The Evolution of Social Movements

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ABSTRACT

In 2011 a wave of activism spread through the Middle East, with people making their voices heard and long-standing leaders being overthrown—a wave that became known collectively as the 'Arab Spring'. While the people held rallies and protests against their oppressive regimes, they also used the Internet and social media to report on events, organise demonstrations, as well as discuss issues. Western media was quick to point to the significance of Facebook, Twitter, and other forms of social media as a driving force behind the events, with journalists keen to use phrases such as 'Facebook revolution' (Taylor, 2011; Naughton, 2011) and 'Twitter revolution' (Zuckerman, 2011). However, in spite of the widespread use of such terms, little research has been carried out on the role that social media plays in social movements. This project aims to contribute to filling this gap in research by analysing the use of Facebook during the Tunisian Revolution of 2010-2011. The project uses the cultural approach of framing and collective action frames, a theory commonly used in the study of social movements, to examine the role of social media. Specifically, the project analyses all posts (N=177) made on the Nawaat Facebook group between 18 December 2010 and 14 January 2011 for aspects of framing. The analysis finds that the primary uses of the group were for distributing information, with a large number of posts consisting of reports of events, and discursive processes, i.e. the discussion of issues and their causes. The research also indicates that the high number of posts including video content (21%) about events contributed significantly to the credibility of posts.

In addition to the analysis of the collected data, the project discusses four issues raised by the research regarding the use of social media. These issues comprise of the use of social media as a tool for movement organisation, the control of frames, social media and media censorship, as well as social media and the importance of what has been termed 'bedroom activists', i.e. adherents participating in a movement without actively participating in street protests.

Finally, in the conclusion the project answers the research question of whether the Tunisian revolution represents an evolution in social movements and also highlights avenues of future research. The project concludes that the use of social

media in the Tunisian Revolution does represent an evolutionary step for social movements, however, it also warns that the use of social media is not without its risks. This danger comes primarily from the ability for governments to use the technology to monitor, track, and counter the efforts of online activists.

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I would like to dedicate this project to all those who gave their lives during the Tunisian Revolution.

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1. INTRODUCTION

On 14 January 2011, the Tunisian president of 23 years, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, fled his country after just four weeks of protests and demonstrations in which people expressed their frustration at high unemployment, corruption, and a lack of social and political freedoms. During those 23 years Ben Ali led an authoritarian dictatorship in which he and his regime used violence and intimidation to repress criticism, restricted people's freedoms and, as is widely recognised, manipulated election results and the legislature in order to remain in power during his five terms as president (Sadiki, 2002; Alexander, 1997; Hibou, 2006).

Following the departure of Ben Ali, other peoples in the Arab world, inspired by the events in Tunisia, began to demonstrate against their own oppressive leaders and governments in what became known collectively as the Arab Spring. The spring of 2011 saw waves of demonstrations across the Arab world, with the ruling regimes of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen all being removed from power, as well as acts protests in Algeria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, and uprisings that are still on-going in Bahrain and Syria.

Journalists and mainstream Western media were quick to label these uprisings and protests as 'Facebook revolutions' and 'Twitter revolutions' (for example see Naughton, 2011; Taylor, 2011; Zuckerman, 2011) because of the domestic and international impact of the Internet and social media. In countries where dissent and criticism of ruling elites was heavily censored, sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and blogging tools became an outlet for activists and their supporters. Not only did social media enable people to report on events, share opinions, and organise themselves, it also provided the international community and neighbouring countries with information about events. However, in spite of the regular use of the terms 'Facebook revolutions' and 'Twitter revolutions' in popular Western media, little scientific research has been carried out into the role that social media played in these social movements.

The uprisings of the Arab Spring are not the only occasions where social media has been used as part of a social movement. In September 2011, the Occupy movement began its occupation of Zuccotti Park in New York in protest at economic inequality as well as the role that large corporations, banks and the stock market played in the financial collapse—a message summed up in their slogan 'We are the

99%', a reference to the increasing concentration of wealth amongst the richest 1% of Americans (Apps, 2011). The movement received widespread media coverage and the use of social media to organise and report on events helped to spread the movement—since its inception in September 2011, Occupy demonstrations have occurred across the world in over 20 countries, including Denmark, South Africa, Malaysia, and Mexico (Rogers, 2011).

This use of the Internet and social media as a tool for reporting on events, debating issues and organising protest, creates a greater potential for people to become more engaged in political, social, and economic issues both domestically and internationally. As the Internet becomes increasingly ubiquitous it opens the possibility for participatory democracy, in which a wide demographic of people can express their views and opinions. In terms of connectivity, in 2011 there were reportedly 1.7 billion residential Internet users, a figure which is expected to increase to 2.3 billion by 2016, and mobile Internet use is forecast to reach 4.5 billion people by 2016 (Cisco, 2012). Similarly, the use of social media is rapidly increasing, for example, the number of Facebook users grew by approximately 170 million between March 2011 and March 2012, reaching 835 million users (Internet World Stats, 2012). This rapid increase in online social networking and the use of social media represents a new platform for people to organise and participate in social movements.

Historically, social movements and the acceptance of social protest as a legitimate means by which citizens can express their concerns are a relatively new occurrence. According to Charles Tilly, the occurrence of collective action that could be considered to be a social movement "happened rarely before 1800" (Tilly in Giugni, McAdam, & Tilly, 1999, p. 256), noting that the increase in social movements is linked to the rise of both electoral politics and interest groups. As the number of social movements has increased, so too has the variation between movement tactics and strategies—from the strategy of nonviolence used in movements, such as the US Civil Rights movement in the 1960s or the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in the late 1980s, to the violence and civil disobedience by members of the anti-globalization movement in protests at the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle in 1999.

Indeed, the Arab Spring is not the first time that a wave of demonstrations and uprisings have led to the removal of dictators and autocrats. Following the economic collapse of the USSR in the late 1980s, and the non-interventionist policy introduced

by Mikhail Gorbachev, a series of uprisings occurred in Eastern European countries, that had, since the end of the World War II, been ruled by regimes under the direction from Moscow. Starting with Poland in early 1989, social movements in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other Eastern Bloc nations ousted their communist regimes and began their transition to democratic systems of government.

Theoretically, the concept of social movement has been an area of development with modern perspectives suggesting the new forms of social movement, for example, the notion of 'identity' movements. As Rose (1997) suggests, these new social movements "seek to establish new forms of identity as legitimate options in society" (p. 483), in which one of the primary tasks of new social movements is to offer potential adherents an image or ideals, as part of their own process of identity creation. However, such descriptions of modern social movements hides the similarities they share previous movements, as Buechler (1995) notes "the term new social movements inherently overstates the differences and obscures the commonalities between past and present movements" (p. 449).

Research into social movements has traditionally centred on resource mobilization theory, which portrays movements as "rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups" (Buechler, 1993, p. 218), and seeks to explain movement adherents' participation as the result of a form of cost-benefit analysis. However, more recent research argues that this view of movement adherents as rational actors overlooks the role of culture and meaning in collective action. As Buechler (ibid.) notes:

> The formulation of grievances and the articulation of ideology are inseparable from cultural processes of framing, meaning and signification which are prior to any utilitarian calculation of costs and benefits. (p. 230)

In particular, social movement research has come to recognise the importance of framing processes in movement mobilization (for example, see della Porta & Diani, 2006; della Porta in Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly, 1999). The concept of framing allows for a cultural understanding of the processes involved in collective action by examining the interpretive schemes created by actors in a process of reality construction. However, the use of social media during the Arab Spring presents a dynamic element in which citizens themselves were able to create and shape the framing of events—a development that suggests resource mobilization theory's notion of actors as rational, institutionally rooted, organised groups is out-dated. This then

raises the question of whether recent developments suggest an evolution in social movements.

The issues outlined above, in particular those regarding our understanding of social movements and the opportunities presented by new technologies for greater participation, have led to the following research question:

1.1 Research Question

To what extent does the Tunisian Revolution of 2010-2011 signify an evolution of social movements?

1.1.1 Clarification of the Research Question

In answering the research question it is first useful to clarify what is meant by the following terms: 'Tunisian Revolution' and 'evolution'.

By 'the Tunisian Revolution' we are referring to the events starting with the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi, on 17 December, 2010, up until the departure of President Ben Ali from office, on January 14, 2011. The term 'evolution' refers to new factors or changes that suggest a development from what is currently understood to be a 'social movement'.

2. METHODOLOGY I

The following methodology section will include a brief outline of the project, a discussion of theory of science issues, considerations regarding the selection of the empirical data, the comparability of the chosen cases, arguments for the use of the chosen theories, and, for clarification, a definition of the term 'social media' that will be a central theme of the project.

2.1 Outline of the Project

The project examines the concept of social movement, investigating the use of social media in the methods and tactics of the social movement in the Tunisian Revolution, 2010-2011, as well as discussing the issues arising from the examination. The introduction provides a brief overview of the current events in social movements, their historical development, and theoretical issues in the field of social movements, ending with the research question and a clarification of the question. The methodology section includes an outline of the project, a discussion of theory of science issues, consideration of the empirical data, arguments for the chosen theories, the comparability of the case, as well as a definition of the term 'social media' which will be used throughout the project.

In the theory section, the main theories used in the project will be presented, namely Tilly's concept of social movements and framing and collective action frames. The main body of the project is made up of four parts: a comparison of key elements from the social movements during the revolution in Czechoslovakia (1989) and Tunisia (2010-2011), a second methodology describing the process of data collection and operationalising of theoretical concepts, an analysis of the use of framing in social media during the Tunisian uprising, and a discussion of issues arising from the analysis, regarding the use of social media during the Tunisian uprising. The first part consists of a comparative analysis based up Charles Tilly's theory of social movements. It examines the social movements in Czechoslovakia (1989) and Tunisia (2010-11), with the aim of identifying the processes involved, the differences between these movements, and which differences can be identified as potentially new elements. The second part describes the methodological process of collecting and analysing the data, along with the operationalising of the concepts of

framing used in the subsequent analysis. The third part builds upon this, taking the identified new element, namely social media, and examining its impact upon the Tunisian Revolution (2010-2011). In this part the empirical data will be analysed with regard to the cultural approach of framing and collective action frames. On the basis of analysis, the fourth part discusses questions and issues regarding the use of social media during the Tunisian Revolution, for example, as an organisational tool, in the control of framing, in the context of media censorship, and as an alternative means of participation. These aspects are discussed in light of the project research as well as current research on social movements and the use of social media.

Finally, on the basis of the analysis and discussion, conclusions will be drawn with regard to the research question, focusing on the impact of social media in the Tunisian revolution and the extent to which social movements can be said to be 'evolving'.

2.2 Theory of Science

This project uses an analysis of social media posts as the basis for the empirical research, and uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to study the subject and elaborate on the research question. In using these methods, the following theory of science section will consider relevant issues of subjectivity, validity, and objectivity, as well as hermeneutics and the interpretation of texts.

2.2.1 Subjectivity, Validity, and Objectivity

When analysing qualitative material, such as social media posts, it is important to recognise the subjective nature of the content. With regard to the validity of using social media posts as empirical evidence, the use of a hermeneutic method for the analysis of the empirical data will allow the project to take into account the subjective nature of the articles.

In considering the issue of validity, it is worth recognising that even natural science methods producing quantitative data are still not objective. As Gerd Christensen (2002) explains, ontological objectivity is an impossibility even in the natural sciences when using instruments to collect quantitative data. In spite of the appearance of such data being objective, there is still a researcher conducting the experiments, reading the instruments and choosing which measurements to take, all of which introduces a subjective element (ibid.).

2.2.2 The Interpretation of Texts

Since the main empirical research in the project is social media posts, it is important to recognise the hermeneutic process, which focuses upon the interpretation of texts. The following section provides an explanation of hermeneutics as well as its use within the project.

In interpreting the meaning of a text, hermeneutics suggests that every understanding begins with a prior understanding–one's interpretation and understanding of a text should then be considered in light of one's previous understanding (ibid.). The individual parts of a text and the text in its entirety form a "hermeneutic circle" (ibid., p. 144) in which these elements must be understood in relation to each other. In this way a circle is formed, since the reader's understanding of the text as a whole is changed with every reading of the individual parts, while at the same time the reader's interpretation of the individual parts is changed by the reader's understanding of the text as a whole. Within the context of the project and the analysis of the social media posts, it is therefore important to recognise that the researchers' understanding and interpretation of the articles is built up from multiple readings, by considering individual parts of the posts as well as an understanding of the posts as a whole.

2.3 Empirical Data: Mainstream Media

As outlined above, the first part of the main body of the project compares the social movements Czechoslovakia (1989) and Tunisia (2010-2011). This comparison is based on the reconstructions of events presented in Appendix A, with supplementary information provided by current research. In particular the recent events in Tunisia are reconstructed on the basis of reports from two media sources: Al Jazeera and BBC News. It is recognised in the project that this type of media can, and does, include bias and therefore should be treated with caution and an awareness of this bias. However, with regard to the account of events in Tunisia, preliminary readings of other media sources, e.g. The New York Times, Washington Post, Le Monde, suggests general agreement about the events.

With regard to the comparability of the two cases, it should be noted that the project is, for methodological reasons, limited in its assessment of the *impact* of tactics and the strategies used by social movement organisations. These reasons, as

noted by Amenta & Young (in Giugni et al., 1999), centre around the difficulty of isolating causal variables because "events that happen during or after a challenge may be due to forces other than the challenge" (p. 23)—in other words, attributing causes in such situations presents a problem due to the difficulty of ascertaining, with certainty, which particular events led to a result.

2.4 Argument for the Chosen Theories

The theories central to the project, presented below in the theory section, are that of Charles Tilly's concept of social movements, framing and collective action frames.

While alternative theories of social movements were considered (for example McCarthy and Zald, 1977), Tilly's concept of social movements, which is widely used amongst scholars (for example see Benford & Snow, 2000; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Buechler, 1993), was considered to be the most appropriate with regard to the comparison of social movements. In particular, Tilly's theory allows social movements to be compared on the basis of the six characteristic features (described in the theory section below), thus enabling the project to highlight potential differences between the two cases of Czechoslovakia and Tunisia. This key factor, along with the theory's widespread acceptance by scholars, speak for the theory's suitability.

The theory of framing and collective action frames, as a cultural theory of social movements, was chosen on the basis of the new, identified elements, i.e. the use of social media and the opportunity it presents for individuals to actively participate in social movements. As Benford & Snow (2000) state, "movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning" (p. 613), suggesting not only that contributors are important actors, but also the importance of the 'production' of meaning to the movement itself. Also, since the comparative analysis of Czechoslovakia and Tunisia below (see section 4.2) suggests social media as a new element between the two cases, a theory reflecting communication and its importance to social movements was considered necessary. On the basis of research, in particular the work of Donatella della Porta and her investigation into the use of framing processes in social movements (for example, see Giugni et al., 1999; della Porta & Diani, 2006), the process of framing was considered to be a key area in which social media would operate, and as Glenn (1999) highlights, the process of framing "plays an essential role" (p. 191) in persuading potential

adherents to join a movement. Based primarily upon the work of Robert Benford & David Snow, the theory section below includes a presentation of the theory of framing and collective action frames. However, it should be noted that not all aspects of the theory are presented. Certain concepts and features, such as 'locus of attribution', while interesting, are considered to be less applicable with regard to the use of social media, than other concepts, and so these concepts are not focused upon in the subsequent discussion.

2.5 Comparability of the Chosen Cases

As noted in the above outline, this project draws comparisons between two examples of social movements in order to identify, and thereafter analyse, different or new elements in social movements. However, first it is important to clarify why the two cases, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia (1989) and the revolution in Tunisia (2010-2011), are suitable for comparison. On the basis of the historical accounts and reconstruction of events (see Appendix A), a number of similarities between the cases can be identified.

2.5.1 Similarities Between the Cases of Czechoslovakia and Tunisia

The comparison between the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia and the Tunisian Revolution can be justified on the basis of similarities in the following four areas: the popularity of the regimes, the form of rule, the length of time in power, and the restrictions placed on citizens/groups.

Firstly, it is clear that both the Communist Party and Ben Ali were initially relatively popular. In 1946, the Communist Party won 31% of the vote in what were considered to democratic elections, and it wasn't until February 1948 that they moved to claim power (Appendix A, lines 3-7). Similarly, Ben Ali was widely perceived as a popular figure, welcomed by the people and political groups, as he promised to bring more democracy and provide stability following Bourguiba's rule (ibid., lines 112-115).

Another similarity between the two cases can be seen in the style of government, in which both peoples lived under authoritarian rule. In Czechoslovakia, even though alternative political parties existed in the parliament, it was the Communist Party, with their constitutional majority, who controlled the government and decision-making apparatus of the country (ibid., lines 7-10). Similarly, Ben Ali's

regime, through the Press Code and the media's financial dependency on the state, created a climate of self-censorship, in which the media would not be critical of the government or report on certain 'taboo' topics (ibid., lines 133-141). Also, in spite of there officially being an electoral democracy in Tunisia, the Ben Ali regime was able to control its opponents, even to the point where Ben Ali could select opposition leaders, and so while opposition parties existed in Tunisia, their political power was considered to be severely limited (ibid., lines 119-132).

The period over which these forms of rule were present in both countries is also a considerably long time. In Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party were in power for 42 years, from 1948 to 1989, as part of the Soviet Union's expansion following World War II. In Tunisia, Ben Ali came to power in 1987 in what has been described as a "palace coup" (BBC News, 2011, 14 January), and in spite of holding elections, which are widely considered to have been rigged, he remained in power for 23 years, having changed the constitution in 2004 in order to allow him to continue as president (Appendix A, lines 153-156). While the Communist Party were in power for a longer period of time, both regimes were able to maintain control, and deal with opponents and disputes, over a considerable period.

Another similarity are the restrictions placed on the people's freedom of speech and the right to protest. Due to the high level of censorship in Czechoslovakia, including state-run media, the Communist Party, the opportunity for free speech was severely limited, with political activities and acts of protest deemed to be against the socialist state suppressed by authorities (ibid., lines 23-27). Similarly, in Tunisia there are many examples of repression of free speech by the Ben Ali regime. Not only are there reports of abuses against human rights activists, but also journalists critical of the regime would be harassed and imprisoned (Sadiki, 2002). For instance, articles of the Press Code were the prerogative of the Minister of Interior, meaning that criticism of state policies was considered to be 'defamation' or a disturbance of public order (Appendix A, lines 133-141).

As can be seen from the above consideration of the two cases, the context and events in both Czechoslovakia and Tunisia share a number of similarities. Alternative comparisons were considered, such as between Tunisia and Hungary or Poland, however the events that led to revolutions in those countries were markedly different and were considered to be less comparable to the case of Tunisia. Therefore, taking

this into account and in light of the similarities illustrated above, the case of Czechoslovakia is considered to be appropriate for a comparison with the case of Tunisia.

2.6 Definition of Social Media

In order to ensure that both the reader and the author share an understanding, the term 'social media' will now be clarified.

2.6.1 Social Media

According to Merriam-Webster's (2012) online dictionary, the term social media is defined as:

> forms of electronic communication (as Web sites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (as videos)

This definition encompasses a wide range of Internet technologies, however, with regard to the term's use within the project, we use the term to refer collectively to four different, albeit interconnected technologies/services, namely Facebook, blogging services (e.g. Blogger.com), Twitter (also known as 'micro-blogging'), and video-sharing websites such as YouTube and DailyMotion.

In particular, the project references the terms 'post', 'comment' and 'tweet'. A 'post' refers to a piece of content added on a webpage by an individual or group, the content of which can be text, images/videos, or a link to content on another webpage. Typically, a post relates to content added to a Facebook group's or individual's 'wall' (a webpage associated with a group/individual's profile on which they and others can add content) as well as content added to blogging services. A 'comment' refers to a response to a post, made by an individual or group, and usually includes text and/or links, however can include image/video content. A 'tweet' refers specifically to posts made on the Twitter platform. These forms of content are commonly short, with restrictions being imposed by the platform on the length of content. For example, a tweet is limited to 140 characters (Lemos, 2011), whereas a Facebook post was, at the time of the Tunisian Revolution, limited to 420 characters (Leveille, 2011).

3. THEORY

The current theoretical section will now present the main theories used in the project. The first theory is that of Charles Tilly's concept of social movements, focusing on his understanding of the factors that constitute a social movement. The second represents a cultural approach to social movements, namely the theory of framing and collective action frames as presented by Robert Benford and David Snow, which will be central to the subsequent analysis.

3.1 Tilly's Concept of Social Movement

There are a number of different definitions of the term 'social movement'. In their classic article, *Resource Mobilization and Social Movements*, McCarthy and Zald (1977) define a social movement as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (pp. 1217-18). However, as Burstein (in Giugni et al., 1999, p. 8) highlights, with these conditions a social movement could also include interest groups and even political parties—a definition which is too inclusive to prove useful for the cases considered in this project. Burstein (ibid.) suggests that a distinguishing feature is that political parties have a legal basis for representing people, in that they appear on a ballot and are elected. In this way, while the distinction between social movements and interest groups remains subjective, there is at least a structural difference between them and political parties, in that political parties exist with the formal political structure of the country, and so their actions and interactions are subject to a formal procedures.

A more developed understanding of the concept, with regard to this project, is provided by Charles Tilly. Tilly (ibid.) defines a social movement as:

> *a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment.* (p. 257 [italics in original])

According to Tilly then, the three key characteristics of a social movement are: a) its positioning as subordinate to a power holder, b) its repeated public displays of its cause, e.g. public acts of protest, demonstrations etc., and c) that its challenges are sustained over a period of time. These characteristics are broad enough to include the

actions and groups included in the cases presented in the current project, but are also specific enough to rule out the individual acts of interest groups and political parties.

In addition to these characteristics, Tilly's (ibid.) understanding of social movements requires at least three "distinguishable" (p. 257) populations in order to be considered a social movement. The first population is that of a power holder, i.e. an actor or actors who are the target of a movement's claims. The second is that of participant claims-makers, consisting of organisations, leaders, as well as minor contributors who make claims on behalf of a subject population. The third and final population is that of the subject population who the claims-makers are said to represent. While Tilly (ibid.) suggests that these groups should be distinguishable, he also acknowledges that there can be some degree of overlap between them—for instance, when a power holder deserts fellow power holders in order to side with claims-makers or when claims-makers are made up exclusively of people from the subject population.

An important caveat in Tilly's understanding of social movements is the acknowledgement of the term 'social movement' as a social construction. Tilly (ibid.) recognizes that social movements are not fixed, readily definable organisms, even though historians and theorists may portray them as such. Rather, Tilly (ibid.) describes them as "complex encounters among changing actors" (p. 257), thus highlighting the fluidity of the term 'social movement', as a label that is applied to the sum of interactions by different groups, coming together to achieve a collective goal.

3.2 Framing and Collective Action Frames

The theory of framing and collective action frames, based primarily on the work of Benford and Snow will now be presented. In addition to providing a description of the concepts of frame, framing, and collective action frames, the presentation includes descriptions of a number of specific features of collective action frames: core framing tasks, and resonance; and also processes that influence collective action frames: discursive, strategic, and contested processes. While the theory includes a number of different factors, a smaller subset of these factors, considered to be most useful with regard to the analysis of social media in Tunisia, has been selected and will be outlined here.

3.2.1 Frame

Based upon the work of Erving Goffman, the concept of frame has become an increasingly useful tool in the social sciences (Benford & Snow, 2000). The term 'frame' refers to schemes, or methods, of interpretation which enable individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" (Goffman, 1974, cited in Snow, Burke Rochford, Worden, and Benford, 1986, p. 464) events in the world around them. Therefore, the function of frames is to assist people in organising their experiences and guide their individual or collective actions (ibid.).

3.2.2 Framing

The concept of framing, in the study of social movements, refers to an active process of reality construction (Benford & Snow, 2000). As described by Benford and Snow (ibid.), this process of reality construction consists of four key elements: active, processual, agency, and contentious. Framing is seen as *active*, since an action is occurring, and *processual*, because the events are part of a dynamic and changing process (ibid.). Benford and Snow (ibid.) also describe it as *agency*, since the actions are created by either activists or social movement organisations, as well as *contentious*, because the process involves the generation of interpretative frames that may well differ from as well as challenge existing frames (ibid.).

3.2.3 Collective Action Frames

Collective action frames are the result of the process of framing, as described above. They perform an interpretive function, condensing information, that enables people to understand and find meaning in events, thereby guiding people's actions (ibid.). However, this condensing of information is not a passive process, it is active and directed in order to "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow & Benford, 1998, cited in Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613). Therefore, collective action frames can be seen as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings" (ibid., p. 614) intended to promote and legitimise the actions of social movements.

3.2.4 Core Framing Tasks

According to Benford and Snow (ibid.), core framing tasks are an important factor in the construction of collective action frames. Core framing tasks consist of three types of framing: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational, which reflect movement actors'

attempts to negotiate a shared understanding of what the issue or issues are, attribute the causes of those issues, articulate a solution, and urge others to act in order to affect change (ibid.). Thus, diagnostic framing is the process by which movement actors negotiate agreement regarding the nature of the issues and their source, i.e. attributing blame or cause. However, as Benford & Snow (ibid.) note, agreement cannot be assumed to occur automatically, and negotiations over the issue, both within a social movement and between social movements, are an on-going, interactive process. The task of prognostic framing involves the formation and articulation of a solution to the issues and is, similarly, a negotiated and interactive process between actors. However, while actors will usually reach agreement as to what the problem is, research suggests that prognostic framing is commonly an area in which social movement organisations differentiate themselves from each other, as they support alternative solutions to the problem (ibid.). In the process of prognostic framing there is an important interactive element, in that 'counter-framings', i.e. strategies and criticisms directed at or by opponents, create a defensive, reactionary element, causing actors to develop and elaborate their own strategies (ibid.). Motivational framing is the task of providing a rationale for collective action including "the construction of appropriate vocabularies of motive" (ibid., p. 617). The purpose of these constructed vocabularies is to provide potential adherents with a compelling reason for joining and continuing to participate in collective action (ibid.).

3.2.5 Resonance

The concept of frame resonance is important with regard to the efficacy or potency in mobilizing support, i.e. a frame's ability to 'resonate' with people enables it to increase the number of adherents (ibid.). According to Benford and Snow (ibid.) the degree of resonance of a collective action frame is dependent upon two sets of interacting factors: the *frame credibility* and its *relative salience*.

The extent to which a frame is perceived as credible is a result of the following three elements: *frame consistency*, *empirical credibility*, and the perceived *credibility of claimsmakers*, i.e. the people/group constructing the frame. Frame consistency is determined by the degree to which the actor's beliefs, claims, and their actions are congruent (ibid.). Perceived inconsistencies between an actor's beliefs, claims and actions, i.e. differences in what they say and what they do, will lead to decrease in consistency, and therefore a decrease in frame credibility (ibid.).

Empirical credibility does not refer to whether an actor's claims are factually correct, but rather the extent to which supporting evidence is accepted by a target-group or proponents as generally believable (ibid.). The final factor affecting a frame's credibility is that of the perceived credibility of claimsmakers, which refers to perceptions held of the articulators of a claim/s. As is widely recognised in psychology, claimsmakers who are perceived to have high levels of status and expertise, are found to be more persuasive, and thus more able to mobilize support, than those who do not (ibid.). For instance, someone who is widely considered to be an expert on a particular issue would be perceived as more credible, and thus more persuasive, than a person with little or no recognition in the area.

A frame's relative salience is determined by the degree to which the frame and its associated claims are experientially congruent with the everyday experiences of the receiver/target group—in other words, are potential adherents able to relate to the claims articulated by actors (ibid.). Thus, as Benford and Snow (ibid.) suggest, the greater a claim's relative salience, the greater its chances of mobilizing the receiver. For instance, claims relating to the need for better provisions for the homeless will have greater relative salience, and therefore greater probability of mobilization, if potential adherents regularly see the effects of homelessness. Similarly, a frame's salience is increased by its 'cultural fidelity', i.e. the degree to which claims fit into a cultural understanding of the issue (ibid.). Therefore, claims relating to issues that are culturally accepted as such, will have greater cultural resonance and therefore greater likelihood of mobilization.
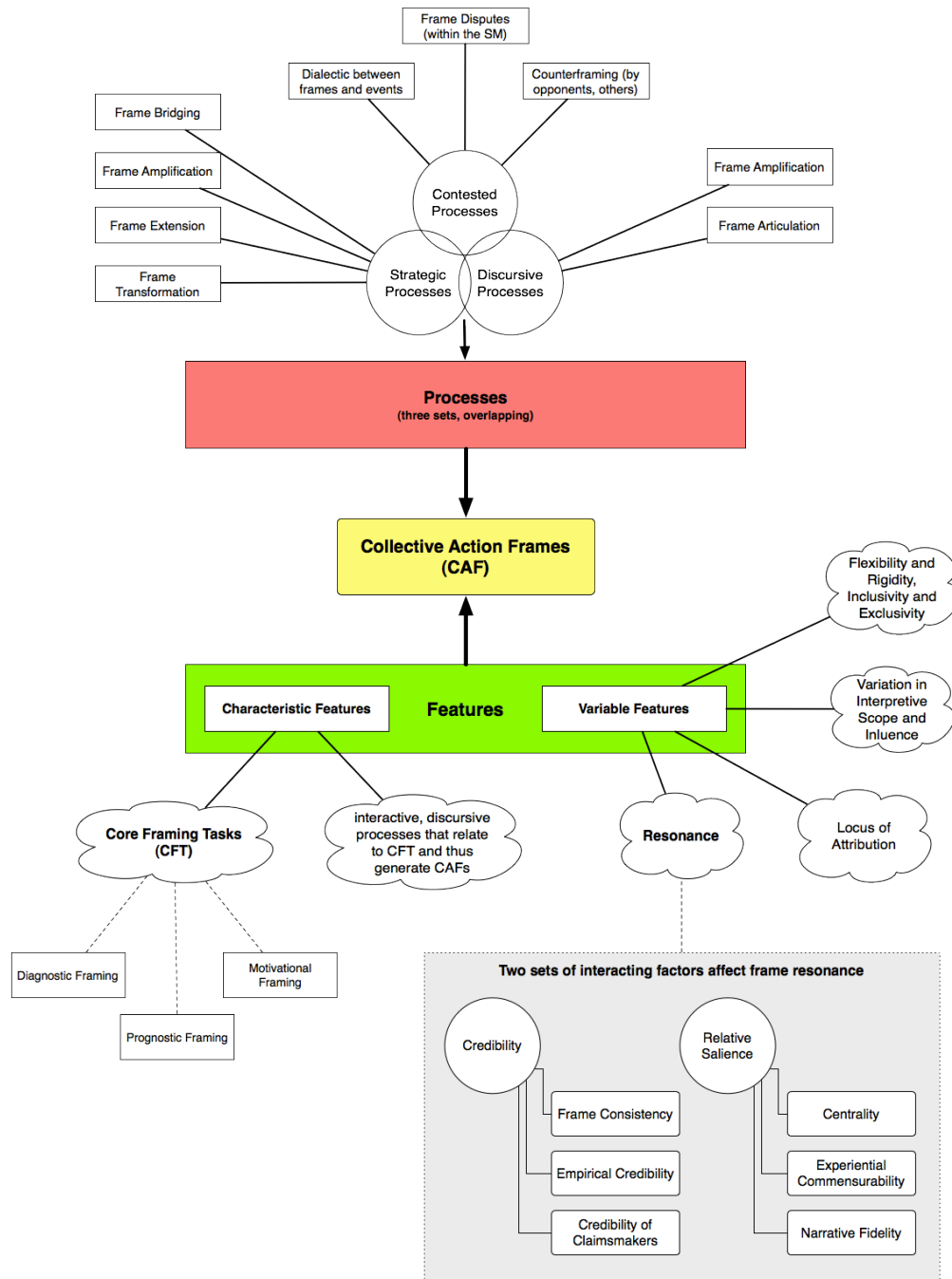
Figure 1. Overview of Factors Influencing Collective Action Frames

3.2.6 Discursive, Strategic, and Contested Processes

In addition to the features discussed above, collective action frames are also determined by three, overlapping processes: discursive, strategic, and contested processes.

Discursive processes refer to both the verbal and written communications of movement actors, which can be characterised as *frame articulation* and *frame amplification*. Frame articulation can be seen as the way in which events and experiences are connected and 'packaged' in a communication (ibid.). While this process does not necessarily result in a new or original collective action frame, its impact stems from the way in which elements are linked together in order to create a novel interpretation (ibid.). Frame amplification is the process of "highlighting some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others" (ibid., p. 623). By focusing on certain key elements in communications, movement actors are able punctuate issues and symbolise parts of the larger frame (ibid.).

Strategic processes are those framing processes that are both deliberate and goal-oriented, i.e. they are strategic efforts by movement actors designed to achieve a specific goal, such as the recruitment of new members or the mobilization of existing members. Benford and Snow (ibid.) identify four elements that form strategic processes: *frame bridging*, *frame amplification*, *frame extension*, and *frame transformation*. Frame bridging is the process of linking two or more frames that are "structurally unconnected" (ibid., p. 624). For example, in research by Gerhards & Rucht (1992), they found that ecology and women's groups, amongst others, successfully bridged their frames to include the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, in order to justify their protesting at visits by the IMF and Ronald Reagan. Frame amplification, as described above, can be seen as a strategic process by which movement actors seek to highlight or amplify existing or new beliefs and values, as well as cultural ideas, in order to improve a frame's resonance with potential adherents (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frame extension refers to the process by which movement actors depict a movement's values and interests as extending beyond its central values and interests (ibid.). The key point in frame extension is that a frame's 'extended' values and interests are of importance to potential members, so as to gain their support (ibid.). The last strategic process, frame transformation, refers to the way in which movements generate new meanings and understandings of issues by changing previous ones (ibid.).

As noted above, the development and elaboration of collective action frames is an interactive process in which a number of different movement actors compete with different framings of issues. Thus, the generation of collective action frames

involves contested processes, whereby actors seek signification. As Benford and Snow (ibid.) suggest:

> activists are not able to construct and impose on their intended targets any version of reality they would like; rather there are a variety of challenges confronting all those who engage in movement framing activities. (p. 625)

Therefore, collective action frames can be seen, in part, as the product of this interaction between movements attempting to impose their view of reality. This interactive, contested process consists of three elements: *counter-framing*, *frame disputes*, and the *dialectic between frames and events*. Counter-framing is a process by which movement opponents, bystanders, or the media publicly challenge or undermine the movement's diagnostic and/or prognostic framings (ibid.). This, in turn, leads to the development and re-framing of a movement's claims and issues in order to nullify opponents' counter-framing—also known as 'framing contests' (ibid.). Frame disputes is a process that can occur both within and between social movement organisations (ibid.). These disputes can be conflicts about the diagnostic or prognostic presentation of the frame, or the version of reality being projected by the movement (ibid.). The final process refers to the dialectic relationship between frames and events. Research highlights how collective action frames influence the nature of and possibilities for collective action events, and respectively, collective action events can change the meaning and discourse of an issue, and therefore influence framings and the possibilities of subsequent events (ibid.). For example, Ellingson's (1995) research on violent protest with regard to abolitionism in Cincinnati, highlights how collective action frames created legitimacy for movement actors, thereby limiting their possibilities for collective action events, i.e. violent protesting and rioting became an unacceptable form of action.

4. CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND TUNISIA: NEW ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As outlined in the methodology, in order to distinguish potentially new elements of social movements it is important to build-up a comparison of the events in both Czechoslovakia and Tunisia. For this comparison Charles Tilly's concept of social movement will provide the theoretical framework, which will allow the project to draw parallels between the two countries and, more importantly, enable us to examine the similarities and differences between the events surrounding the social movements in each country. The comparison is based upon the historical outlines and reconstructions of events in both Czechoslovakia (1989) and Tunisia (2010-2011), which can be found in Appendix A, along with additional research and news reports of the events.

4.1 Tilly's Concept of Social Movement in Czechoslovakia and Tunisia

On the basis of Tilly's theory of social movements, as outlined above, movements can be compared on the basis of six characteristic features. The first set of features relates specifically to the actors, or 'populations' as Tilly describes them, involved with a social movement:

    a)   a power holder, against whom claims are made,

    b)   a claims-maker, representing a subject population, and

    c)   a subject population, who claims-makers represent.

The second set of features is relating to three general attributes of social movements:

    a)   a movement's positioning as subordinate to a power holder,

    b)   its public displays of its cause,

    c)   its challenges being sustained over a period of time.

These features of Tilly's concept of social movements will then form the basis of the comparison between Czechoslovakia (1989) and Tunisia (2010-2011). An assumption here is that the movements in both cases *are* social movements, therefore the purpose of the comparison is not to confirm this, but rather, to examine the similarities and differences of the two social movements with regard to Tilly's features, thus enabling

the project to identify potentially new elements of social movements for further investigation.

4.1.1 The Power Holder

Both social movements had clear targets of power holders, against whom their claims could be made.

In Czechoslovakia, after 41 years in power and a constitutionally mandated majority, the Communist Party was clearly recognised as the power holder, using a variety of methods to maintain their position. Their use of censorship and a press code which made it an offence to commit "slander against the Republic, defamation of prominent officials, promotion of fascist causes, dissemination of information which could contribute to a public disturbance, or slander against an allied country" (Evanson, 1986, p. 3), along with their use of force and imprisonment against those critical of the regime (Appendix A, lines 15-19), clearly identify them as an authoritarian power holder. Even though the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia had been potentially weakened by the preceding events in Moscow, in particular the policy of non-intervention, as Glenn (1999) notes, it was "far from a sufficient condition for explaining the form of reconstruction" (p. 192). The role of the Communist Party as the power holder is also clear from the actions of activists who targeted them as the object of protest, for example, the initial student demonstration, 17 November 1989, in which students chanted anti-communist slogans directed towards the party (Appendix A, lines 47-54), Civic Forum's meeting with the Communist prime minister, 21 November 1989, suggesting the general recognition of the Communist Party as the power holder.

Similarly, in Tunisia, Ben Ali and his regime had ruled the country for 23 years and maintained power using a number of different tools, such as a restrictive press code, manipulation of opposition parties, and amendments to the constitution. Following his assuming power in what has been described as a political coup (ibid., lines 109-112), Ben Ali used the Press Code to limit the press freedom, as well as a system of state subsidies that created what has been described as a relationship of "clientelism-patronage" (Sadiki, 2002, p. 71) in which the media operated under a policy of self-censorship (Appendix A, lines 136-141). Also, as illustrated by the Bin Brik affair, Ben Ali used repressive measures, such as harassment and intimidation, as a means of silencing critics and opponents (ibid., lines 143-149). In addition to this,

Ben Ali dominated the political agenda in Tunisia, targeting opposition parties and leaders, removing those groups threatening his position (ibid., lines 126-132), while at the same time amending the constitution to allow him to remain in office (lines 153-156).

As highlighted above, both the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia and the Ben Ali regime in Tunisia are clearly identifiable as the power holders. The two power holders also share a number of similarities in that a) their use of censorship to limit criticism, b) their use of force against those critical of the regime, c) their manipulation of the constitution to remain in power, and d) the long period of time over which they ruled. Also, in both cases, based upon their histories, it could not be assumed that the power holders would give in to the demands of the social movements.

4.1.2 The Claims Maker

In the case of Czechoslovakia and Tunisia there are clear differences between the claims makers.

In Czechoslovakia there was evidence of strong civil society involvement throughout the period, with the involvement of social movement organisations as well as workers' unions. Civil society groups came together to form two social movement organisations Civic Forum (in Prague) and Public Against Violence (in Bratislava), established two days after the initial repression of students' group on 17 November, 1989, both of which were able to gather widespread support (ibid., lines. 65-70). In particular, following the successful organisation of a nationwide strike on 27 November, 1989, the position of Civic Forum as the social movement organisation that could represent the people was solidified (ibid., lines 101-103).

In Tunisia however, the claims makers were more diffuse, with acts of protest and demonstrations being organised by a wide range of actors, rather than a collaboration between social movement organisations. As noted by Sadiki (2002) civil society organisations in Tunisia, in the form of unions and opposition parties, had been co-opted by Ben Ali and his RCD party, which meant that their role in the revolution was limited. During the revolution there was comparatively little involvement by civil society groups, and not until the organisation of a rally on 28 December, 2010, by the Tunisian Federation of Labour Unions and the support of 300

lawyers of the Tunisian Bar Association, was the presence of traditional civil society organisations reported.

As can be seen in the above description of the claims makers, the groups organising protest acts represent a difference between the two social movements. In the case of Czechoslovakia, Civic Forum and Public Against Violence can be clearly identified as the claims makers, due to the significant role that they played in organising protests and representing the people in their claims making. However, in the case of Tunisia, there was no clear social movement organisation driving the protests and making claims on behalf of the subject population. Instead, what was seen were groups of activists who, during the course of the revolution, coalesced around several key issues.

4.1.3 The Subject Population

The subject populations in the two cases both, ultimately, were the populations of the countries, however, there are differences between them in the popular support of the movements and the demographics of that support.

In Czechoslovakia the subject population was claimed to be the entire country, by the social movement organisations, Civic Forum and Public Against Violence. Indeed, there was high attendance seen in the demonstrations, with reports suggesting over 100,000 in Prague and Bratislava, with a wide demographic of attendants (Appendix A, lines 75-77). In particular, the successful strike held on 27 November confirmed support for Civic Forum and the people's support for the social movement (ibid., 101-103).

In the case of Tunisia the subject population appeared to expand during the revolution. With the initial focus on unemployment, the subject population was seen to be the unemployed, in particular the unemployed youth. However, as protests continued and spread to spread to other regions of the country, the core protest issues broadened to include corruption and social and political freedoms, and thus the subject population expanded to encompass all Tunisians. The number and demographics of demonstrators was relatively low, with reports suggesting that protest numbers were typically hundreds or thousands, and mostly young men, until the later stages of the revolution, for example, 10,000 protesters where reported in Sidi Bouzid on 12 January (ibid., lines 271-275), and 6-7,000 protesters outside the interior ministry in Tunis (lines 288-291).

While there are then differences between the subject populations in the two cases, for example in the scale of support seen at demonstrations and, in the case of Tunisia, with the subject population initially comprising of the unemployed, ultimately the two social movements' subject populations were the entire populations of each country.

4.1.4 Movement Position as Subordinate to a Power Holder

The social movements in both Czechoslovakia and Tunisia were clearly in subordinate positions to the respective power holders

In Czechoslovakia this subordinate relationship between power holder and movement is reflected in the relationship between social movement organisations and the power holder. For instance, meetings between representatives of Civic Forum and the Communist Party leadership on 20 and 21 November, 1989 (ibid., lines 78-83) as well as the power holder being the target of movement claims (ibid., lines 96-98), thus confirming this subordinate relationship.

Similarly, in Tunisia the subordinate relationship between the movement and the power holder is clear. For instance, the Ben Ali regime, as the power holder, is the target of protest demands the protest action (for example see Appendix A, lines 180-182, 232-235), while at the same time, the responses from the government and Ben Ali discussing the concerns of protesters as well as criticising them (lines 177-180, 191-193), highlight that both the movement and the power holder recognise their positions in this subordinate relationship.

Therefore, as described above, the subordinate relationship of the social movements to the power holders is clear, and can be seen in the actors' mutual recognition of their own positions as the 'power-less' and the 'power-holder'.

4.1.5 Public Displays of Movement Cause

The public displays made by the movements in both Czechoslovakia and Tunisia share a number of similarities and differences, in particular the different types of protest that comprised the public displays, the organisation of public displays, and the reaction of security forces to those displays.

In Czechoslovakia, the social movement's public displays took two forms, namely popular demonstrations and strike action. Demonstrations were well-attended, with reports of over 100,000 attending the first mass protests in Prague and Bratislava (ibid., lines 75-77), and were organised by social movement organisations, such as

Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, using theatres as centers for organising and theatre networks for distributing information (lines 55-57). With the exception of police brutality toward students on the 17 November, public displays of the movement's cause were widespread, with peaceful mass demonstrations taking place in Prague and Bratislava (ibid., lines 75-77, 83-84) as well as a national strike was held on 27 November, which was similarly well-supported (lines 100-101).

In the case of Tunisia, while comparatively small-scale, peaceful demonstrations took place throughout the revolution, reports indicate violent protest and civil disobedience. For instance, there were frequent reports of violence between protesters and the security forces who, external observers suggest, shot and killed approximately 66 protesters during the revolution (ibid., lines 278-280). Also, reports indicate the destruction of property and vandalism associated with the protests, e.g. the burning of a police station in Bouazine (Al Jazeera, 2010, 25 December), and vandalism and looting in the suburbs of Tunis (Mynott, 2011). In addition to this, public displays of the movement also took the form of online protest. In spite of the Tunisian government's tight controls of the media, individuals were able to circumvent censorship rules and post images, videos, and anti-Ben Ali messages through popular websites such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter (Breuer, Landman, Farquhar, 2012).

The organisation of protests and demonstrations in the two cases appears to be very different. In the case of Czechoslovakia the role of the students and actors, and later both Civic Forum and Public Against Violence groups, was key to the organisation of protests and demonstrations. The use of theatres to hold open meetings and visits to industrial areas and union representatives were instrumental in organising protests as well as the general strike. In contrast, while reports suggest that there was a degree of involvement by unions and political parties in Tunisia, the extent to which they can be seen as responsible for organising protests and demonstrations is limited. Rather, reports suggest that protest activities and demonstrations were largely organised through social media sites Facebook and Twitter.

In both cases, a similarity can be seen in the reaction of security forces and the use of force against demonstrators, which proved to be key elements in mobilizing support. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the initial incidents of violence used against students following their peaceful protest, which was recorded and later shown during

visits to factories, and the reported death of a student (even though it later proved to be false), were used by groups involved in the movement to highlight the disparity between official government accounts of events and protesters' accounts (Appendix A, lines 84-86). Similarly, in Tunisia, there are many examples of violent clashes with security forces present throughout the revolution (ibid., lines 172-175, 232-235). The shooting of protesters and the many deaths that followed, and in particular the reports of snipers being used to shoot protesters, enabled support to be mobilized against the regime (ibid., lines 235-237).

4.1.6 Movement Challenge Sustained over a Period of Time

With regard to Tilly's feature of challenges to power holders being sustained over a period of time, similarities can be seen in the cases of Czechoslovakia and Tunisia.

In Czechoslovakia, beginning with the initial student demonstration, on 17 November 1989, protests and demonstrations spread, across the country. On 20 November demonstrations occurred in both Prague and Bratislava, with reports suggesting that over 100,000 people participated (ibid.). Protests continued throughout the country, culminating in a widely-supported general strike on 27 November, which was perceived to confirm Civic Forum's legitimacy to speak for the people. Shortly after on 10 December, following changes to the constitution, a new government was sworn into office—the first government in 41 years that was not dominated by the Communist Party, thereby signifying the end of the communist regime.

A sustained challenge to Ben Ali was seen in Tunisia that, similarly, took place over a relatively short time period. Protests in the town of Sidi Bouzid on 17 December 2010 followed the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi, an act of protest against the local government's treatment of him and the lack of employment opportunities (ibid., lines 158-169). In spite of a blackout of the issue amongst mainstream Tunisian media, news of the protests and riots spread on to the Internet, and similar protests were seen across the country (ibid.). For example, reports suggest sustained protests targeting the Ben Ali regime in Tunis, Sfax, and Kairouan as well as towns and cities across the country (ibid., lines 180-182). The demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience targeting the Ben Ali regime persisted until his leaving office on 14 January 2011 (ibid.).

Therefore, with regard to the characteristic of sustained challenges, the two cases are similar in their sustained protest action as well as the relatively short time period until the respective movements achieved their aims.

4.2 Summary: New Elements in the Case of Tunisia

On the basis of the above comparison of social movements in Czechoslovakia and Tunisia in relation to Tilly's concept of social movements, a number of similarities and differences between the two cases have been highlighted. The similarities highlighted include the response of both regimes which presented a political opportunity to civil society groups, the speed at which the revolutions took place (both taking only a few weeks), both cases of revolution occurred as part of a 'wave' of uprisings, repression and use of force by government forces, albeit only initially in the case of Czechoslovakia. While these similarities speak for the comparability of the two cases, they do not in themselves highlight 'new' elements of social movements. Rather, by examining the differences between the two movements we are able to uncover potentially new elements for further investigation. The differences highlighted between the two cases are:

1. Actors (claims makers) central to the social movement
2. Organisation of demonstrations and acts of protest (public displays)
3. Violent nature of and the repression of protests
4. Level of participation in protest actions

These differences highlight both new and old elements of social protest. For example, the use of violence as a means of social protest (point 3) cannot be considered to be a new or potentially 'evolutionary' element of social movements. Violent protest is an area already well documented, with research suggesting that it can be an effective tactic (for example, see Gamson, 1990, p. 79; Burstein, Einwohner, Hollander in Craig Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995, p. 286), and so as such does not suggest a new element of social movements. Similarly, the use of force by authorities to repress protest is a common tactic, and so it also does not represent a new element.

The differences highlighted above that stand out as potentially new elements are those of the actors central to the social movement (point 1) and the organisation of movement activism (2). In particular, the theme common to both of these issues is the role that social media played in these areas as a communication tool in the

organisation and mobilization of support, as well as its enabling a wide range of adherents to contribute to the movement. The identification of these differences between the social movements in Czechoslovakia and Tunisia, raises a number of questions:

a) what was the impact of social media on the leadership structure of the social movement,

b) what was the role of social media in the organisation of social protest, and

c) how did social media help to gain popular support and mobilize potential adherents?

To investigate these questions and the role of social media the following section will analyse its use in the case of Tunisia in order to uncover the way in which it was used.

4.3 Investigating the New Elements

Having identified social media as a new element in social movements, in its use as a network for activism and as a tool enabling greater participation, it is then necessary to analyse the role it played during the Tunisian Revolution in order to gain a better understanding of the implications. In doing so, the project aims to discover whether these new elements do indeed present an evolutionary development in social movements.

The following section details the methodology for the collection of data and the subsequent analysis of the role that social media played during the Tunisian revolution, based upon the theory of framing and collective action frames.

5. METHODOLOGY II

The current section includes a presentation of the methodology used in the collection of the data and analysis of social media. The data, to be presented in the subsequent section, consists of posts made on the Facebook group page of an organisation actively involved in the Tunisian Revolution, from 18 December 2010 to 14 January 2011. The current methodological chapter presents the organisation, the method of data collection, operationalising of framing concepts, and the method of analysis.

5.1 The Nawaat Group

The Nawaat group is a blogging collective started in 2004 and hosted by Tunisians (Nawaat, n.d.). Nawaat covers issues using a range of social media, promoting freedom, transparency and providing a platform for civic engagement, and are also an independent organization, receiving no government funding or subsidies from political parties (ibid.; Prince, 2011). In 2011 they won the Reporters Without Borders Netizen Prize, amongst other awards, for their coverage of the social and political unrest in Tunisia (Nawaat, n.d.).

5.2 Method of Data Collection

The data was collected programmatically using Facebook's developer system. Due to limitations in Facebook's presentation of posts, as well as because of the high number of posts, it was not possible to access all the posts directly via Nawaat's Facebook group page. Since Nawaat's Facebook page (http://www.facebook.com/nawaat) was publicly viewable page[1], it was technically possible, and therefore it was necessary to access Facebook's developer interface (see Figure 2 below) in order to retrieve posts.

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[1] The page is accessible for anyone with Internet access, however a Facebook account is necessary to post content.
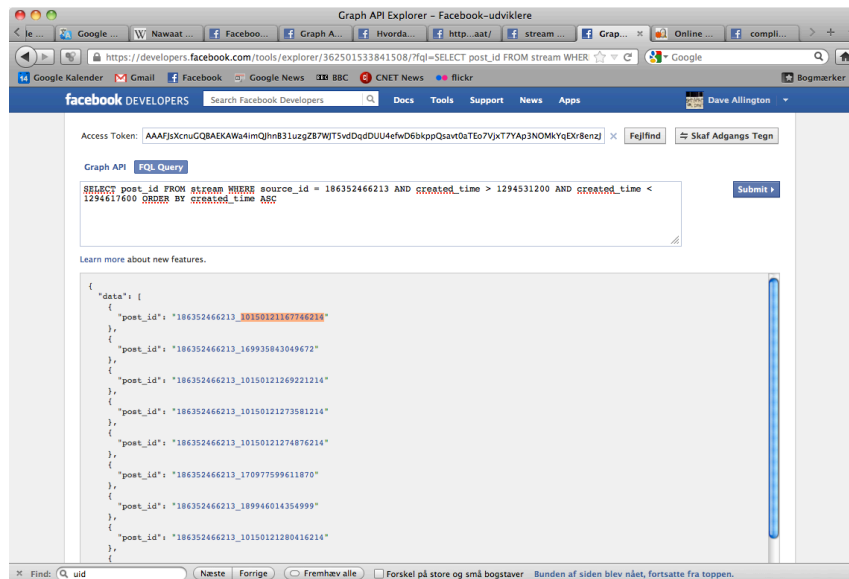
Figure 2. Data Collection Using the Facebook Developer Interface

With the use of Facebook Query Language (FQL), the language used in Facebook for requesting information from Facebook's databases, the following code was used on the Facebook developer interface[2]:

```
SELECT post_id FROM stream WHERE source_id = 186352466213 AND created_time
> 1293753600 AND created_time < 1293840000 ORDER BY created_time ASC
```

In understanding the code, the `source_id` refers to the Nawaat's Facebook group page, and the `created_time` is a Unix timestamp[3]. This returned a list of ID numbers for each post made to Nawaat's group during the given period. Each post was then accessed in a web browser by adding the post ID in the following format (where `<post_id>` is the ID number):

```
https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/<post_id>
```

5.3 Operationalising of Framing Concepts

As detailed in the methodology and theory sections above, the theory of framing and collective action frames will be the focus of the following analysis, and so therefore it is necessary to operationalise the concepts in order to examine posts. The posts will

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[2] https://developers.facebook.com/tools/explorer
[3] A Unix timestamp is a date written in a form used in programming languages. The date was converted at following website: http://www.onlineconversion.com/unix_time.htm

be examined for the following features and processes associated with framing and collective action frames:

5.3.1 Core Framing Tasks

Posts will be examined for elements of the types of framing that constitute the core framing tasks, i.e. **diagnostic**, **prognostic**, and **motivational**.

a) comments about what the issue or issues are (diagnostic)

b) comments attributing blame or the causes of the issues (diagnostic)

c) comments relating to the solution to the problem (prognostic)

d) comments providing reasons for action (motivational)

5.3.2 Resonance

Resonance refers to the perception of a source as credible, and is the result of two interacting factors: **frame credibility** (incl. frame consistency, empirical credibility, and the perceived credibility of claimsmakers) and **relative salience**.

a) degree to which an actors comments are congruent and consistent (frame credibility: frame consistency)

b) amount and quality of evidence supporting an actors comments (frame credibility: empirical credibility)

c) perceptions and responses to the actors comments by other users (frame credibility: credibility of claimsmakers)

d) degree to which claims/comments are congruent with everyday experiences of the target (relative salience)

5.3.3 Discursive Processes

Analysis of discursive processes will focus on written communication, characterised by the frame articulation and frame amplification.

a) how is information in comments connected or 'packaged' (frame articulation)

b) which elements or pieces of information are emphasised (frame amplification)

5.3.4 Strategic Processes

Strategic processes can be seen as comments that are goal-oriented, i.e. attempting to produce a particular effect. As such three elements of strategic processes will be considered: frame bridging, frame amplification, and frame extension[4].

    a) comments that attempt to connect different, unrelated issues (frame bridging)

    b) elements or pieces of information that are emphasised/highlighted (frame amplification)

    c) comments focusing on issues beyond the core focus of the organisation (frame extension)

5.3.5 Contested

The following three elements of contested processes will be examined: counter-framing, frame disputes, and the dialectic between frames and events.

    a) comments showing reactions to comments from opposition, media that are counter to organisations claims (counter-framing)

    b) evidence of disputes between actors within an organisation or movement, e.g. are there comments that suggest disputes relating to the diagnostic and prognostic aspects (frame disputes)

    c) comments indicating a link between how frame and events influence each others and the possibilities, e.g. does the way of framing limit the options for action (dialectic between frames and events)

5.4 Analysis of Posts

Following the operationalising of framing concepts posts were initially analysed for signs relating to the above concepts of framing and collective action frames, which enabled the identification of a number of relevant themes. Following the identification of these themes, posts were then analysed again to measure theme frequency as well as record other relevant data, such as post author, type of content, etc. The analysis of the posts recorded the following basic information and metadata by which posts could be classified:

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[4] The fourth element of strategic processes, frame transformation, will not be examined because it relates to a movement changing previous understandings over a period of time. Since the data examined relates to only approximately 1 month, it was not considered to be a long period enough to measure the way in which comments attempted to change previous meanings and understandings of issues.

- **Post Author**

  Posts were classified as either being made by Nawaat or by another individual or group, noted as a 3rd party.

  > Nawaat
  >
  > 3rd Party

- **Nature of Content**

  This recorded the function of the post. For example, was the nature of the post to report news, to organise a demonstration, to express an opinion, etc. It was possible for posts to express multiple 'natures', for instance, when a post reporting a news or information about an event while expressing an opinion about it at the same time. The following categories were recorded:

  > News (information about an incident, e.g. a protest or shooting)
  >
  > Support (an expression of support for activists/protesters)
  >
  > Organisation (relating to the organising of an event or act of protest)
  >
  > Opinion (an expression of poster's opinion of something)
  >
  > Question (a question or request)
  >
  > Satire (an expression of humour)
  >
  > Miscellaneous (posts that did not fit into the above categories)

- **Content Type**

  Whether the post contained text, images, etc. The possible categories were:

  > Text
  >
  > Video
  >
  > Image
  >
  > Link (weblink to content outside the Nawaat group page, e.g. blog post)

- **Language**

  What language was the post written in. The following languages were noted:

  > Arabic
  >
  > French
  >
  > English
  >
  > Italian
  >
  > Spanish
  >
  > None (for example, posts that only contained image/video)

The method of analysis of the content of Nawaat's Facebook group was a qualitative examination of posts and a statistical analysis of the number of posts and the type of posts (e.g. news, commentary, organisational). A representative sample of posts was

selected for more detailed analysis with regard to the theory and use in the following chapter—these selected posts as well as a table containing the project data is presented in Appendix B. Due to the limited time and resources available, the project only examines posts made between 18 December 2010 and 14 January 2011, however it is recognised that important changes and reforms continued after the departure of Ben Ali. Due to the volume of information, with links to blogs, news stories, videos etc., the analysis is based on the textual and audio-visual information contained in the posts made on the Facebook group.

5.4.1 Language & Translation

Since the majority of the posts were written in either French or Arabic, it was necessary to translate posts for them to be analysed. In the first instance, posts and comments were translated using the Google Translate tool, in order to check for their relevance and basic content—a method used by Marzouki, Skandrani-Marzouki, Béjaoui, Hammoudi, and Bellaj (2012). Following this a selection of the those posts considered to be most relevant were then checked and corrected with the help of a native French speaker, with a high-level of proficiency in English and Arabic.

6. SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE TUNISIAN REVOLUTION

In the comparison of the social movements in Czechoslovakia and Tunisia above, social media's impact on the actors involved in the social movement and its role in the mobilization of support were identified as new developments. In particular, the comparison raised a number of questions regarding the role of social media, namely:

a) what was the impact of social media on the leadership structure of the social movement,

b) what was the role of social media in the organisation of social protest, and

c) how did social media help to gain popular support and mobilize potential adherents?

In order to answer these questions and assess whether the use of social media represents an evolutionary development, it is therefore necessary to investigate its role in the case of Tunisia. As outlined in the above methodology, the project uses a cultural approach that has been applied extensively to the study of social movements, namely that of framing, which, according to Benford & Snow (2000), has become central to "understanding the character and course of social movements" (p. 612). Since framing processes focus on the role of communication it was considered to be an appropriate tool for the analysis of social media, whose primary characteristic is as a communication tool.

As identified in the methodology, the vast array of social media information available to study was necessarily limited to the Nawaat Facebook group, during the Tunisian revolution, from 18 December 2010 to 14 January 2011. The framing aspects to be considered are: core framing tasks, resonance, as well as discursive, strategic, and contested processes. The following analysis of the data considers the use of social media with regard to these framing aspects, taking each aspect and examining its use in posts on the Nawaat Facebook group.

6.1 Core Framing Tasks

The analysis of posts (n=177) on the Nawaat Facebook group show a number of features used in the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational elements of core framing tasks. In particular, the data highlights how posts were used to identify the issues and

attribute the causes of those issues (diagnostic), as well as provide motivation for adherents to participate in the movement.

With regard to the diagnostic elements, 20% of posts (36) included references to diagnostic issues connected with the revolution, with a total of 52 diagnostic references, with some posts containing multiple references. The central issues identified in the posts focused on economic and social issues, namely, unemployment, corruption, and social & political freedoms. Unemployment was a core issue present throughout the revolution, with particular focus on unemployment amongst the youth and young adults. This can be seen initially in Mohammed Bouazizi's self-immolation, which was reported as an act of frustration of not being able to work legally and support his family, and subsequent reports of the protests focused on this. For example,

> "The city of Sidi Bouzid suffers from high unemployment among young people and a precarious socio-economic development. All elements reported by people who revolt since Friday" (Appendix B, p. 5, para. 3)

Later posts also focus on the issue of unemployment, citing a suicide (ibid., p. 7) and an attempted suicide (p. 20) in which both victims express lack of employment as the motive behind their acts. For example, on 22 December, a post regarding a second suicide in which a man jumped to his death, states that "before climbing the pole he said he should have a job" (ibid., p. 7, para. 1). The data connects this as an issue in 7% of posts (12), and initially as the only one associated with protests until corruption was presented as an issue on 27 December (see Figure 3 below).

As noted, corruption was also present as an issue and appeared in a total of 9% of posts (16). References to corruption were focused toward Ben Ali, the regime, and the Trabelsi family (Ben Ali's wife and relatives), particularly in those posts made between 2 and 14 January. For instance, posts included phrases such as "overthrow of dependency and corruption" (ibid., p. 28), a description of Ben Ali as a "corrupt governor" (p. 29), reference to the government as a "mafia and a corrupt state system" (p. 39), as well as calling on people to "Recover money from [the] Trabelsi family" (p. 33).

The last diagnostic issue identified was that of social and political freedoms, which were not present until 29 December. These issues were the most frequently mentioned and were indicated in 14% of posts (24). Typically, posts would included references to freedom from oppression and fighting the injustices imposed by the

government. For example, a post on 2 January describes the regime as a "system of oppression and tyranny" (ibid., p. 28), and a later post calls for Tunisians to "fight for your freedom, your dignity and right to freedom of expression" (p. 40).
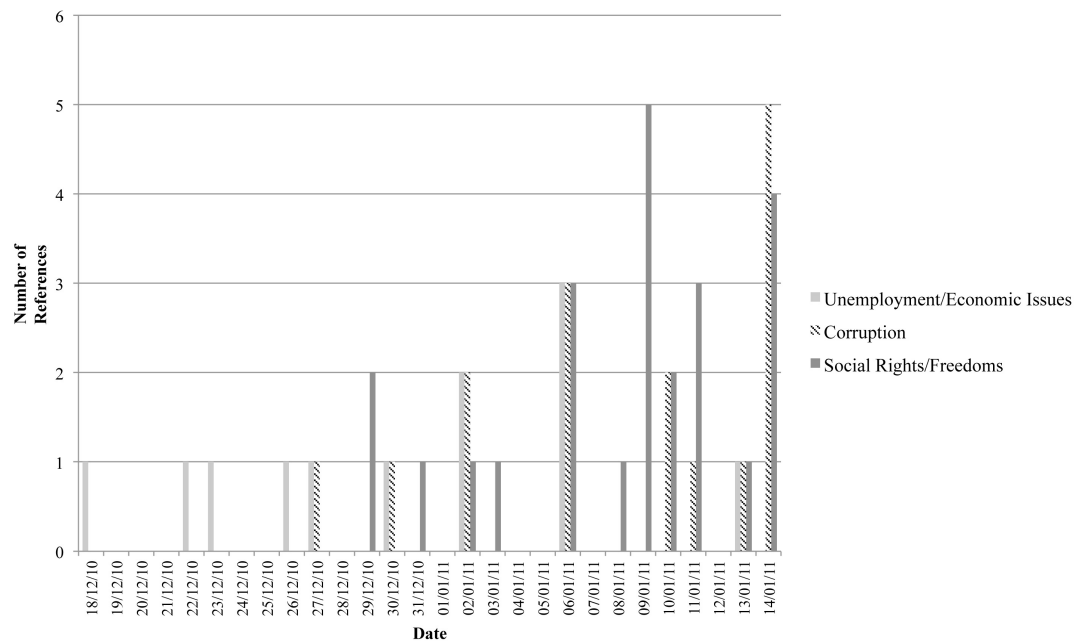
Figure 3. Frequency of Diagnostic Issues

With regard to the diagnostic causes, in which authors suggest the causes of the issues, the posts clearly attribute the issues to two actors: the Ben Ali regime and the Trabelsi family. The data indicates that a total of 28% of posts (49) identify causes of the issues, with a total of 54 references. Ben Ali and his regime are seen as the primary cause of the issues and are mentioned in 46 of the 177 posts—of the 54 references that associate diagnostic causes, Ben Ali and the regime comprise 85% (46) of these. Typical comments found in posts suggest that Ben Ali and the regime are unable to "engage in the way to resolve the current issues" (ibid., p. 12), that "ZABA [Ben Ali] you can change as many ministers as you want […] It is you that we will reform" (p. 21), and later that "You [Ben Ali] messed up, you pay!" (p. 42). Also, in addition to the focus on the Ben Ali regime, 5% of posts (8) indicate the Trabelsi family as a diagnostic cause, in particular in connection with corruption, with comments such as "Does it make sense to make state funds pocket money for this [the Trabelsi] family" (ibid., p. 27).

With regard to prognostic elements in the posts, i.e. comments that suggest solutions to the issues, the posts contain two themes: protest or acts of civil disobedience, and the removal of Ben Ali from office. Early suggestions focus on protesting and civil disobedience, 11% (19) of all posts, however after first being mentioned on 28 December, posts increasingly refer to revolution and the removal of Ben Ali from office—18% (31) of all posts. Posts often refer to protesting or acts of civil disobedience as a way of putting pressure on the government, with 11% of posts (19) including references such as "The repressive confrontation will only increase the escalation and tension" (ibid., p. 12). However, the majority of prognostic references (60%, 31 of 52 references) refer to revolution and the removal of Ben Ali. For example, posts commonly suggest that the crisis "can be transformed into a platform which allows […] progress" (ibid., p. 12), that Ben Ali should "go away and the blood of Tunisians to be saved" (p. 41), and calling for "the overthrow of dependency and corruption, a system of oppression and tyranny" (p. 28).
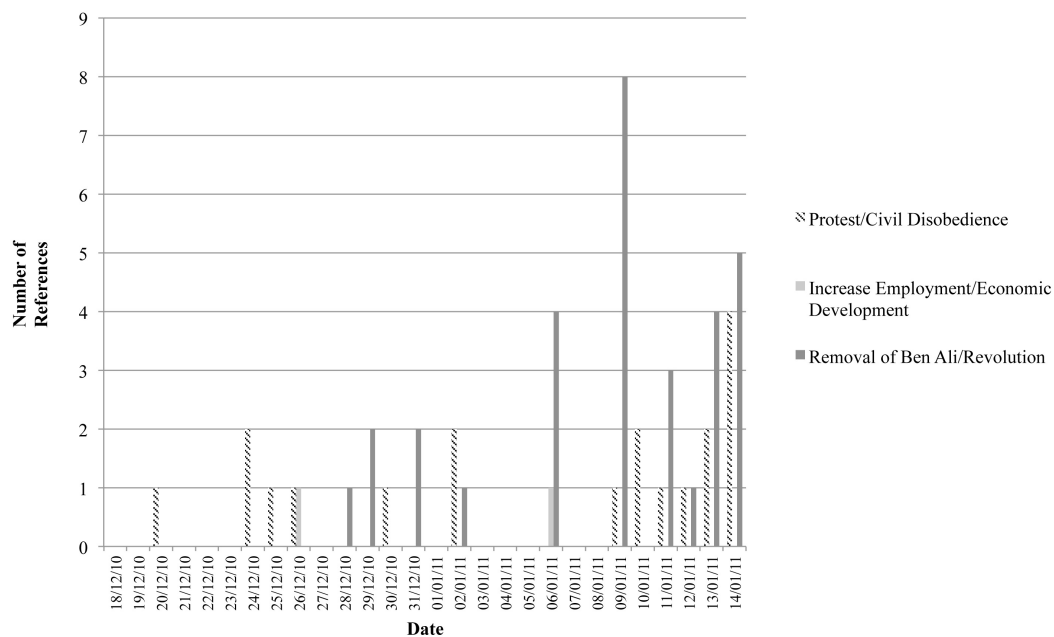
Figure 4. Frequency of Prognostic References

In addition to the two themes already noted, a prognostic references were also made to increasing employment and economic development, however these references occurred in only 2 posts. There is no indication in the data that this solution was

actively by others disregarded by activists, however the frequency of alternative prognostic elements suggest that it was not a solution shared by others.

Motivational elements can also be seen in the posts and are reflected in three themes: comments highlighting government repression of protesters, comments calling for solidarity with fellow Tunisians, and comments suggesting the positive effect of removing Ben Ali from power, e.g. more jobs, higher standard of living, and greater freedom. The first motivational theme, highlighting repression by security forces, occurred in 18% of posts (31), and can be seen in comments such as "a young girl killed by tear gas in Sidi Bouzid" (ibid., p. 4) and "Please use to address the effect of tear gas Vaseline (advisable) as an ointment to face" (p. 34). These examples illustrate the use of posts in providing a sense of moral outrage by highlighting the suffering caused by the repression of protests. The second motivational theme, in which comments called for solidarity with protesters and fellow Tunisians, occurred in 12% of posts (21), and can be seen in comments such as "citizens gathered in front of the local government offices of Sidi Bouzid in expression of their anger and solidarity with Mohamed Bouazizi" (p. 1). With regard to the third theme, while a large number of posts suggest revolution and the removal of Ben Ali from office, as illustrated in the prognostic themes above, the linking of the removal of Ben Ali with the benefits it could present was present in only 5% of posts (9). This theme can be seen in comments such as "revolution against deprivation […] doubling employment opportunities and intensity of investments" (ibid., p. 12) and calling for Tunisians to "fight for your freedom, your dignity and right to freedom of speech" (p. 40). Noticeably, while the first two themes were present throughout the revolution, the third theme, referring to revolution and the removal of Ben Ali, was not present until later in the period, being first mentioned on 2 January.

6.2 Resonance

In considering the group's ability to 'resonate' with people, and thus mobilize support and increase the number of adherents, posts were examined for the two aspects of resonance, namely frame credibility and relative salience.

6.2.1 Frame Credibility

The data displayed considerable evidence of frame credibility, seen in the posts frame consistency and empirical credibility.

Frame consistency can be seen in the comments and opinions expressed in the group, which consistently take an 'anti-regime' perspective. As noted above, the group focuses on the Ben Ali regime and the Trabelsi family as the diagnostic causes of unemployment, corruption, and lack of social and political freedoms. This position is both consistent with Nawaat's description of itself (see section 5.1 above) as well as with the content of the posts, which were either neutral or took a critical position towards the Ben Ali regime or the Trabelsi family—none of the posts during the period analysed contained positive or supportive comments towards them. For example, the data shows that 31% of posts (54) contained comments or opinions critical of the Ben Ali Regime or Trabelsi Family, while the remaining 69% of posts (123) were either neutral or expressed a negative opinion not directly aimed at either Ben Ali or the Trabelsi Family. The data therefore suggests a high-level of frame consistency.

With regard to empirical credibility, this is demonstrated in the high number of posts (from both Nawaat and third parties) containing or linking to video footage and images of demonstrations, civil disobedience, and violence by security forces—21% of all posts (37) include or link to video clips that show protests, demonstrations, repression by security forces, or news reports of the protests. Even though the videos themselves are not independently verified (an unlikely scenario considering the nature of the media as social media), evidence supporting the validity of information comes in the form of separate reports from news websites, for example Al Jazeera (20 December, 2010; 25 December, 2010; 6 January, 2011), France 24 (24 December, 2010; 12 January, 2011), thus adding to the empirical credibility of the group's news reports[5].

6.2.2 Relative Salience

The relative salience of the Nawaat Facebook group, i.e. the congruence of the claims and comments and the everyday experiences of the target audience, can be examined using the diagnostic elements of the core framing tasks identified above. While the focus of the data is on the sender (the posts communicated via the Nawaat Facebook group) rather than the receiver (those Facebook users reading the posts), posts by

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[5] In spite of the Tunisian governments comprehensive online censorship blocking major international news websites, reports indicate that Tunisians were able to circumvent censorship policies by viewing websites through international proxy servers, i.e. sending the information, encrypted, via third-party computers outside of Tunisia (Freedom House, n.d.).

other users, who make up 54% (95) of all posts, along with supporting comments from users (for example see Appendix B, p. 8, p. 22, p. 27), suggest that the issues and the causes of those issues are shared by many people. Indeed, the issues of unemployment, corruption, and social and political rights are supported by independent evidence. Data from the OECD support the group's claim that unemployment was a key issue, with unemployment amongst the youth (15-24 years-old) estimated to be around 31% and graduate unemployment more than doubling between 2005 and 2011, rising from 14% to 29% (OECD, 2012). Similarly, the claims of corruption and criticism of the regime are supported by the earlier publication of US cables in which the US Ambassador to Tunisia states that "Corruption in the inner circle is growing" (Godec, A. cited in Black, 2010, 7 December, para. 4) and goes on to describe Tunisia as "a police state, with little freedom of expression or association, and serious human rights problems" (ibid., para. 5).

In addition to this, as the social movement progressed and protests continued, an increasing number of users (i.e. not the Nawaat group) shared videos, images, and written posts that closely match the issues and causes (the diagnostic elements) made by the Nawaat group. As can be seen in Figure 4 (below), the number of posts made by third parties, posting news and opinions congruent to those reported by Nawaat, increased throughout the period, rising dramatically in the final two weeks of the revolution, with 84% (80) of third-party posts made between 1-14 January. The congruence between posts made by Nawaat and third-parties, supporting information from independent sources, along with the increase in third party posts, therefore suggest a high level of relative salience.
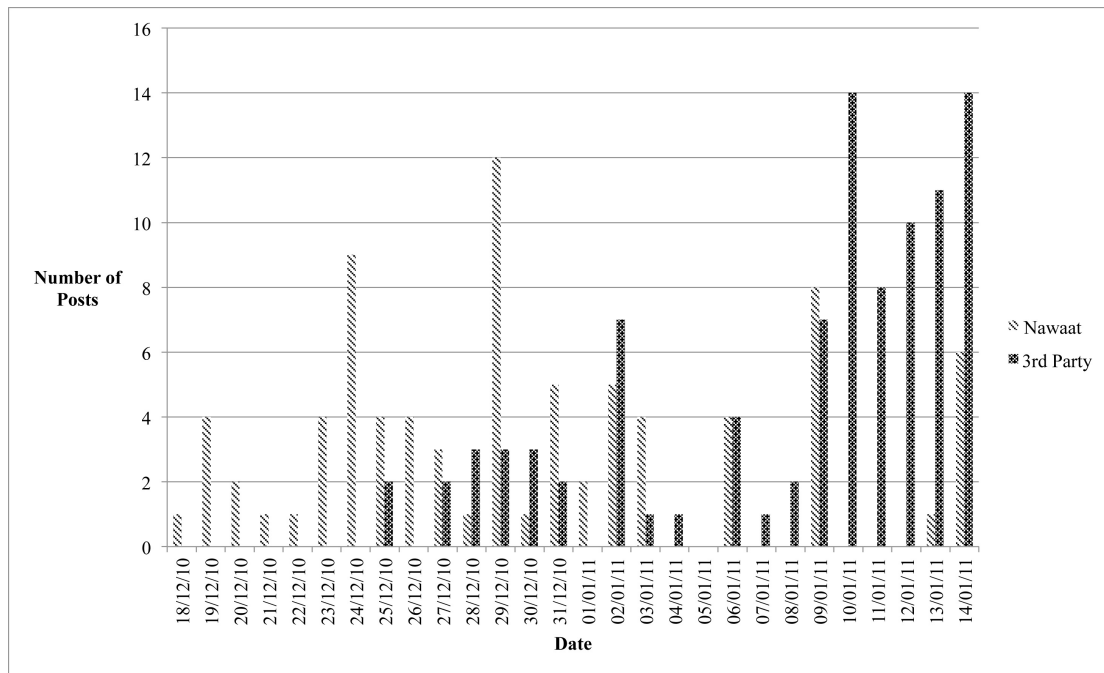
Figure 5. Number of Posts Per Day (by Author)

6.3 Framing Processes

6.3.1 Discursive Processes

In examining the discursive processes used by the group, the posts indicate clear signs of both frame articulation and frame amplification.

With regard to frame articulation, nearly all posts are 'packaged' in two ways: either reporting of news in a neutral/factual way, in other words with no expression of opinion or bias[6], or based on a social justice theme regarding events or the actions of the regime. The data indicates that a large number of posts report on events in a neutral way—34% (60) of all posts during the period. In particular, the data shows a distinction between post author in the use of neutral/factual reporting of events, with the 78% (47) of neutral posts written by Nawaat. In particular, this difference between authors (i.e. Nawaat or a third party) can be seen to add to the journalistic quality of posts from the Nawaat group and increase the perceived empirical credibility. For instance, a typical post from Nawaat to the group would be a video or link to a video with a comment or headline stating the event and the place, for example "Video of

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[6] It is important to recognise that the selection of what is reported, however it is done, represents a form of bias. However, since the Nawaat group is clear that it takes an 'anti-regime' stance, a tendency for posts to focus on information or events supporting their position is expected.

protesters in the city of Kassrain chanting" (Appendix B, p. 15), whereas user news posts would typically include comments and opinions of events, such as "What a loss! I'm shaken, mad with rage! A Franco-Tunisian professor killed in Compiègne in a riot" (p. 41).

In addition to the neutral articulation of posts, 30 posts (17%) include elements of being packaged as part of a 'social justice' theme. For instance, in a post from Nawaat on 31 December 2010, the issues and the causes of these issues are phrased as "true revolution against deprivation and social injustice will be realised through the doubling of employment opportunities" (ibid., p. 12) and "citizens do not protest to ask for charity but to get a decent job and to live decently" (ibid.), highlighting the social justice theme by describing protests as a campaign against 'social injustice' and that citizens are making reasonable requests for work and to 'live decently'.

With regard to the frame amplification, the posts focus on three areas: 1) acts of protest/civil disobedience, 2) repression of protesters/acts and repression, and 3) anti-Ben Ali/anti-regime. By reporting on and sharing videos of the continuing protests, strikes and acts of civil disobedience in different parts of the country, the group amplifies the notion of crisis, revolution and uprising. The data shows that 36% (64) of posts during the period focus on civil disobedience and acts of protest, with 25 posts (39%) containing imagery, video footage, or linking to video footage. The amplification of repression was also considerable, with 20% of posts (36) showing or including references to acts of repression by security forces as well as the regime. With regard to the amplification of the anti-Ben Ali/anti-regime theme, the data shows that it is also prevalent, with 49 posts (28%) specifically focusing upon it.

6.3.2 Strategic Processes

With regard to strategic processes, posts from the Nawaat Facebook group were also examined for frame bridging and frame extension[7], however the data provided little evidence of these elements.

The process of frame bridging can be seen to a small extent over the course of the revolution as the range of issues broadened, from the initial focus on unemployment, to increasingly focus on corruption, and later focusing on social and

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[7] The strategic process of frame amplification, as detailed in the theoretical section, is omitted here since it is discussed under Discursive Processes.

political freedoms, as can be seen in Figure 3 above. While the issue of unemployment can be seen to be linked to corruption, the inclusion of social and political freedoms as a core issue, being not directly related to unemployment, suggests a degree of frame bridging.

With regard to the process of frame extension, while the number of core issues of the uprising, identified above, increased during the period the issues themselves did not extend beyond those of the Nawaat group. As detailed in the description of the Nawaat group above, whose focus is on promoting democracy, freedom and transparency in Tunisia, their criticisms of the Ben Ali regime are considered to be in line with the issues expressed during the revolution, i.e. unemployment, corruption, and social and political freedoms. Therefore, on the basis of the posts on the Nawaat Facebook group, there is no evidence of frame extension.

6.3.3 Contested Processes

With regard to contested framing processes displayed during the revolution, the data was examined for evidence of counter-framing and frame disputes. The data showed signs of counter-framing, however no evidence of frame disputes.

During the period, Ben Ali gave three speeches, broadcast on state television 28 December, 2010, 10 and 13 January 2011, in which he described the regime's view of the issues and criticised the actions of protesters. In the speeches he described protesters as a "minority of extremists" (Randeree, 2011, para. 2), "hooded gangs" (Lucas, 2011, para. 3) and "[h]ostile elements in the pay of foreigners, who have sold their souls to extremism and terrorism" (para. 10), and in addressing the issues of unemployment, Ben Ali states that employment is a "sector that we have always ranked among our top priorities" (para. 12) and with regard to youth unemployment he talks of the "great concern […] that we surround the graduates" (para. 12). However, he acknowledges unemployment as an issue to be tackled, stating that programmes will be introduced "aimed at solving the problem of unemployment" (ibid., para. 17). Also, in what can be seen as attempts to reframe the deaths of protesters and injuries suffered, Ben Ali produces counter-claims that the civilian deaths were caused by hooded gangs:

> Violent incidents, sometimes bloody, which have killed civilians and caused injuries to several officers of the security forces, have been perpetrated by hooded gangs who have attacked during the night, to public institutions and even assaulted citizens at home, in a terrorist act that cannot be tolerated. (ibid., para. 2)

Here, Ben Ali does not only link protest acts with terrorism, he also attempts to reframe security forces, who are described as being victims of the incidents.

While a number of posts do refer to the counter-claims made by Ben Ali and the government, the response is comparatively low—only 6 posts (3%) make references to speeches or government statements. These posts included comments such as "staging a scene of authenticity and sincerity […] clears himself of all his crimes and shipment back on the backs of performers. […] You screwed up, you pay!" (Appendix B, p. 42). Thus, while the data suggests that posts in the group did include counter-framing, the use of posts in this aspect of contested processes was limited.

6.4 Summary of Framing Analysis

The above analysis of posts on the Nawaat Facebook group highlights how posts contributed to different aspects of framing. A number of findings stand out with regard to the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational core framing tasks, as well as frame resonance.

Firstly, with regard to diagnostic framing tasks, the development of key issues during the revolution is clear. As is apparent in Figure 3 above, the issues progress from unemployment to corruption, and to social and political freedoms, which account for 46% of the references to issues. Secondly, Ben Ali and the regime are clearly indicated as the key cause of the issues, featuring in 26% of all posts. Thirdly, the prognostic tasks focus on the removal of Ben Ali as the means to resolving issues, with references in 31 posts, accounting for 60% of all prognostic references. Fourthly, with regard to the motivational framing tasks, the data clearly presents acts of repression as a major motivational theme, featuring in 18% of all posts, along with calls for solidarity with fellow Tunisians, apparent in 12% of posts.

Another element of framing that was examined was that of resonance. The data suggests a high degree of resonance based upon the concepts of frame consistency and empirical credibility. With regard to frame consistency no posts supporting or favourable to Ben Ali were found, with 31% of posts including comments critical of Ben Ali, his regime, and the Trabelsi family. This neutral or negative framing of posts suggest consistency with the aims of the Nawaat group. Similarly, posts were found to have high empirical credibility, in particular due to the

large amount of video content (21% of all posts), as well as supporting evidence in news reports from news agencies such as Al Jazeera and France 24. The analysis of the relative salience suggested that the views expressed in posts were in agreement with third parties. The data suggests congruence between posts made by Nawaat and those made by third parties, which, when considered along with the increase in supporting, third-party posts, indicate a high level of relative salience.

Finally, with regard to discursive, strategic, and contested framing processes the data shows mixed results. With regard to discursive processes, there is considerable evidence of frame articulation, in particular the neutral 'packaging' of posts (34% of all posts), 78% written by Nawaat, add to the perception of validity of the posts. Also, the process of frame amplification was common—the focus on protest and civil disobedience being the most prevalent, featuring in 36% (64) of posts. However, with regard to strategic and contested processes, there was little evidence of their presence in posts—with the exception of frame amplification as a strategic process, there was little evidence of posts being used in counter-framing (6 of all posts), and no evidence of frame disputes.

7. DISCUSSING THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE TUNISIAN REVOLUTION

At the beginning of the previous chapter three questions were raised regarding the role of social media. These questions, stemming from the comparison of social movements in Czechoslovakia and Tunisia, sought to answer the role of social media in the leadership of the social movement, the organisation of protests, and the mobilization of potential adherents. In addition to this a number of additional aspects became apparent during the course of the analysis. In particular, the following three aspects were identified and will also be considered: the control of frames, social media under media censorship, and social media's ability to enable greater participation from those who may not otherwise take part in street protests, what can be described as 'bedroom activism'.

7.1 Movement Leadership

With regard to the first question of social media's impact on the leadership structure of the social movement, the findings suggest a horizontal structure, where no one person or group dictate movement issues or goals. While della Porta and Diani (2006) note that social movements "often reject authority and hierarchy on principal" (p. 142), they suggest that this does not eliminate the need for it in certain areas, for example, coordinating action and public representation. However, the data shows an absence of any such leadership, suggesting the Tunisian Revolution as an example of a leader*less* revolution. Indeed, while Nawaat themselves, as owners of the group, were well-placed to influence the framing of issues and events, as well as suggest prognostic action, the data shows little evidence of this as they maintained a neutral, journalistic style throughout the period. This lack of any clear leadership is also demonstrated by the sparse evidence of strategic processes, which can be associated with attempts to guide the movement—the only evidence of this was frame amplification, which, through its focus on acts of protest and repression, served as a tool for mobilizing support. Even when posts were used to organise events, these events were arrange on a local basis rather than being coordinated on a national scale.

This notion of the social movement in Tunisia as 'leaderless', is supported by additional research and reports. In their study into the role of Facebook in the

Tunisian Revolution, Marzouki et al. (2012) point to the role of the youth in their use of social media as key to the success of the revolution. They found that both online and street protests were organised without the need for a movement leader or leading group:

> youth cyberprotest and street demonstrations were marked by the absence of any leader, association, or a political figure as a distant top-down leadership. Thus, this social and political uprising can be qualified as a *leaderless revolution* when citizen are gaining control of their own decisions. (ibid., p. 238 [italics in original])

Thus, Marzouki et al.'s (ibid.) support the idea that the use of social media in the Tunisian Revolution represents a more horizontal movement structure—their research indicating a 'bottom-up', rather than 'top-down' structure, resulting from the "*spontaneity*, the *homogeneity*, and the *synchronicity*" (p. 243) of the cyberactivism seen on Facebook.

7.2 Movement Mobilization

Another question raised was that of social media's role in the mobilization of support. The research indicated strong motivational factors in posts, in particular acts of repression by security forces and the use of video clips. While posts also include a 'solidarity' motivational theme, the high level of focus on repression by security forces can be seen as both positive and negative in terms of movement mobilization. On the one hand, the focus on repression and violence toward protesters provides a sense of moral outrage, thus encouraging popular support, however at the same time it serves to dissuade potential adherents from participating in street demonstrations or protests for fear of injury or even death. While it is not possible to say exactly how large an impact these motivational factors had, news reports provide some information as to protest numbers, which were low until the later stages of the revolution (for example see Appendix A, lines 183-185, 197-200, 210-212, 216-218, 271-275). The increasing participation of street demonstrations as well as in the Facebook group, indicated by the rise in third party posts, does then suggest its ability to mobilize support.

These findings are supported by current research, news reports, as well as interviews with participants. As Miladi (2012) argues, the use of social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter were instrumental in the mobilisation of citizens:

> The mushrooming of social networks on Facebook and Twitter was by far the most instrumental factor in the escalation of the recent events. Tens of thousands joined Facebook groups and got to know about the news developments and mobilised for further action. (para. 41)

This view is also supported in recent research by Breuer et al. (2012), who provide supporting evidence of the importance of social media in mobilizing support against the regime. They argue that not only did social media provide the basis for collaboration between groups, it also generated an 'emotional mobilization' through its depiction of the atrocities associated with the repression of protesters (ibid.). This suggests, in line with the findings of the project, that social media did indeed play an important role in the mobilization of support, both online and in the form of street demonstrations.

7.3 Movement Organisation

The third question raised is regarding social media's use as an organisational tool—an idea also suggested by the findings.

After years of repression, Ben Ali had broken ties between elites and popular politics, and made it difficult for unions as well as other civil society groups to achieve autonomy from the state, thus reducing civil society groups and their ability to organise (Alexander, 1997; Sadiki, 2002). However, during the revolution nearly 6% of the posts (10) on the Nawaat Facebook group related to the organisation or announcement of public gatherings/protests in support of the movement. For example, a post (and tweet) on Sunday 26 December notified other users of a gathering in Tunis, with the aim of showing support to the people of Sidi Bouzid (see Appendix B, p. 14). Similarly, posts on the 26 and 30 December link to Facebook events for a meeting organised by worker's unions and a rally to show support for the Tunisian people (in Quebec, Canada).

Also, in light of the repression of traditional civil society organisations, e.g. workers' unions and civil rights groups, social media played an important role in the organisation and mobilization of adherents. For example, in his interview with Tunisian Internet activists, Giglio (2011, 15 January) notes that "Social media, along with SMS and traditional word-of-mouth, has also been an important tool to coordinate the grassroots protests" (para. 10). The importance of this functional role played by social media is reflected in an interview with a Tunisian Twitter user @sans_url, who argues that "Without the Internet there would be no flow of

information, neither within the country nor to the outside world" (Kosina, 2011, para. 6). However, the open nature of social media also allows governments to monitor and stifle online activists' attempts to organise events. In May 2010, two of the organizers of a peaceful rally against online censorship, Slim Amamou and Yassine Ayari, were detained by police the day before the event and forced to make videos in which they announced that the event was cancelled (Freedom House, n.d.). Later that year, organisers of a flash mob[8] against censorship were surprised by plainclothes police officers who appeared at the agreed location and forced them to leave (ibid.). It can therefore be seen that while the Nawaat Facebook group, as part of a larger network within the world of social media, provided a means of coordinating and organising otherwise disparate groups of people, social media can also be used by governments as a means of monitoring and controlling activism.

7.4 Control of Frames

In considering the organisational aspects of the social movement from a structural point-of-view, the use of social media also meant that the reporting and framing of issues and events was not managed by one central organisation, rather it represents a horizontal, flat structure—as a post from Nawaat (Appendix B, p. 12) indicates, protests, at least initially, were not organised by political groups. As shown by the data (see Appendix B), more than half of all posts in the Nawaat Facebook group (95) were made by individuals, i.e. not the Nawaat group itself. Even considering the possibility of posts being moderated, with approximately 53% of posts originating from individuals, there was considerable ability for individuals to influence the framing of issues and events.

   This high level of interaction and participation of individuals, and the equality of the presentation of posts due to the design of the Facebook platform, contrasts with other methods of disseminating information. For example, in Czechoslovakia during the Velvet Revolution, social movement framing was largely set by Civic Forum and Public Against Violence through theatre networks and non-state media (Glenn, 1999) in what can be considered a vertical, top-down approach. In contrast to the control of framing in Czechoslovakia, the data, as well as current research, suggest little 'top-down' control of framing. For example, as noted above, in Marzouki et al.'s (2011)

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[8] A flash mob refers to a public meeting, organised online, at short notice.

study of the contribution of Facebook to the Tunisian Revolution, they highlight the central role of citizens as decision makers and the absence of leaders, describing the revolutions as "a *leaderless revolution* when citizen are gaining control of their own decisions" (p. 238 [italics in original]). As is also suggested by the current data, with 53% of posts made by individuals rather than the Nawaat group, the use of social media presents a greater opportunity for individuals to share there thoughts, and framings, of events. In addition to the role of Facebook, other social media also allowed individuals the opportunity to present their own frames. Ethan Zuckerman (2011) argues that social media in general, including Twitter and YouTube, played a "significant role" (para. 6) in the Tunisian Revolution, and indeed the current data also suggests widespread use of Twitter, with 25% of posts (45) also sent via Twitter (see Appendix B).

7.5 Media Censorship

An issue linked to the control of frames is that of media censorship. During 23 years under Ben Ali, censorship of traditional forms of media, e.g. radio, television and printed media, was enforced using a restrictive press code as well as by creating a dependency on state subsidies (Sadiki, 2002). As Sadiki (ibid.) argues "[t]he relationship between the media and the State-party is one of clientelism-patronage" (p. 71). Not only was any criticism of state policies considered equal to a disturbance of public order, certain issues were also 'taboo' and not reported in the media, for example, Islamist groups and the Tunisian Communist Workers' Party (ibid.). State television channels functioned as uncritical propaganda in support of Ben Ali, serving to "promote the image of the president as a competent, successful and progressive leader" (Miladi, 2011, para. 16).

The impact of the high level of censorship meant that the mainstream Tunisian media did not report on the initial protests in Sidi Bouzid, and reports of the unrest did not initially report on the protests. In addition to the censorship of the mainstream media, there was also a high level of censorship on the Internet carried out by the national censorship body the Tunisian Internet Agency (ATI)—nicknamed 'Ammar 404' after the error webpage displayed when attempting to access a blocked webpage (Freedom House, n.d.). A report from Freedom House, an independent watchdog for Internet freedom, notes that Tunisia's already comprehensive Internet censorship

became "increasingly arbitrary" (ibid., p. 321) from 2009-2010, with video-sharing sites such as YouTube and DailyMotion being blocked as well as sites considered to be 'anti-regime', in particular WikiLeaks, who released a series of US Embassy cables criticising the Tunisian regime and highlighting corruption (Black, 2010).

In spite of the censorship Tunisians were able to access blocked pages by passing the content through third-party computers[9] outside of the country (Kosina, 2011; Lewis, 2011). Reports of actions taken by the activist, hacker group Anonymous, suggest that one of the key tasks was in helping Tunisian Internet users maintain access to these third-party computers, avoiding government censorship and monitoring, and providing Tunisians with the possibility of accessing blocked websites (Norton, 2012).

The importance of social media and the Internet in allowing the sharing of information made it possible for otherwise disparate groups of people to come together and take collective action, be it either protesting in the streets or online. An interview with a Twitter user highlights how social media and the Internet effectively replaced censored national and local media in Tunisia:

> For the media dissemination of the uprising […] the Internet has replaced the media. The Tunisians have become the reporters on the social networks. **Five years ago, without Facebook and Twitter, the same uprising would have been smothered**. (Kosina, 2011, para. 12, interview with Twitter user @sans_url, [emphasis in original])

Similarly, a study investigating the views of Tunisian Internet users and the role of Facebook in the Tunisian revolution, suggests that the 'cyberactivism' seen on social media served as a catalyst for change that "bridged the gap left by traditional media and human rights organizations" (Marzouki et al., 2011, p. 238).

7.6 State Repression and 'Bedroom Activists'

Another interesting point highlighted by the research relates to the ability of people to take part in the revolution without actively participating in the demonstrations themselves.

Under the Ben Ali regime repression of opposition actors and critics of the regime occurred through a range of mechanisms, such as the policing apparatus, as

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[9] Computers known as 'proxy servers' were reportedly used. While a particular website may be blocked, by connecting to an unblocked proxy server (which can potentially be any computer connected to the Internet) outside of the country and accessing the information through that computer, the user is able to circumvent censorship.

well as economically, politically, and socially (Sadiki, 2002; Hibou, 2006). This strategy of repression and intimidation, as highlighted by the Bin Brik Affair in 2000 (see Sadiki, 2002), highlighted the risks of participating in anti-regime activism and civil society movements and created a climate of "fear and intimidation" (Alexander, 1997, p. 38), As Alexander (ibid.) described, it "elevated the risks of engaging in protest and made collective action much harder to organize" (p. 38). Similarly, as seen in the posts on the Nawaat Facebook group, videos and posts of demonstrations regularly show scenes of civil disobedience, violence, and repression by security forces, for example see (Appendix B, p. 2, p. 5, p. 9). As a result of this, a large number of people who support the movement could potentially be dissuaded from taking part in protests or demonstrations for fear of injury, death, or other forms of government persecution, e.g. imprisonment. This is notion of violence associated with protests is supported by news reports confirming the use of violence and the violent nature of some protests (for example, Randeree, 2010, 26 December; Al Jazeera, 2011, 9 January). The data suggests that entirely peaceful protests were the exception, as exemplified by one post that specifically notes the presence of women and children at a protest: "popular demonstration in the presence of women and children in Almazona yesterday" (Appendix B, p. 16).

In this context, social media can then be seen as a tool enabling people, who were reluctant to participate in the actual protests, to take part and support the movement from the relative safety of their own home. However, as noted above in the discussion of Internet censorship, government monitoring and the persecution of online activists has also been prevalent in Tunisia. With all Internet traffic passing through ATI and strict regulation, e.g. Internet Service Providers (ISPs) being required to submit lists of subscribers to ATI on a monthly basis, the monitoring of users was commonplace (Freedom House, n.d.). The implication of this is that while bedroom activism enabled citizens to take part in the movement without the potential danger of protesting in the streets, it was not without its risks. Online activism can therefore be seen as a double-edged sword: it potentially enables different groups to take part in political activism, however at the same time offers repressive regimes the possibility of tracking activists and persecuting them.

8. CONCLUSION

In answering the research question regarding the extent to which the Tunisian Revolution signifies an evolution in social movements, the project has performed three tasks. The first has been to identify new elements of social movements seen in Tunisia, which it has done through a comparison with the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia. The second task has been to investigate the new elements, and since social media was identified as the most significant development, an analysis of framing processes in the Nawaat Facebook group was carried out. During the course of the comparison as well as the analysis of the Facebook group a number of issues were raised, and the third task can be seen in a discussion of these issues with regard to their impact on the social movement in Tunisia and in relation to current research.

On the basis of the analysis and discussion of the role of social media and the Nawaat Facebook group in the Tunisian revolution, the project concludes that the use of social media does represent an evolutionary development in social movements. While the use of social media replicates processes and strategies previously found in social movements, e.g. framing and dissemination of information, organisation of protests, recruitment of new members etc., the means by which the technology does this allows these processes to be carried out in a profoundly different way. The project identifies a number of areas that suggest this evolutionary development: the ability for a wider range of people to participate in social movements, the ability of those people to affect the framing of events and actors and thus movement actions, and the reach of online social networks.

The research suggests that social media provides the potential for greater participation, allowing a wider range of people to contribute to a social movement. As seen in the research this can be through the reporting of news and events, the organisation of acts of protest, or by sharing information with their own networks and thus enabling greater mobilization. The findings suggest that this form of movement participation lowers the risk of physical harm to the individual, for example where violence is used as a repressive measure by security forces or as a form of protest by activists. It also offers the potential advantage of reducing the financial costs of movement participation, since the cost of using social media itself is currently free of charge, with the only costs being that of a computer and Internet connection.

However, even though Internet access is increasing rapidly, access to a computer with an Internet connection does present a potential barrier.

The research also highlights how social media can enable people to affect framing processes. In contrast to many traditional forms of social movement organisation, in which announcements and communications would be decided in a top-down approach and form part of movement strategy, the use of social media within the context of social movements indicates a more horizontal structure in which the framing can be influenced more easily by movement adherents. As the project illustrates, the high level of participation by third parties seen in the Nawaat Facebook group supports the notion that individuals have a greater opportunity to share their own views and information, and as such contribute to the framing of events and actors.

Another of the evolutionary elements suggested by the research is the way in which information is shared through social media, as part of an individual's social network. For instance, sharing options allow messages and information to reach out to a movement participant's networks of friends, colleagues and 'followers' in ways that would not be possible via traditional means. In this way, an individual's impact on a movement assumes a 'viral' element, in that information can be passed from user to user, reaching ever increasing numbers of users in a short space of time.

However, in spite of this positive view of the role that social media can play in social movements, it is important to recognise in the case of Tunisia, it served as a tool, replacing traditional forms of organisation and solidarity that had been broken (e.g. civil society organisations) or co-opted (e.g. mainstream media) by the Ben Ali regime. Therefore, in the context of oppressive regimes it may be a more effective tool, than in more open societies with effective democracies. It is also important to note that, in the case of Tunisia, without the active street protests that continued in spite of repression by security forces, it is highly unlikely that the movement would have succeeded in ousting Ben Ali. Social media may well play a useful function in providing a network for activists and mobilizing adherents, however the efficacy of popular demonstrations is still considered to be a central strategy for affecting change.

As described above, a number of areas are identified in the project that highlight evolutionary aspects of social media in social movements, however the research also raises a number of worrying issues. While the example of Tunisia indicates that social

media played an important role in producing change, in particular in uniting disparate groups in a country with extensive media censorship, the question arises of whether online activism inevitably leads to change. However, this is a question that one study on its own cannot answer and only further analyses of the use of online technologies will provide results. Initial evidence though from the uprisings and demonstrations of the Arab Spring show mixed results in which the presence of social media itself by no means guarantees change. For instance, the cases of Egypt and Libya represent successful use of social media, supporting traditional forms of protest and demonstration, Jordan, provides an example where demonstrations have led to a process of reform, however in Syria the popular uprising that began in March 2011 has turned into a situation of civil war, a reminder that a regime's reaction to popular demonstrations is another key to movement success.

Similarly, the use of social media in popular movements that seek social or political change, rather than revolution itself, does not guarantee that change. Indeed, the Occupy movement which initially gained much support, staging occupations and protests in major cities in the US and around the world, cannot be said to have had a significant effect on politicians, the wealthy, or banking practices—the issues identified in part by the their slogan 'We are the 99%'. While social media has played a role in promoting and increasing membership of such movements, their inability to produce significant change suggests that they are more an expression of dissatisfaction than vehicles for change. The ease by which users can sign an online petition, click 'like', or post a message, does not suggest that social media on its own is enough to produce change, rather such organisations could be considered 'identity movements', in which users 'like' a movement in much the same way that they 'like' a musician or band—representing a personal process, by which individuals create their identity, and a social process, namely the promotion of that identity to friends and associates.

The events during the Arab Spring and the findings of the research also provides lessons for social movements in the potential for using social media to contribute to movement goals. So what lessons can be learned? For protesters and online activists the example of Tunisia shows that social media can serve many functions that are essential for social movements. As the research shows, it can enable activists and movement adherents to share information that would otherwise be censored by oppressive regimes, and provide a tool by which movements can organise

themselves. However, at the same time social media provides repressive regimes with new possibilities to stifle activism and conduct surveillance of its citizens. Through the monitoring and tracking of online activists, the hacking of user accounts, and by providing mis-information, the online world provides a new landscape in which governments seek to have a presence in and gain control of. Regimes that already maintain tight controls on news and Internet media, such as China and North Korea, will undoubtedly look at the events in Tunisia as well as the way in which social media was used during the Arab Spring, with an eye to improving their own, already formidable, censorship and monitoring of online activities.

In considering areas of future research, the current studies' examination of the use of social media, in focusing on Nawaat's Facebook group, was relatively small when compared to the amount of information available in other forms of social media. In particular the use of Twitter, via the *#sidibouzid* tag, would provide a potentially fruitful area of future research on the use of social media, for instance examining the use of Twitter and the way in which information was distributed between people. Of course, accessibility to such information presents a challenge but is certainly not impossible. Other topics for further study could for example analyse the speed, number, and geographical distribution of tweets in relation to the organisation of protests or acts of civil disobedience. While the role of social media in the case of Tunisia can be considered to be successful, an alternative approach would be to examine opposite cases, i.e. cases in which social media was ineffective or dissipated movement attempts to achieve their goals. Such research would certainly contribute to a better understanding of how the technology is best used, and its advantages and disadvantages.

While a piece of research on its own is not proof enough to claim a revolution in the organisation and tactics of social movements, the current project contributes to a greater understanding of the impact of social media in social movements. The findings from this research suggest that, rather than a revolution, the use of social media represents an evolutionary step forward in terms of the organisation and methods used by social movements. In a similar way that the advent of television and video meant that movement activists could record and document their activities, as well as policing tactics, social media (in combination with new technologies such as

camera phones for example) enable not only this documenting of events but also new ways in which to share information and mobilize supporters. Social movements may not have changed in their underlying aims and tactics, however the use of social media does indeed create new possibilities and can be seen to represent an evolutionary step forward.

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Appendix A

Appendix A

Czechoslovakia: The Communist Party, 1949-1989

In 1946 legitimate elections were held in Czechoslovakia, in which the the Communist Party won the largest share of any party with 31% of the vote (Jehlicka, Kostelecky, Sykora, 1993). Following this, in 1948, in what has been described as a 'power grab', the Communist Party assumed power and thereafter controlled Czechoslovakian politics for 42 years until the 'Velvet Revolution' ended their parliamentary majority in December 1989 (Evanson, 1986). While other political parties continued to exist during this time, changes to the constitution gave the Communist Party a parliamentary majority, which enabled them to pass laws and policies of their choosing, creating an authoritarian regime (ibid.).

During this period the Communist Party used its power to actively repress individual and political freedoms. For instance, acts such as Law 231 meant that citizens could be tried for "slander against the Republic, defamation of prominent officials, promotion of fascist causes, dissemination of information which could contribute to a public disturbance, or slander against an allied country" (ibid., p. 3) amongst other things—the result being that any act perceived as a threat to the Communist Party could be prosecuted. Indeed, between 1948 and 1952, 178 death sentences were carried out against political offenders, and a conservative estimate of political prisoners held between 1948 and 1967 is 132,770 (ibid.).

In 1968, as a reaction to reformist leaders in Czechoslovakia, a Soviet occupation led to the removal of these more liberal politicians, and the appointment of Gustav Husák, who was suspicious of attempts to reform communism (ibid.; Radio Prague, n.d.). While the number of death sentences and political arrests decreased after 1968, repression of civil rights continued, and the Husák regime extended its suppression beyond political activities to other activities perceived as a threat to the socialist state, including the harassment and arrests of rock musicians and their fans (ibid.).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s it became clear that the cost of stationing hundreds of thousands of troops in Eastern Europe as a defence against the West, as well as the constant need to develop and update its military capabilities, was increasingly a burden to the Soviet system and a "drain on the country's industrial and

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technological resources" (Blacker, 1990/1991, p. 95). The high cost of military spending meant that much needed improvements to the country's industrial, agricultural, and transport sectors could not be undertaken (ibid.). Following his appointment as head of the Communist Party in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of Glasnost (openness) and Perestroika (restructuring) meant an increase in political and social freedoms, economic reforms, accompanied by a reduction in military spending and the staggered withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe (ibid.). In other soviet countries this shift in policy, including a non-interventionist approach from Moscow, led to a number of wider changes including political reform in both Poland and Hungary in early 1989, which effectively ended the communist regimes there. In the summer of 1989 the Czechoslovakian government allowed 5,000 East German citizens in Prague to leave for West Germany (Lockwood, 2011). Soon after, on 10 November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, signifying the end of communism in East Germany.

Czechoslovakia: Events Leading to the Deposition of the Regime

On November 17, 1989, approximately 15,000 students gathered in Prague to commemorate International Students Day, which was the 50th anniversary of the death of a Czech student, Jan Opletal, who was killed in World War II by German occupiers (Glenn, 1999; Radio Prague, n.d.). After the official march had ended, students continued by walking to the city centre holding banners and chanting anti-communist slogans and were met by riot police, who blocked exits and then beat students (Glenn, 1999). In the evening a group of students met with theatre actors at the Realistic Theatre in Prague (ibid.).

The following day, after the announcement that theatre actors would strike, other theatres across the country followed, and supported the movement organisers by making their theatres available for organising and public meetings (ibid.). On the initiative of students from the Academy of Performing Arts the students in Prague began a strike, which was later supported by university students across the country (ibid.). In the evening Radio Free Europe announced that a student had been killed by riot police in the protests of the previous day (ibid.). Even though the report of the student's death was later discovered to not be true, the idea that a student had been

killed increased the sense of crisis that was now emerging. Students, actors and theatre employees call for a general strike on November 27 (ibid.).

65   On Sunday 19 November theatres in Bratislava and other cities across the country join the strike (ibid.). In Bratislava, the organisation Public Against Violence was formed—a non-violent group that would become an active force in the movement (ibid.). In Prague, anti-government groups join together to form Civic Forum, another non-violent organisation, who called for the resignation of the government, and that a

70   temporary government be installed until democratic elections could be held (ibid.). On television, government officials called for calm and downplayed the events, while at the same time broadcasting an interview with the student who was supposedly killed, however, distrust of state was so high that rumours of the death continued (ibid.).

75   On Monday 20 November the first mass demonstrations occurred in both Prague and Bratislava, with reports suggesting that over 100,000 people participated (ibid.). Non-communist newspapers began printing articles that went against the communist explanation of events (ibid.). Unofficial negotiations between Civic Forum and the Prime Minister, Ladislav Ademec, were held, however the government

80   refused to make any concessions (ibid.).

        The first official meeting between Civic Forum and the Prime Minister was held on 21 November, in which the Prime Minister guaranteed that violence would not be used against the demonstrators (ibid.). Mass demonstrations occurred in both Prague and Bratislava (ibid.). Students and actors began travelling to factories across

85   the country to show videos of police brutality against the students, and to gain support from the unions for a general strike on 27 November (ibid.). In the evening the chairman of the Communist Party, Miloš Jakeš, criticising demonstrators, declaring that order had to be maintained and that socialism was the only solution (ibid.).

        On Wednesday 22 November Civic Forum reiterated the call for a general

90   strike, lasting 2 hours, on November 27 (ibid.). State television reported live on the demonstration in Prague, however the signal was cut when a demonstrator began criticising the government (ibid.). The Minister of Defence reiterates, on Thursday 23 November, that the army will not take action against the demonstrators—however he also calls for an end to the demonstrations (ibid.). The following day, Friday 24

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95   November, members of the communist leadership including the General Secretary, Miloš Jakeš, resigned (ibid.). The next day the new communist leadership held a press conference, however they refused to meet any of the demands of the demonstrators (ibid.). On Sunday 26 November the editorial staff of the Slovakian communist party newspaper, Pravda, agreed to support the opposition.

100   On Monday 27 November a successful two-hour strike was held, with a high-turnout of workers and support from unions. This high level of support for the strike was perceived to demonstrate Civic Forum's legitimacy to represent the people (ibid.). Two days later, on Wednesday 29 November, the Federal Assembly abolished the constitutional article relating to the Communist Party's leading role in the

105   government (Radio Prague, n.d.). A week and a half later, on Sunday 10 December, a new government is sworn into office—the first government not dominated by the Communist Party in 41 years (ibid.).

Tunisia: The Ben Ali Regime, 1987-2011

In 1987, Ben Ali, the then Minister of the Interior, became Prime Minister of Tunisia

110   (Sadiki, 2002). After only thirty-six days Ben Ali had replaced the long-time leader, Bourguiba, as president, in what has been described as a political coup (ibid.; BBC News, 2011, 14 January). The change from the then ageing, and increasingly unpredictable Bourguiba, was widely welcomed by Tunisians, as it provided stability and the promise of democracy, and Ben Ali was seen by many as an interim president,

115   committed to increasing democratic values and pluralism (Sadiki, 2002).

As president, Ben Ali and his party, the ruling Democratic Constitutional Rally (RCD), initially appeared to be moving in a democratic direction, for instance with the release of political prisoners in 1989, who had been imprisoned by the previous regime (ibid.). However, in spite of Ben Ali's rhetoric of democracy, the

120   reality suggested an authoritarian dictatorship rather than electoral democracy. For example, in the 1999 presidential elections Ben Ali ran 'opposed' by two candidates selected by the government, neither of whom volunteered their candidacy, while other past presidential candidates were prevented from running (ibid.). In 2000 the RCD won a significant majority in the parliament, winning 195 out of 257 municipalities,

125   and shared power in the remaining municipalities—with 81% of parliamentary seats,

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Ben Ali's RCD party was able to dominate political life in Tunisia (ibid.). The government focussed on removing opposition parties, unions, groups, and in particular the Muslim Islamic Tendency Movement (ITT) who became the focus of government suppression (ibid.). This control of the parliament and pressure placed on groups opposed to Ben Ali and the government led to a co-opted opposition that became "another State resource that the ruling elite uses for legitimation purposes" (ibid., p. 64).

In addition to the manipulation and acquiesence of opposition groups, the Tunisian media was also co-opted by the government during this time. Larbi Sadiki (ibid.) describes the relationship between the state and the media as one of "clientelism-patronage" (p. 71), in which the government created a dependency on state subsidies as well as enforcing punitive action through the Press Code. This resulted in self-censorship, in which criticism of the government was removed, since it was equated with defamation or public order offences, and certain issues were considered taboo, such as mentioning the Islamist or Tunisian Communist Workers' Party (ibid.).

In spite of the regime's efforts to control opposition groups and the media, there were challenges to Ben Ali´s authority. In April 2000 a Tunisian journalist, Tawfiq Bin Brik, working for the French newspaper *La Croix*, began a hunger strike following harassment by the regime (ibid.). Bin Brik had written articles critical of the regime, including reporting on the harsh treatment of human rights activists in Tunisia and a review of a book that was critical of Ben Ali (ibid.). In response the regime confiscated his passport, cut-off his home telephone, put him under surveillance, and harrassed his immediate family (ibid.). Following negative press abroad, in particular France, Ben Ali was eventually forced to meet Bin Brik's demands—his passport was returned, his home telephone line restored, the surveillance stopped, and the charges[1] against him were dropped.

Regardless of challenges such as Bin Brik Ben Ali remained in power. Having amended the constitution to allow himself to run for re-election, Ben Ali won the

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[1] The charges against Bin Brik related to Articles 49, 50, 51, 68, 72, and 99 of the Press Code, in which it is a crime for journalists to distribute "false information" (Sadiki, 2002, p. 70) likely to disturb the public order.

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155   election in 1989, widely condemned for corruption, winning with 89.62% of the vote

(BBC News, 2011, January 13[c]).

Events in Tunisia Leading to the Deposition of the Regime

On Friday 17 December, the 26-year-old Mohammed Bouazizi, set himself on fire in front of the council buildings in the town of Sidi Bouzid (BBC News, 2011, 7

160   January; BBC News, 2011, 15 January; Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). The act was characterised as one of desperation. Bouazizi, unable to find a job, had taken to selling fruit and vegetables on a street corner, albeit without a permit (ibid.). A female officer confiscated his produce and, reportedly, slapped him in the face. Bouazizi applied for the appropriate permits and attempted to reclaim his produce but was

165   denied on both counts, at which point, pressed by poverty and unemployment, in protest he committed self-immolation (ibid.). Protests began later that day in the town and quickly spread throughout the region and to other parts of the country (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). During a demonstration on Wednesday 22 December, a 22-year-old man, Houcine Falhi, commits suicide by electrocuting himself in protest over

170   unemployment—he is reported as shouting "No to misery, no to unemployment!" (ibid., para. 5).

Later, on Friday 24 December, as news of the stories spread, protests were held in the town of Menzel Bouzaiene, Sidi Bouzid, in which there were violent clashes between security forces and hundreds of protesters (BBC News, 2010, 25

175   December; Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). Government sources report that several police officers were in hospital with burns and that two officers were in comas (ibid.). During the clashes officers shot dead an 18-year-old protester (ibid.). The government claimed that the protest was an isolated incident, promoted by the opposition, and that the Development Minister had travelled to the region to announce investment and an

180   employment programme (BBC News, 2010, 25 December). The following day rallies are also reported in Kairouan, Sfax, and Ben Guerdane (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January).

On Monday 27 December approximately 1,000 demonstrators, consisting mainly of unemployed graduate students, gather in the capital Tunis (BBC News,

185   2010, 28 December[a]; Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). According to the head of the

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union of high school teachers, Sami Tahr, the demonstration was to show their "solidarity with the population of Sidi Bouzid and to salute the memories of the martyrs of repression who seek only their right to work" (BBC News, 2010, 28 December[a], para. 9), referring to Mohammed Bouazizi and Houcine Falhi. Scuffles

190   reportedly break out between demonstrators and security forces (ibid.).

The following day President Ben Ali condemns the protests, accusing demonstrators of committing acts of violence, and describing them as a "minority of extremists" (BBC News, 2010, 28 December[b], para. 5). The President also stated that the law would be "applied in all firmness" (ibid., para. 7) to anyone found to be

195   instigating violence and disorder, and in response to the unemployment issue he said that he would seek to find a solution as well as improve the standard of living (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). In Gafsa province the Tunisian Federation of Labour Unions (UGTT) hold a rally, which is repressed by security forces, and approximately 300 lawyers protest in Tunis in solidarity with protesters (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23

200   January).

On Sunday 2 January and Monday 3 January 2011, Anonymous activists (an online hacking collective) attack seven Tunisian government website, defacing webpages and blocking access to sites including the Ministry of Finance and Tunisian Stock Exchange (ibid.; BBC News, 2011, 4 January). According to statements posted

205   on the websites, the attack was to highlight the "outrageous level of censorship" (BBC News, 2011, 4 January, para. 3) as well as draw attention to the recent protests. The government responded by increasing its control of access to the web, however Anonymous, in an open letter to the government, declared that it had circumvented controls and provided ways for Tunisians to connect anonymously to the Internet

210   (ibid.). Also, on 3 January approximately 250 protesters, take part in a peaceful demonstration in the town of Thala, however after police use tear gas to break up the demonstration, nine protesters are reported injured (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). In response to the police reaction, protesters set fire to tyres and attack RCD offices (ibid.).

215   On Tuesday 5 January Mohammed Bouazizi, whose act sparked the initial demonstrations, dies in hospital from his injuries (BBC News, 2011, 5 January). The following day approximately 5,000 people participate in a funeral procession, with

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chants of "Farewell Mohammed, we will avenge you" (ibid., para. 8). In protest over the use of violence against protesters, the Tunisian Bar Association announces a

220   general strike to be held on January 6 (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January).

On Thursday 6 January reports suggest that approximately 95% of Tunisia's 8000 lawyers take part in the Tunisian Bar Association's strike against the police brutality used towards protesters (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). The following day, police arrest bloggers, journalists, activists, as well as rapper Hamada Ben-Amor, who

225   had written a song critical of President Ben Ali, along with at least one blogger (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January; BBC News, 2011, 7 January).

Over the weekend, protests continue in Tunis and other towns across the country and 14 protesters are killed (BBC News, 2011, 10 January[a]). An official statement from the government argues that security forces shot protesters in self-

230   defence, while the leader of the opposition party, Ahmed Najib Chebbi (Progressive Democratic Party), is quoted as saying the numbers of casualties are higher than officials have admitted (ibid.). Adnan el Ameri, a member of Tunisia's general labour union and a human rights activist is reported as saying that "youth were protesting against their social situation and unemployment ... but security forces confronted them

235   with brutality and real bullets. Six people were killed in Kasserine, and eight in Thala" (ibid., para. 12)—the use of snipers and the killings in the towns is said to shock Tunisians throughout the country (Al Jazeera, 2011, 23 January). Internationally, the US Government raises its concern over the way the government has handled the demonstrations (BBC News, 2011, 10 January[a].).

240   After the deaths over the weekend, students march in Tunis against the violence used by security forces (BBC News, 2011, 10 January[b]). President Ben Ali describes the protests as "terrorist acts" (ibid., para. 4) and the government closes schools and universities indefinitely. Internationally, further criticisms of the governments use of violence against protesters and calls for calm come from both the

245   EU and the US (ibid.).

Tuesday 11 January: protests continue in the capital Tunis, while local union and health officials report that 50 people have been killed by security forces in the town of Kasserine with locals saying that a curfew had been implemented and that snipers placed on rooftops had shot at people (BBC News, 2011, 11 January). The

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250   government claim that only 14 people have died (ibid.). In the town of Khala police reportedly told residents not to go outside and gather in groups, even of two (ibid.). In a turn-around by the government, who had previously described the protests and riots as the work of foreign forces, the Communication Minister, Samir Laabidi, claims that the protesting and riots are the work of extremists, claiming that "religious

255   extremist movements and extremist movements from the left" (BBC News, 2011, 12 January, para. 30) were responsible.

          Wednesday 12 January: Protests continue in Tunis and towns across the country with several thousand people reportedly protesting in Kasserine (ibid.). In what was seen as an attempt to quell the anger at the violence used against protesters,

260   President Ben Ali sacks the interior minister, who is responsible for policing, and orders the release of most of the people detained during the protests (ibid.). However, at the same time the army is deployed in Tunis for the first time, with "[a]rmoured vehicles and soldiers armed with automatic weapons" (ibid., para. 13) seen patroling the streets and setting up positions at key buildings, such as the state television

265   agency. In addition, it is reported that a union call for a strike in Kasserine was observed by all local workers (ibid.). The leader of the banned Tunisian Workers' Communist Party (POCT), Hamma Hammami, is arrested after having recently stated that unrest could lead to the collapse of the government and Ben Ali's resignation (BBC News, 2011, 13 January[a]). A curfew begins in Tunis and surrounding regions

270   between 2000 and 0600 in response to what the government calls "disturbances, pillaging and attacks against people and property" (ibid., para. 11). In spite of the curfew reports suggest that around 10,000 people were on the streets in Sidi Bouzid where one protester is quoted as saying that the protests were "not just about unemployment any more […] It's about freedom of expression, freedom of assembly,

275   all the freedoms" (BBC News, 2011, 13 January[b], para. 15). Reports suggest that President Ben Ali sacked two of his senior advisors, and also sacked the army chief of staff because he refused to order soldiers to "put down" (ibid., para. 28) protesters. With regard to casualties, the International Federation for Human Rights suggest that 66 people have died since the protests began, while the government claim that only 23

280   have died (ibid.).

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Thursday 13 January: In his third television address since the protests President Ben Ali states that he will not seek a new term in office, against expectations, and that he has ordered police not to use live rounds and only fire in self-defence (BBC News, 2011, 13 January[c]). He also promised to act on the increase in food prices, as well as pledging "total freedom of the press and a removal of internet restrictions" (ibid., para. 9). Nonetheless, unions called on people to observe a general strike on Friday, in Tunis and other regions (ibid.).

Friday 14 January: Thousands of people protest in Tunis and towns across the country, with an estimated 6-7,000 protesting outside the Interior Ministry, however security forces don't intervene until protesters begin to climb on the roof, at which point they fire tear gas into the crowd (BBC News, 2011, 14 January). In the afternoon the Prime Minister, Mahamed Ghannouchi, states that he has been asked to form a new administration, and shortly after it is confirmed that President Ben Ali has stepped down and fled the country (ibid.). There are reports of looting and a nationwide curfew is imposed from 1700 (ibid.). Prime Minister Ghannouchi takes over as interim president until new elections are held, confirming the end of Ben Ali's regime (ibid.).

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Appendix B

Appendix B

Empirical Data and Selected Posts

This appendix contains both the empirical data collected, diagrams of the data, and translations of selected from the source (Nawaat Facebook group).

18 December, 2010

This morning, on Saturday, December 18, 2010, hundreds of citizens gathered in front of the local government offices of Sidi Bouzid in expression of their anger and solidarity with Mohamed Bouazizi, the young, unemployed man who set fire to himself yesterday in front of the headquarters of the state. In Jaap, some citizens were in city streets waving several protest slogans. The latest data contained on the health status of the young Mohamed Bouazizi is very vague and from information exchanged between the people, the young family was prevented from visiting him last night in the hospital Sfax and each claiming that some family members were assaulted when attempting to enter the patient's room, which confirms the hypothesis that he has died, as trading locals news stop 4 of municipal police officers in Sidi Bouzid on the background of this incident to be investigated

We will work to the tide of public opinion all the new data if available, knowing that sit fairly continuous time midday

Union - Sidi Bouzid

سيدي بوزيد ... مسيرة ضخمة وتجمع احتجاجي لليوم الثاني على التوالي

af www.nawaat.org den 18. december 2010 kl. 23:15 ·

تجمع صباح اليوم السبت 18 ديسمبر 2010 مئات المواطنين امام مقر ولاية سيدي بوزيد   تعبيرا عن غضبهم وتضامنهم مع محمد البوعزيزي الشاب العاطل عن العمل الذي اضرم النار في جسده يوم امس امام مقر الولاية وقد جاب المواطنون بعض شوارع المدينة رافعين عدة شعارات احتجاجية علما ان اخر المعطيات الواردة عن الحالة الصحية للشاب محمد البوعزيزي غامضة جدا وحسب معلومات متداولة بين الاهالي فان عائلة الشاب منعت من زيارته ليلة البارحة في مستشفى صفاقس وبعضهم يروج ان بعض افراد العائلة تعرض للاعتداء عند تمسكه بالدخول الى غرفة المريض وهو ما يؤكد فرضية وفاته كما يتداول الاهالي خبر ايقاف 4 من اعوان الشرطة البلدية في سيدي بوزيد على خلفية هذا الحادث للتحقيق معهم

وسنعمل على مد الراي العام بكل المعطيات الجديدة حال توفرها علما ان الاعتصام متواصل الى حد الساعة منتصف النهار

نقابي – سيدي بوزيد

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/487474874849 (Nawaat Note link)

19 December, 2010

One city after another, the Tunisian south ignites against Tunisia Almaviose system, and alternative media is the voice of the people and I'm the people. Censorship at the internal affairs ministry.

User comment:

El KARAMA ou el HOURIAT el T3abir yarj3ou kima el vidéo ili mezelett fi CENSURE au ministère de l'intèrieur

مدينة بعد أخرى، الجنوب التونسي يشتعل ضد النظام المافيوزي التونسي، و الإعلام البديل هو صوت الشعب و ابن الشعب

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del

👍 3 personer synes godt om dette.

Sabrine Filiari El KARAMA ou el HOURIAT el T3abir yarj3ou kima el vidéo ili mezelett fi CENSURE au ministère de l'intèrieur
27. august 2011 kl. 14:56 · Synes godt om

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/479093462720

20 December, 2010

www.nawaat.org
20. december 2010

Sidi Bouzid: groups of protesters seize a Smoke Grenades Launcher

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del   2   2

20 December, 2010

Make sure the death of a young girl killed by tear gas in Sidi Bouzid [won't be in vain].
International Year of Youth in Tunisia celebrates security and gas blockade

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/121426844591295

21 December, 2010

Observers: Violence in Sidi Bouzid after an attempted self-immolation

Friday, December 17, a young man of twenty years tried to immolate himself in broad daylight in front of the headquarters of the governorate of Sidi Bouzid in the center-west of Tunisia. This desperate act triggered a revolt in the city that became the scene of violent clashes between locals and security forces.

For three days, Tunisian web surfers are commenting images of violent clashes Friday in the town of Sidi Bouzid, 265 km southwest of Tunis. Images of riots against police and cars burned that are rare to see in a country locked by the authorities. The official sources deny completely the existence of this event, which is also absent from the national headlines. Tunisians therefore follow it through Twitter thread # sidibouzid. Web surfers denounce a "blackout" media with irony: "There are no riots in Sidi Bouzid, Americans are making an action movie." Clashes with police and arrests are also relayed on Facebook and on blogs activists.

Landlocked, the region of Sidi Bouzid has not enjoyed the same economic development policy than other northern regions of the country. The city of Sidi Bouzid suffers from high unemployment among young people and a precarious socio-economic development. All elements reported by people who revolt since Friday. Despite a truce since this morning, the city is still under tension and security forces maintain a security cordon.

In July, we published a post on demonstrations by farmers in the region of Sidi Bouzid who suspected a bank of being engage in malpractices to dispossess them of their lands.

Les Observateurs : Violences à Sidi Bouzid après une tentative d'immolation

af www.nawaat.org den 21. december 2010 kl. 00:37 ·

Confrontations entre manifestants et forces de l'ordre à Sidi Bouzid.

Vendredi 17 décembre, un jeune d'une vingtaine d'années a tenté de s'immoler en plein jour devant le siège du gouvernorat de Sidi Bouzid, dans le centre-ouest de la Tunisie. Ce geste désespéré a provoqué un mouvement de révolte dans la ville qui est devenu le théâtre de confrontations violentes entre habitants et forces de l'ordre.

Depuis trois jours, les internautes tunisiens commentent les images des violents affrontements qui ont éclaté vendredi dans la ville de Sidi Bouzid, à 265 km au sud-ouest de Tunis. Des images d'émeutes contre les forces de l'ordre et de voitures brûlées qu'il est rare de voir dans un pays verrouillé par les autorités. Les sources officielles nient totalement l'existence de cet événement, qui est par ailleurs absent des titres de la presse nationale. Les Tunisiens le suivent donc par Twitter à travers le fil #sidibouzid. Les internautes dénoncent un "black-out total" des médias avec ironie : "Il n'y a pas d'émeutes à Sidi Bouzid, des Américains tournent un film d'action". Les affrontements avec les forces de l'ordre et les arrestations sont par ailleurs relayés sur Facebook ainsi que sur les blogs d'activistes.

Enclavée, la région de Sidi Bouzid n'a pas bénéficié de la même politique de développement économique que d'autres régions du nord du pays. La ville de Sidi Bouzid souffre d'un taux de chômage élevé chez les jeunes et d'une grande précarité socio-économique. Autant d'éléments dénoncés par les habitants qui se révoltent depuis vendredi. Malgré une trêve observée depuis ce matin, la ville est toujours sous tension et les forces de sécurité maintiennent un cordon de sécurité.

En juillet, nous avions publié un billet sur des manifestations d'agriculteurs de la région de Sidi Bouzid qui soupçonnaient une banque de s'être livrée à des malversations pour les déposséder de leurs terres.

https://www.facebook.com/notes/wwwnawaatorg/les-observateurs-violences-%C3%A0-sidi-bouzid-apr%C3%A8s-une-tentative-dimmolation/488992849849

22 December, 2010

Urgent: a second suicide in Sidi Bouzid

The regional labour union of Sidi Bouzid has informed us that a young man committed suicide in the afternoon of Wednesday outside the headquarters of the delegation of Sidi Bouzid west.

Sources say that the young Ben Faleh Houssine Falhi, aged 25, had climbed a utility pole and hit the power cable, which caused his direct death. They add that before climbing the pole he said he should have a job.

[...]

Source: Echaab (UGTT) 22/12/2010

https://www.facebook.com/notes/wwwnawaatorg/urgent-un-second-suicide-

%C3%A0-sidi-bouzid-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AC%D9%84-

%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9-

%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%A7%D8%B1-

%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%B1%D9%89-%D9%81%D9%8A-

%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AF%D9%8A-

%D8%A8%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%AF/489836864849

24 December, 2010

14:00 Square Coron in the French capital Paris. Gathered in solidarity with the people of Sidi Bouzid tomorrow Saturday, December 25, 2010

24 December, 2010

Video: vivid scenes of violent clashes and burning police cars and wounding one, the
resistance #sidibouzid http://post.ly/1Nlum

24 December, 2010

Video: the night and fire shots and revolutionary songs in Bouziane 23/12/2010 house #
sidibouzid http://post.ly/1NmHC

25 December, 2010

Tunisia - Police Station in Menzel Bouzaiane set on fire. Sidi Bouzid Protests

25 December, 2010

"Social Protests"

The following facts are related to the current situation in the city of Sidi Bouzid as well as in the neighbouring towns. A sequence of popular protests started in the city of Rdaïef and spread to the cities surrounding the water-basin of Gafsa. Then the protests started again in Ben Guerdan since a few time as well as several cases in several similar areas of the Republic. The first meaning of the frequency of these waves of popular protest is that they are neither organized neither framed. It means that there is a hole/separation between the popular groups and political elites.

The political parties allied or opposed were each time surprised by the intensity of the protests as well as by the radicalisation of their queries. This situation proves a conflict between the political parties and the protesters because there is incapacity to answer to the demands of the protesters which unables the polical elites to engage in the way to resolve the current issues.

Then, we can predict that the worries and queries presented by the protesters, which lead to the explosion, will be repeated in other regions of the republic, and maybe to a faster and more intense rhythm without the control or capacity to lead it.

The repressive confrontation will only increase the escalation and tension. Analysing the social context objectively through the transformation that it supposes, proves that we are now going to an unstable situation which reduces possibilities to introduce political reforms, and that threatens seriously the progress realised in terms of economic plan.

Despite the fact that the current context do not allow to list the conditions of deprivation, discrimination and marginalization from which a great category of the Tunisian society and the country suffers. This platform started the protests and riots of the bread in the last era of the president Bourguiba and nurtures currently the protests in the time of President Ben Ali.

We must highlight that there is no appropriated solutions to the problem of social exclusion and regional disparities created by the development policy lead by the government since the independence.

This hard situation which threatens our country and the future of all put us in front of hard decisions. An exam of real choice between conflicts and perturbation, or determination and incapacity, or sacrifice and victory. In that case, there is not difference between playing with fire and shoot on fire on our own people. Because if we chose that solution fire won`t exclude anyone.

Today, we need to listen to Sidi Bouzid, Ben Guirdene and Gafsa, as well as to our citizens in all the cities and villages marginalized and underprivileged, with an open mind logic and justice. We need to become aware of the real needs to help them to find the efficient ways to improve their living conditions with the awareness that this will happen only when each Tunisian will become aware as well of his role in the society.

How much time do we will need to realize the need to establish a unemployment prime to restore the dignity of those who have no right to the national wealth. Until when are we going to close our eyes on the need to launch a national program for the regional balance? Where millions and billions of dinars would be used instead of small grains given as it happened recently. Until when are we going to treat each other by the folklore of solidarity convoys and the subvention fund 2626?

Our citizens do not protest to ask for charity but to get a decent job and to live decently. The crisis can be transformed in a platform which allows escalating the scale of civilizations and progress. The true revolution against deprivation and social injustice will be realised through the doubling of employment opportunities and the intensity of investments and opening of new doors to those who find them closed today. The democratic society to which we aspire and the loyal state and institutions that we are trying to build, will be realized only when we will exploit the feelings of injustice and deprivation.

Mokhtar Yahyaoui – Tunisia the 25th of December.

https://www.facebook.com/notes/wwwnawaatorg/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8
%AD%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AA-
%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AC%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%A7159/49178323
9849

26 December, 2010

Monday Dec. 27 2010 gathering in support of our people in Sidi Bouzid in Tunis - Place Mohammed at 1:00 pm http://goo.gl/fIeZQ #sidibouzid

Tweet, accessed via Nawaat Facebook Group
https://www.facebook.com/nawaat

27 December, 2010

Video of protesters in the city of Kassrain chanting

https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?v=483245057720

27 December, 2010

Video: popular demonstration in the presence of women and children in Almazona
yesterday # sidibouzid # fb

فيديو: مظاهرة شعبية بحضور النساء و الاطفل في المزونة بالأمس
#sidibouzid #fb

Posted by Nawaat Tunisia

Video and tweet, linked via Nawaat Facebook Group

(https://www.facebook.com/nawaat)

http://24sur24.posterous.com/-sidibouzid-fb-4

29 December, 2010

#Tunisie: Kidnapping of Master Abderraouf Ayadi #sidibouzid #fb

Tunis, 28 December 2020 - Master Abderraouf Ayadi, a lawyer at the Court of Cassation, Member of the Executive Board of the Organization Freedom and Equity, and Vice President of the Congress Party for the Republic, was kidnapped at five o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, December 28, at his home located in the suburb of Manouba by six persons in civilian clothes which are thought to be agents of the political police. They put him in a car and took him to an unknown location. [...]

Freedom and Fairness

Mr. Mohammed Nouri

#Tunisie: Enlèvement de Maître Abderraouf Ayadi #sidibouzid #fb

Tunis, le 28 décembre 2020 - Maitre Abderraouf Ayadi, avocat près la cour de Cassation, membre du bureau exécutif de l'Organisation Liberté et Equité, et vice Président du Parti du Congrès pour la République, a été enlevé à cinq heures dans l'après midi du mardi 28 décembre devant son domicile sis dans la banlieue de la Mannouba par 6 personnes en civil dont on pense qu'il s'agit d'agents de la police politique. Ils l'ont mis dans une voiture et conduit dans un lieu inconnu. [...]

Liberté et Equité

Maître Mohammed Nouri

(traduction d'extraits ni revue ni corrigée par les auteurs de la version en arabe, LT)

Tweet, linked via Nawaat Facebook Group (https://www.facebook.com/nawaat)

http://24sur24.posterous.com/tunisie-enlevement-de-maitre-abderraouf-ayadi

29 December, 2010

In Jbeniana: a state of terror in the city, close to all cafes, Forcing the citizens to go to their homes, power cut in the main road #sidibouzid

nawaat.org

https://www.facebook.com/nawaat

29 December, 2010

Many Facebook users in Tunisia tell us they cannot download videos on their accounts
#sidibouzid

29 December, 2010

A young originated of the small region of Gafsa cuts his hand and warns of committing suicide #fb #sidibouzid

In Sened, in the region of Gafsa, the young Majid Ben Brahim cut his left hand with a knife after his meeting with officials at the headquarters of the delegation. He had applied for work as the president of the republic made promises in this regard, but it has not changed anything. He had to be taken to the hospital where his wound was closed with fifteen stitches. At the hospital the young unemployed person has continued to warn doctors that he would commit suicide if he was not given a job.

From our correspondent in Tunisia, Makhlouf

Assabilonline, Tunis

Un jeune du gouvernorat de Gafsa s'entaille la main et menace de se suicider #sidibouzid #fb

A Sened dans le gouvernorat de Gafsa, le jeune Majid Ben Brahim s'est entaillé la main gauche avec un couteau au terme de sa rencontre avec des responsables au siège de la délégation. Il leur avait demandé du travail puisque le président de la République avait fait des promesses en ce sens, mais il n'a pas été entendu. Il a dû être conduit à l'hôpital où sa blessure a été refermée par quinze points de suture. A l'hôpital le jeune chomeur a continué de prévenir les médecins qu'il se suiciderait si on ne lui donnait pas d'emploi.

De notre correspondant en Tunisie, Zouhaïer Makhlouf

***Assabilonline*, Tunis**

(traduction ni revue ni corrigée par l'auteur de la version en arabe, LT)

 Tweet 1

 Synes godt om   62.661 personer synes godt om dette. Vær den første blandt dine venner.

Posted by Malek

29 December, 2010

ZABA you can change as many ministers as you want, we don't care about your fuses. It
is you that we will reform/reshape and before 2014 #SidiBouzid

30 December, 2010

They can deplete the pockets of the people, they won't impoverish our brains!!!!! ZABA out!!

https://www.facebook.com/nawaat

30 December, 2010

#sidibouzid A regional strike has been decided officially in Sidi Bouzid and it will be on
Wednesday: 01/12/2011

31 December 2012

Happy 2011, without Ben Ali, the Trabelsis and Sakhr El Matri

https://www.facebook.com/nawaat

31 December 2010

video: Demo in Jendouba by night / Demonstrations at night #sidibouzid
http://post.ly/1Pe2V

video: Demo in Jendouba by night إحتجاجات ليلية بمدينة
جندوبة #sidibouzid #fb

(download)

Posted by Nawaat Tunisia

Tweet, linked via Nawaat Facebook Group (https://www.facebook.com/nawaat)

http://24sur24.posterous.com/video-demo-in-jendouba-by-night-sidibouzid-fb

31 December 2010

A picture of the intervention forces of repression to prevent the union by force of access to the headquarters of the General Union # fb # sidibouzid

Police Commissioner for Hama of the State of plug forcibly prevent trade unionists from access to the headquarters of the Regional Labour Union to participate in a protest .... and now there is a young man disabled for work in the same area who threatens to commit suicide after his ascension to the silo Mosque.

صورة لتدخل قوات القمع لمنع النقابيين بالقوة من الوصول لمقر الاتحاد العام
#fb #sidibouzid

قوات الشرطة في معتمدية الحامة التابعة لولاية قابس تمنع النقابيين بالقوة من الوصول لمقر الاتحاد الجهوي للشغل للمشاركة في وقفة احتجاجية ....و الآن يوجد شاب معطل عن العمل في نفس المنطقة يهدد بالانتحار بعد صعوده الى صومعة الجامع

Posted by Nawaat Tunisia

Tweet, via Nawaat Facebook Group (https://www.facebook.com/nawaat)

http://24sur24.posterous.com/fb-sidibouzid-0

1 January, 2011

One young Tunisian from Gafsa has been injured by the shots of the policemen.

User Comment:

What is happening today in Tunisia, it is not by chance but is the outcome of political repression and internal tension of the Tunisian people and the reason is the ruling family that caused the uprising.

The Tunisian people are aware of the thefts and cheats which the ruling family members do. That thefts which had been shown on television since getting Ben Ali on governance, this treasury containing Japanese jewellery and rare artefacts which are priceless, had been stolen by Leila and smuggled by plane to France.

Does it make sense to send Leila abroad in hard currency in its delights she and her friends have eaten hundreds of families?

Does it make sense to make state funds pocket money for this family?

Before Leila travelled to Dubai, where she stayed since December 27 in one of the luxury lodges, invited by the Governor of the Central Bank of Tunisia to meet with President without an appointment to do hard currency transfers to the Queen Leila in Tripoli??

The Tunisian people rose up against injustice and oppression.

And we will kick Ben Ali out and we will hold gang members one by one and we're going to kick them, God willing

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/181773405185783

2 January 2011

Let's make the strike of the 3rd of January a comprehensive introduction of civil disobedience on the road to the overthrow of dependency and corruption, a system of oppression and tyranny

Adeed Nassar ▶ www.nawaat.org
2. januar 2011 kl. 15:48 · 🌐

ليكن إضارب 3 جانفي مقدمة عصيان مدني شامل على طريق إسقاط نظام التبعية و الفساد ، نظام القهر و الاستبداد

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150117052216214

2 January 2011

Egypt, Tunisia, and one-and-one poverty and misery and corrupt governor

www.nawaat.org · 63.408 synes godt om dette
2. januar 2011 kl. 18:00 via Selective Tweets · 🌐

👍 **Synes godt om**

RT @alaa RT @hossam_karama: فاسد⁰ #sidibouzid #egypt مصر وتونس واحد واحد⁰فقر ويؤس وحاكم فاسد

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del

👍 **7 personer** synes godt om dette.

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/142089549180457

2 January 2011

#Anonymous decided to hack and make inaccessible government websites. Tunisian #operationTunisia #sidibouzid

Comments:

Go on knights of the web

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/157150037666266

3 January 2011

Laftayria Ettounsia ▶ www.nawaat.org
3. januar 2011 kl. 12:35 ·

http://www.thetechherald.com/article.php/201101/6639/Anonymous–offers–support–
to–Tunisian–protestors?page=2

Anonymous offers support to Tunisian protestors – Security
www.thetechherald.com
In agreement with those protesting on the ground, who are bleeding
and in some cases dying for speaking out against the Tunisian
government, Anonymous has launched another Distributed Denial of

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150428933046214

3 January 2011

Mohamed Bouazizi still alive ! #sidibouzid http://post.ly/1QQHw

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/158308137550873

6 January 2011

Call for

1 - The formation of an independent government to oversee free elections

2 - Ben Ali's departure from power and retrieving the money in his possession and returning to the country and return him to the condition it was in before 1987 and consider the issues that will be presented against him

3 - Recover money from Trabelsi family (The president`s wife) and leave them just in the conditions they had before 1987 and considered in the cases which submitted against them

4 - Recover families close to the money system and pin them as they were before 1987

5 – Disband the board of Tunisian Radio and Television and the composition of the neutral Council for the management of this entity

6 - Cut off all relations with the Zionist entity

Lotfi Fadhli ▶ www.nawaat.org
6. januar 2011 kl. 12:01 ·

نطالب ب
1-تشكيل حكومة مستقلة تشرف على انتخابات حرة
2-تنحي بن على عن الحكم و استرجاع اموال التي في حوزته وارجاعه الي الحالة المادية التي كان عليها قبل 1987 والنظر في القضايا التي ستقدم ضده
3- استرجاع اموال ال الطرابلسي و ترك فقط ماكانو يملكون قبل 1987 والنظر في القضايا التي ستقدم ضدهم
4- استرجاع اموال العائلات المقربة من النظام وارجاعهم الى ماكانو عليه قبل 1987
5-حل ادارة الاذاعة و التلفزة التونسية و تكوين مجلس محايد لادارة هذا الكيان
6-قطع كل العلاقات مع الكيان الصهيوني

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150119482561214

33

8 January 2011

Please use to address the effect of tear gas Vaseline (advisable) as an ointment to face with the use of face mask to avoid wiping the face with water and drink it in order to avoid inflammations and mitigation, information passed

Nidal Mizouni ▶ www.nawaat.org
8. januar 2011 kl. 02:02 ·

الرجاء إستعمال للتصدي لمفعول القنابل المسيلة للدّموع الفازلين أو المالوكش(من المستحسن) كمرهم للوجة مع إستعمال القناع الواقي للوجه مع تفادي مسح الوجه بالماء وشربه تفاديا للإحساس بالإتهابات والتخفيف من حدّتها، مرّر المعلومة

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150120420186214

9 January 2011

Tomorrow we throw Ben Ali: Call to throw all the portraits of Ben Ali in the street...Tomorrow the portrait and soon the real one #sidibouzid Pass around

نواة www.nawaat.org · 63.410 synes godt om dette
9. januar 2011 kl. 18:53 · 🌐

☐ Synes godt om

×

Demain on jète Ben Ali : Appel à jeter tous les portraits de Ben Ali dans la rue...Demain le portrait et bientôt le vrai #sidibouzid Faites circuler

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del

👍 41 personer synes godt om dette.

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/189946014354999

9 December 2011

Dear killer, to give a speech or to stay silent, or obviously, to read what they wrote for you or don't read. People are in front of you and international courts are behind you

www.nawaat.org · 63.409 synes godt om dette
9. januar 2011 kl. 19:20 via Selective Tweets ·

Synes godt om

أيها السفاح تخطب أو لا تخطب ...أو بالأحرى تقرأ مع كتب لك أو لا تقرأ .....الشعب أمامك والمحاكم الدولية ورائك via #sidibouzid

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del

26 personer synes godt om dette.

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/100239966719271

10 January 2011

The current Tunisian regime's propaganda aims to determine the public perception of events and issues. The regime is trying to indoctrinate some of the people to think and act in a certain way. Their desire is to destroy and criminalize a social movement more legitimate than any Tunisian style election.

Aly Sassi ▶ www.nawaat.org
10. januar 2011 kl. 11:09 · 🌐   ✕

L'actuelle propagande du régime tunisien a pour objectif de déterminer la perception publique des événements et des enjeux qui en découlent. Le régime essaye d'endoctriner une partie du peuple pour le faire penser et agir d'une certaine manière. Leur volonté étant de casser et de criminaliser un mouvement social plus légitime que n'importe quelle élection à la tunisienne!!!

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150121694856214

10 January 2011

Red Alert: Information from inside the Tunisian regime say that he is about to commit terrorist attacks under false-flags in order to be able to play the card of terrorism, to announce the state of emergency, to reduce protests and all forms of legitimate social protests, and try to win the sympathy of the West!!!!!! Please help spreading this alert!!!!

Tunisie Libre ▶ www.nawaat.org
10. januar 2011 kl. 15:20 ·

Alerte Rouge : Des informations de l'intérieur du régime tunisien disent qu'il s'apprete à commettre des attentats terroristes sous faux-pavillon afin de pouvoir jouer la carte du terrorisme, annoncer l'état d'urgence, réduire les manifestations et toutes les formes légitimes de lutte sociale, et essayer de gagner la sympathie de l'Occident !!!!! SVP aidez à diffuser cette alerte !!!

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150121776871214

10 January 2011

A shocking discourse that reminds me of a fascist regime where the people cannot express themselves, where a president is surrounded by men (upstarts) who only think about their careers! Where the regime becomes like a mafia and a corrupt state system! Here is the change of November 7th! Long live the state, long live the republic

Abid Mohamed ▶ www.nawaat.org
10. januar 2011 kl. 22:58 · 🌐

un discourt choquant qui me rappelle d'un régime fachiste ou le peuple ne peut pas s'exprimer, ou un président est entouré d'hommes (arriviste) ne pensent qu'a leurs carrières!!ou le régime devient mafieux et un appareil d'état corrompu!! voila le changement de 7 novembre!! vive l'état vive la république

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150122019451214

11 January 2011

Courage Tunisian friends, fight for your freedom, your dignity and right to freedom of speech.

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150122603056214

12 January 2011

What a loss! I'm shaken, mad with rage!

A Franco-Tunisian professor killed in Compiègne in a riot.

This dictator promises much but does the opposite. Today, we don't believe the promises anymore, it is finished, we are not naive anymore. The rope that binds us is broken. We no longer have trust. Now this is the street that will talk and talk. After all, Tunisia is of the Tunisians, the dictator has nothing to do in the palace of Carthage. Rather you go away and the blood of Tunisians to be saved.

Salma Trifi ▶ www.nawaat.org
12. januar 2011 kl. 19:29

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar · Del

Salma Trifi Quelle perte!!!Je suis bouleversée, folle de rage!!!

un Franco-Tunisien prof à Compiègne tué dans une émeute.

http://www.rue89.com/2011/01/12/video-un-franco-tunisien-prof-a-compiegne-tue-dans-une-emeute-185275
12. januar 2011 kl. 21:35 · Synes godt om

Salma Trifi Ce dictateur promet beaucoup mais il fait le contraire. Aujourd'hui, on croit plus aux promesses, c'est fini, on est plus dupe ni naïf. La corde qui nous lie est cassée. Nous n'avons plus de confiance. Maintenant c'est la rue qui va parler et parlera. D'après tout, la Tunisie est aux tunisiens, le dictateur n'a rien faire dans le palais de Carthage. Plutôt que tu dégages, plutôt que le sang des tunisiens soit épargné.
12. januar 2011 kl. 21:43 · Synes godt om

-Vive L'algérie meskine allah yarhemou,demou marahech batel,inchalah fel jana ya khouya.
14. januar 2011 kl. 21:49 · Synes godt om

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/143358532387823

13 January 2011

Don't believe the smoke screen! Ben Ali really plays his last card, his joker: staging a scene to seem authentic and sincere (with Edderja) but in the end clears himself of all his crimes and blame his executive. With this kind of strategy, even Hitler could have make it through then... Seriously. You messed up, you pay!

Aly Sassi ▶ www.nawaat.org
13. januar 2011 kl. 20:18 · 🌐

ne croit pas à l'écran de fumée! Ben Ali joue vraiment sa dernière carte, son joker: mise en scène pour faire authentique et sincère (avec edderja) mais sur le fond le mec se dédouane de tous ses crimes et les renvoies sur le dos des éxécutants. Avec cette même stratégie même Hitler aurait pu s'en sortir alors...Soyons sérieux. Tu as merdé, tu paies!

Synes godt om · Tilføj kommentar

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150123675161214

13 January 2011

Call for Civil disobedience - declare civil disobedience # sidibouzid

We are the Tunisian people. We declare the civil disobedience to be on 14 January 2011

The orders:

- Everyone has to participate, men, women, children, teens, workers and unemployed.

- We will stay in the streets for 24 hours.

- No to the partisan chants.

- We will stand holding the lighted candles at night.

- We will provide volunteers to provide food, drinks and blankets.

- Chants with the main goal : go out Ben Ali

- Invite the army to manage the transition period after Ben Ali.

- Invite all Tunisians outside Tunisia to do the same in front of the Tunisian embassies.

Long Live Tunisia, free and independent

نداء للشعب التونسي الحر

نحن الشعب التونسي, نعلن العصيان المدني بداية من يوم الجمعة 14
جانفي 2011

التعليمات:

- خروج سلمي لكل الشعب، نساء، رجالا واطفالا، عمال وعاطلين

- البقاء في الشوارع 24/24 (ما عدا الحالات الخاصة)

- لا للشعارات الحزبية

- قضاء الليل بالشموع في الشوارع

- تنظيم مداخلات تحسيسية

- تعيين متطوعين لتوفير المأكل و المشرب والغطاء

- رفع شعارات تلخص مطلبا واحدا: تنحية الرئيس و محاكمته

- دعوة الجيش الوطني لضمان الأمن في البلاد و فرض مرحلة انتقالية
تسير بنا الى انتخابات عامة

- و ندعو كل مواطنينا بالخارج لفعل نفس الشيء امام السفارات و
القنصليات و التمثيليات التونسية في كل اركان الارض.

عاشت تونس حرة مستقلة

بيان من الشعب صاحب السيادة الى الشعب صاحب السيادة,

الرجاء النسخ وتوزيعها في الشوارع

14 January 2011

is confident in the Tunisian, the free and the resistant not the collaborators and the bad. Our revolt is just, true and complete. Our position is non-negotiable: Forfeiture of the enemies of freedom, the revolution of the collective against individualism and the victory of equal rights as the privileged. Our revolution doesn't need the fearful, the hesitant and traitors.

https://www.facebook.com/186352466213/posts/10150123798761214

14 January 2011

Ben Ali flies like a coward: We are in a situation of "power vacancy" and not a "temporary incapacity". We must remain mobilized and demand respect for the constitution! #sidibouzid

Date	Post Author	Nature of Content	text	video	image	link	video	Tweet	Arabic	French	Italian	None	English	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	h)	i)	j)	k)	l)	m)	n)	o)	p)	q)	URL (https://www.facebook.com/ +)
																															18635246213/posts/...
18/12/10	Nawaat	news	1		1	1			1					1									1		1			1			18635246213/posts/487474874849
19/12/10	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion	1	1					1														1		1		1	1			18635246213/posts/47909346272720
19/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1					1																1			1	1		18635246213/posts/479106427720
19/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1				1																		1			18635246213/posts/11218138218626
19/12/10	Nawaat	misc	1				1		1																		1				18635246213/posts/165398343504099
20/12/10	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion	1			1			1									1				1	1		1	1				18635246213/posts/121426844591295
20/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1					1																1			1			18635246213/posts/479622972720
21/12/10	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion		1					1																1						18635246213/posts/480397272720
22/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1				1				1											1			1	1		18635246213/posts/489836864849
23/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1					1				1												1			1	1		18635246213/posts/481346082720
23/12/10	Nawaat	comment/opinion	1			1		1		1														1		1			1			18635246213/posts/122265747840815
23/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1		1																1	1		1			18635246213/posts/176024632428069
23/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1		1																1	1		1			18635246213/posts/133420486717811
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1		1	1	1	1																1			1			18635246213/posts/150886608296136
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1												1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/481785532720
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1												1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/183088541716662
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1													1		1			1			18635246213/posts/175240685840818
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1												1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/128311000566493
24/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1	1											1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/170793192958610
24/12/10	Nawaat	organisation	1			1	1	1	1	1									1			1			1			1			18635246213/posts/180858495265686
24/12/10	Nawaat	organisation	1			1	1	1	1										1			1			1			1			18635246213/posts/178784565484780
24/12/10	Nawaat	comment/opinion	1			1	1	1	1																1			1			18635246213/posts/128168257246390
25/12/10	3rd Party	news	1			1		1	1				1												1			1			18635246213/posts/10150111920856214
25/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1		1	1				1												1			1			18635246213/posts/172993096074224
25/12/10	Nawaat	news		1						1															1			1			18635246213/posts/482003167720
25/12/10	3rd Party	support, misc	1			1				1				1											1			1			18635246213/posts/10150428932861214
25/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1					1								1	1		1	1		1			18635246213/posts/159139200798443
25/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1																1			1			18635246213/posts/180269061992415
26/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1			1	1	1										1							1					18635246213/posts/152043751510948
26/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1				1								1			1			1			18635246213/posts/134812993245902
26/12/10	Nawaat	organisation	1			1	1	1	1									1				1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/13487399239811
26/12/10	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion	1			1		1	1						1										1			1			18635246213/posts/492080644849
27/12/10	Nawaat	news	1	1			1	1	1					1	1							1			1			1	1		18635246213/posts/483245057720
27/12/10	3rd Party	support	1			1		1	1																			1			18635246213/posts/10150428932886214
27/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1		1	1													1			1			1			18635246213/posts/180953308600845
27/12/10	3rd Party	news	1	1			1	1	1																1			1			18635246213/posts/10150428932891214
27/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1										1						1			1			18635246213/posts/142087939178173
28/12/10	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1			1		1	1							1				1								1			18635246213/posts/10150113926956214
28/12/10	3rd Party	misc	1				1	1								1											1			18635246213/posts/10150114040356214
28/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1												1			1			1			18635246213/posts/10150428932906214
28/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1	1												1			1	1		1			18635246213/posts/122143177853667
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	1			1	1	1		1			1				1	1													18635246213/posts/155726851141544
29/12/10	Nawaat	satire		1			1	1	1				1				1	1									1	1			18635246213/posts/484001032720
29/12/10	Nawaat	satire		1			1	1	1				1				1	1									1	1			18635246213/posts/484006127720

Date	Source	Category	URL
29/12/10	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150428932931214
29/12/10	3rd Party	question/request	186352466213/posts/10150114689261214
29/12/10	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/12951554044672
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/17840760513130
29/12/10	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/17814463874069
29/12/10	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/12331471401803
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/17157018954578 5
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/16062315065115 2
29/12/10	Nawaat	misc	186352466213/posts/13373247668679 5
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/18270801842412 7
29/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/14232182915590 1
29/12/10	3rd Party	question/request	186352466213/posts/10150114881866214
30/12/10	3rd Party	question/request	186352466213/posts/10150115017361214
30/12/10	3rd Party	news, organisation	186352466213/posts/10150428932941214
30/12/10	3rd Party	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150115054791214
30/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/18572421477317 0
31/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/17033076300854 5
31/12/10	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/15310045474242 7
31/12/10	3rd Party	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150115772721214
31/12/10	Nawaat	satire	186352466213/posts/10150115778561214
31/12/10	Nawaat	satire	186352466213/posts/10150115787701214
31/12/10	Nawaat	satire	186352466213/posts/10150115895806214
31/12/10	3rd Party	support	186352466213/posts/10150428932956214
01/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/18177340518578 3
01/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/16873799983670
02/01/11	3rd Party	support	186352466213/posts/10150428932991214
02/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	186352466213/posts/10150116946066214
02/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/48847397143 2
02/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/48629820772 0
02/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150428933016214
02/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150428933021214
02/01/11	3rd Party	support	186352466213/posts/10150117039291214
02/01/11	3rd Party	news, organisation	186352466213/posts/10150117052216214
02/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/14208954918045 7
02/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/15715003766626 6
02/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	186352466213/posts/10150117123536214
02/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/16704319000772 0
03/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/13444464328211 4
03/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/11570181183531 1
03/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/15830813755087 3
03/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/10150428933046214
03/01/11	Nawaat	news	186352466213/posts/15641415774011 3
04/01/11	3rd Party	support	186352466213/posts/10150118289581214
05/01/11			NO POSTS
06/01/11	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/12066017467006 1
06/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150119295621214
06/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	186352466213/posts/10150119482561214
06/01/11	3rd Party	support	186352466213/posts/10150428933081214

Date	Source	Category	Post
06/01/11	Nawaat	news	18635246213/posts/488527412720
06/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150428933091214
06/01/11	Nawaat	news	18635246213/posts/1625307793792672
06/01/11	3rd Party	news	18635246213/posts/10150428933101214
07/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion, question/request	18635246213/posts/10150119873171214
08/01/11	3rd Party	misc	18635246213/posts/10150120420186214
08/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150120450471214
09/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150120904841214
09/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150121167746214
09/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1699358430496721
09/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121269221214
09/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121273581214
09/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121274876214
09/01/11	Nawaat	news	18635246213/posts/1709775996118701
09/01/11	Nawaat	organisation, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1889460143549990
09/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121280416214
09/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1002399667192710
09/01/11	Nawaat	news	18635246213/posts/1429103857666040
09/01/11	3rd Party	news	18635246213/posts/10150121302031214
09/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121304316214
09/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121307356214
09/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121344371214
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion, satire	18635246213/posts/10150428933196214
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150428933221214
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1269523034665
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121694856214
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121732496214
10/01/11	3rd Party	news	18635246213/posts/10150428933226214
10/01/11	3rd Party	news	18635246213/posts/10150121776871214
10/01/11	3rd Party	misc	18635246213/posts/10150121918106214
10/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1005440533556460
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150121941546214
10/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	18635246213/posts/10150121945041214
10/01/11	3rd Party	news	18635246213/posts/10150428933231214
10/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150428933236214
11/01/11	3rd Party	organisation	18635246213/posts/10150122019451214
11/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150428933251214
11/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150122370676214
11/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150122427671214
11/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150122472951214
11/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150428933286214
11/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/1802214186758401
11/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150122603056214
12/01/11	3rd Party	news, support, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150122619796214
12/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	18635246213/posts/10150123069596214
12/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150428933351214
12/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/1433585323878231
12/01/11	3rd Party	support	18635246213/posts/10150123146671214

Date	Source	Category	159	19	16	53	18	45	78	88	1	2	22	12	16	24	46	8	19	2	31	31	21	9	64	36	49	60	30	6	URL
12/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	1							1																					18635246213/posts/10150123181156214
12/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1						1																						18635246213/posts/10150123182381214
12/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1							1																	1				18635246213/posts/10150123185936214
12/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1						1								1														18635246213/posts/10150123203026214
12/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1			1																									18635246213/posts/10150428933371214
12/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1			1			1	1																					18635246213/posts/10150428933376214
13/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1			1			1	1				1	1	1	1		1		1										18635246213/posts/10150123246021214
13/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1				1			1											1						1		1		18635246213/posts/10150123675161214
13/01/11	3rd Party	misc	1							1																					18635246213/posts/10150428933526214
13/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	1		1					1													1							1	18635246213/posts/10150123715191214
13/01/11	3rd Party	support	1							1																					18635246213/posts/1721475071265
13/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	1							1												1			1						18635246213/posts/10150123724751214
13/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	1						1	1						1	1				1				1	1	1				18635246213/posts/10150123728741214
13/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1							1																			1		18635246213/posts/10150123746016214
13/01/11	3rd Party	question/request	1						1																						18635246213/posts/10150123747551214
13/01/11	3rd Party	news	1						1								1				1	1			1		1				18635246213/posts/10150123749006214
13/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1					1	1	1							1		1		1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	18635246213/posts/10150123766036214
13/01/11	Nawaat	news, organisation, comment/opinion	1					1	1	1			1			1	1				1	1	1	1	1		1				nawaat/timeline/2011/1
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1						1	1							1					1					1				18635246213/posts/10150123786486214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	1						1	1					1	1	1					1		1	1						18635246213/posts/10150123787401214
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1							1							1		1								1		1		18635246213/posts/10150123798761214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news, organisation, comment/opinion	1						1	1									1					1	1	1	1				18635246213/posts/10150124268726214
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1							1							1														18635246213/posts/10150124269391214
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1						1				1																		18635246213/posts/10150124273586214
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1							1																1	1				18635246213/posts/10150124275551214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news	1							1					1													1			18635246213/posts/10150124277811214
14/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	1							1						1							1						1		18635246213/posts/10150124280051214
14/01/11	3rd Party	support, comment/opinion	1						1	1								1	1									1			18635246213/posts/10150124281406214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news	1							1					1	1		1	1									1			18635246213/posts/10150124282701214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news, comment/opinion	1							1					1	1	1	1	1						1				1		18635246213/posts/10150124288781214
14/01/11	3rd Party	news, organisation	1							1						1		1	1						1				1		18635246213/posts/10150124296911214
14/01/11	3rd Party	comment/opinion	1					1		1						1	1					1		1		1			1		18635246213/posts/10150124297451214
14/01/11	Nawaat	news, comment/opinion	1				1	1		1						1	1					1					1	1			nawaat/timeline/2011/1
14/01/11	Nawaat	news	1				1	1		1																	1	1			nawaat/timeline/2011/1
14/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	1		1				1																						nawaat/timeline/2011/1
14/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	1					1									1				1						1				nawaat/timeline/2011/1
14/01/11	Nawaat	comment/opinion	1					1		1							1										1				nawaat/timeline/2011/1
TOTALS (177 POSTS)			**159**	**19**	**16**	**53**	**18**	**45**	**78**	**88**	**1**	**2**	**22**	**12**	**16**	**24**	**46**	**8**	**19**	**2**	**31**	**31**	**21**	**9**	**64**	**36**	**49**	**60**	**30**	**6**	

Key

a) unemployment/economic

b) corruption

c) social rights/freedom

d) Ben Ali/regime

e) Trabelsi family

f) protest/civil disobedience

g) increase employment/economic development

h) removal of Ben Ali or revolution

i) repression by security forces/acts of repression

j) solidarity (with Sidi Bouzid, other Tunisians)

k) benefits of removing Ben Ali/revolution

l) acts of protest/civil disobedience

m) repression of protesters/acts of repression

n) anti-Ben Ali/anti-regime

o) news/neutral (frame articulation)

p) social justice (frame articulation)

q) direct reference to Ben Ali/government comments/speeches

Notes

1) In addition to the posts listed above, 13 posts were not included in the data. Two posts (returned in the FQL query) appeared to have been deleted when viewed, two posts were duplicates of posts included in the data, three posts were unreadable, and six posts were written in an unknown language/slang.

2) For some posts there were discrepencies between the date in the FQL results and the date displayed on the page. This is thought to be due to technical reasons relating to the location of Facebook's servers, which would set the date to the server time. In these cases the posted date displayed on the website was used.