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# Movements, Exchanges, and Social Media

## An Exploratory Analysis of the Impact of Social Media Use on Movement Exchanges

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in  
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### **Abstract**

This thesis analyses to what extent an extensive use of and a dependence on social media influences the exchanges between social movement leaders and their constituency and with bystanders. This is done by applying Somma's (2021) Movement Exchange Theory to the case of the Chilean feminist movement called LasTesis. The data collection and analysis technique used in this thesis is Qualitative Content Analysis. Through analysing LasTesis' Tweets, this thesis draws the conclusion that there is no evidence suggesting that the use of social media entails an erosion of ideological coherence in collective action frames. However, the results indicate that the members of LasTesis use adversarial frames to a considerable degree. This suggests that the use of social media is expected to induce movement leaders to present their constituents and bystanders with frames that are meant to fuel outrage. In light of the growing importance and polarising potential of social media, these results warrant further investigation.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This chapter provides an introduction to this thesis. After a general introduction, the academic and societal relevance of the thesis is expanded upon. This chapter is concluded by a description of the structure of the thesis as a whole.

### **Social Movements and Social Media**

In September of 2020, *Time Magazine* included Dafne Valdés Vargas, Paula Cometa Strange, Sibila Sotomayor Van Rysseghem, and Lea Cáceres Díaz to their list of 100 most influential people of 2020 (Tolokonnikova, 2020). These four Chilean women have formed a feminist collective called LasTesis, which was created to introduce feminist theses to the general public. One could say that at the end of 2019, they did not only succeed in this mission, but even caused their effort to spread globally. The manner in which they have achieved this, is by writing and performing a protest performance called ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’ (A Rapist in Your Path), which they performed for the first time on 20 November 2019. This performance, protesting rape culture and impunity for rapists, rapidly spread online through social media channels such as Facebook and Instagram (Pais, 2019). LasTesis’ original performance has been adapted and performed by countless people all over the globe: as of writing, ‘Un Violador en Tu Camino’ had been performed 447 times in at least 54 different countries (Geochicas). This goes to show that four women from Valparaíso, Chile can create a movement that transcends borders and language barriers and which raises global awareness of feminist theory. This thesis will examine the interaction between social movements and social media by focusing on the case of LasTesis. It will specifically focus on the exchanges that are made between social movement leadership and their constituencies and bystanders, and how this is impacted by the use of social media.

### **Academic Relevance**

Although growing in importance, little is known about the interaction between movement exchanges and social media (Somma, 2021, p. 505; McCurdy, 2012, p. 251). This is unfortunate, because with a user count of 4.65 billion people (Kemp, 2022), it is clear that

social media has become an influential arena in which social interactions take place. In addition, social media is used not only for leisure, but also for other activities, such as discussing social issues and politics. Because of this, many social movements, for example the climate movement, are active on social media. Two well-known and widespread social movements even have the hashtag-sign in their name: #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter. This goes to show that social media has a significant impact on social movements. However, this particular interaction between social media and social movements is currently underanalysed. Most studies discussing social media in relation to movements focus only or primarily on the mobilising potential of social media (Artz, 2021, p. 250; Loader, 2008, p. 1929; McCurdy, 2012, p. 248; Kidd & McIntosh, 2016, p. 790). These types of studies often do not include an analysis on all the creative ways in which social media can be used to protest, or the effect that social media use has on leadership strategies and their interaction with constituencies and bystanders.

Another area of study that has received little scholarly attention as of yet, is the Movement Exchange Theory (Somma, 2021). This theory combines Social Exchange Theory, which originates in the field of sociology, with multiple aspects of social movement theories from the field of political science. Because this is such a recently coined theory, little has been undertaken to test or expand this theory. However, by bridging the divide between the disciplines of sociology and political science, taking useful aspects of both disciplines and creating a comprehensive framework that helps to clarify movement choices, exchanges, and other actors' expectations, Movement Exchange Theory has the potential to be a valuable contribution to social movement scholarship. Before this conclusion can be drawn, however, this theory would first have to be rigorously tested. This thesis will be a first endeavour to do so.

## **Societal Relevance**

Even though social movements have been highly influential actors in the social and political arena (Munck, 2020, p. 22), the majority of political scientists primarily focus on electoral institutions and parties, especially in democracies (Benoit, 2006, p. 69; Gallagher & Mitchell,

2005). This narrow focus entails a limited view of politics and the political arena, in the sense that it reinforces the belief that citizens can only influence policy during elections and political decisions are only made by professional politicians in Parliament. However, beyond elections, policy is shaped significantly by other institutions and actors, such as interest groups and social movements. As stated by Roose & Dietz (2016), “Social movements are an important force that shapes societies. Their analysis is a crucial part of theorizing in the social sciences and needs continuous attention” (p. 10). As hybrid and dynamic organisations (Munck, 2020, p. 32), social movements are particularly apt in involving citizens in social and political decision-making processes on subjects they are passionate about. In this manner, social movements have the potential to make citizens politically engaged. In addition, social movements are often effective in fostering passionate opinions among civilians, as has been the case with climate movements for example (Somma, 2021, p. 494; Munck, 2020, p. 31). In focussing on marginalised groups and issues that are ignored by mainstream politics, these movements often have an important role in contesting the status quo and “changing patterns of exclusion” (Roose & Dietz, 2016, p. 8). In addition to this, social movements have tremendous emancipatory potential, both locally and transnationally (Davies and Peña, 2021, p. 54).

In Latin America, social movements have played a significant role in contesting power structures and influencing the social and political sphere. They have done so since at least the establishment of the early labour movements of the last decades of the 19th century (Munck, 2020, p. 21). According to Munck (2020), labour movements in Latin America “have had a dramatic and durable impact on society and the cultural domain” (p. 22). Since then, their goals and tactics have changed significantly, similar to social movements in general (Rucht, 2020, p. 290-291), but their influence has remained considerable (Munck, 2020, p. 23). For example, according to Munck (2020), “the rise of left-of-centre governments in Latin America after 2000 was based, at least to some extent and in some countries, on mass mobilizations and protests” (p. 23). However, the grand majority of social movement scholarship originates in and focusses on Europe and the United States, while Latin American social movements, among others, are neglected, even though this region “is populated with a wide array of social movements” (Rucht, 2020, p. 295). This could partially explain why, according to Munck, there is no agreed-upon paradigm about Latin American social

movements (2020, p.20). A deficient understanding of social movements and their dynamics, can therefore point towards a deficient understanding of society at large. Political institutions, often claimed to be elite-centred and cartel-like (Katz & Mair, 2009, p. 753), might increase legitimacy to the general public by understanding important but ignored issues, especially if these issues are so prominent that they lead to mass-mobilisations.

Another reason why this thesis has societal relevance has to do with the theme of social media. Social media has a tremendous impact on the current social order (Herbert & Fisher-Høyrem, 2021, p. 4). Currently, more than half of the world's population, concretely 4.62 billion people, use social media, spending an average of two hours and twenty-seven minutes daily on these platforms (Chaffey, 2022). While already having such a large impact on social life, this impact keeps increasing (Herbert & Fisher-Høyrem, 2021, p. 15; Chaffey, 2022; Crockett, 2017, p. 771) . It is therefore important for society at large to know how these types of media operate, and understand the possible positive and negative societal effects they can generate. As will be explained in the following chapter, social media is prone to motivate users to use frames that fuel outrage. Additionally, it facilitates the formation of ideological and political 'filter bubbles' (Roth et al., 2020, p. 2), thereby decreasing the likeliness that users are confronted with people with other opinions and ideologies, and possibly learn from them (Pariser, 2011, p. 13). These aspects of social media have a potent degree of polarising potential. It is important to understand this potential, in order to be able to resist it.

## **Thesis' structure**

This thesis is structured in the following manner. In the next chapter, an explanation is provided of the terms and concepts that are relevant for this study. This is followed by a brief overview of the dominant theories in social movement scholarship, their relation to each other, and to Somma's Movement Exchange Theory. Subsequently, this chapter elaborates on the existing theory regarding the relation between social movements and social media. The second chapter is concluded by expanding upon the research question, two related hypotheses, and the case selection.



The third chapter deals with the methodology of this thesis. First, the data collection and analysis technique used in this thesis, namely Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA), is described. In addition, the choice for this particular technique is justified. This is followed by a description of the data used for analysis, namely Tweets on LasTesis' official account. Finally, the coding frame for both hypotheses is provided, accompanied by an elaboration on LasTesis' ideology.

The fourth chapter details the results of the analysis of LasTesis' Tweets. The coding of these Tweets is provided, accompanied by justifications and examples. These results are ordered according to hypothesis and subcategory of the related coding frame.

The fifth and final chapter provides a conclusion to this thesis. Here, a brief summary of the results, and how these relate to the existing theory and expectations, is provided. This is followed by a discussion section, in which the added value and limitations of this thesis are clarified. After this chapter, the bibliography and an appendix, containing the lyrics of 'Un Violador en tu Camino' round off this thesis.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework**

This chapter explains the relevant concepts of this thesis, namely social movements, constituencies, and bystanders. Subsequently it details the dominant social movement theories and how they relate to this thesis, in combination with an elaboration on the framework used for this study, namely the Movement Exchange Theory, coined by Somma (2021). Subsequently, it elaborates on the theorisation regarding the use of social media and how this is expected to influence movement exchanges. Then, the research question and two related hypotheses are provided. Finally, a note on the selection of the case concludes this chapter.

### **Social Movements**

Before discussing different theories about social movements, it would be prudent to first briefly discuss what a social movement is. According to Amenta, social movements are “actors and organisations seeking to alter power deficits and to effect social transformations through the state by mobilising regular citizens for sustained political action” (as cited in Anria, 2013, p. 22). However, although this definition applies to many social movements, it is limited in that it does not include, for example, counter-movements and xenophobic or nationalist movements. These movements do not necessarily aim to alter power deficits or bring about social change. Rather, they aim to counter the social change brought about by other movements. However, according to most scholars, these would still be included under the umbrella of social movements, due to their loose organisational structure and means of achieving their goals.

According to Rucht (2020), a social movement can be defined in the following manner:

“It is 1) a mobilised network of groups and organisations; 2) resting on a sense of collective identity; that 3) aims to bring about or resist fundamental changes of society; 4) by using primarily techniques of public and collective protest” (p. 282).

This definition will be applied because: a) there seems to be a “gradually emerging scholarly consensus” (Rucht, 2020, p. 282) on this definition, and b) because it seems to be a more accurate definition that takes into account the complexity of contemporary social movements, and how structure and identity interact with mobilisation. Furthermore, both identity and rational choices or techniques of protest are important for the current study and are related to the hypotheses. Whether or not all social movements rest on a sense of collective identity could be debated, but this does not fall within the scope of the current study.

### **Constituencies and Bystanders**

In the present study, the constituency of a social movement refers to those people supporting the movement’s aims. They have been mobilised in some manner, whether by participating in street protests, providing funds, or endorsing or spreading their posts on social media. The reasons why these constituents endorse the movement may vary. According to Somma (2021), constituents, by definition, stand to benefit “directly and substantially if the movement reaches its goals” (p. 489). Different academics refer to this part of the constituency with differing terms. One of the more well-known terms, namely “potential beneficiaries”, has been coined by McCarthy and Zald. (Klandermans et al., 2015, p. 155). However, Somma’s definition does not include “conscience constituents”. These constituents are the counterpart of the potential beneficiaries. Contrary to these beneficiaries, conscience constituents are unlikely to benefit if the movement reaches its goals. They support the movement out of “a feeling of social and/or moral obligation, solidarity, personal convictions, values and the like” (Klandermans et al., 2015, p. 155). Constituents in this thesis are therefore conceived as all people supporting the movement in any manner, whether they do it because they benefit if the movement reaches its goals, or because they think the movement’s goals are just and providing support is morally righteous.

The bystanders, on the other hand, are people that do not endorse the movement, nor directly oppose it. They are not a part of the constituency of the movement and do not participate in movement activities (Somma, 2021, p. 489). They are frequently not even aware of the movement’s existence or aims. However, they could potentially be mobilised by the

movement. In addition, if this mass of people can be convinced to support the movement, this provides the movement with important political leverage (Somma, 2021, p. 493).

In the current thesis, both constituencies and bystanders are often grouped together. This is because the interaction between the movement's leadership, its constituents, and the bystanders is not necessarily distinct on social media. In addition, due to the dynamic nature of social movements, who belongs to its constituency and who is a bystander is not fixed, meaning that bystanders can become constituencies and vice versa. However, a distinction is made between the two when it can be expected to impact the study. This is the case in the conclusion, where a distinction between the two is made in order to theorise about the different uses of rational and emotive frames by LasTesis.

## **Movement Theories**

Most social movement scholarship originates from or focuses on Europe and the US, while Latin America, among others, is often neglected. As a consequence, the most dominant theories in the field can often be applied to European or US social movements, but not necessarily to social movements on other parts of the globe (Rucht, 2020, p. 295; Munck, 2020, p. 25). The dominant theories in social movement research are resource mobilisation theory, political process/political opportunity structure, framing, collective identity and rational choice theory (Rucht, 2020, p. 285). An elaboration on these theories, accompanied by an explanation of how they relate to Movement Exchange Theory, is provided in the following paragraphs.

As Rucht (2020) states in his overview on the dominant theories in social movement studies, “most approaches have concentrated on middle range theories and shed light on specific aspects of movement activity at the neglect of more encompassing and comprehensive theories that: 1) interlink more specific aspects such as ideology, organisation, strategy, and tactics and 2) highlight the broader societal conditions and effects of social movements” (p. 285). It is indeed difficult to combine all these theories in a comprehensive framework and

test this framework on a great deal of cases. However, this does not mean that no attempt should be made to bridge the gap between these theories and combine aspects that are particularly worthwhile into a comprehensive theory. While these theories may be at odds in some regards, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. As Roose and Dietz (2016) state, “the approaches in social movement research, namely deprivation, resource mobilisation, framing, political opportunity structure, and identity, have been deemed compatible with each other and various combinations have been discussed” (p. 5). A next step in advancing theory on social movements would therefore be to consider theories that combine elements of these dominant theories, to create a more comprehensive theory that takes both structural conditions and agency into account. A scholar who pursues this mission is Somma (2021), who has coined the Movement Exchange Theory. The following paragraph provides a description of this theory.

Before explaining how Somma’s (2021) Movement Exchange Theory combines aspects of different elements of dominant movement theories, it would be prudent to first describe the theory itself. Movement Exchange Theory focuses on the strategic choices made by social movement leadership in order to exchange certain benefits with different actors, such as bystanders, constituencies, institutional political actors, and voluntary organisations. All of these actors may have something to offer to a social movement, such as rank-and-file activists, funds, or political influence. In exchange, the social movement offers rewards such as effectiveness, dreams, and moderation. The nature of the exchanges that are made will depend on which type of actor a social movement attempts to please. The following paragraphs detail how this theory relates to the dominant movement theories, and how it combines aspects of these into a comprehensive framework.

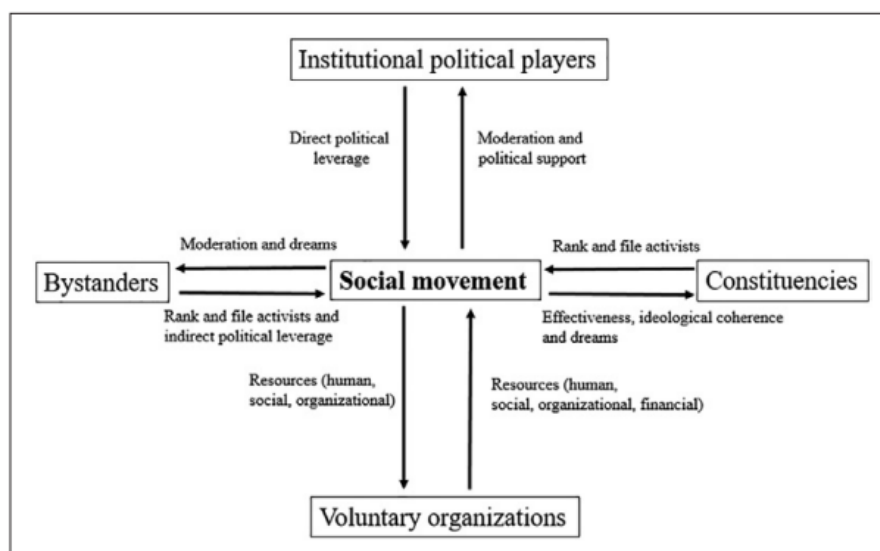
By adapting social exchange theory, which originates from the field of sociology, to social movements, Somma attempts to explain choices that do not make sense for major movement theories and combine strategic behaviour with culture -in the form of utopias, ideology and emotions. However, contrary to strong rational choice angles, Somma’s theory does not necessitate the maximising assumption of the ‘homo economicus’ (2021, p. 480). This entails

that while movement leaders and other actors engage in rational behaviour, they are still bound by emotions and structural facets as well. As he explains it:

Social exchange theory conceives social life as the coordination of voluntary, reciprocal exchanges of rewards between partners ... [These exchanges] develop over time and typically involve several iterations, leading to positive emotions among exchange partners -such as trust and loyalty- and creating bonds that may prevent partners from taking advantage of more ‘profitable’ opportunities. [Additionally,] the obligations involved are rarely explicit, and often there are no external enforcing mechanisms. ... Exchange theory predicts that movement leaders and other [actors] develop norms of distributive justice over time (Somma, 2021, p. 485-487).

Helmke and Levitsky (2006) use the term ‘informal political institutions’ to refer to the unwritten rules and expectations described above (p. 5). These informal institutions have a longstanding tradition in Latin America, and have been particularly successful in Chile since the democratic transition of 1990 (Siavelis, 2006, p. 34). These rules and expectations are difficult to measure directly, but can be noticed when they are broken and actors feel deceived or let down. If actors’ sense of deception or let-down continues, they are likely to terminate the exchange relationship (p. 487). The main actors and expected exchanges examined by Somma are condensed in the following graph:

**Figure 1: Actors and Expected Movement Exchanges**



Retrieved from Somma, 2021.

As stated earlier, Somma's Movement Exchange Theory incorporates different facets and ideas from the dominant movement theories. It uses theories of framing to facilitate analysing which frames are chosen by movement leaders and how they expect to bring in bystanders or satisfy constituencies. For example, the "dreams" provided to constituencies or bystanders are presented in a certain frame and can be radical or more conservative and concrete based on the frame used by the movement leadership. Rational Choice Theory, in its weaker form, is quite compatible with Movement Exchange Theory. Both consider actors to make strategic choices and are interested in which choices are made by certain actors and why. In addition, the weaker forms of Rational Choice Theory, similar to Movement Exchange Theory, reserve an important role for structures and cultures. While it is actors that make choices and therefore influence social life, they are often influenced or even motivated by structural and cultural conditions to make certain choices. As Somma (2021) states, Movement Exchange Theory does not assume each actor to be a 'homo economicus', they do not maximise their gains, because "exchanges are guided by reciprocation and social bonds" (p. 486). In this sense, Movement Exchange Theory differs slightly from Rational Choice Theory, where, although possibly influenced by structure and culture, actors are generally considered to be 'maximisers' (Munck, 2020, p. 25). However, a limit of Rational Choice Theory, even in its weaker form, is that it does not specify how cultural and structural conditions constrain rational choices. This is particularly noticeable when online activism is considered, because, even more so than offline activism, online activism is primarily dependent on a sense of belonging and collective identity (Loader, 2008, p. 1928; Kidd & McIntosh, 2016, p. 790). Movement Exchange Theory, on the other hand, specifies how collective identity, in the shape of dreams, goals, and expectations, interacts with strategic choices made by movement leadership.

As another theory that focuses on strategic action, Resource Mobilisation Theory is quite similar to Movement Exchange Theory. Like the latter theory, Resource Mobilisation focuses on strategic action of movement leadership, on their "collecting of resources, building organisations, and acting strategically in interplays with allies and opponents" (Rucht, 2020,

p. 283). In Resource Mobilisation Theory, movement leadership is the predominant focal point: their strategic choices are studied as the drivers of action. Movement Exchange Theory also analyses strategic choices of movement leadership, but in addition, it extends its focus toward other actors such as bystanders. While Resource Mobilisation categorises other actors as either allies or opponents, Movement Exchange Theory takes other actors' roles to be more complex and dynamic. Furthermore, the latter theory specifies the exchanges that are made between these actors and movements. Finally, Resource Mobilisation Theory pays particular attention to the resources available to movement leadership and protesters. While this remains a predictor for mobilisation and possibly influences the movement, the rise of internet communications has complicated the importance of resources as a predictor. This is due to the reality that the internet offers a cheaper and less time consuming manner to voice political opposition and discontent than taking to the streets.

The last three dominant social movement theories to be discussed are Political Process Theory, Political Opportunity Structure, and Collective Identity Structure. These all add relevant facets to better understand the interaction between social movements and their constituencies and bystanders on social media, and these aspects are included in Movement Exchange Theory. However, some aspects of these theories are less relevant for the current study, which is why none of them have been adapted as a whole. The first of these three, Political Process Theory, also focuses on strategic action. It primarily focuses on opponents and their actions, and how they obstruct the change desired by social movements. This could be an advantageous lens through which to analyse the interactions between social movement leadership and their opponents in a future study. However, since the current study predominantly analyses the interaction between movement leadership and their constituencies and bystanders, Movement Exchange Theory provides a framework better suited for this, because it has already theorised the interactions taking place between these actors. As a theory related to Political Process Theory, Political Opportunity Structure focuses more on structural factors than actors. While structural conditions are of fundamental importance, the theory has difficulty in explaining how structurally similar countries, such as many Latin American countries, have such different outcomes concerning social movements and mobilisation. Finally, Collective Identity Theory brings attention to a “constitutive element ... of social movements” (Rucht, 2020, p. 285), namely (collective) identity and culture.



Nevertheless, the concept itself has remained “fuzzy and underspecified” (Rucht, 2020, p. 285). However, by using Social Exchange Theory, particular facets that draw bystanders and constituencies into the movement, such as particular dreams and goals, can be specified and subsequently analysed.

### **Movement Exchanges and Social Media**

Due to the fact that Movement Exchange Theory is an extremely recently coined theory, little has been done to verify or disprove the theory. Likewise, the theory has not been used to check whether it is applicable to other cases apart from the Chilean student movement, which was the case used by Somma to demonstrate the merit of his theory. Therefore, further investigation should be conducted in order to test whether this theory is in fact applicable to the broad array of social movements currently in existence, and where it could possibly be improved. In addition, the exchanges taking place between social movements and actors of different arenas is likely to vary on a case to case basis, so examining other cases is likely to increase the robustness of the theory and the expected exchanges. Finally, Somma already concludes that it would be beneficial to investigate other possible arenas, such as the media arena. The current study will complement Somma’s study in this.

The media arena is particularly relevant to specify and analyse, because it is clear that this arena has a great impact on a movement’s achievement of its goals (McCurdy, p. 248). At the same time, little is known about how the growing importance of social media influences social movements. Most studies focussing on social media in combination with social movements focus on social media’s mobilising potential. Many scholars claim that a movement cannot be successful without mobilising people to protest (Artz, 2021, p. 250; Loader, 2008, p. 1929; McCurdy, 2012, p. 248; Kidd & McIntosh, 2016, p. 790). Even if this is the case, social media shows great potential in presenting collective action frames and creating a shared sense of identity (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016, p. 790; Loader, 2008, p. 1922). Interactive platforms such as Twitter and Facebook facilitate interaction between users with similar interests. As discussed earlier, identity formation, although often fuzzy and underspecified, is an important predictor of a movement’s success (Rucht, 2020, p. 285).

Fortunately, Somma's (2021) Movement Exchange framework has made an effort to specify this in the form of exchanges such as dreams, moderation and effectiveness. The current thesis will attempt to shed light on the framing and creation of collective identity through social media.

In addition to the formation of collective identity, social media can also influence activism itself. According to Harlow (2011), social media can even "create new forms of activism and resistance" (p. 229). How impactful these forms can be is still understudied. While some studies conclude that social media activism has no durable impact on society and encourages a moderate approach to social change (Artz, 2021, p. 258), others view social media as a potent tool for or even a source of social change (Harlow, 2011, p. 240). If nothing else, social media certainly has the potential to change the dynamics of activism. As stated earlier, voicing discontent online is cheaper and less time-consuming than taking to the streets. Furthermore, social media offers movement leadership the potential to reach a wider audience of constituencies and bystanders from all over the world, as long as they have a social media account and access to the internet. While some movement scholars have addressed this matter, there is still disagreement about the democratising potential of social media. It is indeed possible for movements to reach a wider audience, but the constraints of media platforms and algorithms are still under debate. This thesis will add to this debate by analysing how social media use influences leadership choices and movement exchanges, for example by monitoring whether the algorithms indeed influence movement leadership by pushing them to use more radical and outrage-inducing frames.

## **Research Question and Hypotheses**

This thesis will attempt to examine the Movement Exchanges Theory by applying it to a different case, namely LasTesis, and see whether it holds up. It is therefore meant to contribute to the existing theory on social movements. In addition, this thesis will address a specific underspecified and underinvestigated arena within the theory, namely the social media arena. Particular attention will be paid to how the growing importance of social media influences the exchanges made between social movements and their constituencies and bystanders. The research question will therefore be the following:

1. How does the use of social media influence leadership choices and movement exchanges with constituencies and bystanders?

Fundamental to this question and current study are two hypotheses. The first one is brought up by Somma (2021) himself, and deals with ideological coherence. It expands on the idea that, there is less need for rank-and-file activists within social movements. This is due to the spread of social media, and all the additional ways of protesting and garnering attention it facilitates. According to Harlow, social media can enhance a movement's existing repertoire as well as create new forms of activism and resistance (Harlow, 2011, p. 229). The second part of the hypothesis deals with the consequences of a decreased need for rank-and-file activists. This is to say, if we assume that there is fewer need for rank-and-file activists, it is sensible to expect that there is fewer need to present an ideologically coherent collective action frame as well (Somma, 2021, p. 505). This is because it is no longer necessary to have all constituencies in one place, and, therefore, to have them all on the exact same page ideologically speaking. Rather, social movement leadership can now target specific groups with collective action frames that are expected to be most in line with their ideology. Social media facilitates this targeting, because it is "more sensitive to and accommodating towards user generated content" (Loader, 2008, p. 1931). As a demonstration, according to Artz (2021):

"More complex monitoring techniques include cookies, beacons, and fingerprints. From capturing login details, preferences, and clicking history to third party surveillance of browser activity, advertisers and political groups create data profiles without user knowledge or awareness" (p. 251).

This shows the great potential of social media to specifically target users with content they are likely interested in. This potential does not have to be limited to targeted advertisement by commercial businesses. Considering that organisations such as Amnesty International are already experimenting with 'micro-influencer programmes' (Alampí, 2019, p. 203), it is safe to assume that it can be used by movement leadership proficient in using social media as well. This possibility to target specific groups with different ideological frames that are most likely to be in line with their own ideology, could lead to a decline in ideological coherence of collective action frames. This line of thought has led to the first hypothesis:

H1: Movements that are dependent on and proficient in using social media will have little ideological coherence in their collective action frames

The second hypothesis has to do with the nature of social media itself. In order to be attractive and engaging, web pages often rely on presenting users with spectacles of outrage, thereby fuelling them with hate (Artz, 2021, p. 251, 259). These spectacles are generally pushed by algorithms that “exploit the social divide for profit” (Artz, 2021, p. 252). This is because people “are more likely to share content that elicits moral emotions such as outrage” (Crockett, 2017, p. 769). Social media websites, receiving more revenue if their content is shared more, are therefore incentivised to “favour ‘supernormal’ stimuli that trigger much stronger outrage responses than do transgressions we typically encounter in everyday life” (Crockett, 2017, p. 769). As a consequence, this process creates a constant abundance of outrageous ‘clickbait’ (Crockett, 2017, p. 769). Because social media users are more likely to share these outrage-stimulating messages, and because algorithms themselves favour them, these types of messages are most likely to spread to a larger audience. This knowledge, in turn, could incentivise social movement leadership to post messages that are meant to fuel outrage, so that they reach a wider audience online. Therefore, the second hypothesis is the following:

H2: Movements that are dependent on and proficient in using social media, will use more radical and emotive frames that fuel outrage

Both of these hypotheses analyse specific consequences that the use of social media has on movement leadership behaviour, namely a decrease in the presentation of a coherent ideology and an increase in the use of outrage-inducing frames. These leadership choices subsequently impact the exchanges between the movement and their constituencies and bystanders, thereby laying the foundation to answer the research question.

## **Case selection**

This study is particularly interested in the question of how the growing importance of social media influences the interactions that social movements have and the exchanges they make

with their constituencies and bystanders. As a newer social movement with a clear leadership that is active on social media, LasTesis is particularly interesting as a case.

LasTesis is a feminist collective and artistic group, consisting of four women, namely: Dafne Valdés Vargas, Paula Cometa Strange, Sibila Sotomayor Van Rysseghem, and Lea Cáceres Díaz. These women are scholars based in Valparaíso, Chile, and their aim is to make feminist theories palatable to a general audience and diffuse them (LasTesis as cited in Rodríguez). As part of this, they wrote and performed the protest performance called ‘Un Violador en tu Camino,’ which has spread all over the world and has been performed in 54 different countries as of now (Geochicas). According to Serafini (2020), LasTesis had been doing research on how to make feminist theories accessible for a wider audience for a year and a half before they first performed their now famous ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’ for the first time on 20 November 2019 (p. 292). How influential this feminist collective has been, has also been affirmed by Time Magazine, when they included LasTesis in their list of 100 most influential people of 2020 (Alcázar, 2021, p. 27).

Many social movements, especially in Latin America, have a long history and often find their origin in workers or peasants movements (Munck, 2020, p. 21). However, many of these movements are often conservative in their approach and not particularly proficient in using social media. This would complicate a study that aims to generate hypotheses about and examine how strategic leadership may use social media to their advantage. For example, one hypothesis is that it is no longer necessary for a social movement to present a coherent ideology in collective action frames, because it facilitates targeted messages. It is therefore important to select a movement and leadership that is more likely to make use of this fact and that has the expertise to target specific groups within constituencies or bystanders with action frames that are likely to conform to their desires and ideologies. Therefore, this case selection falls within a most-likely research design (Levy, 2008, p.12), in the sense that LasTesis, as a modern and organised movement, is most likely to use social media to their advantage and present different audiences with different collective action frames. In addition, LasTesis originates from the same country and even the same circles –Chilean academic circles- as the student movement used by Somma (2021) to demonstrate the validity of his claims.

Therefore, if no evidence of the erosion of the ideological coherence of collective action frames can be found within this case, it is unlikely that this hypothesis is true. We can then assume that the extensive use of social media, as of yet, is unlikely to erode ideological coherence in the collective action frames that social movements present.

Another reason why LasTesis is an appropriate case to test the influence of social media use on movement exchanges has to do with the COVID-19 pandemic. Taking into consideration that LasTesis became popular and well-known at the end of November 2019, just before this pandemic and subsequent social isolation and quarantines, LasTesis was greatly dependent upon forms of protest and resistance that did not involve mobilising large masses of protesters. This was because the COVID-pandemic often made it difficult for people to meet, especially in great numbers. In a sense, this has forced social movement leadership active during this pandemic to expand their action-repertoire and come up with creative ways to protest without gathering large masses of people at the same time and place. The internet, especially social media, has facilitated many different ways to protest in a responsible manner during quarantines and lockdowns. As an example, in June of 2020, LasTesis posted a video performance that called attention to domestic abuse. In it, each participant had recorded their own part from home through their own webcam or camera. These videos were combined in a video collage, which looks similar to a group video call (@lastesisoficial, 24/6/2020). This is a creative way to have all participants stay at home while still creating a sense of magnitude reminiscent of protests on the street.

The current study is confirmatory in the sense that it uses the already existing framework of Movement Exchange Theory and tests this theory by applying it to the particular case of LasTesis. Another aspect contributing to the confirmatory nature of this study is the fact that it tests hypotheses that have been generated based on theory about the interaction between social movements and social media. However, it is also exploratory in the sense that not much is known about Movement Exchange Theory, especially when it comes to exchanges in the social media arena, and how social media affects movement exchanges. Somma (2021) alludes to the fact that future research should focus on this topic, because it was outside the scope of his own study. As Levy (2008) states: “One common strategy for exploratory case

studies of this kind is to focus on cases with extreme values on independent or dependent variables (defined in terms of deviation from a mean or mode), based on the logic that causality ought to be clearest in cases where variables take on their extreme values” (p. 7). The current case is expected to have an extreme value on the independent variable, namely access to and expertise in social media use. While many methodologists, including Levy, warn against selecting a case based on the dependent variable (Levy, 2008, p. 8), the same warnings are not made for selecting a case based on extreme values on the independent variable. Naturally, it is more convenient to discover how social media use influences exchanges if social media is used to a great degree.

### **Chapter 3: Method**

In this chapter, the choice for qualitative methodology in general and why it is well suited for the current study is elaborated upon. Subsequently, the chapter details the choice for Qualitative Content Analysis as the data collection and analysis technique, followed by a description of the data. Then, the coding frame is disclosed, with special attention to the facet of feminist ideology, which is important to measure ideological coherence and test the first hypothesis. After providing a schematic representation of the coding frame for the first hypothesis, the coding frame for the second hypothesis is elaborated upon, also accompanied by a schematic representation of this frame. The third chapter concludes by explaining the benchmark set to either accept or reject the two hypotheses of this study.

#### **Qualitative Methodology and Qualitative Content Analysis**

Within this thesis, a qualitative methodology is used. The choice for conducting a case study and using qualitative data within this case, is because little is known about the influence of social media use on movement exchanges, making it more difficult to quantify and systematise the data before the analysis proper. In addition, the interpretation of the data highly depends on context and previous knowledge of the case, making a qualitative methodology appropriate (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006, p. 241). Furthermore, a quantitative methodology requires a large number of cases in order to make robust causal inferences (Mahoney & Goertz, 2006, p. 238), which is difficult to achieve when it comes to finding influential contemporary social movements with clear leadership.

Within the choice for a qualitative methodology, QCA has been chosen as the data collection and analysis technique. The advantage of this technique is that it allows the systematic analysis of qualitative data. As a highly flexible technique, QCA allows the coding frame to be adjusted when it does not (completely) fit the data that is being analysed, so that this coding frame remains valid (Schreier, 2012, p. 7). While building upon two predetermined hypotheses, this thesis can possibly adapt to new information. This is beneficial if little is known about the subject under investigation, which is the case here. In addition, the data used, namely online messages and interactions, is rich and requires interpretation, making qualitative content analysis an appropriate method (Schreier, 2012, p. 3). Finally, another



advantage of QCA is that, while it allows attention to context and latent meaning, it also reduces data. This facilitates comparison across cases. In practice, this means that while the coding frame is designed to examine specific exchanges between LasTesis and their constituencies and bystanders, this frame could be adopted in other studies to examine exchanges between social movement leadership and their constituencies and bystanders. Although this adoption would probably require adjusting the coding frame to the specific case, systematic comparison is still feasible, as opposed to other qualitative methods that are more dependent on context and case specifics.

For this study, a directed approach to content analysis will be used. This means that the content analysis will build on existing research, and hypotheses have been formulated before analysing the data and completing the coding frame. The advantage of this approach is that existing theories can be supported and extended, and that, as opposed to the conventional approach to QCA, it is easier to develop a broader understanding of the context and it is less easily confused with other qualitative methods (Hsieh, 2005, p. 1280-1283). A disadvantage of this directed approach is that the researcher may approach the data with a bias in favour of the existing theory (Hsieh, 2005, p. 1283). To limit this, the coding frame will be adjusted during the analysis, in order to fit the data as best as possible. In addition, because this study uses a most-likely case selection, this possible bias in favour of existing theory is less likely to occur, because the expectation is to find an effect.

## **Data**

The data used for analysis consists of Twitter messages (called Tweets) by LasTesis. The official account of the collective, @lastesisoficial, will be the sole account from which messages will be procured and analysed in the present study. This account is officially called ‘colectivoLASTESIS’, has 36,098 followers as of writing, and has been active since December of 2019. Additionally, this page contains 85 original Tweets by LasTesis, along with two ‘retweets’.

Twitter is one of the most successful social media platforms. In 2019, it had approximately 290.5 million monthly active users worldwide (Statista Research Department, 2022). In comparison to other social media platforms, “Twitter stands out due to its great flexibility and its interactive potential” (Welp & Ruth, 2017, p. 133). It allows a maximum of 280 characters per Tweet, forcing users to write concise messages. Furthermore, it offers users the chance to instantly react to ongoing events, address large masses of people, categorise messages through hashtags, and address others directly. As ‘political outsiders’, Twitter is beneficial for LasTesis because it offers them the chance to engage their constituencies and bystanders in an unmediated fashion, because they would usually “lack access to traditional news media platforms to publicise their messages” (Welp & Ruth, 2017, p. 133).

### **Coding Frame**

To answer the research question and either reject or retain the two related hypotheses, a coding frame has been designed in order to conduct a qualitative content analysis that facilitates systematically examining LasTesis’ Tweets. As mentioned earlier, a directed approach to content analysis is used. This entails that the coding frame has been developed before analysis, but will be adjusted if the data requires it or brings new information to light. Because the two hypotheses deal with different themes, separate coding frames have been designed for both of them. In addition, because the first hypothesis deals with ideological coherence in collective action frames, the ideology of LasTesis will be examined before addressing the coding frame that is meant to measure ideological coherence in Tweets.

### **Feminist ideology**

The assessment of LasTesis’ ideology is based on a published interview with this collective (Pais, 2019), studies and articles about the collective and their protest performance ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’(Serafini, 2020; Martin & Shaw, 2021; Alcázar, 2021), and two feminist texts that are said to have inspired them (LasTesis as cited in Pais, 2019; Rodríguez, 2019) and closely resemble their ideology (Martin and Shaw, 2021, p. 715). These two texts are *Calibán y la Bruja* (2011) by Silvia Federici and “A Manifesto in Four Themes” (2018) by Rita Laura Segato.

An important facet of the ideology of many contemporary feminists, including LasTesis, is intersectionality (Segato, 2018, p. 205; Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 716). Hancock claims that this concept rests on the premise that:

analytical categories like ‘race’, ‘gender’, ‘class’ and the hegemonic practices associated with them (racism, sexism, classism to which imperialism and homophobia certainly could be added) are mutually constitutive, not conceptually distinct’ (as cited in Evans & Lépinard, 2020, p. 13).

The concept of intersectionality is particularly relevant for feminists that do not originate from white middle- to upper-class circles, are not cisgender, heterosexual, or are disabled, because their causes for having fewer privileges than others often intersect (Hill Collins, 2019, p. 1; Carastathis, 2016, p. 2). LasTesis comes from a highly educated and middle class environment, in the Southern Cone, which is often associated with elite and Eurocentric feminism, as opposed to Central American feminist movements, which have often had their origin in armed struggle and rural uprisings (Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 715). At the same time, however, one of the primary aims of LasTesis is to involve non-elite bystanders by making feminist theses approachable and understandable for everyone in their performance art (Serafini, 2020, p. 292; Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 716). LasTesis, similar to many other contemporary feminists, oppose unjust power structures, which by nature requires an intersectional understanding of power and privileges (Frederici, 2010, p. 32).

Another part of the ideology of LasTesis deals with the division between what is personal and what is political. Already a well-known slogan in the 1970s, “the personal is political” addresses the fact that many women’s issues were treated as personal issues instead of systemic ones that should be focussed on in the political realm. Many feminist movements have emphasised these personal issues, such as domestic violence, and have laboured to elevate them to the political agenda. LasTesis itself frequently addresses ‘personal’ issues in an attempt to politicise them. To give an example, LasTesis created and distributed a video

performance specifically protesting domestic violence called ‘Nos Quitan Todo, Menos la Rabia’ in June of 2020 (@lastesisoficial, 24/6/2020).

Furthermore, ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’ specifically deals with the issue that gendered and sexual violence is a systemic issue that is maintained by inadequate institutions, such as the judges, the police, the state, and the president. (“Son los pacos/ Los jueces/ El Estado/ El Presidente”). However, LasTesis, as well as Segato (2018), have little faith in the state as it is unable to deal with these issues in a satisfactory manner. This entails that ‘the personal’ should not be raised to the level of ‘the political’, because ‘the political’ is often corrupt or incompetent (Segato, 2018, p. 205-206). This leads us to the third facet of the ideology of LasTesis, namely the fact that they are anti-establishment (LasTesis as cited in Pais, 2019; Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 714). LasTesis is anti-establishment, because they consider political and judicial institutions to be corrupt. These institutions have not adequately repelled sexual and gendered violence, and often, they have even contributed to these types of violence. What is more, the Chilean police has officially denounced LasTesis, because ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’ is alleged to be anti-police and because LasTesis is claimed to incite violence against the police (Rivera, 2020).

The last important facet of the ideology of LasTesis, is related to the anti-establishment nature of LasTesis. According to feminist scholars such as Segato, the reason that current institutions are untrustworthy or inadequate, is due to their origin. Current-day institutions, of which states are the most influential, originate in a masculine historical experience, or the *historical project of things* (Segato, 2018, p. 207). In this ‘world of things’, or this masculine form of association, domination and conquest are the central themes (Frederici, 2010, p. 90). Actors are incentivised to ever seek out more things –possessions-, which, in the modern era, can only be obtained by taking them from others through conquest and domination. On the opposing side, the world of bonds is seen as a more feminine form of association, which does not rest on conquest or domination, but on cooperation and human connection. This world of bonds, which used to be a dominant way of life for many historical communities, is the answer to the issues of sexism, racism, transphobia, homophobia, and other unjust power structures, according to Segato and LasTesis (Segato, 2018; Alcázar, 2021, p. 29; Martin &

Shaw, 2021, p. 725). According to Frederici (2010), this feminine form of association can help us redefine accepted historical categories and make visible hidden power structures that rest on domination and exploitation (p. 25).

## **Ideological Coherence**

To measure ideological coherence in collective action frames, a coding frame has been designed based on the ideology described above. Whether certain frames or posts are in line with LasTesis' ideology will be measured by dividing the ideology into the broad themes of: 1) intersectionality; 2) an awareness of, or emphasis on, the political importance of 'personal' issues; 3) anti-establishment; and 4) the world of bonds or feminine form of association as preferable to the world of things or masculine form of association. If posts adhere to any or multiple of these four points, they are coded as ideologically coherent regarding the specific theme or themes. If posts exhibit any or more of the opposite, meaning that they exhibit 1) a sole focus on gender/ sex related issues; 2) a sole/dominant focus on issues traditionally viewed as 'political', such as economics or international relations, as opposed to more 'personal' issues; 3) a pro-establishment stance; and/or 4) a preference towards a world of things or masculine form of association as opposed to a world of bonds or feminine form of association, they will be coded as ideologically incoherent regarding the specific theme or themes.

To conclude this section, a final note to explain coding choices with regard to intersectionality is provided. As mentioned earlier, intersectionality refers to the idea that multiple identities and their accompanying power structures intersect. According to Evans and Lépinard (2020), intersectionality operates in three distinct ways, stating that "it is used as a collective identity, as a strategy for forming coalitions, and as a repertoire for inclusivity" (p. 2). In an intersectional approach to feminism, not only sexism, but all unjust power structures are taken into account and resisted. Intersectional activists may find allies in their struggle not only within their own group, in this case women, but also within other marginalised groups, for example people of colour, queer people, or disabled people. Intersectionality then shines through not only when someone is aware that there are multiple

intersecting unjust power structures, but also when cooperation with other marginalised groups is sought out to combat or resist these structures. This means that, in order to be ideologically coherent in their messages, LasTesis should demonstrate their awareness of multiple forms of oppression. Furthermore, they should also demonstrate a desire for cooperation with these other marginalised groups. The clearest indication of this desire is when LasTesis directly states that they want to cooperate or have cooperated with other marginalised groups. However, a latent openness to cooperation with other groups could also be discerned if LasTesis does not only address women, by using feminine pronouns and subjects, but also non-binary people or men. After the first round of analysis, it was therefore decided that instances where masculine or gender-neutral pronouns or subjects are used in a non-negative manner, are coded as instances of intersectionality as well. They are not coded as intersectional if these pronouns or subjects are used to point to a perpetrator or villain, or if masculine pronouns are used to denote an object instead of a person or group of persons. In order to concisely and conveniently depict the coding frame for hypothesis 1, dealing with ideological coherence, the following table has been constructed:

**Table 1: Coding frame for Hypothesis 1**

	Ideologically coherent Tweets use/address the following ideological frames:	Non-ideologically coherent Tweets use/address the following ideological frames:
1.	<p>Intersectionality</p> <p>Possible subframes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Frames in which the following issues are addressed: Racism, Homophobia, Transphobia, etc.</li> <li>-Frames in which not only feminine pronouns or subjects are used, so masculine or gender-neutral</li> </ul>	<p>No intersectionality</p> <p>Possible subframes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A sole focus on sex/ gender related issues</li> <li>-Men are indicated as perpetrators and women as victims</li> <li>-Only feminine pronouns or subjects are used, no masculine or gender-</li> </ul>

		neutral ones
2.	<p>The personal is political: claiming or supporting the political importance of ‘personal issues’ such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Domestic violence</li> <li>-Femicide</li> <li>-Abuse</li> </ul>	<p>A sole/dominant focus on issues traditionally viewed as ‘political’, such as economics or international relations, as politically important issues</p>
3.	<p>Anti-establishment: A combination of the mention of established institutions, such as the state or the police, with negative framing of these institutions</p>	<p>Pro-establishment: Cooperation with current institutional actors is possible/ advantageous or meaningful social change can be brought about through current institutions</p>
4.	<p>The ‘world of bonds’ is more productive to achieve meaningful change/ better than world of things</p> <p>Possible subframes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Appreciation (of the importance or benefits) of bonds</li> <li>-Contempt for material mind-set</li> </ul>	<p>The ‘world of things’ is more productive to achieve meaningful change/ better than world of bonds</p> <p>Possible subframes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Appreciation of material mind-set</li> <li>-Disregard for (the importance or benefit of) bonds</li> </ul>

## Emotive and Radical Frames (hypothesis 2)

In order to affirm whether an extensive use of or dependency on social media incentivises social movements to present more radical or emotive frames (hypothesis 2), a second coding frame has been devised. This coding frame consists of two general themes: namely 1) emotive versus non-emotive or rational frames; and 2) adversarial versus cooperative frames. Frames are coded as emotive if they either display or call for certain emotions, such as anger, sadness, fear, etcetera. The specific types of emotions are coded as subcategories or subframes of the general emotive frame. Frames will be coded as the opposite, namely rational, if they do not display or call for emotions, but instead reference information such as facts, numbers, studies, etcetera. The specific type of ‘rational’ information displayed in messages are coded as subcategories or subframes of the rational frame. The second theme of hypothesis 2, namely adversarial versus cooperative frames, is similar to the third theme of the coding frame for Hypothesis 1. In the first hypothesis, the frame is supposed to assess whether messages are anti-establishment or not. In the second hypothesis, the adversarial frame is designed to assess whether the movement depicts its opponents as enemies or villains, or themselves as heroes. The opposite of this is a more cooperative and humanising stance toward ideological or political opponents. In order to concisely and conveniently represent the coding frame for hypothesis 2, dealing with radical or emotive frames, the following table has been constructed:

**Table 2: Coding frame for hypothesis 2**

	Frames that support H2	Frames that contradict H2
1.	Emotive frames: frames that address, display/call for emotions, such as;  -Anger/Outrage  -Sadness/Grief  -Fear	‘Rational’ frames: frames that do not incorporate emotions in any sense, but instead display information, such as:  -Facts  -Numbers



	-Etc.	-Studies  -Etc.
2.	<p>Adversarial frames (Harlow)</p> <p>Possible subframes are frames that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-portray the movement as good versus evil</li> <li>-specify heroes and villains</li> <li>-use war imagery to portray a struggle for justice, liberty, etc.</li> </ul>	<p>Cooperative/humanising frames</p> <p>Possible subframes are frames that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-address the added value of cooperation with political opponents</li> <li>-call for cooperation with ideologically different actors</li> <li>-shed light on the humanity of political opponents</li> </ul>

## Benchmark

It is pertinent to note that this study is predominantly exploratory in nature, with little theory to support or disprove the direct claims regarding the interaction between social media and movement exchanges (Somma, 2021, p. 505). In addition, it is a single-case study with a most-likely research design. As Gerring notes, this type of study provides the strongest sort of evidence possible in a non-experimental, single-case study (as cited in Levy, 2008, p. 13). However, according to Levy (2008), it is necessary to specify in advance the benchmarks to either accept or reject the hypothesis in order to view this evidence as being in strong support of the theory (p. 13). The benchmarks for retaining or rejecting the hypotheses are therefore specified in this section.

Due to the nature of the case selection, namely a most-likely case, it is important to avoid a type 1 error, or false positive. This study is designed to be most likely to display an effect on both hypotheses, meaning ideological incoherence and Tweets that are supposed to fuel outrage. If no effect can be found in this study, it is highly unlikely that an effect exists in

reality. Therefore, it has been decided that the benchmark to accept one or both hypotheses should be decidedly conservative in order to avoid a false positive. All subcategories of the hypotheses, so four for the first and two for the second hypothesis, are assessed separately. As is visible in table 1 and 2, all categories of both hypotheses consist of a frame that is in line with the hypothesis and a frame that opposes this same hypothesis. It has been decided that, as a benchmark to accept the hypothesis regarding a certain theme, the number of frames in line with the hypothesis on this theme has to be twice the number of frames opposing the hypothesis on this theme. To give an example, if there are four Tweets coded as intersectional and seven Tweets coded as non-intersectional, LasTesis' Tweets will not be considered ideologically incoherent and the part of the hypothesis predicting ideological incoherence in intersectionality is rejected. However, if there are eight or more Tweets coded as non-intersectional, but four are still coded as ideologically intersectional, this is taken to be considerable evidence in favour of non-intersectionality. It is then assumed that LasTesis' Tweets are ideologically incoherent when it comes to intersectionality and the hypothesis is correct regarding this theme.

A disadvantage of this benchmark is that it is highly conservative, meaning that the odds of a false negative are quite high. However, due to the nature of the case selection, this is preferable to increasing the odds of a false positive. In the conclusion of this thesis, this benchmark is reflected upon further.

## Chapter 4: Results

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of LasTesis' Tweets. It details the results of the analysis of the first hypothesis per sub-category of ideology, followed by an intermediate conclusion regarding the first hypothesis and the benchmark set in the previous chapter. This section is followed by the results of the analysis related to the second hypothesis. This second part of the chapter is ordered based on the two types of frames used to answer the second hypothesis, namely: emotive versus rational frames and adversarial versus cooperative frames. Again, this section concludes with an intermediate conclusion with respect to the second hypothesis and the benchmark. This chapter concludes with a reflection on the number of overlapping codes within specific Tweets, and what this reveals about the connection between different codes and frames.

### Hypothesis 1: Ideologically coherent collective action frames

**Table 3: Descriptives @lastesisoficial Tweets Hypothesis 1**

<b>Ideologically coherent frame</b>	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>	<b>% of total Tweets</b>
Yes	Intersectionality	10	11.8%
Yes	Politicisation 'personal' matter	6	7.1%
Yes	Anti-establishment	11	12.9%
Yes	'Bonds' superior to 'things'	6	7.1%
No	Non-Intersectionality	10	11.8%
No	Anti-politicisation 'personal' matter	0	0.0%
No	Pro-establishment	0/1	0.0/1.2%
No	Appreciation of 'things' over bonds	1	1.2%

## **Part 1: Intersectionality**

Of the eighty-five Tweets on the official page of LasTesis, ten Tweets have been coded as ideologically intersectional. Of these ten Tweets, four directly address power imbalances and structures separate from those related to sex or gender, one Tweet directly addresses intersectionality as part of LasTesis' ideology, and five use gender-neutral or masculine pronouns or subjects. Of these five, three Tweets use a gender-neutral pronoun in addition to a feminine one, two avoid gendered language altogether, and only one uses a masculine pronoun.

Contrarily, ten Tweets have been coded as ideologically non-intersectional. Of these ten Tweets, five focus only on women's issues or dangers to women. The other five are clear instances in which only feminine pronouns or subjects are used. Examples of these are the following: “volveremos todas juntas a la calle”, “por todas”, and “#NoMásImpunidad contra mujeres”. Cases in which it seemed as if LasTesis was only referring to themselves, and therefore only used feminine pronouns, were excluded.

With regard to the Tweets that directly address power imbalances unrelated to sex, the following is the most distinct example:

“... LA LUCHA ES CONTRA LA VIOLENCIA PATRIARCAL, CLASISTA, RACISTA, HETERONORMATIVA Y TRANSFÓBICA, Y CONTRA SUS INSTITUCIONES NEFASTAS” @lastesisoficial, 27/08/2020

In this citation, LasTesis specify that their struggle is not only against violent patriarchy, but also classism, racism, heteronormativity and transphobia. This citation is the conclusion to a longer message that has been uploaded as a photo and video of a text on LasTesis' Twitter page. This is probably due to the character limit of written Tweets, which does not allow for messages as long as this one in text-form without creating an extremely long thread in which the coherence of the message may be lost.

Following the frames in which an awareness of intersecting power structures is made apparent, there is only one Tweet in which LasTesis directly address intersectionality as part of their ideology:

“El libro opera como un gran collage, el cual busca ser un punta pie inicial para seguir transitando los caminos de los feminismos; para seguir trenzando nuestras distintas voces, miradas y experiencias conformando una red interseccional y transfronteriza.”  
@lastesisoficial, 26/3/2021

In this Tweet, which discusses a book LasTesis have recently published, they claim that their book “conforms to a trans-border and intersectional network.”

Instances where gender-neutral or masculine pronouns or subjects are used by LasTesis, were also coded as examples of intersectionality, because this could indicate a desire for cooperation with others. The justification for this has been outlined in the previous chapter. In total, there were five cases in which other pronouns or subjects, in addition to female ones, were used. From these, only one time the masculine form was used:

“...“Esperamos que *todas, todes, y todos* podamos crear con libertad y sin miedo a la persecución y censura ...” @lastesisoficial, 4/1/2021 (emphasis added)

In addition, in two times, a clear use of gendered wording is avoided, by using “nuestr-s amigu-s” (@lastesisoficial, 21/4/2021) and “amik-s” (@lastesisoficial, 30/9/2020).

As mentioned earlier, there were five Tweets that depicted a sole focus on women's issues. Two of these discuss violence and depict only women as victims or facing danger. An example of this is the following:

“DENUNCIAMOS: Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago revocó prisión preventiva a Juan Zamorano, FEMINICIDA de Ángela González (24 años), a quien atropelló y asesinó. Audiencia y apelación NO fue informada a familia de Ángela.  
#NoMásImpunidad contra mujeres. Dignidad y justicia AHORA!” @lastesisoficial, 8/4/2021

This Tweet discusses a particular case of femicide, namely the femicide of Ángela González. In it, the *Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago* (Court of Appeal of Santiago, Chile) is denounced for repealing preventive imprisonment of Juan Zamorano, who killed Ángela González by running her over while she was protesting (Resumen, 2021). It ends with a hashtag calling for an end to impunity for crimes against women. It therefore displays a focus on women's issues, gendered violence, and the impunity perpetrators of these crimes enjoy. The Tweet does not extend its focus to issues that men or gender non-conforming people are faced with, or the impunity of perpetrators of crimes victimising them.

In addition, three Tweets have been coded as focussing only on women's issues, because they discuss the theme of abortion. An example of this is the following:

“Día de lucha por la despenalización y legalización del aborto en América Latina y el Caribe ...” @lastesisoficial, 30/9/2020

To conclude this section, there are five clear instances in which only feminine pronouns or subjects are used. Examples of these are the following: “volveremos todas juntas a la calle” (@lastesisoficial, 29/5/2020), “por todas” (@lastesisoficial, 26/5/2021), and

“#NoMásImpunidad contra mujeres”(@lastesisoficial, 8/4/2021). Cases in which it seemed as if LasTesis was only referring to themselves, and therefore only used feminine pronouns, were excluded.

## **Part 2: The Personal and the Political**

On the official Twitter page of LasTesis, there are six Tweets which have been coded as attempting to politicise a ‘personal matter’. Of these, three dealt with violence toward individuals, and three with abortion.

The following is an example of a Tweet about violence toward individuals:

“NOS ROBAN TODO, MENOS LA RABIA [video-performance colaborativo] Hoy, en contexto de confinamiento, los casos de violencia doméstica aumentan cada día, confirmando que el hogar muchas veces es el lugar más peligroso para nosotras”  
@lastesisoficial, 24/6/2020

This Tweet promotes a performance art piece by LasTesis that addresses domestic violence. Another example of a Tweet placing a ‘personal’ issue on the political agenda has already been discussed in the previous section concerning a sole focus on women’s issues. This Tweet was about the femicide of Ángela González.

It is interesting to note that there are no discernible Tweets with the opposite ideology, meaning Tweets that display the idea that personal issues should not be addressed in politics or that ‘grander’ themes such as the economy or war are more important. This could be due to a faulty coding frame for this facet of LasTesis’ ideology. This could also be due to the fact that LasTesis specifically focuses on gendered violence, such as domestic abuse, and became famous with their protest song ‘Un Violador en tu Camino’, which had exactly this as subject

matter. However, this absence could also serve as an indication of the ideological coherence of LasTesis' messages when it comes to the politicisation of 'personal' subjects.

### **Part 3: Anti-establishment**

Of the eighty-five Tweets on LasTesis' Twitter page, eleven have been coded as anti-establishment. Of these, four call out specific institutions, such as the police or the Chilean justice system. The remaining Tweets call out the establishment in general, or claim 'institutions' to be the cause of a certain problem, without specifying which institutions they are referring to. The most obvious Tweet containing an anti-establishment frame is the following:

*“tras diversos mensajes y comentarios infundados, hemos decidido aclarar que NO integramos, ni pertenecemos, ni simpatizamos, ni nos interesa NINGÚN partido político. nuestra lucha es feminista, nuestra trinchera el arte y lo político; JAMÁS la política institucional.” @lastesisoficial, 3/2/2020 (emphasis added).*

This quote shows that LasTesis is not willing to integrate in, or cooperate with, any political institutions or parties. At times, specific institutions are called out for being unjust or perpetuating power imbalances. Quotes such as these are:

*“.. en memoria de las víctimas de la violencia policial” @lastesisoficial, 29/5/2020*

*“... les invitamos a todas y todos quienes quieran sumarse reproduciendo la canción ‘un violador en tú camino’, dedicada hoy a Martín Pradenas y a todos los violadores impunes y la justicia patriarcal que representan @lastesisoficial, 23/7/2020*



The first Tweet calls out certain members of the police who use violence unjustly. The second Tweet refers to a faulty Justice System, through which many rapists and violators enjoy impunity from the law. The trial of Martín Pradenas started the 14th of June of this year, and he is accused of seven sexual offences against six victims (Romo).

The most ambiguous Tweet that has been coded as anti-establishment, is coded this way due to its subtext. This Tweet consists of a picture of a text posted after the Chilean police officially denounced LasTesis for being anti-police and supposedly inciting violence against members of the police force (Rivera). The message in the picture concludes with the following paragraph:

“... Y también esperamos que los recursos públicos se inviertan en luchar contra la impunidad de abusadores sexuales, violadores y feminicidas; contra la impunidad de las violaciones a los derechos humanos, y de las violaciones a los derechos de mujeres y disidencias; y por las liberación de las, les y los presos políticos y de la revuelta.”  
@lastesisoficial, 4/1/2021

Although this quote does not directly attack the establishment, it is clear that LasTesis believes that its priorities should be elsewhere. Instead of using them to denounce LasTesis, public funds should be used to combat impunity for those who commit sexual abuse, violence, and femicides, and for those who violate human rights, women's rights, or LGBTQ+ rights according to this Tweet.

There is no clear instance of a pro-establishment message on the Twitter page of LasTesis. The closest to this is a Tweet that seeks to legalise abortion, a proposal by the *Asamblea Permanente por la Legalización del Aborto en Chile* (Permanent Assembly for the Legalisation of Abortion). The *Asamblea Permanente* has sought to legalise abortion in the Constitutional Convention, that started in 2021. This convention is meant to change Chile's Constitution, which has been in place since Pinochet's regime, and has received a great deal

of criticism by left-wing and progressive groups, especially since the countrywide protests of 2019, denouncing the crisis of democracy and growing inequality in Chile (Fernández Anderson). The Tweet that borders on being pro-establishment concludes in the following manner:

“... ya está disponible en la plataforma de participación popular de la convención constitucional: SERÁ LEY, propuesta elaborada por la Asamblea Permanente por la Legalización del Aborto” @lastesisoficial, 27/12/2021

This Tweet could be considered pro-establishment in some sense, because it seeks reform of abortion laws through institutional means, namely through attending the Constitutional Convention and attempting to change the Chilean Constitution according to feminist or progressive ideals.

#### **Part 4: The World of Bonds Versus The World of Things**

Of the Tweets on LasTesis’ page, six have been coded as depicting the ‘World of Bonds’ as superior to the ‘World of Things’. Of these six, five are appreciative of the ‘World of Bonds’ and the remaining one is more so depreciative of the ‘World of Things’. The Tweet in which LasTesis makes clearest that they do not care much for the world of things, or economic gain, is the following:

“Nosotras hemos elegido el arte como resistencia y herramienta de lucha, y para nosotras, *el arte no responde a lógicas mercantiles/comerciales*. Si tienen algún reclamo en torno a las expectativas que no estamos cumpliendo, por favour dirígense a nuestro canal de “servicio al cliente” que NO existe.” @lastesisoficial, 27/8/2020 (emphasis added).

This Tweet shows that they have chosen art as a way to resist current power structures and as an instrument for their struggle, at least partly because it does not “respond to mercantile/commercial logics” (translation mine).

Additionally, there are a few instances which either explicitly or implicitly refer to sorority or cooperation, alluding to the importance of social bonds. An example of a Tweet within this category is the following:

“sin embargo, creemos fervientemente en la importancia de la sororidad ...”  
@lastesisoficial, 3/2/2020

In this quote, LasTesis refer explicitly to the value of sorority, strongly implying the importance of bonds. There were no clear instances of Tweets where LasTesis showed an appreciation of the ‘World of Things’ over the ‘World of Bonds’. The only instance where an inclination for material gain features in LasTesis’ Tweets is when they request funds. This Tweet is the following:

Estamos realizando la campaña para recaudar fondos: “un cuarto propio para LASTESIS”: <https://catapulta.me/campaigns/un-cuarto-propio-para-lastesis...> Porque ni la hillary, ni maduro, ni la cia, ni putin nunca nos soltó niun veinte, hoy tu propina es nuestro sueldo @lastesisoficial, 20/7/2021

This Tweet shows a desire to obtain funds from followers in order to “have a room of one’s own for LasTesis” (translation mine), because the funds they raise are supposedly their salary. Constituencies are asked to donate, or give a “tip” to LasTesis through the link they provide in this Tweet. Although this Tweet does not devalue or minimise the worth of bonds, it alludes to a need for ‘things’ in the form of a salary and a room of one’s own. This is the

only Tweet on the official Twitter page in which they explicitly ask for monetary contributions instead of constituencies' time and effort, like for specific protest activities.

In conclusion, LasTesis' Tweets depict convincing ideological coherence concerning three out of the four themes, namely the politicisation of 'personal' subjects, an anti-establishment stance, and an appreciation of bonds over 'things'. With regard to each of these three subjects, the number of Tweets coded as ideologically coherent is more than double the number of Tweets coded as ideologically incoherent.

Intersectionality is the only subject that differs in this regard. Here, the number of Tweets coded as ideologically incoherent is equal to the number of Tweets coded as ideologically coherent. However, in order to consider the evidence as being in support of the hypothesis, the benchmark was set relatively high. As explained in the previous chapter, the number of ideologically incoherent Tweets has to be twice the number of ideologically coherent Tweets. This is not the case for any of the four subjects, and with three of the four subjects, the opposite is the case. These findings demonstrate significant ideological coherence in LasTesis' Tweets in general. Therefore, the first hypothesis, predicting ideological incoherence in collective action frames, is rejected.

## **Hypothesis 2: Emotive and Radical Frames**

**Table 4: Descriptives @lastesisoficial Tweets Hypothesis 2**

<b>Fuelling outrage</b>	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Number of occurrences</b>	<b>% of total Tweets</b>
Yes	Emotive	11	12.9%
Yes	Adversarial	13	15.3%
No	Rational	11	12.9%
No	Cooperative	0	0.0%

## Part 1: Emotive and Rational Frames

Of the Tweets that have been analysed in this study, eleven have been coded as depicting emotive frames. If multiple emotions were called for or depicted in one Tweet, they were counted as one instance of an emotive frame. Of these eleven, seven explicitly depict a certain emotion and the remaining four call for or encourage a specific emotion among constituencies and bystanders. Of the seven Tweets that depict a certain emotion, three depict negative emotions: one depicting contempt and disbelief, one depicting fear, and one depicting rage. The remaining four depicted positive feelings, namely gratitude (two) and happiness (two). One example of a Tweet directly describing an emotion, namely rage, is the following:

“NOS ROBAN TODO, MENOS LA RABIA [video-performance colaborativo] Hoy, en contexto de confinamiento, los casos de violencia doméstica aumentan cada día, confirmando que el hogar muchas veces es el lugar más peligroso para nosotras”

This citation is the text accompanied by a link to a video performance by LasTesis called ‘Nos Roban Todo, Menos la Rabia’ (They take everything from us, except for our rage). This performance deals with domestic abuse and violence. Rational information is provided in this same post, which states that in the context of the confinement due to COVID-19, cases of domestic violence are increasing every day. At the same time however, the title and performance refer to the enduring power of rage. This clearly highlights the presence of a strong emotion, namely rage or anger.

An example of a Tweet not directly referring to a specific emotion, but implicitly demonstrating emotions, is the long Tweet that was uploaded as an image on 27 August 2020. The concluding paragraph Tweet has been discussed in the section related to intersectionality and explicitly calls out power imbalances. However, the Tweet does not only demonstrate an opposition to power imbalances, but also depicts a great degree of latent

disbelief and possibly even anger. Two paragraphs start with the phrasing “de verdad creen ...” (@lastesisoficial, 27/8/2020), meaning “do you really/seriously believe ...” thereby demonstrating strong disbelief toward the addressees of this message. Furthermore, in this same message the addressees are called “pencas”, roughly translating to ‘pricks’, and “weones”, which is an informal way to refer to someone as being stupid (@lastesisoficial, 27/8/2020). Although LasTesis do not directly state that they experience a certain emotion, their use of language in this message strongly hints toward the presence of disbelief and anger.

On the other hand, eleven Tweets have been coded as strictly ‘rational’. Ten of these messages provide followers with information or requests concerning a meet-up, for example to protest, participate in the creation of a collaborative art piece, or get to know LasTesis and have a conversation about feminist issues or one of the two books LasTesis has published. An example of this is the following Tweet:

“amik-s de VALPARAÍSO: necesitamos ejemplares de la constitución con urgencia y ojalá la mayor cantidad posible! lugar de recepción: Bokeh Cafetería / Pizzería la Revuelta -ref. pza aníbal pinto hasta el 7 de octubre [horario: de martes a sábado de 10.30 a 20.00]” @lastesisoficial, 30/9/2020

This Tweet calls for cooperation from constituencies in handing in Constitutions, which they intended to use in protests. However, many of these types of Tweets, especially those that include a specific request of LasTesis’ followers, are concluded with a statement showing gratitude, making their complete ‘rationality’ debatable. In addition, many of these Tweets include exclamation marks –such as the Tweet depicted above- or words in all capital letters.

## **Part 2: Adversarial Frames versus Cooperative Frames**

There were no clear-cut instances of the opposite of an adversarial frame within the Tweets on the official account of LasTesis. This could be due to an actual lack of a desire to

cooperate with other actors, save from those with a similar ideology, such as other progressive movements or feminist collectives. A more detailed examination of this question will be provided in the concluding chapter below.

Nevertheless, there are thirteen Tweets coded as containing an adversarial frame. When it comes to heroes and villains, these are usually not explicitly specified. However, context-clues often hint that patriarchy, and all actors that endorse or sustain it, can be considered as villains. As a consequence, those actors that resist or oppose the patriarchy, are depicted at least as allies, if not as heroes. In six Tweets, at least one villain is specified. While this is a particular person in two specific Tweets, other times, it is an institution or an abstract concept such as the patriarchy. In one Tweet, there is an implication of the existence of heroes. In eight Tweets, war imagery is used, alluding to the existence of heroes and villains as well. Of these eight Tweets, four refer to resistance. Two examples of Tweets signalling abstract villains are the following:

“... nos manifestamos en contra de la violencia patriarcal en todas sus formas”  
@lastesisoficial, 23/7/2020

“en memoria de las víctimas de la violencia policial ...” @lastesisoficial, 29/5/2020

In the first example, those who commit patriarchal violence are depicted as the villains. In the second one, it is police officers that use violence unjustly. In cases of gendered violence or femicide, the most obvious villains are generally the killers, such as is the case in the following Tweets:

“DENUNCIAMOS: Corte de Apelaciones de Santiago revocó prisión preventiva a Juan Zamorano, FEMINICIDA de Ángela González (24 años), a quien atropelló y

asesinó. Audiencia y apelación NO fue informada a familia de Ángela.

#NoMásImpunidad contra mujeres. Dignidad y justicia AHORA!”

“nos sumamos a la convocatoria de nuestras compañeras de Quillota, y les invitamos a todas y todes quienes quieran sumarse reproduciendo la canción “un violador en tú camino”, dedicada hoy a Martín Pradenas y a todos los violadores impunes y la justicia patriarcal que representan”

In the first of these two Tweets, Juan Zamoro is the villain, but the Corte de Apelaciones contributes to the related impunity and therefore also to violent patriarchy, making this court an additional villain. In the second one, Martín Pradenas is the villain, together with “all the abusers enjoying impunity and the patriarchal justice system they represent”.

Furthermore, LasTesis frequently use war imagery, for example by using words such as ‘battle/struggle’ and ‘trench’. This has been included as a subframe of the adversarial frame in coding. This is because in all Tweets that have been included within the adversarial frame, this war imagery implies a struggle between a morally just and a morally unjust side. Generally, patriarchal institutions and those benefitting from them are the adversaries within this war imagery, while allies are those who are resisting these institutions. An example of the use of war imagery in an adversarial frame is the following:

“... nuestra *lucha* es feminista, nuestra *trinchera* el arte y lo político ...” (emphasis added). @lastesisoficial, 3/2/2020

Finally, there are four instances in which LasTesis call themselves ‘the resistance’, alluding to war imagery, although this remains subtext and therefore disputable in these contexts. An example of a sentence in which LasTesis call themselves ‘the resistance’ is the following:



“... Nuestra historia es *resistencia* / NOSOTRAS SOMOS *RESISTENCIA*”  
@lastesisoficial, 16/3/2021 (emphasis added).

As noted in the previous chapter, the benchmark to accept the second hypothesis is that the number of Tweets coded as in line with this hypothesis has to be twice the number of Tweets opposing hypothesis 2. This was not the case for the number of emotive Tweets compared to the number of rational Tweets, because both frames were used in the same number of Tweets. However, the difference between the number of Tweets coded as containing an adversarial frame as opposed to the number of Tweets coded as containing a cooperative frame was striking. While not one Tweet was coded as containing a cooperative frame, thirteen were coded as containing an adversarial frame. This means that, for the second part of Hypothesis 2, the number of Tweets in line with the hypothesis decidedly passes the benchmark detailed in the previous chapter. This provides a convincing argument for retaining the second hypothesis, that is, for the idea that movement leadership that is proficient at using social media, and depends on it, is likely to use frames that are meant to fuel outrage in order for the messages to spread further.

### Overlapping Codes

To conclude this chapter, it is important to note that there are also a number of overlapping codes within the same Tweets, for example, Tweets that depict anti-establishment sentiments are also likely to use an adversarial frame. The types and number of overlapping codes have been schematically represented in Table 4.

**Table 4: Number of overlapping Tweets per category**

Overlapping codes	Number of occurrences
Anti-establishment & adversarial frame	8

Sole focus on women's issues & attention for a 'personal' subject matter	5
Emotive frame & adversarial frame	4
Emotive frame & anti-establishment	2
Emotive frame & non-intersectional frame	2
Pro-establishment & attention for a 'personal' subject matter	1
Emotive frame & disdain for the 'World of Things'	1

As can be seen in this table, the amount of overlapping frames and codes within Tweets was striking. One would expect that, within messages with a maximum of 280 characters, there would not be a wide array of frames and codes within one message. However, as Table 4 demonstrates, this was actually the case. It is unsurprising that there was much overlap between Tweets depicting an anti-establishment frame and those depicting an adversarial frame, considering that the establishment is generally considered the adversary of LasTesis (Martin & Shaw, 2021, p. 715; Pais, 2019), similar to many other social movements (Loader, 2008, p. 1925; Roose & Dietz, 2016; p. 8). This entails that when a certain actor or institution pertaining to the establishment or supporting it is mentioned, this is frequently done through an adversarial frame. Such Tweets have thus been coded as both adversarial and anti-establishment. What is interesting about this, however, is that it also points to the overlap between both hypotheses. The different combinations of emotive frames with other codes is also unsurprising, because it is not unnatural to present emotions in combination with a certain message or frame. The overlap of Tweets depicting a sole focus on 'women's issues' and Tweets with attention to a 'personal' subject matter may at first glance be more puzzling. However, when taking into consideration that LasTesis is a feminist collective, it makes sense that the personal issues they would like to establish on the political agenda, are

reasonably expected to be primarily centred on women's issues. What this overlap furthermore shows, is that LasTesis rarely, if ever, addresses multiple issues in one Tweet, but this could again be explained by Twitter's character limit. Finally, the only Tweet that might be coded as being pro-establishment depicts a personal subject matter. This gives the impression that, even when LasTesis is slightly 'ideologically incoherent' with regard to their anti-establishment stance, they are simultaneously ideologically coherent with their politicisation of a personal subject matter.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion**

This final chapter provides a conclusion of the thesis, in which it details how the results relate to the expectations based on the theory, and whether the two hypotheses are rejected or retained. This is followed by a discussion-section, which elaborates upon the strengths and shortcomings of the current study, and reflects upon the manner in which future studies may gain a deeper understanding of the relation between social media use and movement exchanges.

### **Conclusion**

This study has been carried out to contribute to the overall understanding of social movements and their relation with constituencies and bystanders. Somma's (2021) Movement Exchanges framework facilitates the analysis of the exchanges made between movements and their constituencies, and the expectations that follow from these exchanges. However, there was still a lot of ground to cover when it comes to the growing influence and impact of social media on these exchanges and expectations. Social media makes it possible to protest and garner worldwide attention without necessarily having to mobilise in the streets. It is reasonable to expect that this changes the dynamics between movement leaders, constituencies, and bystanders. This is due to the reality that providing rank-and-file activists has historically been the most influential contribution that constituencies and bystanders could offer movements. However, multiple movement scholars believe that new and creative online forms of protest reduce the need for these rank-and-file activists. Little is known about how this may influence future exchanges between movements and their constituencies and bystanders or whether and how this will change the bargaining power of these three actors.

This thesis has made a start with answering this question, by analysing the particular case of LasTesis. The women of this feminist collective have made a name for themselves right before the COVID-19 pandemic, when having massive protests in the streets became near impossible. They were therefore dependent on creative ways of protest, often taking place online, such as collaborative video's and livestreams. LasTesis was therefore a useful case for a case study examining whether a dependence on and proficiency in using social media changed the exchanges between movement leaders, constituencies, and bystanders. The first

hypothesis was that these types of movement leaders would make use of the personalised aspects of social media to target specific groups with ideological frames that are in accordance with users' own ideology. The second hypothesis was that these types of movement leaders would be inclined to use frames that fuelled outrage, knowing that these were most likely to spread to a wider audience of bystanders.

When it comes to the first hypothesis, LasTesis has shown ideological coherence in their collective action frames on some themes, while using different ideological frames on others. The amount of intersectional Tweets was equal to the amount of non-intersectional Tweets, exhibiting different ideological frames. This implies little ideological coherence concerning intersectionality. However, in one tweet, LasTesis explicitly states intersectionality to be part of their ideology, making it all the more interesting that they seem to exhibit the opposite in ten Tweets. However, the benchmark to consider LasTesis ideologically incoherent was set high, and is not reached. This means that this study does not provide convincing evidence to consider LasTesis' Tweets ideologically incoherent when it comes to intersectionality.

Furthermore, regarding a politicising of 'personal' subjects, such as domestic violence and an anti-establishment stance, the analysed Tweets indicate a considerable degree of ideological coherence. While six Tweets have been coded as containing a 'personal' subject matter and attempting to establish it on the political agenda, there have been no Tweets coded as doing the opposite. Similarly, eleven Tweets have been coded as being anti-establishment, while only one might potentially be pro-establishment, although even this is debatable.

As a concluding facet of the first hypothesis, LasTesis' Tweets also seem to display an appreciation of the 'World of Bonds' over the 'World of Things'. In one Tweet, they claim to "fervently believe in the importance of sorority" (@lastesisoficial, 3/2/2020), and in another, they state explicitly that they chose art as a form of protest because "it does not respond to commercial or mercantile logics" (@lastesisoficial, 27/8/2020).

With respect to the first hypothesis, then, it does not hold up on all four subjects. LasTesis shows remarkable ideological coherence in their Tweets when it comes to the politicisation of

personal subject matters, anti-establishment attitudes, and an appreciation of bonds over material gain. Intertextuality is the only subject about which fewer ideological coherence is visible in LasTesis' Tweets. This all suggests either that LasTesis does not target constituencies and bystanders with frames in line with their own ideological standpoints, or that this targeting does occur, but is simply not visible on LasTesis' official Twitter page.

With regard to the second hypothesis, LasTesis has made frequent use of the adversarial frame, while not necessarily using emotive frames more frequently than rational frames. However, when they used rational frames, these often included words of gratitude and punctuation that imply the presence of emotions. Additionally, when Tweets were strictly or predominantly rational in nature, they were usually meant to convey information about an upcoming meeting or protest action. Contrarily, the more emotive Tweets frequently referred to current events, such as femicides or court decisions, and were meant to convey dissatisfaction about these affairs. This may be part of LasTesis' leadership strategy, in the sense that they may be aware that messages that spark outrage and other negative emotions are more likely to be spread by algorithms and social media users alike (Artz, 2021, p. 252; Crockett, 2017, p. 769). Therefore, LasTesis may be more inclined to use these emotive frames when they intend to reach a larger audience of bystanders, who may not even be aware of LasTesis' existence. When commenting on current events, such as femicides or judicial hearings, LasTesis may increase visibility among these bystanders, because they may be aware of or interested in these events. This in combination with negative emotive frames may incentivise the spread of LasTesis' message and may facilitate an increase in prominence and outreach. Contrarily, when LasTesis use 'rational' frames, this is often to convey information about a meeting or to request help from their followers. It may be prudent to consider the difference in audience for rational and emotive frames. While emotive frames seem to be meant to spread to a large mass of bystanders, possibly unfamiliar with LasTesis, this is often not the case for rational frames. These rational Tweets are generally meant for constituencies already involved with the movement in some form. This is not only because these messages will predominantly be read by explicit followers of LasTesis' Twitter account, but also because here, LasTesis attempts to reach people who would be willing to exchange resources or participate in protest activities. It is sensible to assume that those people who are likely to be mobilised, are already aware of the social movement and their aims, and support these (Somma, 2021, p. 490; Korolczuk & Graff, 2018, p. 799; Loader,

2008, p. 1928). Emotive frames were thus often used for a different purpose than rational ones.

Finally, LasTesis has regularly used adversarial frames in their Tweets. While they rarely explicitly specify heroes or villains, they often do so implicitly. Additionally, they make frequent use of war imagery, implying a battle between morally righteous actors and their antagonists, usually represented by the patriarchy. On the other hand, there are no clear instances where the opposite of an adversarial frame is used. While LasTesis mentions the importance of bonds and sorority in their Tweets, and frequently collaborates with other voluntary organisations, these bonds and collaborations only extend to ideologically similar actors. Ideologically dissimilar actors do not receive similar commendation, often being relegated to antagonistic actors that should be opposed and resisted. This rings especially true for political institutions, which are frequently portrayed as corrupt and in alignment with violent patriarchy.

In conclusion, it seems like the second hypothesis can be retained, considering that LasTesis makes extraordinarily frequent use of adversarial frames, making opponents seem like villains, while not once claiming to desire cooperation with ideologically dissimilar actors. This vilification is frequently used on social media in order to make users feel outrage. This outrage, in turn, usually facilitates the spread of the message, which has been explained in the third chapter. These findings are therefore in line with the existing theory and related expectations (Artz, 2021, p. 251, 259; Crockett, 2017, p. 769).

## **Discussion**

This study has made a first step in analysing how movement exchanges and social media interact, and which types of exchanges take place within the social media arena. However, considering that there was no existing coding frame to test the hypotheses, and since little was known or tested about movement exchanges in general, more research should be undertaken to be able to truly reject or retain the hypotheses and to understand the true merit of Movement Exchange Theory.

It is of particular importance to note that the current study is extremely context-specific and uses only one type of data. This is due to the nature of the study, which, while testing certain hypotheses and theories, is still quite exploratory in nature. This is due to the fact that little has been undertaken to test the Movement Exchange Theory outside of the case study by Somma himself or to test the concrete impact of social media use on movement leadership choices. This, in turn, entails that it is important to ensure validity of the case study by considering context and using a flexible coding frame in the Qualitative Content Analysis. Flexibility of the coding frame is important, because there is little existing theory with regard to the subject under study, the data itself contributes to the understanding of the case and to theory-building. This means that the coding frame is adjusted when it turns out that it does not (entirely) fit the data (Schreier, 2012, p. 7). As an example, the coding frame in this study has been adjusted when it became clear that the use of certain gendered pronouns could imply either a willingness to cooperate with men or gender non-conforming people or an unwillingness to do so. The coding frame concerning intersectionality was therefore adjusted to include this measure. Another example deals with the adversary frame. At first, only reasonably explicit mentions of specific heroes or villains were coded as depicting an adversarial frame. However, during the analysis, it became apparent that LasTesis makes frequent use of war imagery, through which specific heroes and villains are often implied. War imagery, in combination with an implication of either heroes or villains, was therefore included and coded as an instance of an adversarial frame as well.

While this flexibility and context dependency increases validity, it simultaneously reduces reliability, because it is difficult and especially time-consuming to analyse a large number of cases in a similar manner. It would therefore be beneficial to complement this qualitative study with quantitative studies, to increase the reliability of the outcomes. The coding frame will need to be adjusted in order to do so, especially regarding the first hypothesis. This is due to the fact that the coding frame for the first hypothesis is specifically designed to capture the ideology of LasTesis. In order to measure whether another social movement presents coherent collective action frames, its ideology will first have to be specified. However, if its ideology is either in line with or completely contradicts LasTesis' ideology with regard to one of the four subjects, this part of the coding frame could be adopted to measure ideological coherence of this other social movement as well. In addition, the coding frame for the second



hypothesis could be applied to examine other movements already, seeing as it is not specific to LasTesis, but rather measures whether a social movement attempts to fuel outrage.

In order to facilitate comparison and quantitative analysis, the coding frame could be improved in another regard as well. Although the use of pronouns and gendered subjects is a useful way to measure whether LasTesis is ideologically coherent, it will provide challenges in a quantitative study. This is because the use of gendered subjects is not easily traceable or quantifiable. In addition, whether the use of gendered pronouns or subjects is relevant to measure intersectionality is context-dependent. If masculine or non-binary pronouns or subjects were used in a negative way instead of as an attempt to seek cooperation, they were not included as instances of intersectionality. If only female pronouns were used, but this was meant to only refer to the four women of LasTesis, this was not included as an instance of the absence of intersectionality. Both of these examples show that context was extremely important to decide whether the use of certain pronouns was relevant to the hypothesis or not. It would be difficult to achieve the same context-sensitivity in a quantitative study, so in order to measure instances of intersectionality in these types of studies, the coding frame will have to be adjusted.

A critique of a specific element of the coding frame has to do with the pro-establishment frame, which was used to test the first hypothesis. This frame, as opposed to the anti-establishment frame, is currently decidedly similar to the cooperative frame, which was used to test the second hypothesis. While there were nearly no instances of either frame in LasTesis' Tweets, for future studies, it might alleviate confusion if these two coding frames were less similar. Of course, this would only be problematic if both frames were relevant for one study. To give an example, if anti- or pro-establishment were not part of the movement under study, or if only one of the two hypotheses of the current study were applied to another case, this confusion due to similarities would not be there.

A second element of the coding frame that could be improved is the attempt to place personal issues on the political agenda, or rather, its opposing frame. While the elevation of personal subject matters to the political realm is an important facet of LasTesis' ideology, the opposite is difficult to measure. This is because non-personal issues are already on the political agenda, so there is no need to address them as relevant for politics. Particularly when it

comes to social movements, they are likely to seek recognition for the importance of a subject that does not seem to have an established importance in institutional politics yet. This is because, if the subject already has an established importance in institutional politics, there is no need to make the public or institutional politics aware of the issue, because they already are. Therefore, it is unlikely that social movements such as LasTesis will alert the public on the importance of already politicised subjects such as the economy or international relations.

Finally, the coding frame could also be improved with respect to the emotive frame. During the analysis, it became apparent that LasTesis often uses exclamation marks and all capitals for specific words and phrases. These punctuation choices can definitely signal emotion: both are often associated with screaming or shouting (Willingham), even if writing certain words in capital letters may at times be done to increase readability by emphasising certain words. However, because it was difficult to systematise these uses of punctuation in order to show emotion, they were not included in the coding frame. Other studies might benefit by finding a way to include punctuation-clues in order to measure emotive frames.

With regard to data, future studies might benefit from not limiting their analysis to messages on movements' official social media pages, such as their official Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram pages. This has to do with the foundation of the first hypothesis. The idea that movement leadership would present ideologically incoherent collective action frames was namely based on the idea that this leadership could target specific groups of social media users. By this targeting, they would be able to present particular groups with frames that would be in line with these groups' ideology. However, in order to perceive a differentiation in frames targeted to ideologically different groups, it is necessary to analyse messages addressed to at least two ideologically dissimilar groups of social media users. This means that using the official media page does not suffice. This is because messages -in this case Tweets- on this page are either targeted towards a specific group, or they are, but toward one group only, which makes comparison difficult. The most logical way in which LasTesis could have directed messages to particular groups of users, would be to use hashtags (#) or address signs (@). The former adds a certain theme to a Tweet, ensuring that Twitter users can also come across this Tweet when they look for Tweets with this particular theme. The latter specifically addresses another user or page. However, neither of these signs were used regularly on LasTesis' page. Hashtags were not used at all, and address signs only as a direct

response to a question posed. All this is to say that, in order to examine whether movement leaders target particular groups of constituencies and bystanders with different ideological messages, it would be advisable to expand the data to also include messages on other pages with a dissimilar user demographic, or perhaps to compare the ideology presented on Twitter with the ideology presented on other network sites and/or offline. Additionally, it was noteworthy that on multiple occasions, LasTesis invites readers to join a conversation, both online and especially offline. This could mean that they draw in different audiences on different occasions, facilitating the use of different ideological collective action frames. Future studies could examine whether this is actually the case. Unfortunately, due to a shortage of time and resources, it was not possible to examine other pages and offline frames in the current qualitative study.

All in all, this thesis has made a first attempt in explaining the interaction between movement exchanges and social media use. Additionally, it has tested the usefulness of Somma's Movement Exchange Theory by applying it to a different, but similar, case. By combining theory from the fields of sociology and political science, this thesis has transcended disciplinary boundaries, just as feminist theory, through 'Un Violador en tu Camino,' has crossed social, cultural, and geographical boundaries.

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### **Original Sources LasTesis**

LasTesis' official Twitter page: <https://twitter.com/lastesisoficial>

Video performance protesting domestic violence:

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CzwYRB8cAxk&ab\\_channel=ColectivoLASTESIS](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CzwYRB8cAxk&ab_channel=ColectivoLASTESIS)

## Appendix A: Lyrics to the performance of Un Violador en tu Camino in Spanish and English

Spanish:

El patriarcado es un juez  
Que nos juzga por nacer  
Y nuestro castigo  
Es la violencia que no ves

El patriarcado es un juez  
Que nos juzga por nacer  
Y nuestro castigo  
Es la violencia que ya ves

Es femicidio  
Impunidad para mi asesino  
Es la desaparición  
Es la violación

Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía  
Y la culpa no era mía, ni donde estaba, ni cómo vestía

El violador eras tú  
El violador eres tú

Son los pacos  
Los jueces  
El Estado  
El Presidente

El Estado opresor es un macho violador  
El Estado opresor es un macho violador

El violador eras tú (*Paco culiao*)  
El violador eres tú (*Paco culiao*)

Duerme tranquila, niña inocente  
Sin preocuparte del bandolero  
Que por tu sueños dulce y sonriente  
Vela tu amante carabinero

El violador eres tú (*Paco culiao*)  
El violador eres tú (*Paco culiao*)  
El violador eres tú (*Paco culiao*)  
El violador eres tú (*Paco culiao*)

(Genius)

English version:

Patriarchy is our judge  
That imprisons us at birth  
And our punishment  
Is the violence you DON'T see

Patriarchy is our judge  
That imprisons us at birth  
And our punishment  
Is the violence you CAN see

It's femicide.  
Impunity for my killer.  
It's our disappearances.  
It's rape!

And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed.  
And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed.  
And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed.  
And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dressed.

And the rapist WAS you  
And the rapist IS you

It's the cops,  
It's the judges,  
It's the system,  
It's the President,

This oppressive state is a macho rapist.  
This oppressive state is a macho rapist.

And the rapist IS you  
And the rapist IS you

Sleep calmly, innocent girl  
Without worrying about the bandit,  
Over your dreams smiling and sweet,  
Watches your loving cop.

And the rapist IS you  
And the rapist IS you  
And the rapist IS you  
And the rapist IS you.  
(Serafini, p. 291)