

Class 7: Aspects of Social Movement Activity

Social movements and the media

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Opening questions
- Poll: movements and media
- Movements and (traditional) media coverage
- Social movements and social media
- Movements, media, and astroturfing
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Opening notes

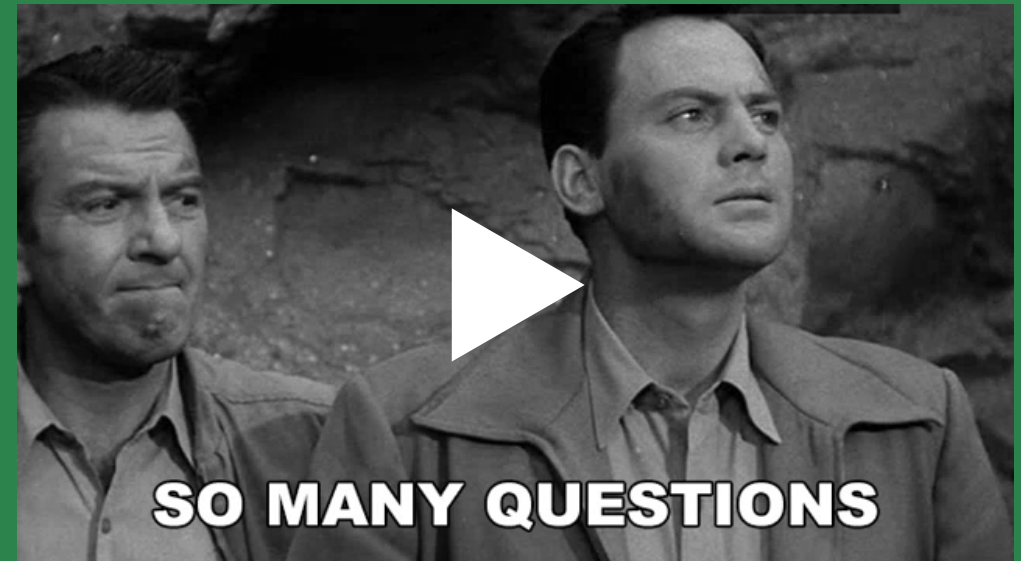


Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
4 Dec:	Daichi, Seongyeon, Jehyun	TBD
18 Dec:	Ayla, Tara, Theresa, Annabelle	TBD
15 Jan:	Luna, Emilene, Raffa, Sofia	TBD

Opening questions

- Where do you get your news?
- When you read the news (thinking only of 'traditional media' for the moment), what is reported, generally?



Media: the translator of social movements

What are the mechanisms of...

- movements advancing their **frames** (*Class 3*),
- **mobilisation, recruitment, participation** (*Class 4*),
- **tactics** and **strategies** achieving results (*Class 6*)?

often it is **the media** (including social media)

how media covers a movement is often how most people know about it

- **big practical and theoretical stakes**
- often plays a **gatekeeper** role

Past and present eras: a change of arena



Past and present eras: a change of arena



The Great Barricade at the Entrance of the Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine, from the Place de la Bastille.



- previous eras: direct action, confrontation between movements and authorities more common
 - here: barricade in Paris, 1848
- modern era: indirect contention filtered through **media** more common
 - here: press pack ahead of movement press conference in Hong Kong
 - ‘the whole world is watching’ era
 - the **prospect** (for movements) and **peril** (for targets/authorities) now?
the whole world may be watching

Poll: movements and media

LMU

LUDWIG-
MAXIMILIANS-
UNIVERSITÄT
MÜNCHEN



Take the survey at

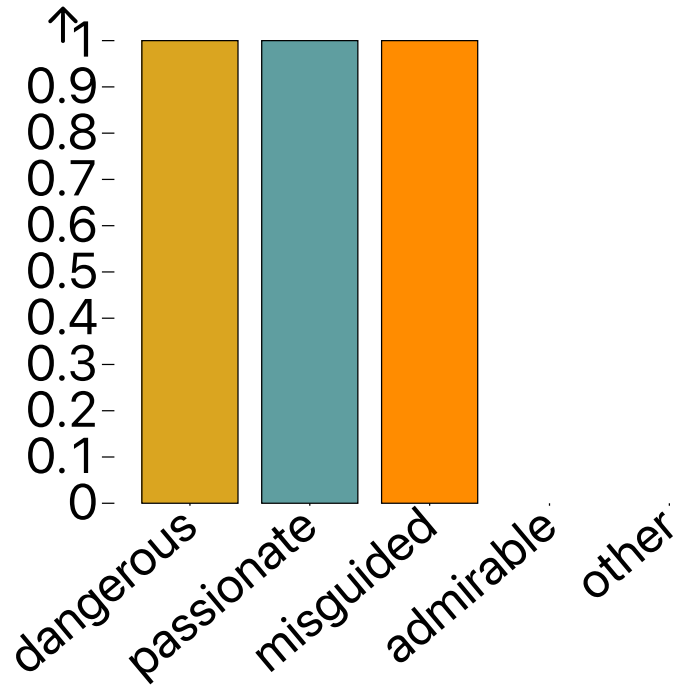
<https://forms.gle/ngepuqqzaFu8n>



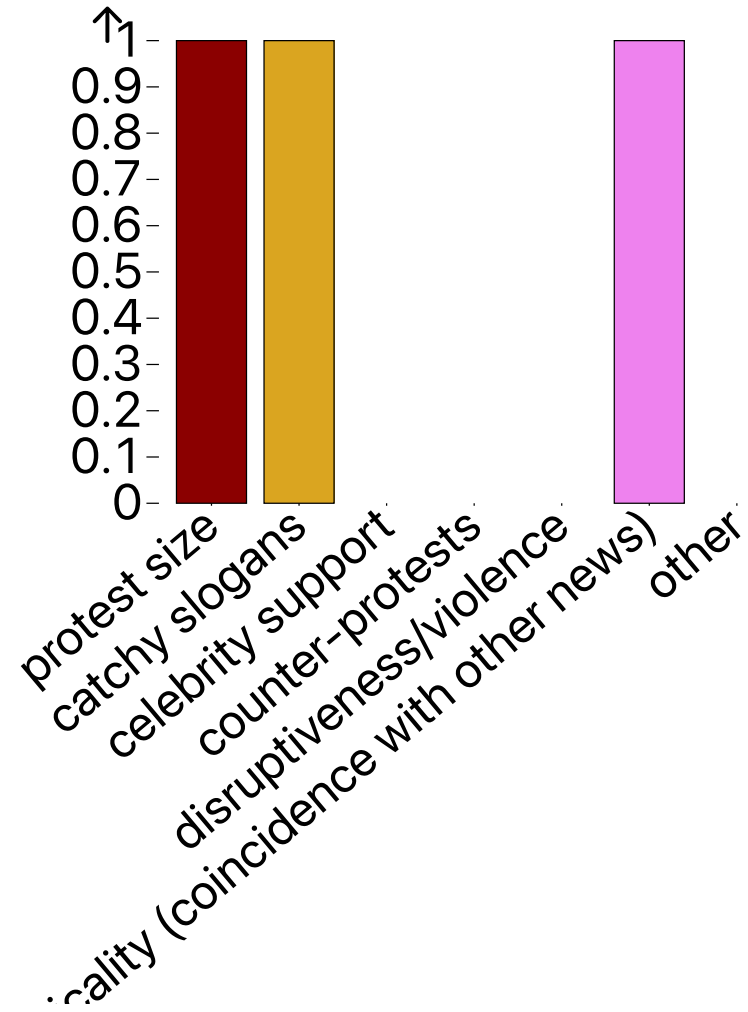
- ever personally supported a movement online?
 - how do media generally portray *protesters*?
 - what is most likely to help a movement get media coverage?
-
- should movements tailor their messaging/framing to gain more attention?
 - is traditional media coverage still necessary for movement success in an age of social media?
 - does social media encourage 'slacktivism'?

Poll results (Respondents: 3)

how do media generally portray *protesters*?



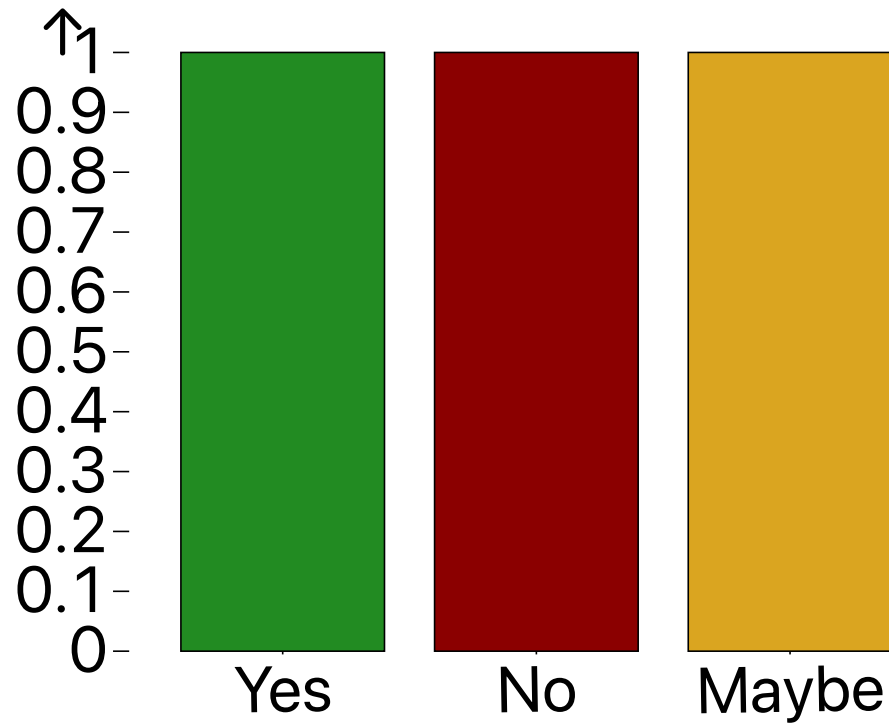
most likely to help a movement get media coverage?



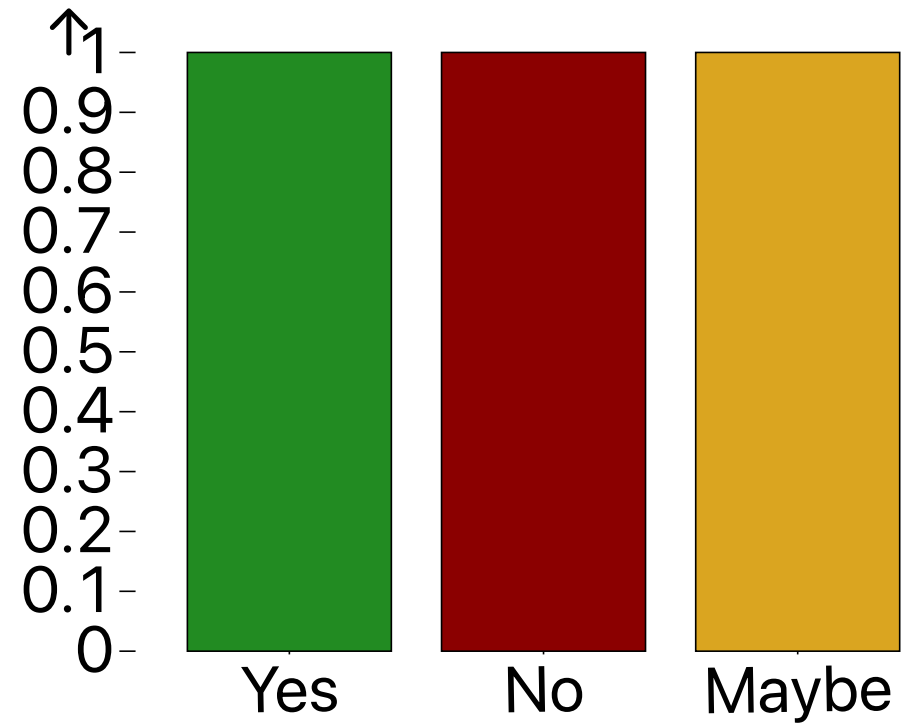
Poll results - boosting media coverage

Poll results - online

ever personally supported a
movement online?



does social media encourage
'slacktivism'?



Movements and (traditional) medicine coverage

- (some) factors influencing media coverage
- Jennings and Saunders (2019)
 - research questions, importance
 - data and methods
 - hypotheses
 - results



Movements and (traditional) media coverage

Factors that may affect media coverage

- day of the week (McCarthy, Mcphail, and Smith 1996)
- other news events (set number of 'column inches')
- weather (Madestam et al. 2013)
- celebrities (Atkinson and DeWitt 2018)
- size of event, violence/disruptiveness, whether there is a counterdemonstration (Denardo 1985; McCarthy, Mcphail, and Smith 1996; Biggs 2018)

Movements and (traditional) media coverage

Factors that may affect media coverage

- size of event, violence/disruptiveness, whether there is a counterdemonstration (Denardo 1985; McCarthy, Mcphail, and Smith 1996; Biggs 2018)
 - larger protests get reported – duh!
 - **media attention cycles** (*topicality*) (McCarthy et al. 1996)
 - if Germany's energy is in the news, then energy/climate protests may get more attention
 - **counterdemonstrations** may help attract more attention (media bias for '*both sides*')

Jennings and Saunders (2019) - RQs

- Why do some protests get reported on and others not?
- What protests get covered over the long term and why?
- Why? What's at stake?
 - **demonstrations** are **effective** when they not only hit newspaper headlines, but create a “**sustained shift in media focus, onto the issues that the demonstration raises**” (p. 2287)

- 48 street demonstrations in nine countries between 2009 - 2013
 - surveys – how do you think this is done?
 - Belgium, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and United Kingdom
 - any important contextual considerations?

The design of our study is **large-N** (based on a sample of demonstrations, avoiding the tautology endemic to many studies of media attention to protest, which **select cases based on their being reported in the media**), at the same time as putting protest in context. (pp. 2293-4)

Jennings and Saunders (2019) - data and methods



Jennings and Saunders (2019) - hypotheses

```
1 library(kableExtra)
2 library(dplyr)
```

Attaching package: 'dplyr'

The following object is masked from 'package:kableExtra':

group_rows

The following objects are masked from 'package:stats':

filter, lag

The following objects are masked from 'package:base':

intersect, setdiff, setequal, union

```
1 table_data <- data.frame(
2   Feature = c("Number of participants", "Contentiousness", "Exhibit violence", "Trigger event"),
3   Static = c("larger = more coverage", "high = more coverage", "violence = more coverage", "trigger = more coverage"),
4   Dynamic = c("short- and long-term coverage", "short- and long-term coverage", "short-term coverage", "long-term coverage"),
5 )
6
7 # Generate the kable table
8 kable(table_data, col.names = c("Feature", "Static", "Dynamic")) %>%
9   kable_styling(latex_options = c("striped", "hold_position"))
```

Feature	Static	Dynamic
Number of participants	larger = more coverage	short- and long-term coverage
Contentiousness	high = more coverage	short- and long-term coverage
Exhibit violence	violence = more coverage	short-term coverage, long-term losses/costs
Trigger event	trigger = more coverage	short-term coverage

do these expectations make sense to you? do you disagree with any?

Jennings and Saunders (2019) - reg table

Table 3. Dynamic Model of Contextual Predictors on Media Coverage of Protest Issues.

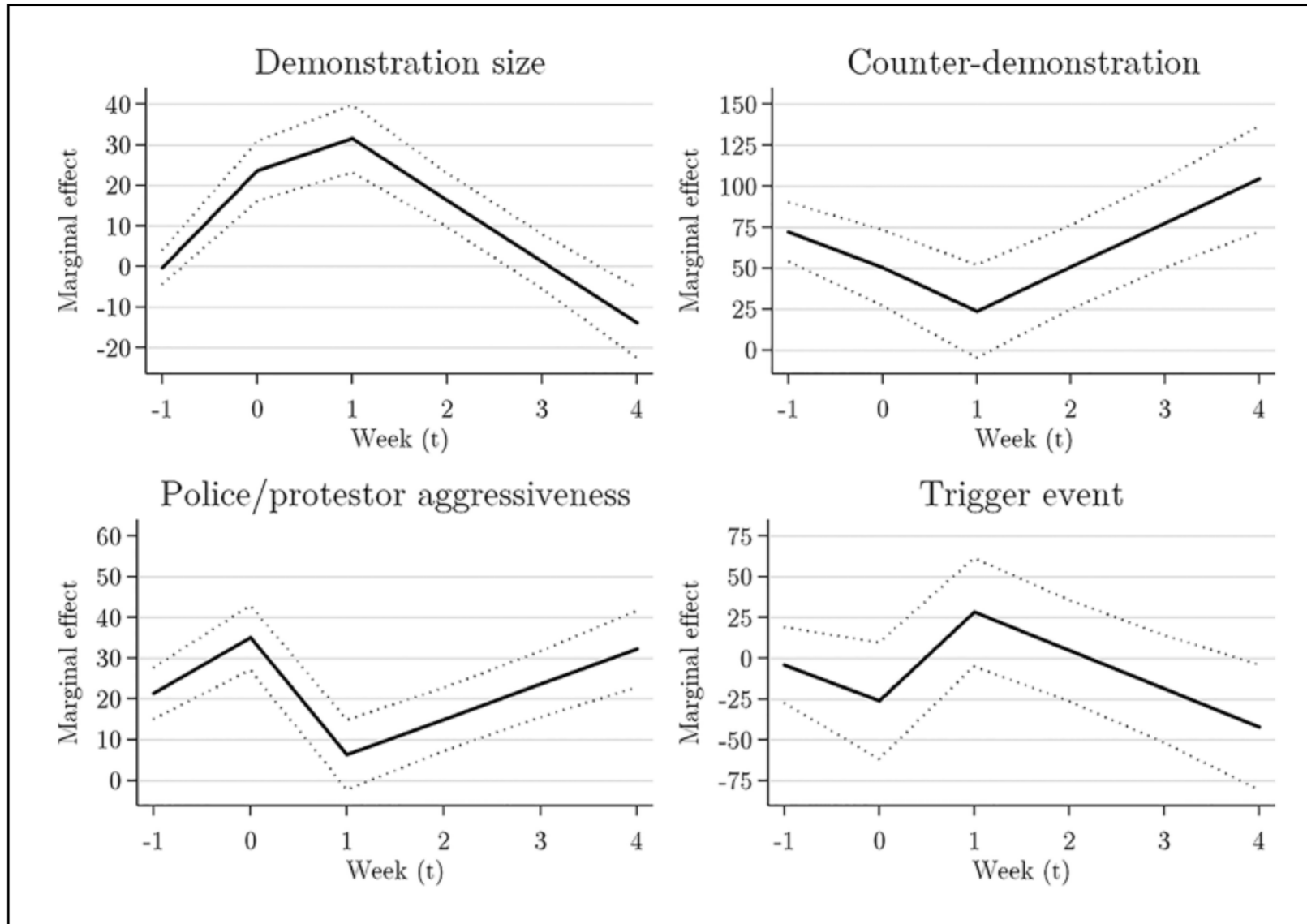
	MEDIA _{it}	
PULSE _{it}	16.73 (13.46)	7.25 (7.34)
STEP _{it}	73.08 (21.74)**	54.74 (11.03)**
RAMP _{it}	-21.91 (6.82)**	-13.65 (3.68)**
tone _i	10.01 (10.77)	15.41 (13.94)
size _i	2.26 (5.29)	-0.18 (4.16)
COUNTER _i	65.55 (10.75)**	72.25 (18.10)**
DEMPOL _i	27.28 (6.85)**	26.37 (7.81)**
TRIGGER _i	-7.00 (20.08)	-3.99 (23.29)
size _i × PULSE _{it}		23.74 (7.44)**
size _i × STEP _{it}		46.87 (11.41)**
size _i × RAMP _{it}		-15.14 (3.64)**
COUNTER _i × PULSE _{it}		-22.00 (21.89)
COUNTER _i × STEP _{it}		-75.41 (35.55)*
COUNTER _i × RAMP _{it}		26.93 (10.54)*
DEMPOL _i × PULSE _{it}		13.67 (5.99)*
DEMPOL _i × STEP _{it}		-23.72 (9.25)*
DEMPOL _i × RAMP _{it}		8.66 (3.05)**
TRIGGER _i × PULSE _{it}		19.75 (23.20)
TRIGGER _i × STEP _{it}		55.83 (38.03)

Reading a regression table

Remember: regression is a tool for understanding a phenomenon as a linear function (generally) $\rightarrow (y = mx + b)$

Jennings and Saunders (2019) - reg table

Jennings and Saunders (2019) - marginal effects

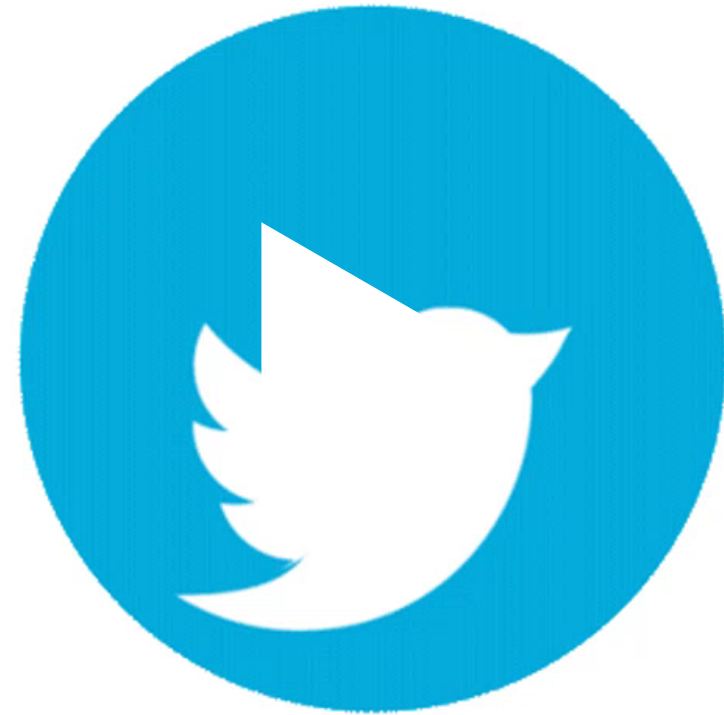


Jennings and Saunders (2019) - conclusions

- demos increase media coverage, **but** effect decays quickly
 - practical importance? **'strike while the iron is hot'**
- large size and police aggressiveness **increase** media coverage
- counterdemos *significantly reduced media coverage* of protest issues in longer term
 - puzzling finding

Social movements and social media

- from #hashtag to mobilisation
 - BLM example
- Slacktivism



From #hashtag to mobilisation

(USA Today on BLM)

From #hashtag to mobilisation

(USA Today on BLM)

social media breaks down traditional media **gatekeeper** roles

- helped BLM form **coalition** of K-Pop fans, Anonymous, celebrities, etc.
- enhanced BLM's 'narrative capacity' (i.e., efficacy in advancing **frames**, shifting status quo)
 - cf. 'disruptive capacity' and 'institutional/political capacity'

Movements and social media - revisiting a debate

Class 4: we listened to Tufekci and social media mobilisation and 'old-school organisation' - can attract more participants, but perhaps with less commitment

Movements, media, and astroturfing

- Torches of Freedom
- astroturfing
- knock-on effects



Torches of Freedom

1929, Easter Sunday Parade: a Tabubruch? more emancipation for women?



Movements, media, and astroturfing

astroturfing - manipulation of public sphere (media, information, movement scene)

- fake 'grassroots movements' are a common form of astroturfing
 - a way of harnessing the 'power of movement'
 - e.g., 'Tea Party movement' - a '*people's*' movement funded by Koch Industries
- any examples, instances of this in/around your case?

Torches of Freedom

Astroturfing: knock-on effects

- when movements are sometimes faked/manufactured, it undermines potential credibility of other movements
 - are people being ‘paid to protest’? who is ‘behind’ this protest?
 - questioning motives/genuineness of movements
 - **Letzte Generation:** funding from Climate Emergency Fund (U.S.), including Aileen Getty, heir of Getty Oil company
 - **Just Stop Oil (U.K.):** large amounts of funding from Climate Emergency Fund, from Dale Vince (green energy industrialist)
 - examples of conspiracy beliefs in U.S. (George Soros, Sandy Hook, etc.)

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here: <https://forms.gle/AjHt6fcnwZxkSg4X8>

Alternatively, please send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References

- Atkinson, Matthew D., and Darin DeWitt. 2018. "Does Celebrity Issue Advocacy Mobilize Issue Publics?" *Political Studies*, no. 2. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717751294>.
- Biggs, Michael. 2018. "Size Matters: Quantifying Protest by Counting Participants." *Sociological Methods and Research* 47 (3): 351–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124116629166>.
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- Jennings, Will, and Clare Saunders. 2019. "Street Demonstrations and the Media Agenda: An Analysis of the Dynamics of Protest Agenda Setting." *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (13-14): 2283–313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830736>.
- Madestam, Andreas, Daniel Shoag, Stan Veuger, and David Yanagizawa-Drott. 2013. "Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128 (4): 1633–85. <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjt021>. Advance.
- McCarthy, John D, Clark Mcphail, and Jackie Smith. 1996. "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991." *American Sociological Review* 61 (3): 478–99.