

**#TakeAction: Amnesty International's Twitter Communications During the  
2017 Refugee Crisis**

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis analyzes a compilation of tweets from a specific digital social movement, Amnesty International's #TakeAction. This campaign was a strategy from the humanitarian organization to transform the refugee crisis from a global into a personal concern for millions of people. The main observation period was from Tuesday 31st January through to February 3rd 2017 because this is the time period when Ogilvy UK and Amnesty International ran the #TakeAction campaign. The campaign itself focused mostly on personal experience which is why this thesis revolves around the two main concepts namely, credibility and affect. Credibility with reference to the information presented to the Twitter users and in terms of the trustworthiness and influence that celebrities have on people during social movements. As for affect, it is essentially regarding the underlying feelings and opinions of the users during the #TakeAction campaign. A frequency analysis, together with a modality and evaluative analyses of the collected data reveal how the different words used by the users helped in determining the latter's attitudes during the campaign. The tweeters' attitudes towards the refugee crisis also positively influenced their credibility evaluations. I also argue the importance of Twitter as a rhetorical tool for activist communication and the results helped me understand the meanings behind the communications between Amnesty International, the Twitter users and the refugees from different parts of the world.

## **Preface**

This thesis is an original work by Tejasvi Goorimoorthee. It has been written to fulfill the graduation requirements of the Digital Humanities Program at the University of Alberta. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## Introduction

With at least 100 million people being forced to desert their homes in search of asylum during the last 10 years, the world is currently facing its massive refugee crisis since World War II (UNHCR, 2020). Former president Barack Obama has defined it as "one of the most urgent tests of our time... a test of our common humanity" (Toumazis, 2017). Every minute you are taking to read this thesis, 24 people around the world are being compelled to run away from their homes fearful of affliction, death or threats (UNHCR, 2016). Around the world, the total number of people being displaced is at 79.5 million, and increasing every single day according to the U.N. Refugee Agency (Reid, 2020). Around 26 million people who have had to flee their homes are refugees. Sadly, they have had to leave their home country completely, while struggling to cross dangerous borders, surviving abuses, violence and sometimes, even being victims to threats to be able to seek refuge abroad.

Due to the profuse amount of cries of outrage occurring during the current refugee crisis, Twitter witnesses around 10,000 tweets per day from people who sympathize with the refugees (Ogilvy UK, 2017). In these dark and alienating times, it's progressively becoming more natural for users to use social media platforms to express their sorrow towards social, political and economic issues. With platforms like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram that are effortlessly accessible, people can easily and virtually take a stand on what they believe in. According to Becker, Naaman, and Gravano (2011), these platforms have now emerged as effective transmission of communication for a public that's looking to share and exchange information on a larger array of real-life issues & events. These events vary from popular ones like concerts to smaller scaled ones like a protest or social gatherings. Twitter, for one, is designed to only let users post 280-character text updates known as 'tweets' to a network of people and in these cases, can consistently reflect these events as they're happening. Therefore, the content of media platforms like Twitter is especially useful for concurrent identification of real-life events. For this reason, this thesis research will focus on Amnesty International Twitter campaign's (*#TakeAction*) communications to gain an understanding of the social-media-specific communicative patterns evolving during the 2017 refugee campaign.

Twitter is known to be one of the most popular social media platforms. There are around 330 million people who are actively using Twitter every month as of 2019 (Lin, 2019). These statistics demonstrate Twitter's global outreach and its possible impact. Together with providing a global coverage of issues, Twitter also provides a site where you can share opinions using texts, links or images but for this research, it's most important feature was providing "near real-time access to public posts through the API" (Öztürk & Ayvaz, 2018). This made Twitter the main data source amidst the other social media platforms and a more convenient platform for a larger scale near real-time discourse analysis for the #TakeAction campaign. This is why Amnesty International, a non-governmental organisation, together with Ogilvy UK, attempted to incite concrete action by harnessing the power of social media (Twitter) through an attention-grabbing campaign called #TakeAction. According to Amnesty (<https://amnesty.ca/about-us>), the organization is a worldwide movement with over 7 million people in more than 150 countries, actively working together to defend and advocate human rights. Their general vision is to live in a world where every individual can enjoy all the human rights treasured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They have a mission to engage in research to be able to bring about serious measures to avoid and abolish abuses of human rights and also appeal to authority for those whose rights have been breached. Amnesty is one organization that believes in the power of unity and trust that if one person can make a difference by working together with others who share a similar vision, then everyone will live in dignity.

The organization and Ogilvy UK creatively decided to come up with the #TakeAction campaign to encourage people all over the world to push and appeal to the authority to take their rightful share of accountability during the refugee crisis by strengthening the issue in a day-to-day life. They knew that to get people to be enraged about the crisis, they would need to transform this worldwide, complicated concern into a personal one (Toumazis, 2017). Therefore, they decided to film real-time responses from the refugees to the outraged people on Twitter. The refugees thanked the people for their support but also clarified that being angry is not enough and inspired them to sign the Amnesty International's petition.

Through this strategy, Amnesty hoped to create a strong personal connection between the public and the refugee community, in order to encourage them to completely change their anger into action. They made use of the "identifiable victim effect": essentially, "the more personally connected you feel to someone, the more willing you are to help them" (Toumazis, 2017). They also used the hashtags '#TakeAction' and '#IWelcome' in order to raise visibility and bring awareness to the given issue. Consequently, with an amazing PR strategy and their eight real-time responses, they were able to reach almost 190 million people, without any paid publicity. If you think about it, that's 190 million people who have been requested to take upon the maltreatments faced by the refugees individually. Various big publications such as the Telegraph, International Business Times, PR Week and even Glamour magazine took it upon themselves to talk about the campaign and the issue but the best response was from the Twittersphere, who vowed to take some kind of action together with Amnesty International (Toumazis, 2017). Many people around the world are angry towards the human rights discrimination faced by the refugees but unfortunately there are only a few of them who take action after expressing their opinions on social media platforms. One such person is actress, Maggie Gyllenhaal, who supported the #TakeAction campaign, replied to Amnesty International's tweet and even retweeted the organization's post on her Twitter page. Outrage is not enough so she called on Amnesty asking what she could do to help. Comedian, Sarah Silverman and activist, Amir Amini took similar actions. When a celebrity gives his/her voice to a social cause, be it topics ranging from human rights to LGBTQ issues to immigration reform, it is consequently the manifestation of celebrity activism. The importance of celebrity activism has been reconfirmed in my research and in Chapter Two, I will be replicating earlier studies and methods to understand how the attitudes towards social movements are impacted by celebrity activism.

In consequence, this thesis revolves around two main concepts namely, credibility and affect. Credibility in terms of believability and trustworthiness of the information provided to the Twitter users and also in terms of the reliability and persuasiveness of celebrities during the campaign. Credibility is featured in the campaign as there can be misleading information on Twitter and during the campaign, many people were seen debating whether or not the

information provided was trustworthy or not. Also, as mentioned above, there are celebrities who supported the campaign and believing them is another topic which will be further discussed throughout the thesis. However, affect is mostly with regards to the basic feelings and attitudes of the users throughout the campaign, be it anger, sadness or even disgust. People's beliefs and opinions played an important role in the Twitter campaign as it helped determine the relationship between the person and his/her environment, in this case: the twitter user and the social issue (refugee crisis). This study allows for a better understanding of credibility and affect as a rhetorical strategy of Twitter as the latter provides discursive strategies that signal credibility and appeal to people's emotions during the 2017 #TakeAction campaign.

Understanding the communications between Amnesty International, the outraged Twitter users and the refugees during the campaign and exploring the meanings during these interactions allows me to understand how language is used in real life situations, more specifically across a Twitter network. There are so many characteristics to communication, just to name a few: use of words, thematic or modality. I will not be able to analyse all the characteristics due to time constraints therefore I've decided to focus on four, namely, lexical choices, thematic analysis, modality analysis and evaluative analysis because these four were the most prominent during the analysis process. Celebrity/Internet activism and the credibility of online images were also present in the data and will be further discussed throughout the thesis. This research is substantial because it allows me to discover meanings in texts that are not usually obvious on the surface and this is where affect comes into place: analyzing a celebrity's tweet to understand his/her perception/emotion behind the tweet. I conducted a corpus-based discourse analysis as it is currently a progressively popular and vital area of linguistics. It discusses how language relates with society, culture, and thought and I was able to gain insight and awareness of how the day-to-day use of written discourse on a public platform like Twitter can affect how people think, see and perceive things and consecutively respond to the world around them.

Language is an important tool for communication through which people are able to socially interact and explore the world around them, where they can form a social identity that dictates how they may live but on the other hand, analysing language provides awareness into

how the mind works and additionally helps understand social behaviours. This research is necessary to be able to answer the following questions:

1. How do Twitter users rate online news and images in terms of credibility?
2. How are attitudes towards movements impacted by celebrity activism?
3. In what ways are the process and outcomes of activist movements impacted by social media?
4. How is language operationalised in a real Twitter network using the Amnesty International's #TakeAction campaign as a case study?

The research is conducted using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative method is used to gain an understanding of the underlying opinions and attitudes of the Twitter users, through the analysis of the themes present, the modal verbs used and also the various feelings that they were having during the #TakeAction campaign. On the other hand, a quantitative method is used to quantify the attitudes and behaviors of the Tweepers and gain a deeper insight into how the words were used in different contexts through a text-analysis program called Voyant. Using Voyant, an analysis is conducted in order to decipher the data collected into usable statistics. Throughout this thesis, I analyse and investigate some of the features that are part of the communicative act such as the lexical choices used during the campaign and a discourse analysis of the communications between Amnesty, the Tweepers and the refugees. The discourse analysis consists of thematic, modality and evaluative analyses.

Because of the abundance of literature on discourse analysis and celebrity activism, I decided to narrow my research as much as possible, therefore, the case study approach. In Chapter One, I discuss and provide a comprehensive encapsulation of previous research conducted on the credibility of online images, celebrity activism and slacktivism. I examine the rate and efficiency at which users are able to predict the credibility of news and images communicated on social media platforms through previous research. I also explore the impact that celebrities have on people during social movements and provide evidence to support my findings. Finally, I briefly introduce slacktivism and focus on the importance of the latter during

a campaign such as the #TakeAction one. In Chapter Two, I introduce Twitter as a whole and talk about its importance. I also examine the literature on Twitter discourse together with activism. As for Chapter Three, I address the methodology and data collection procedures used for the research study. In Chapter Four, I undertake a more detailed analysis of the communications between the organisation, the refugees and the people. And lastly, in Chapter Five, I discuss the consequences of the analysis and explain the importance and relevance of the results towards the campaign.

## **Chapter One: Credibility of Online Images, Celebrity Activism & Slacktivism**

As mentioned above, in this chapter I will introduce the concept of online image credibility and explore previous research that has been conducted to further understand how users rate online news and images in terms of authenticity. One of the main concepts of this thesis is the use of strategic discourse to signal credibility. One such example would be the use of visual rhetoric in terms of a Twitter image posted by a famous activist during the campaign. It will be further discussed throughout the thesis. Therefore, I will also examine how attitudes towards movements are impacted by celebrity activism and finally, I will briefly research slacktivism and highlight the specific arguments and ideas on the latter.

### **Source Trustworthiness & Online Information Credibility**

Social media provides a way where heaps of people can experience news and events occurring around the world. Everytime we go on Twitter we hear all kinds of breaking news. While on Facebook, we take part in discussions about unfolding stories with our “friends”. And on Reddit, we tend to read and react to people who share newsworthy information. In short, we, as individuals, are progressively relying on social media platforms to share information and news stories rapidly, without having to rely on well-established official sources. Although on one hand this grants us with incomparable news access, on the other hand it introduces us to a new challenge: the challenge to make sure that the unaltered information deriving from unofficial sources is reliable (Mitra, 2017).

Shen et al. (2018) discussed how “fake or manipulated images propagated through the Web and social media have the capacity to deceive, emotionally distress, and influence public opinions and actions”. Even though it is tough to say how common undetected incidents of fake images are, various examples have been made public where manipulated images have induced serious harms at people, companies and the society in general. Shen et al. (2018) also reported that in January 2014, a Pulitzer prize-winning photographer named Narciso Contretas was fired by the Associated Press news agency for technologically removing an object from one of his universally distributed photos of the Syrian civil war (The Guardian, 2014). They discussed how this particular case has ignited a contested and continuing debate about the credibility of digital

imagery and the potential consequences of photographic manipulation. Even though people are often made aware that photographs should not be naturally assumed to be reliable, accurate or believable sources of information, social media users remain exposed to visual deception.

Parallel research in this area is developing the efficiency to predict the reliability of news communicated online. Authors Shen et al. (2018) agree that previous work in this domain has “either predominantly focused on fake image detection using machine learning approaches” (Gupta et al., 2013), or “on the credibility of textual information, such as websites and blogs” (Allcott and Gentzkow, 2017; Morris et al., 2012; Wineburg and McGrew, 2016). They argue that human beings make authenticity evaluations by themselves without taking into consideration that decisions are massively influenced by people’s social networks. For the past few years, there have been various instances where deliberate distribution of misinformation and fake news have occurred across social media platforms. The authors discuss how due to the large volume of misinformation in the media, users are confused and have difficulties judging credibility. According to Li and Suh (2015), prior research has demonstrated how to judge the authenticity of information on contemporary media or websites. Nonetheless, various social media platforms suffer from a dearth of professional gatekeepers to keep an eye on different content. Unverified or fake information is usually found on social media and in this case, users have to find new ways to assess the credibility of information.

Authors Flanagin, Winter, and Metzger (2018) discuss how people cope with the as they say “variety of information sources, the assortment of information venues, and the unevenness of information quality online” in various ways as they try to establish authentic information. As reported by Flanagin et al. (2018), one of the most conspicuous approaches for discerning authentic information in an environment where information is at its full capacity is to conjure heuristic strategies, which contribute to identify information sources from each other in a comparatively effective way (Metzger, Flanagin, & Medders, 2010). They also quoted authors Gigerenzer and Todd (1999) to explain how heuristics “employ a minimum of time, knowledge, and computation to make adaptive choices.” Although, some research talk about how heuristics will probably lead to partial or incorrect information processing, some studies have shown that



heuristics can actually act as an essential function in helping individuals cope efficiently with the large amount of information they come across everyday, and also many a time lead to correct information and decisions (Flanagin et al., 2018).

Shen et al. (2018) said that years of reliability research resulted in better understanding how the reputation of the source is a significant credibility heuristic (Metzger et al., 2010), and that “credibility lies foremost in the trustworthiness and expertise of the source itself” (Tseng and Fogg, 1999). Individuals are more likely to shift the reputation of the source to the content itself (Metzger et al., 2010). One example that Kasra, Shen, and O’Brien (2018) used is how during a focus group study, the maximum number of participants massively depended on the source of online information, such as widely known news organizations, to establish the credibility of an online image. Therefore, trusting the source plays a crucial role in assessing the credibility of online images as well. Due to the large number of technical features, social media platforms provide various occasions for users to absorb and distribute information, turning them into substantial, independent sources of information. The authors end the discussion by explaining how the “stature and influence of online sources vary greatly as each source may convey a different level of expertise and authority” (Shen et al., 2018).

Online images are so adequately manipulated and universally distributed on the Internet that they are making users more and more susceptible to visual misinformation and deceit. In situations where malicious human beings seek to consciously delude and influence viewers through fake online images, the damaging results can be massive. According to Shen et al. (2018), many cases were brought to light where fake online images lead to important societal or even personal impact. One of the examples they gave was about the ongoing Syrian Civil War. Manipulated images of the refugees were portrayed in a negative light, talking about how they were affiliated with the extremist group ISIS and those images circulated on social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter. On the other hand, these online images were, to a large extent, modified and/or misrepresented. This is just one of the many examples where online images have been intentionally manipulated and have been exposed. The authors discuss how pictures can deliberately be used to manipulate viewers’ opinion, evoke strong emotional

reactions in people, emulate and reinforce ideologies, and lastly shape a person and shared memory.

Furthermore, factual evidence suggests that manipulated images can distort one's memory by appealing to a false sense of friendliness, hence enhancing the reliability of the images and affecting their judgement. In line with Kasra et al. (2018), edited images of ministerial candidates can have a compelling effect on future voter's decision making. To make things worse, manipulated images can come from different sources, some reputable ones (for example, mass media outlets), or some unknown ones and so it is difficult to recognize the credibility of the images. As a consequence of these falsifications being brought in the open, people's memory and attitude are heavily impacted. Kasra et al. (2018) discuss how research on reliability of online information depends mainly on "textual cues, such as websites and blogs (Twitter, Facebook, etcetera.)", although very little research has been conducted to focus especially on image authenticity. The authors also discussed how researchers usually assume that human beings make reliability evaluations independently, however, individuals' decision-making processes are massively affected by their social networks. This is very similar to the analysis of my study which will be further discussed throughout the thesis: the Twitter users' ratings of the campaign's online images were largely based on source credibility and the social networks around them. In this case, understanding the concept of credibility and trustworthiness can be quite intricate as it substantially depends on the Twitter users' beliefs and attitudes towards the crisis and the information sources.

In point of fact, there has been a dramatic increase in 'user-generated content,' where people with differing competence are in charge of bringing about online information resources. According to Flanagin, Winter and Metzger (2018), these resources have caused a number of credibility apprehensions, depending on the probably insubstantial relationship between the non-experts and the reputable sources. Moreover, people generally appeal to resourceful ways of information processing to reach plausible conclusions and to also manage this medley of available information. If not managed accordingly, the information available on social media platforms such as Twitter, or Facebook, is in actual-time, the effect of any malicious intended

activity, such as the spreading of misinformation and fake images and needs to be identified and stopped from spreading rapidly. In the opinion of Gupta, Lamba, Kumaraguru, & Joshi (2013), aforementioned misinformation can create chaos and confusion amidst people on the ground. They also explored one of the ways in identifying fake images from real ones: using Twitter's particular characteristics for example, the Twitter user details or the content of the tweet itself, because they think that using "traditional image analysis methods" can be very time consuming (Gupta et al., 2013). Other authors namely Canini, Suh & Pirolli (2011) analyzed the use of electronic 'ranking strategies' to evaluate the reliability of the information available on Twitter for any topic. One example of such automated ranking strategy is the Twitter search engine that uses social signals to categorize different topics, websites or even Twitter users. Usually, a credible source of information is one that has a good reputation and trustworthiness attached to it.

According to Gupta et al. (2013), it is difficult to measure the credibility of information as after analyzing tweets that were posted during a Mumbai terrorist bomb blast in 2011, the results were weak. The majority of the information sources remained unknown and they had fewer followers thus decreasing the Twitter reputation. They discussed the need to develop electronic systems to evaluate the credibility of information online but even after a follow up study where they made use of machine learning algorithms, also known as, SVM rank and data retrieval strategies to figure out the credibility of content online, their results showed only 17% of data that was credible. Others were spam or situational data. Another way that can get people to believe in online news and images is if those news and images were coming from a well-known source, for example, a celebrity. In the past years, many of us have allowed celebrities to influence not only our narrative, but also our governmental and social outlooks. We think that "celebrity activists are the perfect vehicle to effect the change that we need" (Khutoretsky, 2018). But sometimes, users do not place an unprecedented authority on the stances of celebrities beyond those of the actual experts. There have been instances of failure towards several causes endorsed by celebrities in the past. Celebrities are not always a guarantee of credibility. For example, there was a seemingly inevitable decline in donations towards The Livestrong Foundation, the cancer awareness charity founded in 1997 by former biking star

Lance Armstrong after his doping history came to surface. During social movements, celebrities largely act as facilitators, which therefore strengthens the credibility of the cause in the mind of the users which may eventually lead to the support of the movement in question. Below are discussions on why this is so.

### **Celebrity Activism**

According to Ellcessor (2016), one of the most important dynamics of celebrity activism is credibility. The credibility of celebrities has acquired great attention in the social media context because there is the feeling of being in the moment together with the celebrities, the chance to interact with fans simultaneously and also an absence of gatekeepers. This makes it easy to assume that the social media platforms are, as Ellcessor (2016) would say, “unmediated,” therefore providing direct access to a superstar and their personality. Furthermore, authors Marwick and boyd (2010) discuss how celebrities purposely construct a certain impression of credibility and authenticity of themselves by using calculated disclosures to impart a specific self that is in agreement to what they want the public to know about them.

Previous research on celebrity activism has shown that by using mass media, celebrities can and have brought an increased awareness to a cause, consequently facilitating outreach (Ellcessor, 2016; Meyer and Gamson, 1995). Since then, there has been a rise in celebrity activism, where, by using their phones, celebrities post their own vehement announcements on causes or advertise protests through their social media platforms, Facebook and Instagram. As reported by Crucchiola (2016), the rise of social media in general has played an important role in encouraging social consciousness. The author gets into more detail about how celebrity activism can be seen as an “an epidemic of consciousness with a side of brand recognition, but the end result is the same: awareness” (Crucchiola, 2016). First and foremost, the internet is a tool of choice for many people and organizations who are looking to raise awareness on a social issue (Rees, 2020) and it has also had a big impact on celebrity activism by opening various doors through which celebrities have been able to voice out their opinions on social causes (Tsaliki, 2015).

As mentioned before, celebrities construct a self that is known to the public but they usually live in a world structurally different from the people who they're usually trying to help. Celebrity activism is based on the assumption that if people only knew about a problem, they would try to help to make a difference. The awareness that celebrities are bringing in the first place, is step one towards making a change. According to the New Internationalist (2020), awareness is variable, sporadic and is usually unable to bring a structural change. Eventually, celebrities are inclined to guide their actions towards something that they do know best, that is generating attention from a more universal market. They also have the power to give insights on underrepresented issues and use the resources available to them to bring attention to the causes they support (Williams, 2016; Meyer and Gamson, 1995). The known figure can play a major role in enforcing change if they make sure that the issue being tackled is handled with care. On the other hand, if the celebrity uses the cause for personal career gain, it can cause incurable harm.

An example of a celebrity who is renowned for her humanitarian work across the globe is Angelina Jolie. She has been a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations since 2001, she has supported and fought for a large number of issues but is most known for her work with refugees (Williams, 2016). Her public reputation has brought attention to problems that would have alternatively been neglected. The United Nations is known for associating celebrities with fundamental causes, for example, Emma Watson and Anne Hathaway are also goodwill ambassadors of the institution. Williams (2016) demonstrates how various issues have trended numerous times on social media platforms, which shows the power and influence that celebrities have on social movements. Likewise, Tatarchevskiy (2010) describes how it is the duty of well-known faces to 'act' in the best interests of the global good and the role of the public is to consume the information being thrown at them.

Celebrity activism is a resource for social actions, but not an explicit one. One of the fundamental services that celebrities can provide to social movements is their power to promote awareness through their visibility because as Meyer and Gamson (1995) would say, "celebrities carry a spotlight with them". Many celebrities are invited to various events because they are

certified as newsworthy, therefore they have been entrusted to naturally make the events newsworthy as well. It mostly depends on the magnitude of the celebrity's stardom, with only his/her presence, he/she can direct the media and the public's attention towards a cause that, under other conditions, would have been overlooked. The presence of a well-known celebrity can make an event newsworthy by enticing the media to cover the event and possibly the activism, the supported cause behind it. Meyer and Gamson (1995) also discuss how prospective supporters are more likely to attend an event if they know that a celebrity is going to be there, hoping that they will be able to catch a glimpse or even shake the hand of a well-known face. A lot of individuals even end up supporting causes by virtue of their favorite celebrity supporting the issue. Many activists know that the participation of celebrities boosts up the probability of a higher media coverage and turnout.

Celebrity activism is no small matter as celebrities can provide "critical fund-raising help to social movement organizations" (Meyer and Gamson, 1995). They demonstrate how higher media coverage and greater visibility that come with celebrity involvement are fundraising assets. They help gather a higher number of supporters and collect a larger amount of capital for non-profit organizations or charities, in addition to offering interchangeable resources to a social movement. For example, talk show hosts, actors, athletes can perform at a fundraising event, can offer participants more one-on-one time in exchange for bigger donations or even broadcast their public service announcements towards the cause they are supporting. An example of such an event was planned when a 1990 Hollywood dinner was organized for the antiapartheid movement, in honor of Nelson Mandela and raised 1.2 million dollars. Celebrities have the money and the power to do so much and many of them are doing so. Three comedians Whoopi Goldberg, Billy Crystal, and the late Robin Williams would annually organize a Comic Relief Television program to raise funds for the homeless (Meyer and Gamson, 1995). There is usually a high turnover of media coverage during such events that will naturally generate attention from the public, therefore receiving more funds and funding generally attracts more funding. In conjunction with these ample benefits, nonetheless, come equivalent risks and potential costs. Celebrity activism can essentially increase the level of success of a social media campaign or a social movement by gaining media attention, helping to raise awareness and money or even

mobilizing activist constituencies. Nevertheless, the limelight that comes with a well-known star's involvement may drown out the main goal of a social movement as every now and then the attention will be drawn towards the celebrity as opposed to the cause or the movement itself.

According to Marwick and boyd (2010), many people find themselves attached to the lives of celebrities because they are an integral part of culture. Celebrity experts discuss how celebrities are able to create a more personal and intimate relationship with their fans by publicly acknowledging them, using particular language to engage with their followers and create a long-standing parasocial relationship with them. Therefore, using the asymmetrical connection that they have with their fans, celebrities can broadcast their causes, expecting the audience to support the same movements. Tsaliki (2015) agrees that celebrity involvement and advocacy are key for some causes and movements. The fight to end poverty and violence is a good example as their endorsement is seen as safe with regards to the celebrity's reputation and the politics associated with the campaign. With these kinds of movements, the distinction between "heroes" and "villains" is clear-cut (Tsaliki, 2015). Furthermore, such campaigns are more compliant to receiving the public's understanding and support, irrespective of the politics involved.

According to Khutoretsky (2018), everybody has a story of their own, still some of us are given a bigger opportunity than others to express it. In this case, this is the reason why Amnesty International used Twitter to run the #TakeAction campaign, hoping to reach a larger and wider audience. They did catch the eye of two celebrities: actress, Maggie Gyllenhaal and comedian, Sarah Silverman. The latter did not sit idle and watched the crisis happen without doing anything. They used their social media platforms to support the campaign. They sat behind their computers, supported the campaign and were still able to reach a larger number of audiences and spark conversations. This type of activism is called slacktivism.

### **Slacktivism**

According to Rotman et al. (2011), slacktivism can be defined as a "low-risk, low-cost activity via social media whose purpose is to raise awareness, produce change, or grant satisfaction to the person engaged in the activity." The word "slacktivism" is a combination of the words "slacker" and "activism" which has progressively been defined as the "disconnect

between awareness and action” through media platforms (Glenn, 2015). This form of online activism through watching, retweeting or liking comments of social movements without any action requires the slightest effort and time. It does not need physical advocacy or involvement in solving a social problem (Knibbs, 2013).

Many people might think that digital activism helps to raise awareness of societal issues, nevertheless, it has not been clearly proven whether raising awareness can bring consequential and concrete social benefits (Rotman et al. 2011). Rotman et al., (2011) also discuss how technology has been used in various ways for the welfare of the society. For example, Twitter and Facebook make use of their platforms to collect and spread information in a timely and appropriate manner during emergency crises (such as Youtube campaigns), they help create a platform for advice and assistance to the gay and lesbian youths online and these examples show that social media platforms can result in wide-scale progress if people make use of it in the correct way. New research possibilities to develop methods, theories, designs and analytical instruments are introduced due to these experiences to benefit the society that we live in. There has been a considerably large number of social activism and awareness campaigns via different social media platforms. A few examples would be sharing an Amnesty International’s article on Twitter about helping refugees or something a little different like wearing a specific piece of clothing on a specific day (pink) to show your support towards anti-bullying or breast cancer awareness. They can also be described as slacktivism.

According to Butler (2011), many people were quick to criticize slacktivism, although they did that without taking into account how progress can be made just by clicking for a social cause, volunteering for a charity event or even donating a small amount of money for support. On the contrary, people thought that slacktivists are lazy people who do not understand the seriousness of a social movement. Slacktivists prefer using social media to support a social issue because of its easy accessibility, speed and effectiveness of social media platforms. It can also be because of their close rapport with a particular cause, being peer pressured to do so or just for the sake of the ‘afterfeel’: wanting to feel good about themselves after supporting a movement (Rotman et al. 2011). Butler (2011) demonstrates how activist organizations have started creating



Web pages to hire people to spread awareness about their movements. Using portable hard drives, they are spreading words from computer to computer, they are creating Youtube channels to record social issues around the world, bring light to particular causes that need more attention such as child abuse, gang violence or child labor and also raise awareness on various issues like homelessness, drug abuse or poverty. When people gather together, even though virtually to share information and plan revolutions, it is a step forward for the cause.

Slacktivists blog, like, tweet, comment and update their Twitter and Facebook statuses in order to educate and advise people about causes they care about in addition to engaging them in conversations about these causes. Furthermore, they are clicking to sign petitions, to write letters, asking friends and family to change their profile picture to highlight specific issues, such as a black background in support of the Black Lives Matter movement, or a cartoon character to support the issue with child abuse (Butler, 2011). Some celebrities can also be described as slacktivists because they sell their digital lives by, for example, recording themselves supporting a cause and uploading them online whilst inside their house. They do so to attract a larger audience to sign email petitions to help charities or organizations. Many celebrities do show up at protests and rallies but a lot of their activism work is done on social media.

As stated by Butler (2011), “with digital activism in its infancy, the debate over whether it carries the same civic weight and meanings as offline activism rages on.” People who support online activism are also hesitant to completely back its value, presumably because they are scared of distancing themselves from their traditions, their tested-and-proven methods and possibly, the determined activists of the earlier eras who are nowadays described as magnanimous givers of time and money as compared to the selfish and lazy slacktivists. In the end, activism has always been and will always be about people, whether you’re sitting at home behind a computer screen or showing up in person.

## Chapter Two: Twitter Discourse & Activism

As mentioned above, in this chapter I will discuss the importance of Twitter as a whole and its use during a social campaign. I will also explore earlier research that has been done to further examine how language is used in a Twitter network and also understand how social movements are impacted by Twitter.

### What is Twitter?

Originally developed in 2006, Twitter is a microblogging site designed to allow people to post short messages or ‘tweets’ up to 280-characters to a network of others (Zappavigna, 2012). Up until 2018, it had more than 350 million active users all over the world (E-commerce nation, 2018). Today, the most popular and widely followed Twitter accounts are those from celebrities and public figures such as the former US President Barack Obama with 121 M followers, singer, songwriter, Justin Bieber with 112.3 M followers and in third place, world famous pop star, Katy Perry with 108.4 M followers (Boyd, 2020). Twitter has a controlled friendship model where users can pick and choose the Twitter accounts that they want to ‘follow’ and also have others follow them. When you follow an account on Twitter, you receive all the short messages known as tweets from those who you’re following. People can post or read tweets on the net, via third-party entities such as laptops, desktop computers and even smartphones through SMS. These various methods allow people to post photos instantly, to report incidents on the spot and to send quick replies to other Twitter users.

There are many distinctive ways that you can respond to a tweet, for example, retweeting (RT), where the users can spread news of their choice way beyond the reach of the initial tweet’s followers. Another way would be using ‘@’ followed by the user’s identification name, such as @username. Through this method, users are able to mention others in Tweets, send messages or even link to a specific profile. Lastly, using ‘#’ followed by any word: this represents a hashtag. A Twitter user can write any word or phrase immediately anteceded by the symbol “#” and look for other tweets consisting of the same keyword or topic. When users log in on Twitter, the main feature they see is a stream of tweets posted by the Twitter accounts that they follow and they are all listed in reverse chronological order (boyd et al., 2010). Users have various methods for

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deciding who they want to follow, for example, some of them may follow few, while others follow thousands, some users may want to only follow the accounts that they personally know, while others may follow public figures, celebrities or even strangers that they find entertaining.

### **Twitter Discourse**

Current research on the communications across Twitter has generally ignored the question of how people are able to understand the 280-words only tweets with which they are presented. One of the main features of Twitter and other social media platforms is that they enforce a hard limit on the number of words that users can use in a particular message. That is why, it is often difficult for people to figure out the message behind a tweet. It has also resulted in people coming up with a different form of writing to communicate on Twitter, for example, people will often use particular abbreviations to get around the word limit and still express themselves (Neubig and Duh, 2013). According to Perez (2018), an average tweet is 33 words long. She discusses how brevity is something that is incorporated into Twitter, despite being given more space, Twitter users are not using it. They have been trained for so long to keep their tweets short that they have not been able to adapt to the additional room to write. This means that if Twitter users want to narrate a story on Twitter, they make sure to either fit the story within the 280-characters restriction or they distribute the story over various Twitter posts, making sure people understand what they want to say (Dayter, 2015). The author discussed a few examples: basically single-tweet stories, even though fragmentary writings are undoubtedly not as logical as personal narratives. Users usually prefer the longer reports and enjoy when stories unfold over several tweets, extending them temporally and organizationally, that is, a story being tweeted over a number of days.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Amnesty International came up with an idea that had never been done before, an online strategy to get people to take action. Their storytelling strategy consisted of embedding videos in order to get people to feel for the refugees as the difficulties of refugees do not always feel significant to the public's day-to-day lives. They decided to persuade angry people to take action by transforming the global issue into a personal and pertinent one. The use of short videos with real refugees responding to the public, in real-time during real crisis

situations allowed for the spread of information in a more effective way and helped people engage with the content, that is, the refugee crisis. According to RicScotti (2017), “videos spread like no other content type out there because its content that people like to engage with.” They are seen to be more appropriate and less invasive.

According to Java et al. (2007), there are four essential uses of Twitter: ‘daily chatter, conversations, sharing information and reporting news’ (Small, 2011). The ‘sharing information and reporting news’ are another form of narrative storytelling, where hundreds and thousands of people give their opinions and perspectives on a current event or topic. When Twitter first emerged in 2006, many people started tweeting stories about their experiences online (Brogan, 2015). According to the author, various news sources such as NPR (National Public Radio) or even the NBC News have tweeted stories on Twitter. NBC News has used the Twitter platform to provide live updates on the Transportation Security Administration officer who was shot dead at Los Angeles International airport in November 2013. They used Twitter by incorporating links and photos into coverage and made sure to deliver live breaking news to the public. Likewise, NPR used its Twitter account, @Todayin1963 to document the murder of President John F. Kennedy and its aftermath which happened 50 years before (Brogan, 2015). Together with being a means for online socialization, Twitter has also been recognized for having life-changing possibility for group advocacy.

There are many reasons where people use computer-mediated technologies to communicate, some of which can seem subjective and difficult to pin down (Page et al., 2014). Having studied discourse, various researchers agreed that verbal communication (written and spoken) has always been the primary focus of discourse analysis and that the use of visual semiotic resources have been critical to ease the analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). According to the authors, Page et al. (2014), the different kinds of discourse analysis: narration, description, exposition and argument allow us to provide a detailed analysis of what motivates specific linguistic and social practices, for example, ‘Why does A happen in context B?.’ Since forming and managing social connections is one of the main purposes of language, it appears valid to conclude that linguistic analysis may help in explaining how networks of social

relationships are formed and maintained. In this context, a discourse analysis helped me understand how people use language to construe social relationships and interpersonal meaning, more specifically interactions between Amnesty International, Twitter users and the refugees.

In addition, much of the earlier studies into technologically-mediated communication was particularly focused on written language because language could only be used on the early Internet through this mode (Page et al., 2014). However, many people were able to find a way around those limitations by using the resources available to them, specifically, the use of visuals such as images, videos or audio. Visual communication researchers have been distinctly interested in social movements. For example, when a video was circulated all over the Internet showing police brutality against a Hong Kong activist, Jones and Li (2016) highlighted the relevance of videos during protest movements while arguing that “such videos serve both as evidence of police abuses and discursive artefacts around which viewers construct bodies of shared knowledge, attitudes and beliefs regarding events by engaging in exercises of ‘collective seeing’” (Wetzstein, 2017). The importance and presence of images and videos during social media campaigns is no novelty. Doerr et al. (2013) argue that “social movements produce and evoke images, either as a result of a planned, explicit, and strategic effort, or accidentally, in an unintended or undesired manner.” Similar to activist Amir Amini, advocates use visual messages to express their feelings and opinions. Their campaigns are represented online through photographs and videos, and they are eventually made visible, or invisible to the public (Doerr et al., 2013).

### **Twitter & Activism**

Twitter often acts as a platform for spreading awareness and information on social movements or activism, in addition to providing dialogue between Twitter users on a particular social issue. According to Konnelly (2015), this aspect of Twitter remains comparatively unexplored. Online activism can be an effective way to control a narrative concerning a common issue that has either been abandoned or misreported by the media. It also offers the chance for collective participation around the world. Millions of users have found ways to communicate on

an interpersonal level, for example, one user exchanging information to another, or on a community-building level, that is, making a connection with others more widely and on a larger scale. One such way is through the use of hashtags. It is a key word that lets a specific tweet be a part of a larger conversation on Twitter and through that keyword, users can efficiently access the conversation. According to Yang (2016), “one of the most interesting developments in digital activism in recent years is the rise of hashtag activism, meaning discursive protest on social media united through a hashtagged word, phrase or sentence”. Hashtags were created to raise awareness and advocate discussion, by that, stimulating affiliation between social campaigns and the public (Wonneberger et al., 2020).

As reported by Aalai (2018), social activism is characterized as “deliberate action to bring about social change, so presumably social media has become just another tool with this larger goal for activists”. Activists make use of hashtags by tweeting a certain word or idiom together with the symbol (“#”), for example, #activism. They use the hashtags to join other conversations or simply accentuate a message. More importantly, in the case of Amnesty International’s campaign, the use of hashtags allow the collaboration of all members of a social network within a simple, broader conversation. The organization wanted to create the potential for Twitter users to establish an online community of like-minded people, that is, individuals outraged over the same issue. Amnesty International made use of the hashtags ‘#TakeAction’ and ‘#IWelcome’ to raise awareness and fight the social issue, known as the Refugee Crisis. Another distinct example would be the #BringBackOurGirls campaign in 2014. The campaign was carried out in order to raise awareness of approximately 300 kidnapped Nigerian schoolgirls (Everett, 2018). A number of celebrities such as Michelle Obama and Malala Yousafzai participated in the campaign. Such online campaigns are usually focused on a specific hashtag that indicates a distinct social movement and helps communicate the campaign’s main message. Therefore, users who may have heard about the issue are able to effortlessly join the conversation merely by marking their own tweets with the specific hashtag.

According to Everett (2018), it is challenging to evaluate the impact of online campaigns, particularly those addressing international issues, like #BlackLivesMatter and in this case,

#TakeAction, as it is practically impossible to establish that people will take real action after using the hashtag. Nonetheless, people are generally more likely to feel for the issue at hand if they have had some personal experience with the latter. Everett (2018) argues that this “creates space for the use of personal narrative, which functions to personalize a movement and therefore make it 'real' for an audience.” Both #BlackLivesMatter and the campaign at the focus of my research, #TakeAction, were crucial examples of how with the use of personal narrative, you could raise awareness and possibly lead to consequential, societal development. When a social media user is able to share information about a personal experience during a social movement, the issue at hand is further analyzed and also made personal for the public. There are several campaigns occurring on social media, but with a focus on this thesis, I will put my attention on a collection of tweets meant for an online activism campaign on Twitter, #TakeAction, in order to better understand the concepts of credibility and affect as a rhetorical strategy of the social media platform.

### Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter describes the materials being examined for study within this thesis, as well as the methods that will be applied. I begin with a description of how Twitter is used as a major data source and the representation of language in the analysis that will follow in Chapter Four, and then provide background on the history of Twitter and the Amnesty International's #TakeAction campaign, as well as how I've been able to sample the online comments to analyse the communications during the refugee crisis. Following this orientation, I discuss the specific methods used and provide examples as to how the analysis will proceed.

At the heart of the guiding research question for this thesis is how language is implemented in a real Twitter network and recognizes the social-media-specific communications of Amnesty International during the campaign. To get at these questions, I take Twitter as a major data source to observe the diffusion of information and establish the extent to which language is operationalised in a real Twitter network. My research adopted a case study approach using Amnesty International's #TakeAction campaign. The main observation period will be from Tuesday 31st January through to February 3rd 2017 because as mentioned before, this is the time period when Ogilvy UK and Amnesty International ran the #TakeAction campaign.

Back in January 2017, Amnesty International (@amnesty) tried to spur concrete action on the refugee crisis with a real-time social media campaign trying to get people to #TakeAction about the plight of refugees around the world and also allowing refugees to respond in real time to various Twitter users. Amnesty used the tweets to point users to a global petition pledging support to the refugee crisis (campaignlive, 2017). At the end of the month, the organization sent out tweets requesting people to "tweet their outrage" using the hashtags '#TakeAction' and '#IWelcome'. Social media users who tweeted about the crisis received direct video responses from residents of refugee camps in Lebanon and Kenya. The personalised video responses aimed to showcase how the refugees are just normal people who were forced into extraordinary circumstances. Amnesty International made sure that the tweeters were thanked for their support from all across the world and asked the refugees to remind the public to #TakeAction and sign the global petition as outrage is not enough. On the 6th of February 2017, the petition was



presented to the UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, who was also the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in the past. The aim was to call on the UN and governments around the world to join forces and address the global refugee crisis. Amnesty International decided to launch the campaign just a few days after President Donald Trump had signed an executive order to essentially stop refugees from pursuing resettlement in the USA, hindering people who are fleeing war and tyranny from war-torn countries like Afghanistan and Syria from seeking sanctuary in the U.S. Residents of the camps that Amnesty International visited live without basic amenities such as proper shelter, education, and health care.

As mentioned above, the #TakeAction campaign was created as a part of Amnesty International's *Outrage Is Not Enough* drive to build universal support and fix the urgent refugee crisis. The organization believes that the crisis can be resolved, but only if the government agencies and the people work towards turning their words into actions (AmnestyInternational, 2017). Amnesty tried to convert the outrage of the public to support with the help of this campaign. Osama Saeed Bhutta, the Communications Director at Amnesty International, said:

**We're calling on everyone to #TakeAction and help us pressure governments around the world to do the same. "This is a global crisis that requires a global response. The problem is not the number of refugees but that far too few nations are sharing responsibility for supporting refugees. And it is the wealthiest nations that do the least (AmnestyInternational, 2017).**

Amnesty International and its Twitter account are good examples of how refugees travelling and residing abroad utilized social media tools to communicate with their families and ask for information. The Global Communities Officer at Amnesty International, Dunya Kamal was asked during an interview about what he thinks of the use of social media and how it has changed the way that the organization communicates. He responded by saying that due to social media platforms, Amnesty International is able to encourage people to voice out against injustice in a more honest and natural way. Being the largest human rights organisation in the world means they need to be sure that they are engaging in the conversations their audience talk about, and providing them with content that they care about, relate to, and want to get involved in.

Nowadays, various NGOs make use of social media platforms to document attacks or to make sure that their stories are heard. Amnesty International takes action by sending notes to relevant researchers and campaigners whenever they see something that needs to be flagged online.

In October 2010, Malcolm Gladwell published a captivating article in *The New Yorker*, discussing that activism on social media platforms are nowhere near “practical activism,” e.g. the civil rights movement in the U.S. Sending a tweet or changing your profile picture to pitch black is not the same as a Greensboro sit-in or a bus boycott for example. However, social media sites provide a way to bring awareness of issues to a much larger audience which may therefore construe into further action (Rotman et al., 2011). Mick Mahoney, Chief Creative Officer, Ogilvy and Mather London also said:

**Social listening tells us there is no shortage of people who sympathise with the current refugee crisis facing the world, some 96% of the posts/conversations featuring the word refugee happen on Twitter. It quickly became obvious that the natural home for a campaign like ‘Outrage is not Enough’, whereby we turn justifiable outrage into concrete action – was Twitter (Macmillan, 2017).**

The CCO also talked about how it’s not enough to only tweet your outrage at the horrible treatment of the refugees. Action must be taken and that is the “message real refugees will be sending directly to ‘slacktivist’ tweeters around the world” (McCarthy, 2017). As soon as the tweets are collected, Amnesty would immediately send real-time video responses from the camps in Kenya and Lebanon to the tweeters. They want to provide the refugees with a voice so that they can fight against the authorities around the world.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used to analyze the data collected from the social media network, Twitter, which played a vital role in the event of the refugee crisis. Even though it has been more than 10 years since Twitter was launched, it still remains a fascinating and distinct platform to analyze. It has made it easy for users to share news or report about events: from mundane, for e.g ‘what I had for breakfast’, to politics like the Arab Spring to activism like helping bring awareness to social issues like the refugee crisis (Muralidharan et al., 2011). With over one billion users worldwide, Instagram and Facebook tend to appeal to adults

between the ages of 18 and 29 as opposed to Twitter who's active users tend to be younger (Walton, 2019). With the 280-characters restriction, every character counts, so people select the words and hashtags they want to use in their tweets' text very conscientiously.

I retrieved the tweets by typing Amnesty's username and the date range I wanted to look at in the Twitter search engine:

`"from:username since:yyyy-mm-dd until:yyyy-mm-dd"`

So for example, I wanted to see Amnesty's tweets from 31st January 2017 to the 3rd February 2017 so I inserted:

`"from:@amnesty since:2017-01-31 until:2017-02-03"` and pressed enter.

This showed me all the tweets starting from 31st January 2017 until 3rd February 2017 but the default view was the "Top" tweets, so I had to click "All" to see every tweet from this period. I collected all the tweets, focusing on the users that had used the main hashtags: #TakeAction and #IWelcome by copy pasting them in a document for further quantitative analysis. I followed the tweets from there to see whether the users and refugees were able to create an online network amongst the Twitter community. The main idea of this analysis was to gain an understanding of the communications evolving during the campaign and being able to relate them to credibility and affect. Adding to that, knowing what these tweets are about and whether there are similar words or themes and through these words, understanding the tweeters' attitudes and feelings will help to evaluate the approach.

Using the quantitative tool, Voyant, an analysis was conducted in order to interpret the data collected into usable statistics. The tool allowed me to quantitatively explore my data and recognize the various aspects of communications across Twitter during the campaign. Voyant is a free, web browser-based tool for textual analysis. Users can input text for analysis via URL, copy

and paste, or file upload, and the tool can process a single file or a collection of files. Uploaded files can be in a variety of formats: doc or docx, html, xml, rtf, and pdf. Once a user provides content to Voyant, the tool opens up an analysis pane, which offers graphical visualizations and textual descriptions of the file or corpus, including “number of words, number of unique words, longest documents, highest vocabulary density, most frequent words, notable peaks in frequency, and distinctive words” (Voyant, n.d.). Voyant is “more sophisticated than other web-based text analysis tools, such as Wordle, and easier to use than programming-intensive software (or writing code from scratch)” (McCarthy, 2019). Once I had filtered and prepared my data collection for analysis, using Voyant was very unambiguous.

Furthermore, I chose Amnesty International’s campaign for my research because as an organization they try their best to bring positive changes to the lives of thousands of people and I think by researching and writing about their work, I am doing my bit. Amnesty International is a global movement of more than 7 million people who take injustice personally. For many years the organization has been using the social media platform Twitter as a way to help refugees as much as possible. Many refugees are faced with the challenging choice between staying in their war-torn countries or taking on horrid journeys and risking their lives to seek refuge and end their suffering.

### **Limitations**

My primary findings in Voyant focused heavily on how language is operationalised in a real Twitter network. Overall, Voyant has been a very useful tool for my research on communications across Twitter and there are only a few limitations to the software. The latter can be a little slow to load when you’re working with a large quantity of data and I got stuck loading a few times. The features are pretty practical but unfortunately, when generating a skin URL, you cannot save your work for future use. So everytime, I’d close the page and come back to it the next day, I’d have to follow all the same procedures again to where I left to continue the analysis.

I conclude this section by acknowledging that this method of discourse analysis will help

answer my research questions as I will gain an insight on the Twitter users' beliefs and attitudes through the analysis of the tweets collected by Voyant. Carrying out a textual analysis using the software will allow me to understand the language used throughout the campaign, more specifically towards credibility and affect.

## Chapter Four: Data Analysis & Results

In my analysis, I will make use of the #TakeAction case study to portray how the research questions mentioned above can be answered. I will also discuss the different ways in which language was implemented during the refugee crisis. I will then focus on a narrative and evaluative analysis to determine the degrees of efficiency and effectiveness with which the system of discourse functions. Celebrity activism and the use of social media for activism will also be analysed and discussed in more details.

### Case Study

As mentioned above, back in January 2017, Amnesty International (@amnesty) tried to spur concrete action on the refugee crisis with a real-time Twitter campaign trying to get people to #TakeAction about the plight of refugees around the world and also enabling refugees to respond in real time to tweets. In January 2017, actor, activist, philanthropist, Maggie Gyllenhaal commented on one of activist Amir Amini's (@AmirAminiMD) posts and said '*I have shivers. Sick. Broken.*' From looking at her feed, you could imagine that Thursday 2nd February 2017 was just another day for tweeter @mgyllenhaal. She tweeted about how she wanted people to support her brother, actor Jake Gyllenhaal's Broadway show and after a few posts about President Trump's decisions, she tweeted this:



Figure 1: Maggie Gyllenhaal's tweet to activist Amini's post

On the next day, February 1st 2017, a refugee named Heba from the Shatila camp in Lebanon replied to her tweet using the organization's official Twitter page (@amnesty). She said this:



Figure 2: Refugee's reply to Gyllenhaal

Video Transcription: *Dear @mgyllenhaal, my name is Heba and I read what you tweeted this morning. Thank you for speaking out about the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Your words mean a lot to us, but tweeting is not enough. Living here in the camp is difficult. I am a single woman and a refugee. I have to go out everyday for work, as I'm the only person in my family who has a job and they all depend on me. I never feel safe here. All I wish is for a normal life. That's why I'm asking you and everyone else who is tweeting about the crisis, to take action. Please go to Amnesty.org and sign up with your name to pressure world leaders to share the responsibility for refugees like me instead of leaving countries like Lebanon to cope alone. Please do it now. Thank you @mgyllenhaal.*

After a while, Maggie Gyllenhaal tweeted this:



Figure 3: Maggie Gyllenhaal's tweet to Amnesty International

On the 2nd February 2017, Amnesty International replied saying:



Figure 4: Amnesty International's tweet to Maggie Gyllenhaal

Figure 2 shows the screenshot of one of the eight videos that Amnesty posted on Twitter as a reply to the people's concerns about the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Each one of them received a



personal video response shot in real-time, from the refugees all around the world, thanking them for the love and support but also making it clear that outrage is not enough and that action has to be taken by signing the Amnesty International's petition. According to Toumazis (2017), the videos were posted exactly as they were filmed, without any title cards, music or some kind of dramatic transitions. They were just meant to be an honest plea, from one human to another.

The videos were Amnesty International's communicative strategy to transform the refugee crisis from a universal & complex one to a more personal & relevant one. According to Toumazis (2017), Amnesty was hoping that through these videos, they would be able to inspire millions of people to transform their anger into action together with the organization, to help the 21 million refugees who need it the most. They believed that people had to feel more personally connected to the issue to be more willing to help. Therefore, the strongest attainable personal connection that they were able to come up with between the refugees and the outraged people were the personal videos from the refugees themselves. The videos gave more credibility to the campaign and by building that reputation, the organization was able to attract more participants to take action and sign the petition. Here, the videos helped people believe in the campaign on a more personal level as compared to only receiving a tweet from the organization. Plus they were able to reach nearly 190 million people through this social media campaign (Toumazis, 2017). That's a huge number of people who were asked to take some kind of action against the UN and world governments. This quite different communicative strategy says a lot about how Twitter is used nowadays. Twitter has become more visual and so many of the amazing moments people share on Twitter are made even better with the use of pictures and videos. They are a lot more than the 280 character limit that Twitter allows us as they help catch the attention of those people who are only quickly glancing at their feed, and is also a way of keeping people with you.

Amnesty International made use of pre-scripted language in the videos to make sure that the refugees felt comfortable. A script was written using various quotes from previous interviews with each individual refugee and they were asked to read from an iPad while the camera was rolling. Throughout each video, the refugee looks to the camera, introduces themselves and addresses the Twitter user directly. As mentioned in the Video Transcription section, the refugees

are shown to narrate their personal experiences during the crisis, they thank the user who tweeted and explain the next step the person could take which is to sign the petition on Amnesty.org that would help persuade government officials to take in their share of the refugees. Lastly, they are seen holding up a board that says “Outrage Is Not Enough #TakeAction.”

Figures 1-4 show the interaction between Maggie Gyllenhaal and Amnesty International. As seen in Figure 1, Gyllenhaal commented on activist Amir’s tweet and said *‘I have shivers. Sick. Broken.’* He had tweeted saying *‘Yes, this is a refugee family in handcuffs, in America, for being muslim. That little girl? Handcuffed. History will judge us very harshly’*, accompanied by a picture of the family.



Figure 5: Amir Amini’s post

Hoaxed or “manipulated images propagated through the Web and social media have the capacity to deceive, emotionally distress, and influence public opinions and actions” (Shen et al., *Understanding Credibility and Affect as a strategy of Twitter*

2018). So far, few studies have examined how people assess the credibility of images that accompany online stories. The damage done by manipulated imagery is substantive, significant, and continuous. Social media platforms can also be vehicles for fake news and disinformation. For example, during the current crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic, people turned to Facebook and Twitter, among others as a source of information and fake news. According to De Valck (2020), these platforms have been trying to raise awareness and help the users distinguish false news from facts. While some people may not assess for credibility, the social media sites are purporting to present information that is as accurate as possible. One such example is Instagram who decided to only provide posts and stories that are focused on COVID-19 in their recommendation section and making sure those information are circulated by official health organizations.

In this case study, there were various controversies surrounding the authenticity of this particular image (see Figure 5). Several Twitter users were debating whether the image was credible or not and were having difficulties determining the true value of the latter. While most believed the activist and were ready to help, many were also questioning his post's credibility. Twitter user Farrell Law @FarrellLawCA tweeted *'I think you were duped. I see no cuffs. Where are they?.'* Same with users Jim Lovewell @jimlovewell and SkipperEvan @SkipperEvan\_ who did not believe in the authenticity of the image and tweeted Amir Amini and Sarah Silverman by saying *'you see her holding something in her right hand?? And who smiles when being arrested?? Highly doubt this'* and *'this was debunked. The father in the photo stated they were not handcuffed.'* According to Wade et al. (2002), manipulated images can distort the viewer's memory, therefore further reinforcing the credibility of these representations and even affect decision-making actions such as voting (Bailenson et al., 2008; Nash et al., 2009). There have been various occurrences during the years where false information and fake news have been intentionally circulated across social media sites. Nowadays, more people know that not everything they find online is accurate, whether it's an article or an image, they should not be assumed to be reliable, believable or accurate sources of information. But unfortunately, there's also those who remain liable to visual deception. Numerous studies have consistently demonstrated that users rarely perform any evaluation behaviors (such as seeking out other

sources to validate information, or checking out the author) to verify the credibility of online information (Metzger, 2007).

Furthermore, Amnesty International came up with the hashtag #TakeAction and commenting recirculated the organization's message to Gyllenhaal's over 90,000 followers. As the saying goes, with great power comes great responsibility. And Maggie knew that with her fame, she would be able to make use of her platform for the better. Maggie Gyllenhaal is an Academy Award-nominated actress and has been in various movies and shows such as *Crazy Heart*, *The Dark Knight* or *The Deuce*. She is part of the Gyllenhaal family, daughter of well-known filmmakers Stephen Gyllenhaal and Naomi Acks but is mostly recognized because of her younger brother, a famous actor, Jake Gyllenhaal who was in movies such as *Brokeback Mountain* or *Spider-Man: Far From Home*. As compared to other users who commented on the post, there were around 137 Comments, 1,833 Retweets, and 2,232 Likes on her Twitter comment. After receiving a direct video response from a resident of a refugee camp in Lebanon, Gyllenhaal tweeted again saying, '*I saw this. What can I do.*' Her tweets were retweeted or responded to over 500 times during the social media movement, making her a central amplifier of this activist message. The actor's posts illustrate the complex nature of online celebrity activism. First, she acted as an empathetic human being, broadcasting her feelings in the hope of leveraging her fame to draw attention to the issue. Second, she spoke on her own behalf, using a more pragmatic tone and asking what she could do to help. Both tweets positioned her as a participant in the social media campaign, taking the very action called for by Amnesty International. This dichotomy points to two changes that social media has achieved in recent years, specifically, the ability of celebrities to instantly communicate with the public and the dissemination of activism from formal companies to relatively connected groups organizing through digital networks.

Another name that stood out while I was analysing the data was comedian, activist, Sarah Silverman (MacPherson, 2017). Out of the 137 replies meant for Maggie Gyllenhaal, 37 were also addressed to Sarah Silverman. Even though I have not been able to obtain Sarah Silverman's initial tweet as it is no longer available, all the replies were of anger, disgust and shame towards

the article she was talking about in her tweet. Based on my analysis of the tweets, it looked like, just like Maggie Gyllenaal, she also tweeted on Amir's post and because she's also a celebrity, the public was more susceptible to the matter in question as it was brought to light by someone famous as compared to an unrecognizable person.

There have always been debates on the transparency of celebrity activism. Should we senselessly prioritize the ideas of celebrities over that of professionals, activists, or even victims? Or should we focus on the results of their activism and believe that the celebrity activist may be the perfect vehicle to bring the change that we need and that they are just social actors who are fulfilling certain roles? In a 2018 study, Singh states,

**For people standing up for human rights, social media is an outlet to make their voices heard. Instagram, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are all proving more and more popular when it comes to activism across the world. If you want to have your finger on the pulse when it comes to inspiring activism on the ground, Tohid Amir Amini is the one.**

While I was analysing the data, Amini's name was mentioned 44 times. He is an activist and very active on Twitter, Reddit, Instagram and Facebook. He currently has 37,578 followers on Twitter and tweets almost everyday about social and political issues. As mentioned above, while the #TakeAction campaign was ongoing, Maggie Gyllenhaal had a visceral reaction where she instinctively responded with an impactful tweet based on the ongoing refugee crisis at that time. And from there, it generated a streak of tweets thus creating a network amongst the thousands of Twitter users. Many users replied and posted their opinions on the matter whilst tagging Amir Amini. A Twitter user named *Stop Putin Now!* even went ahead and said '*No Maggie - First we cry. Then we get up join #TheResistance & fight for #LoveTrumpsHate.*' This shows how much power Gyllenhaal has as a celebrity activist and how empowering she can be.

### **Lexical Choices**

Using the open-source text analysis Web application Voyant, I studied the data that I had collected and edited on Twitter by applying techniques of social media analytics to investigate

Twitter communications in the context of Amnesty International's campaign. This approach was justified because the aim of the study was to establish an organic understanding of the social-media-specific communications during the refugee crisis across Twitter. After generating the tweets collected from the 31st January to 3rd February 2017 through Voyant, I created an Excel-formatted word frequency list. To do so, I copy-pasted the collected Tweets in the 'Add Text' section of Voyant revealing the results. The word frequency lists reflected the most frequent collocations but also provided a more extensive list of common words, along with the numeric frequency of their appearance in the data. In simple words, collocations are the way certain words commonly occur together because of their habitual use, for example, the word 'amnesty' ended up occurring together more often with the words 'take action' because Amnesty International was the one who came up with the #TakeAction campaign. According to Smadja & McKeown (1990), collocational knowledge is notably useful in sentence generation because it demonstrates which words generally co-occur with other words and how they combine within a sentence. It provides very effective insights into the meaning and usage of the words near which they occur and makes it easier to understand the sentence as a whole. Therefore, I generated a list of the most frequent collocations in my corpus in order to understand the data linguistically.

Using the Voyant-generated word forms and frequency list, I analyzed each list and form to assess the frequency and salience of different words and word clusters. I individually analyzed the word frequency list to identify an initial set of word combinations based on patterns of the word clusters. The analyzed sentences allowed me to gain deeper insight into how the words were used in different contexts. The Cirrus (word cloud: see Figure 6) visualizes the top frequency words of my corpus.



Figure 6: Cirrus

Term	Count
mgyllenhaal	120
amiraminimd	43
sarahksilverman	37
amnesty	34
amnestyinternational	14
likes	13

takeaction	12
handcuffs	10
child	9
little	9
retweets	9

Table 1: Absolute frequency of the most frequently occurring words found during the #takeaction campaign

The resulting corpus has 1 document with 1,591 total words and 932 unique word forms. Figure 6 shows a cirrus which is a word cloud that visualizes the top frequency words of a corpus or document. The word cloud positions the words such that the terms that occur the most frequently are positioned centrally and are sized the largest. The most frequent term is the most common measure in understanding the hidden trend of unstructured text data. And in this case, the most frequent word in the corpus was ‘*mgyllenhaal*’ (120) as shown by the dark blue displayed on the cirrus and as shown in Table 1. Other popular words used were ‘*amiraminimd*’ (43), ‘*sarahksilverman*’ (37), ‘*amnesty*’ (34), and ‘*amnestyinternational*’ (14). The word ‘*mgyllenhaal*’ appeared 120 times in the data making it the most frequent word used. It is valid because Maggie Gyllenhaal, being a famous celebrity, was able to reach over 90,000 followers with her tweets and comments. As mentioned in the case study, around 137 people commented, 1,833 people retweeted and 2,232 people liked her tweets. The same goes for *Sarah Silverman*. She was mentioned 37 times and *Amir Amini* was mentioned 43 times as compared to Amnesty and Amnesty International, which were mentioned 34 and 14 times respectively in a time period of 4 days. This frequency count shows the efficacy of celebrities in Twitter activism as Gyllenhaal, Silverman and Amini all have the ability to amplify their voices, they can get their message across through their popularity. As well, Gyllenhaal and Silverman have other things in common, they are both opinionated women who are not afraid to voice out their thoughts and



beliefs. For example, apart from the Refugee Crisis, they have been quite vocal on the issues of sexism and antisemitism in Hollywood (Rusk, 2017).

In addition, as the algorithm goes through the list and continues to attempt to draw words as close as possible to the center of the visualization in Figure 6, it will also include words that occurred less frequently such as ‘takeaction’, ‘disgusting’, ‘sad’, and so forth. The powerful and vital hashtag ‘#TakeAction’ was mentioned 12 times, the word ‘disgusting’ was mentioned 7 times, showing the extent to which the public wanted to show their strong feeling of disapproval against these issues and crises. Many other significant words such as ‘sad’, ‘sick’, ‘love’, ‘refugees’ were mentioned 4 to 7 times in the data. In Figure 6, the colour of words and their absolute position are not significant (if you resize the window or reload the page, words may appear in a different location).

The data is divided into three sections, namely, Term, Collocate and Count. According to Voyant (n.d.), *Term* refers to the keyword(s) being searched, *Collocate* are the words which are found in proximity of each keyword and *Count* is the frequency of the words occurring in proximity to the keyword. I started with the term ‘mgyllenhaal’ and collocations like ‘Disgusting’, ‘sad’, ‘takeaction’, ‘fuck’, ‘sick’, ‘hell’, ‘heartbreaking’, ‘shameful’, ‘bullshit’, ‘fake’, ‘sickened’, to name a few that were very prominent. Keywords like ‘sarahsilverman’, ‘amnesty’, ‘amnestyinternational’, ‘amiraminimd’, and ‘takeaction’ were also searched and resulted in very similar negative collocations as the term ‘mgyllenhaal’ did: ‘worst’, ‘sorry’, ‘disgraceful’, ‘despicable’, ‘broken’, ‘powerful’, ‘unbelievable’, ‘unfortunately’, ‘unnecessary’, ‘fear’, ‘hate’. These words play an important role in describing the evaluative language used by the Twitter users and will therefore be further analysed through a specific theoretical lens in Chapter Four under the Evaluative Analysis section.

Furthermore, to ensure that superfluous words and phrases were excluded from the analysis, I manually removed all of those unnecessary words from the data collected. They were filtered to exclude some parts-of-speech that do not carry sentiment, such as prepositions like ‘the’, ‘a’, ‘with’, pronouns and also words like ‘replying’, ‘jan’, ‘feb’, ‘http’ and so forth, which are a default part of Tweets and therefore not specific to the data collected for this study. Whilst

they are significant for the overall understanding of the tweets, they do not serve any analytical purposes here because, as mentioned above, my focus was on the words that could help understand the various communication networks across Twitter more specifically online social networks.

## Themes

As mentioned in the previous section, I analyzed the word frequency list to identify different themes that may have emerged in the Twitter network. Thematic analysis is seen by some authors as a foundational method for qualitative analysis and as “one of a few shared generic skills across qualitative analysis” (Holloway and Todres, 2003). The textual analysis of tweets from the #TakeAction campaign of the Syrian refugee crisis unveiled quite a few themes. The different themes that stood out during the analysis are listed below, together with an explanation how each theme is negotiated discursively, through lexical choices:

Major Themes	Use of Lexical Choices
Empathy	‘I am truly sickened by this’, ‘this poor baby’
Support	‘I will definitely take action’, ‘We have to keep standing up for what is rt’
Sadness	‘very sad’, ‘sad scene’
Anger	‘Wtf’, ‘so fucking bad’, ‘so mad’
Awareness	‘we must #TakeAction’, ‘sign here’, ‘all of us need to speak out as loudly and often as we can.’

Table 2: Major themes and the use of lexical choices to justify

As mentioned above, Table 2 shows the major themes present in the thesis data and the words used to support the latter. The themes of empathy and support were amongst the more

dominant themes from the textual analysis. There are various words used to reinforce the theme of empathy in the dataset but I picked these two: *'I am truly sickened by this'* and *'this poor baby'* because they show the Twitter users' ability to understand and share the feelings of the victims. The theme of support also correlates with the theme of empathy because the lexical choices used were *'I will definitely take action'* and *'We have to keep standing up for what is rt'*, showing that people care and want to advocate about this issue. They do not only understand the situation but also want to take action. This was one of the reasons why AmnestyInternational came up with the #TakeAction campaign. As previously mentioned, one Twitter user named DB @LittleRed\_30 tweeted *'This is absolutely incredible. I will definitely take action. Thank you, Oscar. Sending you & yr family all the love in the world'* after receiving a personal video from a refugee. The words used may help influence others to do the same and that is what Amnesty International wanted in the first place: for people to do something about it, anything, small or big but at least something instead of sitting idle at home.

Furthermore, the theme of sadness and anger were also present in the dataset. Many users voiced out their feelings by using words like "very sad", 'sad scene' or 'Wtf', 'so fucking bad' and 'so mad'. They were both sad and angry as millions of people are forced to flee their homes, suffer in refugee camps, their loved ones killed, their lives destroyed, their homes obliterated, plus they are always trying to escape imprisonment or even death. Anyone reading or hearing about these people's circumstances will feel sadness and anger. Additionally, one of the themes that has been present all throughout the campaign is that of awareness. The public posted tweets using words such as 'we must #TakeAction', 'sign here', 'all of us need to speak out as loudly and often as we can.' Many Twitter users used their Twitter accounts and the hashtag #TakeAction to serve as a medium to raise awareness and communicate the essential message of AmnestyInternational's #TakeAction campaign, which was to sign an online petition calling on the UN and world governments to do more. Even Maggie Gyllenhaal's first tweet *'I have shivers. Sick. Broken. <https://twitter.com/amiraminimd/status/826380736458534913...>'* was that of awareness. While tweeting, she had attached the post that she wanted her users to know about. Finally, the themes led me to conclude that affect was a discursive feature in my dataset as the Twitter users made use of various lexical choices to voice out their feelings and emotions.

## Modality Analysis

Modality analysis is rationalized in this study because it gave me information about the degree of obligation and certainty involved in the #TakeAction case study. Modality is the selection of words used to express how sure we are about something. It allows us to understand the speaker's opinions and beliefs (affect) as to whether the hypothesis expressed is mandatory, valid, desirable or actual (Vaidya, 2015). The lexical choices used during the campaign strengthened the potency of the communications across Twitter and allowed for an interpretation of affect and credibility as a specific strategy of Twitter. In this thesis, the source credibility impacted people's attitudes. There is an attitude certainty where a person is convinced and confident of his/her attitude or even the degree to which the person views his/her attitude as accurate (Tormala & Petty, 2004). The higher the source's credibility, the higher the positive impact on people's attitudes towards the campaign. For example, as mentioned in Chapter Four, there were several controversies surrounding the credibility of this particular image (See Figure 5) but many Twitter users believed in the authenticity of the image because they believed in the source, that is, activist, Amir Amini. They used various modal verbs to show their certainty towards the image's credibility.

Hence, according to Roderick (2016), modality is, first, the degree of truth as the person interacting comprehends it and, second, the resources they choose to use in order to communicate that claim to truth. Modality features prominently in my results due to the auxiliary verbs called modals such as 'can', 'could', 'must', 'should', 'would', 'may', 'believe', 'think' and 'appear'. It can be expressed through various language features such as 'possibly', 'probably', 'need to' and 'be able to.' There are also four types of modality namely epistemic, deontic, dynamic and alethic which will be further discussed throughout the chapter.

Firstly, epistemic modality refers to the "speaker's evaluation and judgment in relation to the degree of confidence of the knowledge on the proposition" (Suhadi, 2013). It is a modality where an auxiliary verb is used to convey a speaker's feeling and opinion about a comment and also how much certainty a speaker has for the hypothesis expressed by his/her statement. Auxiliaries such as 'can', 'might', 'must', 'should', 'could' or even 'probably' and 'possibly' are

generally used to convey various types of modality on the basis of circumstantial factors. When used epistemically, they can be dependent in some way on the information available in the circumstances in which they are used. Secondly, according to Kreidler (1998), deontic modality is the “necessity of a person to do or not to do in a certain way. It shows the speaker’s desire for the proposition expressed by the utterance.” With deontic modality, the auxiliary verb is used to influence a circumstance according to a set of rules or desires, by giving permission to control the situation. Generally, deontic modality signifies obligation, while epistemic modality indicates possibility. Thirdly, dynamic modality, expresses the ability of the speaker or subject to take some action (Palmer, 2001). Unlike epistemic, it does not express the speaker’s attitude, nor does the speaker influence the circumstance. It is objective considering it refers to fact instead of possibility. And lastly is, alethic modality, which refers to given truths, more specifically the modalities of necessity, possibility and impossibility (von Wright, 1953). It is often affiliated with epistemic modality as the latter refers to the speaker's evaluation or judgment of the truth and alethic modality also stands for the truth. Below are some examples of the different types of modalities present in the thesis data.

They helped establish the effectiveness of the communications during the campaign in some ways. Very often the meanings of some of the modality types are relative and complement each other. In many instances there is considerable overlap between them as some of the modal verbs can sometimes be described as both epistemic and deontic or deontic and alethic, depending on the situation. But I have chosen to consider them separately for this analysis to make things less complicated and to get a clearer understanding of each modality’s use during the #TakeAction campaign.

Here are some examples, with modal verbs ‘might’, ‘must’, ‘will’ and ‘can’, the four types of modality expressed by Twitter users during the campaign:

Example (Tweets)	Type of modality expressed
You <b>might</b> 've heard the alternative facts of refugees. Here are the real facts. #RefugeesWelcome.	Epistemic modality
Outrage is not enough. We <b>must</b> #TakeAction against fear & hateful politics. Please sign our petition, say #IWelcome: <a href="http://amn.st/60028rsAO">http://amn.st/60028rsAO</a>	Deontic modality
@amiraminiMD History <b>will</b> judge you with respect if you can find a way of getting this monster out.	Dynamic modality
@amiraminiMD History will judge you with respect if you <b>can</b> find a way of getting this monster out.	Alethic modality

Table 3 : The four types of modality expressed during the #TakeAction campaign

Table 3 shows the four types of modality expressed during the campaign by the Twitter users. The first one is the epistemic modality where a Twitter user named *IRC Intl Rescue @theIRC* tweeted ‘*You might've heard the alternative facts of refugees. Here are the real facts. #RefugeesWelcome.*’ In this case, it is an example of an epistemic possibility where the International Rescue Committee (IRC) wants to convey the possibility that people already know of the facts about the refugees by using the modal word ‘might’ but IRC is not certain nor has an evidence set, therefore, they’re allowing people to figure out the truth-value of the proposition

expressed by IRC's statement by themselves. If IRC had used the modal 'must' which was drawn from actual evidence instead of 'might', then it would have been an epistemic necessity. The second example is the deontic modality where Twitter user *AmnestyInternational* @amnesty tweeted '*Outrage is not enough. We must #TakeAction against fear & hateful politics. Please sign our petition, say #IWelcome: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO>.*' As shown in Table 3, Amnesty International used the auxiliary 'must' to show obligation in this tweet. Obligation signifies 'what the person must do,' and in this case, Amnesty urged the users to take action and sign the campaign's petition. As for dynamic and alethic modalities, the example collected from the data analysis is the same for both. Twitter user Duncan Gunn ⑤ @duncangunn tweeted '@amiraminiMD *History will judge you with respect if you can find a way of getting this monster out.*' Dynamic modality is present here as Duncan used the modal verb 'will' to state a simple fact about ability, the ability to find a way of getting the monster out. Alethic is also present as the tweet did not express anything related to Duncan's feelings and attitude towards the matter and neither did he influence the situation in any way. His tweet was not subjective at all as he only expressed a factual statement that if people can find a way to get the monster out, history will judge them with respect. He expressed what he saw as a universal truth rather than listening to other people.

Furthermore, various of the modal verbs mentioned above such as 'may', 'will', 'must', 'could' were used by Twitter users during the campaign. By using a modal verb such as 'can' in her tweet '*I saw this. What can I do*', Maggie Gyllenhaal expressed a request towards Amnesty International for more information on what she can do to help the refugees. This request in itself must have made a significant impact on Gyllenhaal's 92 thousand followers, in a way compelling them to go and do something about the cause. On the other hand, the auxiliary verb 'can', can also be defined as Gyllenhaal's offer to help Amnesty International in any way possible. The tweet mentioned above shows her intention of wanting to help, therefore there is a possibility that she will take some action towards the #TakeAction campaign. This also allowed me to understand how desirable her opinion was on the proposition being expressed. There are various things to read between the lines of the meaning of words while communicating in real life. According to Lillian (2008), "modality is understood as encompassing much more than simply

the occurrence of overt modal auxiliaries such as may, might, can, could, will, would, shall, should, must, and ought". She also talks about the five categories of modality that are validity, predictability, desirability, obligation, and permission. They play an important role in my analysis because they helped understand what the Twitter users' attitudes were towards the crisis and also understand how the words used were defined during the campaign.

For example, two conglomerates namely Amnesty International and UNICEF tweeted several times using the modal verbs 'must' and 'can'. Amnesty tweeted twice saying '*now more than ever we must #TakeAction. Please sign here: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO> and ask others to if you can. Thank you!,*' and '*Outrage is not enough. We must #TakeAction against fear & hateful politics. Please sign our petition, say #IWelcome: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO>.*' The latter used the auxiliary 'must' in the first half of the sentence to show obligation. Here, they come across as assertive, whilst firmly demanding the Twitter users to take action. They then go on to use the modal 'can' to issue a request and politely ask the users to sign the petition if they can. This shows Amnesty's confidence in the people, hoping that they would do the right thing, which in this case is taking action and signing the petition. Additionally, UNICEF tweeted '*We must protect refugee & migrant children - no matter where they come from. #foreverychild, hope. #RefugeesWelcome.*' They also used the modal verb 'must' to express their feeling of obligation, that is, commanding and obligating people to protect refugees and migrant children. 'Must' mostly focuses on the speaker's personal obligation, particularly, what the speaker thinks is fundamental. Even in this case, the use of the modal verb makes the attitude an affective one as protecting refugees and migrant children is Amnesty's personal opinion and feeling. There is no rule.

In conclusion, the modality analysis allowed me to understand the degree of affect and certainty present in the #TakeAction campaign. The different types of modality were discussed to further fathom the communications implemented across Twitter, for example, understanding the twitter user's opinions and attitudes (affect) at specific points throughout the campaign.

### **Evaluative Analysis**

This section is essential to the study because it helps me answer one of my research



questions, ‘How is language operationalised in a real Twitter network using the Amnesty International’s #TakeAction campaign as a case study?.’ It also helps me understand Twitter’s strategy of affect, that is, the different feelings and opinions that the Twitter users were having/had during the #TakeAction campaign. With their use of explicit and implicit language, I will be able to figure out the users’ attitudes towards the crisis. In linguistics, the aspects of evaluation “allow us to convey feelings, assessments of people, situations and objects, and to share and contrast those opinions with other speakers” (Benamara et al., 2016). In the book, *EVALUATION IN TEXT* by Hunston and Thompson (2001), the authors propose that there are two characteristics to evaluative language, the first one being modality and secondly, something else, which can be differently called evaluation, stance or appraisal. Modality, as discussed above, tends to convey various opinions about hypotheses, such as their likelihood (something may happen). It can also be more grammaticalized. On the other hand, evaluation expresses judgments about entities, and is usually, (even though not completely) expressed through adverbs.

Emotions and opinions condition how humans communicate with each other and how they motivate their actions, so it is only natural that in the last twenty years, the study of evaluative language has attracted the attention of a wide range of disciplines, from behavioural psychology to cognitive anthropology, with, of course, very different applications in mind (Janney 1996). Susan Hunston (2013) defines evaluative language as: “... that language which indexes the act of evaluation or the act of stance taking. It expresses an attitude towards a person, situation or other entity and is both subjective and located within a societal value system.” She argues that a word carries positive or negative connotations, by virtue of its association with overtly positive or negative items (Hunston, 2013). Speaking of negative connotations, the theme of sadness was also quite evident in the data. While reading these articles on the refugee crisis and watching the stories told by the Refugees themselves, many Twitter users got very emotional and sad. They posted tweets like ‘*my heart :(*’, ‘*sad that so many Americans are ok with this poisonous propaganda. Dangerous times.*’ to show their sadness towards the issue. Twitter user, caitlynne @caitymedrek used the emoticon ‘:(’ to express her sadness. This emoticon is usually used to represent sadness or being upset. Words can evoke different kinds of emotions and the

use of emotive adjectives such as ‘poisonous’ or ‘dangerous’ ensures a greater emotional impact and negative connotation on people.

On the other hand, the theme that stood out the most to me was the theme of anger. Many users showed their anger by tweeting sentences such as ‘*what the hell is going on!*’ or even ‘*This makes me so mad !!!!! So fucking wrong !!!! (excuse my language)*’ and so forth. The use of expletives and punctuations are very distinct in the data, for example, words like ‘cunt’, ‘stupid’ or ‘fuck’ and punctuations such as the exclamation point (!) and the question mark (?) were used several times throughout the campaign. As seen in the example above, several exclamation points were used at the end of the tweet to express strong feelings of anger. While many Twitter users used this punctuation to convey their anger, for example ‘*This is outrageous!*’ or ‘*This is sickening!*’, several others used the latter to express excitement such as ‘*proud of this team all way up!!!!*’ or ‘*Glad to hear it!*’. As for the question marks, they were used to communicate both shock and anger, for example, ‘*How and why do we even have handcuffs for little kids?*’ and ‘*WTF?*’. One Twitter user went ahead and used both punctuations in a tweet saying ‘*how can you criminalize a 5 year old?!?!*’ conveying both feelings of anger and surprise.

While analysing the data, I was also interested in the question: Which expletive expressions are most used? I manually grouped different variations of curse words into their root forms, e.g., *Wtf, fucking* → *fuck*. According to Wang, Chen, Thirunarayan and Sheth (2014), if a curse word is the combination of two or more words, and one of its component words is also a curse word, then it will be grouped into its cursing component word, e.g., *rot in hell, what the hell* → *hell*. Out of the 16 curse words, the most popular curse word is *fuck* (50%), which appeared 8 times in the #TakeAction campaign dataset as compared to the other curse word occurrences, followed by bad language expressions such as *hell* (18.75%), *stupid* (6.25%), *bullshit* (6.25%), *bastard* (6.25%), *cunt* (6.25%) and *ballsack* (6.25%). According to Steinmetz (2014), the most common curse word used on Twitter is ‘fuck’. The author continues by stating that the word ‘fuck’ “accounts for nearly 35% of all cursing on Twitter, followed by sh\*t, ass, bitch, n\*gga, hell...” (Steinmetz, 2014).

Tony McEnery (2006) discusses how the word ‘fuck’ can be classified into different

categories partly because of its part of speech, for example, in the Curse, Destinalational, General and Literal categories. He argues that every so often, when a word is acting as an adverbial intensifier, it is assigned one label. However, you cannot easily replace the labels with the part of speech categories. The word FUCK for example is most likely to be used as a verb in the Curse, Dest, Gen and Literal categories. Nevertheless, in terms of functionality, the use of the words clearly varies. In the Curse category, a clear insult is intended, therefore it has a clear target for the word, for example: ‘Fuck you!’. In the Destinalational category, the word has an imperative involved where there’s a demand being made that the target has to go away, and similar to the Curse category, it also has an insult attached to it, for example: ‘Fuck off!’. The General category is different. The word FUCK is mostly used as an expression of anger, irritation or annoyance, for example: ‘Oh fuck!’. Lastly, in the Literal category, there is no motive to insult but simply the intention to describe intercourse. During this analysis, the word ‘fuck’ was mostly used in the Cursing and General categories. Coming back to my thematic analysis, I adapted the emotion identification strategy to naturally identify emotions expressed in the tweets. The fundamental idea is to leverage expletives to create labeled data. For example, the tweet “*@amiraminiMD the people responsible for this will rot in hell. Unfortunately it won't come soon enough.*” will be labeled with anger emotion. In this way, I collected a number of self-labeled tweets covering these emotions: sadness, anger, support and empathy. Furthermore, affect is generally distinguished from mood and in this case, the use of expletives mostly convey anger. According to Jay and Janschewitz (2008), the main intention of swearing is to convey strong emotions, particularly anger and annoyance. They discuss how swear words are perfectly suited to communicate emotions as their primary messages are connotative. In this context, the usage of swear words arose because of the frustration and the feeling of anger taken by the users. During the #TakeAction campaign, many Twitter users saw the various posts that Amnesty International and other people were posting on the Refugee Crisis. A large number of those users used swear words to express and emphasize their emotional state (Wang, 2013). As mentioned above, the words ‘fuck’, ‘cunt’, or ‘bullshit’ were used several times during the campaign. People were swearing about the current President of the United States, Donald Trump but they were mostly swearing about the post that Amir Amini had tweeted (see Figure 5). They were angry after

seeing the picture that Amini had posted together with his tweet and they showed their anger and frustration by tweeting *'this is so fucking bad !!'*, *'Fuck this world.'* or *'So fucking wrong !!!!'*. In the physical world, swearing is not uncommon during discourse but it is very prominent on social media platforms, more specifically Twitter. People curse on Twitter, mostly when they are sad (21% of cursing tweets) and angry (17%) (Steinmetz, 2014). Similarly, the Twitter users expressed their sadness and anger through the use of expletives.

Moreover, the results from my data analysis helped me answer my research questions. I found out that Twitter users rate online news and images based on the source of the information, that is, if they trust the source, they will trust the source's content, whatever it is. In this case, those users who trusted Amir Amini, the activist, trusted that the image that he posted was credible, whereas those who thought that the image was fake, did not believe him in the first place. Consequently, I realised that trusting the source does play an important role in assessing the reliability of online images. Secondly, I learned that celebrity activism and social media has a powerful impact on people's attitudes towards social movements. This helped answer my other two research questions on celebrity activism and social media. Maggie Gyllenhaal had a platform to shed light on the refugee crisis and she did. Even though indirectly, she used her social media platform to instigate a conversation amongst her 92 thousand followers. Her one tweet generated a streak of tweets to such a degree that it created a network of empathy amongst thousands of Twitter users. In the case of comedian Sarah Silverman and activist Amir Amini, many people's stance towards the crisis were impacted seeing the celebrities they greatly admire support a specific cause. The results show a larger number of retweets, likes and comments towards Amnesty International's campaign through the celebrities as compared to the common people. And lastly, by performing a discourse analysis, I was able to understand how language is used in real life situations, more specifically across a Twitter network using the #TakeAction campaign. At times, a discourse analysis can carry implicatures that can significantly change the overall message but the results demonstrate how different words, themes, modals and evaluative language were adequately able to express the content intended for Amnesty International's Twitter campaign and, if defined, the attitudes and intentions of people during the campaign as well.

Conclusively, this work provides insights on the extent to which the strategy of celebrity culture and discourse analysis can manifest itself in an actual Twitter network. The results from the evaluative analysis also helped me figure out the Twitter discourse in a humanitarian context. I was able to understand the rhetorical strategy of affect on Twitter, for example, when they were using words like ‘fuck’ or ‘hell’ in their tweets, that portrayed anger as compared to using emoticons like ‘:(’, portraying sadness. Numerous authors have used several theories in order to achieve deeper understanding on textual analysis and the value of influencers on Twitter. Those theories will be further discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter Five: Discussion

In this chapter, I will discuss what my results mean, the implications of those results, and focus on explaining how they relate to my research questions. My study helps to understand the importance of lexical choices analysis relating to credibility and affect and the power of celebrity activism/slacktivism. Lastly, I get to discuss the various ways in which language can be functionalized through social media platforms through numerous analyses such as text, modality, thematic and evaluative.

Can you trust what you find on the Web today? It is difficult to answer this question. In the United States, more than 50% of the population have Internet access and they make use of the World Wide Web as a major channel to provide them with the information and services that they need (Fogg et al. 2002). People make use of the Web for various things, like online shopping, research, publicity or bookings. Therefore, there's always a growing necessity to help people figure out whether a site is trustworthy or not. There's consistently these questions: can I trust in the services that this particular site is describing and providing? Can I trust the information on the site?

Nowadays, there are many convenient tools available to create and manipulate digital images, which continues to allow fake images to propagate across various social media platforms. These mock up images can influence the Web users and also pose as an important socio-political threat around the world (Shen et al. 2018). It is hence essential to better understand how users evaluate the authenticity of online images. The results of this study provide analytical insights to image credibility research. Authors Farid & Bravo (2010) have reported that people normally believe that they are hardly capable of identifying false images and that the images are usually considered trustworthy (Kasra et al., 2018; Nightingale et al., 2017). The results from my study show that Twitter users are often confused on the credibility of online images. Many people were debating whether Amir Amini's image was real or not but couldn't figure out the true value of the latter. Some believed the activist therefore believed his post as well. In this context, while using the Web, people do not often probe very deeply into issues like identity when they are evaluating the credibility of a site, image or information, for example,

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making clear where the image came from: is it from a trustworthy website like Amnesty International or other NGOs' websites?

An important discovery of my study is that users' experience and skills significantly impact their online image authenticity evaluations. The more familiar and knowledgeable people are with the Web and online media platforms, that is, people with "digital media literacy", the better they get at evaluating image credibility (Kasra, 2019). It can usually be hard to tell whether a picture is authentic or not. Many people base their assessment of the images on the visual information alone or in this case, factored their evaluation of how creditable the activist is, or even the number of people who have liked and retweeted the image (Kasra, 2019).

On the other hand, if people are unable to assess the transparency of the sites they are visiting, they will end up supporting unreliable services and poor information which can result in disastrous effects. An example could be people being victims of image forgery or even losing their savings if they end up believing wrong information they found online. Another implication could be, people stopping to view the World Wide Web as a reliable source of information and services if there's a considerable number of bad experiences like the above. Taking this thought process to an extreme, imagine a world where people could not accurately assess the authenticity of what they read and find online. Ultimately what would happen? In my opinion, people would sooner or later stop using the Internet for anything that really matters.

Every day millions of people express themselves through various social media platforms. The emotions and attitudes that they bring to an expression is called affect (Zappavigna, 2012). According to the author, affect is the "region of meaning concerned with 'registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?'" (Martin and White, 2005). In this case, the Twitter users used their opinions and feelings to communicate with their followers. As mentioned in the Introduction section, the users' reactions played a vital role in the #TakeAction campaign as it helped determine the association between the users' themselves and their environment. While analyzing the data, I understood how Amnesty International was able to appeal to thousands of people's emotions on Twitter, through the campaign.

The analysis of lexical choices and themes together with the modality and evaluative analyses are important conditions to answer my research question: understanding how language is defined in a Twitter network through a social media campaign. According to Wang and Culotta (2019), research across various disciplines have proved that lexical analysis can affect people's opinions. They discuss how it is important to know what words to use while you're tweeting or posting online, for example, how social media users describe themselves on the platform can influence their perceived socio-economic status. My thesis results, that is the frequency lists show the significant words used by the Twitter users to interact with other people, some were trying to get others to sign the petition by tweeting '*Please do sign & share the petition widely: <http://amn.st/60078r2EI>*', some were just tweeting to raise awareness about what is happening: 'Yes, this is a refugee family in handcuffs, in America, for being muslim. That little girl? Handcuffed.' while others were expressing their feelings of happiness, anger, sadness or even disgust by using words like 'Glad', 'terrible', 'sad' and 'disgusted'. Human beings are generally somewhat intuitive when it comes to defining the tone of a piece of writing, and in this case, the tweets. Therefore, through the frequency analysis together with the thematic, modality and evaluative analyses, I was able to comprehend the public's emotional state during the campaign and learn how the attitudes towards social movements are impacted by celebrity activism.

Some of the people who have the power to use the Internet for something that really matters are celebrities. If we thought that celebrity activism or culture was fanatical before, in 2020, it's in hyperdrive. With the appearance of social media, the concept of celebrity and appreciation towards media personas has been quite evident. The power from celebrities because of their saturation coverage in the media has made absolute impacts on the lifestyle, beauty and fashion of the public. Many times, they have also changed people's opinions and perspectives on different social issues. For example, we saw this happen with Amnesty International's #TakeAction campaign. The quite famous celebrities, Maggie Gyllenhaal and comedian, Sarah Silverman decided to support the campaign and received a lot more interaction than what the average Joe did. He or she does not have the time or the resources to allocate to such causes whereas huge celebrities have enough time and money on their hands. Similarly with Amir



Amini being a recognizable activist, people tend to listen and take into consideration most of the things he says.

Celebrities and activists have the power, by using their fame and fortune to bring attention to predominant issues and give authenticity to credible representatives of social movements. By taking a closer look at celebrity culture, I realized that famous people who raise their voices really do create a perceptible impact. In whichever ways, for example, raising funds or awareness, they're still sparking some kind of change and in spite of those who address celebrity activism as pointless, research has shown that it's actually working. One such example is how for years now, Lady Gaga has been engaged in various philanthropic and activist efforts that generally work to address her 'Little Monsters' (the name given to her fan club by her fans themselves) as fellow partners and consequently inspire many of the latter to engage in further actions (Bennett, 2013).

This implies that universally-known celebrities can help emphasize and expose issues to a wider audience which would regularly get little or no news coverage without their participation. Furthermore, the micro-blogging platform Twitter presents a rising natural laboratory for the study of dissemination. Celebrities can be labelled as Twitter muscle-machines, they have substantial immediate access to the public all over the world. An article by Lucy Bennett from the journal of *Transformative Works and Cultures* examines celebrity activism and argues that celebrities are postured as transformative and powerful activists. The article, titled "Fan Activism for Social Mobilization", points to the projected intimacy of Twitter and its direct access to fans as the greatest asset for celebrity activism (Bennett, 2012).

I argue that using the social media platform, Twitter, celebrities find it easier to engage with their fans in real time and therefore establish a perceived intimacy while tweeting. The fans want to feel as if they're directly involved in the celebrity's life, and when someone like Maggie Gyllenhaal sends out a tweet, broadcasting her feelings in the hope of leveraging her celebrity status to draw attention to the issue, they will do so because of this projected familiarity. The celebrity is often hundreds and thousands of miles away but the fans will react and show their support to the latter because that makes them feel like they're a part of that celebrity's life or

subculture. As reported by Bennett (2012), the projected interactivity and intimacy are a big draw for fan engagement and therefore, successful activism for the celebrity. Another advantage the author draws on is the total number of people the celebrities are able to reach just by sending one tweet. When a celebrity like Maggie Gyllenhaal sends out a tweet and asks Amnesty International what she can do to help, thousands of people will see it. She currently has over 90 thousand followers. That is a colossal amount of people who may or may not take real action. Even if a quarter of those followers end up taking action, it's still a big step forward. Some celebrity activists like Lady Gaga or Emma Watson have millions of followers, an amount that many organizations cannot reach. In many cases, if not most, this type of activism is pretty successful. Sometimes, without even getting out of bed, celebrities can lead a whole campaign, to them, it's just a click away.

This sort of click-and-like activism has a name: slacktivism. It is a juxtaposition of two conflicting activities: activism and slacking. The term “slacktivism” is a combination of the words “slacker” and “activism”, used to define the “the pursuit of feel-good charity and the pursuit of not actually sacrificing anything except a single click” (Knibbs, 2013). You're a “click-and-like” away from a little rush of humanitarian success. The author describes slacktivism as a “feel-good back patting” through commenting and liking posts on social movements without actually moving or taking some action into solving the problem.

Slacktivism is usually innocuous, economical and non-committal, therefore making engagement simple for the public. One prime example of slacktivism was the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge campaign. Millions of people joined in because they felt a sense of belonging (Muslic, 2017). They were sharing their own videos on social media platforms and daring their friends to do the same, which resulted in \$200 million dollars being raised in helping slow the progression of Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis (ALS) research. The ALS Challenge made the most of slacktivism online while also encouraging actual action such as dumping the bucket of ice and/or donating to the ALS foundation.

Slacktivism helped spark conversations during the Amnesty International #TakeAction campaign. When Maggie Gyllenhaal commented on Amir Amini's post and later on tweeted

Amnesty International asking what she can do to help, the public's inclination would be to ask Maggie how they can help in their own ways. Even with a very small cost such as commenting or sharing a post, Maggie is still inviting all of her followers into a conversation about how to help the refugees. While slacktivism has its place, it's not exactly the silver bullet to making a big change in the world. It's so simple to quietly like a social media page, change your profile picture, or retweet an article to provide awareness without actually engaging. Despite the fact that the term "slacktivism" is frequently negatively connoted, many view it in a more positive light because it allows people and organizations to expand their reach in ways that are more profitable and ecological. In this context for example, numerous people commented on Maggie Gyllenhaal's tweet, agreeing that something has to be done but again what percentage of them might be expected to actually take some real action? The one thing I saw many of them do is retweeting and sharing the information on their Twitter page. With more people sharing, there's more potential for expanded reach.

This is where I think "stochastic terrorism" comes in, or as I have decided to call this particular scenario "stochastic activism". Stochastic terrorism is defined as "the use of mass communication to incite random actors to carry out violent or terrorist acts that are statistically predictable but individually unpredictable" (G2G, 2011). The word 'stochastic' in our everyday language means 'random', and 'activism', here, refers to 'taking action to affect social change' (permanentculture, n.d.). Stochastic terrorism, on one hand is the use of mass communications to instigate random people to carry out violent or even terrorist acts. For example, when Bin Laden released a video that stirred random ultraists halfway across the world to commit shootings or bombings (G2G, 2011). But stochastic activism, more specifically in this context is the opposite. Maggie Gyllenhaal used her social media platform to encourage random actors to carry out any types of activism, whether it's going out of your way to effect social change or sitting at home, behind your laptop and retweeting an important post. It's not where you're from, it's not where you're at, it's what you do that matters. Many may see slacktivism as Generation Y's cheap effort at political change, while others are commending the new form of participation as an answer to old-school mobilization (Ebbitt, 2015).

Moreover, the present research demonstrates that a key component to understanding the way people communicate with each other is by gathering large amounts of texts or samples of discourse. The Internet search engine Voyant helped provide word frequency estimates that were both credible and reliable, for example, the most frequent word in the corpus was ‘*mgyllenhaal*’ (120) as one would expect from a campaign that was being supported by a celebrity, Maggie Gyllenhaal. As discussed in the Analysis Chapter, the estimates obtained from Voyant showed the most common words used, the most frequent collocations, along with the numeric frequency of their appearance in the data. These results ought to reassure researchers to impose this highly accessible and easy-to-use tool. A word frequency analysis was conducted in order to gain insight on the feelings and opinions of Twitter users (affect) during the #TakeAction campaign and through the analysis, the words used, the themes present, the modal verbs and evaluative language used played an important role in helping me understand the various communicative languages used across Twitter. While analysing activist Amini’s post, the results, that is, the words used by users to express their beliefs towards the online image allowed me to comprehend how Twitter users rate online images in terms of authenticity and credibility.

Furthermore, a thematic analysis was also conducted with the word frequency analysis. Thematic analysis “focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behavior” (Aronson, 1995). It has been lousily branded, yet generally used in qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and has rarely been acknowledged in a similar way as grounded theory, ethnography, or phenomenology (Nowell et al., 2017). The authors discussed the benefits of thematic analysis and reported that it is “useful for summarizing key features of a large data set, as it forces the researcher to take a well-structured approach to handling data, helping to produce a clear and organized final report (King, 2004)” (Nowell et al., 2017). Various themes such as empathy, support and awareness were identified during the analysis that helped me better understand how the Twitter users were feeling thus, better understanding why they were tweeting the things they were tweeting. I think both thematic & modality analysis are qualitative research methods that can be broadly used across a range of methodological analysis and research questions. English is a language which is rather rich in modal words, especially modal verbs

such as: “*may, might, will, would, should, must, ought to, need, can, could*”. The results demonstrate that Gyllenhaal made use of a modal verb ‘can’ thus allowing users to know that she’s certainly going to take some action to help the refugees in any way she can, which may or may not inspire others to do the same.

So far, I have examined the results of the text, thematic, modality and evaluative analyses of the study data and yielded a discussion about the findings to understand my results and the implications of those results. My study also revealed that celebrities have the power to influence and bring vital social issues to the forefront of the public’s mind. Analysis showed that using Voyant for the text analysis helped understand how language used on social media platforms is operationalized and also helped unearth essential insights such as *mgyllenhaal* being the most frequent word in the corpus, further proving the enormous influence celebrities have on people. Lastly, the findings confirmed that the social-media-specific communicative patterns during the campaign varied in diverse ways and were sorted through several analyses, making linguistics on Twitter easier to understand.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have analysed and discussed two main concepts namely, credibility and affect in order to better understand the Twitter discourse around an altruistic framework. Throughout the thesis, I provided a complete summary of prior research on online image credibility, celebrity activism and slacktivism. I analyzed the rate at which users are able to rate online images in terms of credibility, I also explored the impact that celebrities have on users during social crises and introduced slacktivism and its relevance towards the #TakeAction campaign. I made sure to provide an encapsulation of Twitter as a whole, the language used on the platform and various existing research on Twitter activism. The methods I used to answer my research questions were also discussed and I debated on the data collection process used for the study. The results of the study were reviewed and I provided a detailed analysis of the communications between Amnesty International, the refugees in question and the Twitter users. Finally, I discussed the results of the analysis and explored the relevance of those results towards the movement. Next, I would like to revisit the most substantial results of my research, how they helped me in answering my research questions, and the limitations of this research.

The frequency analysis of the tweets posted during the #TakeAction campaign on Twitter revealed that swearing is very prevalent on Twitter which I think comes from the idea that people are less concerned about offending someone in public as compared to doing so online. To be able to understand the feelings behind the use of these expletives, I decided to categorize the tweets according to emotion, which has been a prominent area of Twitter language research. The results showed various emotions, namely anger, sadness, empathy, support or even awareness which helped in understanding the users' attitudes towards the crisis. The thematic analysis revealed five major themes present during the campaign that allowed me to interpret the meanings behind the tweets on a deeper level. As for the modality analysis, the modal verbs such as 'might', 'must', 'will', and 'can' helped me understand the Twitter users' opinions and beliefs during the campaign. The four types of modality namely epistemic, deontic, dynamic and alethic were expressed during the campaign and because of the latter, I was also able to understand the degree of affect and certainty present during the #TakeAction campaign. The five categories of modality

namely ability, desirability, permission, obligation, and predictability helped me answer my research question of how language is implemented in a real Twitter network in a humanitarian context. Lastly, the evaluative analysis had a very similar purpose and results as the modality analysis as both of them focused on the feelings and attitudes of the users. For example, the evaluative analysis revealed that the use of expletives portrayed the emotion of anger as compared to using sad emojis to portray sadness. I was thus able to make judgements about the Twitter users' behaviours and understand what they were feeling at that time.

Although the #TakeAction movement began as a strategy to inspire people around the world to force the government to start taking charge towards the refugee crisis, the tweets analyzed here ultimately displayed the importance of credibility, affect and celebrity activism. The results showed that credibility in terms of trustworthiness of the information provided online depends on the information source. In my thesis, source credibility came from different places: NGO, Amnesty International, celebrities namely Maggie Gyllenhaal and Sarah Silverman and activist Amir Amini. The results demonstrate how NGOs and social movements online can be authentic allies. A closer collaboration between Amnesty International and the Refugee Crisis movement can bring societal change. This tells me how NGOs are more apt to benefit from the increased credibility in working with grassroots social movements and social movements can benefit from NGOs' assets, such as online networks or funding.

Furthermore, celebrity activism also has a huge impact on people's attitudes towards social movements. Various celebrities across the country used the social media platform, Twitter, as a means to raise awareness for the Refugee Crisis issue. Individuals can be strongly influenced if they believe in the source. Seeing their idol signing the petition, many Twitter users retweeted the celebrity's post showing their support to the cause as well. Although this particular form of activism, known as slacktivism has not been the best to bring universal societal change, it has favorably helped in raising awareness of a very real concern and acknowledged the potential for Twitter to be used as a platform for social change. The lexical choices analysis revealed how the "identifiable victim effect" was essential to the campaign. Including personal narratives, that is, the real videos from real life refugees to the campaign pushed people to feel more for the

refugees and take actions towards the social issue. This signifies how Twitter can be a vehicle for significant humanitarian discourse aimed at real change. Twitter is a platform that is broadly accessible to millions, along with a forum that can be browsed by people who are not inevitably Twitter users. There is the possibility to reach a larger audience, specifically when engaging in social movement activism through the use of hashtags. As mentioned above, the various analyses conducted throughout the thesis allowed me to understand the meanings behind the interactions between Amnesty International, the angry Twitter users and the refugees.

Regardless of this achievement, and the discovery that the social media platform, Twitter can be used as a rhetorical tool for activist campaigning and communication, it is also vital to recognize the thesis' limitations. This study is limited in some ways. First of all, I had to restrict my data timeline or else with such a large amount of data, it would have been impossible to manually analyse and label all the tweets and some of the users. With the data I collected, I used the approach of creating a frequency list and labeling the themes and profanity. Although these strategies have been used in various studies, I know they are not perfect. I chose precision over recall during my decision-making as I knew I would have to analyse each tweet one by one for my study. Furthermore, I did not meticulously analyse all of the Twitter user accounts mentioned in the dataset. I focused on the ones that were more prominent such as Maggie Gyllenhaal, Amir Amini, Sarah Silverman or even those users who made use of words salient to the discourse analysis.

On the other hand, some of the lessons learnt from the thesis would be the importance of Twitter as a tool for social movement, the role that people's beliefs and opinions play during a social media campaign, how Twitter users rate online images in terms of credibility, the impact that celebrities have on people during social movements and lastly the understanding of language being implemented on Twitter through a case study. These lessons help inform the social media policies of Amnesty International and hopefully other humanitarian organizations in the future as well. Understanding the basic feelings and opinions of the public play a crucial role during campaigning, because acknowledging the needs of the people will get them to take action towards your cause, resulting in societal change. And this is exactly what Amnesty International



was aiming for with this campaign. Even though the analysis was mainly focused on the characteristics of communication, I think further analysis on the hashtag phenomenon would be valuable to the study as a few hashtags were used during the campaign to get people to join the conversation on the refugee crisis. During the analysis, people did not make use of the hashtags as much as Amnesty International would have wanted, therefore a research study on why that happened would be quite interesting.

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## **Appendix A: Thesis data**

### **Amnesty 31st Jan 2017 - 3rd Feb 2017**

#### **Amir @amiraminiMD 31 Jan 2017**

Yes, this is a refugee family in handcuffs, in America, for being muslim. That little girl? Handcuffed.

History will judge us very harshly. [pic.twitter.com/KIR50K64ZO](https://pic.twitter.com/KIR50K64ZO)

#### **Juliana @hehju 31 Jan 2017 - 1 Comment, 4 Retweets, 14 Likes**

I get "politics" isn't your thing but stand up for those people who don't have a voice. The children refugees starving and dying need us.

#### **AmnestyInternational @amnesty 31 Jan 2017 - 4 Comments, 219 Retweets, 188 Likes**

Replying to @hehju

Hi @hehju, Leila in Kenya's Kakuma camp has replied to your tweet on child refugees  
#TakeAction <http://amn.st/60058r9M9>

#### **Replies to Amnesty:**

#### **Craig Webster @craig73webster 31 Jan 2017 - 2 Likes**

Replying to @amnesty

@JamesMelville @hehju why are the children having to wear school uniform? Use that money for food and clothing not school uniform

**Chief Executive @ce\_twx 31 Jan 2017 - 1 Comment**

Replying to @amnesty @hehju

APARTHEID

**BARAKO castro @ITISBARAKO 3 Feb 2017**

Replying to Chief Executive @ce\_twx



**Nyamweya Bw' Omari @NyamweyaBwOmari 31 Jan 2017 - 1 Retweet**

Replying to @amnesty @hehju

@melvinkiruja Mary hayuko 'twira'!

**End of Conversation**

**Maggie Gyllenhaal @mgyllenhaal 31 Jan 2017 - 137 Comments, 1,833 Retweets, 2232 Likes**

I have shivers. Sick. Broken. <https://twitter.com/amiraminimd/status/826380736458534913> ...

This Tweet is unavailable.

**Amnesty International @amnesty 1 Feb 2017 - 15 Comments, 204 Retweets, 296 Likes**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Hi @mgyllenhaal Heba from Lebanon's Shatila camp has a message for you #TakeAction

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<http://amn.st/60028rsAO>

**Maggie Gyllenhaal @mgyllenhaal 1 Feb 2017 - 8 Comments, 15 Retweets, 78 Likes**

Replying to @amnesty

.@amnesty I saw this. What can I do.

**Amnesty International @amnesty 1 Feb 2017 - 4 Retweets, 13 Likes**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

now more than ever we must #TakeAction.

Please sign here: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO> and ask others to if you can. Thank you!

**137 Replies to Maggie Gyllenhaal:**

**Hitchcock's harmonial homie~Kevrock @KkevrockK 31 Jan 2017 - 7 Comments, 10 Likes**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@VTookenay @amiraminiMD posed picture much...cuffs don't even fit kids.

**Hitchcock's harmonial homie~Kevrock @KkevrockK 31 Jan 2017 -**

Replying to @KkevrockK @mgyllenhaal and 2 others

and for context here's Christians in Iran..such humanity

**Barbara DiGangi @BarbaraDiGangi 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

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@MichaelSkolnik @amiraminiMD this is child abuse.

**Ilanna Sharon Mandel @ismandel 3 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

we have an obligation to take them in. I know Canada will.

**Lucy Ortiz @HerLaptop112 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @TheRealAnaOrtiz

Unbelievable.

**Melissa Salazar @monkeyesue1278 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@smassellsings @amiraminiMD 🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄🙄

**Claude Robinson III @virtualclauder 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD very sad. I ask r handcuffs even necessary to detain  
#POLICESTATE looks like #Stalin won Cold War

**Rob Willsea @RobWillsea 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD Most sad scene of this mess yet. #Disgusted.

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**alan @AvpdIsapain 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Your politicians seem happy with it...

**Do Better USA @DoBetterUSA 31 Jan 2017**

Most of our politicians and citizens are not ok with it -

**alan @AvpdIsapain 31 Jan 2017**

Glad to hear it!

**Mikeybentley @beno0916 2 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

that little girl handcuffed? Wtf oh in case she is a danger to 🇺🇸 🤔 this is so fucking bad !!

**Resist @WhiteHatPiper 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

just horrific

**Grace Sultan @LuckyG73 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

this poor baby 🙏

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**Darlene Opoku @darleop1 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

this is absolutely appalling!

**BIG MAM @MariaMi1962 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal



**MediaDeath @MediaDeath 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Kids need to be cuffed as well until things are sorted out. Many soldiers have been blown up by being friendly with children.

**Terri @mcmurrayterrim 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

terrible!

**Crispy BartyJnr @BartyJnr 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@arwelwjones they're not cuffed, deported yes, but not cuffed. He's been tweeting about it on his personal twitter.

**Sabine Scoggins, PhD @sabine\_scoggins 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

these steps are necessary to keep everyone safe, including you & your family. As you know:  
Terrorists lie to get into US

**Méline Jun @MelineJun 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @arwelwjones

The little girl too? Because, who knows, she may have a bomb hidden in her teddy. Fuck this world.

**Esther KurczynFirova @esther\_firova 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

this brings tears to my eyes and a heartbreak for all innocent refugees. ❤️

**Tonja Faulkner @TonjaFaulkner 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD 🙄

**RedwoodResistance @CoolGreenPines 31 Jan 2017**


Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Anger is better.

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**Truth Teller @ASawyerHair 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@Love88471041 that is beyond horrifying. Love & light to those folks caught in this nitemare  


**Fardeen Hasan Barno @Barno\_1047 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

what the hell is going on!

**Samantha Ratcliff @SamRatcliff87 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman absolutely disgusting. I can't wait for his impeachment!! Doing this breeds more angry Muslims!Can't blame em!

**Sofia @Virgotruth 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

I feel like mike in godfather 2 when he grabs Fredo and kisses him and says "you broke my heart  
Fredo, u broke my heart"

**archived @braidsnglasses 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

this is shameful 😞 how can you criminalize a 5 year old?!?! 💔💔💔

**Michael the Suich @MichaelJSuich 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

I have seen the face of evil, it was the coworker that laughed at this story.

Really.

**Terri DiCecco @BerriBear1027 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

#trumpsick

**Delroy Blake @blakelimo12 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

it's a disgrace what's going on in this civilized country as this.

**Nick Hunter @nhSnork 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

handcuffing little kids... even our police aren't known for that, and it says a lot...

**Farrell Law @FarrellLawCA 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

I think you were duped. I see no cuffs. Where are they?

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**Luann Trummel @BluKULu 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

This is not the country I loved.

**Jim Lovewell @jimlovewell 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman you see her holding something in her right hand?? And who smiles when being arrested?? Highly doubt this

**Croce Rose @CroceRose 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

that is insane..

and how did the American people ask for this to happen?

its out of control.

sad really sad.

**Gorygirl @Gorygirl70 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD absolutely disgraceful

**SkipperEvan @SkipperEvan\_ 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

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@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD this was debunked. The father in the photo stated they were not handcuffed.

**Joyceb @joyceb8551 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH @amiraminiMD this is just too much. When is this madness ever going to end?  
So sad for our country.

**Carrie @CarrieDee26 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@alsilbs this breaks my heart and is so unnecessary. 😞

**Andrew Willoughby @Nash95 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD as well as fuelling even more hatred towards the west

**Taylor Picou @taypicou 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@Jennie\_Claire my heart :(

**Angie @Canadianviper74 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@niallcunning : This makes me so mad !!!!! So fucking wrong !!!! ( excuse my language)

**danny pew @wiredhyperspace 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @katemara

kate did it

**davd kelley @dudleydad 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman There has long been talk of The Greatest Generation. Are we the worst?

**Phillaphobia @phillaphobia 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman I hate this stupid #MuslimBan but there appears to be 2 items in front with arms raised holding them

**CrayfishCrawdad @CrayfishCrawdad 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

So so heartbreaking and horrifying. This is not the America I thought it was. So much unjustified hatred and venom.

**tabitha ford @TKFord1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD I'm so sorry for it all.

**CJ Jones @Cecil\_senoJ 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD wow... 

**Heather B @hmbbomb 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD The jessduboff twitter doesn't exist. bad enough w/out altfacts. Be careful - we fight for truth

**Heather B @hmbbomb 31 Jan 2017**

be wary of manipulation by the right


**Mary Cummins @MaryCummins1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

How and why do we even have handcuffs for little kids?

**Maria Antonieta @Antonieta007 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD 

**Russell Smith @boatmansnaps13 31 Jan 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD WTF?

**Phats McWilson @PhatsMcWilson 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

UNCONFIRMED! The original post says the little girl "appears to be in handcuffs." Careful what you "report."

**Duncan Gunn ⑤ @duncangunn 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD History will judge you with respect if you can find a way of getting this monster out.

**Tracy Strimling @TracyLynny 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD despicable.

**KC Wineburner @kcsunshine626 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman so sad to that in America. We have to keep standing up for what is rt

**Dianna Roop @diannax7roop 31 Jan 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman omg what the hell I am shocked and appalled how do they sleep at night

**Singleservingfriend @SinglServngFrnd 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD Where was your outrage when President Obama dropped bombs on these countries creating Refugees?

**Greg Mitchell @Ruggum 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

Maggie & Sarah, how could a Celebrity Strike start up?

**Carol @YoginiCarol 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD Where has our humanity gone?

**Nichelle sutton @sutton\_nichelle 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH @amiraminiMD I am truly sickened by this.

**babsjohnson @babsjohnson 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

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@MichaelSkolnik @amiraminiMD This is outrageous! I am appalled! And heartsick. Imagine how scarring that is to this child?

**Renee Lascala @ReneeLascala 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH @amiraminiMD Astounded that child-size handcuffs are even made, and that they had them on hand on such short notice.

**tina @stanafrobi 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD unbelievable, Rt everyone. This is not democracy.

**Vanessa Hills @Vanessashills 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD heartbreaking.

**@mattwise2 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

even if you think extra vetting or sending them back to their home country is okay, I cannot grasp why handcuffs are necessary

**PJ McConnell @PJbleedsgreen 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

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@amiraminiMD lmao imagine being as naive as Maggie Gyllenhaal and actually believing that girl is in handcuffs

**Angela @msangela95 31 Jan 2017**

Imagine being naive enough to believe it's not possible.

**dmk4285 @dawn4285 31 Jan 2017**

how about thos so sick with racism that they dont care what a child is exposed too

**Medical Droid @Doctor3099 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@perpetualSHO sad that so many Americans are ok with this poisonous propaganda. Dangerous times.

**caitlynne @caitymedrek 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman my heart :(

**Doc Holliday @ScottWwonka1993 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman that's a bullshit photo

**SwordRgr @r98\_sd 31 Jan 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal

She is handcuffed!!!!...either Sofia the First or My Little Pony handcuff edition. Next hot item for Xmas!!!

**I LOVE TEA @tea\_ryanny 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD they handcuffed a child?? What kind of country is this? I fear for our souls...and karms

**Wendy B @WendybellB 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@EmmaSnapea This is sickening! Not okay! I hope they sue and win millions! That little kid too! We are better than this.

**ANTHONY MCDONNELL @ANTHONYMCDONNE1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD is the little girl really in handcuffs? disgusting

**Dennis Paradise @DennisParadise1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal @katemara

Did you fact check this story? Don't repost "fake news" just to get in the spotlight!

**nb @nileyboo 2 Feb 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman

um, if that hasn't already happened, i wouldn't be bragging.

**Martha @yumbubbly 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD disgusting!

**D Boles @donica\_boles 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@MichaelSkolnik @amiraminiMD this is one of the sickest images I have seen. A child in America in handcuffs

**Liberal Notion @LiberalNotion 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@MichaelSkolnik @amiraminiMD I'm disgusted and ashamed.

**Dan Deubelbeiss @dandeubelbeiss 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Stop the drama. A short period to sort things out is nothing compared that what they came from. Small discomfort. Nothing more.

**AltAccount @AlynneStark 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Sick and Broken is not allowed in times like these. Time to be Angry and Determined, Maggie.

**DrWAVEsport @DrWAVEsportCd1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@ResistanceDem THIS IS F'ING #CHILDABUSE BY A PRESIDENT OF USA!!! ARREST T  
NOW & Charge Him & His Ilk For #ChildAbuse! NOW!!!!

**Stop Putin Now! @SueinRockville 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@laserhaas01 @amiraminiMD

No Maggie-First we cry. Then we get up join #TheResistance & fight for #LoveTrumpsHate

**Darren Main @Mavedotcom 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@katemara @amiraminiMD I think that's fake, you can't even see what the child is doing 🤔🤔  
🤔

**Wanderlust @kslgoblue84 31 Jan 2017**

Reported.

**Guy Johnson @KetogenicGuy 31 Jan 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@katemara @amiraminiMD zero % chance girl is handcuffed & holding something in her mouth

**Skip Allen @SkipAllen5 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

bullshit

**Arthur Ben-Meir @the1recorder 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Now I have no doubt that Liberalism is a brain disease. Try worrying about your own people, first (if you can?).

**Miguel R. Llull @mrlull 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

disgusting @POTUS disgusting...I want my America back, tolerance, kindness and love. Go away already

**Johnny Utah @JohnnyUtah\_SA 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman Don't worry, I'm sure you'll get another acting job someday...

**@really? @soletssee 31 Jan 2017**



Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD surely to God this can't be true. Shameful

**Mona Maloney @vegasgal13 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman and were u sick when heads were being hacked off, video on tv & internet?  
Did u march & protest then? No.

**Oliver A @OliverOCA15 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD I'm not sure history will judge us harshly as we should be judging ourselves.

**Official ©Marv @MarvinAmelie 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

🤪🤪🤪🤪🤪🤪™ @mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman Get a grip... I'm not a Trump'glodyte but that is a poorly photo shopped fake image.

**J\_R\_\_ @i\_DontShiveAgit 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@SarahKSilverman @amiraminiMD wow! Fuck trump!!!!

**Say "America, 2016" @SideSliceFoots 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

.@mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman lol. Shivers? Take it easy drama queen.

Not because they're Muslim, stop repeating lies. B/c they're from X.

**Dr Mouthy @dr\_mouthy 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@MichaelSkolnik @amiraminiMD fake news

**Jonnee Appleseed @appleseedhere 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH @amiraminiMD not for being Muslim. Once again you distraught the truth. It's because they come from a terrorist area

**Brian Keppy @BrianKeppy 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD Just another average day in Dumpty Trumpty's America. Disgusting.

**justin south @justy73 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@katemara 12 plus years ago @GreenDay released AMERICAN IDIOT. If only america listened like the rest of the world #MuslimBan

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**Bradley Franklin A.007@ darB 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

.@mgyllenhaal @SarahKSilverman No. They do Not handcuff people for being Muslim.

**jacana @Jacanqueen1 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH OMG shameful

**LoveAmerica @LindaPi98833415 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@UncleRUSH that's not evidence the child was handcuffed. Stop with this idiocy.

**Jo-Claire Corcoran @moondance27 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminimd @realDonaldTrump little girls and boys handcuffed? Trump you are a fascist bastard

**Yaniblaze @yaniblaze 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminimd grow the fuck up

**michael @Goldkart88 31 Jan 2017**

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Replying to @mgyllenhaal

would it be better without handcuffs? Is that the heartbreaking moment? How about you take them into your home then rich cunt.

**Nancy's Gavel @eileenlynnedorn 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@amiraminiMD the people responsible for this will rot in hell. Unfortunately it won't come soon enough.

**MetsRelatedAngina @FarRockLori 31 Jan 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

@realDonaldTrump you,Donald, belong in handcuffs, you disgusting orange ball sac

**15 Replies to Amnesty:**

**Fher @FernandoRubal10 1 Feb 2017 - 1 Like**

Replying to @amnesty @mgyllenhaal

Saudi Arabia can give you that and probably more,is the richest in the whole world.

@Keidotcom - This Tweet is unavailable

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 1 Feb 2017 - 1 Comment, 78 Retweets, 85 Likes**

Replying to @Keidotcom

Hi @PristineSshi, Amina from Kenya's Kakuma camp has just replied to your earlier tweet

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#TakeAction <http://amn.st/60008rSYC> @realDonaldTrump

### **Replies to Amnesty:**

**Henry Thuo @gathuo 6 Feb 2017**

Replying to @amnesty @realDonaldTrump

proud of this team all way up!!!!

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 1 Feb 2017 - 8 Comments, 134 Retweets, 127 Likes**

Hey @sarabashiri, yes you're right. Abu from Kenya's Kakuma camp has just replied to your earlier tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60038roah>

### **Replies to Amnesty:**

**Stuart Cope @StueyCope 1 Feb 2017 - 1 Like**

Replying to @amnesty

A powerful campaign @amnesty showing social can make a difference to the less fortunate, well done whoever created this concept #gamechanger

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @CarlottaGreatho

Hi @CarlottaGreatho, we do care for all. Samer from Lebanon's Shatila camp has replied to your tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60008rUWg>

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Hi @mgyllenhaal Heba from Lebanon's Shatila camp has a message for you #TakeAction

<http://amn.st/60028rsAO>

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 1 Feb 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

now more than ever we must #TakeAction.

Please sign here: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO> and ask others to if you can. Thank you!

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 2 Feb 2017**

Outrage is not enough. We must #TakeAction against fear & hateful politics. Please sign our petition, say #IWelcome: <http://amn.st/60028rsAO>

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 2 Feb 2017**

Replying to @CedricPrakash

You're right, it's scandalous. Don't let fear & hate win. #TakeAction, sign our petition:

<http://amn.st/60028rsAO> #TakeAction

**DB @LittleRed\_30 2 Feb 2017 - 8 likes**

Every day I am more horrified by the attitudes of some Brits. Where has our basic human compassion gone? #refugeeswelcome #weallbledred

**Amnesty International** @amnesty

Replying to @deborahbgardner

Hi @LittleRed\_29, Oscar from Kenya's Kakuma camp has replied to your earlier tweet about refugees #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60078r2El>

**DB @LittleRed\_30 2 Feb 2017 - 14 Retweets, 49 Likes**

This is absolutely incredible. I will definitely take action. Thank you, Oscar. Sending you & yr family all the love in the world.

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 2 Feb 2017 (Osama Saeed Bhutta Retweeted) - 88 Retweets, 105 Likes**

Replying to @LittleRed\_30

Thanks so much Deborah 😊 we'll pass this on to Oscar now. Please do sign & share the petition widely: <http://amn.st/60078r2El>

**Babs G @Bbfairlife 2 Feb 2017**

Just sign!! Thanks for all the good work amnesty does!

**William C. Flax @william\_flax 2 Feb 2017**

Replying to @amnesty

My name is as follows: William C. Flax 2/17.

**HumainDésespéré @MbBoulos 3 Feb 2017 - 1 Retweet, 1 Like**

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Replying to @LittleRed\_30

It's gone with:

Ultra liberalism,

Individual success stories,

Ordinary horror daily on TV,

Thus we lost sensitivity & empathy

**DB @LittleRed\_30 3 Feb 2017**

it's so disheartening - but all the more reason that all of us need to speak out as loudly and often as we can. #refugeeswelcome

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 2 Feb 2017**

Replying to @lilyfreefierce

you're right, they don't deserve this. Please sign our petition to say #IWelcome:

<http://amn.st/60068r25M>

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 3 Feb 2017**

UK High Court to scrutinize arms deals to Saudi Arabia during Yemen war - spokespeople available <http://amn.st/60128TBL8> #ArmsTreaty

**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 3 Feb 2017**

Boston airport is allowing ALL passengers through until Sunday thanks to Boston Federal Court decision. Please spread the word! #NoBanNoWall



**AmnestyInternational @amnesty 3 Feb 2017**

Replying to @OmanReagan

Hi @OmanReagan, Koutayba from Lebanon's Shatila camp has just replied to your earlier tweet  
#TakeAction <http://amn.st/60058T1KV> #IWelcome

## Appendix B: Video Transcriptions

### 1. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Jan 31, 2017**

Replying to @hehju

Hi @hehju, Leila in Kenya's Kakuma camp has replied to your tweet on child refugees #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60058r9M9>

Video - 1 min 10 secs

13.3 K views

4 replies

215 retweets

181 likes

**Transcription** : Dear @hehju, I just read your tweet saying how outraged you are about the refugee crisis. Thank you for speaking out. But tweeting is not enough. Here in Kakuma refugee camp, thousands of single mothers like me are struggling to raise our kids. Our food rations have been cut again and I cannot afford the uniforms my 3 kids need to go to school. Like any mum anywhere, what I want is a good future for my children. I fled Somalia when I was four - I still remember the war. I hope that one day my kids will walk out of this camp and never look back. Please take action now. Go to Amnesty.org and sign up with your name to push Donald Trump and other world leaders to share responsibility for refugees like me, instead of leaving countries like Kenya to cope alone. Please do it now. Thank you.

### 2. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 1, 2017**

Hey @sarabashiri, yes you're right. Abu from Kenya's Kakuma camp has just replied to your earlier tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60038roah>

Video - 58 secs

14.8 K views

8 replies

132 retweets

126 likes

**Transcription:** Hi @sarabashiri, thank you for tweeting about the refugee crisis. I really appreciate that you have not forgotten about us. But tweeting is not enough. Here at the Kakuma refugee camp in northern Kenya, hundreds of thousands of people have fled war and violence. I had to run to escape persecution and now I'm supporting my disabled aunt alone. To have a future, I need an education. But I might have to drop out of school because we don't have enough to eat or money for the right medicine. That's why I'm asking you to take action. Please go to [amnesty.org](http://amnesty.org) and sign up to pressure world leaders to share the responsibility for refugees like me instead of leaving countries like Kenya to cope alone. Please do it now. Thank you.

### **3. Amnesty International @amnesty**

**Feb 1, 2017**

Replying to @Keidotcom

Hi @PristineSshi, Amina from Kenya's Kakuma camp has just replied to your earlier tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60008rSYC> @realDonaldTrump

Video - 1 min 05 secs

3.9 K views

1 reply

73 retweets

81 likes

**Transcription:** Dear @PristineSshi, my name is Amina. I just saw your tweet saying how much you disagree with Donald Trump's attitude towards refugees. Thank you for standing up for people like me. But tweeting is not enough. I had to escape from the Democratic Republic of Congo 7 years ago. Now I live here in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya. It is my dream to go to university and one day to be a filmmaker, but right now it is impossible. We need governments to do more, but the opposite is happening. I want to be someone to go somewhere but life here is very hard. All I'm asking for is an opportunity to build my future. Please take action now by signing up on Amnesty.org. Together we can push world leaders like President Trump to welcome their fair share of refugees like me. Please do it now. Thank you.

#### 4. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 1, 2017**

Replying to @mgyllenhaal

Hi @mgyllenhaal Heba from Lebanon's Shatila camp has a message for you  
#TakeAction <http://amn.st/60028rsAO>

Video - 1 min 39 secs

31.4 K views

15 replies

196 retweets

287 likes

**Transcription:** Dear @mgyllenhaal, my name is Heba and I read what you tweeted this morning. Thank you for speaking out about the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Your words mean a lot to us, but tweeting is not enough. Living here in the camp is difficult. I am a single woman and a refugee. I have to go out everyday for work, as I'm the only person in my family who has a job and they all depend on me. I never feel safe here. All I wish is for a normal life. That's why I'm asking you and everyone else who is tweeting about the crisis, to take action. Please go to Amnesty.org and sign up with your name to pressure world leaders to share the responsibility for refugees like me instead of leaving countries like Lebanon to cope alone. Please do it now. Thank you @mgyllenhaal.

## 5. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 1, 2017**

Replying to @markgwalters

Hi @markgwalters, Abdul from Lebanon's Shatila camp has just replied to your tweet from earlier today #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60038rNSz>

Video - 1 min 29 secs

5.6 K views

4 replies

55 retweets

58 likes

**Transcription:** Hello @markgwalters, my name is Abdul Ghafour and I saw your tweet earlier today about the Syrian Refugee Crisis. It is reassuring to know that we are not forgotten but tweeting is not enough. I fled the war in Syria and came here to a refugee

camp in Lebanon. Life is so difficult here, as I'm trying to keep my education going, so that I can give myself hope for the future. But it is hard. I have several jobs, just so that I can live and eat. I work every hour I can. I am tired. Life is so hard, but there is no other way. All I dream of is a chance for a normal life. Therefore, please I ask you to take action by going to Amnesty.org and sign the petition. Together we can pressure world leaders to support refugees like me. Thank you Mark.

## 6. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 1, 2017**

Replying to @CarlottaGreatho

Hi @CarlottaGreatho, we do care for all. Samer from Lebanon's Shatila camp has replied to your tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60008rUWg>

Video - 2 min 15 secs

8.4 K views

3 replies

65 retweets

90 likes

**Transcription:** Dear @CarlottaGreatho, my name is Samer, I'm a palestinian refugee from Syria, I currently live here in Lebanon. I just saw your tweet from earlier. Thank you for talking about the refugee crisis caused by the war in Syria. It's really important but tweeting is not enough. I found refuge here in Lebanon. I am one of the lucky ones. I have work. But because I'm a refugee, my wages are very small. And I have to work 7 days a week and approx 15 hours a day. If I take a single day off, I fall behind. All I want is a chance to build a future for my family. That's why you and everyone else who's tweeting about the crisis needs to take action. Thank you and for all who tweeted and

took action on the crisis, go to [amnesty.org](http://amnesty.org) and sign up to pressure world leaders and decision makers into sharing responsibility for refugees like me instead of leaving countries like Lebanon and other countries to cope alone. Please do it now. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

## 7. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 2, 2017**

Replying to @deborahbgardner

Hi @LittleRed\_29, Oscar from Kenya's Kakuma camp has replied to your earlier tweet about refugees #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60078r2El>

Video - 1 min 34 secs

7.4 K views

5 replies

99 retweets

100 likes

**Transcription:** Dear @LittleRed\_29, my name is Oscar. I saw your tweet this morning about the refugee crisis. Thank you for standing up for people like me, especially when governments are closing their borders to us. But tweeting is not enough. Me and my family have been fleeing war for three generations. We have never had a place to call home. And now my wife and young children live with me here in Kenya's Kakuma refugee camp. I can't get a job, even though I am a trained nurse. We have no money and our rations are very small. Most of the time, we go hungry. We want to live in peace and like any husband and father I want to support my family, I want my children to have a good education, I want a future. Please take action now by going to [Amnesty.org](http://Amnesty.org) and sign the petition, it will pressure world leaders into welcoming their fair share of refugees like

me. Please do it now. Thank you.

## 8. Amnesty International @amnesty

**Feb 3, 2017**

Replying to @OmanReagan

Hi @OmanReagan, Koutayba from Lebanon's Shatila camp has just replied to your earlier tweet #TakeAction <http://amn.st/60058T1KV> #IWelcome

Video - 1 min 18 secs

8.8 K views

4 replies

152 retweets

123 likes

**Transcription:** Dear @OmanReagan, my name is Koutayba. I saw your tweet this morning about the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Thank you for speaking out about our problems. But tweeting is not enough. I fled the bombing in Aleppo alone. I made it to Lebanon, but life is difficult. People here think I am taking their jobs and discriminate against me, I have been robbed three times and once I was almost killed. It's hard to find work and any money I get is spent on food and trying to continue my education. Please take action by going to [amnesty.org](http://amnesty.org) and sign the petition, it will pressure world leaders into welcoming their fair share of refugees like me. Please do it now. Thank you @OmanReagan.