural resources, mainly the timber industry, and the biologists and academics who founded the SSNC in order to protect nature.

A benchmark in Swedish environmental movements⁹ was carried out in 1947 when the youth branch of the SSNC (Fältbiologerna) split from the main organisation and began a youth environmental movement, which could be referred to as a 'sub-movement', sharing the collective pursuit of nature protection.

A process of resistance identity can be viewed when the original idea of institutionalising the environmental movement as a unity was challenged by the emergence of independent, regional nature protection organisations, the first of which began in the area of Skåne (Haraldsson 1987:222). In this case, the resistance identity does not refer to challenging the essence of the movement, but its structural organisation, decentralising it into different but connected branches. Today, the SSNC involves 24 county associations and 270 community branches.

A process of project identity took place in 1927. After an organisational crisis, the concept of 'nature protection' moved into 'nature conservation'. The aim of SSNC's founders was to protect nature *against* mankind. However, this aim was displaced by a 'conservationist' notion, where nature should be protected *for* mankind through sensible management. This new identity was in line with large sections of the population. For example, the Swedish Tourist Club (*Svenska Turistföreningen-STF*) also changed its original identity to a new conservationist position.

Inside the environmental movement network, the SSNC has been part of different campaigns worldwide such as the Anti-DDT campaign, sparked in Sweden by Fältbiologerna, which took place simultaneously in a number of countries. Advocacy was built around a paper published in 1993 that associated DDE (a major DDT metabolite) with breast cancer. Soon, an environmental movement was created, backed by major environmental advocacy organisations and supported by the mass media. In this way, the movement became what Melucci terms a type of 'new media'.

⁹ Wiklund, Jan. Folkrorelser og Protester. The Swedish Environmental Movement
<http://www.folkrorelser.org/inenglish/swedishenviron.html> - Retrieved 18.06.2015

In Sweden, as in many other countries, campaigning resulted in a backlash against DDT and its ban for agricultural and forestry purposes.

It is interesting to observe the scope of social and political pressure. Over the last few years, the harm of using DDT has been questioned, and further studies doubt the validity of the results of the 1993 study. There is a suggestion that anti-DDT activism led to the abandonment of public health malaria-control programmes worldwide, which could have caused higher mortality rates and suffering, according to Roberts (2010).

2.3 DEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The study of social movements, far from being stuck with the advent of the new century, is constantly raising new questions and approaching different paths. In the current understanding, the geographical divide between scholars in the United States (structural approaches) and Europe (cultural identity approaches), which characterised studies up until the 1990s, has become more nuanced over time. Or, as Kriesi et al. (1995:239) state, ‘a process of transatlantic cross-fertilization has begun to take shape’.

Diani (1992) proposes a definition of social movements that holds most of the shared characteristics of the different schools:

‘a social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity’. (Diani 1992:13).

As Della Porta and Diani (2006:92) stress, ‘collective identities may also be based on shared orientations, values, attitudes, world view, and lifestyles, as well as on shared experiences of action’. Tarrow (2011) adds that shared meanings and identities ‘are partly inherited and partly constructed in the act of confronting opponents [and also] constituted by the interaction within movements’ (:266). He provides another definition of social movements as:

‘collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities’ (Tarrow 2011:9)

Tarrow suggests contentious action ‘can also take the form of coordinated personal resistance or the collective affirmation of new values’ (2011:9). In other words, contentious politics do not necessarily need to be involved in counter actions (e.g. legal procedures, lobbying, specific demonstrations). One example is the current ‘slow food movement’¹⁰, which strives to preserve local cuisine through the use of local seeds and livestock, and by encouraging the use of non-

¹⁰ Slow Food. <http://www.slowfood.com> – Retrieved 19.06.2015

industrialised food production and small farming practices. This movement, as contentious as it is to the industrialised fast-food system, has not resulted in the violent mass demonstrations stereotypically associated with social movement activism.

Diani's definition is comprehensive but I would like to offer an adaptation that uses Tarrow's reference 'to common purposes and social solidarities' in place of Diani's 'collective identity'. Although the concept of collective identity involves common purposes and social solidarities, it is rather abstract in its nature, which makes it difficult to visualise the actual solidarity-dimension of the advocacy networks studied, something Tarrow's definition avoids.

A second adaptation involves Castells reference to the capacity of social movements to 'exercise counterpower'. Castells (2009, 2013) suggests that power relationships are the foundation of society, and he describes counterpower as the 'capacity of social actors to challenge the power embedded in the institutions of society for the purpose of claiming representation for their own values and interests' (Castells 2012:6).

Tim Gee (2011) considers 'counterpower' as an idea that binds together advocacy organisations. In this way, a clear definition of social movements and their contentious collective action would not be complete without including the notion of the exertion of counterpower. Therefore, the definition states:

Social movements are informal networks between a multiplicity of actors sharing common purposes, social solidarities and exercising counterpower.

2.4 LATIN-AMERICAN TRENDS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES

Beyond the structural, political and cultural approaches to social movement studies, another drift in the analysis of social movements comes from scholarship in Latin America. Latin-American social movements arising from the 1990s are not just labour, class-oriented movements but neither are they just post-material, identity oriented 'new social movements'. They are both types and, at the same time, movements of another kind (Alvarez et al. 1999; Bruckmann & Dos Santos 2005).

Touraine (1980, 1985) is aware of the differences that should be considered between the 'new social movements' that he studies and the new social movements in Latin America. However, until recently, these differences have not had much attention in the study of social movements (Thompson & Tapscott 2010; Tuaza 2010; Zibechi 2012b).

Raul Zibechi (2010) considers one salient characteristic of Latin American social movements to be that contentious organisations are 'the same "organisations" embedded and submerged in the everyday life of the people' (:2). The author suggests the traditional and agreed organisational forms that characterise society (family, neighbourhood, labour) also compose social movements, and therefore he prefers to refer to them as 'societies in movement':

In the new pattern of action, the mobilization starts in the spaces of everyday life and survival (markets, neighbourhoods) putting in movement an increasing number of social networks or, that is to say, societies in movement, self-articulated from within. (Zibechi 2010:76)

Thomas Tufte (2014) suggests that ‘a plethora of social movements’ have gained recent visibility in Latin America, mobilising against exclusionary development processes and articulating very material demands (e.g. for food, housing, health and education). In this sense, these resemble the ““first generation” social movements of the industrial era’ (:471). Tufte (2013) provides a similar assessment of the current wave of social movements that started in 2011 with the Arab Spring. As suggested by the author, they ‘seem also to articulate highly material demands for jobs, income, housing, food and education’ (:23). In both cases, a struggle for social and economic rights can be viewed, which distances these movements from ‘post-material’ social movements as those studied by Melucci (1985).

James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer (2011) observe that, even though Latin-American social movements are not class- or labour-driven movements, they ‘are all directly or indirectly engaged in the struggle for state power’ (:6). Monica Bruckmann and Theotonio Dos Santos (2005) share this view, suggesting that a first characteristic of these social movements is that they have gained autonomy, both from political parties and from the NGOs that support them, and a second characteristic is a tendency to form political parties as an outcome.

According to Zibechi (2012b), an analysis of movements in Latin America must focus ‘less on forms of organisation’ (since there is nothing outstanding in it) and ‘more on social relations and territories’ (:209). In his work, he stresses that the definition of ‘new territories’ is at the core of Latin American social movements (Zibechi 2010, 2012a, 2012b). Land and place are no longer understood as a means of production, but as a political and cultural creation: ‘territory becomes the place where counter-hegemonic social relations are deployed and where groups and collectives can practice different ways of living’ (2012b:210).

Arturo Escobar (2012) connects social movements in Latin America to ‘post-development’, a notion first proposed in his study from the 1990s. As he states, *post-development* ‘arose from a poststructuralist and postcolonial critique, that is, an analysis of development as a set of discourses and practices that had profound impact on how Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be seen as “underdeveloped” and treated as such’ (2012:xii). Yet the concept of post-development has been broadly criticised; considered a naïve way of romanticising the local and the grassroots, and exalting indigenous initiatives that have had almost no impact on the structural problems facing underdeveloped countries (e.g. Ziai 2004; Katz 2014).

Regardless of this criticism, Escobar reaffirms his arguments on post-development in 2012, based on further empirical studies in Latin America. The author suggests that this criticism stems from the social imaginaries of the analysts and the proponents of development projects, who are unable to conceive of other valid forms for society to develop. Escobar stresses that

counter-development projects arise locally, and purports development to arise out of the logic of capitalist modernity.

Aram Ziai (2013) suggests that practices for improving the human condition do not need to be identified with the term ‘development’ as it has a direct link to Eurocentric, depoliticising and authoritarian implications: ‘conceptually the project of “developing the underdeveloped” continued the older one of “civilising the uncivilised”’ (Ziai 2013:128).

Latin American social movements foster a new cultural and economic paradigm that ‘subordinates economic objectives to ecological criteria, human dignity and social justice’ (Escobar 2012:xxvi). In this sense, some steps have already been taken, for instance the new constitutions of Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009), which involve the notion of development as being centred around the ‘sumak kawsay’ (in Kichwa), ‘buen vivir’ (in Spanish) or ‘good life’ (in English) (A. Acosta 2011; Altmann 2014; Breton et al. 2014). Implicit in the concept of *sumak kawsay* is a ‘bio-centric turn’ (Radcliffe 2012), moving away from the anthropocentrism of modernity (human at the centre).

In the indigenous worldview, the concept of ‘sumak kawsay’ can never be seen in parallel to ‘development’, it is not determined by the accumulation or absence of capital for the satisfaction of needs and access to goods and services (Viteri 2002). Sumak kawsay is a state of good life, conditioned by human actions, involving knowledge, ethical and spiritual codes of conduct and a direct relation and respect to the environment in productive systems. To clarify the concept of sumak kawsay Claudio Calapucha (2012) explains:

For example, a community desires a road. They think that through it they can market their products, and escape poverty. But, in their eagerness to escape poverty, they end up being poorer because they enter into the logic of consumerism ... Then, it is necessary to consider a new economic model that involves new elements for the construction of ‘good living’, i.e. a solidarity, communal, reciprocal and ecological economics approach, which relies on the environment’s carrying-capacity, ensuring greater participation of indigenous peoples in the decision-making process. (Calapucha 2012:104, my translation)

Criticism about the concept of sumak kawsay considers this to be far from a traditional indigenous notion, but an intellectual effort started by indigenous leaders in the 2000s during dialogue encounters supported by international aid agencies, in particular the German GTZ (now GIZ, *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit*) (Altmann 2014). The concept then received further attention from non-indigenous intellectuals, ecologists and academics who considered it a ‘radical alternative’, questioning the development paradigm (Breton et al. 2014). Whether the concept of sumak kawsay is a recent social construction, it is an alternative to development. As Philipp Altmann (2014:91) argues ‘it is not a fight against exploitation and oppression only, but also against a way of life that does not allow a harmony inside society and between society and nature’.

Escobar suggests an exponential growth, not merely in Latin America but in scholarship in general, of what he terms ‘transition discourses’ (TDs), discourses that focus on a shift to a new cultural and economic paradigm. As the author states, ‘TDs are emerging from a multiplicity of sites, principally social movements worldwide, from some civil society NGOs, from some emerging scientific paradigms, and from intellectuals with significant connections to environmental and cultural struggles’ (Escobar 2012:xix). Zibechi’s TD’s are also at the core of the construction of the collective identity of ‘globalisation from below’ (Appadurai 2000; Della Porta et al. 2006).

2.5 THE SENSES OF ADVOCACY AND SMOs

Advocacy is subject to a multiplicity of meanings, depending on the context and perspective from which it is observed (Reid 2000; Onyx et al. 2010). The expression of efforts, active interventions and actions engaged by a collectivity on behalf of a certain cause or awareness are identified as advocacy.

Even though advocacy can be performed individually, it is in the collective action of like-minded people, working together and recognising the strength of the group, that advocacy organisations have been established. Their claim for advocacy refers to systematic efforts (as opposed to sporadic outbursts), supporting or recommending a particular cause or policy (Prakash & Gugerty 2010; R. Acosta 2012). The nomenclature to refer to advocacy organisations includes a wide variety of names, ranging from NGOs, interest groups, nonprofit (or not-for-profit) organisations (NPOs), charitable or voluntary organisations, civil society activists or organisations (CSOs), social economy organisations, third sector organisations and SMOs (see e.g. Corry 2010; Steffek et al. 2010; Diani 2012; Lang 2012; Obar et al. 2012).

Wenjue Knutsen and Kathy Brock (2014:1116, quoting Scott (2001)) imply that ‘nonprofit’ is the name given by the economists, relating these organisations to the ‘framework of market economics’. A little variation in the name, ‘not-for-profit’, has been set into the framework of lawyers and accountants ‘to differentiate between mutual benefit associations’. ‘Voluntary’ is the name given by the sociologists, interested rather on the sort of participation that determine involvement, while the sectorial distinction, ‘third sector’ or ‘independent sector’ is in the vocabulary of political scientists.

In the same sense, Diani (2012) refers to the distinction made between SMOs and interest groups and concludes that adopting one name or another ‘depends most of the time on the academic affiliation of the labeller rather than the phenomenon being labelled’ (:28). Consequently, there is extensive literature focusing on the boundaries and scope of each of these given names (see e.g. Vakil 1997; Jordan & Maloney 2007; Lorentzen 2010; Lang 2012; Powell 2012). Some scholars refrain from considering advocacy organisations as a subcategory of private sector organisations (e.g. Uphoff 1995; Gray et al. 2006). Reid (2000) suggests analysing advocacy organisations by contrasting advocacy as ‘organisational representation’,

where there is a certain support, recommendation or plead for a cause ('on behalf of'), with 'social and political participation', emphasising the ways people take collective action 'on their own behalf'.

This practical distinction, which categorises NGOs as engaged in representation and SMOs as engaged in participation, is not so simple. There are many instances where NGOs have been recognised for fostering collective action, playing a major role in social movements, and becoming the visible and identifiable social group emerging from the collectivity. Conversely, it is not necessary to state that social movements and the organisations encompassed are involved in collective action 'on behalf of' a wider community. In this way, issues of legitimacy and representation or a lack of representation of social movement organisations for broader public interests have been extensively analysed in literature together with issues of accountability (see e.g. Brühl 2010; Steffek & Hahn 2010; Lang 2012).

In an effort to pin down the nomenclature of advocacy organisations, Knutsen and Brock (2014) conclude by describing them as being part of the 'space-in-between' the market and the government. But, the condition of 'in-betweenness' has also been assigned to CSOs in a two-fold condition of lying between the state and the family, as well as sitting between the public and the private realms (Blair 1997). It is important to recall that advocacy organisations differ from 'political parties' in the sense that, even if advocacy organisations seek to influence public policy, 'they do not strive to exercise the formal powers of government' (Obar et al. 2012:4).

From a Latin American perspective, applying the term SMO to the empirical subjects of this study is not so appropriate. As mentioned above, in Latin America, SMOs are the grass-root organisations that build up societies (e.g. water co-ops, fishing workers associations, neighbourhoods), in a way that does not fit international advocacy organisations.

Even though some of the organisations studied describe themselves as NGOs, I prefer not to use this term, due to the deep criticism, particularly in Latin America, which the term NGO has received, connecting NGOs to neoliberal capitalism, in direct association to diffusion theories (Wallace 2004), which will be analysed in the next chapter in relation to the field of communication for development.

As Peter Willetts (2011) states: 'for many people, to define a non-governmental organization is to take a political position, either explicitly or implicitly' (:6). The acronym SMO turns out to be a less contested concept. It portrays a network of organisations in movement; connected and collaborating. SMOs have a meaningful place in society, in government, in politics, in the economy, in the market and in culture with a sort of benevolent and unquestioned social status.

Dieter Rucht and Simon Teune (2009) refer to organisations such as the ones studied in this project as Global Justice Movement Organisations (GJMO). I hold fast with the term SMO because of its simplicity and the breadth it possesses to include different and connected advocacy organisations that share concerns of global fairness.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Social movements are informal networks between a multiplicity of actors sharing common purposes, social solidarities and exercising counterpower. They join forces, or ‘aggregate resources’ to change perceived unjust situations and exercise counterpower in order to challenge the origin of such situations, engaging in policy making.

There is a general agreement that the existence of SMOs do not equate to social movements alone, but it has also been recognised that organisations play important roles within social movements as promoters and supporters for collective action (Della Porta & Diani 2006). There is, of course, parallelism between the study of social movements in general and that of their organisations.

The advocacy organisations studied in this project are understood as part of the global justice movement, therefore they are referred to as SMOs. With this logic, the SSNC has been analysed along the different schools as an example of a SMO.

SMOs have been studied from a structural perspective as resource aggregators (see e.g. Onyx et al. 2010; Prakash & Gugerty 2010; Steffek & Hahn 2010; Holst 2011; R. Acosta 2012; Angel 2012; Szarka 2013; Whatley 2013), as functional to interaction within political contexts (see e.g. Clemens 2006; Della Porta 2009a; Lang 2012; Tormey 2012), and as arenas of interaction for meaning production and individuals’ expression and action (see e.g. Clemens & Minkoff 2004; Barranquero 2006; Kavada 2012; Milan 2013; Moore & McKee 2013; Fotopoulou 2014).

The next chapter focuses on communication, with particular attention to the field of communication for social change, while Chapter 4 focuses on the ways that, through communication, SMOs have developed, first into transnational advocacy networks and secondly into movements that strive for global fairness, passing from collective action to ‘connective action’ (Bennett & Segerberg 2013).

3. A COMMUNICATIVE LANDSCAPE

Communication, in the deeper sense of establishing ways to share one's hours meaningfully with others, is sooner a matter of faith and risk than of technique and method.
(Peters 2000)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Radical imaginaries, in words of Castoriadis (1987), are built, spread and settled in communication. It is through communication that social movements and their organisations have been able to frame their claims and spread their concerns.

This chapter analyses the field of communication, guided by the following questions:

- How has communication emerged as a field of study?
- What is communication for social change?
- How does the notion of digital interaction emerge?
- What are social media sites and how do Facebook and Twitter work?

It starts by describing the field of communication and how its study is related to the sociological schools analysed in the previous chapter. Framed by the current 'digital age' (Castells 2013), the chapter describes the 'media ecologies' (Rodríguez 2015) of our time. The ubiquitous presence of the media, the internet and ICTs make the leap from a mass media communication process, which established a relationship of one-to-many, to a multi-way communication process taking place through ICTs, understood in this project as 'digital interaction'.

One line of study in the field of communication is that of 'communication for development' (Hemer & Tufte 2012) –also known as 'communication for social change' (Marí Sáez 2013; Wilkins 2014; Tufte 2015) or 'empowerment or ecosocial communication'(Chaparro 2009, 2015)– rooted on deliberative, participatory and transformative processes for social justice (Nos Aldás & Pinazo 2013). This chapter presents the different approaches to communication for (development and) social change, with emphasis on the drift of participatory communication and education (educación).

The chapter then focuses on the development of ICTs and on the communication processes mediated by the internet, namely the Web 2.0 and social media sites (SMS),

closing with an overview of Twitter and Facebook as these are the SMS in which digital interaction has been analysed in this project.

3.2 EARLY COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Denis McQuail (2002) suggests that, during much of the history, the field of communication has not succeeded in defining 'its own independent way' from other social sciences, sharing its common ground particularly with sociology. As a field, communication was first set out in relation to mass media at the borderline of social sciences and humanities.

Several theoretical approaches to a mass communication theory have been defined and have been classified following the path of sociology, using functionalist interpretative, cultural and critical approaches. The notion of 'mass media' is undoubtedly linked to that of 'mass society' from the classic sociological school. Alejandro Barranquero (2011) suggests that the epistemological construction of communication as a science is considered mainly an invention from the United States and, to a lesser degree, a European proposal based on critical theory.

As implied by Wilbur Schramm (1962), one of the major exponents of mass communication theory, early studies of mass media were centred on persuasion theory, on the uses of mass media as information and teaching devices and on the effects of mass media entertainment.

Most studies in the field of communication correlate to a specific type of medium, be it press, radio, television, and lately the internet or multi-modal (approaches that bring together different media). However, there is a school in communication studies that considers the media as a vehicle for social change, which is referred to in the coming section, but first I will start by defining the meaning of communication.

The term communication derives from two Latin words, *communis*: meaning impartial, applicable on either side, common, joint, public, general, universal or ordinary, and the verb *communicare*: meaning to impart, discuss, make common, consult, receive or share (divide with/out). The etymology of the term is so broad that it opens up a wide landscape of possibilities for scholarship.

John Peters (2000) elaborates on four different senses of the meaning of communication: imparting, transmitting, exchanging and symbolic interaction.

- *Imparting* is synchronic; it refers to a one-way process that puts an issue in common, makes it public, shares, reveals and broadcasts.

- *Transfer* or *transmission* describes the two-way communication process of sharing and receiving, from one to another or from one to many. Transmitting supposes a dual presence of sender and receiver. This lies at the core of information and mass communication theory. Paradoxically, instances of communication between a person and an artificial agent, or between two or more artificial agents, can also refer to transmitting and, thereafter, communicating.
- *Exchange* supposes ‘a meeting of minds, psychosemantic sharing, even fusion of consciousness’ (Peters 2000:8). In this sense, communication refers to the possibility of transferring and acquiring meaning, encouraging discussion and dialogue.
- *Symbolic interaction* involves the ‘mechanism through which human relations develop all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time’ (H.Cooley cited by Peters 2000:9). It suggests the creation of meaning through interaction; the making of something shared and conveyed, a creation in consensus.

James Carey (2002) suggests considering two divergent and contrasting perspectives on communication studies: a *transmission view* and a *ritual view*. Through a transmission view, communication is considered ‘a process whereby messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people’ (:38); as a result, from the 19th century the notion of transportation soon equated to that of communication. Furthermore, the development of communication technologies broadened this meaning, referring to communication both as the process and the technology for transmission and dissemination of information.

In the words of Carey, ‘the transmission view of communication, albeit in increasingly secularized and scientific form, has dominated out thought and culture’ (:39). Carey suggests that the transmission view lies behind the different models of communication, which finally are intended to convey a power model (transmission for the purpose of control) or an anxiety model (transmission of emotional states). On the other hand, he describes the ritual view of communication as a cultural approach to the study of communication:

In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship and the possession of a common faith. This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms commonness, communion, community and communication. A ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs (Carey 2002:39).

A ritual view of communication ‘includes the sharing of aesthetic experience, religious ideas, personal values and sentiments, and intellectual notions’ (:44). The ritual view of communication is less interested in the transmission of information but highlights ‘the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world which can serve as a control and container for human action’ (:39).

The classifications both Peters and Carey make are a step behind the social notion of communication as a dynamic process for the construction of new meanings, or innovative ways to address ‘old’ issues. While the ritual view of communication brings order and stability to society by reinforcing shared social imaginaries, among other things, there is another view of communication that sees it as a vehicle for action, which destabilises social imaginaries and shapes new shared ones. This missing sense of communication, that of communication as innovation and social creation, is at the core of the current field of communication for social change.

3.3 COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE¹¹

Historically, studies in the field of communication for development have been about ‘developing prescriptive recipes of communication for some development’ (Hemer & Tufte 2012:229). The first and most influential book linking communication to development is considered Schramm’s *Mass Media and National Development* published in 1964 (E. M. Rogers 2006).

At that time, the notion of development was thought only possible when in direct relation to economic growth, and industrialisation was emphasised as the key to development. Modernisation theories were responsible for dividing the world into traditional and modern societies, with the latter viewed as the culmination of a desirable progression in human life, one that mirrored the societies of the United States of America and Europe. Economics divided the world into developed and underdeveloped countries. Underdeveloped countries were deemed responsible for their own fate, since they haven’t abandoned their local traditions, which were seen as hindering modernisation (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte 2006).

In 1962, Everett Rogers studied agricultural projects and campaigns, promoted principally by the United States through cooperation projects in underdeveloped countries. Through this, he proposed the ‘diffusion model of innovations’. Diffusion is considered a special type of communication concerned with spreading new ideas.

¹¹ It can be said that the field started in the 1960s been termed ‘communication for development’ and in the 1980s it began to be regarded as ‘communication for social change’ (CFSC). Nevertheless, both denominations are interchangeably present in current literature.

The underlying premise of diffusion and dissemination theories is that ‘the introduction of new technologies and knowledge will help poor, illiterate and “ignorant” peasants to modernise’ (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte 2006:xvi). Development projects from the 1960s until the 1980s used communication to disseminate information about the benefits as well as the ‘sacrifices required for development’ (MacBride & al. 1980).

At the same time, criticism of development and modernisation theories emerged, especially in Latin America where the so-called ‘dependency theories’ came into view (Servaes 2002). These theories suggest that traditional knowledge about land use, cultural identity and food sovereignty were rejected to fit the models that powerful European countries and the United States had implemented in the name of modernisation.

Dependency theories tried to explain why development projects did not result in economic growth as promised but instead deepened inequalities, resulting in a systematic exploitation of underdeveloped countries that resembled past forms of colonialism (neo-colonialism). Roughly, these theories suggest that, for developed countries to ensure their power, they need underdeveloped countries to first provide them with raw materials then buy the industrialised surplus of their production. Underdevelopment and poverty are seen by dependency theorists not as an inherited condition of traditional societies but as the result of the exploitation of poor countries by rich ones, and by elites of poor people within each nation (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte 2006).

Since development projects were mainly implemented by NGOs, scepticism about the authenticity of their aims also emerged in the region. Petras and Veltmeyer’s (2011) suggest that the majority of NGOs (although not all of them as they stress) have turned out to be ‘the handmaiden of neoliberal globalization (from global capital to local development)’ (:218). Similar arguments were provided by the government of Bolivia in December 2013 in relation to its decision to expel the Danish organisation IBIS, which is part of this study¹². Diana Cordoba and Kees Jansen (2015:2) assert that ‘whereas neoliberalism attempted to de-politicize development by delegating the state’s work to NGOs, the central aim of Morales’ [Bolivia’s President] political project is to achieve radical changes through a more prominent role of the state in development to reverse centuries of colonialism and social injustice’.

The notion of ‘communication for development’ has been increasingly criticised; considered a vertical, one-way tool in compliance to the hegemonic economic model. It was first in 2006 during the World Congress on Communication for Development (WCCD), attended by more than 700 participants and a scientific committee that a

¹² IBIS. IBIS smidt ud af Bolivia. <http://ibis.dk/press-release/ibis-smidt-ud-af-bolivia/> Retrieved 19.06.2015

comprehensive definition of communication for development was provided via *The Rome Consensus*:

Communication for Development is a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. (FAO & WorldBank 2007:xxxiii)

The United Nations (UN) distinguishes communication for development from other forms of communication (e.g. corporate communication and internal communication) with four interlinked approaches (McCall 2011):

- 1) behaviour change communication
- 2) communication for social change (CFSC)
- 3) communication for advocacy
- 4) strengthening an enabling media and communication environment.

As the study of communication shares background with sociology studies (McQuail 2002) these four approaches can be divided in a similar way to social movement studies (see Chapter 2); through structural approaches, which include behaviour change communication and media environments and socio-cultural identity approaches, which involve both communication for social change and advocacy communication.

3.3.1 Structural approaches to communication for development and social change

Over many years, an approach of ‘behaviour change communication’, put forward in Rogers’ diffusion model, guided projects and programmes of communication for development. Mass media is regarded as the most effective channel to disseminate innovations, but interpersonal communication of successful stories by near-peers is considered a key element for the adoption of an innovation (E. M. Rogers 1983).

As suggested by McCall, ‘since the 1990s, increasingly comprehensive communication strategies including community mobilization, client-centred counselling and social network interventions have been used to effect behaviour change’ (2011:7). Alfonso Gumucio Dragon and Thomas Tufte (2006) suggest the diffusion model has led to current approaches in social marketing. As the authors argue, ‘today, social marketing has its most fervent proponents within the health sector, mirroring the affection the agriculture sector had with diffusion of innovation theory’ (:xvii).

Social marketing refers to an approach that began in the 1970s, which developed initiatives aimed at a behaviour change by combining the ideas of commercial marketing with the social sciences. In their review of studies of social marketing, Dao Truong et al. (2014) suggest that its primary focus is on the field of public health (see e.g. Galer-Uni 2010).

A second structural approach refers to media projects that aim to strengthen communication capacities, including both professional and institutional infrastructure (McCall 2011). A corollary of this approach is the 1980's MacBride Report, *Many Voices, One World*. This report was commissioned in 1976 by the ninth General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) to study the state of communication throughout the world. It was presented in 1980 and is considered a milestone in communication history. As described by Kaarle Nordenstreng (2010) 'it was not primarily a scientific exercise of discovering the state of communication in the world but first and foremost a political exercise in taking stock of the socio-economic forces in the world at that time' (:1).

The MacBride Report provides 'alarming data about control of information on a global scale' (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte 2006:xix). It denounces imbalances and inequalities determining the North-South split and claims for a 'new more just and more equitable order in the field of communication' (MacBride & al. 1980:253). One of the most significant aspects of this report deals with the global leadership of Northern news agencies (i.e. AP, AFP, UPI, Reuters) that at that time controlled up to 95% of the world information flows (Pohle 2012).

The MacBride Report also introduced the idea of a new world information and communication order (NWICO), which turned out to be a decisive point of disagreement that led the United States and the United Kingdom, not only to oppose the report, but to later withdraw their membership of UNESCO¹³. The NWICO was condemned as an attempt by the Soviet-bloc and some 'Third World' countries against free press, free trade, the free flow of information and freedom of choice. As suggested by Julia Pohle (2012), the NWICO controversy was immersed in a Cold War context of polarised issues and deep political intervention.

Soon the debates in international circles about the NWICO disappeared as well as the reference to the MacBride Report (Nordenstreng 2010). On the 25th anniversary of the MacBride Report a group of scholars made the assessment that most of its recommendations had not yet been attended to but were still relevant and should be released from the political and ideological connotations surrounding the report (de Moragas et al. 2005; Nordenstreng 2010).

¹³ The United States left UNESCO on 1984 and returned on 2003, the United Kingdom left on 1985 and returned on 1997 (Frau-Meigs 2012:3).

At an international level, the field of communication had to wait almost 20 years to be reconsidered, first at the Millennium Declaration of the UN (2000) and then at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) which took place in two phases: in Geneva in 2003 and in Tunis in 2005. The WSIS states that:

The digital revolution, fired by the engines of Information and Communication Technologies, has fundamentally changed the way people think, behave, communicate, work and earn their livelihood. It has forged new ways to create knowledge, educate people and disseminate information. It has restructured the way the world conducts economic and business practices, runs governments and engages politically. It has provided for the speedy delivery of humanitarian aid and healthcare, and a new vision for environmental protection. It has even created new avenues for entertainment and leisure. As access to information and knowledge is a prerequisite to achieving the Millennium Development Goals – or MDGs– it has the capacity to improve living standards for millions of people around the world. Moreover, better communication between peoples helps resolve conflicts and attain world peace.¹⁴

Getting past the so-called ‘satellite era’, the WSIS incorporates in its discourse ‘another view of information as data, related to the rise of information and communication technologies’ (Pohle 2012:4). The convergence of informatics, information and communication moved the international understanding ‘from a techno-deterministic perspective to a more balanced vision of the role information technology should play for society’ (Pohle 2012:109).

As ICTs entered the public sphere, communication secured its place as a field of study. From a structural approach, current scholarship focusing on communication has in common the concept of ‘media ecology’ or ‘cyberspace ecology’ (Mansell 2012). As Clemencia Rodríguez (2015) states ‘we are leaving behind the studies of one medium, like radio, video or print media, because we realize that it deals with media ecology and not just a single media initiative’.

3.3.2 Cultural and political approaches to communication for social change

The field of ‘advocacy communication’ (McCall 2011) defined as ‘organized actions aimed at influencing the political climate, policy and programme decisions, public perceptions of social norms, funding decisions and community support and empowerment regarding specific issues’ (:8) is both a cultural and political approach to communication.

¹⁴ WSIS. Why a Summit on the Information Society. <http://www.itu.int/wsis/basic/about.html>
Retrieved 28.07.2015

Advocacy communication is at the core of this research project. It surpasses communication efforts of organised bodies to focus on citizens' innovative uses of CFSC. For example Stefania Milan (2013) refers to it as 'emancipatory communication activism'; 'rather than engaging (exclusively) in advocacy work and policy reform, their primary strategy is structural reform at the grassroots level through the creation of autonomous spaces of communication' (:10).

The perspective of CFSC is regarded by some authors as a step forward in the field of communication for development (Marí Sáez & Nós 2015). Other scholars such as Manuel Chaparro (2015) doubt both denominations (for development and for social change), considering them to share a compliance to the hegemonic economic model of the accumulation of goods and capital, unsustainable consumption and nature degradation. Chaparro prefers to focus on the fact that communication by definition is a democratic process and that its challenge is to build new imaginaries that assert fundamental rights. However, he considers this to be a tough venture since, 'never in history were so many media in the service of an imaginary, hence its strength and the faith that persists in development' (2015:284). The author argues that the term 'communication for social change' is a 'pleonasm' (i.e. a redundant expression or tautology) because, from his point of view, intrinsic to any communication process is the production of change. As he argues, communication refers always to an interactive process in which all participants are intrinsically changed by acquiring, processing or reconfiguring ideas in common. In line with the postdevelopment school Chaparro prefers to refer to 'ecosocial communication', 'degrowth communication' or 'communication for post-development'.

As referred to in the last chapter, the postdevelopment school advocates for a type of development beyond capitalism and the neoliberal economic system (Escobar 2012; Albert 2014; Kaufman 2014). Global justice as an alter-imaginary of globalisation (Steger & Wilson 2012) is grounded on ideas of change that do not comply with the market dictum. Change is viewed as a progression towards the well being of humans and nature, and here communication is the tool to trigger change.

Oscar Hemer and Tufte (2012) suggest that globalisation has boosted renewed interest in the fields of both communication and development. In relation to communication, they refer to the way technologies have become ubiquitous in all spheres of social life. At the same time they suggest the field of development has 're-entered the scene, but in new and altered forms':

In the current global financial crisis – which largely is a North American and Western European crisis – we are witnessing what sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2008) has described as the implosion of the neoliberal Anglo-American model and the return of the development state (the latter, not necessarily a democratic one). (Hemer & Tufte 2012:233)

In this landscape, they suggest the field of communication for development (ComDev), after an apparent implosion in the last decade, is gaining a 'new momentum'. This is also put forward by Víctor Marí Sáenz and Eloísa Nós (2015) who analyse how citizens' experiences of participatory democracy since 2011, through the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street or the Indignados Movement, have renewed academia's interest in the field of communication in relation to the performance of social movements.

Marí Sáenz (2013) considers communication and transformation as always-interrelated concepts when theorising about processes of change promoted in collective action. The author suggests that:

Anti-globalist movements are amongst the social players that have a leading role in the development of new ways of building knowledge. These movements act based on a new relationship between processes of social change, knowledge-building and the meaning and direction of communication. (Marí Sáenz 2012:62)

Steger and Wilson (2012) speak of an alter-globalisation movement, instead of an anti-globalist movement as suggested by Marí Sáenz, arguing that this movement does not reject globalisation –quite the opposite– the 'global justice movement' values the affordances provided to communication and networking for advocacy purposes. It is in this landscape that the field of communication has a strategic role 'in shaping new models of society' (Martin-Barbero 2011) and to do so, it needs to consolidate the imaginaries of global fairness.

Jesús Martin-Barbero (2011) suggests the current role of information, culture and communication technologies is to retrieve their symbolic dimension, this is 'their capacity to represent the bond among citizens, the feeling of belonging to the community, and thus to confront the erosion of the collective order –these are what the market cannot do, no matter how effective it might be' (:143). In this sense, CFSC is understood as a way of 'realising hope', as proposed in Castells' *Networks of Outrage and Hope* (2012) or in Michael Albert's (2014) *Realizing Hope*, where the principles of equity, diversity, justice and self-management define the proposed 'precon' (participatory economics) of 'life beyond capitalism', an assessment shared by, for example, Cynthia Kaufman (2014) and Arturo Escobar (2012).

3.3.3 Participatory communication

Silvio Waisbord (2014) considers the links between communication, strategy and participation are fundamental to understand CFSC. CFSC underlies participatory approaches, which emphasise dialogue and provide people with autonomous control of their own communication processes. A community is encouraged to plan its own means and contents of communication and respond to its own development needs, where

development is understood in its broader sense to mean improving people's quality of life (Gumucio Dagron & Tufte 2006).

Latin-American scholars have studied participatory communication processes from its beginning. Barranquero (2011) suggests that 'at a worldwide level, we can consider that Latin America is the pioneering continent in so-called participative communication; that is, grassroots projects oriented to articulate means for the visualizing and the representation of communities traditionally submerged in the "culture of silence"'. By 'culture of silence' the author quotes the work of Paulo Freire (1970), which has a definitive influence in CFSC.

Describing Latin America as the pioneer in 'participative communication' is inaccurate as communication projects built in the margins of big media have flourished worldwide, both in industrialised and non-industrialised countries, since the arrival of the press. For instance, many renowned journals and publications have emerged in the margins of the media industry from many different drifts (i.e. political, cultural, social). The main concept of this dissertation, that of the 'social imaginary', appeared first in the writings of the French radical group Socialism ou Barbarie, closely associated with Left-libertarian thinking and existing in the margins of the hegemonic thought of the time (Challand 2012). Rodríguez (2001) suggests that grassroot organisations and their alternative media in wealthier societies of the United States and Europe 'were seen as a movement to defend a quality of life under siege by the transnational expansion of capitalism' (:10).

With this in mind, by suggesting that similar stories can be told elsewhere, my intention is not to relegate the many innovative communication experiences from Latin America. The point is to avoid clustering CFSC in a modernisation imaginary, which equates 'communication for development' to social aid projects with an up-down knowledge transfer from the North to the South. Barranquero's suggestion of Latin-America's supremacy in participatory communication deals with a rich variety of experiences of 'alternative communication' that use the media for the purposes of knowledge sharing and building (Barranquero & Rosique 2014).

Another approach to participatory communication is the use of ICTs for civic engagement and citizens' partaking in decision-making processes related to e-governance, referring to ICT-enabled public administration (Madon 2009). Norbert Wildermuth (2014:371) considers 'ICT facilitated communication for social accountability' as a specific form of CFSC in the 'participatory paradigm'. In his study, Wildermuth suggests that 'it is essential to avoid viewing participatory tools as an end, rather than as a means to an end'. This view is shared by Rodriguez (2015) claiming to shift the focus from ICTs into uses and needs of participants. Moreover, as Wildermuth concludes, CFSC needs to 'brand demands as "user-oriented" rather than "poor-oriented"' (:389) in order to broaden the scope of advocacy campaigns.

The approach of participatory communication has also been termed in Spanish as ‘educación’, a neologism comprising the fields of communication and education, sometimes translated literally into English as ‘educommunication’ (e.g. Torrent & Aparici 2009; González & Contreras-Pulido 2014). It is also included in ‘entertainment-education’, considered a ‘core element of development and social change communication’ (Obregon & Tufte 2014:173).

Tufte (2013) suggests a model of three generations of communication for development, the first is one of diffusion of innovations, the second deals with the development of ‘life skills or competencies’ and the third is that of CFSC ‘which emerges from Freire’s liberating pedagogy’ (:30).

3.3.4 Social Movement Learning

The work of Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970) inspires broadly CFSC sometimes referred as ‘emancipatory communication’ (*comunicología de la liberación*) (Barranquero & Rosique 2014) or the ‘new emancipatory knowledge’ (Marí Sáez 2012), highlighting the indissoluble links among communication, education and social change.

Learning processes related to social action for change have been studied within adult learning literature as ‘social movement learning’ (SML) (Cho 2010; Hall et al. 2012; Langdon & Larweh 2015) or ‘radical adult learning’ (Jesson & Newman 2007; Apple & Wau 2009; Tarlau 2014). This second term refers to a branch in the studies of ‘critical pedagogy’ concerned with issues of knowledge in relation to power, democracy and justice and is deeply inspired by the work of Freire (Macrine 2009).

Freire’s pedagogy, beyond a learning model, is a critical and political endeavour for change. Freire developed his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1970, based on his experiences in learning processes with illiterate people from rural Brazil.

Freire (2005) considers that dialogue is the essence of education, and education is an instrument for the practice of freedom because dialogue is only possible if it is filled up with words intended to transform the reality and change the world. From this perspective, dialogue is composed of two interdependent dimensions: *reflection* and *action*. However the author stresses that reflection without action guides words into ‘idle chatter’ with no commitment to transform the world. Likewise, action without reflection leads to ‘action for action’s sake’. Dialogue is therefore considered a ‘praxis’ of reflection and action, which is only possible among committed people in a horizontal relationship (2005:87).

Joce Jesson and Mike Newman (2007) point out three fundamental characteristics of ‘radical adult learning’:

- 1) It is *collective*. Emphasis is not on the development of individual personal growth, as is the focus of lifelong learning, group therapy or personal coaching. Malgorzata Zielinska et al. (2011) highlight the importance of considering this as a collective exercise, different from formal education in which the focus is set on the individual.
- 2) It is about *change*. Activists in social movements learn from their involvement with others in meetings, by taking part in demonstrations and campaigns and by sharing and producing strategy materials (e.g. letter-writing, sign-on calls, brochures, posts and tweets). It is different from acquiring skills and knowledge to perform specific tasks, for example, in the workplace, which enables people to function within the existing structure and its economic system. It challenges unjust relationships and structures, encouraging change.
- 3) It *challenges social structures*. It is not related to a social service; it involves challenging social configurations so that people gain direct control over their own lives. Hereafter, radical assumptions and positions are required.

Even though this study focuses on SMOs, the interest posed on processes of learning differs diametrically from the understanding of ‘organisational learning’ applied to SMOs, which comes from managerial studies of professional effectiveness within organisations (e.g. Bloch & Borges 2002; Heikkila & Gerlak 2013). SML is less interested in the organisational processes for the performance of SMOs but rather on the meaningful contents of advocacy through SMOs’ communication channels, which strive for social change towards global fairness.

There is a considerable number of scholars studying SML through in-situ, face-to-face processes as well as in connective activism (see e.g. Levkoe 2006; Warner 2007; Irving & English 2011; Martinez-Alier 2011; Williams et al. 2011).

As Griff Foley et al. (2007:viii) state: ‘human life has a learning dimension that is just as important as its economic or political dimensions’. They distinguish four types of adult learning: formal education, non-formal education, informal learning and incidental learning. Fiona Duguid et al. (2013) reduce this to three forms: formal, non-formal and informal, yet distinguish three types of the latter: self-directed, incidental and tacit:

- *Formal education* supposes regular learning sessions, organised by professional educators with a defined curriculum, in educational institutions and as sequenced training programmes. For instance, a type of ‘informal/formal’ education can be identified in learning programmes promoted by social movements such as La Via Campesina (the international peasants movement) through its ‘agroecology schools’, inspired by Freire’s

pedagogy (Batista 2014). Agroecology schools¹⁵ have hosted thousands of peasants and farmers from the Global South since 2006. These schools provide civil society learning alternatives, built outside the governmental realm of education; hence, this is a type of ‘informal learning’ albeit one that is ‘formally’ organised and structured. Moreover, most statements made by La Via Campesina criticise universities and formal education for ‘training agrobusiness technicians’ who, it is suggested, only benefit transnational organisations, destroy nature and impoverish the poor¹⁶. The agroecology movement is interested in reconnecting people to the sources of their food (Levkoe 2006), and defending peasant wisdom and traditional agricultural systems, joining them with scientific knowledge (McCune et al. 2014).

- *Non-formal education* is also formally organised but occurs when there is a specific need for some sort of systematic instruction on a particular issue, for example the operation of a specific software or the performance of a particular task. In SML, non-formal education can include a wide variety of instructional activities of short duration undertaken by SMOs (e.g. training workshops on the use of specific ICTs for grass-root organisations, workshops for activists taking part in reforestation or undertaking non-violent direct-action).
- *Self-directed learning* occurs when people consciously and voluntarily try to learn from their experience through individual or group reflections and discussions. Conferences, panels, forums or any other type of encounter with a purposively pedagogical dimension, regardless of whether these encounters take place in person or online, are examples of informal learning spaces.
- *Incidental learning* occurs while performing other activities, it is conscious but involuntary, for example visiting a place and finding out other exciting and unexpected phenomena.
- *Tacit learning* is often not perceived as learning because it happens spontaneously. It is a way of learning by experience and is both unconscious and involuntary.

Duguid et al. (2013:24) suggest that informal learning is the ‘more appropriate lens through which to explore the learning activity of volunteers’. In this study, I take this approach to consider digital interaction in SMOs as a type of informal SML, which

¹⁵ The term ‘agroecology’ has been coined to involve not only the scientific concept of agricultural sustainability but to incorporate social, cultural and political principles and goals that are bound together in food production (Rosset & Martínez-Torres 2012; Gliessman 2013).

¹⁶ Muñoz, Adriano, McCune, Nils and Reardon, Juan. 13.03.2014. Formación agroecológica para la soberanía alimentaria. La Vía Campesina. <http://viacampesina.org/es/index.php/temas-principales-mainmenu-27/soberanalimentary-comercio-mainmenu-38/2060-formacion-agroecologica-para-la-soberania-alimentaria> Retrieved 20.04.2015

begins with voluntary, conscious, self-directed and intentional participation in social media sites that could result in knowledge building and sharing, reflection and action, as described by Freire's *praxis*.

3.4 ICTs AND DIGITAL INTERACTION

In the first chapter, when introducing Steger's 'global imaginaries' the rapid development of the internet and ICTs were highlighted as fundamental to globalisation and their ubiquitous presence has been referred to throughout previous sections. As Clay Shirky (2008) states 'it is when a technology becomes normal, then ubiquitous, and finally so pervasive as to be invisible, that the really profound changes happen' (:105).

Media technologies, especially the so-called 'new technologies' (internet-enabled computers and mobile communication devices), have gradually removed the notion of 'mass' from media communication studies (Jarvis 2011). However, the term 'ICTs' is not simply another name for the internet but refers to a broader concept that brings together data transmission (informatics), telecommunication and the media.

The origins of the internet dates to 1969 when the first file transfer between computers occurred, followed in 1971 by the first electronic mail. As suggested by Lee Rainie and Barry Wellman (2012:59) 'from those humble beginnings, a socially disruptive technology emerged'. The sum of networks created by military and academic institutions, universities and commercial organisations gave rise to what we know as the internet, a network of networks.

Social movement advocates such as Peter Willetts (2011), point to the fundamental role CSOs have played as pioneers in the development of the internet and, through this, for boosting global communications. According to Willetts, the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), a civil society advocacy network, was one of the first to provide broad access to the public. It started as an internal network, connecting activists' home desk computers first locally, then nationally and internationally: 'By the end of the 1980s, the NGOs had a global network, with coverage including all developed countries and the majority of developing countries' (:84). Willetts argues that promoting communication networks is central to the identity of most NGOs in their role as political actors, allowing them 'to construct a global public system' (:84).

In the same vein, Kate Milberry (2012:110) considers that 'the Internet is not simply the culmination of the long march of technological progress, but came into existence through a process very much informed by social factors'. These social factors came to light years later, boosted by the Web 2.0.

Steve Jones (2010) suggests that, in the last 40 years, the transition from broadcast and mass media to networked media has moved us from mass consumption of media to an individualised pattern of consumption. Castells (2013) describes this as ‘mass-self communication’. Digital communication is considered ‘massive’ as it enables multiple audiences to be reached. But, at the same time, it focuses on the individual, ‘because the production of the message is self-generated, the definition of the potential receiver(s) is self-directed, and the retrieval of specific messages or content from the World Wide Web and electronic communication networks is self-directed’ (:55).

The emergence of the *new media* has been considered an authentic upheaval in human history, which has led some scholars to refer to our society as the ‘network society’ (Castells 2002; Rainie & Wellman 2012; Van Dijk 2012). In words of Castells:

Our society, the network society, is constructed around personal and organizational networks powered by digital networks and communicated by the Internet and other computer networks (Castells 2013:xxvii)

Castells suggests that the network society is characterised by two emergent forms of social construction relating to space and time, coexisting with prior forms, namely the ‘space of flows’ and ‘timeless time’:

- The *space of flows* refers to how ICTs allow things to happen simultaneously without contiguity, this is that they take place (therefore they are not placeless) but can be experienced at the same time in different and multiple locations. It refers as well to asynchronous interaction, which happens both in time and at a distance through connected networks.
- In the use of ICTs, Castells suggests a ‘relentless effort to annihilate time by negating sequencing’ (2013:35), either by compressing time through multi-tasking possibilities –an ever presence of digital interaction, regardless of chronological timing– or by blurring sequences of social practices (past, present and future), showing them in random order that results in an emerging, alternative time ‘made of a hybrid between the now and the long now’ (Castells 2012:223).

Rainie and Wellman (2012) suggests the transformation of society into the ‘network society’ responds to a ‘triple revolution’ of social networks, the internet and mobile ICTs:

- The *social networks revolution* was first boosted with the advent of the press, allowing people to share interests and concerns beyond their own tight familiar groups.

- The *internet revolution* has propelled these networks, enabling them to enter into a multiplicity of social worlds empowered by their participation in social media sites.
- The *mobile revolution* has allowed continuous and placeless presence in cyberspace, regardless of physical location and time zones.

Rainie and Wellman argue the internet and mobile ICTs do not isolate individuals, as has been claimed by critics of tech-based communications. Instead, they see online networking as providing individuals with a larger and more diverse set of relationships, enhancing social networking and empowering them ‘to create media and project their voices to more extended audiences’ (2012:13).

According to Jan Van Dijk (2012) the current communication revolution is characterised by four defining characteristics, two of which are structural: *integration* and *interactivity*, and two technical: *digital coding* and *hypertext*.

- *Digital coding* refers to the possibility of transforming all information into data in the form of bits and bytes (strings of 1/0). This is coded in a way that allows the linking of different chunks of data in digital media from one site to another, which is the essence of *hypertext*. Jeff Jarvis (2011) refers to links as ‘a profound intervention’ and states that ‘links don’t just connect us to web pages, they also allow us to connect to each other, to information, to actions and to transactions. Links help us organize into new societies and redefine our publics’ (:5). Links in social media allow visitors to turn into participants by sharing, forwarding, commenting, re-using and elaborating on the information provided.
- *Integration* refers to the interconnectedness of different networks that leads to former instances of telecommunications (telephone, telegraph, microwave transmission), data communications (computer information) and mass communications (radio, television, press and print) to merge into new media.
- The concept of *interactivity* has grown into a ‘buzz word’ in relation to new media and technologies and is rarely specified or defined, assuming a consensus around its meaning (Mechant 2012). Complexity derives from a blurred definition of the parties involved in the process of action and reaction which interactivity supposes.

Van Dijk (2012) suggests defining interactivity through four dimensions: space, time, behaviour and mental dimension. *Space* accounts for the possibility of linking and shortening geographically distant events and subjects. *Time* refers to the degree of synchronicity; the possibility to

communicate simultaneously (e.g. instant messaging, voice and video calls) or delayed at will, as in the use of e-mail and online messaging. *Behaviour* suggests the possibility of sender and receiver permanently switching roles, in this way ‘the user is able to intervene into the program or representation itself and to make a difference’ (:9). Finally, the *mental dimension* suggests all users act and react by understanding both meanings and contexts involved.

Throughout this project I use the term ‘digital interaction’ to refer to multi-way, web-mediated communication processes which are enabled by the internet and the use of ICTs.

I refer to ‘web-mediated’ communication and not ‘computer-mediated communication’ (e.g. Della Porta 2009a; Kozinets 2010; Locher 2014) since there are types of computer-mediated communication that do not necessarily take place online, i.e. on the World Wide Web (WWW - the virtual network of websites connected by hyperlinks), for example learning activities using specific computer software, physical meetings that utilise computers or interactive whiteboards, and photography, video and music sharing through tablets or other mobile devices. In addition, web-mediated communication involves networking possibilities through different types of mobile devices. Digital interaction presupposes a type of communication that is only possible through the internet and the WWW; hence, it is not only a two-ways communication process involving the action and reaction of two participants. Digital interaction opens up the landscape to multiple participants interacting, digitally mediated by the internet and the use of ICTs.

3.4.1 The Web 2.0

The term Web 2.0 was popularised in 2004 by the *Web 2.0 Conference*¹⁷. The term characterises the evolution of the internet from being the domain of engineers, programmers and webmasters, a stage of the Web 1.0, to a more participatory, collaborative and interactive network. A principle of the Web 2.0 stressed by Tim O’Reilly (2007) is ‘harnessing collective intelligence’. In other words, the evolution of the Web 2.0 relies on trusting others as co-developers, creating a situation in which many people are working together towards a goal. It is important to remember that Web 2.0 does not refer to a new version of the internet but to the way users are able to get more out of the internet than when it was first conceived.

From a practice perspective, Nina Dohn (2009b) suggests that Web 2.0 denotes activities that take place on the WWW through ICTs, and are characterised by, among other things, collaboration, ‘bottom-up’ participation interactive multi-way

¹⁷ O’Reilly Media. Web 2.0 Conference, for and about the leading figures and companies driving innovation in the Internet economy <http://conferences.oreillynet.com/web2con/> Retrieved 17.07.2015

communication, the continuous production, reproduction and transformation of material across contexts, openness of content, and open-endedness of activity.

From a users' perspective, Grant Blank and Bianca Reisdorf (2012) suggest that the Web 2.0 relies on two main components: network effects and platforms. As the authors illustrate, e-mail is a cheap and instant way to send information coded into data, but it only works when both sender and receiver actually have an e-mail inbox. The network effect relies on the fact that higher participation makes it more valuable, as is the case with e-mail. The second component, 'platforms', are conceived of as simple, reliable environments where users create content. Video and photography sharing platforms, wikis, blogs and social networking sites, as well as product reviews and services, are all platforms containing data provided and created by its users.

The Web 2.0 is dynamic. For instance, one feature of the Web 2.0 are RSS news feeds (Dohn & Johnsen 2009). RSS stands for 'really simple syndication', which refers to the use, reuse and integration of content from one website to another. It is possible to add the feed of one site into RSS reader software so that short summaries of this and other feeds are displayed in one place. In 2013, Google Reader (Google's RSS application) was withdrawn as RSS became less popular. Bloglines, a 'surviving' RSS news aggregator, was discontinued in early 2015. These days, few webpages support RSS, even though advocates of RSS, who stress its usefulness, still exist (see e.g. Ovidia 2012; Grüner 2014).

3.4.2 Critical views of the Web 2.0

As suggested by McQuail (2002:8), critical views of the media and its influence on social life are 'as old as the media themselves'. Christian Fuchs (2014) considers 'techno-deterministic' approaches, which view social media as an emancipatory media, as failing to consider the political and economic levels that constitute new media and its different platforms.

Evgeny Morozov (2011) stresses fundamental issues of power and domination embedded in 'capitalist social media' and considers it absurd not to ponder the overwhelming economic and political role of the internet, and the power that it delivers, especially to authoritarian regimes that silence the voices of the people. In the same vein, Sarah Kember and Joanna Zylinska (2012) are critical of studies that overlook the technological side of Facebook. They consider these studies to reduce the medium to its content alone in a sort of 'counter-McLuhian maneuver' of 'demediation of the medium'. However, burgeoning literature focuses on social interactions in digital media and the possibilities this brings for researching social matters (see reviews of research using social media in e.g. Wilson et al. 2012; Caers et al. 2013). These contradictory approaches characterise the current trends in communication studies

described by Martin-Barbero (2011) as ‘a terrible combination of technological determinism and cultural pessimism’.

Robin Mansell’s *Imagining the Internet* (2012) analyses the different and conflicting social imaginaries of the internet. They are conflicting in as far as they are fairly dissimilar and, depending on the perspective, can even be seen as controversial. For instance, from a critical perspective of the Internet Age, a present imaginary is the notion of mediation, which is viewed as a conflicting social imaginary:

Mediation may be experienced as entertainment or as education and these developments may enter the social imaginary of the information society entirely uncontested. However, they may be promoting loss of memory, disregard for the welfare of others, changes in the values of the workplace, and superficial human relationships associated with a decline in sociability and intimacy. (Mansell 2012:62)

Another example of a conflicting imaginary is that of empowerment or self-realisation through the use of ICTs. This suggests that online participants ‘are becoming information creators, information sharers, and information consumers as they exploit the vast array of tools to personalize their environments and to construct online identities’ (:118). Mansell stresses that there is a paradox in this understanding since this sense of the mastery of online users has only been made possible by tools that have been created ‘by a new entrepreneurial class of knowledge workers’ (:118). Moreover, the paradox deepens when considering how the dominant social imaginary suggests these developments are made possible by incentives in the commercial market while the alternative imaginary suggests they stem from the *ethos* of collaboration. While Mansell is critical of the dominant social imaginary, the ‘techno-economic paradigm’, she is also sceptical of the alternative imaginary that involves equality, social justice, participation, co-production and collaboration. She believes that a new social imaginary must emerge that resists the excesses of the market without abandoning it.

In Axel Bruns and Jean Burgess’s recent work (2015) there is also a critical view of Twitter’s development, which they suggest moves it from a social media network to an information media. They suggest that Twitter’s search algorithms are blurring the socially constructed ‘topical hashtag communities’ that build ‘ad hoc publics’ (publics that are formed at the same time a hashtag emerges on a current concern or event), introducing instead a new type of ‘calculated publics’, which respond to what Twitter considers ‘authoritative’ and ‘socially relevant’ results:

While many users may click on a hashtag and assume that the resulting stream of tweets transparently represents the reality or even the totality of the tweets associated with a particular hashtag, they are (perhaps unknowingly) getting a constructed, partial and curated view of the tweets that have been posted (Bruns & Burgess 2015:25)

If the claim made by Bruns & Burgess is accurate, rather than being socially constructed these publics are being determined by Twitter and hashtag searches may marginalise those users whose presence on the Twittersphere is of lesser importance than ‘privileged’ ones, removing all trace of global fairness ascribed to this site.

Despite the hegemony of the dominant market imaginary, which as stressed by Mansell is not only based on the market but is also supported by technological development, the alternative imaginary of creative voluntary collaboration is still present in connected activism. Connected activism takes place broadly through the use of social media, which has been the determinant in the emergence of the current ‘networked movements’ (Castells 2012) or ‘technopolitical movements’ (Toret 2013; Monterde et al. 2015) to which the next chapter refers.

The next section focuses on social media, how it has developed and its characteristics.

3.5 SOCIAL MEDIA SITES

Social media sites (SMS) are WWW applications that, in words of O’Reilly (2007:17), ‘make the most of the intrinsic advantages of that platform’. SMS are self-tailored communication channels that are at ease with the apparent contradiction of performing in the ‘hybrid world’ (one that is simultaneously physical and cybernetic) of ‘real virtuality’. As Castells suggests, ‘people do not live a virtual reality; indeed, it is a real virtuality, since social practices, sharing, mixing, and living in society is facilitated in the virtuality’ (Castells 2013:xxx).

In words of Van Dijk (2012) ‘the arrival of the social media signifies that the Internet has returned to its origins: a network of exchange and cooperation, not only a source of consumption and information retrieval’ (:183). SMS play an important role both as new media sites for publishing and sharing coordinated action and for collectively building knowledge (Shirky 2008).

The term ‘social media sites’ (SMS) and ‘social networking sites’ (SNS) are used interchangeably in literature. Visakan Veerasamy (2013) suggests that choosing one terminology or the other responds to the emphasis posed, whether in social interaction or in information sharing. Figure 3.1 shows the trends in the use of both denominations over time.

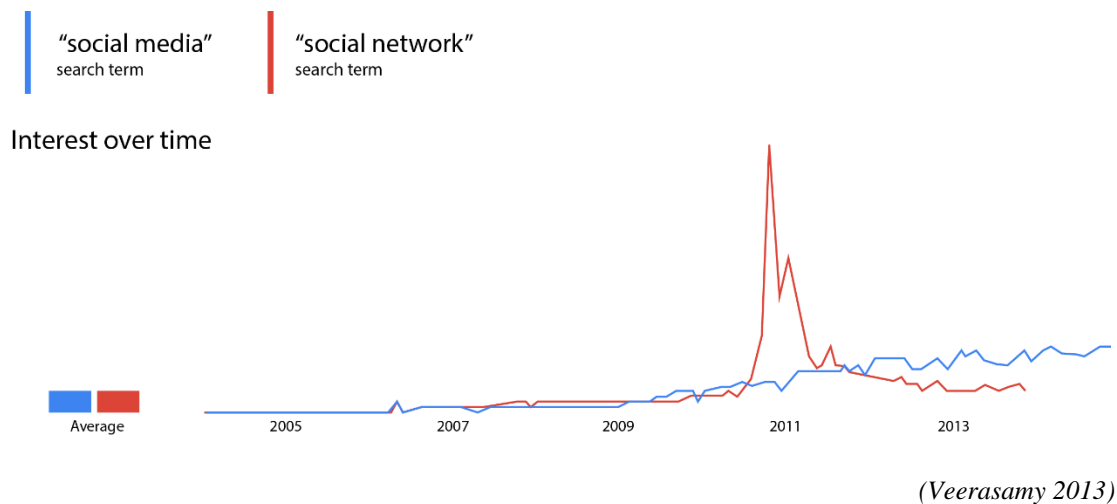


Figure 3.1 Google search trends of 'Social Media' vs 'Social Network'

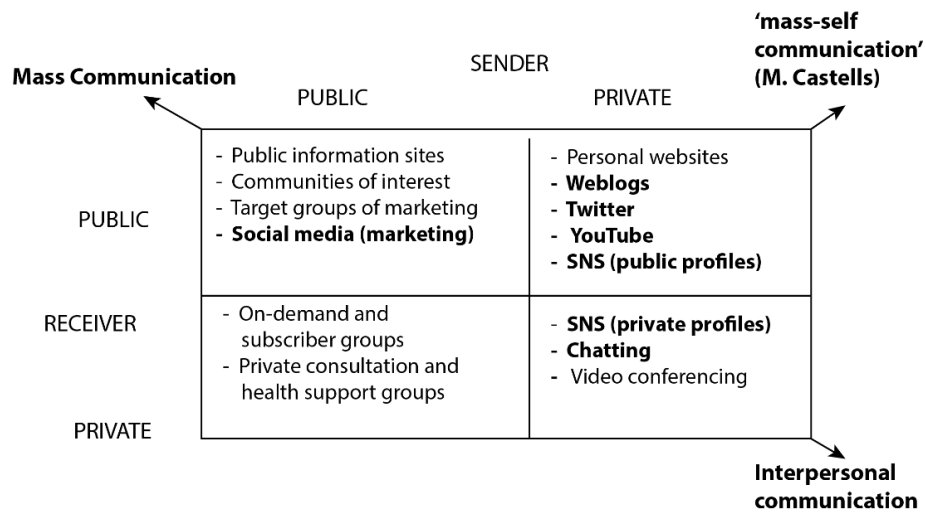
Veerasamy suggests that, prior to 2010, the term 'social network' was more widely used than 'social media' and explains that the spikes in Figure 3.1 relate to the movie about Facebook called *The Social Network*, released at that time. After this, the term 'social media' acquires presence, 'consistent to the idea that social networking sites disrupted traditional media'.

danah boyd and Nicole Ellison (2007) distinguish two types of dominant social network sites: profile-centric sites and media-centric sites. However, their revised work from 2013 describes SNS as having matured into a genre, where profiles face a double transformation: they lose their centrality and became the product of aggregated media. Their 'Definition 2.0' of SNS is:

A social network site is a *networked* communication platform in which participants 1) have uniquely identifiable profiles that consist of user-supplied content, content provided by other users, and/or system-level data; 2) can *publicly* articulate connections that can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) can consume, produce, and/or interact with *streams of user-generated content* provided by their connections on the site. (boyd et al. 2013:6).

In this study I prefer to speak of social media and describe the sites studied as SMS, emphasising their *mediated* character –through the internet in communication processes. This leaves no room for confusion, as networking sites could refer to physical sites for social networking such as private or public places, squares or meeting points.

Figure 3.2 stresses the digital landscape of social media: the rows on top suggest sites closer to mass media, while the ones below refer to communication that is more interpersonal. In bold, are social media sites. The category YouTube should be understood as video and photography sharing sites (e.g. Flickr, YouTube, Instagram).



(Van Dijk 2012:182)

Figure 3.2 Social media between interpersonal and mass communication

Within SMS, the distinctions of interpersonal and mass communication are blurred, linking the worlds of the individual and the social in one place (Birchmeier et al. 2011; Van Dijk 2012).

boyd et al. (2010) stress the network characteristic of social media that, even though it allows conversations to bypass temporal and geographical constraints, it is bound to a defined group of people inside the own network of the participants. Moreover, 'people in social media follow the conversations in the context of individuals, not topical threads' (:1).

In the case of SMS managed by organisations, people follow these accounts if they are committed to the advocacy causes associated with the organisation. Nevertheless, when these topical organisations are part of social media, public and private spheres amalgamate (Papacharissi 2010). This project is centred on two SMS: Facebook and Twitter, therefore the following sections focus on them.

3.5.1 Twitter: between social networking and social media

Twitter started in 2006, and was first conceived of as a text messaging service in compliance with the character limits set by mobile phones. It was designed to send text messages (tweets) of 140 characters which, when added to a maximum of 20 characters for a name, added up to 160 characters, the same as mobile text messaging character limits. Nowadays, Twitter maintains the same character limit but this can now include images and videos rather than just text.

In the second quarter of 2015, Twitter had an average of 316 million monthly active users, 15% more than previous year-to-year numbers, and had experienced an increase

of 8 million users from the previous quarter¹⁸. Every day, Twitter registers approximately 500 million tweets posted in over 35 compatible languages¹⁹. Twitter is therefore considered the second most popular SMS, with Facebook being the most popular.

As suggested by Gema Garcia-Alabacete and Yannis Theocharis (2014), Twitter lies at the crossroads of SNS and blogs. It shares the structure of blogs, showing entries in chronological reverse order. Due to the limited length of each tweet, it is known as a micro-blogging platform. Zizi Papacharissi (2010) refers to blogs as a new expression of ‘narcissism’, not in a pejorative manner but as a way to define the ‘introspection and self-absorption that takes place in blogs and similar spaces’ (:145).

Shirky (2008) calls the Twitter section of his book *Banal Tools in Remarkable Contexts*, and discusses how this platform of ‘inane’ and ‘awfully banal’ content transformed into an open communication channel for Egyptian political activists and others (:184). Later, intensive posting on Twitter during uprisings in various countries led to the phrase ‘the Twitter revolution’, as citizens in, for example, Iran, Egypt, Moldova, and Tunisia used it as a medium for expressing dissent against government and general discontent (Christensen 2011; Castells 2012). Therefore, Jarvis considers Twitter an ‘agent of change’, as he states: ‘It doesn’t cause revolutions, but it can help spread them’ (2010:144).

Richard Rogers (2013) divides Twitter’s life into three chronological stages. During *Twitter I*, ranging from 2006 to 2009, it is considered ‘an ambient, friend-following medium’ (:xiii) whose main purpose it to show connection in a friendship group and to share tweets as a way to do small-chat, considered ‘banal’ and ‘meaningless’, in words of Twitter’s founder Jack Dorsey. This idea was reinforced by a study, undertaken by a marketing firm in the United Kingdom, about which the BBC’s headline read: ‘Twitter tweets are 40% “babble”’ (R. Rogers 2013:xiii). In 2009, Twitter changed its prompt question ‘What are you doing?’ to ‘What’s happening?’, which has been acknowledged as representing the shift away from a personal status update to an information or media network (Veerasingam 2013). This benchmark moves Twitter into Rogers’ second stage: *Twitter II*, considered as a ‘new medium for event-following’. Moreover, Avery Holton et al. (2014:34) refer to Twitter as a platform that users have adapted ‘as a space to break and contextualize news’.

There is no agreement among scholars whether Twitter and social media are genuine tools for democratisation (e.g. Shirky 2008; Jarvis 2011) or are ‘lumped under some mythical tool neutrality’ (Morozov 2011:298). Moreover, Fuchs (2014) claims that the notion of a Twitter revolution is ‘a belief in cyber-utopianism’ (:201). However, there

¹⁸ Twitter. Financial releases. Twitter Q2’15 Earnings Release. July 28, 2015. <https://investor.twitterinc.com/releasedetail.cfm?ReleaseID=924259> Retrieved 24.09.2015
¹⁹ Twitter. Twitter Use. <https://about.twitter.com/es/company> Retrieved 16.09.2015

is an implicit consent within both drifts to see Twitter no longer as banal small chat as it was first conceived.

The third stage of Twitter, *Twitter III*, describes it as a data set that accesses, stores and analyses information:

Twitter is particularly attractive for research, owing to the relative ease with which tweets are gathered and collections are made, as well as the inbuilt means of analysis, including retweets for significant tweets, hashtags for subject matter categorisation, @replies as well as followers-followees for network analysis, and shortened URLs for reference analysis. (R. Rogers 2013:xxii)

Twitter provides accurate information on tweets with dates and postings, giving a clear-cut landscape for quantitative analysis, its drawback is in actual conversation and construction of narratives, which makes qualitative analysis much more difficult. Moreover, recent studies on Twitter suggest the medium is determining the construction of publics limited to its user-generated attributes (Bruns & Burgess 2015).

3.5.1.1 Main features of Twitter

User profiles in Twitter are very short and public. They include the account name, a personal name ('real name') and a short description. As suggested by Alice Marwick and boyd (2011), 'self-presentation on Twitter takes place through ongoing 'tweets' and conversations with others, rather than static profiles' (:116).

Twitter's architecture is very simple. Since its creation, it is open to alternative user interfaces via its API²⁰. In this way, 'the majority of users contribute to the "Twittersphere" via third-party applications' (Halavais 2013:31). Specifically the data of this project was obtained using NCapture, NVivo's application that obtains data through Twitter's API.

By default Twitter makes all digital interaction in homepages public, however this can be personalised and limited to specific networks, this also applies to reply lines in publicly shared updates²¹.

²⁰ Application Programming Interface. An API can be suggested as the 'technical service contract' that provides the terms by which data exactly can be drawn from a site (Dohn & Johnsen 2009).

²¹ Twitter. Using Twitter: The Basics. <https://support.twitter.com/categories/281/285#> Retrieved 16.09.2015

Tweets

Updates on Twitter are called tweets. Tweets appear both a) on the sender profile page, this is on the information stored under a user name, and b) on the home timeline, the stream of tweets from any accounts been followed²².

Each tweet displays four possibilities:

- *reply*, which by default starts with @user and is stored in the same post
- *retweet*, which opens a new window with the whole post included and is saved on the users timeline
- *like*²³, which assesses the tweet
- an *ellipsis (...)*, which provides possibilities for sharing, copying, embedding, blocking and reporting the link.

Only 1,000 direct messages, 1,000 followees and 2,400 tweets (including retweets) are allowed per user per day, including API requests from third-party applications.²⁴

Followers/followees

Twitter users ‘follow’ others in order to read their tweets, but this is not necessarily reciprocal. Asynchrony of followers/followees characterises Twitter since it was first launched (Schmidt 2013). By default, it is possible to follow others updates. However, users can restrict their network by adding privacy settings. Reciprocity is only necessary to send and receive direct messages, not tweets.

Mentions

A practice in Twitter is to mention, address or refer to a specific user by preceding the account name with a @ to identify participants in conversations, a convention that stems from former internet ‘chat room’s known as IRC²⁵.

²² Twitter. Help Center. *Types of Tweets and where they appear*. <https://support.twitter.com/articles/119138> Retrieved 28.09.2015

²³ On 3 November 2015 Twitter announced: ‘We are changing our star icon for favourites to a heart and we’ll be calling them likes.’ Hearts on Twitter. <https://blog.twitter.com/2015/hearts-on-twitter> Retrieved 19.01.2016

²⁴ Twitter Limits (API, updates, and following) <https://support.twitter.com/articles/15364#> Retrieved 24.03.2016

²⁵ Internet Relay Chat, internet places (‘chat rooms’) where communication between different participants takes place.

Through this practice tweets reach the targeted person’s attention in ‘an otherwise public forum’ and a sort of conversation takes place (boyd et al. 2010). Jarvis (2011) observes that, by establishing online connections, relationships are started in Twitter. As he states: ‘when I’ve shared my ideas online, I’ve found people willing to spread or challenge them (or to do business together)’ (:45).

Table 3.1 illustrates how mentions are displayed in Twitter’s networks. Twitter recognises as a direct reply a tweet that starts with @account. Direct replies display only on the newsfeed of the network that follows both accounts: the account that tweets and the account that is mentioned. The mentioned account will be alerted about this in its mentions feed.

Tweet	Newsfeed			
	Me	My friend	Mutual friend	My friends’ friend
@Me: I tweet	x	x	x	
@Me: @Myfriend tweets	x	x	x	
@Me: Tweet @Me & @Myfriend	x	x	x	x

Table 3.2 Visualisation of mentions in a Twitter’s newsfeed

A tweet that mentions an @account within the text of the tweet, but not at the beginning, will be displayed in the newsfeed of the followers of the accounts. In order to spread a tweet, the owner of the mentioned account needs to retweet it, and in that way his or her own network will have access to the information.

Hashtags

Hashtags are user-driven short links to particular topics. With hashtags, topics are made public and available to users searching for information on that specific issue, without necessarily being a follower of the account. In HTML²⁶, the use of # identifies anchor points, which are specific places marked for attention. As hyperlinks, hashtags (#) need to be composed in one word without spaces or special characters. The use of capital letters to separate words is a common practice in hashtags, although this is only for esthetical purposes. Twitter search makes no distinction between upper and lower cases so, for example, the hashtags used by Vredeseilanden’s 2015 campaign #SavetheFoodture and #Savethefoodture would bring up the same results in a Twitter search.

Hashtags in Twitter mirror the practice of tagging as a way to establish categories in web content. Hashtags are common in other SMS such as Instagram, Pinterest, Google+

²⁶ Hypertext Markup Language

or even Facebook, although the latter includes hashtags only because it is a practice of its users as the platform does not support search through hashtags.

As Twitter supports more than 35 languages, coupled with the practice of reducing words in order to fit a message into a 140 character tweet and the extended use of acronyms, hashtags often congregate around more than one issue. However, as observed by Bruns and Burgess (2015:18) ‘users will actively work to keep “their” hashtag free of unwanted or irrelevant distractions, and to maximise the reach of the preferred hashtag to all users’.

Retweets

Retweeting is to forward someone’s message. As Jarvis (2011:135) posits ‘the retweet in Twitter –repeating something you’ve read and giving credit– is a substantiation of the sharing society’.

Retweets (by default) are preceded by the letters RT, followed by @account. However, as boyd et al. (2010) analyse, practices of retweeting are multiple, making it very complex to categorise and follow retweets, ‘the text and meaning of messages often change as they are retweeted and the inconsistent syntax makes it difficult to track the spread of retweets’ (2010:3).

boyd et al. (2010) identify a number of motivations for retweeting:

- a) To amplify or spread tweets to new audiences
- b) To entertain or inform an audience or ‘as an act of curation’
- c) To comment on someone’s tweet by adding new content and in that way begins a conversation
- d) To make visible one’s presence as a listener
- e) To agree publicly with someone or validate others’ thoughts
- f) As an act of friendship, loyalty or homage
- g) To recognize or refer to less popular people or less visible content
- h) For self-gain, either to gain followers or reciprocity from participants
- i) To save tweets for future personal access and reference

As shown above, the motivations for retweeting are multiple and it is difficult to suggest one or another motivation when visualising the spread pattern of a tweet.

Links

Linking is another extended practice in Twitter. Due to the length limitations of a tweet, people started using URL-shorteners (e.g. bit.ly, ow.ly) to avoid the use of long website

addresses while still including links in their tweets. These days, Twitter shortens links shared in tweets through <http://t.co> (twitter community).

Holton et al. (2014) consider Twitter as a site that ‘promotes connectivity based on content’ and suggest that what drives users to include links in Twitter goes beyond starting a conversation. The findings of their study suggest that utilitarian motivations are surpassed in the act of linking as they assert: ‘even in the seemingly simple act of posting a link on Twitter, users may be both relying on a web of trust and reciprocation and helping build that web for others’ (:39).

3.5.1.2 Twitter as a communicative space

Jan-Hinrik Schmidt (2013) visualises Twitter as a communicative space where ‘the nexus of social ties and textual references, based on code-enabled connections [hashtags, links, tweets and retweets] structure and filter the flow of communication’ (:5). The author suggests that Twitter affords a new type of publicness, which he terms ‘personal public’. Personal public, in contrast to traditional public (that of mass media), is characterised by:

- a) Selecting and displaying information according to personal criteria of relevance
- b) Addressing to an audience where network ties are explicit
- c) Being shown as a conversation more than a publication

Moreover, Schmidt suggests that, in contrast to other SMS, communication on Twitter has no ‘shared location’ –a visible thread where users and contributions are observable (e.g. a Facebook status with subsequent comments, a chatroom). On Twitter, communication takes place ‘in networked, distributed conversations’. Single posts ‘are bundled (a) in the constant stream of information within a personal timeline, filtered via social connections made explicit, as well as (b) in the spontaneous and ad hoc “hashtag publics”’ (:6).

Schmidt borrows the term ‘hashtag publics’ from the work of Bruns and Burgess (2011) and considers hashtags to be a means of coordinating a distributed discussion that takes place among users who would otherwise not necessarily be connected.

However, Marwick and boyd (2011) suggest that Twitter exemplifies a technology with a ‘networked audience’ –a combination of an anonymous media audience and a writer’s directed audience–: ‘While the broadcast audience is a faceless mass, the networked audience is unidentified but contains familiar faces; it is both potentially public and personal’ (2011:129). The ‘networked audience’ supposes interaction by monitoring,

responding to, following, and constantly feeding the communication channels; in this way the audience is at the same time producer, listener and collaborator. Linguistic, cultural and identity markers in tweets determine the networked audience addressed.

3.5.2 Facebook: connecting networked individuals

Facebook was founded in 2004 and opened to the public in 2006. It has 1.49 billion²⁷ monthly active users, which increases by 13% year-on-year²⁸. Facebook supports more than 70 languages²⁹ and enables translation in most of them. More than 83.1% of Facebook's daily users are outside the US and Canada³⁰, which makes Facebook a worldwide platform (Caers et al. 2013).

A study conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2014, suggests that Facebook remains the most popular SMS within the United States used by 72% of the country's online adults (Duggan 2015), despite the fact that other studies on SMS from 2014³¹ show a decline in Facebook use within teenagers and the subsequent ascendancy of messaging apps³².

Lars Backstrom et al. (2012) used the Facebook network of active users to challenge the notion that there is 'six degrees of separation' between acquaintances. This was first proposed by the Hungarian author Frigyes Karinthy in his short story *Chains* (1929) and popularised in the eponymous play and movie, *Six Degrees of Separation* by playwright John Guare (1990).

The first academic study about the notion of six degrees of separation was conducted by Stanley Migran in the late 1960s (Backstrom et al. 2012; Rainie & Wellman 2012). This concept inspired one of the pioneering SMSs, namely SixDegrees.com. SixDegrees.com started in 1997 and combined profiles, friends' lists and school affiliations in one service. Promoted as a service to help people connect with others, it attracted millions of users, but as it failed to become a sustainable business SixDegrees.com closed in 2000 (boyd & Ellison 2007). Backstrom's study *Four*

²⁷ Being Facebook a US based company, a billion is understood as a thousand million (10^9), and not a million of millions (10^{12}) as in other languages. Facebook accounts for approximately six times the number of Twitter's monthly active users.

²⁸ Facebook. Facebook Reports Second Quarter 2015 Results. July 29, 2015. <http://investor.fb.com/releasedetail.cfm?ReleaseID=924562> Retrieved 24.09.2015

²⁹ Facebook. Developers. Localization and Translation. <https://developers.facebook.com/docs/internationalization> Retrieved 25.09.2015

³⁰ Facebook. Newsroom. Stats. <http://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/> Retrieved 25.09.2015

³¹ E.g. Frank N. Magid Associates, Inc. Magid Social Media Study. Key Finding 2014. <http://www.magid.com/node/260> Retrieved 24.09.2015.

³² To retain its users, at the end of 2014 Facebook split apart Facebook from Facebook Messenger and on June 2015 it announced that the messaging app can be accessed without providing a Facebook account. *Sign Up for Messenger, Without a Facebook Account*. Newsroom, June 24, 2015. <http://newsroom.fb.com/news/2015/06/sign-up-for-messenger-without-a-facebook-account/> Retrieved 24.09.2015

*Degrees of Separation*³³ suggest an average distance of separation between people in Facebook of 4.74. Analysis limited to a single country shows that most pairs of people are only separated by 3 degrees, ‘showing that the world is even smaller than we expected’ (Backstrom et al. 2012:1).

Rainie and Wellman (2012:139) suggest the rise of SMSs, ‘first Friendster, then MySpace, and most dramatically, Facebook’ brought to public awareness the issue of social networks. It is not that social networks were inexistent before, but when they emerged and became more salient allowed ‘networked individuals’ to benefit from sharing, meeting, contributing and disclosing relevant information with acquaintances from their own former traditional networks and create new online networks as well.

Nodes in one’s own personal network can be connected to nodes of others’ personal networks, as Laura Garton et al. (1997) explain: ‘If we term network members egos and alters, then each tie not only gives egos direct access to their alters but also indirect access to all those network members to whom their alters are connected.’ This means that only allowing one person’s network to view content in fact opens the landscape to many people to have access to the content too, and these people could be related, in one way or another, to the person who generated the information.

Facebook is not characterised by anonymity nor are comments characterised by invisibility, just the opposite: participants who make comments on Facebook have a network of acquaintances who court their presence on social media.

3.5.2.1 Overview of Facebook’s main features

Facebook was first conceived as a digital version of the ‘face book’, a printed directory consisting of photographs and names that universities used to identify students at campus. Therefore, a Facebook account is provided with a profile picture which is always public and a small thumbnail appears next to a user’s name when they are commenting or replying to posts.

There are three types of accounts on Facebook: profiles, groups and pages. Once a new profile has been created, Facebook allows people to connect with friends, family and acquaintances by sending a ‘friend’ request. When the request is accepted, Facebook connects both individuals. Facebook groups are formed by a number of Facebook users who wish to have their own limited online environment on Facebook. Groups function in the same way as profiles and establish their own privacy politics for membership. Facebook Pages are explained in the next section.

³³ Backstrom, Lars. 22.11.2011. Anatomy of Facebook.
https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=10150388519243859 Retrieved 25.09.2015

'Reciprocal friendship links' characterise Facebook, but since 2011 this platform has allowed asymmetrical following by introducing a 'subscribe' feature which allows others to see public updates (boyd et al. 2013:4). The 'subscribe' feature was renamed as 'follow' on December 2012 and recent changes to Facebook's privacy settings have enabled users to hide information to some members of their network, unilaterally unfollow updates and hide comments in posts among other things. Therefore, reciprocity is not as equalised as it was in the first stage of Facebook.

Facebook Pages

Facebook Pages (formerly known as 'Fan Pages') differ from Facebook profiles to some extent. Businesses, brands and organisations are not entitled to Facebook profiles, as these are intended for individual people. However, it is necessary an individual with a Facebook profile to manage a Facebook Page and have access to statistics on followers and page traffic. Carolin Gerlitz and Anne Helmond (2013:1348) suggest that the like button allows 'the instant transformation of user engagement into numbers on button counters'. While Facebook profiles allow a maximum of 5000 'friends', the number of people who 'like' (follow) Facebook pages is unlimited. Anyone with a Facebook account can follow a Facebook Page that immediately displays posts on the user's newsfeed. When entering a Page, users are prompted to 'write something on this Page'. It is not necessary to follow a Facebook Page to be able to post on it, unless privacy restrictions are added.

Posts

At the end of 2011, Facebook renamed its original 'wall'—a clear metaphor of posting in a public space—to a 'timeline'. Facebook's timeline displays status updates, pictures, videos and events organised in a chronological order, which dates back to the year of the user's birthday. Currently, all Facebook posts allow the user to modify its content, date, location, etc.

Status updates (posts) are prompted to answer the question 'What's on your mind?' By default, Facebook posts are public, but privacy settings can be customised in order for these posts to only be shown to the user's network, to a limited group or a single user. Private posts, which are only intended to be seen by a closed network cannot be seen by other users, unless preferences for 'Friends of friends' are active, an option that joins unconnected networks.

Updates can be posted, both on the user's timeline and on another user's timeline. Visibility of postings in other's timelines depends again on the privacy settings provided. Users build their accounts through texts, images and links in a highly

standardised layout which makes it easy for users to move from one account to another in the platform (Caers et al. 2013).

While it is not necessary in Facebook to shorten links, it is a common practice to avoid long website addresses. Apart from third party shorteners, Facebook provides two URL shorteners when linking: the *fb.me* shortener, available for Facebook users, and the *on.fb.me* shortener for content inside Facebook accounts.

Tagging

Whenever a picture is uploaded in Facebook, a window prompts the user to tag faces, and suggests names based on members of the user's network. Tagging allows Facebook to connect people within the network. Another form of tagging, termed as 'conversational tagging' (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar 2015) is that of including the names of friends in a post, in order to call for their attention and make them aware of the post's content. This does not only deliver a notification to the tagged person, as in Twitter, but also makes public the post by displaying it on their network's newsfeed, as if the post was its own. In this way, it is not necessary to write a post in the timeline of a friend, it is enough to mention or tag a friend's name for the post to show up.

To link to a profile it is only required to start with the first capital letter of the name and Facebook will suggest the name, for pages and groups it is necessary to write an @ before the name in order to find the corresponding link.

Certain privacy settings enable a user to set up a delay before being tagged as Facebook will automatically ask for their approval before a tag can be posted. In such cases, Facebook alerts the user that has been tagged in a friend's photo who subsequently can interact (Wisniewski et al. 2015). Once tagged, a user can delete the tag or even denounce the post if considered inappropriate.

Likes³⁴

The 'like' button is one of Facebook's more salient features, which has been regarded as 'Facebook's ideology' (Fuchs 2014:160), suggesting that Facebook spreads this affirmative atmosphere, where no dislikes or disagreements are possible. However, this has recently changed because, on 24 February 2016, Facebook globally launched animated emoji 'reactions' that pop-up when holding down or hovering over the *like* button. Emoji include representations of 'like', 'love', 'haha', 'wow', 'sad' or 'angry'.

³⁴ During the 18 months studied, Facebook's only available *reaction* was that of 'liking' therefore *liking* is included as an important feature for the analysis.

This could change Fuchs' assessment about Facebook, and definitely shows how dynamic SMS are³⁵.

Before the emojis, Facebook users 'like' posts not necessarily to agree with their content but to acknowledge they have read the post and disseminated it among their own networks. For example, the 7,377 likes on Oxfam Intermon's post asking for civil society's support to the 'Robin Hood tax'³⁶ could mean both agreement with the post and acknowledgement to spread it among their networks. But the *like* on a post must not always be understood literally. For instance, the 3,122 likes on SSNC's post about the death of a young shellfish-catcher in Ecuador should be understood as a form of acknowledgment of the post and not as a way of cheering the act. The following comment on a Facebook post from IBIS, reposted on a friend's timeline, illustrates the ambivalence between the use of the word 'like' in issues that people probably rather 'dislike':

'Synes godt om', at du har lagt den på - men synes bestemt ikke godt om den ekstreme ulighed [frown emoticon]

('Like' that you post it - but I really don't like the extreme inequality [frown emoticon])

A similar reflection appears in a comment to a post about the lack of clean water in poor countries issued by Oxfam Intemon:

'Yo no voy a poner un me gusta, es muy triste que en el 2014 sigan pasando estas cosas y nadie se pare a pensarlo'

(I'm not going to like it, it is very sad that in 2014 these things keep happening and no one ever even thinks about it)

However, *liking* has been claimed as an act of 'slacktivism' to the political causes raised by SMOs (e.g. Morozov 2011; Fuchs 2014). Slacktivism is a pejorative word, which blends the concepts of 'slacker' and 'activism' suggesting a minimum effort towards a cause. As implied by David Karpf (2010:9), the anticipated danger inferred equates to 'fears that resulting waves of minimal-effort engagement hold long-term costs for the public sphere'.

³⁵ In an interview with Facebook's product manager Sammi Krug, he says that this new feature responds to the demands of Facebook providing people 'a way to express empathy'. Forbes. 24.02.2016. <http://onforb.es/211aN9T> Retrieved 27.02.2016

³⁶ Refer to post O_9190 (Robin Hood Tax) and S_16656 (shellfish-catcher). Appendix 1.

While it is true that not much can be changed by clicking on a 'like' button, it is also true that acknowledging a cause by *liking* it is a form of letting the SMO and its participants in digital interaction know that other people share this concern. Likes on posts are visible on a user's news feed, and the number of likes a post receives can provide a 'sense of agency' to its owner. However, 'likes, as site visits, are simply tallied and provide no content for discussion' (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar 2015:242). Nevertheless, the sense of agency that a high number of likes on a post provides is described by Paul Kirschner (2015) as a sense of 'connectedness', defined as 'the feeling of belonging to a social group, implying creation of bonding relationships' (:622).

The study of Kevin Johnston et al. (2011) suggests a strong association with bridging, bonding and maintaining 'social capital' through liking and sharing Facebook posts. They define social capital as those resources that accumulate from various relationships building a structure of mutually beneficial relationships.

The notification about a user liking a post is only displayed on Facebook's Quick Notification Bar, which shows the ongoing current activities of friends; it is for the most part ephemeral and is not shown on the user's timeline. To include a liked post on a timeline requires the use of the 'share' button, similar to the retweet button required in Twitter to make public @ mentions.

Shares

Facebook includes a 'share' button below posts, allowing a user to:

- a) 'share now': this is to share the post as it is on the user's timeline
- b) write a comment about the post to introduce it
- c) to send the post as a private message.

On a user's timeline, a post that has been shared more than once by members of the network will display just once but include the separate updates of all the shares.

Comments

All posts are provided with a comment line, and Facebook prompts users to 'write a comment' below posts. Comments are always linked to the post and are provided with the thumbnail of the commenter's profile. Comments, as posts, can be both liked and replied to, but they do not have a share button, since they are not independent units from the post.

Sharing a status update on a user's timeline and providing it with a comment opens the issue up for discussion in another context. On the new timeline, the post can be commented on as an independent post. These comments will no longer appear below the original post but in the timeline of the shared post. Therefore, posts can have both comments on the original post and on the shared timeline. Commenting is a way of taking part in the discussion and sharing ideas, which can be challenged or praised, agreed to or disagreed with; moreover comments can also receive 'likes'.

3.5.2.2 Facebook and privacy

Facebook's mission is to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected. People use Facebook to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what's going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them.³⁷

Some scholars attribute the popularity of Facebook to its ability to engender a sense of protection within users, who feel the information they disclose will remain inside their social network (Jarvis 2011; Giglietto et al. 2012). Therefore, each time Facebook announces modifications to its privacy policy, voices of concern are raised worldwide and Facebook privacy pitfalls and controversy can be easily searched in the internet (Rheingold 2012). Facebook keeps changing its privacy policies and the ways in which users share within the platform. Stephen Rains and Steven Brunner (2014) consider the constant changes in Facebook privacy policy to have influenced the ways users customise their own privacy settings in order to protect themselves.

A review carried out by Robert Wilson et al. (2012) of social science research on Facebook, finds a considerable body of work related to privacy and information disclosure. This tempers the benefits associated with Facebook, for instance, the strengthening of social ties. In this vein is the study of Monika Taddicken (2014), building on the 'privacy paradox', which suggests that, while internet users are concerned about privacy, their behaviours do not reflect these apprehensions. Her findings show that hardly any privacy concerns have an impact on self-disclosure and that, despite the common belief that a general willingness to disclosure is higher among young users, this is not borne out by the study. On the contrary, the study found that experiences, thoughts and feeling were disclosed with open access regardless of age.

James Grimmelman (2010) refers to Facebook as a 'privacy virus' suggesting that, while Facebook users care about privacy as much as they do in the rest of their lives (online or not), Facebook puts different social contexts and audiences (family, colleagues, employers, etc.) in the same place. The problem with such invisible

³⁷ Facebook. Investor Relations. <http://investor.fb.com/index.cfm> Retrieved 24.09.2015

audiences is that users are not always aware of them, which can make a simple update status turn into ‘an embarrassing privacy slip-up’ (:11).

Some of the information contained in a personal profile is always public, moreover in the terms of service, users agree to allow Facebook Inc. to collect some personal information (Wilson et al. 2012). This includes when and where an account or a message is created, shared or synchronised with other content³⁸.

Facebook, as with most SMS, requires ‘authorised users’ to provide authentic information on their profiles. Trust in the accuracy of the data supplied is implicit in surveys that use Facebook as a source to analyse a wide variety of demographic and social issues. Personal disclosure on SMS could turn problematic when information is provided to the ‘wrong’ audience (see e.g. Morozov 2011:205-244; Wellborn 2012).

Jarvis (2011) focuses on how the public and private spheres blur in social media and advocates for the advantages of publicness provided by the new media. He suggests that, even though criticism stresses the risks to privacy derived from publicness on the internet, the public sphere provided must be underlined: ‘when we gather together, we can create new public entities –our public spheres’ (:5). He considers the pitfalls of being public are nothing compared to the rewards it encompasses.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Communication as a field of study exists at the borderline of social sciences and the humanities. Mass media has played an important role in reinforcing the social imaginaries of modernisation and the prevailing hegemonic imaginaries of market globalism. The presence of alternative social imaginaries through the media, ones that emphasise global fairness, are core issues in the field of communication for social change, considered by Tufte (2013) as a third generation in this field of communication.

This study focuses on current media ecologies, where the development of the internet and the use of ICTs have determined a change from the former mass media communication model of one-to-many to a process of digital interaction sustained on a multi-way communication process of many-to-many.

Currently, individual networks get connected in asynchronous and placeless conversations happening in the new spaces provided by SMS. Two dominant SMS, Facebook and Twitter, have been described in this chapter, as these are the spaces where SMOs perform digital interaction and where social imaginaries of global fairness could present as will be analysed in the coming chapters.

³⁸ Facebook. Data Policy. <https://www.facebook.com/about/privacy/> Retrieved 25.09.2015

4. CONNECTED ACTIVISM

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Digital interaction, as defined in the previous chapter is a multi-way communication process made possible by the internet and the use of ICTs. Currently, burgeoning literature focuses on issues of the connectivity, communication and digital networking of SMOs as a crosscutting element (e.g. Reitan 2007; Shirky 2008; Devillart & Waniewski 2010; Kavada 2010; Earl & Kimport 2011; Ackland & O'Neil 2013; Kavada 2014; Krinsky & Crossley 2014; Wells 2014; Arora 2015).

The chapter introduces Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's metaphor of the rhizome (1987), standing for a structure of thought characterised by the principles of connection, multiplicity, heterogeneity, asignifying rupture, cartography and decalcomania. This chapter puts forward that these principles can be operationalised in order to analyse the multi-way communication process of digital interaction for advocacy.

This chapter is driven by the following questions:

- How has collective action entered into the new media ecologies?
- Which affordances of the internet provide the conditions for 'connective action'?

Collective action in the current field of communication is what Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg (2013) term 'connective action', in which their distinction of 'organisationally enabled networks' is a key focus. I refer to this type of networked connective action as Advocacy 2.0, mirroring the history of the internet, as the phrase implies that this form of advocacy is not completely different from the first generation of connected advocacy, rather it has evolved through the strengthening of networked and user-generated advocacy efforts on a global scale.

4.2 THE METAPHOR OF THE RHIZOME

Culture as 'shared knowledge' behaves likewise with the logic of 'rhizome': ideas that launch force lines creating a grid in constant change, a network of meanings recurrently built together.
(Raul Rodriguez, 2013)³⁹

Deleuze and Guattari in the introduction of their seminal work *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987) postulate the botanical metaphor of the rhizome as a model of thought. This challenges the traditional and hegemonic arborescent model (*arbre de connaissance*) sustained on roots, trunk and branches (Van der Klei 2002).

Rhizomatic plants, such as mangroves, ginger or bamboos, have developed a number of adaptations due to the dynamic conditions of their habitats: they have no centre, no defined boundaries and spread in multiple and heterogeneous ways through semi-independent nodes that renew, grow and regenerate by their own. The rhizome breaks down dichotomies into multiplicities, plurality, simultaneity and horizontality. It may connect any point to any other point; its traits are not necessarily linked to traits alike and as a result it has 'neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overflows' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:23). Six principles characterise the rhizome: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, asignifying rupture, cartography and decalomania. Building on these principles, Alice Van der Klei (2002) suggests the rhizome is appropriate for the analysis of hypertext. The rhizome provides the means to structure and understand simultaneous, asynchronous, apparently loose and disconnected events and occurrences.

Lesley Le Grange (2007) analyses community service-learning and how it challenges the traditional arborescent model of thought, suggesting that it 'might be thought of rhizomatically so as to affirm what is excluded in western thought, creating new knowledge spaces in which indigenous knowledge and western knowledge can be transformed and integrated' (:3). The metaphor of the rhizome is therefore operationalised as a model that 'opens up new spaces for the transformation of pedagogy' (:11). Dave Cormier (2008) is another scholar who proposes the rhizome as a learning model, in particular for social learning, described as 'the practice of working in groups, not only to explore an established canon but also to negotiate what qualifies as knowledge'. The author suggests the need to re-examine the concept of knowledge in view of the speed in which new communication technologies allow the dissemination of information and its conversion into knowledge.

As more and more advocacy efforts turn global and significantly broaden their scope, the metaphor of the rhizome turns out to be an increasingly useful 'toolkit' for its analysis. The metaphor of the rhizome has been used to describe current social movements, namely

³⁹ This extract is translated from flamenco guitarist and anthropologist Raul Rodriguez' 'Stories of the mangrove's seed' (2013), regarded as 'danceable anthropology' <http://www.raul-rodriguez.net/#!/la-semilla-del-manglar/c7ao> Retrieved 05.08.2015

‘rhizomatic social movements’ (see e.g. Escobar & Osterweil 2010; Oppermann 2010; Castells 2012; Funke 2012a, 2012b). Yet, the rhizome has also been suggested as a model of communication (see e.g. Bosch 2010; Roger 2013).

4.3 ACTIVISM AND THE INTERNET

Lance Bennett (2005) proposes differentiating between two eras in the study of transnational activism: the era of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) (Keck & Sikkink 1998; Appadurai 2000) and the era of the GJM (Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Steger et al. 2013). I build on Bennett’s classification to describe two eras of connected activism through the metaphor of the rhizome.

4.3.1 A first era of connected activism: TANs

In 1998, Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) analysed how organisations build networks worldwide for advocacy purposes, and termed them TANs. Their study, in line with the framework approach school, focuses on how TANs connect and share their concerns beyond national boundaries. They suggest that ‘international and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a prominent role in these networks’ (:6).

The term NGOs was first coined in 1945 when this type of organisations took a role in formal UN deliberations and acquired recognition for consultation on matters of their competence through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which is the UN platform for economic and social issues.

As Willetts (2011:7) notes, the term NGO was not defined in the UN documentation, which opened up the landscape for many international organisations to define themselves as NGOs. On the other hand, Riva Krut (1997) stresses that the term NGO ‘is privative: it defines groups by what they are not, rather than what they are’ (:11) and therefore the scope of the term is so loose it describes almost any association of people.

In general terms, NGOs are considered both independent from government and non-profit making. The UN does not endorse local NGOs based in a single country. In order to acquire recognition, and as a way of gaining consultative status towards policymaking, NGOs are required to build international partnerships.

In 1996, a revision of criteria for NGOs’ accreditation to consultative status (Resolution 1996/31⁴⁰) was approved. In these, greater participation of NGOs from developing countries is

⁴⁰ United Nations. Economic and Social Council. 1996/31. *Consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations* <http://www.un.org/documents/ecosoc/res/1996/eres1996-31.htm> Retrieved 10.04.205

encouraged; NGOs are required to be representative of their members, to have appropriate accountability mechanisms, and democratic and transparent decision-making processes.

While in 1946 the UN accredited four NGOs, the number has grown exponentially over time and by September 2014, 4,045 NGOs were enjoying consultative status⁴¹. As Krut (1997:14) remarks, this displays ‘a spectacular growth in sheer numbers of organizations interested in playing a part in global decision-making’.

Appadurai (2000) suggests that NGOs, ‘self-consciously global in their concerns and strategies’, build up TANs which are ‘part movements, part networks, part organizations’ (:15). Keck & Sikkink provide the following definition of TANs:

A transnational advocacy network includes those actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services. (Keck & Sikkink 1998:2)

The main idea behind TANs is that they are built to expand the advocacy scope on issues that are no longer just domestic, but have international repercussion in politics, world finances, trade and climate. TANs move in the logic of North-South relations and are a response from civil society to the growth of transnational corporations (Davies 2014).

Keck and Sikkink’s suggests that TANs are most likely to emerge as a result of the following three things:

- 1) *A boomerang strategy*, which sends out into the international arena a local conflict so that international allies will bring pressure back to the local authorities from outside:

Linkages are important for both sides: for the less powerful third world actors, networks provide access, leverage, and information (and often money) they could not expect to have on their own; for northern groups, they make credible the assertion that they are struggling with, and not only for their southern partners. (Keck & Sikkink 1998: 13)

- 2) *Self-confidence of activists* to promote their causes. Activists, also referred to as ‘political entrepreneurs’, are confident their beliefs deserve to gain access to wider publics regardless of the significant costs this could represent for them:

‘Just as oppression and injustice do not themselves produce movements or revolutions, claims around issues amenable to international action do not produce transnational networks. Activists ... do’ (Keck & Sikkink 1998:14).

- 3) *International encounters*: conferences or other forms of international contact ‘create arenas for forming and strengthening networks’ (:13). While communication

⁴¹ United Nations. NGO Branch. Department of Economic and Social Affairs <http://csonet.org/?menu=100>
Retrieved 10.04.2015

technologies—fax, phone and e-mail at the end of the 1990s—provided opportunities for sharing information and working together, the actual physical gathering of activists in summits offers them the possibility to both share concerns and build networks.

Maria Rodrigues (2011) suggests the actual challenge for local organisations included in TANs is to maintain the political space and visibility gained during key moments of activism. In this regard, Andrea Brighenti (2010) suggests this dichotomy of visibility—a relationship between noticing and being noticed, seeing and being seen—is a ‘two-edged sword: it can confer power, but it can also take it away; it can be a source of both empowerment and disempowerment’ (:39).

In tandem with the stages of the internet’s development, the emergence of TANs could resemble the period of the Web 1.0, the term used *post hoc* to the development of the Web 2.0. Advocacy 1.0, which took place during the time of TANs, is the result of networked efforts of NGOs from the North and South. As with the internet, Advocacy 1.0 is easier to visualise by focusing on the possibilities provided by its second era, analysed in next section.

4.3.2 The GJM, a second era of connected activism

The events that took place in Seattle in 1999, namely a counter-summit ‘pitting myriad protesters against the World Trade Organization’ (Munck 2010:319) in clear disagreement to market globalisation and neoliberalism, is considered by some scholars to be the starting point of the GJM (see e.g. Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Cerdà 2011; Steger & Wilson 2012), while others consider the GJM to have originated before this and in many countries outside the United States (e.g. Flesher Fominaya 2014).

The first World Social Forum (WSF), which met in 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil is agreed to be the ‘intellectual organizational epicentre of the GJM in the first decade of the 21st century’ (Steger et al. 2013:13). Throughout the years, the WSF has continued meeting annually, not only in Brazil but also in many other countries, and has hosted regional meetings around the globe. However, the effervescence of the first meetings has waned over time, leading some scholars to suggest the WSF has been ‘weakened’ as it has been ‘taken over’ by academics and highly professional NGOs (Zibechi 2012b). Moreover, Owen Worth and Karen Buckley (2009:649) state that ‘the Forum has become a funfair for the expression of ideas from academics and NGO/government workers, which has led to a form of elitism that the WSF attempted to avoid at its inception’.

Neither is there consensus in scholarship on whether to refer to one Global Justice Movement (*the* GJM) or to networked justice *movements* (Della Porta 2009a), since both scholars and activists consider it a contradiction of the very essence of the GJM to think of unity among the diversity. Accordingly, Paul Routledge et al. (2006) speak of ‘global justice networks’ as they argue there is no will to ‘develop universalistic and centralising solutions that deny the diversity of interests and identities that are confronted with neoliberal globalisation processes’ (:840).

4.3.3 Mapping the rhizome of the GJM

The GJM also called the ‘movement of movements’ or the ‘network of networks’ (Della Porta & Mosca 2005; Della Porta & Diani 2006; Willetts 2011) brings together a wide variety of social movements from human rights to gender, environment, food, sustainability, education, and justice. Its heterogeneity and global scope leads scholars such as Peter Funke (2012a, 2012b) to suggest the image of the rhizome to depict this broad global movement. It is through the six principles of the rhizome (see *Figure 4.1*), that I present the GJM as a form of Advocacy 2.0.

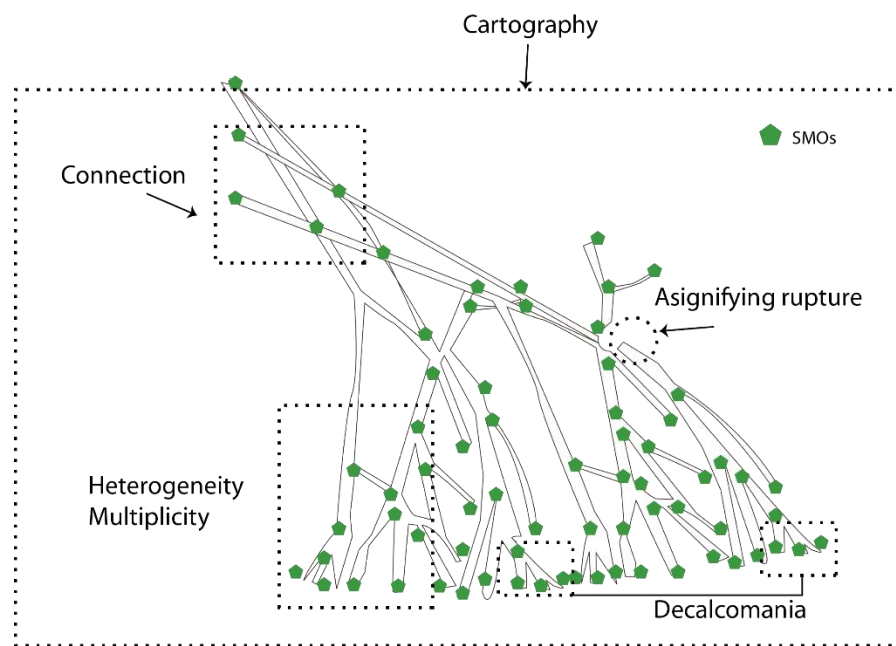


Figure 4.1 The GJM viewed through the principles of the rhizome

Connection

The GJM comprises a ‘global’ dimension of interconnections that was not so clearly articulated when talking about TANs. At this second stage of advocacy, ICTs are omnipresent and geopolitical relations of power (North-South) are largely addressed.

The GJM is suggested to be rhizomatic as it has no central actor, issue or ideology beyond:

- 1) a strong opposition to social injustices and the destruction of nature, resulting from the ‘until then, largely unquestioned economic model of neoliberal capitalist globalization’, and
- 2) a strong distrust of representative models of democracy, due to the perception that they are not participative and fail to represent the interests of the people (Flesher Fominaya 2014:53).

As a rhizome that ‘ceaselessly establish[es] connections’ (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:8), the GJM serves as a platform for connecting ‘networked forms of organisation’ where a variety of groups meet and share their concerns and where decisions are taken by consensus following an *ethos* of participatory democracy (Kavada 2014).

Heterogeneity

Dieter Rucht and Friedhelm Neidhardt (2002) describe heterogeneity as ‘an enduring feature’ of social movements in contemporary societies. Heterogeneity applies to the GJM as a whole, similar to each of the social movement networks that build this movement: environmental networks, women networks, human rights networks, justice networks, peace networks, among others. The principle of heterogeneity applies not only to the organisations themselves but to the themes and issues recurrently focused upon by the GJM (poverty, environmental degradation, climate change, racism, sexism and other forms of injustice) which demand to be fought from interconnected and multiple perspectives.

Multiplicity

Della Porta and Diani (2006:157) suggest that, normally, ‘a multiplicity of organizations operates on the same issues and on behalf of similar, if not identical, political and ethical projects’ making up a social movement. There is multiplicity in the nature, number and size of the organisations involved, issues addressed and communication strategies adopted, among other things.

The rhizome speaks about multiplicities, and no longer dichotomies; ‘there is no ideal speaker-listener, any more’ (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:8). The interactive forms of communication refer to a multi-way communication process of multiple participants communicating through multiple channels, multiple languages and in multiple ways: simultaneously, consecutively or asynchronously.

While heterogeneity speaks about things that are different, multiplicity refers to similar things happening simultaneously but in multiple places or even at the same place but in different fashions. For instance, advocacy campaigns such as *Stop Children Labour* depict this principle of multiplicity. This campaign has been implemented by networking organisations, liaisons and global coalitions, including three SMOs of this study that have implemented actions through multiple, different and self-tailored strategies⁴².

⁴² The Stop Children Labour campaign was undertaken by the Alliance 2015, a liaison of European NGOs, with EU funding from 2003 to 2014. Hivos continues the campaign without Alliance2015 partners. <http://www.alliance2015.org/index.php?id=cooperations-and-activities> Retrieved 11.08.2015.

Asignifying rupture

This principle suggests that the rhizome can be broken or shattered at any given point, but will start up again on one of its old or new lines. Therefore, a rupture has little significance for the rhizome to continue. Moreover, due to its property of ‘deterritorialisation’, the rhizome’s ability to spread in scattered ways, it can blossom again both in close or very distant places. Through spreading, the rhizome enlarges its scope and in doing so, increases its territory of action.

Asignifying rupture has characterised episodes of social movement performances throughout history, and is typified by numerous accounts of demonstrations being repressed in one place, yet flourishing in another. In connective action, this characteristic of deterritorialisation is enhanced by the use of smart phones and mobile devices, to the extent that ICTs are suggested to ‘become part of protest’ (Tilly & Wood 2013:97).

Castells (2012) terms the upheavals of the Indignados Movement in Spain in 2011 as a ‘rhizomatic revolution’, due mainly to this characteristic of unrest subsequently popping up in many cities, enhanced by the use of ICTs. Connective action took place through the use of social networks and ICTs. Javier Toret (2012, 2013) suggests that two websites built the architecture of participation of this movement: tomalaplaza.net and takethesquare.net, but the flux on Twitter through the trending hashtag ‘#15M’ inviting people to ‘take the square’, and the Twitter handle @democraciareal, which had more than 118,000 followers⁴³, plus video streaming from the squares, made people around the world focus on what has been termed as the ‘Spanish revolution’.

Cartography

The principle of cartography stresses the risks of losing multiplicities by isolating and selecting only parts of the whole. ‘Make a map, not a tracing’, urge Deleuze and Guattari (1987:12). The authors see a map as having a multiplicity of linkages and a multiplicity of entrances; it is open and connectable in all its dimensions, ‘detachable reversible, susceptible to constant modifications’ (:12). A trace organises, stabilises and neutralises multiplicities according to fixed axes of significance; traces reproduce an instant in representation. Mapping, on the other hand, provides a bigger landscape, and indicates tendencies and potentials of change with multiple entry points.

A study of the food justice movement, one of the myriad movements of the GJM, conducted by Charles Levkoe (2006) provides an example of the cartography principle. This movement, beyond focusing on production chains, has joined forces with resistance movements against the ‘commodification of human relationships’ (:89). As such, the food justice movement

⁴³ As of today (11.08.2015), four years after the #15M, @democraciareal has more than 242,000 followers on Twitter

identifies eaters as ‘citizens’ and not as ‘consumers’, arguing that the idea of consumption has gradually disconnected people from the sources of their food. The food justice movement challenges the hegemonic definition of food security (‘sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life’⁴⁴), proposing instead an alternative definition based on food democracy, local production and commerce, culturally appropriate consumption, and environmental sustainability. In this way, the movement goes beyond the dichotomy production/consumption to focus on the wider landscape of food for life.

Decalcomania

The principle of decalcomania is reminiscent of the artistic technique that repeatedly brings the copy back to the original, allowing the emergence of new lines, new patterns and a different but enhanced original as well (see Figure 4.2). By repeating the rhizome, decalcomania supposes the emergence of new territories and new multiplicities.



Swim for the surface (Mary Wahr, 2013).⁴⁵

Figure 4.2 Artistic decalcomania technique

The characteristic of decalcomania could be also depicted in the different social fora at global, regional, national and local scales where the GJM meets. These gatherings are not just ‘copies of the same’ on a smaller-scale (Funke 2012a) but rather improved, contextualized events, appropriate to each location.

The extended period in which the GJM has operated, could also suppose a sort of self-construction and de-construction of the basic global gathering along time (Reitan 2012b). The next world summit will take place between August 9 and 14, 2016 in Quebec, Canada. With the slogan *Another world is needed. Together, it is possible!* it invites civil society to ‘join this

⁴⁴ World Health Organisation: Food security. <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/> Retrieved 12.08.2015

⁴⁵ As explained by the artist, ‘this piece was created by pulling the paper up from the painted surface by all four corners’. <http://intothe fractalvoid.blogspot.dk/> The picture is included with express permission of the author Mary Wahr, 13.08.2015.

collaboration and solidarity process between the North and South, East and West, and between the older generation of social actors and the new movements of indignation, resistance, decolonization and occupation that have emerged around the world since the Arab Spring of 2011⁴⁶.

The ‘new movements’ referred to in the invitation to the 2016 WSF deals with the wave of global uprisings since the so-called Arab Spring of 2011. The novelty of 21st century social movements has ‘obsoleted’ the so-called ‘new social movements’ referred to in Chapter 2, which study a wave of social movements where digital media did not have a presence.

4.4 ADVOCACY 2.0

Building on Matthew Allen (2012), who suggests that the discursive significance of the Web 2.0 is twofold, Advocacy 2.0 can be characterised in the same way since:

- 1) it implies both the continuity and change of connected advocacy efforts, and
- 2) it creates temporal connections between the 2000s and the previous period where TANs operate.

Advocacy 1.0 could be referred to as a period of NGO-centered issue networks, targeting mainly governments and transnational economic agreements (Bennett 2005). The GJM started a second generation of advocacy in which SMOs make broad use of the affordances of the internet and ICTs for advocacy purposes. However, the ‘internet age’ (Castells 2013) also triggered new forms of advocacy which Bennett (2005) describes as forms of ‘direct activism’.

SMOs have not been erased from advocacy in the global landscape, rather they have adopted new mechanisms relying on their technical strengths to accomplish global goals (see e.g. Ackland & O’Neil 2013; Cordoba & Jansen 2015). In 2012, Bennett and Segerberg suggest that even when connective action involves individualisation, simultaneously there also lies an organisational logic behind connected contentious politics. In this way, they suggest the ‘logic of connective action’ must be understood through three different types of networks: organisationally brokered collective action, organisationally enabled connective action and crowd-enabled connective action (see Table 4.1).

⁴⁶ 2016. Foro Social Mundial <http://www.fsm2016.org/en/> Retrieved 13.08.2015

Table 4.1 A typology of connective action

	Collective Action	Connective Action	
	Organizationally Brokered Networks	Organizationally Enabled Networks	Crowd-Enabled Networks
Coordination of action	Strong organizational	Loose organizational	Little or no formal organizational
Social technologies	Social technologies used by org. to manage participation and coordinate goals	Org. provide social technology outlays – both custom and commercial	Large-scale personal access to multi- layered social technologies
Communication content is centered ...	on collective action frames.	on organizationally generated inclusive personal action frames	on emergent inclusive personal action frames
Personal expression	Organizational management of social networks – more emphasis on interpersonal networks to build relationships for collective action	Some organizational moderation of personal expression through social networks	Personal expression shared over social networks
Constituents	Org. in the foreground as coalitions with differences bridged through high- resource org. brokerage	Organizations in the background in loosely linked networks	Crowd networks may shun involvement of existing formal organizations

Source: Bennett and Segerberg 'Defining elements of connective and collective action networks (2013:47)

Currently, burgeoning literature focuses on 'crowd-enabled advocacy', which describes the performance of social movements of the 21st century (see e.g. Christensen 2011; Castells 2012; Toret 2013; Garcia-Alabacete & Theocharis 2014). However, I share Bennett and Segerberg (2013:48) notion that 'organisationally enabled' connective action is 'the most intriguing type' since it is a hybrid of the two other networked types. In Table 4.1, the column corresponding to the type of connective action analysed in this study is highlighted, which I describe as 'Advocacy 2.0'.

Advocacy 2.0 implies an increased decentralisation; it is no longer only big international NGOs from the North that are campaigning for policymaking, rather individuals and SMOs, both from the North and the South, participate at the same level in a horizontal fashion. Claims become 'user-generated', or better, they are generated by a variety of participants scattered all around the world, and the coordination also takes place in self-tailored fashion.

Advocacy 2.0 also describes a multiplicity of advocacy issues, widening the spectrum to attain global fairness. For instance, women's rights are campaigned for with, rather than being separated from, environmental, social and fairness claims.

Milberry (2012) states that ‘the Internet has played an unprecedented role in the way this movement [the GJM] has organized, mobilized and disseminated information, enabling it to emerge as a globally networked force for progressive social change’ (:109). In this way, social movements that are networking worldwide have been able to raise key concepts of global fairness (Patomäki & Steger 2010; Steger & Wilson 2012).

4.5 AFFORDANCES OF ADVOCACY 2.0

I use the notion of ‘affordances’ to describe how ICTs and the internet enable connective action for advocacy. This concept derives from James Gibson’s *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1986): ‘the affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill’ (:127).

Gibson’s biological approach has been adapted to the study of human-computer interaction, in search of a better design of objects accomplishing particular functions. Dohn (2009a) stresses that in a human context ‘an affordance is an affordance *for* someone, that is, it only exists *as* an affordance *relative* to an agent’ (:154). From Gibson’s analysis, affordances can be both objective and subjective:

- Affordances are *objective* as they are independent of the person who uses the artefact. Every artefact has an affordance, even if the user does not employ it in that way, for example a chair is intended for sitting on even if I decide to stand on top of it to reach the ceiling or if it is covered in clothes, bags and purses that hide it entirely.
- Affordances are *subjective* since they can also be determined by the user and are hence ‘dependent on culture, prior experience and learning’ (Dohn 2009a:155). Using a chair as a stair or as a rack are two subjective affordances for the same sitting object.

It is important to stress that, in Gibson’s definition, the term *affordance* is not value-laden (‘either for good or ill’) therefore both positive and negative affordances are to be expected. However, some scholars term affordances only to positive possibilities whereas negative ones are termed ‘constraints’ (e.g. Earl & Kimport 2011; Conole 2013).

The ‘interaction potentials’ (Dohn 2009a) of the internet for connective action can be described as its ‘affordances’. In relation to connective action, Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport (2011) suggest the web provides two key affordances (henceforth positive) to online activism: it *reduces costs* for organising and participating in actions, and *decreases the need for physical face-to-face presence* for collective action.

Before the spread of the internet, SMOs’ budgets involved high communication costs related to printing material, mailing, local and long-distance telephone calls, the use of faxes, etc. Planning and organising episodes of collective action (e.g. demonstrations, rallies, marches) involved high costs from transport and meeting venues. The arrival of the internet led to a

gradual, yet significant, cost reduction in advocacy networking and communication budgets (Shirky 2008; Rainie & Wellman 2012). The second suggested affordance is that of participation without co-presence in time and space, which has also been termed ‘togetherness’ (Castells 2012, 2013). Togetherness is considered a starting point for building an online community, and the source of empowerment that characterises horizontal online networks. Togetherness strengthens and enriches digital interaction; it opens participation to a bigger audience, allowing inputs and different perspectives that enhance dialogue.

The affordances of Advocacy 2.0 moves the study of web-mediated collective action from the perspective of the social movements school to frame it in communication studies (Mattoni & Treré 2014), and particularly to the field of communication for social change (e.g. Nos Aldás & Pinazo 2013; Toret 2013; Tufte 2015).

The use of social media as communication channels in Advocacy 2.0 goes hand-in-hand with other (non-digital) forms of communication and collective action such as:

- 1) Coordinating in advance activities that suppose physical presence (e.g. demonstrations against a food chain, acquisition of fair trade products at a specific market)
- 2) Raising awareness and visibility about specific issues of social change (e.g. human rights, environment, uneven distribution of wealth) that can be undertaken through individual and collective action such as sign-on campaigns, letters and emails of concern to authorities and fundraising by sending text messages
- 3) Reflecting about past events and encouraging engagement in new, novel and creative campaigns to support the desired change

The social contact provided by SMS that rely on networking structures multiplies extensively the addressees of a comment or a status update far beyond the physical limits of in-presence conversations (Cuonzo 2010). This is probably one of the outstanding affordances of digital channels over traditional media for Advocacy 2.0. Furthermore, posts on SMS are additionally strengthened by a sense of bonding and confidence provided by the engagement of both online and offline friends and members of personal networks in this blending of digital and in-presence action (Kavada 2012).

Digital interaction is performed not only by the SMO that manages the digital channel, and plays a fundamental role in facilitating and enabling deliberation through this channel, but is a communication act that involves anyone who gathers around and take parts in that specific (digital) conversation.

To use the terminology of social movement scholars, it can be said that intervening in digital interaction are the SMO, its staff, its members and its constituents as well as bystanders, who share the organisation’s beliefs and those who hold contrary opinions, plus challengers to that

specific conversation, the SMO or the movement as a whole. Non-restricted digital interaction, open to anyone who would like to have a say on that topic, is the essence of Advocacy 2.0.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Current studies of ‘very new’ social movements⁴⁷ blend the fields of social movements studies with that of communication. The ubiquitous presence of the internet and the use of ICTs have changed the way people get together, connect with each, collaborate and act in pursuit of achieving a desired change. The new ‘individualised’ actors of the very new social movements can no longer be seen as ‘numbers’ that characterised the ‘new social movements’ (from the 60s, 70s, 80s or 90s) (Tilly & Wood 2013:13). They present themselves as real people, known by others through their own networks, who travel through social media sites where they share the information they consider relevant.

It is in this landscape that ‘organisationally enabled’ connective action, or Advocacy 2.0, takes place. It occurs in a decentred and disperse fashion involving different and multiple ways to approach social change, best described by the ‘metaphor of the rhizome’ proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987).

It is suggested that the affordances of the internet and the use of ICTs for Advocacy 2.0 moves the study of current social movements from the perspective of the social movement school to frame it in communication studies. The study of Earl and Kimport (2011) suggests two main affordances: cost reduction and participation without co-presence terms as ‘togetherness’ by Castells. The coming chapters focusing on the data analysed in this study provide further affordances of the internet and ICTs in connective action.

⁴⁷ I use the hyperbole ‘very new’ just to make it clear that the former denomination of ‘new social movements’ referred to in Chapter 2 has been made obsolete with recent uprisings, which started in 2011, where the extended use of ICTs and the internet are deeply involved in the scene of collective action.

5. RESEARCHING DIGITAL INTERACTION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the organisations studied in this project, the way the data for analysis was chosen, and the methods used for both the structural and the content analysis of digital interaction, and is guided by the following questions:

- Who are the SMOs of this study and how do they communicate in digital media?
- How is the structure of digital interaction analysed?
- How is the content of discourses approached?

It starts by introducing the five SMOs studied with a focus on their digital media, particularly on their use of Facebook and Twitter. Subsequently, the chapter presents the way discourses in digital interaction have been analysed, the way digital interaction happens and how it is structured. I claim that the structure of digital interaction is rhizomatic, building on Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of the rhizome introduced in the previous chapter. Finally, the chapter explains how discourses have been analysed through the methodological approach of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss 2015; Saldaña 2015). This is a constructionism approach, as suggested by Silverman (2013:107) 'the impulse is to step back from that reality and describe how it is socially brought into being'. This is particularly relevant for this project as it asks how social imaginaries might be present in digital interaction.

This chapter serves as an *intermezzo* and introduction to the next section which analyses the study's data on two different levels, the first being a structural analysis of how digital interaction takes place and the second being a discourse analysis to establish the core categories and social imaginaries present in digital interaction for advocacy.

5.2 SMOs STUDIED AND THEIR PERFORMANCE IN DIGITAL MEDIA

A multiple-case design (Yin 2014) has been proposed for the research including ‘paradigmatic cases’ (Flyvbjerg 2006) of interconnected advocacy organisations. The organisations were selected upon two main criteria:

- 1) Advocacy organisations with headquarters in an European country, that have a transnational scope and work in partnership with local organisations in Ecuador
- 2) Strong presence and performance on digital media

In order to ensure language diversity, no two organisations with headquarters in the same European country were selected. Diversity was also approached by including different sized organisations.

At the beginning of the study, a larger number of organisations were followed but some were then dropped as their performance on digital media did not provide enough information for analysis (for example, one organisation closed its Facebook account during the retrieval of the data).

Over 18 months, from January 2014 to June 2015, the study followed the Facebook and Twitter accounts of the following five European SMOs and their local branches for Ecuador:

- Hivos (Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking or the International Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries –Netherlands)
- IBIS (Denmark)
- Intermon-Oxfam (Spain)
- SSNC (Swedish Society for Nature Conservation - Naturskyddsföreningen)
- Vredeseilanden (VECO - Belgium)

The history of the organisations reveals they all started as the result of ‘new social movements’ (Melucci 1985; Touraine 1985). Each became established as an organisation and widened their scope of action to become TANs (Keck & Sikkink 1998). However, nowadays their ‘activism has transformed digital’ (Kavada 2010).

The only organisation with currently no branches in the Andean region is the Danish IBIS, which was included in the study as it is a strong advocacy organisation in Denmark, where the study physically took place, and addresses much of its efforts to Latin American concerns.

The SSNC works in partnership with organisations in the global South, but has no local offices outside of Sweden. Therefore, the study included SSNC’s partner Redmanglar Internacional (*International Mangrove Network*), a Latin American network that is active on digital media and has Ecuadorian organisations among its members.

Table 5.1 provides information about the communication channels in digital media of the organisation's studied. As the table shows, in some cases the '.org' domain suffix is replaced by national suffixes for the local branches, namely '.be' for Belgium, '.dk' for Denmark and '.se' for Sweden. The table only includes the SMSs their webpages link to or connected with during the retrieval of the data, other SMSs on which they now perform are not included (e.g. Instagram, Snapchat, Pinterest).

Table 5.2 provides a brief description of the organisations' performances on Facebook and Twitter. The description of the loci of this study constituted by postings both on Facebook and Twitter is provided in Table 5.3. Subsequently, a brief presentation of each organisation with emphasis on their digital media and a description of their performance on Facebook and Twitter as of October 2015 is given.

Table 5.1 Organisations studied and their digital media⁴⁸

	SMOs	Websites	Main Language	Social media					Blogs	RSS
				Facebook	Twitter	Youtube	Google+	Flickr		
1	Hivos International	www.hivos.org	English	x	x	x	x			x
	Hivos America del Sur	www.south-america.hivos.org	Spanish	x	x	x	x			
2	IBIS Denmark	www.ibis.dk	Danish	x	x					
	IBIS Global	ibis-global.org	English			x	x		x	
3	Oxfam Intermon	www.oxfamintermon.org	Spanish	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Oxfam International	www.oxfam.org	English	x	x	x	x	x	x	
4	Naturskyddsförening (SSNC)	www.naturskyddsforeningen.se	Swedish	x	x	x	x		x	
	Redmanglar Internacional	www.redmanglar.org	Spanish	x	x	x				
5	Vredeseilanden (International)	www.veco-ngo.org	English, French, Spanish						x	
	Vredeseilanden	www.vredeseilanden.be	Dutch	x	x	x	x	x		
	VECO Andino	es.veco-ngo.org/veco-andino/ veco-andino	Spanish	x	x		x	x		

⁴⁸ Data retrieved 14.09.2015

Table 5.2 Performance on Facebook and Twitter of the SMOs studied

a) Facebook ⁴⁹						
SMOs		Type of organisation	Language	Followers	Created	Open for postings
1	Hivos (Netherlands)	Non-profit organisation	Dutch ⁵⁰	9,571	21.12.2010	√
	Hivos America del Sur	Non-profit organisation	Spanish	2,200	30.04.2013	
2	IBIS Denmark	Charity organisation	Danish	11,214	29.09.2009	√
3	Oxfam Intermon	Non-governmental Organisation (NGO)	Spanish	88,825	07.12.2010	√
4	Naturskyddsförening (SSNC)	Community organisation	Swedish	139,017	19.01.2010	√
	Redmanglar Internacional	<i>Personal profile</i>	Spanish	2,572	20.10.2011	√
5	Vredeseilanden	Organisation	Dutch	6,682	15.07.2009	√
	VECO Andino	Non-governmental Organisation (NGO)	Spanish	764	05.04.2014	√

b) Twitter ⁵¹						
SMOs		Account	Language	Followers	Following	Joined
1	Hivos International	@hivosorg	English	2,992	1,263	02.02.2014
	Hivos America del Sur	@HivosSudAmer	Spanish	641	203	30.04.2013
2	IBIS Denmark	@IBIS_dk	Danish	1270	959	12.08.2011
3	Oxfam Intermon	@OxfamIntermon	Spanish	48.9K	1,599	23.07.2009
4	Naturskyddsförening (SSNC)	@naturskyddsf	Swedish	16.4K	1,601	27.08.2009
	Redmanglar Internacional	@redmanglar	Spanish	185	641	21.09.2014
5	Vredeseilanden	@vredeseilanden	Dutch	1,854	1,131	21.10.2007
	VECO Andino	@VECOAndino	Spanish	4	20	31.03.2015

⁴⁹ Data retrieved 25.09.2015

⁵⁰ While the profile of this page is in English, postings from the organisation are, for the most part, in Dutch.

⁵¹ Data retrieved 16.09.2015

Table 5.3 Data sources of the study

a) Facebook				Comment threads		Postings		# LIKES			COMMENTS		
SMO	post + comments	posts	com.	threads	\bar{x} com.	own posts	others posts	0 LIKES	with LIKES	>100	0 com.	with com.	>30
Hivos	1038	420	618	118	5	48.3%	51.7%	29.8%	70.2%	8.8%	41.7%	58.3%	1.6%
Hivos America del Sur	1276	1026	250	160	2	100.0%	n/a	4.0%	96.0%	0.2%	84.4%	15.6%	0%
IBIS	1687	730	957	254	4	86.0%	14.0%	7.0%	93.0%	7.5%	65.1%	34.9%	1.2%
Oxfam Intermon	9362	1719	7643	725	11	47.9%	52.1%	35.3%	64.7%	71.9%	57.8%	42.2%	3.3%
Naturskyddsförening	36256	2066	34190	1325	26	32.5%	67.5%	29.6%	70.4%	45.3%	35.9%	64.1%	46.6%
Redmanglar Int.	2078	850	1228	248	5	67.3%	32.7%	27.4%	72.6%	2.6%	70.8%	29.2%	0%
Vredeseilanden	323	162	161	69	2	65.4%	34.6%	8.0%	92.0%	2.0%	57.4%	42.6%	0%
VECO Andino	264	198	66	41	2	92.9%	7.1%	5.6%	94.4%	0.0%	79.3%	20.7%	0%
<i>Total</i>	<i>52,284</i>	<i>7,171</i>	<i>45,113</i>										

b) Twitter ⁵²											
Account	Tweets	Retweets	Total	\bar{x} tweets/day	Own tweets with retweets				#s in tw&rtw		@s in tw&rtw
					No. of RT		>10 RT		>10 RT	\bar{x}	>10 RT
@hivosorg	1255	4451	5706	11	599	48%	7	1%	581	2	516
@HivosSudAmer	250	772	1022	2	188	75%	4	2%	120	1	56
@IBIS_dk	382	402	784 ⁵³	2	250	65%	6	2%	69	2	15
@OxfamIntermon	6968	1621	8589	16	6469	93%	2259	35%	151	3	314
@natureskydds	1377	336	1713	3	853	62%	182	21%	72	3	28
@redmanglar	51	37	88	2 ⁵⁴	41	80%	1	2%	2	2	0
@vredeseilanden	327	55	382	1	165	50%	3	2%	5	1	2
<i>Total</i>	<i>10,610</i>	<i>7,674</i>	<i>18,284</i>		<i>8,565</i>		<i>2,462</i>		<i>1,001</i>		<i>931</i>

⁵² VECO Andino is not included in the table since its account did not tweet at all during this period.

⁵³ Total= @IBIS_dk (12.05.2014 to 30.06.2015) = 330; @IBIS_Denmark (12.05.2014 to 02.07.2014) = 52

⁵⁴ @redmanglar registers activity only on 55 days from 21.09.2014 to 15.11.2014, from which the daily average is calculated.

5.2.1 Hivos

Hivos is a Dutch development organisation guided by humanist values. Hivos supports almost 800 partner organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America, providing financial resources, knowledge, advice, political support and access to networks. Hivos also develops its own programmes and is active in advocacy policy in the Netherlands and internationally. Hivos' largest donor is the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Hivos' work has gradually been decentralised from its Netherlands headquarters to its regional offices. For a long time, and until 2013, Hivos followed a threefold strategy of direct poverty alleviation, civil society building and advocacy. However, as stressed in Hivos' 2014 report 'although this approach has strengthened the capabilities of civil society to act as a counterforce, it has not, on its own, been sufficient to solve persistent, systemic challenges on a global scale' (Hivos 2014a:25). Hivos' strategy is now based on stimulating 'social innovation': encouraging alternative practices and new methods for social change. As suggested by Hivos' Knowledge Officer, Ute Seela: 'Delivering information more effectively with the help of mobile technology and "meeting them where they are" –for instance through play and humour– are recent approaches that reach more people than old-style activism. Still, context plays a huge role, as well as bread and butter issues that affect normal peoples' daily lives' (Hivos 2014b).

Through a social innovation strategy, Hivos aims 'to create system-wide, sustainable solutions for global issues varying from access to food and energy to sexual rights and freedom of expression' (Hivos 2014a:25). Hivos strategy is accompanied with a transition 'that gradually moves from primarily funding civil society organisations in the South to convening partnerships, ideas and funding models for transformative solutions to social problems' (Hivos 2014a:98).

Since the late 1980s, Hivos established regional offices to be closer to its civil society partners, beneficiaries and other stakeholders in the South. Nowadays Hivos has regional offices in Southern Africa, East Africa, Indonesia, South America and Central America. A locally established subsidiary runs Hivos' programme in India and has six local offices at the national level in Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Tanzania, Timor Leste and South Africa. Local offices were set up to manage large-scale programmes, mainly financed by institutional donors (Hivos 2014a).

Hivos work (until the end of 2015) has been divided into four programmes: Expression and Engagement, Rights and Citizenship, Green Entrepreneurship and Action for Change. Each of these programmes involves a number of specific interrelated projects managed by Hivos' partners.

Hivos works with many NGOs and other CSOs, businesses, public authorities and individuals. It is part of three strategic alliances: Partos, the Dutch association for NGOs working in international development⁵⁵; Hivos Alliance, formed by Hivos and three other organisations that participate in a co-financing programme run by the Dutch government, and Alliance2015⁵⁶ which sees Hivos collaborate with like-minded organisations in the European context such as IBIS Denmark.

Digital media

Hivos main webpage www.hivos.org is Hivos International's website and is managed in English, replacing the former www.hivos.net⁵⁷. Selecting the menu *Where We Work* or clicking the map at the bottom of the main page displays links to the websites of Hivos' regional offices (e.g. South America's regional office: www.south-america.hivos.org).

Regional pages mainly contain the same information as the international pages, except for regional-specific facts and figures (stakeholders, countries, etc.) and local news in the regional language. SMSs Facebook and Twitter plus RSS are linked from the menu item *News*. A different webpage is displayed by choosing the link www.hivos.nl at the top of the page, which connects to head office in the Netherlands. Hivos Netherlands home page displays a 'Follow us' box (*Volg ons op*) with links to Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Hivos International and Hivos Netherlands link to the same Facebook page. Its profile is written entirely in English but the content is mostly posted in Dutch, therefore in this study Dutch is given as the main language of the account. On Twitter, this study followed the account of the international office, which posts in English (see Table 5.2).

Specific programmes, campaigns and projects promoted or supported by Hivos manage their own webpages and SMSs. The strategic change of the organisation mentioned above has also contributed to decentralised digital media. Before 2014, Hivos' headquarters in the Netherlands managed all ICTs through the webportal www.hivos.net but since then this has been decentralised towards the regional offices, the programmes themselves and their projects, and campaigns are sometimes shared with other organisations and digital communities. For instance, in 2007 Hivos started an 'action learning process' to establish a shared understanding of the 'theory of change' (ToC) that guides Hivos' aim for 'social change'⁵⁸. Hivos' ToC 'refers to the understanding an organisation, project, network or group of stakeholders has about how

⁵⁵ Partos represents 120 Dutch development organisations that work in the field of poverty reduction, humanitarian aid, human rights and sustainable development. <https://partos.nl/home/en> Retrieved 07.08.2015.

⁵⁶ Alliance 2015 is a strategic network of eight European NGOs engaged in humanitarian and development activities. The alliance works on various levels in developing countries and on campaigns to influence public and political opinion in Europe. Two of the organisations of this study are part of Alliance 2015: Hivos and IBIS. <http://www.alliance2015.org/> Retrieved 07.08.2015

⁵⁷ <http://www.hivos.net/> is still available (10.2015) and some projects link to documents that are still hosted on this website.

⁵⁸ Hivos. Policy Brief: Hivos and Theory of Change 2014. <https://hivos.org/policy-brief-hivos-and-theory-change-2014> Retrieved 13.08.2015

political, social, economic, and/or cultural change happens, and its contribution to such a change process'⁵⁹.

This ToC grounds Hivos' work and has a webportal of its own, which does not sit inside Hivos' digital media but is hosted by the Centre for Development Innovation (CDI) of Wageningen University and Research Centre (UR), which has been part of ToC's learning trajectory. ToC's portal refers to Hivos' action learning community but digitally links to SMS of CDI Wageningen UR. This leads users into an academic and research environment that is indirectly connected to Hivos' work.

Blogs are not included in Hivos' new webpage, but are still present in the older version (www.hivos.net), for instance this hosts blogs relating to the project on Social Innovation mentioned above from the end of 2014⁶⁰. Hivos' Guatemala webpage (www.hivos.org.gt) includes a blog section, while Hivos' Netherlands includes blog entries as part of their *News* section.

On 19 January 2016, Hivos announced the launching of a new Facebook account: Hivos America Latina, which merges the various Hivos' Latin American Facebook Pages. As a result, the studied page Hivos America del Sur has been closed and some of its former information is included in the current Hivos America Latina Facebook Page. During the study, Hivos South America regional office managed its own SMS starting 2013 (see Table 5.2). Of all the pages studied, Hivos America del Sur's Facebook page is the only one that is closed for postings, in other words only its managers are allowed to post new information on the page's timeline (see Table 5.3). Despite this, commenting on all posts is open.

5.2.2 IBIS

IBIS is an independent, member-based Danish development organisation. It started in 1966 as a branch of the World University Service (WUS) and remained as such until 1991. Throughout the 1990s the organisation underwent major changes, establishing itself as an independent organisation and changing its name to IBIS as 'a symbolic reference to the ibis bird flying from North to South feeling at home in both hemispheres'⁶¹. More than 10,000 members and volunteers support IBIS' work.

Through consultation, facilitation and capacity building, IBIS is engaged in the provision of quality education, civil society support and public participation in good governance in Africa and Latin America (IBIS 2014). IBIS currently works in partnership with CSOs in eight

⁵⁹ Theory of Change. Knowledge Co-creation Portal. <http://www.theoryofchange.nl/> Retrieved 13.08.2015

⁶⁰ Irresistibly biased Reflections on the Unusual Suspects Festival. 10.11.2014 <http://www.hivos.net/Hivos-Knowledge-Programme/Themes/Social-Innovation/Blog/Irresistibly-biased-Reflections-on-the-Unusual-Suspects-Festival> Retrieved 18.08.2015

⁶¹ IBIS. History of IBIS. <http://ibis-global.org/about-ibis/history-ibis/> Retrieved 14.08.2015

countries, two in Central America and eight in Africa⁶². Three strategies guide IBIS' work globally: education for change⁶³; democratic governance, citizens' rights and economic justice; global partnership. These strategies define IBIS' programmes and campaigns to focus on education rights, democratic influence and tax, resources and climate change.

IBIS works in partnership with local and national organisations and is member of five Danish networks and five international coalitions. One of these coalitions is Alliance2015, mentioned above in the section on Hivos. Another global coalition is the GCE (Global Campaign for Education), which involves more than 120 national coalitions, and international and regional organisations working for quality, public 'education for all, known in Danish as 'Hele verden i skole'⁶⁴.

In September 2014, IBIS joined Oxfam International as an observer organisation for one year. On 24 September 2015, IBIS announced its affiliation to Oxfam⁶⁵, which is regarded by IBIS as 'globally very strong on advocacy, information and campaigns and a significant player in the humanitarian field'⁶⁶. During Oxfam's steering committee meeting on 18 March 2016, IBIS was formally accepted as the 18th organisation of Oxfam⁶⁷.

Digital media

As 'ibis' is the common name of an attractive wild bird, sacred in ancient Egypt (Yésou & Clergeau 2005), IBIS as an organisation is difficult to find through internet search engines and on SMSs. Commercial sites relating to the word 'ibis' such as the international hotel chain Ibis (www.ibis.com) or ibis carbon fibre wheels and rims (www.ibiscycles.com), tend to be offered first in search results. Changing the search to use capital letters leads search engines to display IBIS, as the acronym of the International Baccalaureate Information System (www.ibis.ibo.com), or IBiS, the Biomedicine Institute of Sevilla (*Instituto de Biomedicina de Sevilla*: www.ibis-sevilla.es).

⁶² IBIS worked in Ecuador from 1997 to 2011 and in Bolivia from 1984 until 2014, when its office was closed due to political problems as was briefly mentioned in Chapter 2. Some projects launched by IBIS in both countries are still operating such as the cooking schools in Bolivia, supported by IBIS and the Danish Chef Claus Meyer, or the bilingual indigenous schools managed by local organisations.

⁶³ The final versions in English of these strategies, approved by the board of IBIS are available online: http://ibis.dk/sites/default/files/PDF%20global/Strategies/education_for_change_strategy_ibis_2012-17_eng.pdf; http://ibis.dk/sites/default/files/PDF%20global/Strategies/governance_strategy_ibis_2012-17.pdf; http://ibis.dk/sites/default/files/PDF%20global/Strategies/partnership_strategy_ibis_eng.pdf Retrieved 14.08.2015

⁶⁴ GCE. <http://www.campaignforeducation.org/> Retrieved 14.08.2015

⁶⁵ IBIS. IBIS says 'YES' to Oxfam. <http://ibis-global.org/articles/ibis-says-yes-oxfam/> Retrieved 15.12.2015

⁶⁶ IBIS. Plan for IBIS-Oxfam International exploration process 2014. 18.02.2014 http://ibis.dk/sites/default/files/media/pdf_global/denmark_pdf/plan_for_ibis_oxfam_process_2014.pdf Retrieved 14.08.2014

⁶⁷ March 22, 2016: on IBIS' Instagram account is posted a picture with the legend: 'Historic: IBIS is now member of Oxfam'. <https://www.instagram.com/p/BDOR3Uukkfj/> Retrieved 23.03.2016

IBIS Denmark – Uddannelse skaber udvikling (*Education for development*) www.ibis.dk is the organisation's webpage. IBIS Global www.ibis-global.org is the English version site, which includes general information and news. The dropdown menu *Choose site* links to the partner country offices (in their own languages) and to four campaigns and projects in which IBIS is involved: *Hele Verden I Skole (Global Campaign for Education)*, *The Tax Dialogue*, *Madskolen i Bolivia (Bolivia's Cooking Schools)* and *STOP Børnearbejde (Stop Child Labour)*. The global site has no direct links to SMSs, but its *News* section includes the item *Blogs*. However, blogs are apparently no longer supported as this section only displays archived posts.

The Danish site displays the current Facebook page's screenshot. No other SMSs are linked to from the homepage. News, reports, articles and campaigns from the webpage include sharing icons to Facebook, Twitter and Google+. The Danish site also provides a subscription form to four different newsletters: the institutional newsletter *IBIS-Posten* (IBIS mail), plus newsletters from three campaigns *Hele Verden i Skoles nyhedsbrev* (Global Campaign for Education), *The Tax Dialogue* and *Kapitalflugten* (Capital flight).

News about specific activities and campaigns posted on IBIS' webpage encourage participants to engage in connected activism by sharing their efforts on IBIS' Facebook Page or other social media through the use of hashtags (e.g. people are encouraged take a 'selfie against ebola' and post it with the hashtag #ebolahandshake; news of physical presence in the centre of Copenhagen, in connection to the *World's Best News* campaign, and online presence on social media through the hashtag #VBN2015 is highlighted).

IBIS' official Twitter account is @IBIS_dk. This account registered no activity from 3 December 2013 to 12 May 2014. On December 16 2014, the Twitter account @IBIS_Denmark was created. It blends the logos of the two organisations leading the shared programme, Education for Change (see *Figure 5.1*).



(Twitter Screenshot 13.08.2015)

Figure 5.1 @IBIS_Denmark on Twitter merges IBIS and OXFAM logos

Figure 5.1 displays a welcome message to ‘the official Twitter page’ in English, however this page did not replace @IBIS_Dk. @IbisDenmark was active only between 12 May 2014 and 2 July 2014, registering 93 tweets and retweets and is included in the data studied (see Table 5.3).

5.2.3 Oxfam Intermon

Oxfam Intermon is an independent Spanish, non-governmental development organisation associated with Oxfam International since 1997. Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 like-minded organisations ‘combating poverty and injustice in the world’⁶⁸. As stated in their organisational profile:

Although each organisation retains its own identity and independence, our joint work makes it possible for us to drive forward international campaigns and to have greater impact in cooperation programmes and in our response to large-scale humanitarian emergencies.⁶⁹

Oxfam Intermon’s work is based on the following change objectives, described as: rights of people to be heard, gender justice, save lives now and in the future, sustainable food systems, fair division of natural resources and funding development, and universal basic social services among others. Their work is built on the values of dignity, solidarity, justice, commitment and consistency.

Oxfam Intermon takes part in a number of local, regional and international alliances. In Spain, Oxfam Intermon has seven offices and 42 local committees. It is part of the Spanish

⁶⁸ The recent membership of IBIS to Oxfam, should add one organisation into Oxfam’s confederation but this is still not included in Oxfams’ digital media www.oxfam.org/en/about Retrieved 18.02.2016.

⁶⁹ Oxfam Intermon. Changing Lives that Change Lives. 2014. Who we are (in English) Available at: <http://www.oxfamintermon.org/es/quienes-somos/presentacion> Retrieved 17.08.2015

Coordinator of Non-Governmental Development Organisations (CONGDE)⁷⁰ and is engaged in a number of European partnerships in the fields of humanitarian action and fair trade; on the latter, Oxfam Intermon is particularly active and promotes its own fair trade stamp. Local committees manage 38 fair trade shops in the country and collaborate with more than 100 fair trade initiatives run by local organisations in 32 countries worldwide⁷¹. At the global level, since 1995 Oxfam Intermon has been an organisation with consultative status at the ECOSOC⁷².

Digital media

Oxfam Intermon's and Oxfam International's webpages share the same display and structure, although they host different content. Oxfam Intermon's webpage (www.oxfamintermon.org) is available in Spanish and in Catalan. Its homepage displays a *Síguenos (Follow us)* bar with links to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr and RSS.

Oxfam Intermon's webpage links to four blogs managed by its activism team (*equipo de movilización*) in Zaragoza, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valladolid. These are independent blogs created in Blogger, Google's free tool for blogs⁷³. Whilst the first two follow the traditional model of a blog (i.e. an online diary expressing ideas), the latter two are actually organisational webpages of the local branches. Blogs are connected with Oxfam's (International) social media in Spanish and provide interconnection to the personal profiles of its participants on social media. For instance, a blog entry about the XVI Conference on Digital Journalism in Huesca (#CongresoHuesca) links every comment in the panel to the participants' accounts on Twitter⁷⁴.

On Twitter, out of all the organisations studied @OxfamIntermon registers the highest number of followers, with 48,900 (see Table 5.2), and has posted almost 7,000 original tweets, more than 1,600 retweets, which equates to an average of 16 tweets a day (see Table 5.3). Oxfam

⁷⁰ Oxfam Intermon is a founder organisation of CONGDE, formed by almost 100 non-governmental organisations for development and 17 coordinators from each of the autonomous communities of Spain, consisting of more than 450 organisations working on international cooperation and humanitarian assistance. <http://www.congde.org/nuestro-trabajo> Retrieved 17.08.2015

⁷¹ Intermon Oxfam. Annual Report 2013-2014.

<http://www.oxfamintermon.org/es/informate/publicaciones/memoria-anual> Retrieved 17.08.2015

⁷² Intermon (before joining Oxfam) acquired ECOSOC's consultative status in 1995, while Oxfam International acquired consultative status first in 2002. *The Committee on NGOs. Official list of all NGOs in consultative status with Economic and Social Council, as of September 2014* <http://csonet.org/?menu=80> Retrieved 17.08.2015

⁷³ Bilbao: <http://intermonoxfambilbao.blogspot.dk/>; Zaragoza: <http://intermonoxfamaragon.blogspot.dk/>; Barcelona: <http://intermonoxfambarcelona.blogspot.dk/?view=timeslide> Valladolid: <http://oxfamintermonvalladolid.blogspot.com.es/> Retrieved 17.08.2015

⁷⁴ Arroyo, Susana. Blog entry. Ante la duda (y la desigualdad), haz periodismo (*When in doubt (and inequality) do journalism*) Blogs. <https://blogs.oxfam.org/es/blogs/15-03-13-ante-la-duda-y-la-desigualdad-haz-periodismo> Retrieved 17.08.2015

Intermon's Facebook timeline registers 1,719 posts, consisting of an almost equal split between its own postings (47.9%) and postings from others (52.1%).

5.2.4 SSNC (Naturskyddsföreningen)

The SSNC is a charitable environmental organisation currently formed by around 221,000 members of Swedish civil society⁷⁵. It works both nationally and globally in issues related to climate, oceans, forests, environmental toxins and agriculture. The SSNC started as a social movement to protect Sweden's threatened nature more than 100-years-ago, before turning into an organisation 'with the power to bring about change'⁷⁶. Over time, environmental problems have become increasingly global and the SSNC's operations have widened as a result.

Locally, the SSNC is composed of 24 county branches and 270 community branches. At the regional and global level, it is part of a number of advocacy networks related to its lines of action such as the Climate Action Network⁷⁷, which has more than 850 members in over 100 countries, and the Women in Europe for a Common Future⁷⁸ network.

The North-South Secretariat started in 1987 with financial support from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). Currently the SSNC works across borders, in partnership with around 50 organisations in about 20 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe (Naturskyddsföreningen 2014).

Through its *Green Consumerism* project, the SSNC approaches the environmental aspects of consumption in several ways and here international partners play an important role. The SSNC advocates for sustainable consumption by showing how production could affect both ecosystems and people's health. In Latin America, the oceans programme supports indigenous fisherworker communities living around the coastal ecosystems in partnership with local organisations such as the Latin American network Redmanglar Internacional. This network includes other SSNC partners over time such as C-Condem (Ecuador), Asprociq (Colombia), Avedicham (Guatemala) and Coddeffagolf (Honduras).

In Sweden, the SSNC has developed the certification system *Bra Miljöval* (*Good Environmental Choice*). The ecolabel is intended to enable consumers to choose products that are less harmful to the environment. The label started in 1988 on laundry detergent and paper and has expanded to eight product areas including: heating and cooling, electricity, biofuel,

⁷⁵ Naturskyddsförening. About us. <http://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/in-english/about-us> Retrieved 19.08.2015

⁷⁶ Further information about the SSNC is provided in Chapter 2, which describes the SSNC as an example of a SMO to illustrate the different schools of thought that have approached the study of social movements and their organisations over time.

⁷⁷ Climate Action Network <http://www.climatenetwork.org/about/members> Retrieved 21.08.2015

⁷⁸ WECF. Our Network. <http://www.wecf.eu/english/about-wecf/network/partners/swedish-nature-conservation.php> Retrieved 21.08.2015

insurances, chemical and cosmetic products, grocery stores, textiles, and transport (goods and passengers).

The SSNC has no offices outside of Sweden. Their communication channels are managed through the Stockholm office, which includes news and information provided by its local branches and partners in the South.

Digital media

The SSNC's webpage www.naturskyddsforeningen.se uses Swedish but includes a link to a condensed English version that provides information about the organisation and the Bra Miljöval ecolabel mentioned above. At the bottom of the homepage links to supporting organisations are displayed as is an interactive map on global collaborations (*Global Samarbeten*), which includes information, pictures and videos from their partners worldwide.

The SSNC's homepage provides links to social media and an e-mail subscription to the SSNC's newsletter. The SSNC's work can be followed through its blogs, which are hosted at a different address (<http://blogg.naturskyddsforeningen.se/>). From there it is possible to choose between seven blogs: one is written by SSNC's chair, one by its general secretary, then there is a forest blog (*Skogsbloggen*), a school blog (*Skolbloggen*), a climate blog (*Klimatbloggen*), a contaminants blog (*Miljögiftsbloggen*) and seas- and land use blog (*Havs- och jordbruksbloggen*). Different projects and campaigns host their own social media such as the 'AntiScampi' campaign, which links the SSNC to Redmanglar Internacional and is particularly illustrative on digital media use. Redmanglar Internacional is included in this study as a partner organisation of the SSNC for Ecuador and the Andean Region. Data from Redmanglar Internacional is mostly from Facebook since its Twitter account was only active for 55 days (see Table 5.3).

The AntiScampi campaign began using digital media in 2011 in relation to one of its awareness slogans *Food with good taste (Mat med god eftersmak)*, targeting tiger prawns (*scampi*). The campaign builds on the outcomes of the organisation's *Murky Waters* report (SSNC 2011), which is available on the SSNC website that presents the negative environmental and social impacts of industrial shrimp farming. The campaign also involved the production of two documentary films (one from Bangladesh and the other from Ecuador) and an animated short film broadcasted on local media (cinema and television) and digital media. Even though the campaign is no longer active at the organisational level, its communication channels have not been closed. It has a Facebook page (in Swedish) *KeepEmOffYourPlate* with almost 15,000 followers (08.2015). It has no Twitter account, but through Twitter SSNC has made the hashtag #antiscampi go viral (Tynneron 2013).

Video sharing sites play an important role in SSNC's digital interaction. Short films are used to illustrate core issues of the different campaigns, which are shared through the SSNC's

YouTube and Vimeo video sharing channels. These are often mentioned or linked to on other SMS.

5.2.5 Vredeseilanden (VECO)

Vredeseilanden (*Islands of Peace*) is a Belgian non-governmental development organisation that was created by the merge of three like-minded Belgian organisations: Vredeseilanden, Coopibo and Fado. Its mission is to contribute to the viable livelihoods and empowerment of organised family farmers in the Global South and North, through sustainable production across the entire agricultural chain, the improvement of policies and an increase in sustainable consumption⁷⁹. Vredeseilanden supports partner organisations through eight country offices, known as VECO (Vredeseilanden country offices). For this reason, the organisation is known as VECO in Southern countries.

VECO Andino –Vredeseilanden’s office in the Andean region– has worked in Ecuador since 1980 and in Peru since 2003. VECO promotes interculturality, equal opportunities for men and women, and active participation with an emphasis on sustainable agriculture.

Vredeseilanden’s Programme 2014-2016⁸⁰ aims for structural changes in the production and consumption chain in order to enable family farmers to acquire a better position in the market and improve their institutional, economic and environmental resilience. Generally, VECO’s expertise is in the cacao and coffee industries, but lately it has also worked on the production of sustainable vegetables and fruits.

Digital media

Vredeseilanden’s international site is www.vecos-ngo.org. The site can be displayed in English, French and Spanish. The menu item, *VECO Regions* links to each of the eight country offices, some of which have their own webpages and social media, as is the case of VECO Andino. By choosing *Nederlands (Netherlands)*, a different and much more complex page is displayed that connects to social media through a *Join Us (Doe Mee)* menu item. This menu displays current activities, publications, programmes and campaigns, which can be followed through hashtags (e.g. #SaveTheFoodture). Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Flickr icons link to Dutch social media. The page also links to the *Farmer Effect Blog* (in English only)⁸¹. Blog posts and news pages can be shared through Facebook, Twitter and Google+.

⁷⁹ Vredeseilanden. Our Mission. <http://www.vecos-ngo.org/about-us/our-mission> Retrieved 26.08.2015

⁸⁰ VECO Andino. Programa 2014-2016. <http://es.vecos-ngo.org/vecos-andino/programa/programa-2014-2016> Retrieved 28.08.2015

⁸¹ The Farmer Effect Blog is described as ‘personal insights from sustainable agricultural chain development as experienced by practitioners inside and outside of Vredeseilanden’. Vredeseilanden. Farmer Effect Blog. <http://www.vecos-ngo.org/blog> Retrieved 28.08.2015.

Regional sites' contact pages link to their own social media, which tends to be a little confusing since icons displayed on the main page link to the Dutch sites⁸². On 27 October 2015, Vredeseilanden launched @VECOngo, a new Twitter account in English. This is referred to on the Twitter profile @vredeseilanden, which explains that people can now follow tweets in English⁸³.

VECO Andino's social media is fairly new and not very active when compared to the Dutch site (see Table 5.3). VECO Andino's Facebook account was opened in April 2014 and its Twitter account in March 2015, although VECO Andino did not post any tweets during the period studied. Despite the lack of activity, having a Twitter account is enough for Twitter users from partner organisations to interact digitally with VECO by mentioning @VecoAndino, as the following tweet shows:

[Peruvian NGO]: @VECOAndino presenta su nueva publicación sobre jóvenes #emprendedores #jóvenes y #agricultura <http://goo.gl/p5qZwJ>
(@VECOAndino launches its new publication on #young #entrepreneurs and #agriculture)

5.3 DATA COLLECTION

All data from Twitter and most of the data from Facebook was digitally collected with the use of the CAQDAS NVivo10. Through its browser extension NCapture, the CAQDAS automatically retrieves content from social media and displays it as datasets. However, the following problems were faced during data collection from Facebook:

- Due to changes in the settings of Facebook's API, NCapture could no longer collect data from Facebook profiles as of February 2015. This affected data collection for Redmanglar Internacional (see Table 5.2). Data for this page was retrieved manually between February and June 2015.
- NVivo was unable to follow the pace by which Facebook evolves. Datasets in NVivo turn into huge sets of empty columns of metadata, formerly provided by Facebook's API (e.g. birthday, sex, marital status, religion, hometown).

⁸² In conversation with VECO's communications consultant (18.09.2015) it was suggested that these conflicting links will be solved with the launching of the new website at the end of 2015.

⁸³ This site is not included in this study as it was launched after the data retrieval.

- The number of shares and comments on shared posts are not yet captured by NVivo⁸⁴. As comments on SMOs' posts displayed on users' timelines are as interesting for this study as the ones contained on the SMOs' own timelines, where users' timelines were open to the general public I retrieved this information manually.

The final date for the project was set as 30 June 2015. However, due to technical problems statistics on likes and shares were regarded up to 18 August 2015, as this is when data was last retrieved⁸⁵.

The data collected was very extensive (see Table 5.3), which is one of the affordances of CAQDAS (Bazeley & Jackson 2013). As a result, quantitative explanations emerged from the data about the structure of digital interaction and the connections between accounts, issues, languages and ideas. However, for the content analysis of discourses, the following criteria was established to reduce the data and focus on specific issues in the analysis.

5.3.1 Twitter

On Twitter, the data consisted of 18,284 tweets (see Table 5.3). For the analysis, the affordances of hashtags and mentions to spread concerns were considered. One approach to limiting the data was to only consider tweets rather than direct retweets (i.e. re-postings, enhanced by the retweet button). Of these, only postings that had more than 10 retweets were explored. This limit was set at random, based on the view that tweets, which engage the interest of at least 10 people, will spread their concerns into a wider audience.

This limitation resulted in a manageable number and array of tweets (see Table 5.3, *Own tweets with retweets*). However, when looking at the numbers of hashtags and mentions the data was too limited as some accounts did not include any hashtags or mentions. As a result, criteria had to be revised. A second analysis of the data showed there was actually no reason to suggest that tweets and retweets display a different point of view from that of the organisation. Both tweets and retweets are created, selected and shared by the SMOs that manage the accounts. In both cases, whether tweets or retweets keep the original message or produce a new one, it is the SMO that decides to share these tweets in the way they are displayed on the accounts.

⁸⁴ On 22 September 2014 the product manager at QSR International, the company that develops NVivo and Ncapture, wrote: 'Unfortunately Ncapture does not capture the number of shares that a post has received within Facebook at present. The share feature was added to Facebook after the initial design of the solution' (personal communication).

⁸⁵ The difference in dates responds to the inability of Ncapture to retrieve data for at least two months. QSR support, which is NVivo's developer, solved the problem with the following findings:

It appears that some of the facebook users have put in incorrect dates for their date of birth (in this case, the year 1773 - making them rather old). This incorrect data causes an issue with the SQL component of NVivo. We have recovered the file and you can download it. (personal communication)

It is interesting that a single 'mistake', intended or not, in the personal data of a Facebook user can lead to a major issue for an entire digital project.

Therefore, for the analysis the criteria changed to consider all tweets that had received more than 10 retweets and included at least one hashtag. Data that included at least one mention was also analysed (see Table 5.3).

5.3.2 Facebook

On Facebook, the total data consists of 7,171 posts and 45,113 comments (see Table 5.3). The number of posts from each organisation were selected for the analysis, based on the following sorting phases:

- 1) Posts with a higher number of comments, likes and shares, which provided enough material to discuss the posts and trigger discourses.
- 2) Posts that refer to different events (this is because some status updates were posted more than once and each time they resulted in a high numbers of likes and comments, therefore only one instance of the same post was selected).
- 3) Posts relating to the concept of global fairness were preferred, understood in the way the SSNC frames the notion of ‘#grönrättvisa’ (#greenfairness), which links environmental safe practices with human and moral fairness. Some posts that complied with the first two criteria addressed mostly local issues, even though at some point the global was also addressed but to a lesser degree.
- 4) Issues that, to some extent, related to Ecuador and the Andean Region were preferred in order to fulfill the wider scope of the project.
- 5) At least one post from a Facebook friend on the SMOs’ timelines was also included, in order to provide others’ perspectives enabled in digital interaction. This criterion did not apply to Oxfam Intermon, as its data is so extensive in the posts selected that it included many different conversation threads, which provided broad perspectives from other participants. Neither did this apply to Redmanglar Internacional as all of the posts included are re-postings from members of the network.

Following these criteria, two to five posts from each organisation were selected. A total of 20 Facebook posts and their comment threads (3,617 postings) are analysed (see Table 5.4). The accounts of Vredeseilanden and VECO Andino did not provide enough material for analysis and therefore are not included, as explained further in Chapter 6. The data includes the original post of a re-posting from Hivos South America (SA_107), as this Facebook page did not enable users to post on its timeline.

Table 5.4 Facebook posts analysed⁸⁶

SMO	post	Likes	Comments	Threads	Shares	Topic
Hivos	H_130	248	16	4	38	fair trade roses
	H_161	50	14	1	13	support to development cooperation
	H_240*	42	9	0	n/a	cacao production
	H_351	158	17	3	81	child labour in fashion
Hivos South America	SA_425	365	23	5	81	women
	SA_107**	1011	343	21	172	gay pride day
IBIS Denmark	I_902	9	128	19	2	networking
	I_311	810	166	47	520	#evenitup, extreme economic inequality
	I_1437*	38	25	0	0	merging development and trade
	I_o164	401	11	0	27	Denmark 's efforts in Latin America
Oxfam_Intermon	O_5194	34152	921	47	9892	drinking water
	O_9190	7377	171	3	959	Robin Hood tax
Redmanglar Int.	RM_1381	166	61	0	n/a	Zapoton forests, Chiapas
	RM_1694	53	29	0	4	biodiversity, Puerto Pizarro
	RM_681	24	23	0	12	mining project, Nicaragua
SSNC	S_36577	24307	598	18	3868	eko banana
	S_16656	3122	438	69	2728	#grönrättvisa, death of cockle-gatherer
	S_16205	5492	359	56	3744	research against organic faming
	S_16587*	34	51	6	n/a	report S_16205 starvation
	S_34187	5029	211	6	749	räckbomba, shrimp consumption
<i>Total</i>		<i>20 posts</i>	<i>82,722</i>	<i>3,617</i>	<i>305</i>	<i>22,890</i>

* Posted by participant

** Analysis of the post quoted by Hivos SA from the originally posted timeline.

⁸⁶ Appendix 1 shows the content of these posts.

The name of the post on the first column of Table 5.4 is built as follows:

- a letter identifying the organisation: Hivos – H, Hivos South America – SA, IBIS – I, Oxfam Intermon – O, Redmanglar Internacional – RM, SSNC – S
- followed by the number assigned by NVivo to the post in each captured dataset.

5.4 METHODOLOGY

When considering the way digital interaction for advocacy takes place and spreads its concerns, there is no better illustration than the metaphor of the rhizome as proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). This metaphor was introduced in Chapter 4 to describe the structure of the GJM.

In the analysis of the data, the rhizome metaphor is operationalised to describe the underlying structure of how posts and tweets perform in digital interaction. The multiple entryways of the rhizome's cartographic principle makes it easy to move from place to place and find the interconnectedness and diversity of issues and networks. However, this structural rhizomatic analysis could be perceived as being at odds with the use of grounded theory for the content analysis of discourses built within digital interaction. While the rhizome speaks of multiplicities, through an iterative process grounded theory reduces this to few major categories, resulting in an explanatory model for the social imaginaries shared.

It is evident that the rhizome does not fit in the logic of grounded theory. However, I see both approaches as complementary as, combined, they enable an understanding of the rhizomatic structure and the theoretical content. Both refer to different layers of analysis. The rhizomatic analysis deals with the structure of digital interaction whereas content analysis is about the production of theory, grounded in empirical data, on the point of view of the participants in digital interaction, which leads to an explanation of which content is emphasised within the structure.

5.4.1 Rhizomatic analysis

Archived data both from Twitter and Facebook were exported to Excel as datasets in NVivo do not allow editing. The analysis was entirely focused on textual data. Images and videos were analysed only in relation to the selected main posts and in some tweets where it was necessary to clarify the text provided. Comments containing only visual information and no text were discarded.

A quantitative analysis of posts and tweets illustrates how the principles of the rhizome apply in digital interaction. It has also been possible to assess the extent by which each account enables participation and how issues and concerns are built and spread in digital communication.

5.4.2 Analysis procedures in Twitter

Using dynamic tables in Excel, I was able to count instances of hashtags among the tweets of each organisation⁸⁷, and in relation to the other accounts within this study. With this information, I created word clouds, which are visual aids that randomly display the frequency of words (Saldaña 2015:223), in this case those words refer to the use of hashtags. More frequent hashtags appear in larger font size, which allows the most salient ones to be quickly identified (see Figure 5.2).



Elaboration: Wordle.net

Figure 5.2 Word cloud of Vredeseilanden's hashtags

Vredeseilanden data includes only five hashtags of which '#SavetheFoodture' is the most used. This hashtag illustrates the creative way in which users comply with the requirements of Twitter to build concepts in one word. It is a call to save the future through food.

However, hashtag counts were not particularly useful when trying to connect concepts among organisations, since hashtags that refer to shared concepts may be described using different words in different languages (e.g. 'børnearbejde' in Danish means 'childlabour' which is completely another wording) as well as in different instances, depending on the context (e.g. redcard or school4all, which as mentioned below are hashtags related to the campaign to stop child labour). Therefore, the subsequent analysis of hashtags was done manually, bringing together the most salient hashtags and mentions that could connect tweets among networks.

Mentions (i.e. @user) were also analysed to see how posts could connect different accounts in the Twittersphere. A particular focus was on how organisations connect with each other, and whether there were relationships between mentions in tweets and accounts.

⁸⁷ After a first mining of Twitter's data, @VECO_Andino was excluded as it contained no tweets.

5.4.3 Analysis procedures in Facebook

In Facebook, comment threads on the 20 posts selected were first analysed in Excel. I built on the work of Johnny Saldaña (2015) to name the process of coding as follows.

a) *First coding cycle*

An initial analysis of how posts on Facebook evolve leads me to propose that the ‘the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy’ is composed of four consecutive stages: posting, sharing, cooperating and acting. Afterwards, this cycle is brought back to the data for analysis.

Comments were coded structurally into five types of action: posting and sharing (this refers to the first two stages of the cycle of digital interaction); while supporting, opposing and neutral statements are clustered into the stages of collaborating and acting. Unintelligible comments due mainly to typos were discarded.

Within the three last types of action a process of subcoding took place. Saldaña refers to ‘subcoding’ as a ‘second order tag’ (:91) that enriches the entry. It is not quite a second coding cycle, as it does not involve further decisions on the coded data, but is a way of strengthening and narrowing previous broad categories.

In Excel, single-letter codes helped to streamline the coding process, grouping comments into types of action (T) and topics (St) (see Figure 5.3).

	A	B	D	E	F
1	O_5194	5194	Comment	T	St
2	O_5194	5195	Preocupemonos de momento por el nuestro que esta bastante mal ,que manden filtros, Con el dinero que mandan.que hacen	D	L
3	O_5194	5196	Aqui mucho paro	D	B
4	O_5194	5197	Que penitaaa unos con tanto y otros con tan poco	A	Z
5	O_5194	5198	Sobra de todo en el mundo como para que pase esto....	S	G
6	O_5194	5199	Ara mateix envió missatge	A	Y
7	O_5194	5200	HAZ BIEN Y NO MIRE A QUIEN!!! ESE ES MÍ LEMA PARA IR POR LA VIDA . Y SÍ YO COLABORO Y SEGUIRE COLABORANDO Y SOY UNA SIMPLE PENSIONISTA El mundo ya lo he dicho en algún comentarios se formo injusto, aqui tenemos una de las injusticias que hay que hacerle frente, pero con la cantidad de cabrones y	A	Y

Figure 5.3 Screenshot of first coding cycle in Excel of post O_5194

The first coding cycle isolated posts and comments from their context. Each comment was coded into one topic. Figure 5.4 displays the coding legend used in Excel for post O_5194. This coding was used afterwards to generate nodes in NVivo where all the mined data were re-imported for analysis.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	O_5194			921						
2	Likes		34152							
3	Shares		9892							
4	Comments		919							
5	comment threads		47							
6										
7	Total Comments		921							
8	Q question		7							
9	R direct reply		62							
10	I further info		23							
11	O other / not clear / not related		49							
12	M shared / mention		12							
13	A agree / sorrow		253							
14	D disagree		233							
15	S statement		282							
16										
17										
18										
19										
20										
21										
22										
23										
24										
25										
26										
27										
28										
29										
30										
31										
32										
33										
34										
35										
36										

Figure 5.4 Legend of first coding cycle in Excel

Coding at this stage consisted of a mixture of *in vivo coding* (literal use of expressions contained in the data) and *descriptive coding* (concepts that explain the situation expressed). This keeps a hierarchical relation within each post, managed separately from the rest (see Figure 5.5).

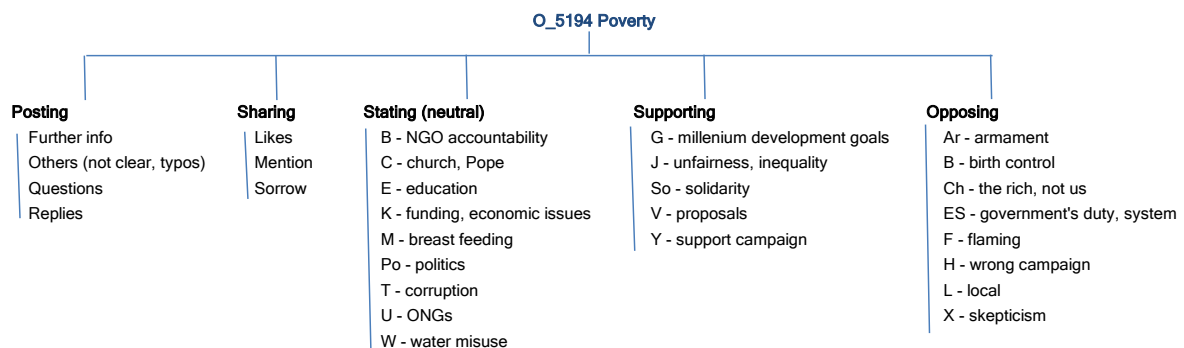


Figure 5.5 Nodes in NVivo from initial coding of post O_5194

Table 5.5 displays the 154 different topics coded from the 20 posts analysed. Some topics are shared among posts as reflected in the numeric column (= 202 topics). Until this point, comments were entirely clustered into one category, namely the more salient from the narrative. However, a deeper analysis of the data shows its rhizomatic structure. Many comments contain more than one topic that is sometimes related, sometimes completely unconnected, with the rest of the comment. Therefore, I engaged in an ‘intermediate coding cycle’.

Table 5.5 Topics emerging in a first coding cycle

Topic	#	Topic	#	Topic	#	Topic	#
abortion	1	development	1	left wave	1	restaurant	1
accountability NGOs	1	disagreement with organic	1	Market	1	right to decide	1
activism	3	distrust on NGOs	1	meat and milk production	1	roots of the problem	1
against dev.coop	1	distrust on organic production	1	Media	1	science	1
against farmed shrimp	1	eat less meet	1	millenium development goals	1	sexual orientation	1
against GMOs & industrial farming	1	eco farming	1	mistrust dev. coop	1	shame for toxics	1
against the bible	1	eco- hostile	1	Money	1	shrimp farming, species	1
argumentation, information	1	eco movement	1	need for pesticides, fertilizers, GMOs	1	sickness, psyc.disorder	1
armament	1	eco not always possible	1	neocolonialism	1	skepticism	9
availability	1	ecology, diversity	3	neutrality in politics	1	socialism	1
avoid discrimination	1	ecomovement	1	NGO accountability	2	spent money and resources	1
bad model	1	education	3	NGOs credibility	1	stop eating shrimp!	1
biodiversity	2	food waste	2	no progress	1	strengthening civil society	1
biology of plants	1	for richness sake	1	not new	1	support campaign	2
birth control	1	funding	1	organic, tastier, better	1	support to dev. coop	1
bolivian culture	1	funding, economic issues	1	other harms	1	sustainable management	2
boycott	1	global differences	1	other possibilities, proposals	1	system, structural problem	1
brands	1	global partnership	1	overpopulation	2	take up arms	1
breaking rules	1	globalisation	1	political power	1	tax evasion	1
breast feeding	1	government's duty	1	Politics	3	tax system	2
cocoa production	1	grön rättvisa	3	pollution, destruction	1	the rich, not us	2
cocoa substitutes	1	heterogeneity	1	population growth	1	time	1
cheer action	1	hope for eco products	1	Poverty	1	tolerance	1
church, Pope	1	humanitarian field	1	power structures	1	trade agreements	2
consume patterns	1	I never eat shrimp	2	private property	1	trade issues	2
consumer power	1	increase refugees	1	Production	1	travel	1
corruption	4	indifference	1	Proposals	3	ultracapitalism	1
costs	3	individualism	1	really care on consumers	1	unemployment	1
credibility	1	inequality	1	Recognition	1	unfairness, inequality	2
credibility, money matters	1	information	1	Research	1	unfeasible	1
Danish profile	1	int. rules	1	responsible consumers	1	vegetarian	1
democracy	2	justice	1	responsibility	1	volunteering	1
		language	1				

b) Intermediate coding cycle

Below is an extract of a comment from the post *2015 Cacao Report on Chocolate Costs* (H_240) to exemplify the intermediate coding cycle (Figure 5.6):

Trade agreements that encourage slave (labor) wages. And it's not going to improve
 with Obama's signature (proposed) trade agreement the Trans Pacific Partnership fiasco,
 that gives corporations veto power over sovereign countries (including US of course)
 that may choose to protect workers, environmental concerns, etc, if those protections
 cost corporations \$ to comply with. It ain't just chocolate!

1 2 3 4 5 6
 link to original post

Figure 5.6 Example of intermediate coding cycle in a comment

Emerging categories were labelled either by *in vivo* coding or by *process coding*, i.e. coding that portrays the dynamics of digital interaction using action verbs stated as nouns, provided by the *-ing* ending. The resulting coding for this extract is: 1) 'global trade agreements' 2) perceiving inequality, in its reference to 'slave labour' 3) feeling powerless 4) focusing on the local 5) 'grönrrättvisa', SSNC's concept that brings together environmental, cultural and ethical fairness 6) 'costs' or economic issues.

NVivo allows for the visualisation of the simultaneous occurrences of codes through *coding bars* (see Figure 5.7). This is a useful way to find coding similarities among different posts in order to reorganise and reanalyse data.

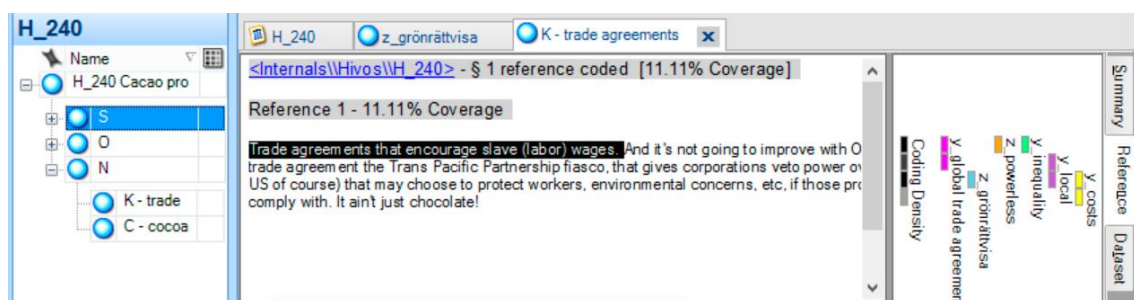


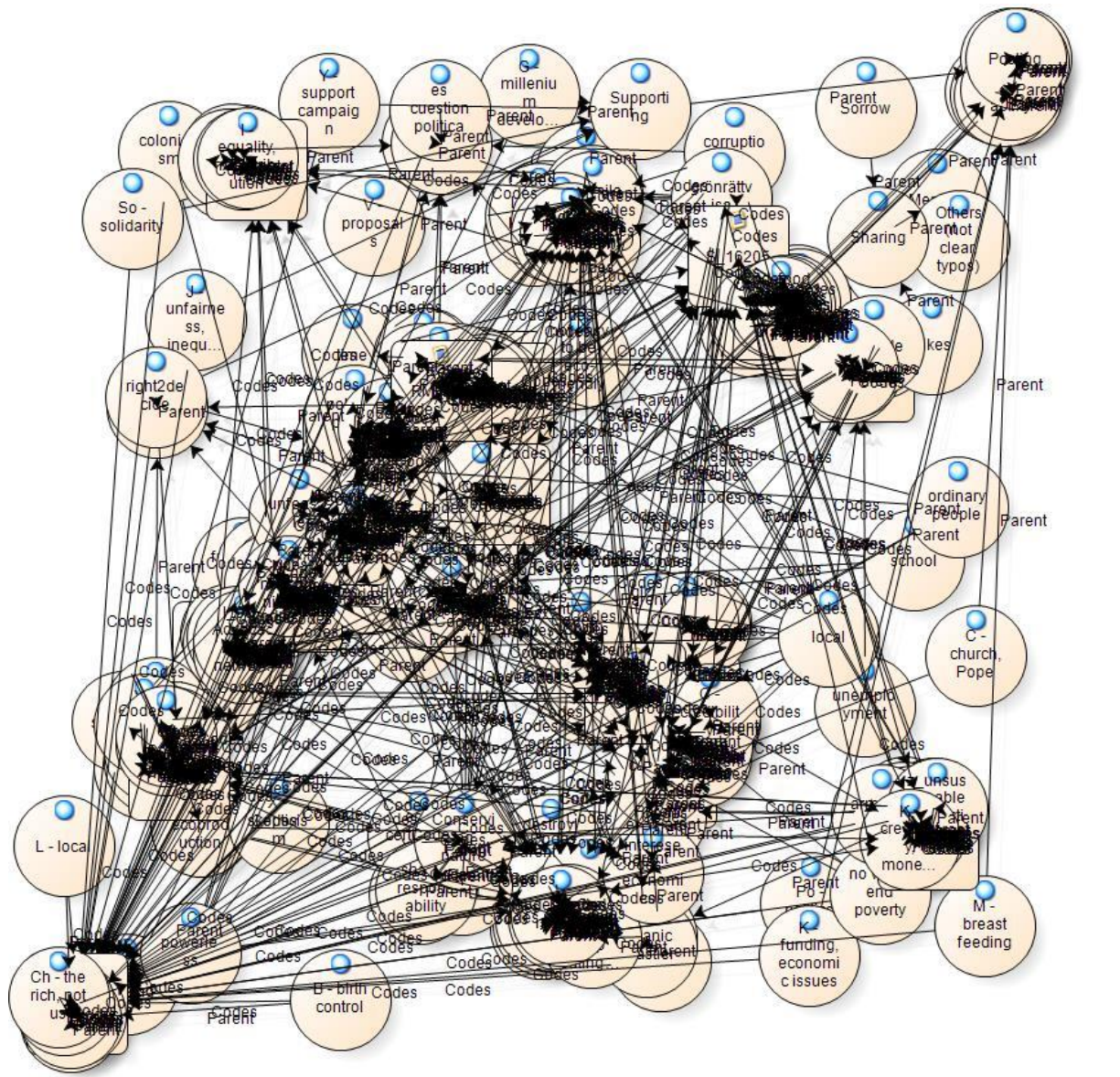
Figure 5.7 Screenshot of coding bars in NVivo

This intermediate coding cycle allows each comment to expand into the multiplicity of topics it actually contains which, to some extent, were hindered in the previous coding cycle that established fixed categories for the whole utterance.

In the previous cycle, comments were isolated from their context. Therefore, this coding cycle enabled each post and all its comments to connect with and relate to the rest of the posts through

the shared, heterogeneous and multiple topics embraced. Once again, the rhizomatic structure can be envisioned in the multi-way communication process of digital interaction.

The visual representation of the categories that emerged in intermediate coding is illustrated in Figure 5.8.



(NVivo 10)

Figure 5.8 Visualisation of connected categories in digital interaction

There is a complex and tangled representation of diverse and connected categories contained in the comments that relate to other comments and categories. The multiplicity of themes and issues is an underlying characteristic of digital interaction. Thus, in the complex rhizomatic structure of communication I attempted to discover which could be the ‘thicker’ roots of the rhizome, that is the major categories that could sustain the social imaginaries of global fairness.

c) Second coding cycle: focused coding

While it is claimed that digital interaction depicts a rhizomatic structure, this structure had to be left aside in order to analyse the content inside the interaction. The pattern of focused coding led to the emergence of major categories in discourses.

Focused coding enables the rediscovery (or the recodification) of the content of comments in connection to others. Focusing on the previous codes, this second cycle enabled transferability and comparability. Major categories from the ‘relating’ and ‘connecting’ subcategories emerged as well as topics that enlarge and sustain this strength, as illustrated on the tree diagram of Figure 5.9.

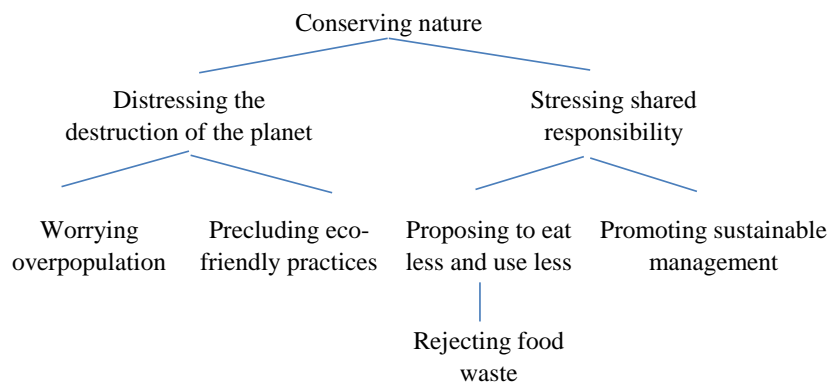


Figure 5.9 ‘Conserving nature’s tree diagram

Connections are displayed hierarchically, as the process of coding is a hierarchical process that leads to the definition of major categories contained in discourses.

Table 5.6 shows the major categories defined from the data and the subcategories contained in them. Subcategories came out from grouping topics together. The analysis emphasises six major categories that could be suggested to display the social imaginaries in digital interaction, these categories are: conserving nature, stressing equality, assessing policy, globalising concerns and trading. As digital interaction is a communication process, two expressive categories are also stressed: setting the mood and communicating. The data also provides a number of miscellaneous categories.

Table 5.6 Second coding cycle: defining major categories

a) Conserving nature	Distressing the destruction of the planet Precluding eco-friendly practices Promoting sustainable management Proposing to eat less and use less Stressing shared responsibility Worrying overpopulation	f) Trading	Analysing businesses Asking for tax reductions Boycotting unsustainable trading Defining oneself as consumer Distrusting global trade agreements Distrusting multinationals Doubting on the economic system Focusing on the market Stressing fair trade practices
b) Eco-farming	Avoiding chemicals in agriculture Changing to ecological products Distrusting eco-production Encouraging vegetarianism Rejecting food waste Rejecting unsustainable production Trusting on eco-labels	g) Setting the mood	Expressing indifference Feeling powerless Getting into action (campaigning) Seeing concerns unfeasible Visualizing hope
c) Stressing equality	Censuring inequality Respecting differences Stressing gender equality Terming homosexuality a disorder Supporting the LGBT movement	h) Communicating	Disambiguating terms Flaming Requesting the right to decide Stressing concepts through hashtags Stressing the importance of media Translating erroneously
d) Assessing policy	Asking local governments to take action Assessing capitalism Commenting local politics Rejecting armament expenditure Strengthening civil society Suggesting colonialism practices Underlining corruption practices	i)	Calling for solidarity Focusing on the family / breast-feeding Framing into religion Stressing ownership Stressing the present Underscoring research / schooling
e) Globalising concerns	Assessing development cooperation Focusing on NGOs accountability Promoting global fairness Caring about the local over the global		

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the SMOs analysed and their performance on Twitter and Facebook. For the analysis, two methodologies came into play: one that focuses on the structure of digital interaction and a second that focuses on the content of the discourses constructed in the interaction itself.

This responds to the aim of the project, namely to understand the presence of social imaginaries in digital interaction, therefore the content of the discourses could not be detached from the way they spread and settle. To deal with this paradox of reducing but retaining the wider landscape, the analysis has been divided into a rhizomatic analysis at the structural level and a grounded theory analysis at the content level. In this way, both methods are complementary rather than contradictory.

At the structural level, the analysis claims a rhizomatic communication process that puts into relation multiple, heterogeneous and apparently disjointed issues, people, languages and concerns. At the content level, the iterative procedures of grounded theory allow for an exploration of how meanings are constructed in interactions with others within digital discourses. However, when the topics emerging in the digital interaction around each post relate to the topics of other posts, a rhizomatic structure is once again underlined. Here we see how topics become connected to other similar topics taking place in different places and contexts.

This can point to the principle of the asignifying rupture of the rhizome, as Deleuze and Guattari state: ‘You may make a rupture, draw a line of flight, yet there is still a danger that you will reencounter organizations that restratify everything, formations that restore power to a signifier, attributions that reconstitute a subject’ (1987:10). This is precisely what happens when trying to disconnect posts from each other, and comments from the context of their posts. An underlying rhizomatic structure is omni-present in digital interaction.

The coming two chapters put into practice the methodology explained in this chapter and provide information about rhizomatic communication and the current social imaginaries.

6. DIGITAL INTERACTION FOR ADVOCACY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Bennett and Segerberg suggest that SMOs in Advocacy 2.0 deploy ‘discourses and interactive media that offer greater choice over how people may engage’ (2013:48). This chapter aims to analyse how digital interaction is performed by participants on Facebook and Twitter and whether the social imaginaries of global fairness proposed by SMOs are present. For the analysis of the underlying structure of digital interaction I build on Deleuze and Guattari’s metaphor of the rhizome as a structure of thought.

The analysis of digital interaction is guided by the following questions:

- How does digital interaction for advocacy takes place?
- How can the metaphor of the rhizome describe digital interaction?

The chapter starts by explaining the proposed ‘cycle of digital interaction for advocacy’ composed of four consecutive stages: posting, sharing, cooperating and acting. Then it operationalises the metaphor of the rhizome to explain the way concerns disseminate in digital interaction. This metaphor was introduced on Chapter 4 where its principles allowed illustrating the GJM. This chapter operationalises the six principles of the rhizome to explain the structure of digital interaction for advocacy and how does this multi-way communication process takes place.

Finally, the chapter focuses on the affordances of Twitter for digital interaction and explains the difficulties faced with the data collected to actually grasp the understandings of participants in digital interaction.

6.2 THE CYCLE OF DIGITAL INTERACTION

The analysis of the way posts and tweets function in digital interaction led Shirky (2008:49) suggest three consecutive activities that ‘are enabled or improved by social tools’: sharing, cooperation and collective action. I consider that, while these activities are important, a step previous to sharing, namely posting –the action of imagining, creating and composing an update that is then shared– must not be forgotten.

Digital interaction does not require the co-presence, either in time or space, of participants but it does demand a first intellectual, virtual action of composing a meaningful text and posting it. Since no message exists in digital interaction before it is posted and becomes part of the sharing engine of the internet, the activities of posting and sharing are merged.

I prefer to name Shirky’s last stage of ‘collective action’ as ‘connective action’, following Bennett and Segerberg (2013) and their distinction between collective action in digital advocacy, which is organisationally brokered, and *connective action*, which is organisationally enabled (Advocacy 2.0) and is the type of action analysed in this study.

Consequently, this multi-way process of people communicating through posts mediated by the internet and the use of ICTs takes place through a dynamic cycle that involves posting, sharing, cooperating and acting, as shown on Figure 6.1.

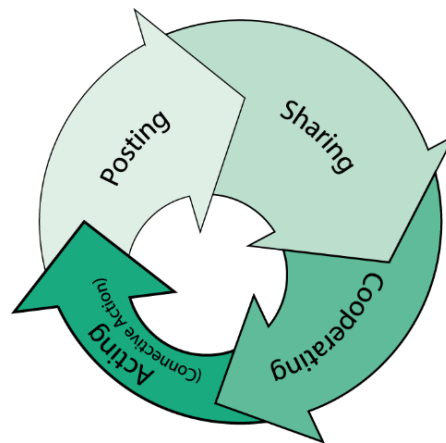


Figure 6.1 The cycle of digital interaction for advocacy

This is an open-ended cycle that can start over and over again. Stages decrease in size and weight as they advance, since there is a difference both in how demanding and how much effort is required to move from one stage to the other. It can stop and restart at any of its stages, as illustrated in Figure 6.2.

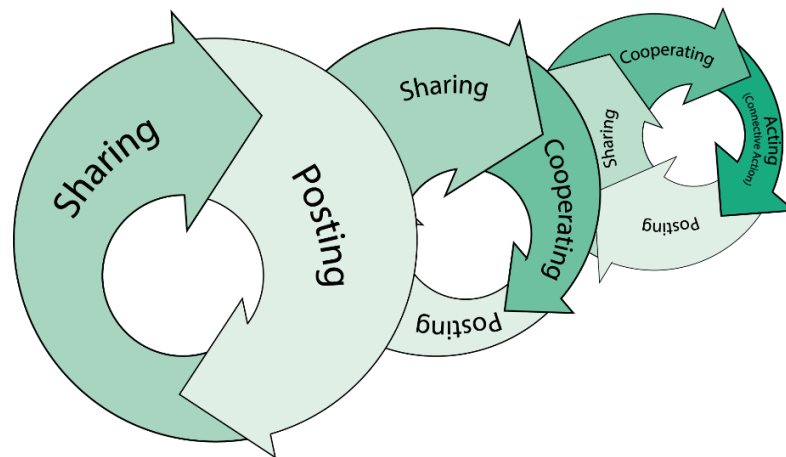


Figure 6.2 Development of the stages of the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy

The number of people cooperating is smaller since it requires even more effort, time and enthusiasm to continue the process. Finally, acting deals with the performance of collective/connective action, which is achieved by fewer people. Accomplishing the whole cycle is the aim of Advocacy 2.0.

This process cannot take place automatically, it starts by a person (self-identified as an individual or affiliated to an organisation) whose desire is to communicate by posting some information and sharing it on a SMS so that his/her network and the networks of their acquaintances can access the information. Sharing is the core concept that boosts the Web 2.0 and is fundamental to Advocacy 2.0. Shirky suggests that sharing is the stage that ‘creates the fewest demand on the participants’ (2008:49).

Cooperating is regarded as a way of ‘changing your behaviour to synchronize with people who are changing their behaviour to synchronize with you’ (Shirky 2008:50); it suggests group work, negotiating and coordinating terms and ideas. It can also be understood as a form of dialogue, and as the fourth sense of communication suggested in Chapter 3, where participants experience at least a subtle form of change due to taking part in the communication process.

Acting collectively and connectedly is the hardest stage to accomplish in this process as it supposes a commitment of the participants ‘in a way that makes the decision of the group binding on the individual members’ (Shirky 2008:51). It is a step on from reflection in that it involves taking part in online and/or off-line collective actions intended to affect the off-line (physical) world.

6.3 MAPPING DIGITAL INTERACTION

‘Make a map, not a tracing’, argue Deleuze and Guattari (1987:13), since ‘the map is open and connectable in all its dimensions’. The map ‘fosters connections between fields’ and allows for an embracing of diversity from a multiplicity of entryways. There is no one fixed path or axial structure in the rhizome, but a diversity of possibilities in connection with others.

With this cartographic principle in mind, I analyse the way digital interaction takes place on Facebook and Twitter.

6.3.1 The principles of connection and heterogeneity

An analysis of the number of people following Twitter accounts and their geographical placing points to the principles of connection and heterogeneity that characterise the rhizome. As a rhizome, which ceaselessly grows and spreads, social media participants are in constant ascent, as demonstrated by the increasing number of Twitter and Facebook accounts. This also applies to the number of followers of the accounts studied. Figure 6.3 shows the increase of Twitter followers over a month.

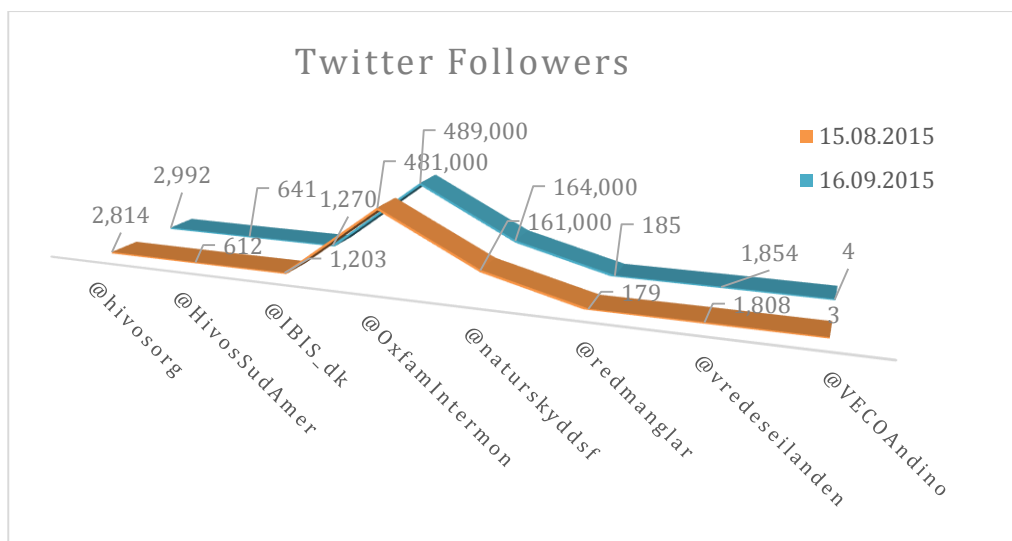


Figure 6.3 Variation in numbers of Twitter followers over a month

All accounts register an average increase of 3% over a month, even @VECOAndino which had no performance in that period. It could be assumed that organisations with a higher number of followers, and therefore a bigger network, would experience a greater increase than this since bigger networks enable an extended dissemination of concerns. However, in this short period no significant correlation could be observed. The SSNC, with more than 16,400 followers, increased by only 1%, while IBIS with 1270 followers shows an increment of nearly 6%.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that in this same period, IBIS started its conversations for its definite membership to Oxfam International that would have targeted Oxfam members apart from their own network. Oxfam is by far one of the biggest networks of SMOs. Oxfam Intermon, its branch in Spain, accounts for more than 48,900 followers. This rather new connection between Oxfam and IBIS could have broadened IBIS's network.

Another type of connection deals with the number of followers a Twitter account has and the number of accounts it is following, which Table 5.2 shows there is no correspondence in numbers. Organisations with fewer followers show smaller differences between this and numbers of followees (e.g. IBIS follows 959 accounts and has 1270 followers) but when the number of followers increases this gap becomes bigger.

As Shirky (2008) argues 'on the Web interactivity has no technological limits, but it does still have strong cognitive limits: no matter who you are, you can only read so many weblogs, can trade e-mail with only so many people, and so on' (:91).

Disregarding this observation, I looked for technical limitations that could explain the 1,000 followee average of the accounts studied. Indeed, Twitter sets a restriction of 2,000 followees to accounts with under 1,819 followers, thereafter a +10% is applied, 'this means for every 10 people that follow you, you can follow 11'⁸⁸. Nevertheless, all of the organisations lie under this limit despite the fact that most of them could surpass it, which could corroborate Shirky's observations.

SMOs are organised through teams who are in charge of the different programmes, campaigns and actions. Many campaigns manage their own social media, which has its own network of participants. In social media, these networks become interconnected through posts and tweets.

For instance, one of the posts analysed (S_34186) re-posts in the SSNC timeline a status update originally posted on the AntiScampi campaign page:

SSNC: Vi räkbombar restauranger som fortfarande serverar skamräkor. Först ut:
Vapiano. Räkbomba du också!

*(We 'shrimp-bombard' restaurants still serving shame shrimp. First up:
Vapiano. You should shrimp-bombard too!)*

The call claims that a food chain continues offering dishes prepared with cultivated tropical shrimp, referred to as 'skamräkor' (*shame shrimp*), despite the organisation's appeal to refrain

⁸⁸ Anderson Gray, Jan. 15.08.2015. Do you know the Twitter limits? <http://iag.me/socialmedia/guides/do-you-know-the-twitter-limits/> Retrieved 16.09.2015

from doing so, based upon reports on the negative environmental and social impacts to local communities in mangrove areas this production has.

The post⁸⁹ invites people to visit any restaurant from this chain, ask for the menu, confirm that it still sells giant shrimp, not consume anything but instead leave on the table a call, which can be downloaded and printed from the link provided, to stop selling cultivated shrimp (see Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4 AntiScampi campaign 2014 printable material⁹⁰

This action call approaches different audiences and networks on the two Facebook pages (AntiScampi and SSNC). Table 6.1 shows the differences in likes and comments in both posts.

⁸⁹ The full post S_34186 is included in Appendix 1.

⁹⁰ The call states: 'Hi. I have kept prawns off my plate because it is one of the world's largest polluters. Please, can't you skip tiger prawns from the menu? / From one of the thousands who support Antiscampi.se' Source: Beställning av Antiscampi-material 2014. <http://naturskyddsforeningen.wufoo.com/forms/mzem4h71qgeon1/> Retrieved 24.10.2014

Shrimp-bombard connective action	Date	Likes	Comments	Shares ⁹¹
Antiscampi*	11.03.2014	2403	147	749
SSNC**	14.03.2014	2627	64	--

* Data retrieved 01.10.2015

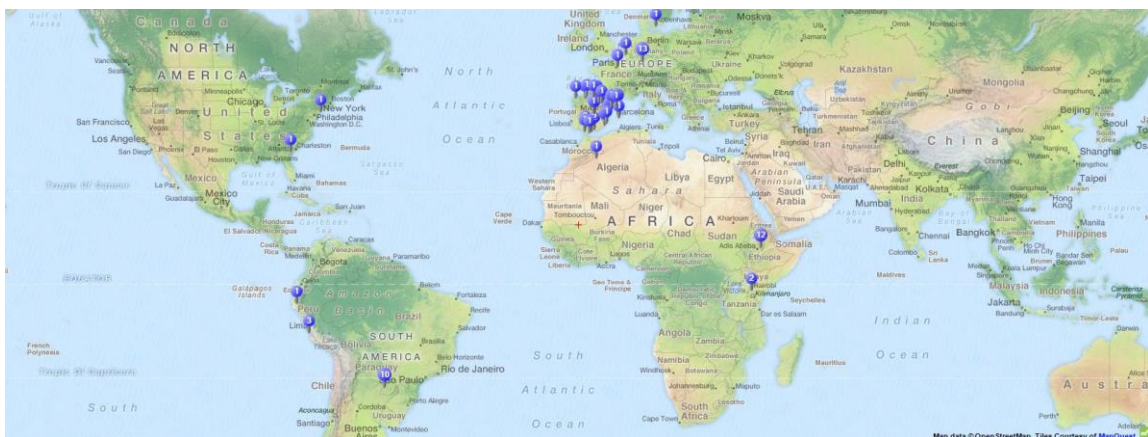
** Data retrieved 20.05.2014

Table 6.1 ‘Shrimp-bombard’ connective action call

Both pages show a similar number of likes with a high number of conversational tagging – posts that mention others, similar to the @user practice in Twitter–, prompting friends to read and support the action.

Heterogeneity the second principle of the rhizome, can be analysed both by looking at participants in digital interaction, and in the issues approached. While, initially, Facebook provided a certain amount of personal information about the accounts through its API, the only meta-data now available is the name and, if opted for, the geographical location.

Despite this, 18% of the posts from participants on Oxfam Intermon’s timeline provide geolocalisation information. This small sample displays a landscape of scattered connections as shown in Figure 6.5. The majority of posts come from Spain, but there are a number of other posts located in Africa, other parts of Europe, and North and South America.



(Generated by NVivo10 13.08.2015)

Figure 6.5 Geolocalisation of Oxfam Intermon’s Facebook posts

In order to follow digital interaction, I created two accounts, one on Twitter and one on Facebook. The Twitter account only followed the organisations studied, although at the start of the project the account followed more than the study’s final eight. Progressively, across 18 months, various public relations officers, staff, partner organisations and others were also

⁹¹ Unfortunately, the post is no longer active on the SSNC Facebook page and the archived data did not include sharing information.

followed. In some cases, this happened due to a lack of major activity by the principal accounts, and in other cases it happened in response to joint campaigns and cross-references.

Following other accounts may make a difference to the information accessed, particularly in relation to Twitter where two or more accounts that follow each other leads to the creation of a network which displays information that is unavailable to unconnected followers, as explained in Chapter 3.

Twitter communication is not localised and a thread of conversation does not show up immediately after a tweet, but this does not mean that digital interaction does not take place, it does and can be analysed by the way in which retweets, hashtags and mentions flow.

I was particularly interested in finding interconnections among the organisations studied that could be observed in tweets and posts. Twitter’s practice of ‘retweeting’ or forwarding information from other sources allows interconnections to be visualised. However, retweets and mentions among organisations are rather scarce (see Table 6.2).

Retweets & mentions	@hivosorg	@HivosSudAmer	@IBIS_dk	@OxfamIntermon	@natureskyddsf	@redmanglar	@vredeseilanden	@VECOAndino
@hivosorg		56		15*				
@HivosSudAmer	38			2***				
@IBIS_dk	1			25**				
@OxfamIntermon								
@natureskyddsf								
@redmanglar								
@vredeseilanden								

*Retweets from Oxfam, oxfamgbpolicy and OxfamAmerica

**Retweets from Oxfam, oxfaminSA and OxfamIndia

***Retweets from Oxfam and oxfam_es

Table 6.2 Number of retweets and mentions among organisations

Retweets and mentions happen between partner organisations, for example Hivos International retweets posts from its regional branch in South America (@HivosSudAmer) and vice versa. The same applies to IBIS as a new member of Oxfam.

The number of retweets from Oxfam accounts do not come from @OxfamIntermon (Oxfam’s branch in Spain) but from a variety of Oxfam branches (e.g. @oxfamgbpolicy, Oxfam Great Britain’s account for policy, research and learning and @oxfamSA the account of Oxfam South

Africa). IBIS retweets of Hivos relates to the shared *Alliance 2015* campaign and network in which both organisations are partners. Hivos South America retweets information from the campaign *Journalism for Open Data* in Bolivia, supported by both organisations (Oxfam and Hivos).

The analysis shows that just three accounts (@OxfamIntermon, @hivosorg and @naturskyddsf) out of eight, tweet or retweet more than two times a day. VECO Andino does not tweet at all. The performance of tweets and retweets is shown in Figure 6.6.

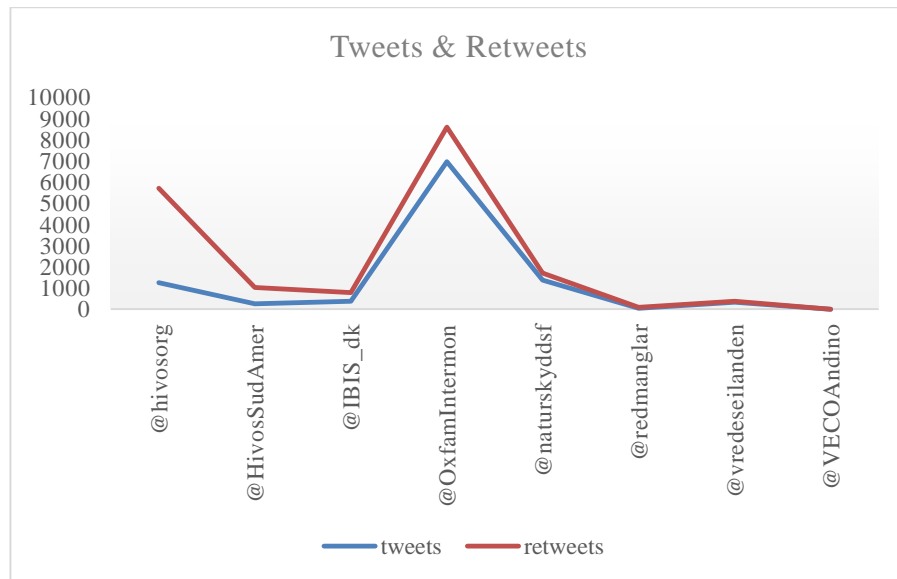


Figure 6.6 Tweets and retweets of SMOs

Figure 6.6 shows tweets and retweets shared by the SMOs that have been forwarded (retweeted) in the ‘Twittersphere’ more than 10 times. @Oxfamintermon is very active on Twitter and both tweets and retweets show high levels of engagement. The analysis of enabled digital interaction on Twitter focuses on how the organisation allows other voices to take part in their communication channels and by the interest SMOs’ tweets awaken in their networks. Figure 6.7 shows only tweets from the SMOs that have been retweeted and the number of tweets that received more than 10 retweets.

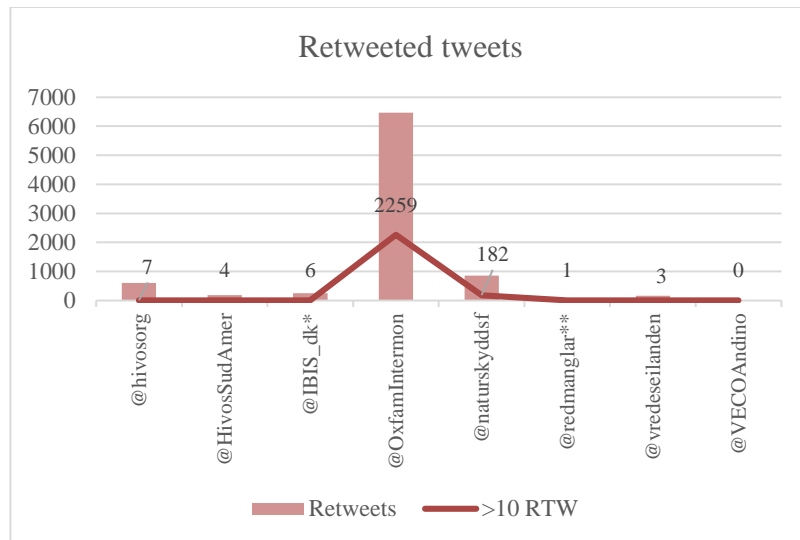


Figure 6.7 Retweeted tweets

Figure 6.8 analyses enabled connective action, placing the SMOs at the centre and, as the line moves away from the axis, digital interaction becomes less brokered and more personalised, enlarging its scope and its possibilities for expansion. @hivosorg shows a higher number of retweets than tweets. However, tweets shared by the organisation do not receive much attention from their Twitter network.

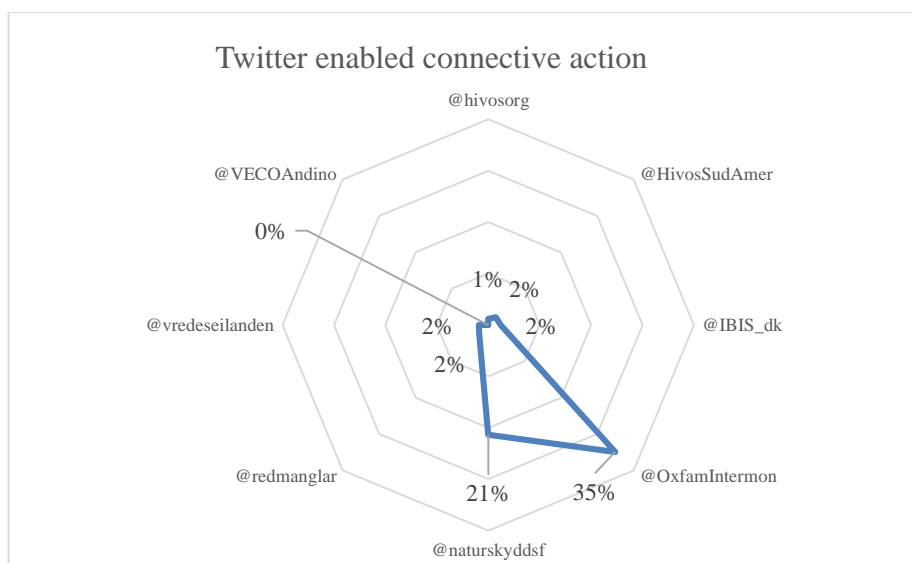


Figure 6.8 Twitter enabled connective action

Apart from retweets and mentions, a third way of connecting organisations through Twitter can be traced to the use of shared hashtags. Bruns and Burgess (2015) suggest that, on Twitter, publics are linked to an account through the account's network of followers/followees but also through another network established by hashtags.

	#	No. tw.	Rtw		#	No. tw.	Rtw
Hivos	LoveWins	2	217465	Oxfam	ArribaYAbajo	11	845
	Ibillionrising	5	7150		IGUALES	26	717
	Turkey	6	4826		Curuguay	18	543
	Syria	58	2722		Gaza	8	517
	PressFreedom	14	1970		OITW	27	462
	WithSyria	36	1903		MeImporta	14	419
	Bahrain	26	1759		HaciendaNoSomosTodxs	22	382
	FreeAJStaff	15	1665		riquezaextrema	8	296
	AJTrial	13	1548		STOPdesigualdad	9	289
	bringbackourgirls	9	1344		defiendecooperacion	10	274
Hivos SA	IslamicState	1	458	Redmanglar Int.	Ecuador	1	17
	NigerianLivesMatter	1	267		MonocultivosNO	6	60
	climate14	1	125	SSNC	byttilleko	37	817
	opendata	3	115		klimatmaxa	32	510
	Bolivia	6	110		swgreen	25	382
	UNESCO	1	104		miljörösta	5	313
	educación	1	104		svpol	7	121
	aborto	3	99		solrevolution	3	83
	dejaladecidir	1	91		klädbytdagen	6	82
	Beijing20	1	91		svtplus	4	71
IBIS	Ebola	9	619		kwitter	5	67
	inequality	6	527		swegreen	3	56
	EventItUp	8	457	Vredeseilanden	SavetheFoodture	2	49
	IWD	1	320		Zuiddag2015	1	10
	IWD2015	1	320		Afrika	1	10
	EbolaResponse	3	239		yesyouthcan	1	10
	ebolareponse	1	239		krachtvanjongeren	1	10
	wef15	1	183				
	EbolaOutbreak	1	170				
	Liberia	1	164				

Table 6.3 The 10 hashtags more retweeted by each account

Table 6.3 on the previous page shows the 10 hashtags included in the tweets most retweeted from each account. While some accounts had more than 500 tweets, others such as Redmanglar or Vredeseilanded did not reach the 10 hashtags. The table shows the hashtags, plus the number of tweets and retweets that included them.

A first analysis of shared hashtags does not lead to high connections in their use. Table 6.4 shows the only hashtags that were shared by three SMOs.

#	No.	Retweets	Topic
WorldRefugeeDay	3	922	20 June
Gaza	3	614	2014 Israel-Gaza conflict
NepalEarthquake	3	180	April 2015, Nepal earthquake
inequality	3	636	
bringbackourgirls	3	1389	276 kidnapped school girls in Nigeria in April 2014
COP20	3	107	2014 UN Climate Change Conference in Peru

Table 6.4 Hashtags shared by three SMOs

Of these six hashtags, the only one that does not point to a specific event is ‘#inequality’, the rest all refer to particular events and breaking news that drew public attention. Inequality is not an event, but a concept that SMOs fight against and as such is emphasised through other shared hashtags in the data such as ‘#poverty’ or ‘#desigualdad’. An accurate analysis of hashtags must go beyond an analysis of those that simply use the same wording. Rather, it must focus on the main concepts, such as that of inequality, which are referred to in different accounts and, therefore, in a multiplicity of languages. This is addressed in the coming section.

Facebook pages enable people to connect by posting on each other’s timeline. In this way, users leave their own communicative spaces and open a new line of conversation hosted in somebody else’s domain. This becomes a shared space for digital interaction visible in parallel, both on the host’s timeline and on the user’s timeline, and therefore visible and accessible to both networks and the networks of their networks.

This affordance of Facebook is particularly interesting for digital interaction since it enables new voices to show up on the organisation’s account and create new conversation threads which can then be expanded upon by other members within these networks. For instance, this query was posted by a Facebook friend on the SSNC’s wall:

Till nästa jul undrar jag om det är en bra idé att byta fungerande lampor i adventljusstakar och julgranbelysning till ledlampor. Eller är det resursslöseri och slänga lampor som fungerar?

(Next Christmas, I wonder if it's a good idea to replace the functioning lights of advent and Christmas tree lighting to LEDs⁹². Or is it just a waste of resources to throw away functioning lights?)

As the SSNC is considered an expert voice in nature conservation, the question is relevant to the SMO. The SSNC's Facebook timeline turns into an open space for dialogue. The post received seven comments; the first one is from the SSNC, two other comments reflect on the commenter's own experience of the use of LEDs, and a third provides a thorough explanation of the amount of watts used by LEDs compared to incandescent light. Nevertheless, as often happens with any type of conversation (face-to-face or mediated), the issue took another drift through the following comment:

Part.1 Här får alla något att fundera över på nästa flygning över halva jordklotet.

(Here, everyone gets something to think about on the next flight across half the globe.)

Part.2 Jag flyger väldigt sällan och har aldrig flugit utanför Europa.

I fly very often and have never flown outside Europe.

Part.3 Jag flyger oxå väldigt sällan, har aldrig varit i Thailand och de poppis ställena "på andra sidan jorden". Och det är alltid bättre att göra något, än att inte göra nåt, det trodde jag var common knowledge.

(I also fly very often, have never been to Thailand and the 'trendy places "on the other side of the world." And it is always better to do something than to do nothing, I thought that was 'common knowledge').

While the principles of connection and heterogeneity have already been explained by the way communication takes place on SMS, this last part of the comment thread could point to the principle of *asignifying rupture*. The comments following this refer to travelling and places to visit and entirely forget the discussion about LEDs, energy saving or even Christmas, and have nothing to do with the SSNC, whose page is hosting the conversation. Again, the rhizome can be visualised in the emergence of a new line of conversation popping up within the main thread.

⁹² Light-emitting diodes

While only one of the organisations studied restricts postings on its wall (Hivos South America), three out of the eight accounts followed have a higher percentage of postings from participants ('others') on their timelines than their own postings (see Table 5.3). Building on the number of postings of others on SMOs' timeline, Figure 6.9 illustrates the path of enabled connective action on Facebook.

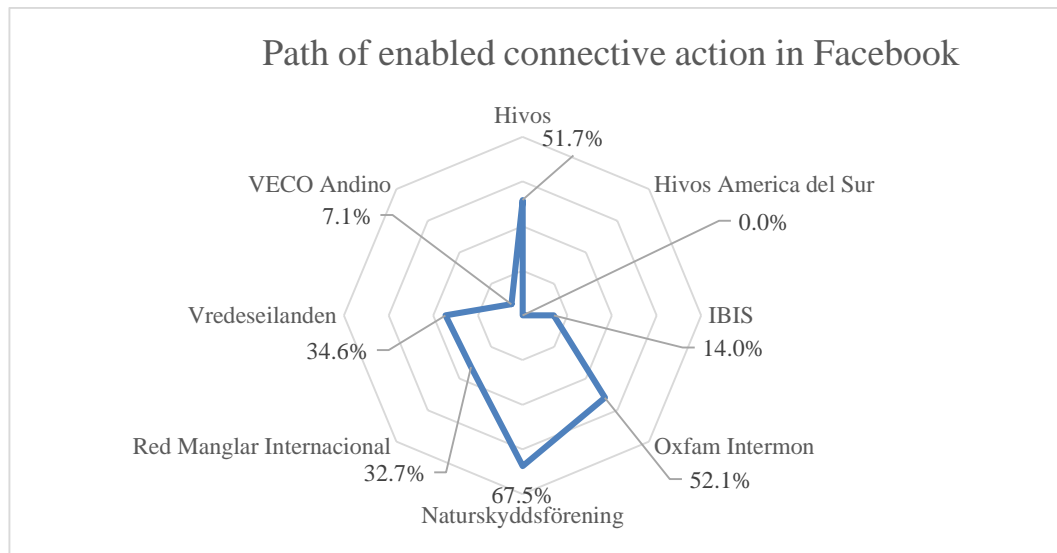


Figure 6.9 Path of enabled connective action on Facebook

Naturskyddsforening leads enabled connective action on Facebook with 67.5% of posts displayed on its timeline by participants, followed by Oxfam Intermon with 52.1% and Hivos with 51.7%. This is not to say they have 'abandoned' their communication channels, rather these channels have been opened up as sites where participants have an opportunity to speak, reflect and debate. Bennett and Segerberg (2013) consider this as a 'digital mechanism' that personalises how individuals 'engage in issues and causes that matter to the network actors' (:48). Conversely, Hivos South America does not enable postings from others on its timeline, although it allows comments on its own postings. The rate of enabled connective action in VECO Andino (7.1%) and IBIS (14%) are very low. Through Bennett and Segerberg (2013) classification of networked connective action, VECO Andino, IBIS and Hivos South America could be considered to use Facebook 'as means of mobilizing and managing participation and coordinating goals rather than inviting personalized interpretations of problems and action' (:47). Participants are less eager to produce and generate new information but are prompted to discuss, share and comment on common collective frames provided by the organisation.

The first element to analyse in the cycle of digital interaction should be the post, but posts on Facebook and on any other SMS are not chopped, anonymous messages posted on unattended clipboards. Posts are messages warranted both by the picture and the name of its owner, who intrinsically assumes the responsibility of his/her posting being displayed on the SMO's page. A comment on a Facebook post, whether it is affirmative, negative, neutral or even distant to its content, provides the point of view of a identifiable person.

Mimi Marinucci (2010) refers to this as the ‘Facebook effect’, lacking the ‘anonymity effect’ that has been broadly associated with online communications. Fake Facebook profiles are as old as Facebook itself. However, the dynamics of Facebook and its networks prevents fake profiles from continuing undercover with numerous examples of fake profiles whose real identity has been uncovered and have had unhappy endings, both legal and social (Wellborn 2012).

For this study I decided to create a new Facebook profile so the activity of the organisations under analysis would not get lost in the newsfeed of my personal Facebook profile. However, in order to see the possibilities of changing content and the timings of comments, I once sent a message from my regular profile to my ‘alter-ego’: the student. To my surprise, suddenly this almost anonymous account started receiving many friends’ requests from my own friends and acquaintances, but also from others I did not personally know. I wrote a post on my profile explaining to my friends about my ‘alter-ego’. They wrote back and told me Facebook’s algorithms had displayed a suggestion to send a friend request to this profile in their newsfeeds. As one friend wrote ‘some people I know when having personal problems choose to close their Facebook accounts and re-appear after some time. I thought that the same had happened to you and I clicked to friend’. I mention this to show just how difficult it is to remain unknown and unconnected on a networking site such as Facebook.

Following a Facebook account opens up the possibility of seeing different, sometimes even contrasting, points of view to those of the organisation hosting the conversation. It is in this way that digital interaction takes place; through ideas, arguments and counter arguments, constructed and reconstructed within a conversation thread.

Table 6.5 sums up the number of comment threads or new lines of conversation happening inside the main post, the average number of comments within the threads and the highest number of comments included in a thread.

Facebook	posts	Comment threads								
		threads		\bar{x} com.	own posts	> com.	from others	> com.		
Hivos	420	118	28%	5	91	77%	56	27	23%	130
Hivos America del Sur	1026	160	16%	2	160	100%	27	0	0%	0
IBIS	730	254	35%	4	218	86%	128	36	14%	62
Oxfam Intermon	1719	725	42%	11	649	90%	979	76	10%	19
Naturskyddsförening (SSNC)	2066	1325	64%	26	633	48%	748	692	52%	131
Redmanglar Int.	850	248	29%	5	191	77%	61	57	23%	24
Vredeseilanden	162	69	43%	2	48	70%	10	21	30%	13
VECO Andino	198	41	21%	2	40	98%	5	1	2%	1

Table 6.5 Comment threads on Facebook posts

Comment threads happen both on postings by the organisation and on posts by others. The pattern of enabled connective action led by the SSNC can be visualised on the table above. The number of comment threads on posts by others is even higher than those on its own posts. In other words, the SSNC provides participants with a space in which many conversations take place and shares this space with its members in almost equal proportion (48% against 52%). Therefore, this page can be regarded as an example of Advocacy 2.0: organisationally enabled connective action.

The ratio of roughly 70-30 (70% own posts and 30% posts from participants) found on the Facebook accounts of Hivos, Redmanglar and Vredeseilanden shows a desire from these organisations to evolve their Facebook pages into spaces for connective action. While Oxfam Intermon's page is very active (see Table 5.3) and its posts trigger huge comment threads (including an outstanding 979 comments on one post), the means by which participants are enabled to take part is much reduced (10%). VECO Andino's page is far from being a space for connective action and Hivos South America enables no possibility to achieve this, which is paradoxical given that the hashtags emphasised by its Twitter account are '#opendata' or '#datosabiertos' (*open data*).

In general, digital interaction on Vredeseilanden's and VECO Andino's Facebook account is very limited. In the case of VECO Andino, out of 264 posts, the highest number of likes on one post totals just 28. This post registers five comments, all of them cheering VECO's work; there are no shares or mentions to others in the comment lines, and there is no visible dialogue (see Table 6.6).

Vredeseilanden					
# post	Likes	Shares	Comments	Threads	Topic
V_95+ V_89	219	19	19	10	fund raising campaign with the scouts
V_208	187	1	7	0	volunteers travelling to Nicaragua
V_63	97	13	7	1	work for change nomination

VECO Andino					
VC_177	28	0	5	0	drinking coffee at VECO's office
VC_260	12	0	4	0	interview VECO (congrats)
VC_81	19	0	3	0	coffee exposition (congrats)
VC_165	10	0	3	0	500 likes FB page (congrats)
VC_161	16	0	3	0	coffee producers

Table 6.6 Digital interaction on Vredeseilanden and VECO Andino's Facebook pages

In the case of Vredeseilanden, posts show some digital interaction but it is very limited. For instance, on post V_63 Vredeseilanden announces that one of its partner organisations in Nicaragua has been elected as project partner for 'Zuiddag' (South Day) in the 2015 *Work for Change* campaign. On Zuiddag students work for an employer for one day and donate their pay to an organisation in the Global South⁹³.

This post is among the most pondered on Facebook, generating 97 likes, 6 shares and 7 comments. It was also possible to see all the shares on this particular post, which happens very seldomly on Facebook due to users' privacy settings. This could be because most of the shares happened on other Facebook Pages (which for the most part are open for digital interaction), rather than on personal profiles. One of the comments is retrieved from a shared post but it contains only a mention to another Facebook user.

Digital interaction on both pages is limited to the first two stages of posting and sharing in the cycle of digital interaction. Comments are intended mainly to congratulate the post, provide further information on the same issue (e.g. pictures of members of the organisation) and mention other Facebook users. The absence of both a narrative constructed by different perspectives that contributes to the discussion (a stage of cooperation) and an engagement in activities to pursue some change determined that both pages were not included in the subsequent analysis of cooperating and acting undertaken in next chapter.

⁹³ Zuiddag. Zuiddag? Dat is Work & Time for Change. <http://zuiddag.be/work-change-op-donderdag-16-oktober-2014> Retrieved 07.01.2016

6.3.2 The principle of multiplicity

The principle of multiplicity can be applied to the multiple languages that take part in digital interaction.

LMGTFU, which stands for ‘let me google that for you’, is an acronym used in social media as a bad joke ‘for all those people who find it more convenient to bother you with their question rather than google it for themselves’⁹⁴. Beyond the contained sarcasm is the implicit assumption of ceaseless connectivity and ubiquitous access to the internet, as well as a shared understanding of the internet and Google, the search engine, as ‘a global repository of unvarnished truths’ (Yar 2014:59) characterised by the multiplicity of issues contained within it.

For instance, in the data analysed, one participant makes the following reflection:

Så svårt för oss konsumenter att välja rätt när vi går på krogen utan en noga googling innan?

(So difficult for us consumers to choose correctly when we go to the pub, but a careful googling before?)

‘Googling’ suggests that accurate information can be obtained through a ‘careful’ search on the internet. In next chapter I will go back to this reflection in relation to the user naming herself as a ‘consumer’, but here I just want to point out the pervasiveness of Google and the evolution of the verb ‘to google’, defined by Oxford English Dictionary⁹⁵ as ‘to use the Google search engine to find information on the internet’.

A challenge for this project has been the analysis of different SMOs’ SMSs, which in fact presupposes the presence of multiple main languages, as shown on Table 5.1.

The data in this study includes posts in 18 different languages; this increases in the analysis of all comments within each of the Facebook posts, where new voices as well as languages emerge. At the top of Tables 6.7 and 6.8 is the number of posting from the SMOs in the main language and in others. The table below shows the same information in posts and tweets – retweeted by the SMOs– from participants in digital interaction.

⁹⁴ Let me google that for you. Lmgtyfy.com Retrieved 12.14.2015

⁹⁵ OED. Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com>

Facebook																					
Own posts		Main language		Others		English	Portuguese	Spanish	Catalan	German	Dutch	French	Arabian	Creole	Italian	Basque	Polish	Danish	Norwegian	Tagalog	Indonesian
		Hivos (Dutch)	203	195	96%	8	4%	8													
Hivos Am. Sur (Spanish)	1026	1019	99%	7	1%	7															
IBIS (Danish)	628	623	99%	5	1%	3		2													
Oxfam Intermon (Spanish)	823	818	99%	5	1%	3			2												
Naturskyddsförening (Swedish)	672	672	100%	0	0%																
Red Manglar Int. (Spanish)	572	541	95%	31	5%	11	20														
Vredeseilanden (Dutch)	106	106	100%	0	0%																
VECO And. (Spanish)	184	180	98%	4	2%		2			2											
Participants' posts																					
Hivos (Dutch)	217	46	21%	171	79%	144		21					1		1						4
Hivos Am. Sur (Spanish)	0	0	0%	0	0%																
IBIS (Danish)	102	87	85%	15	15%	13	1	1													
Oxfam Intermon (Spanish)	896	589	66%	307	34%	276	4		19		4	1	1	1	1						
Naturskyddsförening (Swedish)	1394	1313	94%	81	6%	59					1					9	3	8	1		
Red Manglar Int. (Spanish)	278	263	95%	15	5%	3	11		1												
Vredeseilanden (Dutch)	56	53	95%	3	5%	2															1
VECO And. (Spanish)	14	11	79%	3	21%	1				2											

Table 6.7 Languages of Facebook posts

Twitter													
Tweets		Main language		Others		English	Portugues	Spanish	Catalan	German	Arabian	Persian	Aymara
@hivosorg (English)	1255	1248	99%	7	1%			7					
@HivosSudAmer (Spanish)	250	241	96%	9	4%	9							
@IBIS_dk (Danish)	382	353	92%	29	8%	29							
@OxfamIntermon (Spanish)	6968	6968	100%	0	0%								
@natureskyddsf (Swedish)	1377	1377	100%	0	0%								
@redmanglar (Spanish)	51	50	98%	1	2%		1						
@vredeseilanden (Dutch)	327	317	97%	10	3%	10							
Retweets													
@hivosorg (English)	4451	4323	97%	128	3%			124			2	2	
@HivosSudAmer (Spanish)	772	713	92%	59	8%	56	2						1
@IBIS_dk (Danish)	402	208	52%	194	48%	193				1			
@OxfamIntermon (Spanish)	1621	1615	100%	6	0.4%	3			3				
@natureskyddsf (Swedish)	336	336	100%	0	0%								
@redmanglar (Spanish)	37	34	92%	3	8%		3						
@vredeseilanden (Dutch)	55	52	95%	3	5%	3							

Table 6.8 Languages of Twitter posts

Digital interaction is dynamic and shaped by its participants, something that is displayed by Hivos' Facebook page in particular. While the information provided in its profile is entirely in English only 4% of its postings are in English; the remaining 96% are in Dutch. In contrast, just 21% of posts by other users are in Dutch, the remaining 79% (171 posts) include 144 in English, 1 in Creole, 1 in Italian and 4 in Indonesian.

Oxfam Intermon mainly posts in Spanish (99%) and has three posts in English and two in Catalan. Yet just 66% of participants' posts are in Spanish, with the remaining 34% (307 posts) divided into: 276 posts in English, 4 in Portuguese, 19 in Catalan, 4 in Arabic, and 1 post each in Creole, Italian, Basque and Polish.

The use of multiple languages is more common on Facebook than on Twitter. This might be related to the affordance of Facebook's translation button, which allows users to translate posts and comments into more than 70 languages. English is the second language used by most organisations on both Facebook and Twitter, after the main language of each account whereas it is Swedish, Spanish, Dutch or Danish. The use of other languages could relate to the origins of the organisations. Redmanglar Internacional, whose Facebook page contains a number of Portuguese posts, is a Latin American network and has Brazil –a Portuguese speaking country– as a member. VECO's headquarters communicate in Dutch, while Oxfam Intermon includes posts in Catalan, the language spoken at their Barcelona branch. Apart from direct postings in different languages, many other posts link to information in a second language but provide some briefing in the main language about the linked information's content. The only organisation that does not post, tweet or retweet in other languages is the SSNC, yet its Facebook timeline contains a total of 81 posts (6%) in English, Polish, Danish, Norwegian and Tagalog.

Facebook posts in other languages do not trigger digital interaction to the same extent main languages do. For instance, Oxfam Intermon's Facebook page contains the highest number of languages, both in its own posts and in posts by others, but only 2% of posts in other languages trigger comments (6 out of the 312 posts), compared to 51% of posts in Spanish, its main language (719 out of 1407 posts).

For the analysis of multiple languages, I mainly used Google translate therefore, the saying LMGTFY also applies to the process followed. Google translate proved inefficient in the following tweet that was retweeted by Hivos South America. This tweet is written in Aymara, the indigenous language spoken in the Andean region of Bolivia and Peru, whose translation is still unsupported by Facebook and Google:

RT @LaPublicaBO: Aymar wayn tawaqunakan amuy lup'iwinakapaw Jaqi Arun ch'amancht'at La Publica ukan uñt'ayasi <http://t.co/ibaPYgQAIA> <http://...>

LaPublicaBO⁹⁶ is the Twitter account for a digital platform of Bolivian journalists and activists that aims to strengthen the exercise of citizenship through the use of 'journalism, new technologies and activism in all its forms'⁹⁷. The shortened URL links to La Publica's news section about the Jaqi Aru community, an 'online community with the commitment to promote the use of the native language of Aymara on the internet'⁹⁸.

By connecting the organisations mentioned in the tweet (La Publica and Jaqi Aru) and looking into their social media, I was able to find the same picture that illustrates the tweet, re-posted and containing more information on Jaqi Aru's Facebook (in Spanish) (see Figure 6.10).



Twitter: @LaPublicaBO



Facebook: Jaqi Aru

Figure 6.10 Pictures of Jaqi Aru on Twitter and Facebook

I have not been able to precisely translate the content of the tweet but the following comment made about Jaqi Aru's picture is written both in Aymara and Spanish and allows the main idea of the post to be grasped:

⁹⁶ La Publica! Quienes somos. <http://www.lapublica.org.bo/quienes-somos> Retrieved 16.12.2015

⁹⁷ Hivos. News. May, 2014. La Publica, journalism from the people. <https://hivos.org/news/la-publica-journalism-people> Retrieved 16.12.2015

⁹⁸ Jaqi aru. About. <http://en.jaqi-aru.org/> Retrieved 16.12.2015

#AymaranakanArupa , “La Publica”tuqinxá walja Aymar wayn tawaqunakan sarnaqaäwipát qillqatanakaw utji. Uñxatt’apxamaya.

#VocesAymaras, en el periódico Digital “La Publica” se puede observar ya las vivencias de los jóvenes Aymaras.

(#AymaranVoices, in the digital newspaper ‘La Publica’ you can now follow the experiences of young Aymaras)

The post talks about the shared ‘experiences’ of young Aymaras. I underline the word ‘experiences’ since this is not quite the term used in the Spanish post as it refers to lived accounts.⁹⁹

Looking for more information about Aymara in the data, I found that both Hivos’ accounts (International and South America) have posts and tweets about Jaqi Aru’s project to translate Facebook into Aymara.

Aymara is included in UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger*¹⁰⁰, but as Ruben Hilari, a member of the digital community, states: ‘Aymara is alive. It does not need to be revitalized. It needs to be strengthened and that is exactly what we are doing’¹⁰¹. The community considers that Facebook in Aymara will strengthen their cultural identity. In this way, Facebook is not only perceived as a communication medium but as a space of cultural construction.

On Twitter, hashtags show an interesting mixture of languages and attempts by users to expand tweets into different spheres by providing ‘cognate’ hashtags in different languages, as shown in the following example:

5 Myths about #ChildLabor: <http://t.co/ntalE44QDv> #ChildLabour
<http://t.co/wDYdKnqTw2>

The URL following #ChildLabor links to a news story in British newspaper *The Guardian*. The second links to the Twitter account of the Child Labor Coalition in the United States. It is interesting to see how the hashtags are inverted.

⁹⁹ The word ‘vivencias’ slightly differs from ‘experiencias’, which is the connate word to ‘experiences’. The dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy (<http://dle.ra.es>) suggests that ‘vivencias’ was used for the first time in Spanish to encompass the meaning of the German ‘Erlebnis’, which differs from ‘Erfahrung’, and the same can be said, for example, for the Danish ‘oplevelse’ vs. ‘erfaring’.

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO. *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger*. <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap&cc2=PE> Retrieved

¹⁰¹ EL PAIS (In English). Indigenous Bolivians translate Facebook into Aymara. http://elpais.com/elpais/2015/09/16/inenglish/1442409888_581980.html Retrieved 16.12.2015

Apart from cognate instances, hashtags are sometimes translated into different languages but keep the same structure such as ‘#ChildLabour’, ‘#Childlabor’ (cognate in British and American English); ‘#TrabajoInfantil’ and ‘#TrabalhoInfantil’ (cognate in Spanish and Portuguese); ‘#Børnearbejde’ (in Danish) and ‘#Kinderarbeid’ (in Dutch). However, at other times hashtags refer to the same topic but are addressed in very different ways by different languages, although Twitter users often help to connect hashtags by providing links through their tweets:

@Oxfam Intermon: Celebra el #FreeComicBookDay consiguiendo un ejemplar gratis de nuestros cómics contra la pobreza #viñetasdevida
<http://t.co/2Pp1seO7iL>

(Celebrate #FreeComicBookDay by getting a free copy of our comics against poverty #comicsforlife)

The hashtag ‘#FreeComicBookDay’ is kept in English in this post and, through the Spanish hashtag #viñetasdevida (comicsforlife), both stances get connected.

A similar example is provided in the following post:

@IBIS_dk: Hvis tendensen fortsætter ejer den rigeste 1% mere end resten af verden tilsammen om bare 2 år #evenitup #ulighed

(If the trend continues for just two more years, the richest 1% will own more than the rest of the world together #evenitup #inequality)

The hashtag ‘#evenitup’ refers to the *Even It Up* campaign, promoted by Oxfam to fight against huge economic gaps in society. IBIS’s tweet highlights this hashtag and adds the hashtag ‘inequality’ in Danish to stress the topic in the language of the post and, by doing so, connects both languages and explains the meaning of the campaign.

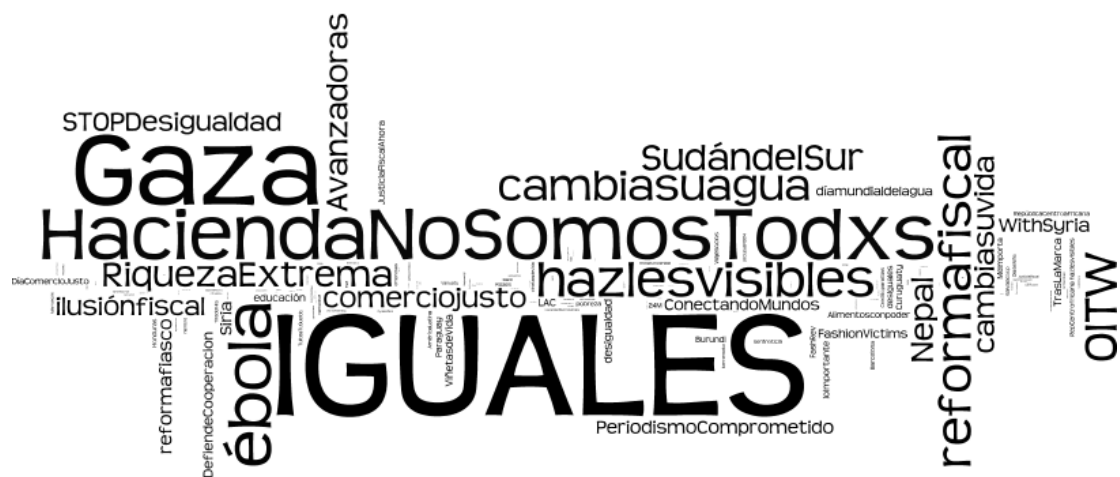
While the hegemonic imaginary of globalisation equates it to homogenisation, the counter imaginaries of alter-globalisation (Steger & Wilson 2012) promoted by SMOs highlight the richness of heterogeneity and the multiplicities involved in it. SMSs play an important role emphasising this counter imaginary, allowing a multiplicity of languages and voices to show up on SMSs.

6.3.3 The principles of cartography and asignifying rupture

Both on Twitter and on Facebook, SMOs express their points of view and forward self-selected information through tweets and posts. The way these spread through different networks points to the principles of connection, multiplicity and heterogeneity. However, tweets contain mentions and hashtags, which makes issues and Twitter accounts leap into apparently unconnected spaces. The principle of asignifying rupture points to the rhizome's ability of 'deterritorialisation' through which it 'change[s] in nature and connect[s] with other multiplicities' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:10). Henceforth, deterritorialisation can be suggested as the way hashtags and mentions show up in different and apparently unconnected spaces or territories.

Oxfam Intermon has been the most active Twitter account of all the SMOs in this study, posting almost 7,000 tweets and retweets. The number of hashtags included in its posts is not as high (151), nonetheless they appear in an average of three different tweets each (see Table 5.3). This could presuppose that Oxfam Intermon's networked audience has recognised hashtags and reproduces them as they do in other connected tweets.

A way to visualize the use of hashtags is through word clouds. Figure 6.11 shows the hashtags in Oxfam Intermon's account. The number of retweets each hashtag received has been included in the word cloud as their frequency rate. The notion of 'equality' was among the hashtags most tweeted by SMOs (see Table 6.3). This same notion is emphasised by Oxfam Intermon through the hashtag '#IGUALES' (equals), which is the most used one. Close to this notion is also '#STOPDesigualdad' (stop inequality).



Elaborated with Wordle.net

Figure 6.11 Retweeted hashtags from Oxfam Intermon's Twitter

Issues on equality (and inequality) are addressed by Oxfam's campaign against extreme economic inequality. Stemming from this are the hashtags '#RiquezaExtrema' (ExtremeWealth), '#HaciendaNoSomosTodxs' (Inland Revenue does not include everybody), '#reformafiscal' (tax reform), '#ilusiónfiscal' (tax illusion) and '#reformafiasco' (fiasco reform). These hashtags refer to inequality and address the tax reform approved in Spain in November 2014. This reform has been criticised for benefitting wealthier companies and individuals who are not included in taxation, as the hashtags illustrate.

Hashtags highlighted in Figure 6.11 also refer to newsworthy topics such as '#ebola', referring to the outbreak of the ebola virus; '#Gaza', referring to the Israel-Gaza war in 2014 and '#Nepal', referring to the earthquake that hit the country in 2015.

In Table 6.3, the hashtag with the highest number of retweets was '#WorldRefugeeDay'. In Oxfam's data, the hashtag '#hazlesvisibles' (make them visible) points to the humanitarian campaign to make visible all the refugees and people misplaced by conflicts and violence across the world¹⁰². Also connected to this issue are the hashtags '#Sudán del Sur' (South Sudan) and '#withSyria', which both refer to specific armed conflicts.

The cloud also highlights one acronym #OITW, which refers to Oxfam Intermon's *Trailwalker*, a sport team challenge to raise money to fight poverty, which is held annually by Oxfam in many countries¹⁰³.

Two other hashtags need to be mentioned: '#Avanzadoras' (Inspiring women) and '#comerciojusto' (fair trade). Through the 'inspiring women' hashtag, tweets address gender issues and emphasise the notion of gender equality. In a similar vein, 'fair trade' refers to the global movement to empower farmers with fair wages for their products, fair work places, environmentally safe practices and consumer-solidarity to create change¹⁰⁴.

Through the use of hashtags it is possible to see how issues can travel from one place to another in different fashions and through different languages. Word clouds are an informative way to visualise the use of hashtags but this is only effective when no extreme variations are included; when this happens word clouds become meaningless as shown by Figure 6.12 below.

¹⁰² Oxfam International. You save lives: help make the invisible visible <https://www.oxfam.org/en/campaigns/south-sudan-central-african-republic-lebanon/you-save-lives-help-make-invisible-visible> Retrieved 26.02.2016

¹⁰³ Oxfam Intermon. Oxfam Trailwalker <http://trailwalker.oxfamintermon.org/en/about-trailwalker>. Retrieved 26.02.2016.

¹⁰⁴ Oxfam shop. Fair Trade. <http://www.oxfamshop.org.au/fairtrade> Retrieved 26.02.2016.

LoveWins

Figure 6.12 Retweeted hashtags from Hivos' Twitter

This word cloud made with Hivos' data is entirely filled with the hashtag '#LoveWins', the rest of the hashtags (totalling 580) are unreadable ink spots beneath. This hashtag was retweeted by Hivos and appeared on US President Barack Obama's tweet on 'marriage equality':

RT @BarackObama: Retweet to spread the word [picture: 'MARRIAGE EQUALITY. Now the law of the land']. #LoveWins

At that time Obama's account registered 63,156,308 followers and the captured retweet accounts for 217,335 retweets. boyd et al. (2010) state that 'Twitter participants retweet others and look to be retweeted. This includes users of all kinds, but notably marketers, celebrities and politicians.' This is the case with President Obama, and the number of retweets is overwhelming.

Apart from Obama's tweet, '#LoveWins' was also retweeted by a human rights activist from Turkey:

RT @[user]: Police attack #istanbul #pride with tear gas and water cannon. Thousands are in danger. #Turkey #LoveWins

The tiny second hashtag in the word cloud '#1billionrising' actually equates to 7,150 retweets from five different posts and refers to the campaign to stop violence against women. The hashtags from Hivos are pretty 'rhizomatic' and scattered, including 681 different instances. In contrast to Oxfam Intermon, the high number of hashtags could point to hashtags that have not been able to unify into one single conversation but have splintered across similar hashtags. This can also be exemplified on the SSNC account where the hashtags '#swgreen' and '#swegreen' are among the most retweeted hashtags, referring both to Swedish ecology, as outlined in Table 6.3.

Among the most highlighted in Hivos' account are hashtags relating to Egypt's sentencing of Al Jazeera's journalists who were charged for aiding the Muslim Brotherhood in 2014 ('#PressFreedom', '#FreeAJStaff' and '#AJTrial'). Humanitarian causes occupy a high number of hashtags, reflecting Hivos' status as a humanitarian organisation.

Hashtags are sometimes reshaped by users who precede or follow the short link with a position such as '#NoChildLabour' or '#luchacontraTrab' (fight against work); this second example only makes sense when understood in relation to the whole of the tweet, since it is followed by '#Infantil' [child], so it can be understood as a call to fight against child labour.

Hivos' Facebook posts connect to the hashtag '#kinderarbeid' (as post are mostly in Dutch) and to the campaign *Stop Child Labour – school is the best place to work*, run by a coalition of European advocacy networks headed by Hivos. In 2013, Hivos focused on shoe brands that had children working in their production chain. The affordances of Twitter allows the topic to re-emerge almost a year and a half later, through asignifying rupture in time, as illustrated by the following tweet:

Over #kinderarbeid en #schoenmerken @[staffbank]: Hoe Schoenmerken scoren op kinderbeid; <http://ow.ly/3jFIRI> #avaASNfondsen"

(About #childlabour in #shoebrands @[staffbank]: How shoe brands score on child labour; [link to the report 'Scorecard of shoe companies'] #avaASNfondsen")

Three hashtags compose this tweet, two of them can be translated without confusion: one relates to child labour ('#kinderarbeid'), the other to shoe brands ('#schoenmerken'), but the third hashtag '#avaASNfondsen' needs to be broken down to be understood.

In Dutch, the acronym AVA stands for 'Algemene Vergadering van Aandeelhouders', this is an annual general meeting of shareholders; ASN refers to the name of Netherlands' bank, and the word 'fondsen' stands for funds. Therefore, the hashtag addresses shareholders of the bank's funds who supported Hivos' 2013 report *Scorecard 'Working on the Right Shoes'*. The report analyses whether the different shoe brands sold in Netherlands employ children at any stage of the production chain. Another element of the tweet is an ow.ly URL shortener, which links to the online publication of the report on Hivos' homepage that is currently no longer active. However, as Marinucci (2010) suggests, an affordance of the internet is precisely the possibility (or difficulty in some cases) to fully remove something that has been uploaded, since the owner no longer has control over how the material can be accessed, used and reproduced. Although the link leads to an invalid page, which is also indexed by a Google search, by digging a little deeper it is possible to find the scorecard on the website

stopkinderarbeid¹⁰⁵ and the entire report on the website of the human rights organisation India Committee of the Netherlands¹⁰⁶. Assignifying rupture in the broken link can be seen, as it is possible to reconnect to the report through other sites and networks. The final element of the tweet is the @mention, which addresses the head of corporate responsibility at the bank. On the same day, this individual used his personal Twitter page to tweet the central part of the tweet, deleting the introductory hashtags and mention (due to his original composition, this was a tweet rather than a retweet) as follows:

Hoe Schoenmerken scoren op kinderarbeid; ow.ly/3jFIRI #avaASNfondsen

(How shoe brands score on child labour; [link to the report 'Scorecard of shoe companies'] #avaASNfondsen)

On this account, the tweet shows nine retweets and two likes. Of course, it is possible that the original tweet was forwarded in different ways a number of times and could have been shared through other digital media. This is very difficult but not impossible to survey, showing the principle of assignifying rupture in the flow of the tweet.

6.3.4 Decalcomania

On Twitter, the diversity of ways in which tweets and hashtags spread can be explained as a digital application of the decalcomania technique. As explained in Chapter 4, decalcomania supposes reproducing the rhizome but in different places and fashions, and through its recreation, it develops new lines and forms, approaching and creating new audiences as well:

The specific dynamics of ad hoc communication in different hashtag communities diverge substantially, of course, different event and crises follow vastly different timelines, for example, and may attract considerably larger or smaller constituencies of participants, representing more or less diverse subsets of the overall Twitter user base. (Bruns & Burgess 2015:23)

The ways in which the campaign *Stop child labour* has spread in digital media is a good example. IBIS, the Danish partner of Alliance2015, extended this campaign to the field of mobiles, through the *Renmobil* (Clean mobile) campaign, focusing on the production chain of the golden parts in mobile devices¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁵ Stop Child Labour. Scorecard of shoe companies.

http://stopkinderarbeid.wbbclient.com/assets/2015/06/Scorecard-Report-Working-on-the-Right-Shoes_Nov-2013.pdf Retrieved 18.12.2015.

¹⁰⁶ India Committee of the Netherlands. <http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/WorkingOnTheRightShoes.pdf> Retrieved 18.12.2015.

¹⁰⁷ The webpage www.renmobil.nu of this campaign is no longer active, but a press release about its scope can be read at <http://ibis.dk/press-release/er-der-bornearbejde-i-dine-julegaver/> Retrieved 18.09.2015

The following tweets are connected to this campaign:

Part.1 Naturligvis skal man skrive under. Stop #børnearbejde i mobilen. Skriv under på renmobil.dk #renmobil

(Of course you should sign. Stop #childlabour in mobiles. Sign under renmobil.dk #cleanmobile)

Without using the retweet button, this hashtag ‘retweets’ IBIS’s tweet, through reformulation. It also lets the account owner publicly show her endorsement.

Part.2 Køb en fair mobil = ok løn og ingen #børnearbejde. Lækker (skriver på en nu), halv pris a iFon <http://www.fairphone.com>

(Buy a fair mobile = ok salary and no #childlabour. Nice (ask for one now), half the price of an iPhone <http://www.fairphone.com>)

This tweet addresses the plight to stop child labour and the idea of a clean, fair mobile as well but in an advertisement, the linked site stresses the idea of supporting local economies in the production of mobile parts, by using ‘conflict-free’ minerals with no children involved. In this way, the tweet reproduces the campaign’s claim, but moves it into another context, creating new lines and different types of connections, as does the rhizome.

The tweet shares the social imaginary that children should be kept out from the labour market, which is also highlighted in the campaign #RedCard to #ChildLabour, an initiative launched in June 2014 by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in connection with the World Cup in Brazil:

@UNICEF: Today isn’t just 1st day of the #WorldCup. It’s World Day Against #ChildLabour. Give it the #RedCard with @ILO <http://ilo.org/endchildlabour>

At the same time, ILO launched the *Music Against Child Labour* initiative¹⁰⁸, inviting ‘orchestras and musicians worldwide to dedicate a concert or song to the struggle against child labour’. In this way, the fight against child labour is approached both from the sports and from the cultural spheres of leisure. Soon, many groups and orchestras worldwide joined the campaign combining both initiatives: they dedicated their music to the fight against child labour by showing the red card:

¹⁰⁸ International Labour Organization. IPEC. *Music Against Child Labour Initiative*. <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Campaignandadvocacy/MusicInitiative/lang--en/index.htm> Retrieved 21.12.2015

Part.1 La Orquesta de Valencia le saca “tarjeta roja” al trabajo infantil.
<http://fb.me/3njDdL2dG> [link to the orchestras’ Facebook post about the concert against child labour]

(Valencia’s Orchestra showed the red card to child labour)

Part.2 “Happy” Man @Pharrell @MichaelEinziger @RealHansZimmer join @ilo 2 give #RedCard 2 #ChildLabor <http://ilo.org/endchildlabour> [link to ILO’s campaign webpage]

Part.1 links Twitter to Facebook and provides information on a concert against child labour.
Part.2 mentions the Twitter accounts of three musicians and provides a picture of them recording a song against child labour.

The linked hashtags can be viewed as a form of cooperation, collaborating to extend the fight against child labour worldwide. Moreover, hashtags may also lead to connective action. For instance, individualised expressions of connective action on SMSs help to reaffirm the concern to stop child labour. Individual and group pictures showing the ‘red card’ to child labour have overwhelmed social media, featuring authorities, celebrities, government dependencies, international agencies, orchestras, soccer teams, students, offices and more. Some of these pictures have been taken at demonstrations, gatherings and collective actions, held to support the demand.

Apart from this targeted action, a social shared consent to end child labour (thereafter, a social imaginary) can be grasped through personalised expressions. For instance, the unveiling of a statue of a shoe shiner boy in the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador triggered outraged comments on Twitter, because of a perceived appraisal to child labour. This ‘spark of indignation’ in the words of Castells (2012), caused an avalanche of reflections about the need to eradicate child labour:

Part.1: Triste e #inaudito, monumento al #trabajoinfantil #Nebot? Ese es el #pais al q nunca debemos regresar [Major's photo with shoeshine boy statue]

(Sad and #inconceivable, statue of #childlabour #Nebot [major of Guayaquil]? That is the #land to which we must never return)

Part.2: @UNICEF in Guayaquil, Ecuador this is a depiction of traditional jobs. #childlabor [Major's photo with shoeshine boy statue]

The mention of UNICEF on the tweet above could be connected to the following tweet from UNICEF's account in Ecuador published around the same date:

@unicefecuador: Ecuador ha reducido el trabajo infantil de 30% en 2001 al 13% en el 2010. #Unicef

(Ecuador has reduced child labour from 30% in 2001 to 13% in 2010. #Unicef)

6.4 ADVOCACY 2.0 ON TWITTER

Shared narratives on Twitter are not as evident as on Facebook where posts and comments happen in the same place and trigger conversations. Connective action on Twitter can be regarded as 'organisationally brokered' (Bennett & Segerberg 2013) since tweets and retweets are entirely decided upon and managed by the account owners, that is the SMOs.

The digital interaction cycle in Twitter's communication starts with posting and sharing. Twitter develops an implicit networked form of communication that leads participants to connect related information and responses by using mentions to address participants, by retweeting tweets or by reusing hashtags. To move into the stages of cooperating and acting it is necessary to follow the logic of Twitter and analyse how hashtags disseminate and connect to other hashtags, as well as approach other publics. The use of mentions, hashtags, retweets and links provide the means to understand how communication takes place in Twitter, and how can tweets connect and spread in multiple ways, embracing heterogeneity. However, the omnipresence of the SMO that creates and forwards tweets from others does not actually provide information on how participants in digital interaction approach and built social imaginaries. Rather, the information is tied to the point of view of the organisation and it is therefore difficult to find any type of dialogue and contrasting ideas that could emerge in the interaction.

The analysis of Twitter provides information on how the organisation performs and how hashtags and tweets are spread in the Twittersphere but it did not provide information on the ideas, reflections, desires and wills of other participants beyond the notions brokered by the organisation itself. In this sense, the imaginaries of global fairness proposed by SMOs are the only ones that can be traced on Twitter. This is what Bennett and Segerberg (2013) describe as ‘organisationally brokered collective action’; it is not a form of Advocacy 2.0 where participants are enabled to shared their own individualised points of view.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Digital interaction on the SSNC’s page can be regarded as an example of Advocacy 2.0 as Facebook friends occupy this timeline as a space of their own, posting concerns and triggering conversations in which the SSNC is just another, equal active participant.

Quite the opposite happens with Hivos South America’s Facebook; it does not allow participants to publish on it rather they are only allowed to comment on posts. This portrays an instance of ‘organisationally brokered collective action’ (Bennett & Segerberg 2013), which promotes and spreads ideas but prevents participants from contributing personal inputs.

Some of the affordances of Facebook and Twitter for connective action are analysed, framing them in Deleuze and Guattari’s principles of the rhizome. Through these principles, the timeless time of digital postings has been highlighted, as well as the possibility of connecting otherwise unconnected individuals and issues through the use of language.

The analysis of direct posts and tweets in the data show the use of at least 18 different languages. However, posts on languages that are different from the main language of the account trigger low rates of comment threads, therefore it would be overstating the point to speak of multilingual conversations. Posts will have related comments made in different languages but the responses will bring the thread back to only one language. Multilingualism in Advocacy 2.0 is a broad issue that needs further analysis.

The decalcomania principle has been emphasised as a feasible ‘technique’ for the affordances of Twitter’s hashtags in digital interaction. Hashtags lead to the presence of social imaginaries in diverse environments. Through its ability of deterritorialisation, that is to move from one place to another reproducing characteristics elsewhere, the cartography principle describes the way notions contained in hashtags spread in different fashions, reproducing a similar and enhanced scenario elsewhere. This could be understood as an affordance to build and strengthen social imaginaries, particularly the imaginaries of global fairness promoted by SMOs.

However, following a SMOs' Twitter account leaves little opportunity to hear other voices taking part in digital interaction as mentions, hashtags, links and retweets are always in line with the SMOs' perspective. Therefore, the analysis of narratives and core ideas that could be differently constructed by users in Advocacy 2.0 has not been possible from the data collected from the Twitter accounts.

7. DISCOURSES OF GLOBAL FAIRNESS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Castoriadis (1987) describes as ‘radical imaginary’ the concrete forms in which social imaginaries are voiced; consequently, translating this concept to digital interaction, the radical imaginaries of global fairness would be emphasised and manifested in postings. However, Natalie Fenton (2012) suggests that the primary function of social media is expressivity:

Social media are not first and foremost about social good or political engagement; their primary function is expressive and, as such, they are best understood in terms of their potential for articulating the (often contradictory) dynamics of political environments rather than recasting or regenerating the structures that uphold them. (Fenton 2012:143)

Through this quote, digital interaction is at odds with the transformation of social imaginaries; consequently, it could not play any role in the promotion of social change, other than merely making visible current political environments. The expressive function is important in digital interaction and therefore it is analysed in the first section of this chapter, but digital interaction for advocacy goes further.

This chapter is guided by the following questions:

- How are discourses built in posts on Facebook’s timelines of SMOs?
- Which categories are essentially considered by Facebook discourses in digital interaction?
- Is it possible for global imaginaries to be present through digital interaction?

The structure of digital interaction on Facebook is suggested to be rhizomatic, dealing with multiplicities of participants, issues, concerns and languages that are connected and spread in scattered ways.

In the first section of this chapter, the first two stages of digital interaction for advocacy are approached, focusing on the expressive function of comments on posts where emotions, meta-communication, topic dispersion and issues of multilingualism manifest. The second section of the chapter deals with the topics, concepts and major categories contained in the discourses, which might correspond to the current social imaginaries in digital interaction for advocacy.

7.2 INTERACTING DIGITALLY FOR ADVOCACY

The cycle of digital interaction supposes four consecutive stages: posting, sharing, cooperating and acting. While the three first stages are all performed in digital discourse, also termed as ‘electronic discourse’ (Locher 2014), the fourth stage of connective action deals with the hybrid nature of online activism, where action can take place both online and off-line, but its purpose is to make a change to the off-line or physical world.

Miriam Locher (2014) reviews a number of studies dealing with electronic discourses and suggests that, despite the way the internet affords multi-modal discourses (including video, images, virtual world, sounds, etc.) ‘written language is still the primary means in which communication is achieved’ (:556). The analysis of this research project takes this path by analysing textual interaction.

Posts may trigger comment threads, building discourses, narratives, conversations and stories that may also split into other discourses, narratives, conversations and stories. I use the term *discourse* in a broad sense –and interchangeably with others such as narratives, conversations and stories–through which digital interaction develops, and less as a theoretical concept underlying rules and regularities (cf. Fetzer 2014).

The analysis of discourses built on Facebook involves 20 different posts displayed in the timelines of six organisations: Hivos (International / The Hague), Hivos South America, IBIS, Oxfam Intermon, Redmanglar Internacional and the SSNC (see Table 5.4)

The number of likes¹⁰⁹ and comments correspond to the total in the original post plus the number of likes and comments on shares that I could access. Comments on the shared posts are as interesting as the ones on the SMOs’ timeline since, as a post ‘leaves’ the SMO’s page to be part of the timeline of a Facebook friend, it opens up the conversation to other networks in a new context (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Sundar 2015).

For instance, IBIS’s post on the campaign *#EvenItUp* (I_311) is illustrated in Figure 7.1.

¹⁰⁹ As of 24 March 2016 likes have been extended to ‘reactions’, but this option was not available during the data retrieval. During this time, the only possible reaction was ‘liking’ a post but this did not always suggest agreement with the content rather an acknowledgement of it.

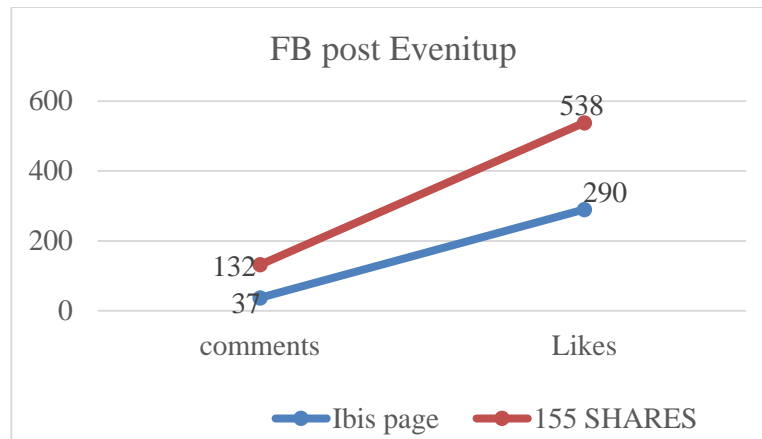


Figure 7.1 Differences in numbers of comments and likes in a shared post

Post I_311 is shared 520 times, although I only had access to 155 shares due to privacy restrictions on the accounts. While the post on IBIS’s page had 37 comments, 132 other comments happened within the shared posts so a total of 166 comments were analysed. Likes increased from the original posting to the shared one, from 290 to 538 likes.

All posts selected have high levels of interaction. Statistics on likes are much higher than shares or comments on the majority of posts (see Figure 7.2). The differences in likes and comments is so high that it could even prompt doubts about ‘black market likes’¹¹⁰, where posts have very high numbers of ‘bought’ likes and very few comments. However, I don’t think this could be the case of the posts studied. SMOs are constituted by a multiplicity of actors sharing common purposes, social solidarities and exercising counterpower. Membership in the studied SMOs is very high, therefore it is not strange that Facebook pages have followers in almost the same proportion. This could also explain why postings from the SMOs receive a higher number of likes and comments than those posted by other participants on the same timelines.

There is also a marked difference between those posts that are part of a bigger communication strategy involving different media, such as Oxfam Intermon’s post on the fundraising campaign for drinking water (O_5194) showing 34,152 likes or the community project to conserve the forests of Zapoton in Chiapas (RM_1381), with 166 likes. However, both posts receive proportionally high number of likes within their own networks.

¹¹⁰ Chieruzzi, Massimo. Nov. 2014. Buying Facebook Likes Sucks, Here’s The Data To Prove It! Adespresso. Facebook Ads Academy. <https://adespresso.com/academy/blog/buy-facebook-likes/> Retrieved 06.03.2016

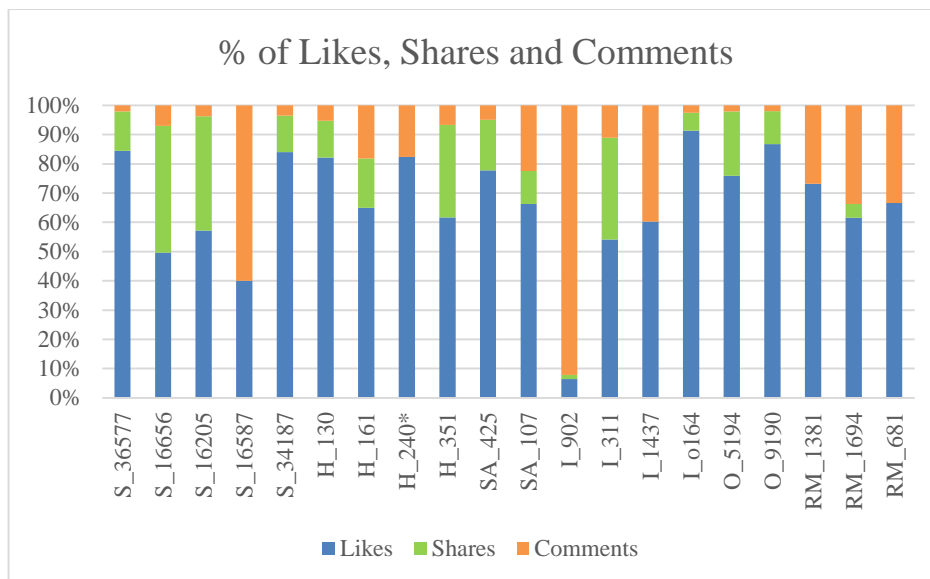


Figure 7.2 Linking, sharing and commenting

Posts that do not follow this trend are S_16587 and I_902:

- S_16587 was posted by a concerned participant on the SSNC’s timeline asking for comments (‘Kommentarer?’) on a linked press release about a research project stating that ecological farming leads to starvation.

The post has no shares, but it did catch the attention of at least 52 participants who comment on it. Likes on this post (34) are not clear whether participants like the user’s appeal to the SSNC to comment about this issue or like the news release. The latter would suggest disagreement with the SSNC’s support to ecological farming. The ambiguity of the use of the like button in this case could be the reason for a higher number of comments than likes.

- I_902 on IBIS’ page is not actually a post but an online discussion about whether IBIS should become a member of Oxfam International. This discussion was arranged as a synchronous online event that took place in August 2014 within a timeframe of two hours.

It is not surprising there are fewer likes and shares than comments, as this space was designed for commenting. Nevertheless, as this post is on IBIS’s timeline, it received few comments after the event closed and it was ‘re-used’ in January 2015 to link to another post on doubts and questions about IBIS’s membership to Oxfam, and again in May 2015 to announce an offline debate to discuss how IBIS could work on education as a member of Oxfam International.

Leaving aside the use of the share or like buttons, a high number of the comments posted relate to these first two stages of the cycle of digital interaction, i.e. posting and sharing the information, which does not provide further scope for the construction of discourses.

7.2.1 Posting

Posting refers to comments that provide the same information contained in the main post that, through repetition, link to sites or other texts sharing the same information contained in the main post.

The example below is from post I_311, which suggests that extreme economic inequality can be depicted with a bus where the 1% of the world richest can fit:

80 personer ejer mere end 3,5 mia fattige. De 80 rigeste mennesker i verden ejer lige så meget som hele den fattigste halvdel af jordens befolkning. [link to dr.dk]

(80 people own more than 3.5 billion poor people. The 80 richest people in the world own as much as the whole of the poorest half of the world's population. [link to dr.dk])

The text reproduces the headline of a news article on the website of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR) and provides a link to it. It refers to precisely the same data provided in IBIS's original post, which is the Danish version of Oxfam's Campaign *Even It Up* ('Iguales' in Spanish) emphasised in the hashtags from Oxfam Intermon (see Figure 6.10).

Questions and direct replies are also included in the posting stage, such as where an event is taking place. Postings do not add further facts or reflection, but reiterate the content of the main post. While they do not add further information for discussion, they provide a sense of support for what has been posted and a sense of agency to the person who posts.

Direct replies refer to comments from the SMOs or the people who posted on their timelines, providing feedback or responses to comments in the thread. There are also direct replies from participants to other participants in the thread. Through replies dialogue takes place, there is not only delivery of information but actual engagement in conversation and facilitation of the discussion. Figure 7.3 shows the number of replies on posts by the owner of the post.

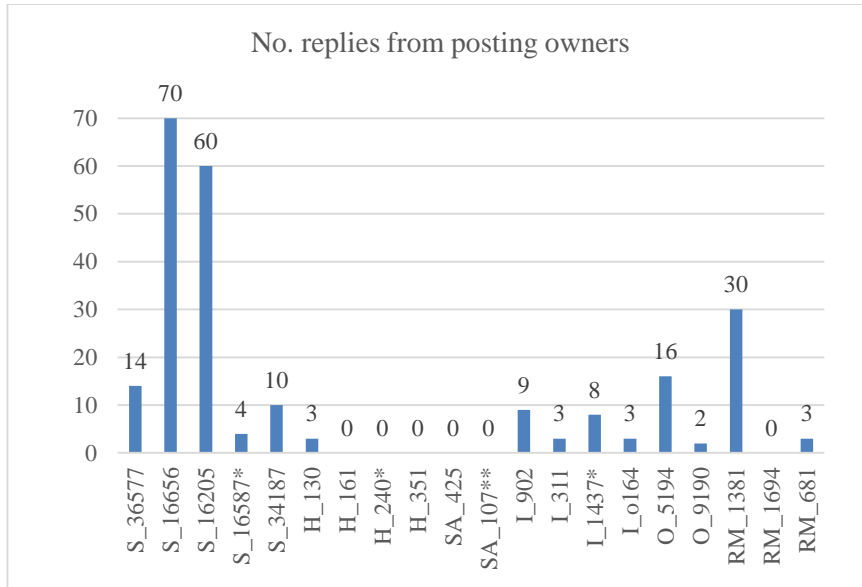


Figure 7.3 Replies from posting owners

Figure 7.3 shows that there are a number of posts in which the SMO's participation is limited to posting and gives no feedback to the conversation. While this could allow digital interaction to develop 'alone', the presence and opinions of the person that posts make dialogue possible and allow it to continue and cooperate to the construction of discourses.

7.2.2 Sharing

Sharing in comments could be mainly of two types:

- 1) comments composed of mentions to other users or that explicitly state their sharing nature
- 2) comments that react to the content by expressing some type of emotion (such as cheer, concern, gratitude or dislike) in words or through emoticons, as with the use of the like button.

Below are some examples from the IBIS post on the *Even It Up* campaign (I_311). At the end of the post, IBIS includes the following suggestion, which is also contained in a comment:

I_311 (...) Del hvis du også synes, at vi skal gøre noget ved det.

(Share if you agree that we should do something about it.)

Part.1: 'Del' er vist helt det rette ord...

('Share' is quite the correct word...)

While this example is statistically included as a comment to the post, it actually reaffirms the idea that the post should be shared, and expresses its sharing nature, but provides no further information for analysis.

Other examples of comments focusing on shared expressivity rather than the provision of further information for discussion are provided below:

Tankevækkende!!!	<i>Thought provoking!!!</i>
ja det er uhyggeligt:-))	<i>Yes it is scary :-))</i>
Kæmp for en verden hvor få har for meget og færre for lidt ;)	<i>Fight against a world where few have too much and fewer too little ;)</i>
Det er jo forfærdende...	<i>It's appalling ...</i>
wCarajo !	<i>Damn!</i>

In these examples, 'carajo', an expression of dislike in Spanish is included in this otherwise Danish comment thread, something that I will return to in section 7.3.4.

7.2.3 Cooperating and acting

I have claimed that the structure of digital interaction for advocacy is rhizomatic. The rhizomatic analysis is structural and explains the way digital interaction takes place and how could social imaginaries spread around the global. However, the content inside this structure, the suggested social imaginaries that are shared in digital interaction for advocacy, can be illustrated as the material composing the roots of the rhizome. Here, the rhizome is made up of thicker and thinner roots and branches. Those that are thicker can be suggested as the major categories that emerge in the analysis of the data. They are built up from connected subcategories and topics, analysed from an approach of grounded theory. This approach is based upon a systematic analysis of the data through a process of coding. It is a 'cyclical act' (Saldaña 2015) where codes move dynamically after subsequent revisions of the data. The different step-by-step coding cycles were explained in the methodological section of Chapter 5.

It is interesting that, when comments are no longer isolated for the analysis but brought back into their context, the rhizomatic structure shows up again and connects comments with other posts in a multiplicity of ways. This is because, as suggested by Deleuze and Guattari (1987:13), coding is at odds with the cartographic principle of the rhizome, as it is sustained by a supporting axis that hierarchises tracings, supporting through it the hegemonic Aristotelian tree of logic.

Comments move into the stage of cooperating when they reflect on the post, provide further information, provide clarification of terms in order to enhance dialogue or propose advocacy activities. Acting, the last stage of the cycle, is performed in the physical world by taking part in activities that foster change. Connective action could emancipate participants from the dictum of ‘slacktivism’ (activism of the slacker) (Morozov 2011) by providing evidence of actual ‘physical’ participation in advocacy efforts. Nevertheless, it is always possible to say that talking and reflecting about an action carries no evidence of actual performance. However, it is also possible to think of social media as fostering accountability, since the networking nature of digital interaction leaves fewer possibilities for hoax engagement as friends and acquaintances can support or refute events and make participants accountable for their comments.

The following examples are taken from post S_34187 on the campaign to ‘shrimp bomb’ a restaurant (see Appendix 1):

Part.1 Jag mobbar dem varenda gång jag e där, påpekar förvånat att de fortfarande har skiten kvar [...] Givetvis, helt rätt att främst vända sig till de stora kedjorna först :)

(I bully them every time I am there, it is amazing that they still have the crap. [...] Of course, its absolutely right to address the big chains first :)

Part.2 Part.1: om du påpekar det varje gång du är där, så är du där ofta? Då stödjer du ju dom ändå... ;) Det är inte Vapianos fel! Det är alltid konsumenten som bestämmer. Om ingen köper eller stödjer dem så försvinner räkorna från menyn! Konsumentkraft eller lagstiftning är de enda vägarna som fungerar!

(Part.1: if you point out that every time you are there, then you are there often? So you support them anyway ... ;) It's not Vapianos fault! It is always consumers that decide. If no one buys or supports them, then prawns disappear from the menu! Consumer Power or legislation is the only way that works!)

The first comment points to the individual’s actual presence at the restaurant, which is remarked upon at the start of the second comment, which then focuses on market economics of supply and demand. This is not unusual, given how the action calls for a ‘boycott’ to the food chain –a consumer practice to stop using certain businesses in order to change their operations.

The field of communication for social change, and specifically the area of social movement learning, points to informal learning processes that combine reflection and action, as exemplified in the following comment:

[mention to a friend] - här förklara dom rätt väl varför deras miljömärkning inte riktigt håller. Synd på en annars grym restaurang!:) alldeles för länge sen jag åt där, men tänker vänta tills dom slutat med scampin

([mention to a friend] Here they explain quite well why their eco-labels do not really work. Sad for an otherwise awesome restaurant :) long time since I ate there, but plan to wait until they end with scampi)

This comment, while directed to the mentioned friend, is displayed within the post thread, inviting others to read it and share her reflections about the proposed action. The comment addresses the action call and provides the SMO with support for the action. It also performs the desired goal, to refrain from the consumption of cultivated giant shrimp ('scampi'), and displays a 'punishment' for this specific restaurant, which has lost a loyal client who is refraining from visiting it until they stop selling 'scampi'. In this way both reflection and action can be perceived.

Disambiguation of the terms used in the call, such as 'jätteräkor' (tiger shrimp), is also an important part of the narrative of replies and counter-replies. This led the conversation to a language issue, connected yet heterogeneous from the core idea of the post:

Part.1: Benämningen "Jätteräkor" är fel. Skriv gärna latinska namnen, samt vilka räkor som faktiskt är KRAV/MSC [KRAV is the eco-label supported by the SSNC]

(The term "scampi" is wrong. Please write Latin names, as well as which shrimp are KRAV/ MSC)

Naturskyddsförening: Benämningen jätteräkor är inte fel, det är ett samlingsnamn på flera arter av stora tropiska räkor. För de allra flesta är det mycket lättare att fråga efter Krav eller MSC än att hålla reda på olika latinska namn. Vi rekommenderar att man alltid ska välja de märkningarna när man köper fisk och skaldjur!

(The term scampi is not wrong, it is a collective name for several species of large tropical shrimp. For most people it is much easier to ask for Krav or MSC than keeping track of various Latin names. We recommend that you should always choose products with seals when buying fish or seafood!)

As in any face-to-face dialogue, voices of disagreement are also present, countering the call and disapproving the action planned:

Jag gillar inte denna uppmaning med konfrontation! Jag är förvånad över att Naturskyddsföreningen ställer sig bakom dessa aktioner! Jag tror att det är mycket bättre att upplysa konsumenter med fakta och uppmana till konsumentmakt.

(I do not like this invitation with confrontation! I am surprised that the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation endorses these actions! I think it is much better to educate consumers with the facts and call for consumer power.)

The comment ‘condemns’ the organisation for this action call. In it, it refers to participants as ‘consumers’, a category not mentioned in the post, which helps to visualise how the hegemonic imaginaries of the market are pervasive in the social imaginaries of participants in connective action for advocacy.

Another example of disagreement with the content of a post and the construction of discourses in a new opened thread can be seen in the following example:

Part.1: Men herregud, vill man inte äta jätteräkor så ät inte det då och låt dom som vill äta det ha friheten till att göra det

(But my God, if you do not like prawns so do not eat them, but let those who want to eat them have the freedom to do it)

Part.2: [Part.1], det handlar ju om att vi gemensamt har ett ansvar för den här planeten. För miljöns skull. För att våra barn och barn i länder som Ecuador ska ha en sund miljö att leva i. Vi har inte råd att vara egoistiska. Med frihet följer ansvar.

([Part.1], it's about we all together have a responsibility for this planet. For the sake of the environment. Our children and children in countries like Ecuador should have a healthy environment to live in. We cannot afford to be selfish. With freedom comes responsibility.)

Part.3:@[Part1]... låt de som vill suga ut jordens resurser...låt dem göra det, låt de som vill plåga djur göra det, låt dem som vill skada andra göra det... Smart brud!

(@[Part.1]... let those who want to suck the earth's resources ... let them do it, let those who want to torment animals do it, let those who want to harm others do it ... Smart girl!)

Part.1:[Part.3], jag har aldrig nämnt något om att man ska få skada andra. Men jag tänker fortsätta äta det jag tycker är gott, det har jag rättighet till. Dessutom är det varken jag eller vapiano som har ansvar för denna planeten.

([Part.3], I never mentioned anything about hurting others. But I will continue eating what I think is good, I have the right to. Moreover, it is neither I nor Vapiano who is responsible for this planet.)

Part.3:[Part.1], jo det är det faktiskt. Du, Vapiano, och alla andra människor på den. Att du inte insett detta än är ganska tragiskt. Genom att äta räkorna skadar du dem lokala invånare som tex inte kan återgå till sina fiskeområden.

([Part.1], yes it really is. You, Vapiano, and all the other people on it. It is quite tragic that you have not realised this yet. By eating the prawns you hurt the local residents as they cannot return to their fishing areas.)

Part.3 comment includes an @mention to make it clear who the addressee of her sarcastic response is, as the above comments are actually not consecutive but immerse in a long comment thread. The SSNC did not take part in this thread. Advocates in this situation are the participants, rather than the SSNC, who provide facts and responses that demonstrate their understanding of global fairness.

An important issue to be included in the analysis of digital interaction relates to the context. Even though digital interaction is not spatially or timely situated, as these are affordances provided by ICTs, discourses point to the context in which conversations evolve. For example, the two posts from Intermon Oxfam happened in 2014. At that time, recession and high levels of unemployment as a result of the financial crisis that hit Spain since 2008 played a part in comment threads. This particular context is crucial to understanding why so many comments in the post focus on poverty, vulnerability and hopelessness:

Part.1 y aqui pasan hambre vi[v]en en la calle por culpa del gobierno y en[]cima les cobran por todo ..tanto proteger a otros paises y nosotros que

(and here they are starving, living in the streets because of the government and additionally they are charged for everything .. so much protection to other countries and what about us)

Part.2 Pedirles a los políticos ladrones con todo el dinero [se años] llevado en España hay niños pasan hambre que ellos no i[n]portan

(Raise money from politicians, thieves taking all the money [for years] there are children in Spain, they are hungry don't they matter)

Part.3 Me parece increíble que estén intentando sensibilizar a la población con estos anuncios manipuladores , cuando estos deberían de mandarlos al congreso de los diputados o a las sucursales bancarias que son los que tienen nuestro dinero y pueden ayudaros a lograr vuestro fin ,porque no se si os habéis dado cuenta pero casi toda España esta necesitada de productos de primera necesidad como para ir dando dinero que no tenemos a ayudas que deberían de asumir los antes mencionados con sus super sueldazos de por vidaA nuestra costa y sin trabajar .

(I find it incredible that you are trying to raise awareness with these manipulative ads, they should be sent to Congress or Deputies of bank branches as they have our money and can help you achieve your ends, I am not sure whether you have noticed that almost everyone in Spain is in need of basic goods, as to be giving out money that we don't have and that can be provided by the people mentioned above with their super-payrolls for lifetime at our expense and without work.

The local context is highlighted to justify participants' opposition to the campaign and refusal to support it. However, other issues also arise from these comments such as participants' distrust of politicians and claims about their 'privileged wages' in contrast to the scarcity of wages among the general population.

The emergence of major categories in the discourses suggests the presence of two different layers for analysis: a) a first layer that refers to the expressive nature of this communication process and b) the core ideas shared in digital interaction. The first layer is what Fenton, in this chapter's opening quote, refers to and is explained in next section.

7.3 EXPRESSIVITY

Digital interaction for advocacy is a communication process of many to many. Shirky (2008) suggests that ‘it is famously difficult to keep online conversations from devolving into either name-calling or blather, much less to keep them on topic’ (:50). But Shirky’s assessment provides only one perspective of this complex process of digital interaction.

Digital interaction involves a multiplicity of participants and posts, as well as relationships established in the interaction itself. Comments are both texts and utterances and blur the boundaries between written and spoken language (Locher 2014). Typographical errors or ‘typos’ as well as grammatical errors are frequent in comment threads, and can sometimes result in miscommunication due to their ambiguity and equivocality. Typos appear frequently in social media due to the use of mini mobile keyboards, auto-correctors, posting while multi-tasking or typing too fast. From a critical point of view, typos could also occur as a result of someone’s excitement or annoyance towards an issue. Nonetheless, typos may also point to lower literacy skills of participants in digital interaction. This could challenge Erika Polson’s (2011:144) suggestion that ‘new social media may be connected to the discursive production of a global middle class’. It is not necessarily just ‘middle class’ people, who come from a well-educated background, who are producing discourses in digital interaction.

Participants in digital interaction find creative ways to write messages that include as much information as possible in few words, as is the case of hashtags analysed in the previous chapter. Thus, in Facebook shortening words or using symbols is a common practice.

Below are examples found in comments on Redmanglar Internacional’s post on the forests of Zapoton, Chiapas (RM_1381):

Part.1 [ya va a querer] q[ue] me inviten x[por]q[ue] yo amo y m[e] desvivo x[por] la majestuosa biodiversidad [en dar una mejor vida futura] :D :3

(... to invite me as I love and my utmost for the magnificent biodiversity to provide a future better life :D :3)

Part.2 claro, tienes que venir a Chiapas y disfrutar de la reserva biosfera la Encrucijada, es muy hermosa, es un paraíso con sus bosques de manglar y de zapoton.

(of course, you have to come to Chiapas and enjoy the Biosphere Reserve La Encrucijada, it is very beautiful, it is a paradise with its mangrove and zapoton [Pachira aquatica] forests)

The message in itself is problematic due to the typos, missing letters and grammatical errors, which are shown in brackets but the sense of the comment is understood and so a few comments after Part.2 provides a reply.

Missing letters and replacing words by signs ('x' for the preposition 'por' or 'by') makes it necessary to read the text more than once to grasp its meaning. Initially, the statement in the first brackets ('ya va a querer') does not make sense but can be deciphered as a literal interpretation of spoken language that can be suggested as 'yo voy a querer' (*I will like*). The last brackets 'a future better life' are disconnected to the previous part of the comment. Roughly speaking, the comment lacks a verb. A possible formulation could be: *I will like you to invite me, as I love nature and do my utmost to protect the magnificent biodiversity for the future.* The verb 'to protect' is actually not spelled out in the text, it is just a guess. Moreover, the phrase 'to provide a future better life' as it is unclear whether this refers to biodiversity or to the participant.

Typos can lead to miscommunication when they are not resolved in the interaction. Yet, another problematic interaction common in online communication is flaming.

7.3.1 Flaming

What Shirky describes as 'name-calling' (2008:50) has been studied as the 'flaming phenomenon' in digital interaction (O'Sullivan & Flanagin 2003; Thurlow et al. 2004; Hutchens et al. 2015). Flaming is regarded 'as a highly negative message that functions like a metaphorical flamethrower that the sender uses to roast the receiver verbally' (O'Sullivan & Flanagin 2003:70). Conversations that take place in digital communication, as well as in other non web-mediated forms of communication, sometimes result in 'problematic interactions' that stem from the ambiguity and equivocality residing 'in the sender's intentions, the receiver's interpretations, the message itself, or from the interaction of all three' (O'Sullivan & Flanagin 2003:78).

For the analysis of problematic interactions, Patrick O'Sullivan and Andrew Flanagin (2003) propose the 'interactional-normative framework'. This framework provides a taxonomy of eight possible scenarios of problematic messages from the perspectives of the sender, the participant and the observer. They suggest that problematic interaction could be due to a) the meaning and ambiguity of the terms used b) social and relational contexts and norms c) how and why messages occur and which functions they serve and d) prioritising technology over communication.

However, flaming does not necessarily result in miscommunication. It can also boost cooperation:

The *process* of ‘flaming’ thus includes the creation, transmission, and interpretation of a message that is perceived from multiple perspectives as violating norms, and which can itself be the beginning of the norm negotiation, evolution, and realignment process. (O’Sullivan & Flanagin 2003:85)

The example below is extracted from the thread of Hivos South America’s post on the coming Gay Pride Day celebration in Santa Cruz, Bolivia (SA_107). It occurs after many comments for and against the planned celebration.

Part.1 Y si a unos no le[s] gusta este mundo donde viven pues q se vayan a vivir a martes

(And if some don’t like this world in which they live, then move to Tuesday [literal translation])

Part.2 martes es un día de la semana marte es el planeta.

(Tuesday is a day of the week Mars is a planet)

A missing ‘s’ in the first comment is added in brackets to provide grammatical coherence to the sentence. Part.2’s reply appears after a number of other comments. The reply ‘fixes’ the play on words in the first comment: ‘Marte’ -> *Mars*, ‘Martes’ -> *Tuesday*. The comment is more sarcastic than clarifying, a flaming response to the comment of Part.1, which provides no arguments but continues the flaming thread.

Flaming threads are frequent in the data. Divergent points of view are countered many times with aggressive language; as Myiah Hutchens et al. (2015:1202) observe ‘people lash out at one another with aggressive comments’ in political discussions.

Another example of a flaming thread occurs within post O_5194, where the accountability of NGOs is bluntly criticised:

Ni un duro a [laso] ong que se quedan la pasta!!! Son las primeras en no querer acabar con la pobreza. [Pararitos]!

(Not a penny ... NGOs keep all the cash! They are the first ones not willing to end poverty. ...)

The message is problematic as shown in the typos in brackets. The first one is incomprehensible, but the meaning of the sentence can be understood by simply removing it.

A possible solution to making sense of the word ‘pararitos’ in the second brackets could be to change a letter so that the word becomes ‘pa[j]aritos’ (birdies). ‘Birdies’ is sometimes used as a metaphor for ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:5) and could point to the way NGOs fly from place to place, suggesting a negative form of detachment.

Weakness can also be inferred from the use of the diminutive form of ‘bird’. Conversely, this same metaphor is used in a positive way by IBIS, which is named after a bird that ‘feels at home both in the North and in the South’. Another possibility could be to add an ‘s’ to turn the word into ‘pará[s]itos’ (parasites), an offensive metaphor that would lower the tone of the comment. Both possibilities are merely speculations, since many other meanings can also be suggested.

Many participants intervene in this comment thread. One of them is Oxfam Intermon, the SMO itself, which provides a link to its annual financial results statements, probably in response to the comment above. In this case, flaming, rather than a chain of discussion, urges the SMO to publicly share account information, which in turn strengthens the discussion.

Other participants do perceive the message as aggressive and respond with comments confronting the sender or supporting the SMO’s work:

Me consta que existe el” grupo tercer mundo” en las Parroquias donde se recogen aportaciones voluntarias y se envía al lugar indicado don[d]e hace falta hacer un pozo o poner peque[n]ños lugares de asistencia sanitaria, informaros eso existe.

(I know that there is a “third world group” at parishes where voluntary contributions are collected and sent to the right place where there is a need for water wells or small healthcare facilities, get informed, that exists.

Typos in this comment refer to missing letters or typing problems with keyboard combinations for specific characters such as ‘n ñ’, but they do not represent a problem in communication as the intention of the participant is to express her knowledge about the issue and, through it, her support of the main post is clear.

In the data, flaming threads result mainly from disagreements. While flaming comments do not provide arguments for analysis, nor do they develop the conversation into constructive dialogue, disagreements do help to construct discourses.

Disagreement in conversations is not restricted to digital interaction. Disagreement was analysed by Roman Jakobson (1960) in his seminal work *Linguistics and Poetics* in which he argues that ‘disagreement generally proves to be more productive than agreement’ (:350). As tensions and problems arise, they call for innovative cooperation and engagement.

The comment below, which was made in a flaming thread in post S_34187, tackles precisely this:

Bjud in till kommunikation istället för påhopp, dumförklaring och borttryckning. För mig och andra inte fullt insatta ger det massor att läsa diskussioner som de ovan. I forum och facebookgrupper där alla tänker lika är det rätt meningslöst att läsa. Där får man inte alls lika bra argument, kunskap och information då saker inte ifrågasätts ordentligt.

(Contribute to communication instead of insults, dumb explanations and erasing comments. For me and others not fully involved, discussions such as the above ones provide plenty to read. In forums and facebook groups where everyone thinks the same, it is rather pointless to read. There you get, not as good arguments, knowledge and information when things are not questioned properly).

Comment threads that include disagreements between participants and thought provoking comments definitely provide material for analysis and reflections on the construction of shared understandings.

Shirky suggests that ‘blather’ is another undesired evolution of online communication. Blather is a negative, aggressive and pejorative term used to refer to talk that is void of sense. As with flaming, it depends on the perspective through which such an assessment is made, and the criteria that have been established to distinguish between what is considered as meaningful and what is considered as meaningless information for a specific purpose.

Jakobson (1960) defines six different functions of language that correspond to six factors intervening in the communication process: sender, receiver, message, context, contact and code. The ‘phatic function’ is related to ‘contact’, that is the interrelation established between participants in communication, which serves to prolong the communication process as it confirms the participants’ attention and engagement. This would explain how an extended conversation, rather than being judged as ‘blather’, could instead provide the means to reaffirm ties and share experiences among participants. It can also apply to the use of likes in posts and comments, and to the replies SMOs and people who post on their timelines provide to participants in the conversation, as shown in Figure 7.3.

7.3.2 (Meta) communicating

An important expressive category in digital interaction refers to ‘communicating’, which may accomplish Jakobson’s ‘meta-language’ function, as it reflects on language issues but also on the media as a tool for communicating. The tree-diagram in Figure 7.4 shows the subcategories contained in the data that make up this category:

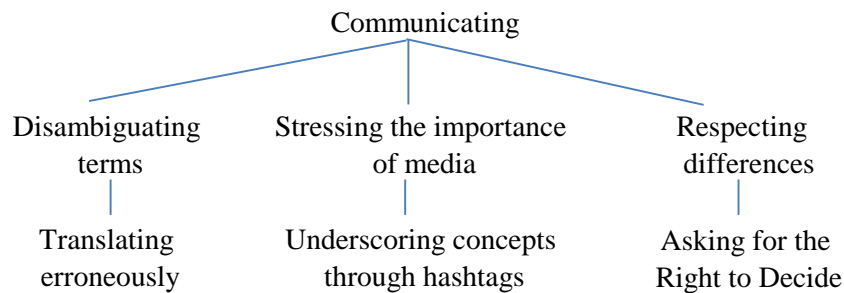


Figure 7.4 Tree diagram of ‘communicating’

The subcategory ‘stressing the importance of media’ refers to comments that reflect on digital media and its affordances for connective action. Therefore, more than just ‘communicating’, this category involves meta-communication: communication about communication, both through digital media but also through the affordances of ‘traditional’ media (press, radio and television).

As explained in Chapter 3, the use of hashtags on Facebook does not afford any further connection of the data, although there is a possibility that comments that use hashtags could have been reposted on other SMS such as Twitter or Instagram where hashtags play an important role. By including hashtags on Facebook, users emphasise the main ideas in their comments:

Det her er det mest latterlige billede jeg har set længe. For hvis man er så rig, så sætter man sig sgudda ikke ind i en bus. #idioter

(This is the most ridiculous picture I’ve seen. If one is so rich, then one would never sit in a bus. #idiots)

The comment above refers to post I_311 (Appendix 1) on extreme economic inequality, which suggests that the world’s 1% of richest people could fit into a bus. The comment, evidently in disagreement with the post, emphasises this disagreement by concluding with the hashtag ‘#idiots’. This example was also coded into the subcategory ‘flaming’ referred to above, as it does not provide further information for analysis, rather it is just a reaction to the post expressed through an aggressive comment.

In this category there is also a meta-reflection on dialogue referring to participation within digital media and stressing the need to respect differences and the ‘right to decide’ –a subcategory that relates to comments from different strands that assert a right to speak out and dissent from the collective view. For example, the following comment, in which a participant claims his right to choose, relates to closing the market for non-ecological bananas at a Swedish supermarket (S_36577):

Grundtanken är väl bra men... som kund vill jag nog ändå bestämma själv vad jag petar i mig.

(The basic idea is ok but ... as a customer, I would probably still decide for myself what I poke into me.)

This comment asserts the participant’s right to choose from different types of products, rather than being forced to follow only one path, when buying in a supermarket.

The comment below comes from post SA_107 and claims for the right to decide on sexual preferences:

Feliz 28 de Junio y respetemos la diversidad de preferencias sexuales cada uno es dueño de elegir su preferencia

Happy June 28th and respect the diversity of sexual preferences, everyone one is free to choose their preference

Two other subcategories refer directly to meta-language, they are: ‘disambiguating terms’ and ‘translating erroneously’. Language gaps happen when multiple languages are involved in communication and comment threads open up in this direction. For example, the following comment deals with the problematic translation of a news story about the death of a cockle-gatherer in Ecuador (S_16656):

Part.1 men det handlar om er trovärdighet: enligt båda tidningsartiklar ni hänvisar till satt han och läste läxor när han anfölls av frisläppta vakthundar.

(but it is about your credibility: according to two newspaper articles you refer to, he sat and read homework when he was attacked by freed watchdogs.)

Part.2 innan du anklagar Naturskyddsföreningen för att fabricera artiklar, borde du kanske kolla dina egna metoder. Google Translate är väldigt långt ifrån felfri, och jag förstår inte hur du kan välja att tro på en bristfällig översättning och inte Naturskyddsföreningens uppgifter?

(before you accuse Naturskyddsföreningen for fabricating articles, maybe you should check your own methods. Google Translate is very far from flawless, and I do not understand how you can choose to believe in a flawed translation rather than SSNC's details?)

The translation problem was never explicitly resolved in the comment thread. In actual fact, the news article states that the cockle-gatherer was attacked while he accomplished his job (*'mientras realizaba su tarea'*). School homework is also translated as 'tarea', leading online translators to the mistake inferred by Part.2.

7.3.3 Topic dispersion

Discourses have been analysed in comment threads resulting from each post. These threads take sometimes dramatic turns onto completely different issues from that of the original post, while others expand the content of the post and promote creative and innovative ways to deal with the suggested advocacy cause.

Multiplicities in digital interaction refer to the diversity of participants and the perspectives expressed. But this also refers to the wide variety of topics, themes and priorities which comments bring about.

Applying O'Sullivan and Flanagin (2003) 'interactional-normative framework', which considers the different points of view of participants, topic dispersion might be considered problematic by the person who posts as they may wish to focus on the subject of the post rather than see it open up and spread reactions that scatter into different topics. It might also be considered problematic by other participants as conversations become more complex when more than one topic is being addressed and discussed by numerous participants. Finally, it could also be perceived as problematic by an observer as they may struggle to find meaning in the scattered comments of a rhizomatic thread.

However, participants in digital interaction do find creative ways to address the multiplicities involved. For instance, in comment threads participants often choose to put an '@' before a name and a '#' before an idea to mark the addressees and the topics of their comments, even though these symbols are not part of the Facebook's architecture. Conversations spread into different topics in which participants add facts and information that they consider relevant. For instance, the post on NGOs' accountability referred to above resulted from Oxfam Intermon's post in Figure 7.5 (O_5184).



*[What if you could only give this to your child?
Send CHANGE to 28018]*

Oxfam Intermón: Cada 20 segundos una madre pierde a un hijo, en países como Chad, por falta de agua limpia

(Oxfam Intermón: Every 20 seconds a mother loses a child in countries such as Chad, for the lack of clean water)

Figure 7.5 O_5184 Oxfam Intermón's fundraising campaign

The post shown in Figure 7.5 was challenged by many participants for the use of the feeding bottle, perceived as a subtle form of promotion of infant formula in replacement to breastfeeding.

Gracies a les companyies farmacèutiques que shan encarregat q les mares donin biberons en comptes del pit, posant en perill les seves vides i creantlos mes dependencia economica! Molt mal anunci.

(Pharmaceuticals have been responsible for driving mothers to give bottles instead of breast, endangering their lives and generating more economic dependency! Very bad advertisement)

The negative assessment of the announcement in this comment is linked to a claim against pharmaceuticals, shared in many other comments. The post was even understood as a call to boycott infant formula:

Mirad boycott a Nestlé !! Baby Milk Action !!

(Look boycott Nestle !! Baby Milk Action !!)

The comment thread focuses on breastfeeding, providing personal insights and links to documentation and international campaigns that support the practice. However, other perspectives are also present, as exemplified by the comment below, which returns the thread to the main message of the post:

Las madres que optais por lactancia materna nunca le dais un biberón con agua a vuestros hijos? Hasta tenéis q criticar a la gente q por lo menos ayuda solo por una foto d un anuncio? es lo único que veis? ayudar o no en base a un anuncio???

(Mothers who choose breastfeeding, don't you ever give a bottle of water to your children? Do you need to criticize even to people that at least help, just for the picture on the ad? is it all what you see? to help or not based on an ad ???)

Topic dispersal in digital interaction brings about new and sometimes controversial issues, which emerge scattered but interconnected, such as the topic of breastfeeding in relation to water purification systems.

Another expressivity issue in the data deals with multilingualism, another form of multiplicity that frequently takes places in digital interaction. The first comment in the above thread is in Catalan despite the fact that the main post it refers to is in Spanish. No acknowledgement is made regarding the shift in language; the conversation simply continues, with the majority of comments in Spanish, a few in Catalan, one in German and one in Portuguese.

7.3.4 Multilingualism

Even though the language of each page is in a way 'suggested' through the language used in the profile, Facebook does not allow participation to be limited by language constraints. Moreover, the provision of the *translate* button enables conversations to take place in different languages.

In the data analysed, it could be suggested that multilingualism is considered 'normal' by participants in digital interaction, since the emergence of comments in different languages within a comment thread does not lead to any comments of surprise, agreement, or disagreement from other participants. This point has already been noted in the example given above in relation to reactions to the *Even It Up* campaign (post I_311), where a colloquial expression of negative surprise in Spanish appeared suddenly but no comment on this use of language was made by others in the thread.

Oxfam Intermon's post about the *Robin Hood Tax* (O_9190) campaign provides a link to a petition addressed to finance ministers which asks them for to support the adoption of this tax. The post links to a campaign video that is in English with Spanish subtitles. This thread is composed of 171 comments, most of them in Spanish, but a few participants comment in English (4) and one in Catalan.

Part.1 No no no no no, really, so you are going to tax a business enterprise that's sole purpose is to produce profits, let me guess who is going to have to cover the losses from businesses??? hmmm, so prices rise more but not your wages, seriously, don't be fooled.

Part.2 No lo veo para nada claro; pagariamos al final los de siempre !!

(I don't see it clearly; finally we will be taxed as always!!)

Part.3 And what about all the other taxes that we already pay? What are they for?

Oh yes. To feed these gargantuan public sectors.

Wake up. The Robin Hood Tax will be another excuse to pick in our pockets for nothing...

Part.4 A qué esperan tanto? Esto debe hacerse ya.

(What are you waiting for? This needs to be done soon.)

In the above thread, I included the immediate comment following the English comments to illustrate how the change of language does not make a difference to the development of the discourse. However, this is only useful for illustrative purposes, as digital interaction is less about ordered turns in conversation, as many participants comment simultaneously from different places and at different times.

Comments show up indistinctively in a comment thread, so a precise response will not necessarily pop-up beneath a comment. In fact, an analysis of the whole post shows no comments refer directly, reply to or mention those in another language but nor do they highlight the use of a different language.

Another example of multilingualism is provided in Hivos' post on child labour in fashion (H_351). The post, written in Dutch, links to a news report written in English in *The Guardian*¹¹¹ featuring an interview with the global campaign coordinator of *Stop Child Labour*.

¹¹¹ 'Child labour in the fashion supply chain. The where, why and what can be done' *The Guardian*. Mould, Josephine. <http://labs.theguardian.com/unicef-child-labour/> Last visited 06.03.2016

Part.1 Isn't it better to sew than being in the sexindustrie?

Part.2 Yes I share the same thoughts often a little local factory locked down because of child labour but the root of the problems stays the same or even will be worse

Part.1 I agree but until the government in the countries do something, kids will not. E kida and have a. Israble little life.

The comment in English shown in Part.1 is replied to and commented upon in English. But the comment is inside a Dutch thread, where no comment makes direct reference to the English comment.

This is one of the few examples in which comments in a different language receive a direct reply in the same language. Most instances of different languages in comment threads are not directly addressed by the rest of participants who continue the conversation in the main language of the thread.

Global fairness also deals with *language fairness*; that is the possibility of communicating in the language through which each person can better share his/her thoughts and insights with an audience. This audience can sometimes share a mother-tongue, others need the use of a *lingua franca*, but either way the notion of global fairness sits at odds with the enforcement of a hegemonic language as this resembles both past colonialist thought on language imposition and the challenged notion of homogenisation in the 'market globalism imaginaries' (Steger 2009b).

7.3.5 The emotive function of digital interaction

As has been mentioned, Jakobson (1960) analyses the different functions accomplished by language. One of them is the emotive or expressive function that focuses on the 'addresser'. When translating this understanding to digital interaction, the emotive function could also refer to the person who posts. Besides conveying information and reflecting on major concerns, comments that engage in cooperation and action express the participant's attitudes and views on the future. Therefore, a category named 'setting the mood' has also been considered within the expressivity of digital interaction.

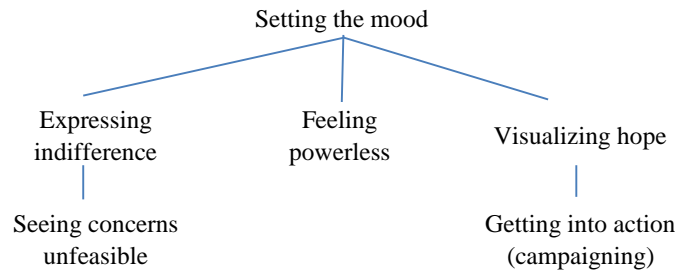


Figure 7.6 Tree diagram of 'setting the mood'

Figure 7.6 shows a tree diagram of the relationship between subcategories in this expressive category. The three categories at the top: *indifference*, *powerless* and *hopefulness* show up unsystematically through comment threads. These subcategories do not always encase the mood of the entire comment, since there are comments where the three subcategories show up all at once in the development of the discourse.

For example, in the thread on breastfeeding in post O_5194, which has been referred to above as an example of topic dispersion from the main post, there is an agreement among participants to 'condemn' everything related to feeding bottles and pharmaceuticals companies that develop feeding formula. Activist moms share their experiences, censure the picture of the feeding bottle and actively support breastfeeding, until a dissonant voice changes the mood of the thread through the following comment:

No lo veo como un anuncio que fomenta la lactancia artificial para nada!! Pero no olvidemos que hay padres que trabajan muchisimas horas ; agotados, algunas madres no tienen ni tiempo para la lactancia nor[n]al por el Stress y las horas de trabajo. La [n]ayoria en occidente no tienen p[i]sibilidad ni trankilidad de amamantar a su bebe!!. El biberon supone una gran ayuda para los padres. No debemos politizar esta gran ayuda a una buena lactancia.

(I don't see this ad as promoting artificial feeding at all !! But do not forget that there are parents working long hours; exhausted, some mothers have no time for normal breastfeeding because of Stress and working hours. The majority in the West do not have the possibility nor calmness to breastfeed babies !!. The bottle is of great help for parents. We should not politicise this great aid for good feeding.)

This comment suggests that all the benefits and endorsements of breastfeeding provided in the previous comments of the thread are neglected by Western women, immersed in the daily stress of the labour market where there is 'no possibility nor calmness' for accomplishing this activity. No hope can be envisioned in this comment; rather fatigue, long working hours, stress and no calmness.

The first part of the comment is clustered as ‘powerless’, since it suggests no alternative for change: this is the way it is. Yet the last part of the comment presents the bottle as a ‘relief’, ‘a great aid’ in these times, which completely changes the mood of the comment. Due to this, the last part of the comment can be clustered into ‘visualising hope’.

The subcategory ‘visualising hope’ refers to comments that envisage a possibility of change or refer to a participant’s actual engagement in action. The following comment from the SSNC’s *Anti-Scampi* campaign (S_34817) provides such an example:

Eftersom baren jag var på i söndags inte kunde svara, så avstod jag från räkorna. Det är inte mycket en ensam liten tant kan göra. Fast det här är ju en gest i allafall.

(Since the bar I went to on Sunday could not answer, so I refrained from prawns. There is not much a lonely little lady can do. But this is after all a gesture anyway.)

In the comment thread, it is suggested that people should always ask the origin of shrimp before eating them at bars or restaurants, and to refrain from cultivated shrimp (‘scampi’), as its production has negative impacts on local communities and the environment. It is in this context that the ‘lonely little lady’ shares her input on the campaign.

This comment is particularly illustrative of the cycle of digital interaction. More than just a comment, it is actually a new *posting*, which restarts the cycle by reflecting on a performance on the ‘physical world’, bringing it back to connective action.

So far, this chapter has analysed expressivity of discourses. However, digital interaction for advocacy goes further as it deals with the presence of shared ideas and collective understandings: social imaginaries, in other words. As seen in the last few examples, participants do not limit their discourses to expressing their view about the different situations, they also provide further information, which grounds their comments, reflects their concerns, and enables them to act collectively to change undesired situations.

The next section focuses on the core ideas shared in digital interaction; suggested as the major categories in the discourses of digital interaction for advocacy, which also illustrate the expressed social imaginaries present in digital interaction for advocacy.

7.4 CORE IDEAS

As explained in Chapter 5, core categories in discourses in digital interaction emerged from the consecutive coding cycles approached (first, intermediate and second coding cycle). The analysis of the data points to the emergence of six major categories in the discourses. However, it is not that these categories are the only ones, nor are they the ‘central’ ones, as digital interaction for advocacy is not centralised but multiple. Rather, these categories are the stronger ones, and as suggested previously, can be visualised as the ‘thicker roots’ of the rhizome.

These major categories are made up of a number of subcategories as shown on Table 5.6. The resulting major categories are: a) conserving nature b) stressing equality c) eco-farming d) globalising concerns e) trading f) assessing policy (Figure 7.7).

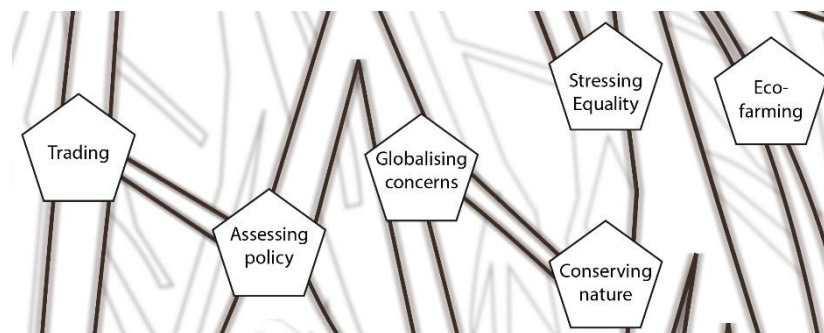


Figure 7.7 Major categories present in digital interaction for advocacy

Other miscellaneous categories were also identified. These have their own autonomous bases, which make them appear apparently disconnected to the major categories but they are also tangled up in the discourses. Once again, the structure of the rhizome serves to better explain how miscellaneous categories, popping-up in different spots, come together in the rhizome of digital interaction.

a) Conserving nature

This category deals with two main ideas: protection of the environment and human responsibility for its conservation. It reflects on the shift, contained in alter-globalisation imaginaries (Steger & Wilson 2012) and post-development approaches (Escobar 2008), from viewing humans as rulers of nature to locating humanity as part of the ecosystem through a sustainable management of its resources.

Below is a comment on post S_16205, stressing the importance of protecting the land and its biodiversity through sustainable management:

Detta är iaf vad jag som bonde måste tänka på så jag tycker det är bara mer än rätt att alla andra som har åsikter om detta med markanvändning och vad som bör odlas också är med och tänker på jordens välbefinnande först, sen det antropocentriska så som vad vi tycker är rätt att äta eller inte.

(This is anyway what I as a farmer have to think about, so I think it's only fair that everyone who has an opinion on the land and what would be cultivated should also think on the Earth's well-being first, then the anthropocentric thought on what is right to eat or not.)

As well as comments on sustainable management, another subcategory contained in the post is 'proposing to eat less and use less' as a way to halt unnecessary consumption, which is directly related to the aim of conserving nature and preventing climate change. Directly related and contained within this is the subcategory 'rejecting food waste':

Det vore bra att inte kasta en femtedel av alla kassar mat vi bär hem! Där kan vi börja - med att hantera vårt köpta livsmedel på ett bättre sätt hemma.

(It would be good not to throw away a fifth of all food bags we bring home! Where can we begin - with managing our purchased food better at home.)

Food waste is a recurrent concern of participants and it is weighted as an important factor to consider in the struggle against inequality.

b) Stressing equality

The data tackles three different, though complementary, strains of equality: economic equality, gender equality and social equality. The dichotomy equality/inequality characterises this category. All posts struggle against different forms and levels of inequality, and this concept is so embedded in political discourses that the semantics of (in)equality has been studied 'as vehicles for the emergence of a global imaginary' (Freistein 2014:2).

For instance, the fight against extreme economic inequality is highlighted in the campaign *Level it Up*, contained in a post I_311. Economic inequality is also highlighted by Oxfam Intermon's fundraising post about providing drinking water to poor people (O_5194), by Hivos' post about child labour in fashion (H_351), by the SSNC's posts about shrimp farming (S_16656 and S_34187) and by IBIS's post about cooperation for development in Latin America (I_o164). In response to this last post, the following comment is made:

En ulige fordeling af goderne set i et globalt perspektiv, men i lige så høj grad, en ekstrem ulige fordeling af goderne indenfor udviklinglandenes egne grænser...

(An unequal distribution of wealth in a global perspective, but equally, an extremely unequal distribution of wealth within developing countries' own borders...)

In a similar vein to the above reflection, a number of comments concerned with unequal wealth distribution and poverty are made. This last topic gets entangled in both comment threads on Intermon Oxfam's page. As explained above, Spain's context during the time of data collection was marked by the financial crisis. It is within this landscape that we see people refusing to take part in fundraising campaigns, labelling themselves as 'people in need':

pero esto que es ?...y ahora venga a pedir a l@s que vivimos de una miseria . Y ademas sacamos algo de esa miseria para ayudarasco ne da

(but what is this ?... asking for money to us that live in misery. And also get something out of that misery to help... it is disgusting)

The use of the @ in this post has become a common practice in social media in Spanish to avoid gender differentiation, the @ serves as a neutral gender creating a more inclusive discourse. In this case, it serves to address both women and men that 'live in misery'.

In relation to the post on the proposed tax to financial transactions, the following comment denotes how the financial crisis has transformed self-perceptions of Spain into a poor land:

Me da mucha pena pero esto lo tienen w arreglar los países ricos. No les veo yo con mucha voluntad

(I am very sorry but rich countries need to fix this. I don't see them very eager).

The video linked to this post includes economy ministries from four European countries, one of which is Spain. However, the participant states that 'rich countries need to fix this' [extreme inequality]. From her perspective, Spain is not included in this group.

On the other hand, a number of comments such as the one below reject this perception, urging others not to compare Spain with poor countries:

en España estamos pasando momentos difíciles , pero nada comparables al drama que se vive en esos países. Lo que para nosotros es abrir un grifo y tener agua, es imaginable para esta pobre gente.

(in Spain we are facing difficult times, but nothing compared to the drama in these countries. What for us is as easy as opening the water tub and having water, is imaginable for these poor people.)

The last part of the comment uses the term ‘imaginable’ to refer to something that could be pretended but is not a reality in poor countries as it is in Spain.

c) Eco-farming

The five analysed posts from the SSNC are related in different ways to eco-farming. Some of them use the hashtag ‘#byttileko’ (‘#changetoeco’), the most retweeted hashtag in the SSNC’s account totalling 37 tweets and 817 retweets (see Table 6.4). Eco-farming is also present in posts by IBIS, Hivos, Intermon Oxfam and Redmanglar Internacional.

The Swedish word ‘ekologiskt’ or the Danish ‘økologisk’ are both translated to mean ‘organic’ in English, which is also the term used in EU documentation¹¹² (paradoxically, when translated into German this same documentation speaks both of ‘biologische’ and ‘ökologischer’ land production).

There is a burgeoning amount of literature addressing ecological farming, also termed ‘agroecology’ (Warner 2007; Rosset & Martínez-Torres 2012; Gliessman 2013; McCune et al. 2014), considered as a different field from organic agriculture. Nils McCune et al. (2014) argue that the difference between organic and ecological is that, in many cases, in ‘organic farming synthetic inputs are simply replaced by purchased off-farm organic inputs without changing the structure of monoculture and agribusiness’ while applying ecological principles to agriculture ‘emphasizes internal inputs, nutrient cycling, energy efficiency, and local knowledge’ (:32)

The word ‘organic’ is mostly used to refer to a farming practice that avoids the use of chemicals and genetically modified organisms (GMOs). This is also part of ecological farming but ecological farming also involves sustainable diversified management (opposed to monoculture) and nature conservation.

¹¹² European Commission. Agriculture and Rural Development. Organic Farming. http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/organic/eu-policy/eu-legislation/index_en.htm Retrieved 11.02.2016

I came to confuse both terms when applying online translators to the data, where the Danish ‘øko’ and the Swedish ‘eko’ were both translated to ‘organic’. I fixed the error in translation but then discovered this distinction was a matter of debate in a thread on a post by the SSNC that supports ecological farming (S_16205):

Part.1:Ok, så ert exempel som skulle styrka att ekologiskt var bra visade sig inte vara ekologiskt utan agroekologiskt.

(Ok, so your example that would show evidence that organic was good turned out not to be organically BUT agroekologiskt.)

Naturskyddsföreningen Hej [Part.1], det är agroekologiskt jordbruk som utgår från ekologiska metoder. Läs gärna mer i denna rapport så får du en mer nyanserad bild: [link to report]

(Hi Part.1, it's agroecologic agriculture based on ecological methods. Please read more in this report to get a more nuanced picture: [link to report])

Part.2 ... og ekologisk får aldri handle bare om hvordan vi gjødsler eller tar hånd om jord og vekster på større eller mindre monokulturer, men så klart også om å bevare artsrikdom i jordbruket og i jordbrukslandskapet/kulturlandskapet.

(... and ecological never refers to just about how we fertilize or take care of the land and crops in larger or smaller monocultures, but of course also about preserving species diversity in agriculture and in the agricultural landscape / cultural landscape)

The first comment challenges the information provided by the SSNC, which the organisation responds to, as do many other comments such as the comment shown in Part.2 (written in Norwegian, in a Swedish thread) explaining ecological farming.

While ecological farming is the concept most emphasised in this category, its lines become stronger after discussions on ‘conventional farming’, namely farming practices with high yields and extensive use of pesticides and chemicals. It is interesting to note that, in the social imaginary, industrial-farming practices that use pesticides, GMOs and chemical fertilisers have acquired the label of ‘conventional’.

Part.1 Detta är en viktig diskussion, som jag läser drickande en kopp ekologiskt odlat kaffe, fairtrade,.Jag är medveten om att konventionell odling har högre avkastning. Kanske är det just därför som exempelvis eko-potatis, morötter, broccoli och avocado smakar markant bättre än konventionellt odlat!

(This is an important debate, as I read drinking a cup of organic coffee, fair trade, .I am aware that conventional crops have higher yields. Perhaps that is precisely why, for example, eco-potatoes, carrots, broccoli and avocado taste significantly better than conventionally grown!)

Part.2 Ekologiskt eller konventionellt. Tja vi blev eko-brukare efter det att vi lärt en hel del om konventionell odling. Jag tyckte att det var otäckt att behöva bära skyddskläder när vi behandlade mot ohyra, måsta låsa en massa preparat, gå kurser i hanterande osv osv.

(Ecological or conventional. Well, we became eco-farmers after we learned a lot about conventional farming. I thought it was scary to have to wear protective clothing when we treated against vermin, to have to lock up a lot of substances, to attend courses in handling etc etc.)

In this way, ‘conventional’ refers more to a ‘hegemonic’ nature than to a sense of being collectively agreed (convened). As this farming practice became hegemonic, proposals to return to farming practices less toxic to the environment need to propose new terminology. This is the case with ecological farming, a ‘de-contested’ form of farming closer to traditional forms of farming than to industrial practices. As suggested by Steger and Wilson (2012) the social imaginaries of alter-globalisation are sustained on de-contestation chains, as in this case.

Ecological farming also deals with fair wages for producers and the conservation of ecosystems on a global scale. Here, at least three major categories from the data are combined: conserving nature, trading and globalising concerns. Therefore ‘categorical’ distinctions are not helpful when clustering multiple, connected, but heterogeneous matters; this is where the structure of the rhizome is more appropriate for understanding their meaning.

d) Globalising concerns

‘Globalising concerns’ is the label used for grouping comments that explicitly suggest the global interrelation of issues, as for example these comment in the thread on eco-bananas on post S_36577:

Part.1 Detta betalar iaf jag gärna för att arbetarna inte ska behöva vara i en besprutad miljö och så att barnen slipper få i sig dessa gifter.

(This pays anyway I am happy that the workers should not have to be in a sprayed environment and that the children do not have to ingest these poisons.)

Part.2 Synd att dom ”glömmer” dom som drabbas allra värst av kemikalierna nämligen arbetare på plantager. Produktionsförhållandena är enda anledningen att jag väljer ekologiskt.

(Too bad that they “forget” them as the foremost victims of the chemicals namely workers on plantations. The relations of production are the only reason that I choose ecologic.)

The two comments by Swedish participants are not connected in the comment thread. They refer to the extra cost of ecological bananas produced in Southern countries where ‘the workers’ live. There is a concern for the health of the workers as well as for ‘the children’ who will consume these products, probably referring to children in Sweden.

It is interesting to note an implicit relation between bananas and children in many comments, as if the sole beneficiaries of banana consumption in Sweden are children. In comments such as the one above, the perceived risk of poison ingestion from chemically-sprayed products is expressed through a concern about children’s health above that of adults.

A strong subcategory in this group is labelled ‘caring about the local over the global’, which deals with the claim that, by focusing on international needs, local problems remain unsolved. This is connected to comments in the subcategories of ‘assessing development cooperation’ and ‘focusing on NGOs’ accountability’. This last subcategory is present in most comments where assessments are variously positive, negative or uninterested:

Vi kan ikke hjælpe både ude og inde, som det er nu, er det hele kun halvvejs.

(We cannot help both outside and inside, as it is now, it's all only halfway.)

This comment, on IBIS's post about Danish development cooperation in Latin America (I_o164), is framed by ambiguity. International cooperation is suggested to not be as efficient as national cooperation (e.g. the welfare system).

Other comments are more explicit in their desire to focus on the local, as exemplified by this comment on Hivos' post about the petition to EU representatives regarding budget cuts to development cooperation (H_161):

Motten ze helemaal afschaffen... In de blind maar doneren...zouden ze hier eens moeten doen bij onze oudjes....en mensen in nood.

(May completely abolish them... In the blind but donate... Would they instead spend this on our old people ...and people in need)

This participant, showing total disagreement with the campaign and with development cooperation, claims there is a lack of visibility about how the money received is being spent and suggests to keep the money at home and spend it on 'our old people and people in need'.

Another category in 'globalising concerns' is 'promoting global fairness'. The SSNC coined the hashtag '#grönrrättvisa'¹¹³ ('#greenfairness'), which is highlighted by a SSNC post about local communities struggling for environmental conservation and human rights.

e) Trading and economic issues

Trade and economy is another major category in the data but it is also closely linked to other categories. For example, this category is deeply related to grönrrättvisa as it includes many comments that deal with fair trade, focusing not only on conservation issues (which they also address), but on fair wages for producers and healthy products for consumers.

For example, Hivos' post on fair trade roses (H_130) is not intended to promote any particular firm but suggests to choose fair trade flowers for Mother's Day. Participants in this comment thread ask Hivos to provide a list of retailers of fair trade flowers. Hivos replies with a link to

¹¹³ '#grönrrättvisa' is defined by the SSNC as the struggle of indigenous people and local communities for the environment and social rights over the environment. As a hashtag it has spread to different social media such as Flipagram where this hashtag can be found as the title for a video about a Brazilian community affected by the construction of a dam <https://flipagram.com/f/bsII572IEC> Retrieved 11.02.2016

a published report containing this information. Afterwards, retailer names and locations not included in the list are highlighted by the discussion. However, the post also opens up the possibility for other participants to promote their own businesses:

Part.1 Eerlijk maar ook duurzaam natuurlijk [link to flower online shop]

(Fair but also durable naturally (link to flower online shop))

Part.2 Verras je moeder dit weekend met een prachtige bos eerlijke bloemen én een leuk jurkje van ?#lejurk?!

(Surprise your mom this weekend with a beautiful bunch of fair flowers and a nice dress from? #lejurk ?!)

The choice of the adverb ‘naturally’ in the text of the first comment is appropriate to emphasise the type of flowers offered by this group of flower retailers in the Netherlands. The second comment links to a second-hand shop of dresses that stress the notion of recycling. In this sense, both are connected to a notion of fairness and sustainable consumption.

Fair trade is an important aspect of Oxfam Intermon’s work as it manages a big network of stores selling fair traded products¹¹⁴. Oxfam International’s fair trade stores are highlighted in a comment on IBIS’s thread about its possible membership to Oxfam (I_1437):

For et par år siden var jeg i Lübeck i Tyskland, hvor jeg stødte på en Oxfambutik. Der er ingen, der siger, at vores ”metode” bliver butikker, men hvis vi vil have større indflydelse på debatten om global retfærdighed, så ville det være en god ting med en øget tilstedeværelse i en større del af Danmark.

(A few years ago I was in Lubeck, Germany, where I came across an Oxfam shop. Nobody is saying that our “method” will be shops, but if we want to have a greater say in the debate on global fairness, then it would be a good thing with an increased presence in a larger part of Denmark.)

The comment stresses the connection between fair trade shops and spreading the idea of global fairness in the national landscape.

¹¹⁴ The Fairtrade mark is a registered certification label provided by the international certification body Fairtrade International. Fairtrade Foundation. <http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/en/what-is-fairtrade/what-fairtrade-does> Oxfam Intermon’s stores sell fair traded products, as they state that ‘Fair trade empowers disadvantaged communities by paying them fair and stable prices for their work, helping them develop skills to run a sustainable business and giving them access to world markets’ Oxfam shop. About Fair Trade <http://www.oxfamshop.org.au/fairtrade> Retrieved 11.02.2016

The posts analysed from Oxfam Intermon's account do not directly include those related to fair trade, although comments do link to local fair trade stores:

Acordaros de comprar los regalos de Navidad, y todo (café, té, chocolate.. arroz) en la tienda de comercio justo de Intermón, en calle Muñoz Olivé, junto al Corte Inglés de la Magdalena.

(Remember to buy Christmas gifts, and everything (coffee, tea, chocolate.. rice) in Intermón's fair trade shop, Muñoz Olive street, next to Corte Ingles at La Magdalena [Sevilla, Spain])

This comment is unrelated to the main post but it connects to a higher objective of Oxfam, namely fundraising for supporting projects, therefore advertising a fair trade shop in Sevilla is actually not unconnected to the main post.

Oxfam's fundraising post is intended to engage Spanish citizens. It is part of a major communication strategy as shown in the following comments:

Part.1 Y seguir con la mierda de anuncio este con el biberón... eso si que no tiene explicacion.

(And keep using this crappy advertisement, with a baby's bottle ... it simply hasn't got an explanation.)

Part.2 Pues ahora está en las marquesinas de los autobuses. Vamos, para más señas, justo en la de en frente de mi casa. Me ha dado una alegría verlo esta mañana... Tranquila, que no se van a bajar del burro. Ya han dicho que el biberón es un recipiente más y punto pelota.

(Now it is in bus shelters. Come on, to be exact, right in front of my house. I was so happy to watch it this morning ... Take it ease, they will not give up. They have already said that the bottle is a container and that is all.)

Participants are against the picture in the announcement and point out how this is also displayed around the city. This is a local campaign, as sending the fundraising text message is only possible within country borders. Many comments refer to problems with mobile providers.

Comments in this category (trade, money, funds) connect with the category of the local in globalised media. When translated to social media, this banner advertisement brings about positive affordances such as problem solving relating to sending the text message from different places in the country. It also affords a discussion about the issue, and the possibility to raise concerns about inequality problems. However, its negative affordance is that it localises

the issue to within Spanish borders, discouraging participation from global audiences that social media address.

This category also includes comments dealing with global trade agreements, globalisation, fair trade, ecological production and communication, and connects to another major category: ‘assessing policy’.

f) Assessing policy

As politics is a major concern for SMOs, its presence in digital interaction is expected. Comment threads become spaces for expressing agreements and disagreements with the political system; the way governments address local problems and engage with global concerns. Perceived neo-colonialism practices are denounced as well as anti-democratic regimes and corrupt practices.

As mentioned above, the financial crisis provides the context for the posts on Intermon Oxfam and, as a result, local polity is sharply assessed:

A los españoles nos han visto cara de tontos , todo el mundo nos pide y nadie nos da , el gobierno nos pide sacrificios , los bancos dinero , los corruptos que miremos para otro lado , los empresarios que trabajemos por cuatro euros , y los partidos políticos que nos hagamos los tontos, hasta las esquinas están llenas de gente pidiéndonos y me pregunto cuando nos darán algo a nosotros

(They are relying on us, the foolish Spaniards, everyone asks us and nobody gives back, the government asks us to sacrifice, banks money, the corrupt to look the other way, entrepreneurs to work for four euros, and political parties that we become fools, ever corner is filled with people pleading and wonder when they will give us something)

Comments such as the one above, showing a marked distrust for political parties and politics in general, are frequent in threads.

Since international cooperation between Europe and Ecuador was among the criteria for selecting these organisations, it is interesting to realise that the imaginary of policy in Southern countries is mostly framed around corruption of the ruling class, which is emphasised in a number of comments. However, other comments point to corruption as a global issue:

Part.1 Men bemærk at de styrer og eliter ofte er holdt i live af udenlandske interesser pp
bekostning af de fattige

*(But note that the controllers and elites are often kept alive by foreign interests at
the expense of the poor)*

Part.2 ... du kan ikke inddele verden på den måde. Den korrupte elite du referer til er
hverken særlig afrikansk, asiatisk eller noget som helst andet; den er international.

*(... you can not divide the world in this way. The corrupt elite you refer to are
neither particularly African, Asian or anything else; it is international.)*

Extreme economic inequalities are often suggested to be the result of corruption, combined
with the presence of tax heavens, which are also frequently challenged in comments.

Distrust is expressed for Oxfam's and other SMOs' proposed new tax on financial transactions
(O_9190), as exemplified by this comment:

Menudo timo con forma de timo. La Tasa Tobin, -que se implantará y es lo mismo de
siempre, transferencia de dinero de los ciudadanos a los gobiernos a través de los bancos-
va a servir en España para comprar armas.

*(Huge rip-off scam. The proposed Tobin Tax, is the same old story, money transferred
from the citizens to the governments through banks - it will serve in Spain to buy
weapons.)*

As in the comment above, there is a constant rejection of armament expenditure and all type of
calls for violent confrontation. Issues of power, namely political power, sustained by economic
power are addressed in a number of comments:

Hvad der ikke nævnes her er den enorme magt, der følger med alle de penge, kan vi få
dem til at give noget af magten fra sig?

*(What is not mentioned here is the enormous power that comes with all the money, can
we have them give away some power?)*

Inequality is assessed as civil society's lack of power. A number of comments stress the need
to strengthen civil society and empower people:

Me parece que hace falta creer en el trabajo de organización de masas... Es lo que queda... formar políticamente y organizar al rededor de los intereses reales del pueblo... Y ya sabemos que no es a corto plazo...

(I think it is necessary to believe in the work of mass organisation ... It is what is left ... political training and organisation around the real interests of the people ... And we know that it is not in the short-term...)

The last comment appears on Redmanglar Internacional's post about a community of ecological farmers in Nicaragua who are opposing a mining project due to its negative impact on farmland (RM_681). The selection of language is markedly different to the rest of comments: 'organising the masses', 'political training' and the 'real interest of the people' are terms used in Marxist theory. Other comments in this thread refer to taking up arms against the mining company and the government that has allowed the project:

Part.1 que se levanten en armas

(rise up in arms)

Part.2 Fuerza. Duro con esos prepotentes. A defender los patrimonios.

(Strength. [fight] hard against those pushy. Let's defend our heritage.)

Part.3 Tanto irrespeto gubernamental calienta la sangreno sé si se darán cuenta de que están provocando violenciapor eso entiendo tu llamado a las armas [Part.1]

(This continuous government disrespect heats people upI don't know if they realise they are producing violencethat's why I do understand your call to arms [Part.1])

These comments and others in this thread call for violent collective action, blaming the government for sponsoring environmental damage through the mining project. Discourses are framed around violent calls to oppose the project. However, similar to other posts, the thread also contains dialogue around this and proposals to reflect on the calls for violence:

Me parece muy bien que la gente se organice y luche por sus intereses... Pero es fuera de lugar hablar de “tomar las armas” Como se nota lo lejos que andamos del ejercicio democrático!

(For me it seems very good that people organise and struggle for their interests... But is out of place to speak of “taking up arms” as it shows how far we are from a democratic exercise!)

This last comment points to how democracy, as a political system, is being threatened by the violent calls made in the earlier comments. This comment takes a similar turn to the previous example of a participant disagreeing with the SSNC’s call to ‘shrimp-bomb’ restaurants. In both cases, a call for debate and reflection over the proposed violent action is stressed.

The capitalist world economy is also challenged in some comments, as in the thread on I_311 about extreme economic inequality:

Hér ser man klart og tydeligt, hvorfor kapitalismen ikke dur...

(Here we see clearly why capitalism does not work...)

The comment possibly refers to the private ownership of capital that sustains the economic system, as the original post stresses the huge economic gap between the richest and the poorest people on Earth.

g) Miscellaneous categories

There are a number of other categories that are stressed in the discourse but they are too disperse to be included into the major categories, and trying to make them fit into these categories would create complex and artificial linkages. Moreover, Garcia Canclini (2014) quotes a metaphor which can be applied to the development of discourses in all of these categories: ‘contrary to the old image of pluralism as a symphony, with each group playing its own instrument: the result is a jangling discord’ (:81). To some extent, these miscellaneous categories are included in more than one of the major categories and relate to each other, and with the rest of subcategories in their heterogeneity. They happen separately (deterritorialised) yet are interconnected. Therefore, I would suggest their relationship is rhizomatic.

These categories are: calling for solidarity, focusing on the family, religious framing, emphasising ownership, emphasising the present and underscoring research.

- *Solidarity* and fellowship are highlighted in comments, regardless of the theme of the post, particularly as a means to fight inequality and to achieve fairness. Solidarity is a complex concept. As suggested by Kenneth Surin (2010): ‘making this axiomatic claim is easy; what is more difficult is ascertaining how these forms of social solidarity are to be generated and sustained’ (:446).

Man kan da håbe at ordet solidaritet ikke er gået i glemmebogen til fordel for selvrealisering

(Let's hope that the word solidarity is not sunk into oblivion in favour of self-realisation)

- *Family* refers to the roles individuals play as family members and roles within a family. Comments refer to livelihoods for the family, to special occasions where family life is highlighted, and other instances where individuals are mentioned primarily in relation to their role as family members.

The modern social imaginary, as suggested by Taylor (2004) goes beyond the previous self-understanding of individuals embedded in society. Taylor names modernisation as the ‘great disembedding’ (:65), where individuals are able to conceive themselves first as free individuals, apart from kin relations and society.

‘Focusing on the family’, as the previous category of solidarity, can be viewed as being opposed to the imaginary of ‘modern individualism’ (Taylor 2004:62) in what Freedon (2013) refers to as a form of ‘de-contesting’ this imaginary, re-establishing the former imaginary of people as members of a family who work together to achieve common good in society. Steger et al. (2013) stresses the ability of alter-global imaginaries to generate de-contestation chains. In this case, the contested idea of the family preventing individual self-realisation is decontested and presented as an important way for society to move towards the desired change.

- The category of *religion* relates to comments framed around spirituality and emphasise religion beliefs contained in the Christian bible. It is particularly present in comment threads in Spanish from Oxfam Intermon, Hivos South America and Redmanglar Internacional:

Es verdad que todos somos iguales ante Dios, todos tenemos la oportunidad de aceptar a Cristo y sus enseñanzas, sino lo hacemos escogemos nuestro propio destino, luego no le diga a Dios “porque sufro tanto”.

(It is true that we are all equal before God, we all have the opportunity to accept Christ and his teachings, but we do choose our own destiny, then don't ask God “why do I suffer so much”.)

Taylor (2004) analyses how the modern imaginary, which stresses secularity, has failed to completely displace religion from the public sphere. As he suggests ‘regimes founded on common action in profane time are in a certain sense based on a common will’ (:188). Martín-Barbero (2003:216) suggests that popular forms of hope, religiosity and melodramatics characterise Latin-American popular culture, even though these expressions are condemned in the hegemonic discourses of development.

- The data constantly refers to comments that express a feeling of *ownership* towards places, events, located attitudes and situated actions. This category is different from comments that prioritise the local over the global: they refer to particular visions of things that have happened and are relevant, and are therefore viewed by the participant as giving them a sense of ownership:

que verdad más bonita ... conozco estas mujeres que acompañan fraternalmente mi maternidad como yo su atadito ☺

(what a beautiful truth... I know these women accompanying fraternally my maternity as I [accompany] their hopes ☺)

The comment above is about Hivos South America's post on women's right to choose on motherhood (SA_425). The comment is written by a woman who is pregnant; as she says, she ‘knows these women’ (women that chosen not to have children), and they are her sisters, her buddies. She makes the post her own, locating it in her space of action.

- Emphasising the *present*: a number of comments emphasise their rejection of unfair situations, as they are considered unacceptable when judged by current standards (in contrast to their acceptance in the past). This focuses on the idea of the dynamic nature of social imaginaries. For instance, child labour, which was a common and accepted practice in the past, is deemed unacceptable in the social imaginaries of the present:

Dat dit in het jaar 2015 nog bestaat !!! Ongelofelijk

(That in year 2015 this still exists !!! Incredible)

This comment is about Hivos' post on child labour in fashion (H_351). Child labour is considered an activity of the past and is deeply rejected in social media discourses, as was analysed in last chapter's discussion on hashtags about child labour. In this case, the reference to current times is used to criticise an unacceptable situation that should remain in the past. Similar comments emerge in connection with, for example, corruption, gender bullying and a lack of drinking water.

- Underscoring *research* focuses on the way participants stress the importance of research and scientific studies. The following comment emerged in response to many others in the thread of post S_16205 about ecological farming:

Blir lite rädd när man läser att 'ingen forskare i världen kan övertyga mig'. Är förtroendet för forskningen så lågt? Kära vänner, det handlar inte om vad en studie säger vid ett tillfälle. Vi måste bli bättre på att förstå hur vetenskap fungerar. En studie publiceras med ett resultat. Ok. Då handlar det om att följa upp den studien, varför får man det resultatet? Vad säger andra studier? Kolla upp studierna själv. Läs på från kritiskt granskade källor. Det är så vetenskap fungerar. Man granskar kritiskt varandras forskning. Avvikande studier välkomnas som ett sätt att kritiskt granska den egna forskningen för att försäkra sig att man inte gjort fel.

(Gets a little scary when one reads that 'no scientist in the world can convince me'. Is confidence in research so low? Dear friends, it is not about what one study says at one point. We must become better at understanding how science works. A study is published with one result. Ok. This is about following up the study, why does it come to that result? What do other studies say? Check up the studies. Read on from critically reviewed sources. It's how science works. It examines critically each other's research. Dissenting studies are welcomed as a way to critically [scientists] review their own research, to ensure it is not at fault.)

The importance of research is also stressed in other comments, for instance in the post by Redmanglar Internacional about the Zapoton Forests in Mexico (RM_1381):

Part.1 Estaria buena una investigacion de flora y fauna, antes de que todo se pierda

(A research of flora and fauna would be good, before all is lost)

Part.2 claro [Part1.], se tiene que hacer un estudio en esa zona, nosotros somos de la idea que hay cosas nuevas como son nuevos registros de anfibios y reptiles para esta reserva pues

(of course [Part1.], a study of this area is needed, we believe that there are new things such as new records of amphibians and reptiles for this reserve, for sure.)

7.5 THE SOCIAL IMAGINARIES OF GLOBAL FAIRNESS

The analysis of discourses within posts from SMOs points to the concepts contained in the imaginaries of alter-globalisation that they reflect (Steger et al. 2013).

Table 7.1 shows both the core ideological concepts proposed by Steger and his group in their analysis of SMOs and the major categories that emerge from the discourses of participants in digital interaction for advocacy within this study. In essence, there are no striking differences between the core concepts of SMOs and those of participants in digital interaction.

Justice globalism: core ideological concepts (Steger et al. 2013:18)	Major categories in digital interaction for advocacy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformative change • Participatory democracy • Equality of access to resources and opportunities • Social justice • Universal rights • Global solidarity • Sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stressing equality • Conserving nature • Eco-farming • Globalising concerns • Trading and economic issues • Assessing policy

Table 7.1 Core concepts in advocacy discourses

There are many similarities between Steger's core concepts and the major categories of this study. Discourses that stress equality, assess policy and highlight nature conservation and eco-farming might refer to the concept of 'transformative change' as their aim is to change and transform unfair situations and practices. However, manifest references to universal rights, which is a core category in Steger's study of SMOs, are not included in the analysed data. Participants in digital interaction do not explicitly refer to universal rights although issues involving economic, gender and cultural equality, and references to cases of perceived inequality, could point to a contained social imaginary of universal rights, expressed in terms of fairness at different levels. Many comments assess the current political system, and many others focus on the economic system. Both are entwined when dealing with issues surrounding the provision of basic services such as drinking water, health, child and elderly care.

Steger's category of participatory democracy is not spelled out in the discourses. Katja Freistein (2014) suggests that 'there is no easy heuristic that accounts for the causal relationship between equality/inequality and democracy, much less even on a global scale' (:6). This also applies to the data in this study where it can be suggested that the discourses about equality underlay participation and democracy, even though those are not explicitly spelled.

Equality is highlighted, together with fairness, in discourses on fair wages, the fair use of nature, ecological farming for a fair treatment of the land in order to achieve sustainability, fair trade, and honesty as opposed to corruption; a major concern that emerges in the data for global fairness. Steger's concept of 'transformative change' could be viewed in the comments dealing with extreme economic inequality and the need to change it.

Trading and economic issues is considered a major category in the discourses. This includes issues of fair trade where fair wages to producers, sustainability, nature conservation and health matters come together. This category also deals with international trading agreements and treaties that are global in their scope. Thus, social imaginaries of the market and its prevailing presence in all activities are firmly part of the social imaginaries. But imaginaries of the market as an overruling power, or what Freire (2004) describes as 'democracy founded in the ethics of the market', are not present in the discourses analysed.

Ecological farming and nature conservation are core categories in the data. Describing as 'conventional' extensive industrial farming practices that differ greatly from ecological farming practices is an example of how social imaginaries evolve. The hegemonic production system of industrial farming has acquired the attribute of conventionality and has thus become the ruling agricultural system in the current social imaginaries. As a result, proposals to dismantle this way of farming and move into ecological farming practices also require a dynamic change in the social imaginaries. In relation to Steger's concept of 'sustainability', the data, while related to sustainability, emphasises the environment and highlights the ecological dimension of production and the dynamics of ecosystems. It can be suggested that even though both ideas deal with the same notion, emphasis in the data is given to nature instead of durability.

As has been argued throughout this study, digital interaction is characterised by its rhizomatic structure and therefore major categories emerge side-by-side with other miscellaneous categories, which are connected yet disparate. These miscellaneous categories involve issues such as solidarity, family, religion and research. In addition, they are entwined with expressive categories that focus on the process of communication and the means to exchange and generate information.

7.6 CONCLUSION

The first two stages of the cycle of digital interaction, namely posting and sharing, show the expressive nature of this communicative process. Participants are able to share their reflections, react in different ways, disclose their concerns with their networks and open them up to other connected networks through the affordances of social media.

The Facebook timelines of SMOs provide the means for people to express their concerns, discuss, share ideas, and engage in online and offline actions on issues they consider relevant. Comments on posts can be referred to as textual utterances where grammatical and spelling errors are frequent. Typos could be the result of the use of mobile devices, haste or excitement when posting, but they can also point to participants' low literacy levels.

Disagreement with the content of posts and comments are not always framed in argument and dialogue, many times they lead to flaming threads. In these threads, instead of providing arguments participants get into an aggressive discussion that interrupts dialogue. Sometimes, flaming threads are stopped by comments that move the flaming thread into a different issue, which transfers flaming into the context of disagreement and the provision of an opposing argument.

Topic dispersion is also characteristic in the expressivity of comments. The main topics proposed in posts can lead to a multiplicity of other topics into which conversations split. This scattered landscape depicts the rhizomatic structure underlying digital interaction.

In comments, fatalistic visions are confronted with optimistic ones that visualise hope and propose actions to change identified unfair situations and practices. However, scepticism for realising both the utopian and dystopian discourses is present and is pondered equally as much as other visions present in digital interaction.

As digital interaction is a communication process, meta-communication often forms part of the discourses. Concerns often raised in literature about virtual dystopias and the cultural pessimism of ICTs (Yar 2014), which focus on the dehumanising nature of the media and its dominance, are nuanced in the discourses analysed where a personal engagement in politics and in humanitarian, social, cultural and environmental causes underpin the conversations.

Even though digital interaction is a multi-way communication process between a multiplicity of participants, by enabling their Facebook accounts to provide spaces for interaction, or better, for ‘connective action’ (Bennett & Segerberg 2013) SMOs play an important role. In these timelines, SMOs and participants not only deliver information but are responsible for facilitating debate and encouraging the negotiation of shared meanings and understandings, reconsidering their previous considerations in a dialogic process. In this way, SMOs encourage social movement learning on what Freire (2004:19) suggests as ‘liberating critical pedagogy’, enabling participants to reflect critically over concerns and taking actions for change.

The two latter stages of the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy, cooperating and acting, take this path. Through these two stages, six major shared categories emerge from the data: equality, nature conservation, ecological farming, globalisation, trade and economic issues and policy.

These major categories are part of the current social imaginaries of participants in digital interaction for advocacy. For instance, the core category of ‘conserving nature’ moves beyond the social imaginary of modernisation, in which forests, natural landscapes and wildlife were considered useless to production and wealth generation therefore justifying their radical transformation and extensive exploitation. The data points to social imaginaries that emphasise nature conservation and ecological farming practices for the benefit of the environment, which includes humans as part of the environment rather than separate from it. The imaginaries of globalisation are also present throughout the main categories, these emphasise the interconnection of ecosystems, of ICTs, of trading activities and of leisure.

The major categories –as well as the scattered, miscellaneous categories– are immersed in the social imaginaries of our times, in which a sense of fairness is emphasised.

Within the cycle of digital interaction, the first two steps of posting and sharing point to the expressive nature of digital interaction, and could indeed be equated with ‘slacktivism’ as they neither reflect nor act towards a desired change. However, cooperating and acting, engaging in the logic of connective action, is decidedly not a form of slacktivism but a very real way to have a say in the public debate.

CONCLUSIONS

To develop this study, my main research question has been whether and how social imaginaries of global fairness are present in digital interaction. The answer is that social imaginaries of global fairness are indeed found and shared in digital interaction and they are presented and shared in the discourses built by participants, cooperating and acting for advocacy.

This research project focused on three features of the social, namely social imaginaries, social movements and social media with sheer focus on communication, distinct from political sciences, organisational studies or marketing and management:

- Social imaginaries are approached from the way they are shared and built in communication, and the way they are expressed and spread.
- Social movements are understood from their ability to communicate their purposes and from the way SMOs, composed of like-minded individuals working together and creating networks worldwide to exercise counter power through communication and action, strive for change.
- Social media are analysed as spaces for collective and connective action, where different voices, languages, dreams and hopes come into dialogue in its two-fold meaning of reflection and action (Freire 2005).

The analysis deals with a duality. From one side, it analyses digital interaction –the multi-way, web-mediated communication process– from its rhizomatic structure where no central or fixed axis can be named, rather what is emphasised is the importance of multiplicities, heterogeneities and the possibilities to reproduce; communicating acts with self-tailored and enhanced variations in different spaces. A rhizomatic analysis describes how apparently unconnected issues, concerns, actions and networks of people come together in digital interaction.

On the other hand, the content and main concerns of discourses are analysed through the approach of grounded theory. This approach leads to momentarily freeze the dynamics of digital interaction through a type of snapshot, which allows for an analysis of the content of discourses through an iterative process of coding. In the analysis, the cycle of digital interaction for advocacy, composed of four consecutive stages of posting, sharing, cooperating and acting, has been proposed. The first two stages focus mainly on the expressive nature of this communicative process. The latter two deal with participant's actual commitment to connective action to strive for change.

Through the digital interaction cycle for advocacy the data collected in Twitter is clustered at the first two stages of posting and sharing. To move into the following stages of cooperating and acting it is necessary to follow hashtags, mentions and links that constitute the affordances of this medium. The metaphor of the rhizome illustrates how concerns spread into other accounts and are connected with other concerns contained in tweets through the use of hashtags, mentions and links. Thus, the duality between the structure of digital interaction and its content emerges in the analysis. As a result, following the Twitter accounts of SMOs emphasises the core concepts contained in the discourses of SMOs but it does not provide access to the insights and social imaginaries of the participants in digital interaction.

Communication in social media, closer to spoken than to written language, is full of typos and grammatical errors in any language. The analysis has focused less on language issues and more on the content of the textual utterances that allow participants to share their ideas, views and thoughts. Typos and errors could point to rush and haste and the use of mobile devices connected with social media, where well-written and elaborated texts are infrequent. However, grammatical errors could also point to the different literacy levels of participants in digital interaction, which could suggest the democratisation of communication through the advent of the Web 2.0.

Multilingualism in social media played an important role in the analysis of digital interaction: 18 different languages are present in the data analysed. In the interactions studied, apart from a comment thread dealing with a misunderstanding in the translation of a press release related to one of the posts, no participants' reactions can be accounted when different languages are suddenly used in comment threads. It can be suggested that the presence of a multiplicity of languages is considered ubiquitous in digital interaction sustained by the affordances of the internet and SMS that provide translation features into different languages. Multilingual conversations are possible in the digital world through asynchronous and mediated communication, which provide the means to establish conversations at the same time in different languages. Nevertheless, the data show that comments in languages different from the post's main language do not trigger conversations to the same extent as main languages do, and most comments in different languages are not responded to, therefore it would be overstating the point to speak of multilingual conversations. The topic of multilingualism in digital interaction for advocacy is an open field that needs further research and analysis and supersedes the scope of this study.

This study might be described as techno-tailored. It accomplishes its aspiration to conduct an online study, archiving and analysing data that only exists in the digital world where people are interacting. The ubiquitous presence of the internet is contained in the data archived, uninterrupted during 18 months of steady digital interaction.

Dystopian imaginaries of the internet that fear the dehumanising effects of technology are dismissed by the results of this project, showing that it is not only possible but achievable for people worldwide to have a say in the different social concerns raised by SMOs.

The design of the study includes SMOs that are networking between Europe and Ecuador. The data analysed was retrieved from Facebook and Twitter accounts managed from five European countries: Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium and Spain and from regional offices in Latin America based in Bolivia, Guatemala and Ecuador. Even though the project's scope did not include the analysis of regional differences or similarities in digital interaction, nevertheless the data displays differences among regions. While in Latin American accounts, the rate of comments, which cooperate to dialogue and connective action about concerns proposed by SMOs is rather low, the European accounts display a high level of participation and cooperation leading to connective action. Latin American comment threads are characterised by displaying more expressivity, and less reflection and action, than European comment threads. The analysis of these differences is an open area for further research on participation and engagement in digital interaction.

National imaginaries are not striking in digital interaction. When nationalistic claims arise, they are frequently challenged by wider understandings of society, which point to different strains of unfairness as worldwide struggle. Therefore, it can be suggested that social imaginaries in digital interaction are global, and countries are understood as part of the globe. Consequently, discourses on global fairness go beyond understandings of political borders.

It is also possible to suggest that it is not only staff and members of SMOs who embrace imaginaries of global fairness, these imaginaries are present in the conversations of all participants but are entwined with market imaginaries dealing with the economic ruling system. Nevertheless, the idea of society founded in the ethics of the market and solely stirred by private profit, which are the foundations of market-oriented imaginaries, is certainly not present in the discourses analysed.

Global fairness lies at the core of the social imaginaries of the participants in digital interaction for advocacy. The six major categories identified in discourses, namely conserving nature, stressing equality, eco-farming, globalising concerns, trading and economic issues, and assessing policy are all interconnected and are suggested to characterise global fairness imaginaries. Fairness and globalisation exist as a sort of transversal axes to all categories. They are expressed through discourses around fair wages, ecological farming for a fair treatment of the land, fair trade, and a fair assessment of cultural, gender and language differences; all approached from their interconnectedness on a global scale.

It is not possible to dismiss the affordances of connective action for advocacy by suggesting they are only displays of expressivity. Although they do display the expressivity, emotions and desires of participants, through reflection and action, digital interaction for advocacy turns into a tool that enhances change in a rhizomatic global society, where heterogeneity and multiplicities are present, issues are deterritorialized and approached through different entryways and connections, strengthened by the desire of a fair world for all; turning this utopia into a dream to pursue, a vision for realising hope.

As analysed in the data, not all SMOs studied actually provide the means for participants to interact digitally. Some of the accounts are closed for postings and not all of them partake in dialogue, limiting their participation to the delivery of information instead. Those SMOs that enable digital interaction are no longer mere brokers of information as they now empower participants to interact on their digital channels in order to strive for a change in society. The challenge for SMOs is to engage more participants worldwide who can come into meaningful conversation, cooperation and action.

Advocacy 2.0 also involves the active participation of SMOs as facilitators for participants' personalised engagement in advocacy. They facilitate dialogue, in its duality of reflection and action. As a result, their digital channels become spaces for social movement learning where participants collectively strengthen and give sense to their actions, imbuing the imaginaries of global fairness in society. It is in this way that Advocacy 2.0 can be understood as a type of communication for social change.

This study has sought to be a state of the art analysis of the discipline of communication for social change, focusing on advocacy organisations performing within the media ecologies of our time. It has provided some answers about the presence of social imaginaries of global fairness in digital interaction, though many questions remain.

Future research may lead to an understanding of what conditions are needed for digital interaction to go beyond expressivity and enter into engagement and connective action that can lead to achieve social change. It may also lead to an understanding of how ICTs can enhance language diversity and multilingual conversations. Finally, it should contribute to identifying the pervasive social imaginaries that remain in conflict for the accomplishment of fairness, initially at a local level, which in tandem can spread into the global imaginaries.

As suggested by Freire, the first step for emancipatory learning is 'to name the world'; research should contribute to bringing to light the affordances of Advocacy 2.0 for providing participants with the means for expressing, and collectively building, a more inclusive, participatory, diverse, multicultural and egalitarian global society.

REFERENCES

- Ackland, R., & O'Neil, M. (2013). Online collective identity: The case of the environmental movement. In C. Hine (Ed.), *Virtual methods: issues in social research on the Internet* (Vol. 3, pp. 239-272). London: Sage.
- Acosta, A. (2011). El buen (con)vivir, una utopía por (re)construir: alcances de la Constitución de Montecristi. *OBETS. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 6(1), 35-67.
- Acosta, R. (2012). Advocacy Networks Through a Multidisciplinary Lens: Implications for Research Agendas. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 23(1), 156-181.
- Agudelo, P. A. (2011). To Plot Sense, Weave Signs, Narrate Actions: A Semiotic Look at Social Imaginary Significations. *Lenguaje*, 39(1), 231-252.
- Albert, M. (2014). *Realizing hope: life beyond capitalism*. London: Zed Books.
- Aliaga, F., & Pintos, J. L. (2012). Introducción: La investigación en torno a los imaginarios sociales. *RIPS. Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociológicas*, 12(2), 11-17.
- Allen, M. (2012). What was Web 2.0? Versions as the dominant mode of internet history. *New Media & Society*, 1-16.
- Altmann, P. (2014). Good Life As a Social Movement Proposal for Natural Resource Use: The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador. *Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development*, 12(1), 82-94.
- Alvarez, S. E., Dagnino, E., Escobar, A., & Lind, A. (1999). *Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: re-visioning Latin American social movements* (Vol. XV).
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Angel, S.-C. (2012). *Uniting Diverse Organizations*: Taylor and Francis.
- Appadurai, A. (2000). Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination. *Public Culture*, 12(1), 1-19.
- Apple, M., & Wau, W. (2009). Politics, Theory, and Reality in Critical Pedagogy. In R. Cowen & A. Kazamias (Eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (Vol. 22, pp. 991-1007): Springer Netherlands.
- Arora, P. (2015). Usurping Public Leisure Space for Protest: Social Activism in the Digital and Material Commons. *Space and Culture*, 18(1), 55-68.
- Arthurs, A. (2003). Snapshot: Social Imaginaries and Global Realities. *Public Culture*, 15(3), 579-586.
- Backstrom, L., Boldi, P., Rosa, M., Ugander, J., & Vigna, S. (2012). Four degrees of separation. Retrieved September 25th, 2015, from <http://arxiv.org/abs/1111.4570>
- Baczko, B. (2005). *Los Imaginarios Sociales: memorias y esperanzas colectivas* (P. Betesh, Trans.). Argentina: Nueva Visión.
- Barranquero, A. (2006). Reclamando Voces. Contribución Latinoamericana a la Comunicación para el Cambio Social. *Redes.com*, 3.
- Barranquero, A. (2011). Rediscovering the Latin American Roots of Participatory Communication for Social Change. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 8(1), 154-177.
- Barranquero, A., & Rosique, G. (2014). La formación en comunicación/educación para el cambio social en la universidad española: Rutas para un diálogo interdisciplinar. *Cuadernos.info*, 83-102.

- Batista, A. F. (2014). Experiencias de formación: la Vía Campesina Sudamérica. *Soberanía Alimentaria. Biodiversidad y Culturas*, 16, 27-28.
- Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (2013). *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo* (Vol. 2.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 611-639.
- Bennett, W. L. (2005). Social movements beyond borders: understanding two eras of transnational activism. In D. Della Porta & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *Transnational protest and global activism* (pp. 203-226). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action : digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birchmeier, Z., Dietz-Uhler, B., & Stasser, G. (2011). *Strategic Uses of Social Technology: An Interactive Perspective of Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blair, H. (1997). Donors, Democratisation and Civil Society: Relating Theory to Practice. In D. Hulme & M. Edwards (Eds.), *NGOs, states and donors: Too close for comfort?* (pp. 23-42).
- Blank, G., & Reisdorf, B. C. (2012). The Participatory Web. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(4), 537-554.
- Bloch, D., & Borges, N. (2002). Organisational learning in NGOs: An example of an intervention based on the work of Chris Argyris. *Development in Practice*, 12(3), 461-472.
- Blumer, H. (1971). Collective Behaviour. In A. McClung Lee (Ed.), *Principles of Sociology* (pp. 164-222). New York: Barnes & Nobles.
- Bosch, T. E. (2010). Theorizing Citizens' Media: A Rhizomatic Approach. In C. Rodriguez, D. Kidd & L. Stein (Eds.), *Making our media : global initiatives toward a democratic public sphere*. (Vol. 1. Creating new communication spaces, pp. 71-90). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- boyd, d., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210-230.
- boyd, d., Ellison, N. B., Sandvig, C., & Dutton, W. H. (2013). Sociality Through Social Network Sites. In (Vol. 1): Oxford University Press.
- boyd, d., Golder, S., & Lotan, G. (2010). Tweet, Tweet, Retweet: Conversational Aspects of Retweeting on Twitter. *HICSS*, 43(IEEE: Kauai, HI, January 6.).
- Breton, V., Cortez, D., & Garcia, F. (2014). En busca del Sumak Kawsay. *Íconos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales.*, 48, 9-24.
- Brighenti, A. M. (2010). *Visibility in Social Theory and Social Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bruckmann, M., & Dos Santos, T. (2005). Los movimientos sociales en America Latina: un balance historico., *Seminário Internacional REG GEN: Alternativas Globalização*. Hotel Gloria, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil: Unesco.
- Brühl, T. (2010). Representing the People? NGOs in International Negotiations. In J. Steffek & K. Hahn (Eds.), *Evaluating transnational NGOs* (pp. 181-199). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2011). The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics., *6th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*. University of Iceland, Reykjavik.
- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2015). Twitter Hashtags from Ad Hoc to Calculated Publics. In N. Rambukkana (Ed.), *Hashtag publics: the power and politics of discursive networks* (pp. 13-28). New York: Peter Lang.

- Buechler, S. M. (2004). The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action. In H. Kriesi, D. A. Snow & S. A. Soule (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 47-66). USA, UK, Australia: Blackwell Publishing.
- Buechler, S. M. (2011). *Understanding social movements: theories from the Classical Era to the present*. Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers.
- Cabrera, D. (2004). La matriz imaginaria de las nuevas tecnologías. *Communication and Society/Comunicación y Sociedad*, 17(1), 9-45.
- Cabrera, J., Filgueira, E., Aliaga, F., & Carretero, E. (2009). Pobre Latinoamérica rica. Reconstrucción del imaginario "Latinoamérica". *Revista Sociedad Hoy. Universidad de Concepción.*, 17, 11-27.
- Caers, R., De Feyter, T., De Couck, M., Stough, T., Vigna, C., & Du Bois, C. (2013). Facebook: A literature review. *New Media & Society*, 15(6), 982-1002.
- Calapucha, C. (2012). *Los Modelos de Desarrollo*. Cuenca, Ecuador: Universidad de Cuenca.
- Canel, E. (1997). New Social Movement and Resource Mobilization: The Need for Integration. In M. Kaufman & H. Dilla (Eds.), *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy* (pp. 189-221). London: Zed Books.
- Carey, J. W. (2002). A cultural approach to communication. In D. McQuail (Ed.), *McQuail's reader in mass communication theory* (pp. 36-45). London: SAGE.
- Castells, M. (2009). *Power of Identity : Economy, Society, and Culture* (2nd ed. Vol. 1). Hoboken, NJ, USA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of Outrage and Hope : social movements in the internet age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Castells, M. (2013). *Communication power* (3rd. ed ed.). Oxford [u.a.]: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The Imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Cerdà, M. O. (2011). Origen y evolución del movimiento de justicia ambiental. *Ecología Política*(41), 17-24.
- Chakravarty, P. (2014). Anti-Politics and Information Societies in the South. In K. G. Wilkins, J. D. Straubhaar & S. Kumar (Eds.), *Global communication: new agendas in communication* (pp. 168-182). New York; London: Routledge.
- Challand, B. (2012). Socialisme ou Barbarie or the Partial Encounters between Critical Marxism and Libertarianism. In *Libertarian Socialism* (pp. 22). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chaparro, M. (2009). Comunicacion para el Empoderamiento y Comuniacion Ecosocial. La necesaria creacion de nuevos imaginarios. *Perspectivas de la Comunicacion.* , 2(1), 146-158.
- Chaparro, M. (2015). *Claves para repensar los medios y el mundo que habitamos. La distopia del desarrollo*. Bogota: Ediciones desde abajo.
- Cho, S. (2010). Politics of Critical Pedagogy and New Social Movements. *Educational Philosophy & Theory*, 42(3), 310-325.
- Christensen, C. (2011). Twitter Revolutions? Addressing Social Media and Dissent. *The Communication Review*, 14(3), 155-157.
- Clark, P. B., & Wilson, J. Q. (1961). Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 6(2), 129-166.
- Clemens, E. S. (2006). The Constitution of Citizens: Political Theories of Nonprofit Organizations. In W. W. Powell & R. Steinberg (Eds.), *Nonprofit Sector : A Research Handbook* (pp. 207-220). New Haven, CT, USA: Yale University Press.
- Clemens, E. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research. In H. Kriesi, D. A. Snow & S. A. Soule (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 155-170). USA, UK, Australia: Blackwell Publishing.

- Coca, J. R., Valero, J. A., Randazzo, F., & Pintos, J. L. (2011). *Nuevas Posibilidades de los Imaginarios Sociales*. Spain: TREMN - CEASGA.
- Cohen, J. L. (1985). Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 663-716.
- Conole, G. (2013). Affordances. In *Designing for Learning in an Open World* (Vol. 4, pp. 85-100): Springer New York.
- Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2015). *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Cordoba, D., & Jansen, K. (2015). Realigning the Political and the Technical: NGOs and the Politicization of Agrarian Development in Bolivia. *European Journal of Development Research*, advance online publication 19 March 2015.
- Cormier, D. (2008). Rhizomatic education: Community as curriculum. *Innovate*, 4(5).
- Corry, O. (2010). Defining and Theorizing the Third Sector. In R. Taylor (Ed.), *Third Sector Research* (pp. 11-20). New York: Springer.
- Cuonzo, M. A. (2010). Gossip and the Evolution of Facebook. In D. E. Wittkower (Ed.), *Facebook and philosophy: what's on your mind?* (Vol. 50, pp. 65-74). Chicago: Open Court.
- Dados, N., & Connell, R. (2012). The Global South. *Contexts*, 11(1), 12-13.
- Davies, T. R. (2014). *NGOs: a new history of transnational civil society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- de Moragas, M., Díez, M., Becerra, M., & Fernández Alonso, I. (2005). Introducción. El Informe MacBride, 25 años después. Contexto y contenido de un debate inacabado *Quaderns del CAC*(1).
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus* (B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Della Porta, D. (2009a). *Democracy in social movements*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Della Porta, D. (2009b). Global Justice Movement Organizations: The Organizational Population. In D. Della Porta (Ed.), *Democracy in Social Movements* (pp. 16-43). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- Della Porta, D., Andretta, M., & Mosca, L. (2006). *Globalization from Below : Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*. Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press.
- Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (2006). *Social movements : an introduction* (2 ed.). Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Della Porta, D., & Mosca, L. (2005). Global-net for Global Movements? A Network of Networks for a Movement of Movements. *Journal of Public Policy*, 25(01), 165-190.
- Devillart, S., & Waniewski, B. (2010). The Future of Advocacy in a Networked Age. In M. Joyce (Ed.), *Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change* (pp. 101-118). New York & Amsterdam: International debate education association.
- Diani, M. (1992). The concept of social movement. *Sociological Review* 40(1), 1-25.
- Diani, M. (2012). Interest organizations in social movements: an empirical exploration. *Interest groups & advocacy*, 1(1), 26-47.
- Dohn, N. B. (2009a). Affordances revisited: Articulating a Merleau-Pontian view. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning*, 4(2), 151-170.
- Dohn, N. B. (2009b). Web 2.0: Inherent tensions and evident challenges for education. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning*, 4(3), 343-363.
- Dohn, N. B., & Johnsen, L. (2009). *E-læring på web 2.0*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
- Duggan, M. (2015). Mobile Messaging and Social Media 2015. Retrieved September 24th, 2015, from <http://www.pewinternet.org/files/2015/08/Social-Media-Update-2015-FINAL2.pdf>

- Duguid, F., Mündel, K., & Schugurensky, D. (2013). *Volunteer Work, Informal Learning and Social Action* (Vol. 7). Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers.
- Earl, J., & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: activism in the Internet age*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Ebrahim, A. (2003). Making sense of accountability: Conceptual perspectives for northern and southern nonprofits. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 14(2), 191-212.
- Eckl, J., & Weber, R. (2007). North – South? Pitfalls of dividing the world by words. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(1), 3-23.
- Escobar, A. (2008). *Territories of difference : place, movements, life, redes*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Escobar, A. (2012). *Encountering development: the making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, A., & Osterweil, M. (2010). Social Movements and the Politics of the Virtual: Deleuzian Strategies. In C. B. Jensen & K. Rødje (Eds.), *Deleuzian intersections : science, technology, anthropology* (pp. 187-217). New York: Berghahn Books.
- FAO, & WorldBank. (2007). *World Congress on Communication for Development: lessons, challenges, and the way forward*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations & World Bank.
- Fenton, N. (2012). The internet and social networking. In J. Curran, N. Fenton & D. Freedman (Eds.), *Misunderstanding the internet*: Routledge.
- Fetzer, A. (2014). Conceptualising discourse. In K. P. Schneider & A. Barron (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Discourse* (Vol. 3, pp. 555-582). Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Flesher Fominaya, C. (2014). *Social movements and globalization: how protests, occupations and uprisings are changing the world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flesher Fominaya, C., & Cox, L. (2013). European social movements and social theory. In C. F. Fominaya & L. Cox (Eds.), *Understanding European Movements* (pp. 7-30): Routledge.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- Foley, G., Gonczi, A., Stromquist, N. P., & al., e. (2007). *Dimensions of adult learning: adult education and training in a global era*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill International (UK) Ltd.
- Fotopoulou, A. (2014). Digital and networked by default? Women's organisations and the social imaginary of networked feminism. *New Media & Society*.
- Frau-Meigs, D. (2012). *From NWICO to WSIS: 30 years of communication geopolitics*. Bristol, UK; Chicago: Intellect.
- Freeden, M. (2013). The Morphological Analysis of Ideology In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent & M. Stears (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freire, P. (2004). *Pedagogy of indignation*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). New York: The Continuum Intl. Publishing Group.
- Freistein, K. (2014). Are there any Global Imaginaries of Equality and Democracy in Discussions about Inequality? , *SFB 882 Working Paper Series*, 38 (Vol. From Heterogeneities to Inequalities.). Bielefeld: DFG: Research Center (SFB) 882.
- Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social media: a critical introduction*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Funke, P. N. (2012a). The Global Social Forum Rhizome: A Theoretical Framework. *Globalizations*, 9(3), 351-364.

- Funke, P. N. (2012b). The Rhizomatic Left, neoliberal capitalism and class: Theoretical interventions on contemporary social movements in the global north. *International Critical Thought*, 2(1), 30-41.
- Galer-Unti, R. A. (2010). Advocacy 2.0: advocating in the digital age. *Health promotion practice*, 11(6), 784-787.
- Gaonkar, D. P. (2002). Toward New Imaginaries: An Introduction. *Public Culture*, 14(1), 1-19.
- Garcia-Alabacete, G., & Theocharis, Y. (2014). Opportunities and Challenges of Analysing Twitter Content: A Comparison of the Occupation Movements in Spain, Greece and the United States. In M. Cantijoch, R. Gibson & S. Ward (Eds.), *Analysing social media data and web networks* (pp. 119-153). New York, NY; Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Garcia Canclini, N. (2014). *Imagined globalization : Latin America in Translation*. North Carolina: Duke university press.
- Garner, R., & Zald, M. N. (2012). Now We Are Almost Fifty! Reflections on a Theory of the Transformation of Social Movement Organizations. *Social Forces*, 91(1), 3-11.
- Garton, L., Hayhornthwaite, C., & Wellman, B. (1997). Studying Online Social Networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 3(1).
- Gee, T. (2011). *Counterpower: Making change happen*. GB: New Internationalist.
- Gerlitz, C., & Helmond, A. (2013). The like economy: Social buttons and the data-intensive web. *New Media & Society*, 15(8), 1348-1365.
- Gibson, J. J. (1986). *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Giglietto, F., Rossi, L., & Bennato, D. (2012). The Open Laboratory: Limits and Possibilities of Using Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube as a Research Data Source. *Journal of Technology in Human Services*, 30(3-4), 145-159.
- Gliessman, S. (2013). Agroecology, Transdisciplinarity, and Climate Change. *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, 37(10), 1101-1102.
- Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- González, V., & Contreras-Pulido, P. (2014). Empowering Media Citizenship through Educommunication. *COMUNICAR*(42), 129-136.
- Gray, R., Bebbington, J., & Collison, D. (2006). NGOs, civil society and accountability: making the people accountable to capital. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 19(3), 319-348.
- Grimmelmann, J. (2010). Facebook and philosophy: what's on your mind? In D. E. Wittkower (Ed.), *Facebook and philosophy: what's on your mind?* (Vol. 50, pp. 3-20). Chicago: Open Court.
- Grüner, M. (2014). RSS is not dead. *Margin Gryner* Retrieved August 19th, 2015, from <http://martingryner.com/rss-is-not-dead/>
- Gumucio Dagron, A., & Tufte, T. (2006). *Communication for social change anthology: historical and contemporary readings*. South Orange, N.J.: Communication for Social Change Consortium.
- Halavais, A. (2013). Structure of Twitter: Social and Technical. In K. Weller, A. Bruns & J. Burgess (Eds.), *Digital Formations: Twitter and Society* (Vol. 89, pp. 29-42): Peter Lang AG.
- Hall, B. L., Clover, D. E., Crowther, J., & Scandrett, E. (2012). *Learning and Education for a Better World: The Role of Social Movements* (Vol. 10). Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Haraldsson, D. (1987). *Skydda vår natur! : Svenska naturskyddsföreningens framväxt och tidiga utveckling*. Lund: Lund University Press.

- Heikkilä, T., & Gerlak, A. K. (2013). Building a Conceptual Approach to Collective Learning: Lessons for Public Policy Scholars. *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(3), 484-512.
- Hemer, O., & Tufte, T. (2012). ComDev in the mediatized world. *Nordicom review; Special issue* (Special issue).
- Hivos. (2014a). Annual Report 2014.
- Hivos. (2014b). 'Social Innovation in Practice' - interview with Ute Seela. Retrieved August 8th, 2015, from <https://www.hivos.org/news/social-innovation-practice-interview-ute-seela>
- Holst, J. D. (2011). Frameworks for understanding the politics of social movements. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 43(2), 117-127.
- Holton, A. E., Baek, K., Coddington, M., & Yaschur, C. (2014). Seeking and Sharing: Motivations for Linking on Twitter. *Communication Research Reports*, 31(1), 33-40.
- Hutchens, M. J., Cicchirillo, V. J., & Hmielowski, J. D. (2015). How could you think that?!?!: Understanding intentions to engage in political flaming. *New Media & Society*, 17(8), 1201-1219.
- IBIS. (2014). *IBIS' Annual Report 2013-2014*. Denmark: IBIS.
- Irving, C. J., & English, L. M. (2011). Community in Cyberspace: Gender, Social Movement Learning, and the Internet. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 61(3), 262-278.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Closing Statements: Linguistics and Poetics. In Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in Language*. New York: Wiley.
- Jarvis, J. (2011). *Public parts: how sharing in the digital age improves the way we work and live*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Jesson, J., & Newman, M. (2007). Radical Adult Education and Learning. In G. Foley (Ed.), *Dimensions of adult learning: adult education and training in a global era*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill International (UK) Ltd.
- Johnston, K., Tanner, M., Lalla, N., & Kawalski, D. (2011). Social capital: the benefit of Facebook 'friends'. *Behaviour & Information Technology*, 32(1), 24-36.
- Jones, S. (2010). The New Media, the New Meanwhile and the Same Old Stories. In J. Hunsinger, M. Allen & L. Klastrup (Eds.), *International Handbook of Internet Research* (pp. xv-xxiv): Springer Science + Business Media.
- Jordan, A. G., & Maloney, W. A. (2007). *Democracy and interest groups*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Karlsson, S., Srebotnjak, T., & Gonzales, P. (2007). Understanding the North-South knowledge divide and its implications for policy: a quantitative analysis of the generation of scientific knowledge in the environmental sciences. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 10(7), 668-684.
- Karpf, D. (2010). Online Political Mobilization from the Advocacy Group's Perspective: Looking Beyond Clicktivism. *Policy & Internet*, 2(4), 7-41.
- Katz, C. (2014, 24.11). Miradas pos-desarrollistas. *Rebellion*.
- Kaufman, C. (2014). *Getting past capitalism : history, vision, hope*. Lanham, md: Lexington books.
- Kavada, A. (2010). Activism Transforms Digital: The Social Movement Perspective. In M. Joyce (Ed.), *Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change* (pp. 101-118). New York & Amsterdam: International debate education association.
- Kavada, A. (2012). Engagement, bonding, and identity across multiple platforms: Avaaz on Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace. *Medie Kultur. Journal of media and communication research*, 28(52).
- Kavada, A. (2014). Transnational Civil Society and Social Movements. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 351-369). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

- Keck, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activist Beyond Borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. United States of America: Cornell University Press.
- Kember, S., & Zylinska, J. (2012). *Life after New Media*: The MIT Press.
- Kirschner, P. A. (2015). Facebook as learning platform: Argumentation superhighway or dead-end street? *Computers in Human Behavior*, 53, 621-625.
- Knutsen, W., & Brock, K. (2014). Introductory Essay: From a Closed System to an Open System: A Parallel Critical Review of the Intellectual Trajectories of Publicness and Nonprofitness. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 25(5), 1113-1131.
- Kozinets, R. (2010). *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. London: Sage.
- Kriesi, H., Koopmans, R., Duyvendak, J. W., & Giugni, M. G. (1995). *New social movements in Western Europe: a comparative analysis* (Vol. 5). Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press.
- Krinsky, J., & Crossley, N. (2014). Social Movements and Social Networks: Introduction. *Social Movement Studies*, 13(1), 1-21.
- Krut, R. (1997). *Globalization and Civil Society: NGO Influence in International Decision-Making*. New York: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lang, S. (2012). *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langdon, J., & Larweh, K. (2015). Moving with the movement: Collaboratively building a participatory action research study of social movement learning in Ada, Ghana. *Action Research*, 13(3), 281-297.
- Langman, L. (2005). From Virtual Public Spheres to Global Justice: A Critical Theory of Internetworked Social Movements. *Sociological Theory*, 23(1), 42-74.
- Le Grange, L. (2007). The 'theoretical foundations' of community service-learning: from taproots to rhizomes. *Education as Change*, 11(3), 3-13.
- Levkoe, C. (2006). Learning Democracy Through Food Justice Movements. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 23(1), 89-98.
- Locher, M. A. (2014). Electronic discourse. In K. P. Schneider & A. Barron (Eds.), *Pragmatics of Discourse* (Vol. 3, pp. 555-582). Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Lorentzen, H. (2010). Sector Labels. In R. Taylor (Ed.), *Third Sector Research* (pp. 21-36). New York, London, Heidelberg, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Lowe, M. A. (2003). *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Luhmann, N. (1982). The World Society as a Social System *International Journal of General Systems*, 8(3), 131-138.
- MacBride, S., & al., e. (1980). *Many Voices, One World; Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow.*: Paris: Unesco.
- Macrine, S. L. (2009). *Critical Pedagogy in Uncertain Times: Hope and Possibilities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Madon, S. (2009). *e-Governance for Development: A Focus on Rural India*. GB: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- Mansell, R. (2012). *Imagining the Internet: communication, innovation, and governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marí Sáez, V. (2012). Building knowledge from the margins: information, knowledge and social movements. *Transinformação*, 24, 61-64.

- Marí Sáez, V. (2013). Comunicación, Desarrollo y Cambio Social en España: entre la Institucionalización y la Implosión del Campo. *COMMONS - Revista de Comunicación y Ciudadanía Digital*, 2(3), 40-64.
- Marí Sáez, V., & Nós, E. (2015). Prologo. In T. Tufte (Ed.), *Comunicación para el cambio social* (pp. 7-15). Spain: Icaria editorial.
- Marinucci, M. (2010). You Can't Front on Facebook. In D. E. Wittkower (Ed.), *Facebook and philosophy: what's on your mind?* (Vol. 50, pp. 65-74). Chicago: Open Court.
- Martin-Barbero, J. (2011). From Latin America: Diversity, Globalization and Convergence. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 8(1), 39-64.
- Martín-Barbero, J. (2003). *De los medios a las mediaciones* (5th. ed.). Bogota: Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Martinez-Alier, J. (2011). The EROI of agriculture and its use by the Via Campesina. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(1), 145-160.
- Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114-133.
- Mattoni, A., & Treré, E. (2014). Media Practices, Mediation Processes, and Mediatization in the Study of Social Movements. *Communication Theory*, 24(3), 252-271.
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930 - 1970*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, D. (1983). Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency. *American Sociological Review*, 48(6), 735-754.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. G., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of contention*. New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCall, E. (2011). Communication for development: Strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations. In I. FAO, UNAIDS, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and WHO (Ed.).
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1976). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(1), 1212.
- McClung Lee, A. (1971). *Principles of Sociology* (2 ed.). New York: Barnes & Nobles.
- McCune, N., Reardon, J., & Rosset, P. (2014). Agroecological Formación in Rural Social Movements. *Radical Teacher*(98), 31.
- McPhail, C. (1989). Blumer's Theory of Collective Behavior: The Development of a Non-Symbolic Interaction Explanation. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-423.
- McQuail, D. (2002). *McQuail's reader in mass communication theory*. London: SAGE.
- Mechant, P. (2012). An illustrated framework for the analysis of Web2.0 interactivity. *Contemporary Social Science*, 7(3), 263-281.
- Melucci, A. (1985). The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 789-816.
- Milan, S. (2013). *Social Movements and Their Technologies* (pp. 248). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Milberry, K. (2012). Hacking for Social Justice In N. Friesen & A. Feenberg (Eds.), *(Re)Inventing The Internet: Critical Case Studies* (pp. 109-130). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Monterde, A., Calleja-López, A., Aguilera, M., Barandiaran, X. E., & Postill, J. (2015). Multitudinous identities: a qualitative and network analysis of the 15M collective identity. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(8), 930-950.
- Moore, T., & McKee, K. (2013). The Ownership of Assets by Place-Based Community Organisations: Political Rationales, Geographies of Social Impact and Future Research Agendas. *Social Policy and Society, FirstView*, 1-13.
- Morozov, E. (2011). *The net delusion: how not to liberate the world*. London: Allen Lane.

- Mountian, I. (2009). Some Questions around Social Imaginary and Discourse Analysis for Critical Research. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology, Lacan and Critical Psychology*(7), 205-222.
- Munck, R. (2010). Global Civil Society. In R. Taylor (Ed.), *Third Sector Research* (pp. 317-326). New York, London, Heidelberg, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Naturskyddsföreningen. (2014). About us. from <http://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/in-english/about-us>
- Nepstad, S. E. (1997). The Process of Cognitive Liberation: Cultural Synapses, Links, and Frame Contradictions in the U.S.-Central America Peace Movement*. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4), 470-487.
- Nordenstreng, K. (2010). MacBride Report as a Culmination of NWICO. *Les Enjeux de l'information et la communication. Online journal of the University of Grenoble.*, A.
- Norval, A. (2013). Poststructuralist Conceptions of Ideology In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent & M. Stears (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nos Aldás, E., & Pinazo, D. (2013). Communication and Engagement for Social Justice. *Peace Review*, 25(3), 343-348.
- O'Reilly, T. (2007). What Is Web 2.0: Design Patterns and Business Models for the Next Generation of Software. *International Journal of Digital Economics* 65, 17-37.
- O'Sullivan, P. B., & Flanagan, A. J. (2003). Reconceptualizing 'flaming' and other problematic messages. *New Media & Society*, 5(1), 69-94.
- Obar, J. A., Zube, P., & Lampe, C. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2.
- Obregon, R., & Tufte, T. (2014). Rethinking Entertainment Education. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 168-188). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Oeldorf-Hirsch, A., & Sundar, S. S. (2015). Posting, commenting, and tagging: Effects of sharing news stories on Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 44, 240-249.
- Oliver, P. E., Cadena-Roa, J., & Strawn, K. D. (2003). Emerging Trends in the Study of Protest and Social Movements. *Research in Political Sociology*, 12, 213-244.
- Olson, M. (1971). *The logic of collective action: public goods and the theory of groups* (Vol. CXXIV). Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Onyx, J., Armitage, L., Dalton, B., Melville, R., Casey, J., & Banks, R. (2010). Advocacy with Gloves on: The "Manners" of Strategy Used by Some Third Sector Organizations Undertaking Advocacy in NSW and Queensland. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 21(1), 41-61.
- Oppermann, S. (2010). The Rhizomatic Trajectory of Ecocriticism. *Ecozon@*, 1(1), 17-21.
- Ovadia, S. (2012). Staying Informed With Really Simple Syndication (RSS). *Behavioral & Social Sciences Librarian*, 31(3-4), 179-183.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2010). *A private sphere: democracy in a digital age*. Malden, MA: Polity.
- Patomäki, H., & Steger, M. B. (2010). Social imaginaries and Big History: Towards a new planetary consciousness? *Futures*, 42(10), 1056-1063.
- Peters, J. D. (2000). *Speaking into the air : a history of the idea of communication* (Paperback ed. ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Petras, J., & Veltmeyer, H. (2011). *Social movements in Latin America: Neoliberalism and popular resistance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pintos, J. L. (2001). Construyendo realidad(es): los Imaginarios Sociales. *Realidad. Revista del Cono Sur de Psicología Social y Política*, 1, 7:24.

- Pintos, J. L. (2004). Inclusión-exclusión. Los imaginarios sociales de un proceso de construcción social. *Semata. Ciências Sociais e Humanidades*, 16, 17-52.
- Pintos, J. L. (2005). Comunicación, construcción de la realidad e imaginarios sociales. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*(abril-junio), 37-65.
- Pintos, J. L., & Marticorena, J. R. (2012). *Análisis sociocibernético del discurso. La explotación de datos y los procedimientos informatizados en las investigaciones sobre Imaginarios Sociales. Un caso* (Vol. 11).
- Pohle, J. (2012). 'Going Digital': A historical perspective on early international cooperation in informatics. In D. Frau-Meigs & J. Nicey (Eds.), *From NWICO to WSIS: 30 years of communication geopoliti* (pp. 107-122). Bristol, UK; Chicago: Intellect.
- Polson, E. (2011). Belonging to the Network Society: Social Media and the Production of a New Global Middle Class. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 4(2), 144-163.
- Powell, J. L. (2012). *Understanding the voluntary sector: critical success factors*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Prakash, A., & Gugerty, M. K. (2010). Advocacy organizations and collective action: an introduction. In A. Prakash & M. K. Gugerty (Eds.), *Advocacy organizations and collective action* (pp. 1-28). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Radcliffe, S. A. (2012). Development for a postneoliberal era? Sumak kawsay, living well and the limits to decolonisation in Ecuador. *Geoforum*, 43(2), 240-249.
- Rainie, L., & Wellman, B. (2012). *Networked. The new social operating system*. Massachusetts, England: MIT Press.
- Rains, S. A., & Brunner, S. R. (2014). What can we learn about social network sites by studying Facebook? A call and recommendations for research on social network sites. *New Media & Society*, 1-18.
- Randazzo, F., Coca, J. R., & Valero M., J. A. (2011). A social constructed human being: A (bio)technological approach. *Athenea Digital*, 11(2), 101-112.
- Reid, E. J. (2000). *Understanding the word 'advocacy': Context and use* (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Reitan, R. (2007). *Global Activism* (Vol. 5). Hoboken: Routledge.
- Reitan, R. (2012a). Coalescence of the Global Peace and Justice Movements. *Globalizations*, 9(3), 337-350.
- Reitan, R. (2012b). Theorizing and Engaging the Global Movement: From Anti-Globalization to Global Democratization. *Globalizations*, 9(3), 323-335.
- Reuveny, R. X., & Thompson, W. R. (2007). The North-South Divide and International Studies: A Symposium. *International Studies Review*, 9(4), 556-564.
- Rheingold, H. (2012). *Net smart: how to thrive online*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Roberts, D. R. (2010). Impact of anti-DDT campaigns on malaria control. *Outlooks on Pest Management*, 21(1), 4-11.
- Rodrigues, M. G. (2011). Rethinking the Impact of Transnational Advocacy Networks. *New Global Studies*, 5(2).
- Rodríguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the mediascape : an international study of citizens' media*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Rodríguez, C. (2015). *Media at the margins: lessons from the field*. Paper presented at the Comunicambio, International Congress on Communication, Civil Society and Social Change, University Jaume I, Catellon - Spain.
- Roger, N. (2013). *Image warfare in the War on Terror*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rogers, E. M. (1983). *Diffusion of Innovations* (3. ed.). New York, London: The Free Press.

- Rogers, E. M. (2006). Communication and Development: the passing of the dominant paradigm. In A. Gumucio Dagron & T. Tufte (Eds.), *Communication for social change anthology : historical and contemporary readings* (pp. xxxvi, 1067 s.). South Orange, N.J.: Communication for Social Change Consortium.
- Rogers, R. (2013). Debanalising Twitter The Transformation of an Object of Study. In K. Weller, A. Bruns & J. Burgess (Eds.), *Digital Formations: Twitter and Society* (Vol. 89, pp. ix-xxvi): Peter Lang AG.
- Rohrschneider, R., & Dalton, R. J. (2002). A Global Network? Transnational Cooperation among Environmental Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 510-533.
- Rosset, P. M., & Martínez-Torres, M. E. (2012). Rural Social Movements and Agroecology: Context, Theory, and Process. *Ecology and Society*, 17(3).
- Routledge, P., Nativel, C., & Cumbers, A. (2006). Entangled logics and grassroots imaginaries of Global Justice Networks. *Environmental Politics*, 15(5), 839-859.
- Rucht, D., & Neidhardt, F. (2002). Towards a 'Movement Society'? On the possibilities of institutionalizing social movements. *Social Movement Studies*, 1(1), 7-30.
- Rucht, D., & Teune, S. (2009). Forms of Action of Global Justice Movement Groups: Do Conceptions and Practices of Democracy Matter? In D. Della Porta (Ed.), *Democracy in social movements* (pp. 171-193). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rundell, J. (2013). Re-reading Fichte's Science of Knowledge after Castoriadis: The anthropological imagination and the radical imaginary. *Thesis Eleven*, 119(1), 3-21.
- Salazar, N. B. (2012). Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 863-882.
- Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3 ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Schmidt, J.-H. (2013). Twitter and the Rise of Personal Publics. In K. Weller, A. Bruns & J. Burgess (Eds.), *Digital Formations: Twitter and Society* (Vol. 89, pp. 3-14): Peter Lang AG.
- Schramm, W. (1962). Mass Communication. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 13, 251-284.
- Servaes, J. (2002). By Way of Introduction. In J. Servaes (Ed.), *Approaches to Development Communication*. Paris: UNESCO
- Shirky, C. (2008). *Here comes everybody: the power of organizing without organizations*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Simonsson, P., Gustafsson, L., & Östlund, L. (2015). Retention forestry in Sweden: driving forces, debate and implementation 1968-2003. *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research*, 30(2), 154-173.
- Smelser, N. J. (1962). *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: The Free Press.
- Smith, J., & Fetner, T. (2010). Structural Approaches in the Sociology of Social Movements. In B. Klandermans & C. Roggeband (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines* (pp. 13-58). Boston, MA: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC.
- Snow, D. A. (2004). Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields. In H. Kriesi, D. A. Snow & S. A. Soule (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 380-412).
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Jr., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481.
- SSNC. (2011). Murky waters. The environmental and social impacts of shrimp farming in Bangladesh and Ecuador. from http://www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/sites/default/files/dokument-media/murky_waters.pdf

- Steffek, J., Bendrath, R., Dalferth, S., Hahn, K., Piewitt, M., & Rodekamp, M. (2010). Assessing the Democratic Legitimacy of Transnational CSOs: Five Criteria. In J. Steffek & K. Hahn (Eds.), *Evaluating transnational NGOs* (pp. 100-125). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steffek, J., & Hahn, K. (2010). *Evaluating transnational NGOs. Legitimacy, Accountability, Representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Steger, M. B. (2005). From market globalism to imperial globalism: Ideology and american power after 9/11. *Globalizations*, 2(1), 31-46.
- Steger, M. B. (2009a). Globalisation and Social Imaginaries: The Changing Ideological Landscape of the Twenty-First Century. *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*(1), 9-30.
- Steger, M. B. (2009b). *Globalisms : the great ideological struggle of the twenty-first century* (3 ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Steger, M. B. (2009c). Political Ideologies and Social Imaginaries in the Global Age. *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric*(2), 1-17.
- Steger, M. B. (2009d). *The Rise of the Global Imaginary: Political Ideologies from the French Revolution to the Global War on Terror.*: Oxford University Press.
- Steger, M. B. (2013a). Political Ideologies in the Age of Globalization. In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent & M. Stears (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steger, M. B. (2013b). Political Ideologies in the Age of Globalization. In M. Freeden, L. T. Sargent & M. Stears (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political ideologies* (pp. 214-230). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steger, M. B., Goodman, J., & Wilson, E. K. (2013). *Justice globalism: ideology, crises, policy*. London, CA, New Delhi: Sage.
- Steger, M. B., & James, P. (2013). Levels of Subjective Globalization: Ideologies, Imaginaries, Ontologies. *Perspectives on Global Development & Technology*, 12(1/2), 17-40.
- Steger, M. B., & Roy, R. K. (2010). *Neoliberalism: a very short introduction* (Vol. 222). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steger, M. B., & Wilson, E. K. (2012). Anti-Globalization or Alter-Globalization? Mapping the Political Ideology of the Global Justice Movement1. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(3), 439-454.
- Strauss, C. (2006). The Imaginary. *Anthropological Theory*, 6(3), 322-344.
- Surin, K. (2010). On Producing (the Concept of) Solidarity. *Rethinking Marxism*, 22(3), 446-457.
- Szarka, J. (2013). From Climate Advocacy to Public Engagement: An Exploration of the Roles of Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations. *Climate*, 1(1), 12-27.
- Taddicken, M. (2014). The 'Privacy Paradox' in the Social Web: The Impact of Privacy Concerns, Individual Characteristics, and the Perceived Social Relevance on Different Forms of Self-Disclosure. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(2), 248-273.
- Tarlau, R. (2014). From a Language to a Theory of Resistance: Critical Pedagogy, the Limits of 'Framing,' and Social Change. *Educational Theory*, 64(4), 369-392.
- Tarrow, S. (2011). *Power in movement: social movements and contentious politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (2002). Modern Social Imaginaries. *Public Culture*, 14(1), 91-124.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- Thompson, L., & Tapscott, C. (2010). *Citizenship and social movements : perspectives from the global South*. London: Zed Books.

- Thurlow, C., Lengel, L., & Tomic, A. (2004). *Computer mediated communication: social interaction and the internet*. London: Sage.
- Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Vol. CRSO Working Paper). Michigan: CSRO, University of Michigan.
- Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. G. (2007). *Contentious politics*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Tilly, C., & Wood, L. J. (2013). *Social movements, 1768-2012*. Boulder, Colo: Paradigm Publishers.
- Toret, J. (2012). Una mirada tecnopolítica sobre los primeros días del #15M. Retrieved August 11th, 2015, from <http://tecnopolitica.net/node/14>
- Toret, J. (2013). *Tecnopolítica: la potencia de las multitudes conectadas*. Spain: In3, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya.
- Tormey, S. (2012). Occupy Wall Street: From Representation to Post-Representation. *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies (JCGS)*, 1(5), 132-137.
- Torrent, J., & Aparici, R. (2009). Educommunication. *Un Minuto por Mis Derechos* Retrieved August 8, 2015, from http://www.1minutoxmisderechos.org.ar/noticia_popup.php?id_noticia=8
- Touraine, A. (1980). The Voice and the Eye: On the Relationship between Actors and Analysts. *Political Psychology*, 2(1), 3-14.
- Touraine, A. (1985). An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 749-787.
- Truong, V. D., Garry, T., & Hall, C. M. (2014). Social Marketing as the Subject of Doctoral Dissertations. *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 20(4), 199-218.
- Tuaza, L. A. (2010). Las principales teorías sobre los movimientos sociales y su aproximación al estudio de los movimientos indígenas en América Latina y en el Ecuador. In M. Mancero & R. Polo (Eds.), *Ciencia, política y poder: debates contemporáneos desde Ecuador* (pp. 161-194). Quito: FLACSO. CONESUP.
- Tufte, T. (2013). Towards a Renaissance in Communication for Social Change. In T. Tufte, N. Wildermuth, A. S. Hansen-Skovmoes & W. Mitullah (Eds.), *Speaking up and talking back?: media, empowerment and civic engagement among East and Southern African youth* (Vol. 2012/2013). Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Tufte, T. (2014). Emerging Issues in Activism and Social Change Communication. In K. G. Wilkins & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Tufte, T. (2015). *Comunicación para el cambio social*. Spain: Icaria editorial.
- Turner, R. H., & Killian, L. M. (1972). *Collective behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J Prentice-Hall.
- Tynneron, S. (2013). Sammanställning och utvärdering av Naturskyddsföreningens AntiScampi-kampanjer under 1995 – 2013. unpublished report
- Uphoff, N. (1995). Why NGOs are not a third sector: A sectoral analysis with some thoughts on accountability, sustainability and evaluation. In M. Edwards & D. Hulme (Eds.), *Beyond the Magic Bullet: NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World*. London: Earthscan
- Vakil, A. C. (1997). Confronting the classification problem: Toward a taxonomy of NGOs. *World Development*, 25(12), 2057-2070.
- Van der Klei, A. (2002). Repeating the Rhizome. *SubStance*, 31(1), 48-55.
- Van Dijk, J. (2012). *The network society* (3 ed.). London: Sage.
- Veerasamy, V. (2013). Social Networking Sites and Social Media: What's the difference? . *ReferralCandy* Retrieved September 16th, 2015, from <http://www.referralcandy.com/blog/difference-between-social-networks-and-social-media/>

- Viteri, C. (2002). Visión indígena del desarrollo en la Amazonía. *Polis, Revista de la Universidad Bolivariana*, 1(3).
- Waisbord, S. (2014). The Strategic Politics of Participatory Communication. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 147-167). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Wallace, T. (2004). NGO Dilemmas: Trojan Horses for Global Neoliberalism? *Socialist Register*, 40, 202-219.
- Warne, K. (2011). *Let Them Eat Shrimp: The Tragic Disappearance of the Rainforests of the Sea*. Washington, DC: Island Press/Center for Resource Economics.
- Warner, K. (2007). *Agroecology in Action: Social Networks Extending Alternative Agriculture*: MIT Press.
- Wellborn, P. F., III. (2012). "Undercover teachers" beware: how that fake profile on Facebook could land you in the pokey. *Mercer Law Review*, 63(2), 697.
- Wells, C. (2014). Two eras of civic information and the evolving relationship between civil society organizations and young citizens. *New Media & Society*, 16(4), 615-636.
- Whatley, B. (2013). Improved learning for greater effectiveness in development NGOs. *Development in Practice*, 23(8), 963-976.
- Wildermuth, N. (2014). Communication for Transparency and Social Accountability. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 370-392). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Wilkins, K. G. (2014). Emerging Issues in Strategic Communication for Development and Social Change. In K. G. Wilkins, T. Tufte & R. Obregon (Eds.), *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 139-144). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Willetts, P. (2011). *Non-governmental organizations in world politics: the construction of global governance* (Vol. 49). New York: Routledge.
- Williams, R., Karousou, R., & Mackness, J. (2011). Emergent learning and learning ecologies in Web 2.0. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 12(3).
- Wilson, R. E., Gosling, S. D., & Graham, L. T. (2012). A Review of Facebook Research in the Social Sciences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 7(3), 203-220.
- Wisniewski, P., Xu, H., Lipford, H., & Bello-Ogunu, E. (2015). Facebook apps and tagging: The trade-off between personal privacy and engaging with friends. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 66(9), 1883-1896.
- Worth, O., & Buckley, K. (2009). The World Social Forum: postmodern prince or court jester? *Third World Quarterly*, 30(4), 649-661.
- Yar, M. (2014). *The cultural imaginary of the internet: virtual utopias and dystopias*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yésou, P., & Clergeau, P. (2005). Sacred Ibis: a new invasive species in Europe. *Birding World*, 18(12), 517-526.
- Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: design and methods* (5th ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Zald, M. N., & Ash, R. (1966). Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change. *Social Forces*, 44(3), 327-341.
- Ziai, A. (2004). The ambivalence of post - development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(6), 1045-1060.
- Ziai, A. (2013). The discourse of "development" and why the concept should be abandoned. *Development in Practice*, 23(1), 123-136.
- Zibechi, R. (2010). *Dispersing power: social movements as anti-state forces*. Edinburgh; Oakland, CA: AK Press.

- Zibechi, R. (2012a). Latin America: a new cycle of social struggles (Vol. 45, pp. 37). New York: North American Congress on Latin America, Inc.
- Zibechi, R. (2012b). *Territories in Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements* (R. Ryan, Trans.). Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Zielinska, M., Kowzan, P., & Prusinowska, M. (2011). Social Movement Learning: From Radical Imagination to Disempowerment? *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 43(2), 251-267.

APPENDIX: POSTS ANALYSED

S_36577

http://bit.ly/S_36577 | created 2/13/2014 5:48:00 AM | updated 3/6/2014 8:49:01 PM**Naturskyddsföreningen:**

Där satt den, Ica Kvantum i Liljeholmen!

Här har man tröttnat på att låta kunderna välja mellan ekobananer och oekologiska, som besprutats med kemiska bekämpningsmedel. Vilken butik blir nästa att följa efter? #byttilleko

P.S. Vill du få bättre koll på skillnaden mellan eko och oekologiskt? Ge en minut till vår kortfilm med humorduon Anders & Måns:

<http://player.vimeo.com/video/74836985?byline=0>

S_16587

created 11/16/2014 10:46:13 AM| updated 11/18/2014 6:07:55 PM

@Participant to Naturskyddsföreningen: Kommentarer?



Ekologisk odling – vägen till svält

Föreställningar om att ekologisk odling är klimatsmart och ger b...
svd.se

Föreställningar om att ekologisk odling är klimatsmart och ger bättre livsmedel är felaktiga. Hundra procent ekologisk odling skulle vara en katastrof för framtida livsmedelsförsörjning och innebär större belastning på miljön till en hög kostnad, skriver fyra forskare med anknytning till SLU.

http://mobil.svd.se/opinion/ekologisk-odling-vagen-till-svalt_svd-4105533

S_16205

http://bit.ly/S_16205 | created 11/17/2014 4:02:13 PM | updated 12/24/2014 12:20:41 AM



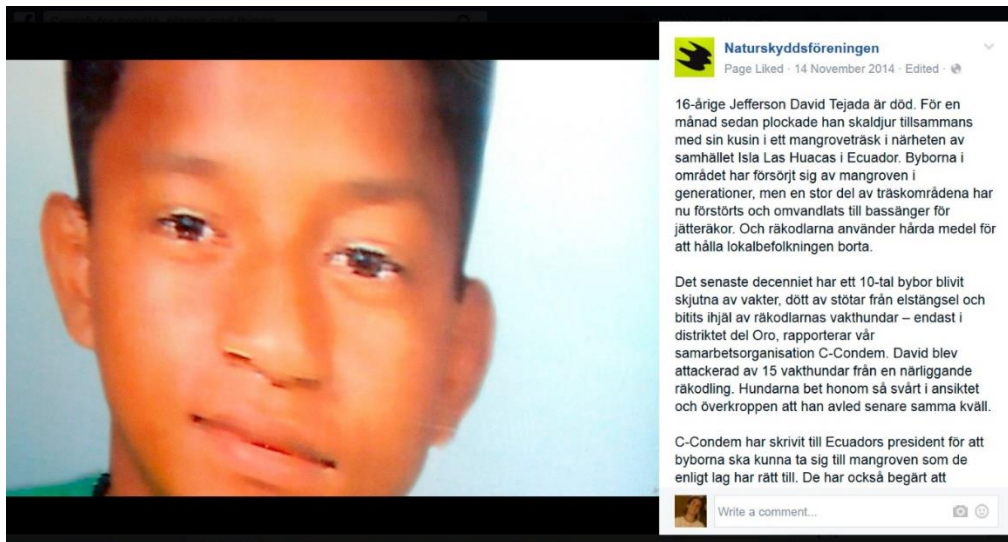
Naturskyddsföreningen:

Helgens snackis har handlat om tre svenska forskare som tror att ekologiskt jordbruk leder till svält. De har fel. Här reder vi ut förvirringen, med stöd från 400 internationella forskare, experter och FN.

www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/svar-pa-tal-om-ekologiskt-och-svalt

#byttilleko

S_16656

http://bit.ly/S_16656 | created 11/14/2014 3:51:42 PM | updated 2/19/2015 11:06:11 PM

Naturskyddsföreningen:

16-åriga Jefferson David Tejada är död. För en månad sedan plockade han skaldjur tillsammans med sin kusin i ett mangroveträsk i närheten av samhället Isla Las Huacas i Ecuador. Byborna i området har försörjt sig av mangroven i generationer, men en stor del av träskområdena har nu förstörts och omvandlats till bassänger för jätteräkor. Och räkodlarna använder hårda medel för att hålla lokalbefolkningen borta.

Det senaste decenniet har ett 10-tal bybor blivit skjutna av vakter, dött av stötar från elstängsel och bitits ihjäl av räkodlarnas vakthundar – endast i distriktet del Oro, rapporterar vår samarbetsorganisation C-Condem. David blev attackerad av 15 vakthundar från en närliggande räkodling. Hundarna bet honom så svårt i ansiktet och överkroppen att han avled senare samma kväll.

C-Condem har skrivit till Ecuadors president för att byborna ska kunna ta sig till mangroven som de enligt lag har rätt till. De har också begärt att myndigheterna ska utreda fallen och förbjuda beväpnade vakter, hundar och elektriska stängsel.

Davids död är ett exempel på jätteräkornas mest brutala konsekvenser. Vi kommer att fortsätta stödja byborna längs Ecuadors kust genom organisationer som C-Condem. Det du kan göra är att vägra jätteräkorna – både i affären och på restaurangen!

LÄS MER på vår webb: <http://bit.ly/1tQEIWb>

#grön rättvisa

S_34187

http://bit.ly/S_34187 |created 3/14/2014 3:28:40 PM| updated 3/25/2014 11:25:30 AM



Anti Scampi:

Hallå alla antiscampis! Under kommande veckor ska vi räkbomba restaurangkedjor som envisas med att servera skamrör, alltså en av världens största miljöbovar. De flesta matbutiker har ju redan fattat galoppen. Nu är det restaurangernas tur! Vi börjar med Vapiano.

Så här gör du för att räkbomba Vapiano:

- Besök restaurangen och berätta vad du tycker.
- Lite blyg? Lämna en bordspratare efter dig istället. Här laddar du ned dem: <http://bit.ly/1d1aK5F>
- Skriv en hälsning på någon av Vapianos facebooksidor. Trevlig ton = bäst!
- Vill du göra mer? Självklart är det inte bara kedjorna som borde skippa scampin - räkbomba din lokala favoritrestaurang också!

Vad säger Vapiano själva? Jo, att deras jätterör är

märkta med Global GAP. Men det argumentet håller inte. Naturskyddsföreningen har granskat Global GAP:s verksamhet i Ecuador i rapporten "I grumliga vatten". Rökorna odlades i mangroveområden som var olagligt ockuperade och skövlade. Beväpnade vakter och stängsel hindrade lokalbefolkningen från att komma till sina gamla fiskeområden. Det innebar att många människor fick det ytterst svårt att ge sina familjer mat för dagen. På pappret lät Global

GAP som en bra märkning. Verkligheten visade att företagen bröt mot flera av GAP:s riktlinjer. Fullkomligt uselt. Men känner Vapiano till vår rapport då? Jajjemän. Och fortsätter ändå att servera skamräkor.

De enda märkningar Naturskyddsföreningen rekommenderar för fisk och skaldjur är Krav och MSC.

Vill du ha ett exempel på vad du kan skriva till Vapiano? Kanske något sånt här: ""Jätteräkor är en av världens i särklass värsta miljöbovar. Där de odlas förstörs naturen och människor far illa. Alla har ett ansvar att bidra till ett bättre samhälle, och därför hoppas jag att ni kan dra ert strå till stacken och sluta sälja jätteräkor. Det finns ju schyssta och goda alternativ. Dessutom är vi många som uppskattar butiker och restauranger som är miljömedvetna - det är också ett sätt att locka kunder.""

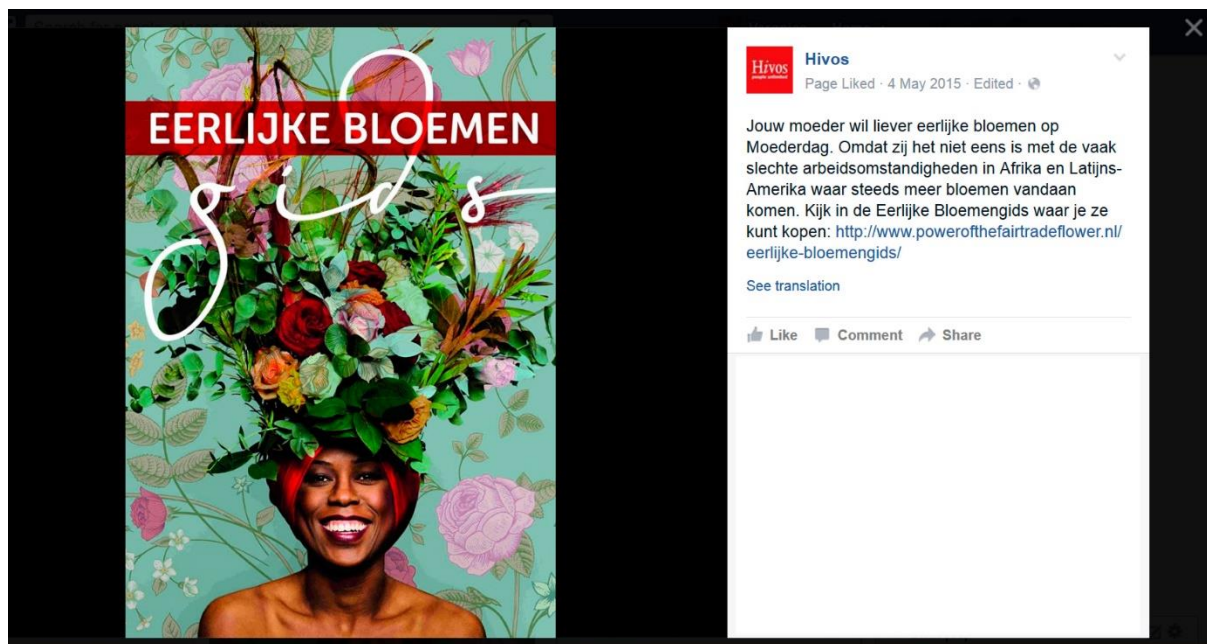
Behöver du fler argument? Här hittar du dem. >>

www.naturskyddsforeningen.se/sites/default/files/dokument-media/kampanjmaterial/FAQ-scampi.pdf

Vill du ha gratis foldrar att dela ut? Beställ här >> <http://bit.ly/1gmUbSr>

H_130

http://bit.ly/H_130 | created 5/4/2015 10:29:30 AM | updated 5/12/2015 11:19:18 AM



Hivos:

Jouw moeder wil liever eerlijke bloemen op Moederdag. Omdat zij het niet eens is met de vaak slechte arbeidsomstandigheden in Afrika en Latijns-Amerika waar steeds meer bloemen vandaan komen. Kijk in de Eerlijke Bloemengids waar je ze kunt kopen:

<http://www.powerofthefairtradeflower.nl/eerlijke-bloemengids/>

H_161

linked to http://bit.ly/oxfamnovib_H_161 |

created 4/19/2015 3:53:33 PM | updated 4/21/2015 6:53:58 AM



Hivos
19 April 2015 · 🌐

Kom in actie!- Laat Diederik Samsom weten dat u zich zorgen maakt over de desastreuze bezuinigingen op ontwikkelingssamenwerking ! (Het kost u slechts 30 seconden...)

<https://act.oxfam.org/novib/post-voor-diederik>

[See translation](#)



Post voor Diederik!

Diederik Samsom gaf eerder aan wél massa's boze mails te hebben gekregen over bezuinigingsplannen in andere sectoren, maar niet één mail over de korting op ontwikkelingshulp. Zijn letterlijke woorden: "Daar word ik wel verdrietig van." Op...

ACT.OXFAM.ORG

👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

Post voor Diederik

Diederik Samsom gaf eerder aan wél massa's boze mails te hebben gekregen over bezuinigingsplannen in andere sectoren, maar niet één mail over de korting op ontwikkelingshulp. Zijn letterlijke woorden: "Daar word ik wel verdrietig van." Op 22 april vindt een belangrijk debat plaats in de Tweede Kamer, waarin wordt gesproken over de rol en financiering van maatschappelijke en ontwikkelingsorganisaties. Laat van je horen en stuur een mail aan Diederik Samsom!

H_240

linked to http://bit.ly/cocoabarometer_H_240 |

created 3/6/2015 3:05:46 PM | updated 3/10/2015 10:38:38 PM



Green America:

"Chocolate is too cheap to be sustainable," concludes the 2015 Cocoa Barometer Report.

Farmers were found to be earning just 50 cents a day in Cote D'Ivoire and 84 cents in Ghana. The lack of a decent livelihood for cocoa farmers leads to bad labour circumstances, human rights violations, and many other problems in the cocoa supply chain, including child labor. Cocoa no longer offers an attractive future. Increasingly, younger generations of cocoa farmers are leaving cocoa, and older farmers are nearing the age of life expectancy.


Read more in this bi-annual assessment of cocoa sector conducted by members of the VOICE Network: La Déclaration de Berne Oxfam Novib Oxfam-Wereldwinkels Stop the Traffic Südwind-Institut FNV Mondiaal Hivos and Solidaridad.

<http://www.cocoabarometer.org/Home.html>

H_351

linked to http://bit.ly/theguardian_UNICEF_H_351


created 1/22/2015 6:25:00 PM | updated 1/24/2015 4:12:26 PM



Hivos
22 January 2015 · 🌐

Helaas is kinderarbeid nog niet uit de mode. Wil jij het naadje van de kous weten? Neem een kijkje op deze site waar Sofie Ovaa van [Stop Kinderarbeid](#) vertelt over kinderarbeid in de textielindustrie.

[See translation](#)



Child labour in the fashion supply chain
The where, why and what can be done
LABS.THEGUARDIAN.COM

<http://labs.theguardian.com/unicef-child-labour/>

SA_425

created 3/6/2015 7:21:59 PM | updated 3/9/2015 3:32:43 AM



Cargo en mi atado mucha vida e ilusión;
no tengo hijos, es mi decisión
I carry in my bundle lots of life and illusion; I do not have any children, it's my choice

Hivos
people unlimited

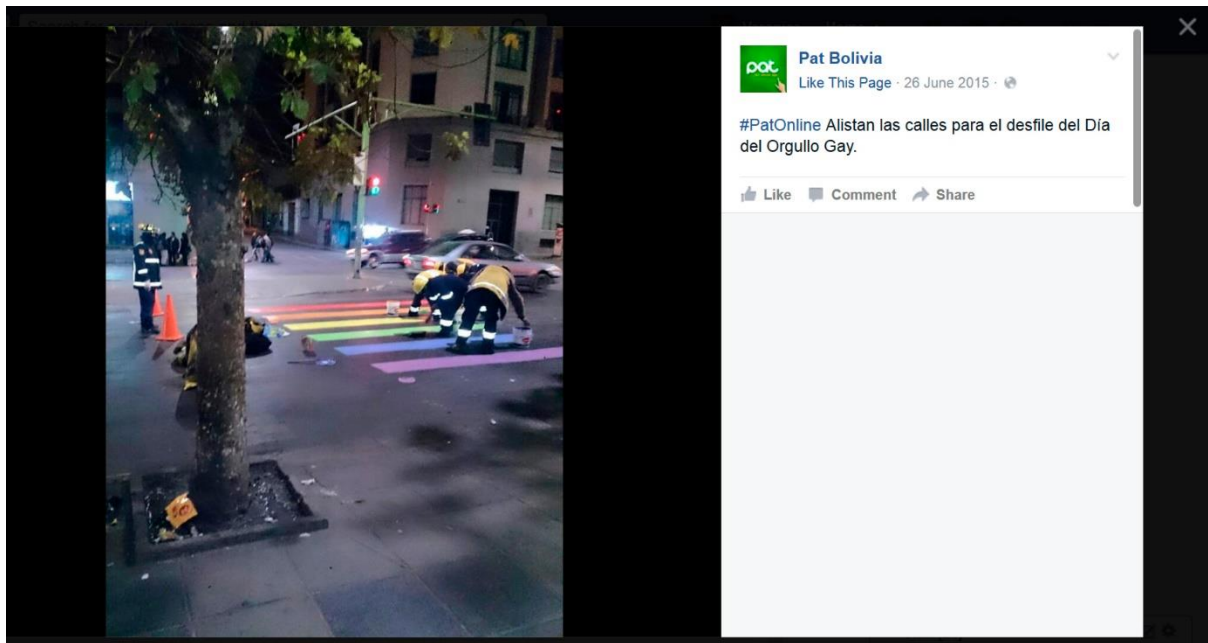
#8M

Cargo en mi atado mucha vida e ilusión; no tengo hijos, es mi decisión.

I carry in my bundle lots of life and illusion; I do not have any children, it's my choice.

SA_107

http://bit.ly/SA_107 | created 6/26/2015 7:17:37 PM | updated 6/26/2015 9:30:43 PM



Pat Bolivia: [news channel]

#PatOnline Alistan las calles para el desfile del Día del Orgullo Gay.

L_902

http://bit.ly/L_902 | created 26/08/2014 19:00:22| updated 27/08/2014 15:37:53

Velkommen til diskussionen om IBIS/OXFAM

26 August 2014 at 19:00

På IBIS hjemmeside [link](#) kan du finde styrelsens indstilling til Generalforsamlingen den 6 september.

Den har nedenstående overskrifter, som du med fordel kan spørge ind til. Eller du kan spørge om noget helt andet?

- **IBIS' Identitet og vision – hvor står vi i dag?**
- **Baggrund: Et kig i krystalkuglen for udviklingsarbejdet?**
- **Hvorfor Oxfam?**
- **Hvad vil Oxfam med IBIS?**
- **Hvad taler for et Oxfam medlemskab?**
- **Hvad er vi i tvivl om og skal afklare i observationsperioden? Processen fremover, hvis vi siger 'ja' til Generalforsamlingen**

På tasterne er vi Mette Müller (forkvinden) Lars Koch (leder af politik og kampagne) og Vagn Berthelsen (generalsekretær). Du har også mulighed for at ringe til os på 35200527, men det er begrænset hvor mange der kan nå igennem i løbet af de næste to timer, så skriv til os her.

Vil du være med til at træffe den endelige beslutning så duk op på vores [generalforsamling](#) Vi glæder os til en god dialog med jer! Skriv kommentar og spørgsmål herunder.



👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

I_311

http://bit.ly/I_311 | created 19/01/2015 8:15:01 | updated 08/03/2015 22:14:59

The image is a composite of two parts. On the left is a red double-decker bus with the following text: "De 80 rigeste ejer det samme som de 3,5 milliarder fattigste" in orange and red. Below the bus, it says "JA, 80 - SÅ FÅ AT DE KUNNE VÆRE PÅ DEN HER BUS". At the bottom of the bus ad, it reads "VÆR MED I KAMPEN MOD EKSTREM ULIGHED PÅ IBIS.DK/EVENITUP" and the "EVEN IT UP | IBIS" logo with the tagline "Lidelse er skaber udvikling". On the right is a Facebook post from the page "IBIS", dated "19 January 2015". The post text is: "Hvis tendensen fortsætter, så lever vi i 2016 i en verden, hvor den rigeste ene procent ejer mere end hele resten af verden tilsammen. Samtidig har 57 millioner børn ikke adgang til skole og en milliard mennesker går sultne i seng. Del hvis du også synes, at vi skal gøre noget ved det. #evenitup". Below the text are buttons for "Like", "Comment", and "Share".

IBIS:

Hvis tendensen fortsætter, så lever vi i 2016 i en verden, hvor den rigeste ene procent ejer mere end hele resten af verden tilsammen. Samtidig har 57 millioner børn ikke adgang til skole og en milliard mennesker går sultne i seng. Del hvis du også synes, at vi skal gøre noget ved det. #evenitup

I_1437

http://bit.ly/I_1437 | created 09/02/2014 8:27:07 | updated 09/02/2014 8:27:07

9 February 2014 · København · 🌐

Kun Ibis og Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke har haft modet til at påtale den meget uheldige sammenlægning af handels- og udviklingsministerposten. Jeg går lidt videre i min kritik i denne weekends Internationale Kommentar i Information. I min optik er det faktisk utroligt - selvom det også er meget symptomatisk, da ALT efterhånden kun drejer sig om hvor godt/skidt vi selv har det i Danmark - at ingen har råbt højere i den forbindelse. Dansk (Vestens) erhvervsliv og verdens fattige har ofte totalt modstridende interesser, og ikke at anerkende det er håbløst naivt.

cc: [Susanne Possing](#), [Vagn Berthelsen](#), [Mathias Søgaard](#), [Lars Koch](#), [Marianne Uland](#), [Magasinet Udvikling](#)



👍 Like

💬 Comment


➦ Share

Sammenlægning af udvikling og handel er dårligt nyt for de fattige

Verdens fattigdomsproblem skyldes ulige indkomstfordeling og et internationalt handelsregime, der tilgodeser de rigeste lande. Derfor er sammenlægningen af den nye udviklings- og handelsministerpost dybt problematisk

<https://www.information.dk/debat/2014/02/sammenlaegning-udvikling-handel-daarligt-nyt-fattige>

I_o164

http://bit.ly/I_o164 | created 6/13/2015 8:54:17 AM | updated 6/17/2015 10:30:57 AM


×
STEM
PÅ ET DANMARK
OPRINDELIGE
FOLK
KAN REGNE MED

IBIS
Uddannelse skaber udvikling

De oprindelige folk er et godt eksempel på, hvor vigtig Danmarks fortsatte indsats er i Latinamerika. Der er tale om en gruppe mennesker, som er fattigere, får dårligere uddannelse, ikke behandles lige af systemerne og som undertrykkes af deres regeringer.

Her har vi en ekspertise i dansk udvikling, som vi skal holde fast i. Det er både det moralsk rigtige at gøre og fornuftigt i forhold til opbygningen af bæredygtige demokratier, der skal kunne klare sig i samhandlen med det internationale samfund.

Stem på et Danmark, verdens oprindelige folk kan regne med. #VælgVerden

Like Comment Share

IBIS:

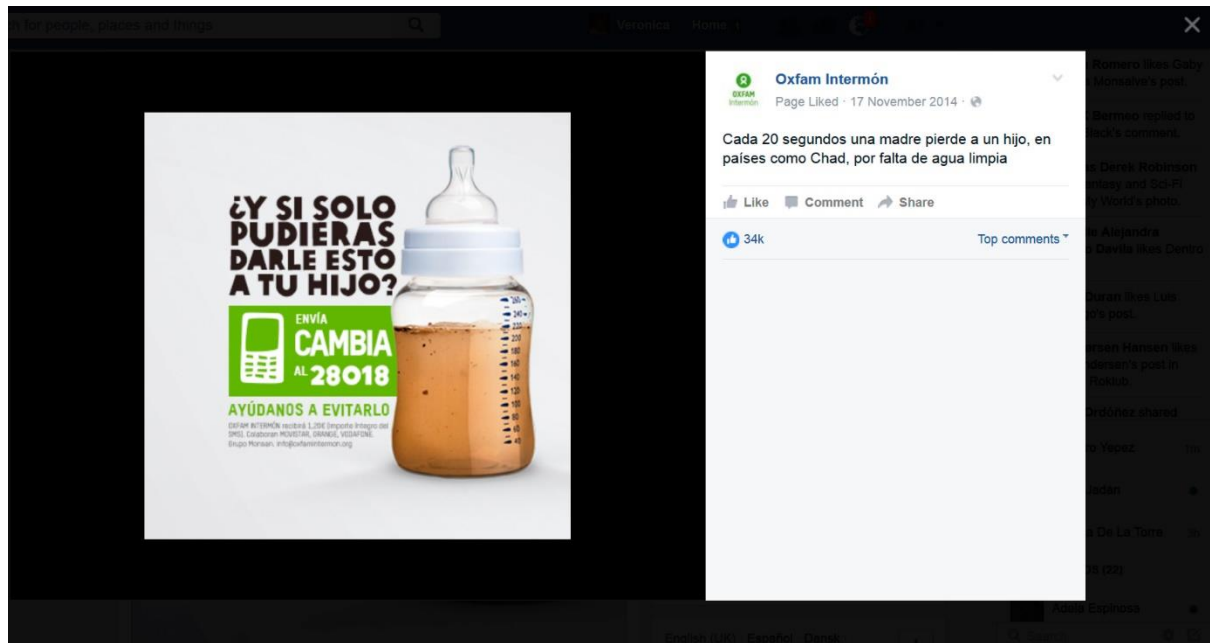
De oprindelige folk er et godt eksempel på, hvor vigtig Danmarks fortsatte indsats er i Latinamerika. Der er tale om en gruppe mennesker, som er fattigere, får dårligere uddannelse, ikke behandles lige af systemerne og som undertrykkes af deres regeringer.

Her har vi en ekspertise i dansk udvikling, som vi skal holde fast i. Det er både det moralsk rigtige at gøre og fornuftigt i forhold til opbygningen af bæredygtige demokratier, der skal kunne klare sig i samhandlen med det internationale samfund.

Stem på et Danmark, verdens oprindelige folk kan regne med. #VælgVerden

O_5194

http://bit.ly/O_5194 | created 11/17/2014 5:00:00 PM | updated 12/7/2014 12:25:14 AM



Oxfam Intermon:

Cada 20 segundos una madre pierde a un hijo, en países como Chad, por falta de agua limpia

O_9190

created 2/18/2014 12:45:00 PM | updated 2/20/2014 8:40:38 PM



Oxfam Intermón:

Pedimos a los ministros de economía que se comprometan con la Tasa a las Transacciones Financieras <http://bit.ly/NYkaJh>

<https://youtu.be/8ghKdH1iJBc>

RM_1381

created 3/14/2014 2:52:45 AM| updated 3/26/2014 5:58:48 AM



Redmanglar Internacional:

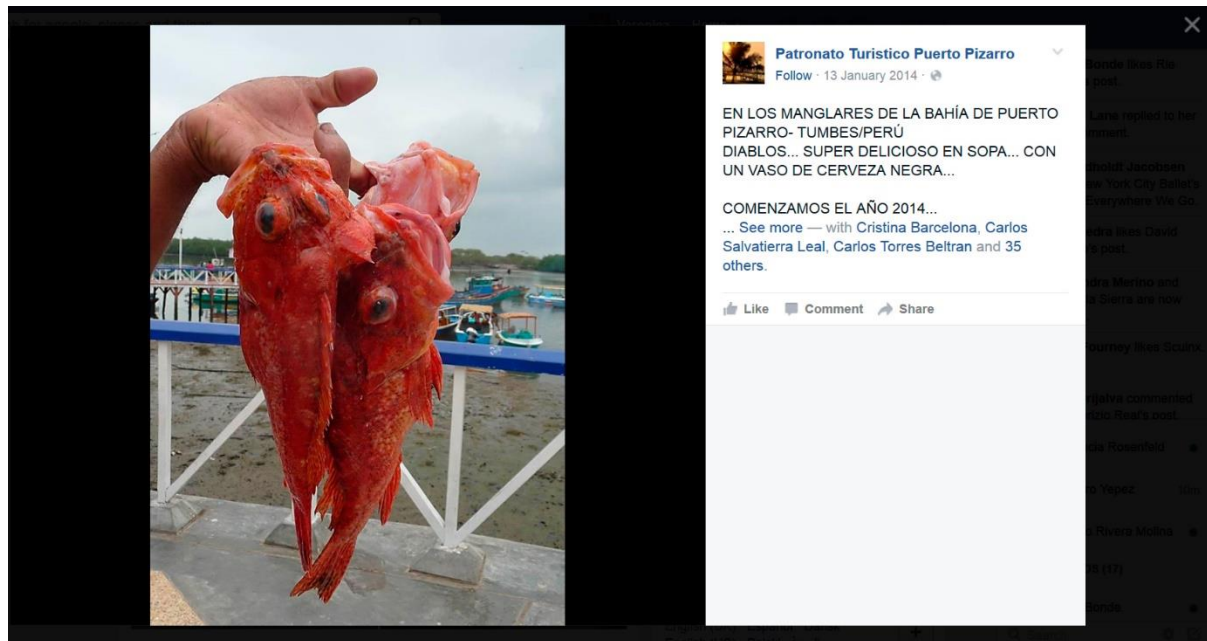
Bosques de Zapoton en el Rio Huixtla dentro de la Reserva Biosfera la Encrucijada en Chiapas.

Estos ecosistemas hoy día sirve de hábitat a los últimos Jaguares de la costa de Chiapas y a muchas especies más como es el caso del Venado Cola Blanca, Cocodrilos, Caimanes, Tortugas, Nutria, Pejelagarto, incluso a la escurridiza y rara Garza Candida. Estos bosques se presentan desde la Isla la Concepción hasta el Rio Huixtla y en todo el estero el Hueyate, muchas veces asociados a los manglares y otras veces solitos sobre todo en donde el agua dulce le gana más terreno al agua salobre.

Los zapotonales como le decimos nosotros han sido poco estudiados a pesar que el único bosque presente en México el que tenemos acá nosotros, son bosques impenetrables, solo en cierta época del año uno puede navegar sobre el rio Huixtla y disfrutar de este ecosistema rico y en la isla la Concepción y la Isla del Jicaro hay que esperar la temporada de seca para poder penetrar y disfrutar de estos bellos paisajes llenos de tanta vida.

Los bosques de zapoton a pesar que son los que generan más vida animal en esta reserva es también el ecosistema más frágil debido a que ha sido aniquilado por décadas por las quemadas intencionales de los cazadores furtivos de iguana y tortugas, y en los últimos años por la quema y cambio de uso de suelo que están haciendo los señores de la Palma Africana, sin lugar a duda es un bosque al cual deben de dar prioridad las autoridades correspondientes para salvarlo de lo contrario perderemos uno de los bosques menos conocidos de México, ojala la burocracia ambiental cree un plan para rescatar a los zapotonales por que sin ellos también otras especies se extinguirán como es el caso del Caiman, Jaguar y Venado Cola Blanca que dependen mucho de este ecosistema.

RM_1694

http://bit.ly/RM_1694 | created 1/13/2014 10:21:54 PM | updated 1/20/2014 6:11:44 AM

Patronato Turístico Puerto Pizarro:

EN LOS MANGLARES DE LA BAHÍA DE PUERTO PIZARRO- TUMBES/PERÚ
 DIABLOS... SUPER DELICIOSO EN SOPA... CON UN VASO DE CERVEZA NEGRA...
 COMENZAMOS EL AÑO 2014...

El Patronato Turístico De Villa Puerto Pizarro, con mucho esfuerzo viene desarrollando actividades de mantenimiento oportuno de las infraestructuras de uso turístico a través de la autosostenibilidad... hay grandes problemas, es un reto...

El Patronato, organización civil sin fines de lucro, estamos realizando esfuerzos y coordinaciones oportunas para poder lograr una ordenanza municipal para la operatividad de las actividades y servicios en la infraestructura turística.

Asimismo... la creación del ente gestor inter institucional para establecer la zonificación y ordenamiento de las actividades del espacio acuático en área del frente del ámbito de la infraestructura turística.

RM_681

http://bit.ly/RM_681 | created 8/25/2014 6:58:59 PM | updated 8/26/2014 5:43:50 AM**@participant:**

“RANCHO GRANDE: EL DESARROLLO QUE QUIEREN... /LA DESTRUCCIÓN QUE LES IMPONEN”

En el municipio de Rancho Grande, departamento de Matagalpa (norte del país), reside una población trabajadora, con historia de lucha y consciencia de la necesidad de proteger sus suelos y su ambiente para darle sostenibilidad a la producción que le ha dado vida al municipio desde su existencia.

Con una población estimada de 49,730 habitantes, donde el 90% se ubica en las zonas rurales (fuente INIDES), este municipio siempre ha subsistido económica y socialmente de la producción agrícola, principalmente de café y cacao, en menor proporción de maíz, frijoles, arroz, hortalizas, miel, entre otros.

Las condiciones agroclimáticas de la zona y las buenas prácticas que aplican los productores, promovió que desde mediados de los 90's, exista un proyecto de promoción de la producción de cacao impulsado por la Cooperación Alemana a través de la GIZ, junto a la fábrica de chocolate alemana Ritter Sport y la Asociación para la Diversificación y Desarrollo Agrícola Comunal (ADDAC - Matagalpa), el cual año con año ha ido creciendo en el departamento de Matagalpa y el resto del país.

Para el 2012 la empresa trabajaba con 15 cooperativas, dos asociaciones, que agrupan aproximadamente a 4,200 pequeños productores de cacao, de los cuales unos 251 productores son del municipio de Rancho Grande. En esa fecha, Ritter Sport les compró a todos los

productores un total de 690 toneladas de la fruta, que se procesan en un beneficio que cuenta con una capacidad de acopio de 440 qq de cacao, los cuales son exportados a Alemania.

Entre Enero – Julio 2014, el rubro de café oro representó para el país, un volumen de exportación de 85 millones de Kg, lo que a su vez significan un valor FOB (valor de mercado en las fronteras aduaneras de un país) de 295 millones de dólares. Para el cacao se generaron, en ese mismo período, 1,4 millones de Kg, lo que representó un valor FOB de 3 millones de dólares.

De acuerdo al Plan Nacional de Producción, Consumo y Comercio del ciclo productivo 2013-2014, la producción de cacao será de 128,102 qq. Según éste documento, por su elevada rentabilidad, el cacao es preferido para su cultivo por más de 10 mil productores a nivel nacional, siendo el 98% de pequeños productores. El 58% de dichos productores están ubicados en los municipios de Matagalpa: Waslala, Rancho Grande y Tuma - La Dalia.

A nivel de Rancho Grande, los productores de cacao generaron 10,578 qq de cacao en baba (granos recubiertos de mucílago), lo que significaron 163 toneladas que aportan al total de producto que es exportado a nivel nacional. De los 273 productores que se dedican al rubro de café, para el mismo período de cosecha, se generaron 381 qq de café pergamino.

Pese a todo el potencial productivo que el mismo Gobierno ha reconocido en éste municipio, caracterizado por el verdor de sus montañas, y la frescura de su clima, la producción de café y cacao está siendo amenazado con la actividad minera desde hace diez años.

En el 2003 el Gobierno a través del Ministerio de Fomento, Industria y Comercio (MIFIC, ente regulador previo al Ministerio de Energía y Minas, MEM, creado en el 2007) otorgó una concesión a la empresa canadiense MINESA, la cual incluía además los municipios vecinos de Waslala y Bocay, con una extensión de 49,000 hectáreas (Ha). Después de una primera fase de exploración, en el 2007 la concesión se redujo a un área de 1,301.10 Ha, año en el cual MINESA vende sus derechos de concesión a otra empresa canadiense denominada Minerales Nueva Esperanza S.A., subsidiaria de la transnacional B2Gold, con sede en Vancouver, Canadá (fuente: MEM).

...

La realidad que viven los y las habitantes de Rancho Grande, la expresan mejor en sus propias palabras algunos productores cuando afirman que “Nosotros no nos morimos de hambre, no necesitamos MINESA!”, “Rancho Grande nunca ha comido de la empresa minera!”, “Que se vaya B2Gold!”.

