



UNIVERSIDADE
CATÓLICA
PORTUGUESA

AMPLIFYING VOICES THROUGH ALTERNATIVE MEANS:
FACEBOOK'S ROLE IN STRENGTHENING SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA

Dissertation submitted to Universidade Católica Portuguesa
to obtain a Master's Degree in Strategic Communication and
Leadership

By

Israel Campos

Faculty of Human Sciences

May 2024



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Resumo

O objectivo deste estudo é o de investigar o papel do Facebook, enquanto plataforma de comunicação dos movimentos sociais revolucionários e reformistas em Angola. Esta investigação visa descobrir as principais estratégias e táticas que estes movimentos utilizam para comunicarem com os seus principais grupos no Facebook, avaliando a importância do Facebook para o reforço democrático em Angola. A importância deste estudo é justificada primariamente pela ausência de estudos académicos que se foquem na correlação entre os movimentos sociais e as redes sociais no contexto angolano.

Este estudo utilizou uma abordagem sequencial explicativa, que consiste numa metodologia mista. Primeiro, foi feita uma Análise de Conteúdo às páginas do Facebook dos movimentos sociais reformistas (*EcoAngola* e *Associação Angola Rescue*) e dos movimentos sociais revolucionários (*Movimento Cívico Mudei* e *Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola*). De seguida, foram realizadas entrevistas semi-estruturadas aos gestores de comunicação dos quatro movimentos sociais analisados.

Baseado numa abordagem interdisciplinar que inclui teorias no âmbito da comunicação, participação cívica e movimentos sociais, este estudo concluiu que o Facebook serve como uma plataforma crucial, para movimentos reformistas e revolucionários em Angola, no que à disseminação de informações e interação com diversos públicos diz respeito. Igualmente, este estudo descobriu que a grande dependência que estes movimentos têm do Facebook surge como resultado da falta de acesso à imprensa tradicional em Angola devido a questões do forte controlo que o estado exerce sobre a mesma.

Palavras-chaves: Facebook; Movimentos Sociais; Media Públicos; Ativismo em Angola; Direitos Humanos

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of Facebook as a communication platform for revolutionary and reformative social movements in Angola. This research unpacks the key strategies and tactics these social movements employ to engage with their stakeholders on Facebook, assessing the significance of Facebook for democratic strengthening in Angola. The relevance of this study is primarily justified by the significant absence of academic research focusing on the correlation between social movements and social media in the Angolan context.

This study employed an explanatory sequential approach, which involves mix-method. Initially, a Content Analysis (CA) was conducted on the pages of reformative social movements (*EcoAngola* and *Associação Angola Rescue*) and revolutionary social movements (*Movimento Cívico Mudei* and *Movimento Vamos Sair de Angola*). Subsequently, Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) were conducted with the communication managers of the four social movements analysed in the study.

Based on an interdisciplinary approach encompassing theories in communication, civic participation, and social movements, this study concluded that Facebook serves as a crucial platform for reformative and revolutionary movements in terms of information dissemination and digital mobilisation. Additionally, this research found that the heavy reliance of these movements on Facebook stems from the lack of access to traditional press in Angola due to extensive state control.

Keywords: Facebook; Social Movements; State Media; Activism in Angola; Human Rights

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1. Introduction

This dissertation project investigates the extent of Facebook's role and influence in strengthening Angolan social movements, as a highly popular social media platform amongst digital users in the Southern African nation because of its affordable and simple accessibility (Moreira & Araújo, 2021). Particularly, this study focuses on how Facebook is used as a communication tool by Angolan social movements fighting for human rights values included in the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development¹.

In recent years, social and digital media have played an undeniable and growing role in the daily human experience (Vandenbosch et al., 2021). According to Das & Sahoo (2011), social and digital media are forms of virtual communication that allow permanent connection between people. The impact of this constant communication through social networks has greatly shaped the ways in which many interact with each other, daily, as well as significantly changing how various social groups communicate amongst themselves (Subramanian, 2017).

Subramanian (2017) argues that part of the change brought about by social media has to do with the fact that social dynamics have dramatically changed and, given that time is one of the most precious commodities nowadays, people, and consequently groups, favour faster and more efficient forms of communication, rather than face-to-face contact.

Social movements are groups of people united in defence of a certain cause, with the purpose of achieving specific goals (Della Porta & Diani, 2017). Staggenborg (2016, p.vii) describes them as “means of bringing about political and cultural change through collective action”. The collective actions designed and carried out by social movements are generally coordinated by individuals classified as activists. The term ‘activism’ is ambiguous (Yang, 2016) and often carries a social connotation associated with action and struggle, frequently in a disruptive way, in the name of defending causes such as fundamental human rights (Cammaerts & Carpenter, 2007).

Historically, particularly in the early and mid-twentieth centuries, social movements communicated through more institutional platforms, such as sharing verbal or written

¹ The United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development - <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda>

communication means, such as pamphlets, in social settings such as churches, unions, parties, social clubs or other social organisations (Della Porta & Diani, 2017). And, in addition to it, conventional social movements have relied on mass media - particularly television, newspapers and radio - to convey their messages, given there was a time where having positive media coverage was a crucial element in measuring success, effectiveness and popularity of a social movement (Della Porta & Diani, 2017).

However, technology has offered a new path to them: intensely revolutionising social movements' conventional ways of communication and propaganda (Mattoni & Treré, 2014). Technology-based communication has started to contribute significantly to the formation and functioning of social movements and collective behaviour, claims Myers (1994).

According to Polletta (2016), new communication dynamics in the world have contributed to the complexity in understanding social movements. The almost simultaneous emergence of different social media platforms and social movements, of so varied scopes and nature, across the world, has increasingly highlighted the role of communication and social networks in social movements (Polletta, 2016). Obregón & Tufte (2017) argue that social movements generally tend to rely on the role of media exposure, whether through conventional media or social media, to put pressure on governments, which is why communication is considered a strategic element for them.

Amongst academic research on the subject, Facebook is regarded as a leading social media platform for activism and mobilisation online. And it's not too hard to understand why. Being one of the oldest social media platforms, Facebook is still one of the most used ones worldwide (Low & Wong, 2021), having greatly contributed to the increase of social participation and mobilisation in many parts of the world. Facebook is the most widely used social media in Angola (DataReportal, 2023), thus it contributes significantly to the way people communicate online.

Many authors argue that Facebook has played a key role in certain historical offline social mobilisation events, which impacted the political and social contexts of certain parts of the world, such as the Arab spring, across much of the Arab world in the early 2010s, and the Occupy Wall Street movement, a 59-day movement against economic inequalities in 2011 in New York, US (Obregón & Tufte, 2017; Baron, 2014; Caren & Gaby, 2011).

In authoritarian regimes, the emergence of social networks contributed to boosting the participation and mobilisation of citizens (Thakur, 2016), and has therefore become a key ally for those individuals and social movements that fight for democratic values (Polletta, 2016), such as human rights, ethnic and social minorities as well as individual and group freedoms.

The lack of openness of mass media in authoritarian regimes means that social networks have the “potential to play a significant role in terms of facilitating communication among individual and recruitment networks and increase the speed of mobilisation, decrease cost of participation and reinforce motivations to participate” (Moghanizadeh, 2013, p.15).

In Angola, social movements (especially those dedicated to political and social causes), non-profit organisations and even opposition parties are very vocal on social media as they have no space in the country’s main conventional media, which are state-run (Human Rights Watch, 2023). With that, various social media platforms - especially Facebook in Angola - have become main means of communication for such important social movements, guaranteeing democratic exercise through these media, according to Ângelo (2021).

The overall aim of this study is to investigate how specific social movement organisations from Angola have used Facebook to communicate their messages, identify their key communication tactics and strategies on the platform as well as the elements that motivate their stakeholders' offline and online mobilisation. For that, this study will analyse the Facebook activity of two Reformatory Social Movements organisations (the animal-rescuing *Associação Angola Rescue* and environmental *EcoAngola*) - that pose a low threat to the country’s regime - as well as two Revolutionary Social Movements organisations (*Movimento Cívico Mudei*, a civic organisation willing to change the country’s political “status-quo” and *Movimento Cívico, Vamos sair de Angola*, an online group promoting immigration given the country’s current complex social and economic state of affairs) - both highly critical of Angola’s current status-quo.

To better understand the specificities of the communication tactics used by these social movements on Facebook, this study intends to answer the following research questions:

RQ: What is the role of Facebook in the communication strategies and tactics of groups belonging to reformatory and revolutionary social movements in Angola?

To help answer the question above, the following sub-questions were determined:

1. a) What are the main characteristics and features of these groups' Facebook posts, and how do they differ from each other?
2. b) Which communication strategies/tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising user engagement (based on Facebook metrics) and eventual offline action?

This study employs an explanatory sequential approach, a mixed method, which involves combining an initial quantitative approach to data collection and analysis followed by qualitative methods (Creswell, 2014). It will first run a quantitative Content Analysis (CA) (Neuendorf, 2016), followed by Semi-Structured Interviews - qualitative - (Patton, 2015).

The present research highlights how social networks have served as an alternative communication tool for social movements in competitive authoritarian regimes, analysing the Angola case. It was found that Facebook has an impact on driving political change through sharing information and organising online movements. Additionally, the study showed that these movements rely heavily on Facebook since traditional media in Angola is restricted by government regulations making it hard to access. The significance of this study stems from the following elements: the dearth of interdisciplinary studies on media and social movements in Angola and the need to explore the real impact that social networks have had in shaping the country's social and political contexts. This study aims to position itself as a source that contributes to the increase of research in this domain both locally and internationally, based on an interdisciplinary approach that includes theories within the scope of communication, civic participation, and social movements.

2. Literature Review

This chapter will review existing literature on the subjects this study focuses on. Its main objective is to provide a robust and scientific foundation for the claims presented by this project, exploring various perspectives on the same subjects based on previous academic research conducted. This chapter also aims to provide a better overall perspective on social movements, digital mobilisation, citizens participation and the role of social media in the context of authoritarian, democratic and mixed states as well as theories that will be applied to investigate the research questions made by this dissertation.

2.1 Theorizing Social Movements

2.1.1 Mapping the main theories about social movements

The social movements theory is an interdisciplinary area of research in constant evolution that involves different analyses and perspectives proposed by several thinkers and scholars (Diani, 1992). Unlike other theories, the social movements theory was not originated or exclusively invented by a single author, having been constantly shaped by various scholars' contributions over the years (Diani, 1992).

Historically, the early studies on social movements used to be carried out within the collective behaviour field, meaning that it was grouped with other sorts of it such as riots, social panic, and revolutions, which at the time were seen as social deviance problems caused by social malintegration (Pauli, 2017). However, the boom of social movements in the 1960s and 1970s “led to both a surge of scholarly interest in them and important changes in the way they were studied” (Pauli, 2017, p.2).

Despite recognizing that defining the concept of social movement is not exactly an easy task, given its complexities and various definitions proposed over the years, Christiansen (2011, p.15) thinks of it as an “organised yet informal social entities that are engaged in extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal. These goals can be either aimed at a specific and narrow policy or be more broadly aimed at cultural change.”

Understanding what a social movement is very often evokes the general idea of collective action, so it is even defined by some as a collective action, with a certain regularity, whose

main objective is to promote or contest a change in the space in which they belong, be it an organisation or society (Turner & Killian, 1987). Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) too approached social movements as a collective way of wanting to change the status quo and intending to implement a “new order of life” (Lyman, 1995, p.60). Blumer (in Lyman, 1995) argued that social movements generally originate without much organisation or internal structure and that they gain shape, clearer purposes, and pre-defined mechanisms of action, while spontaneous relationships between members gain substance and value.

The social movements theory exists as an attempt to explain the multiple diversities that exist within its concept, from its distinct forms, categories to its various goals (Pauli, 2017). Christiansen (2011, p.14) claims that because of the great impact that some social movements have generated in many societies worldwide, sometimes even leading to “dramatic changes”, many academics have invested a lot of effort in trying to understand “where they come from, who participates in them, how they succeed, and how they fail.” There are different ways of understanding collective actions, and one of them is interpreting social movements (Shehada, 2012). Many authors claim that social movements are both a combination of personal motivations and a need to see change happening within social structures (Turner & Killian, 1987; Foss & Larkin, 1986; Lyman, 1995). Foss & Larkin (1986) claim that historically social movements were always led by those who wanted to change the reality of social structures, and therefore were always unforeseen and led by those who felt dissatisfied with some existing social issue.

Although there is no universal definition for what the social movement theory is, Touraine (1985) argues that the idea that social movements should be considered as a special form of social conflict is universal. Della Porta (2020) claims that studies in the social movement field have categorised *conflict* as a dynamic of our societies. Touraine (1985) states that there are different forms of social conflict that aim to achieve power control as a good example to explain what social movements are. However, Touraine (1985) claims that the various studies on social movements are not a faithful translation of social reality but rather an important perspective that helps to understand social construction.

The key reasons/motivations that led to the emergence of social movements have for long been a crucial question for the academic community researching this field, as it is generally accepted, they do not just happen (Christiansen, 2011). Although this area has already benefited greatly

from broad research - especially in the areas of sociology and political science (Gahan & Pekarek, 2012) - there are still many unanswered questions. Polletta & Jasper (2001) argue that partly, it is because mobilisation and process theorists have for so long exclusively focused on how social movements occur rather on why they do in the first place.

Sen & Avci (2016, p.125) argue that there are several reasons for the emergence, growth, and maturation of social movements. In an attempt to understand the reasons behind it, they have chosen to analyse the following theories: “deprivation theory; resource mobilisation theory; political process theory; structural strain theory; and new social movement theories”.

Sen & Avci (2016) main takeaway is that each type of movement originates for a particular reason, for example, the deprivation theory claims that a social movement occurs when a certain group of people feel like they're being kept away from accessing a certain good, service, or particular resource (McAdam et al., 1998). In this case, the people who originated the social movement do so because they all feel excluded, in a certain way, and want to protest the *why* they have been denied access to the certain service or product they are referring to. However, this theory is criticised because it fails to address why not all the depravities, we observe in all societies necessarily give rise to social movements (Sen & Avci, 2016). Leading to conclude that although depravity is an element that can play an important role in the emergence of certain social movements, it is not a decisive factor underlying all social movements worldwide.

In her Ph.D. thesis on “The Impactful use of Facebook in Social Movements”, Brown (2020) argues that social movements appear as a response to a certain social or political problem or issue; justifying that they are a result of a group of people committed in protesting because they believe that by doing so actual change can really be achieved.

Herbert Blumer, believed to be one of the oldest scholars in the social movements field (Christiansen, 2011), proposed four fundamental states for the emergence and vitality of social movements, namely: “social ferment,” “popular excitement,” “formalisation,” and “institutionalisation” (Della Porta & Diani 1999, p.150). Christiansen (2011, p.16) argues that despite the terminology having changed over the years, the four stages of the lifecycle of social movements remain faithful to those principles proposed by Herbet Blumer, with the current nomenclature being as follows: “Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratization, and Decline.”

In the emergence stage, Christiansen (2011) says, social movements are structures at their very beginning, characterised by little to almost no internal organisation or structuring, as also claimed by Blumer (in Lyman, 1995). Potential participants in the social movement, which are its driving form, are probably united by a shared emotion or value: such as the dissatisfaction towards “some policy or some social condition” about which they have not done anything about yet or had only taken an individual measure to try to resolve rather than a collective one (Christiansen, 2011, p.16).

Polletta & Jasper (2001, p.285) argue that collective identity, which they define as “as an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution”, might also play a role in the emergence of social movements. Although many new social movements’ scholars (Kauffman, 1990; Castells, 1997; Tilly, 2004) claim that collective identity is what largely divides the new social movements in the west to the older more class-based movements from the past, Taylor & Whittier (1999) argue the identity’s issues of participants in a given cause are critical for any type of collective action, and not just for new social movements. Meaning that to come together, people need to have some element in common, which is often part of the identity construction processes of the individuals involved.

Della Porta & Diani (1999, p.21), note that “social movements are not merely the sum of protest events on certain issues, or even of specific campaigns. On the contrary, a social movement process is in place only when collective identities develop, which go beyond specific events and initiatives”. Within the social movement’s context, Touraine (1981) argues that collective identity is so relevant as it can provide a sense of shared ideals and goals towards a cause, leading to a closer, and more effective, interaction amongst activists, key actors of movements, or organisation, as well as positively impacting their collective action.

Although authors such as Tarrow (2011) interpret social movement as a modern phenomenon, it is important to note that the reason why they occur in the first place is not necessarily a contemporary concern. With the massive emergence of social movements in the United States (US) and Europe in the 1950s, such as the Civil Rights Movement in the US or feminist protests in Europe, Phongpaichit (1999) says that Western academics have since begun to study the motivations behind this wave of protests, what is believed to have been a major contribution to the field of social movement theory.

The *how* social movements work, structure and organise themselves has for very long too been a question that kept the attention of many scholars within the field (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Given that social movements are not completely rigid structures, they suffer a lot of influence from factors external to their actions, such as state structure, culture, and civil society (Whittier, 2002). In fact, the external environment in which the social movement operates plays an important role in reshaping it and its target goals. The fact that social movements generally begin with very generic and unspecific objectives, and are refined over time, as claimed by Blumer (1995), does not mean that social movements are necessarily disorganised or lack structure. Whittier (2002, p.289) says that “like movements, states and institutions also have structure, engage in action, and construct meaning”.

Polletta (1999) has extensively studied the correlation between the internal dynamics of social movements and the influence of external factors, political and cultural ones, within them. Fuchs (2006) defines social movements as self-organising systems, arguing that one can only be considered such if it possesses an internal logic of self-organisation, and is able to carry itself along as an autonomous organism. However, like Whittier (2002), Fuchs (2006) notes that social movements are a combination of both internal and external factors, meaning that the fact the social movements are meant to work autonomously and independently does not mean that it is a closed-up structure, as it depends on external influences to constantly reach itself and define its protest approaches.

“Interactions between movements and external contexts shape the content, type, and relative intensity of movement organisation, collective action, collective identity, and discourse within different movements”, Whittier (2002, p.32) claims. However, despite the impact of this external influence, Japp (1984) notes that social movements are not originated based on outside factors, rather it produces itself, based on various internal factors that merge a group of different people with something in common.

Blumer (1995) notes that as social movements evolve, they tend to acquire more of the society-like characters, gaining structure, social organisation, cultural and traditional values. Brown (2020, p. 26) claims that “movements desiring success must be well-planned and must incorporate effective and thoughtful strategies” in order to achieve social change.

Leaders are very important in social movements “they inspire commitment, mobilise resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes” (Morris & Staggenborg, 2007, p. 171). Even though leaders of certain movements tend to be more educated from what is called the masses, their action within the social movements is very important for the organisation of an internal structure of the movements, the creation of a strong relationship between the movements and other important stakeholders as well as the determination of specific group objectives, such as forms of mobilisation (Morris & Staggenborg, 2007). Mobilisation is a crucial element of social movements (Fuchs, 2006), as it is from them that a more solid base of movement supporters is consolidated, and an interest in the causes that the social movement aims to defend is deepened. In this sense, the regular acquisition of members is quite important for social movements not only because of its significance in their robustness and capacity to act, especially with regard to activities that require popular actions such as protests, but because mobilisation is in itself, fundamental to the vitality of social movements, as autonomous and independent structures (Fuchs, 2006).

All over the world social movements are exponentially rising (Ishkanian, 2022), which makes it a relevant area to continue searching in order to deepen knowledge on the most varied aspects of the subject. This study, in particular, will approach social movements as structures willing to challenge inequalities, and promote greater social justice within the context they operate in (Ishkanian, 2022). It will consider various authors' interpretations on the emergence of particular social movements, trying to adjust the framework proposed by their work within the Angolan social movement's context, which is the one this study particularly focuses on.

2.1.2 Segmenting various social movements

As mentioned above, there are several types of social movements, led by different motivations and therefore employing various tactics, internal organisation structures and forms of action (Pauli, 2017). Snow & Soule (2010) claim that understanding the various types of social movements enlighten us on the way different social movements have functioned in the past and function today.

Blumer (1995) fundamentally distinguishes social movements, at least in primary terms in two distinct categories: reform and revolutionary movements. He claims that although both types of social movements seek to bring about change to an existing social issue, they are not entirely

the same thing. One of the main differences between both movements, Blumer (1995, p.74) argues, is the “scope of their objectives”, because while revolutionary movements have broader objectives that aim at revolution or reconstruction of the entire status-quo, reform social movements simply aim to reform certain segments or elements of social life.

The main difference between the specific objectives of each type of social movement equally positions them in separated positions in terms of their way of acting and approach to the society in which they are inserted in accordance with their moral principles and values (Blumer, 1995). While reformist social movements are generally more accepted by their opponents, as they start from an assumption of acceptance of existing social structures, simply aiming to reform specific aspects of it, revolutionary social movements are more vehemently attacked as they start from a principle that does not even recognizes the social order as it is, which enables it to be treated with much more criticism and scepticism than reformist movements (Blumer, 1995).

Flynn (2011, p.28) says that social movements are categorised based on various elements, “including their scope, chronology, geographical focus, strategies, targets, goals, economic resources, and membership characteristics”. It’s worth noting that the types of social movements usually aim to reflect the social science’s concerns given the time they were developed or introduced (Flynn, 2011), meaning that when analysing the various types of social movements context is really important.

In 1966, David Aberle (1918-2004) introduced the: a) alternative; b) redemptive; c) reformative, and d) revolutionary social movements typology model (Aberle, 1966), what is now thought to be one of the most used and recognised social movements categories schemes (Flynn, 2011). Aberle’s (1966) social movements classification is fundamentally based on two pillars, namely: (1) who does the change advocated by the movement aim to target; and (2) to what extent the movements aim to brighten about change.

According to Aberle (1966), alternative movements generally focus on partial or total change in the behaviour of their members. The focus of this type of movement is particularly on the behaviour, thoughts or attitudes of individuals and is therefore generally described as a movement that focuses on ‘self-improvement’. Flynn (2011) argues that this type of movement does not focus on changing any social or political reality rather its focus is on creating a way of social life parallel to that which already exists. Sovacool (2022) claims that alternative

movements are the least threatening ones to social order, as their interactions are not meant to have large repercussions on societies as a whole.

Unlike the previous alternative movements, redemptive movements seek complete change towards the movement's participants (Aberle, 1966). These movements are generally focused on particular segments of populations in order to promote some type of change that starts from the inside out. Generally, these movements are closely associated with religious activity, due to their particular tendency to seek general changes in behavioural patterns among their followers. Flynn (2011) claims that personal recovery groups, such as addiction-recovery groups, like Alcoholics Anonymous, are a perfect example of this type of social movements. "Redemptive social movements are selective in their focus, they seek radical change but only within a targeted population, and they focus on personal changes like going to church more or stopping unhealthy habits" (Sovacool, 2022, p.2).

As already seen, Aberle (1966) approached reformative social movements as those types of movements seeking to alter a specific aspect or element of the already existing social structure. Flynn (2011) claims that reformative social movements generally focus on a single issue, which is often linked to issues that aim to promote a fairer and more equal society for all its members. Clear examples of this type of movement are environmental movements, LGBT rights movements or movements defending women's rights. It's worth noting that although these movements generally aim to resolve specific issues within social structures, they are generally targeted at the entire population, as they understand that the success of their objectives largely depends on the cooperation and interaction of different social agents, and not simply those affected by subjects they evoke. Sovacool (2022) argues that members of reformative movements might even believe that changing a small fraction of society might be enough to improve all other aspects of it, being why they believe the causes they fight for must be causes of all and not simply of some. In some cases, reformist movements act to seek social order, through the revitalization and reconstruction of values that they consider important for the type of social change they seek (Flynn, 2011).

Lastly, Aberle (1966) revolutionary movements aim to completely change all aspects of society in a dramatic way. The fact that this type of movement does not recognize existing social structures as fair or legitimate, leads the members of this movement to a general disbelief in all existing structures. These types of movements are often called transformative movements, as

their main goal is to completely transform or replace the society's current value scheme (Sovacool, 2022). For this reason, these movements are generally seen as radical and extremist because their actions do not consider the existence of existing forms of social life (Flynn, 2011). Extremist Islamic groups, anti-government militias or even several political movements - whose ideologies are completely opposite to those that prevail in certain social realities - are often used as examples for this type of movements (Sovacool, 2022). These movements are, therefore, the biggest threat to traditional values and social order, often questioning power holders and authority figures. Despite sometimes having clear objectives about what they want, these types of movements often tend to promote vague ideas, often considered utopian (Locher, 2002). Because of the nature of their goals, revolutionary movements are often seen as violent and more dangerous movements, as they, in some cases, may resort to violence in an attempt to pursue their goals.

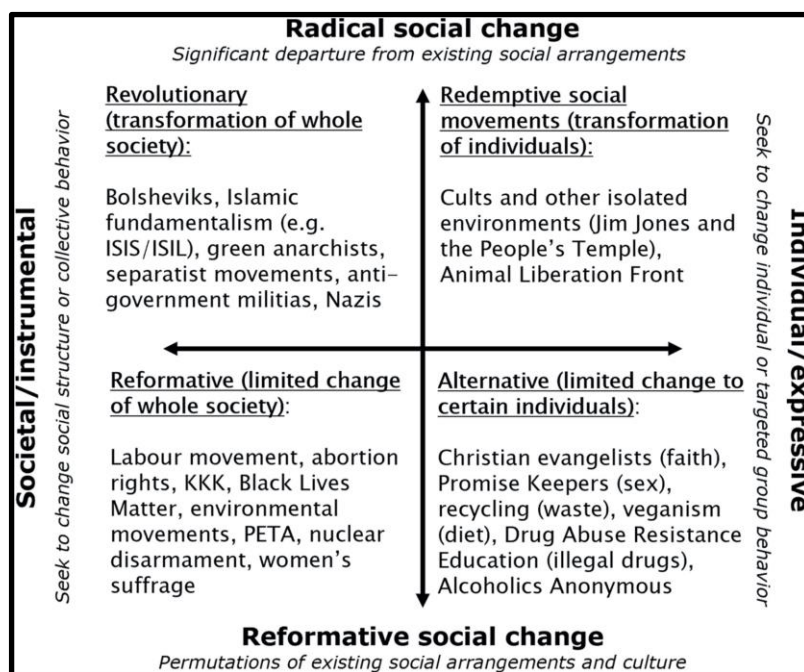


Figure 1 - Historical Social Movements Types based on Blumer (1996) (In Sovacool, 2022)

It is important to note that despite being one of the most used ones within the social movements field (Flynn, 2011), Aberle's (1966) model of social movements types is not the only one. Over the years, various models and typologies of social movements have emerged, as an attempt to scientifically explain the distinct movements that over the last few decades have had significant contributions to the transformation of many societies, for better or worse (Sovacool, 2022).

Harper & Leicht (2015), for instance, argue that social movements can be classified as: (1) incremental and instrumental or (2) radical and transformative. According to the authors, the first group - such as the reformative type - aims to bring about simple changes to current status-quo, especially the political aspects of social structure, and the second one seeks to change the social structure at large, transforming its various segments. Adding that radical movements, like the Soviet Union's communist revolution, aim to dramatically change social structures. Instrumental movements, like the animal rights movement, aim to completely alter one facet of society. Reform movements, like the one to grant women the right to vote, aim to make little changes from within.

In addition to the types of classifications already seen above, Flynn (2011) notes that sociology experts also categorise social movement types based on their date of emergence, as well as their internal characteristics, dividing them, therefore, into traditional vs new social movements approach. Wieviorka (2005) says that the viewpoint of the social movement's participants, how they relate to culture, and the framework within which the movement will operate are the specific elements considered when analysing social movements through this model. These criteria are considered important for classifying social movements, especially from a sociological point of view.

To understand this model, it is important to clarify some key concepts it evokes. The first one has to do with traditional social movements, which are thought of as the oldest ones, the first to emerge especially in the western world, typically linked to the industrial-era and characterised as generally middle-class based (Pichardo, 1997). Another strong characteristic associated with these industrial-era movements, which emerged mainly at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, is the fact that they had a strong focus on a fairer and more equal redistribution of the economy, therefore, they were mostly driven by group labour interests (Pichardo, 1997). Unlike them, new social movements, also known as post-industrial era movements, are fundamentally characterised by having dramatically shifted away from the previous ones where, changing internal structures, objectives, and forms of action (Wieviorka, 2005), moving towards having a very, and more particular interest, in matters related to “quality of life and life-style concerns” (Pichardo, 1997, p.4).

Flynn (2011) claims that the distinct characteristics of these two types of movements are an important category for this sociological classification model, as the internal structure, organisation and type of social movements memberships can help create a clear pattern of distinction between the two. This classification model, in particular, points to the so-called new social movements as a result of traditional movements, suggesting that they may even be a “response to, and possibly in reaction against, traditional social movements” (Flynn, 2011, p. 31). While Pichardo (1997) does not properly categorise new social movements as a response to previous ones, he highlights that post-industrial social evolution is a key element when analysing the emergence and rapid growth of new social movements. In other words, he claims that new social movements do not occur in a vacuum, rather they occur at a given place and time, and can be interpreted as a consequence of the rapid socio-political changes that the world underwent after the end of the industrial era.

The traditional vs new social movements paradigm points out that new social movements core mobilisation strategies differ greatly from the traditional movement’s ones, so its key differences should be looked at when applying this model (Flynn, 2011, p.4). Pichardo (1997, p. 4) claims that these differences could be directly linked to elements such as “ideology and goals, tactics, structure, and participants of contemporary movements”. He adds that it is the ideology of new social movements that gives rise to the development of other characteristics of this type of movement. Questions of identity are very important to understand contemporary movements, when compared to traditional movements, as the political identity of members of new social movements strengthens their mobilising activity, which leads to the personal interests of members of these movements being a driving factor of their performance (Pichardo, 1997).

Besides this model, within the sociology field there is also a paradigm that classifies social movements according to their economic features (Flynn, 2011). According to it, the economic variable, among other variables such as the environment, can be used to analyse the type, and sometimes the motivation force, of social movements, with researchers therefore dividing them into two categories as follows: economically driven social movements and non-economically driven social movements (Flynn, 2011). Economically driven social movements are those generally composed of people who intend to improve their social condition, whose motivation to participate in the social movement arises from social discontent because of their financial condition.

Breton & Breton (1969) claim that socioeconomic factors play a relevant role in the emergence of many social movements, therefore being a criterion that cannot be ignored when analysing social movements classification types. In their study on “An Economic Theory of Social Movements”, Breton & Breton (1969), say that like in the economic context, where the demand for products creates a set of opportunities, and competitiveness amongst entrepreneurs, in social movements, the demand for social change or justice also creates plenty of opportunities, especially for social entrepreneurs, who may want to take advantage of social movement agendas to fulfil their economic interests. Flynn (2011, p. 34) argues that “successful social movements are created by the successful mobilisation of resources and the development of political and economic opportunities for members”.

Although there are several social movements classification models, this investigation will use Aberle's (1966) social movements model, based on the specific objectives of this research project. Assuming that this project aims to evaluate the tactics used by two specific types of social movements in the Angolan context - two reformative social movements and two revolutionary social movements -, this study finds it more suitable to apply Aberle's (1966) model as it provides a more comprehensive set of tools to categorise, understand and analyse those chosen Angola social movements, taking into account the historical context they emerged in. Despite being historical, Aberle's (1966) model remains very current as well as being able to be flexible and quite adaptable to various contexts, which is also why it was chosen to be used in this study.

However, it's not to state the Aberle's (1966) model is a perfected and finished one. As Flynn (2011) rightly points out all social movement's classification models have strengths and weaknesses, as they are all theories after all. As supporters of Aberle's (1966) the alternative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary social movements typology model claim that its specificity makes it a very complete model that therefore allows the evaluation of almost all types of social movements, opponents of the model say that the metrics and principles used by it are limited, as they simply serve to analyse ideal and pure social movements, excluding those that go outside these categories (Flynn, 2011).

To sum up, interpreting the complexity of social movements gives us tools to better understand the structures and motivations behind the emergence of distinct social movements worldwide.

The analysis of social movements through a diverse perspective, which incorporates readings and theoretical proposals made by different authors over the years, informs us about the importance of a constant analytical study of social movements. Considering that, as already seen above, social movements are dynamic structures that greatly benefit from external influences, which means that at the same time that social structures are undergoing regular modifications, in accordance with their most urgent contemporary challenges, social movements do too (Fuchs, 2006), lacking, for that of more instruments for analysing its most current characteristics.

2.1.3 Angola's Social movements background

As this study intends to extend its exclusive focus to the study of social movements in Angola, this section will focus on the literature review of relevant contributions that outline the historical background of social movements in the African nation, from the first that emerged from the national liberation struggle from Portuguese colonialism in the 60s to the current state of the main social movements in post-independence Angola, after nearly 50 years of independence.

European colonisation on the African continent, which in Angola was from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, forced the emergence of a set of political movements whose main purpose was the fight against colonial oppression (Cambinda, 2017). Due to the socio-political context that prevailed at the time, the main social movements in Angola, characterised by the unified desire to fight for the independence of their territory, as a sine-qua non condition for the improvement of their lives, had very limited action due to the strong civil and police repression to which they were subjected due to the magnitude of the defence apparatus of the former colony powers (Cambinda, 2017).

In the case of Angola, which at the time was considered a Portuguese ultramarine province, the expansion of the colonial state, which began in the 19th century and finally gained a consolidated structure in the 20th century, meant that the Portuguese authorities came to hold total hegemony over the Angolan territory, from its administrative management to total control of the country's extractive economy (Ball, 2017). Ball (2017) notes that it was at this same time, at the beginning of the 20th century, that a nationalist feeling began to emerge among

Portuguese-speaking African thinkers, which led to the emergence of a large part of national liberation movements from these countries in the 1950s.

During the national liberation struggle in Angola, the main social movements that emerged all had nationalism and anti-colonial ideologies as a common denominator (Ball, 2017). Cambinda (2017) notes that these movements emerged in different sociopolitical contexts within the country, some in rural areas, with few resources, but where many of these movements began to carry out national liberation struggles, and others in more formal and academic contexts, including even in other countries. A very important element of these movements is that despite the ethnic differences of the different groups engaged in the struggle for liberation in Angola, the union against colonialism greatly strengthened the attempts at struggle of these movements. Malaquias (2007) notes, however, that unity in nationalist ideals does not necessarily mean that the Angolan revolutionary movements, which would later become the main political forces in the country, the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Unita (The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola) necessarily agree neither on a unified approach to face colonialism nor a unique framework for the aftermath, a post-colonial project for the country.

Malaquias (2007) argues that the MPLA, at the time seen as the main revolutionary movement in Angola, and the country's ruling party since independence in 1975, claimed that it had a project to make a profound social transformation, laying the foundation of a new national identity. MPLA's alleged project for the country had a lot to do with the revolutionary movements proposed by Blumer (1995), which aimed to reform the status-quo, rather than only changing specific aspects of societies. They claimed they would transform the nation, instead of only replacing the colonial entities and authorities, as many would predict at the time (Malaquias, 2007). However, they abandoned this pledge right after the country gained independence in 1975, according to Malaquias (2007). "Instead, the new order became characterised by excessive centralization of power, elite privilege and extravagance, kleptocracy, repression, and widespread economic collapse outside the oil and diamonds sectors" (Malaquias, 2007, p. 211-212).

The historical and political context of Angola, marked not only by the long struggle for national liberation but also by a long postcolonial civil war that only ended in 2002, having positioned the country as one of the worst places of war and destruction in the world, might have

constructed the basis of the formation of social movements that emerged over the years after independence (Kibble & Vines, 2001). Perhaps, incorporating the idea that social movements are shaped by many elements of the sociopolitical context in which they emerge (Breton & Breton, 1969), Angolan civil society in the early 2000s was quite vocal on issues such as “issues of corruption, lack of social provision especially with the continuing impact of war devastation, and attacks on press freedom” (Kibble & Vines, 2001, p. 543). Kibble & Vines (2001) also added calls for peace were fundamental for the main groups of Angolan civil society, as it was believed that the effectiveness of their action, regardless of their scope of it, was also dependent on the country’s social and political setting.

The long civil war that took place in Angola for more than 30 years significantly impacted and delayed the formation of social movements in the country from segments other than the political. Da Silveira (2014) argues that the long civil war between the two main political liberation movements in Angola - the MPLA and Unita - created a great bipolarization in Angolan society, with relevant repercussions on the social movements that have emerged in the country since then. The strong and divisive political polarisation, that dominated almost all segments of the country's social life, began to distinguish Angolan activists into two categories: those on the side of the ruling party MPLA and those on the side of the opposition parties (Da Silveira, 2014). This type of division, through a political frame, turned out to be quite problematic, as it began to constitute an element of limitation in the action of the various social movements that began to emerge, according to Da Silveira (2014).

Angolan researcher Abreu (2006) notes that the process of building Angolan civil society has been gradual, considering different events that contributed to both the evolution and the delay in the affirmation and strengthening of these movements. Abreu (2006) points out the 27th of May 1977, or simply known as the May 27th, defined as “the slaughter of thousands, if not tens of thousands, of people” (Pawson, 2014, p.23) following a small demonstration against the ruling MPLA in Luanda, as one of the lowest points for the progression of Angola’s social movements at the time.

Despite the small steps that the country was already taking after independence, in the field of segmenting social movements, Abreu (2006, p.8) argues that “along with the radical change that took place internally after the coup of May 27th, 1977 with the closure of public space, marked a setback in the advances achieved in almost the first two years after independence,

characterised by a social mobilisation built around a feeling of participation in the construction of a nation, and the practice of freedom of expression, of assembly and association, which gave rise to the emergence of grassroots organisations, such as residents' committees, production and consumer associations and cooperatives, cultural and professional associations.”

The historical legacy of events such as the civil war and the 27th of May continued to play a crucial role in the delay and slowness in the processes of formation and progress of the country's social movements, even until after the country achieved peace on the 4th of April 2002 (Telo, 2018). However, she argues that despite this legacy, which will have contributed to the construction of a highly securitized state (Roque, 2021), where control of citizens' lives by authorities is like a state-rule, associated with other recurring issues in authoritarian regimes, such as lack of freedoms of expression, demonstration and press, have delayed the emergence of new movements, it did not necessarily stop them from emerging.

Although there is no consensus on the current political regime in Angola - while the government describes itself as “full democracy” and its critics as an “authoritarian regime” - this study considers that the country fits into the competitive authoritarian regimes. Competitive authoritarian regimes are defined as those with formal democratic practices, such as holding regular elections, as the main way of staying in power, unlike full autocracies (Esen & Gumuscu, 2016). Levitsky & Way (2009) argue that these types of regimes are competitive in that opposition parties genuinely compete for power through democratic channels, but they are not democratic since the odds are stacked so much in the incumbents' favour. This is what authors Blaauw (2014) and Roque (2021) call the ‘façade of democracy’ in the context of Angola.

One important milestone in the social movements strengthening process in the Angola post-peace was the emergence of a movement, self-styled as the Revolutionary Movement of Angola, fundamentally integrated by discontented young people, which contributed to changing the spectrum of contemporary social movements in Angola. Telo (2018) claims that the first demonstration of this movement was in 2011, and that the participants were summoned by Facebook, since the organisers did not have access to the country's conventional communication platforms. Although repressed at the time, that demonstration marked the starting point of many other demonstrations that emerged, all over the country, “and thus a non-homogeneous movement with only common purposes was consolidated” (Telo, 2018).

“The Angolan Revolutionary Movement, made up of young people who call themselves “revus”, has organised several protests and demonstrations for human rights and social justice. It has its own agenda, a horizontal and liberal organisation, direction and collective actions that initially aim to make people aware of the need for profound changes in Angolan society” (Susan, et al., 2015, p.7 in Cambinda, 2017).

Despite all the adversities, social movements have been present in Angola since the colonial period, having played a crucial role in achieving very important social reforms in the country such as national independence (Cambinda, 2017). He adds that new social movements in Angola, in particular the Revolutionary Movement of Angola, have been advocating an important agenda for the democratisation of the country.

2.1.4 Citizen Participation and communication

As the expression indicates, the concept of ‘citizen participation’ refers to the involvement of citizens in the process of public, therefore political, decisions-making that affect the lives of societies at large (Baum, 2001). Day (1997) argues that citizen participation in public affairs, such as planning public actions as well as decision-making, has for long been part of the historical culture of the US, given the American tradition of maintaining strong citizen participation in community and government activities, as a cornerstone value of its democracy.

Callahan (2007) also claims that the central foundation for the citizen participation concept is directly linked to a democratic value very characteristic of the US which evokes the need for citizens to have an important voice, highly valued in their governments’ decision-making processes. That is partly why authors such as Roberts (2015) define citizen participation as a fundamental pillar of democratic practice and theory, because in definition, the word democracy comes from Latin, meaning, “dēmokratia, from dēmos 'the people' + -kratia 'power, rule’” (Fowler et al., 2000, p.184).

Despite being in widespread use today (Roberts, 2015), the concept of 'citizen participation' is quite old, dating back to the Greek city-states, according to Roberts (2003). Baum (2001) claims that although the practice of citizen participation is traditional in certain socio-political contexts with ancient democratic practice, the term was introduced to arouse interest in

government decision-making processes among those less socially active citizens. However, he points out that the concept is not limited only to citizen engagement in decision-making processes that involve government structures but also applies to the engagement of citizens, individual or collective, in community activities, autonomous agents, with greater impact in societies (Baum, 2001).

The benefits of citizen participation are not limited to the need to demonstrate an active democratic practice in a certain reality, but extend to the fact that when people actively participate in the decision-making processes and planning of public policies that will affect their lives in the future, outcomes are more likely to be much more effective than when the decision is solely made by a certain group of people with a political mandate to do so (Schachter, 1997). This has been proven to be true in several sectors that make up public life. In an article on “The potential of location-based social networks for participatory urban planning”, Martí et al., (2021) argue that the active participation of citizens in the urban decision-making process had a very valuable contribution, as it made the urban planning process, which was aimed at these citizens, incorporate the real needs of its target audience, resulting in an appropriate outcome for them.

King & Stivers (1998) argue that active citizen participation can also contribute to changing people's attitudes and perceptions towards government bodies, as people's participation in the internal processes of these structures might demonstrate a certain openness, evoking greater transparency and credibility in the exercise of public power, leading to the restore public trust in governments, in decline in many parts of the world.

However, despite citizen participation seeming like a concept with positive-only effects to democratic practice and overall decision-making processes, it's not universally praised (Callahan, 2007). Although many authors point out citizen participation's benefit for democratic practice as their common denominator (Fung, 2015; Ott, 2012; Hue & Tung-Wen Sun, 2021), many have debated which are the best models for it to be implemented, between active citizen participation, indirect citizen participation or representative democracy (Callahan, 2007; Roberts, 2015, Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

Callahan (2007) distinguishes the two main models of citizen participation as following: a) indirect citizen participation as the model that assumes that in a democracy democratically

elected people, due to their competence and professionalism, must act on behalf of the citizens and in the interests of the state; and b) the model of direct citizen participation that implies the direct intervention of citizens in political decision-making processes, despite having elected political representation.

The main argument that supports the basis of those openly sceptical of the model of active or direct citizen participation is that citizens do not have enough time, interest or expertise to take part in the public decision processes that are so important to the lives of nations, arguing, therefore, that that this mission should be exclusive to those who are fully dedicated to these types of issues, meaning, their elected representatives (Roberts, 2015). However, Barber (1984) argues that citizens' main asset is their daily experience, and that therefore they do have the expertise to participate in decision-making processes that could result in measures with direct impacts on their lives.

Callahan (2007) claims that, despite recognizing its benefits, active citizen participation is only idealistic, as it is difficult to be fully achieved because of the various constraints that its implementation, as such, presents. “Citizens cannot be expected to be responsible for every public sector decision; they lack the time, knowledge, and personal motivation to do so. Given the size and complexity of the public sector, direct participation is not realistic”, Callahan (2007, p. 1) adds.

In an attempt to highlight some of the shortcomings of direct citizen participation, Irvin & Stansbury (2004) explain how direct citizen participation, despite producing important effects, can often be inadequate for making certain decisions. It is important to highlight here that authors such as Irvin & Stansbury (2004) or Callahan (2007) do not completely reject the importance of direct citizen participation, rather are interested in calling attention to its disadvantages too.

Irvin & Stansbury (2004), for instance, listed some of potential problems of the direct citizen participation model in certain decision-making processes, such as: Cost, Complacency, The Difficulty of Diffusing Citizen Goodwill, Representation, Lack of Authority, The Power Of Wrong Decisions and Persistent Selfishness.

The full representation of the various social groups that make up a group of citizens is generally seen as problematic in decision-making processes (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). The authors claim that issues such as time constraints and social inequalities can lead to the group of citizens who participate in these processes not necessarily representative of the vast majority of people who will be affected by the decision in question. Instead, Irvin & Stansbury (2004) say the group might rather only represent those who, due to better life circumstances, have greater possibility and availability to participate in these processes than other people.

Another concern that the authors raise is that the direct citizen participation model does not mean that citizen's views will always be taken into account, and that, therefore, citizens must be warned of this in advance before assuming that all their participation will necessarily be taken on board or be implemented right away, this is because citizens do not have the power, in fact, to make decisions. "If citizen participants are misled into thinking their decisions will be implemented, and then the decisions are ignored or merely taken under advisement, resentment will develop over time" (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004, p.59). These and other problems, some of a more logistical nature such as the organisation of participation models as well as the resources needed to carry it out, lead the authors of this article to conclude that direct citizen participation has some social and economic costs that make it ineffective in certain situations, and that therefore, policy-makers must consider carefully before determining which model of citizen participation to use (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004).

Despite its shortcomings, Fung (2015) notes that interest in citizen participation in government processes has seen significant growth in the last decade not only with regard to academic research, but in practice too. He argues that citizen participation can help advance three fundamental, and sometimes declining, values in democratic contexts: a) effectiveness, b) legitimacy, and c) social justice (Fung, 2015). Since the effectiveness of governments is fundamentally based on their ability to solve the problems that affect the lives of people and societies, Fung (2015) argues that the innovative elements that citizen participation evokes help to make governance increasingly more effective, as they demand constant changes and adaptations to reality.

The interaction between governments and citizens can have effects on the exercise of government as it revolutionises the traditional relationship between both stakeholders², forcing governments to create better structures to embrace citizen participation in their most distinct processes (Hue & Tung-Wen Sun, 2021). According to Challahn (2007), public accountability for government performance is vitally important since it can serve as an indicator of how successfully the government is carrying out its mandate.

With regards to the potential influential role citizen participation can play in advancing social justice, Fung (2015) claims that generally the most privileged groups tend to have more possibilities, due to their economic, social and political status, to have a participation, even if indirectly, in the decision-making process and public policies, always trying to influence it in order to guarantee the maintenance of the status quo by maintaining its group privileges. Classifying this as problematic, as it helps to extend greater social asymmetries, Fung (2015, p.7) believes citizen participation can help reduce some of these social injustices in two ways: “First, increasing popular participation can shift the balance of influence away from dominant minority groups. Second, justice can flow as an indirect consequence of gains to the other two governance values: legitimacy and effectiveness.”

Considering the crisis of legitimacy that many representative democratic governments are facing worldwide, due to issues such as corruption scandals or mismanagement of public institutions, Fung (2015) argues that citizen participation can contribute to restoring the governance legitimacy, so needed in many contemporary Western democracies. He claims that this can be achieved through greater engagement in public interest³ processes.

Fung (2015) notes that the decrease of public trust towards democratic systems can manifest themselves in “declines in party membership, decreased electoral turnout, and a rise of nontraditional parties and other political formations” (Fung, 2015, p.9). And it is for this same reason that citizen participation is crucial for the maintenance of representative democratic systems, as we know them, as citizens play an important role in their legitimacy.

² It's an individual with responsibilities and an interest in the success of an organisation, society, or other entity, such as a customer, employee, or member of the public (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019)

³ Although there is no single universal definition for the term, Downs (1962) defines it as the government actions with the purpose of benefiting societies at large, in democratic contexts.

After having observed the distinct approaches that there are to citizen participation, it's relevant to note that several models of citizen-government interaction have emerged as a way to sort out various interpretations there are on the subject (Callahan, 2007). He adds that it is important to study these models as they enlighten us on the dynamics and patterns that occur within the framework of citizen-government interactions.

One of the main, oldest, and most cited models of citizen participation, according to Callahan (2007) is the Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation, or simply known as the Ladder of Citizen Participation by Arnstein (1969). This model, which the author self-describes as meant to be provocative, explores the different nuances of powers and pseudo-powers that are attributed to citizens in decision-making processes.

Despite assuming that citizen participation came to be considered a good idea at some point, in general terms, Arnstein (1969) claims that the effective participation of all citizens in important decision-making processes was not an idea that was necessarily accepted by all stakeholders involved, and that is why different stages were developed in the process of citizens' participation in public life, some of them quite different from the fundamental assumptions of the concept. In her model, Arnstein (1969) uses a scale of 1-8 to describe the different levels of citizen participation, with level 1 being the lowest level of participation, characterised as manipulation, and level 8 being the highest level of active participation. In addition to the scale, in the Ladder of Citizen Participation model, participation levels were distinguished into three different categories: *a) non-participation*, which includes manipulation and therapy; these two rungs represent degrees made up to stand in for real engagement. Their true goal is to allow those in positions of power to "educate" or "cure" participants, not to allow people to participate in program planning or execution (Arnstein, 1969, p.217). *b) Degrees of tokenism*⁴, which includes information, consultation, and placation⁵. Citizens may indeed hear and be heard when they are offered by those in positions of authority as the full scope of participation. However, in these circumstances, they are helpless to guarantee that the influential will take notice of their opinions (Arnstein, 1969). And finally *c) Degrees of Citizen*

⁴ Something that an individual or organisation does that appears to support or assist a group of people who are subjected to unfair treatment in society, but which is not intended to bring about long-lasting change for that group of people (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023)

⁵ It is merely a more extreme form of tokenism since the governing principles permit those in the minority to offer advice while preserving the authority of the majority to make decisions (Arnstein, 1969).

Participation, which includes partnership, delegated power and citizen control (Arnstein, 1969).

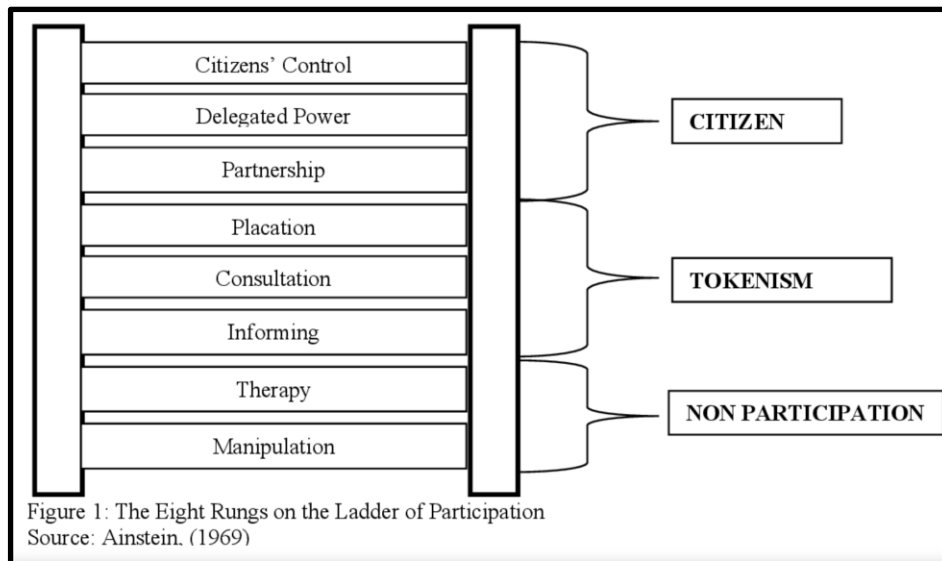


Figure 2 - The Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation based on Arnstein (1969) (in Asamoah et al., 2019)

In general terms, Arnstein's model (1969) aims to make a deep critical reflection on the different stages of effective citizen participation, trying to make a clear distinction between participation processes where citizens actually play an active participation role and those in which citizen participation is simply used to obtain gains that override the real interests of citizens. Despite being a model embodied in solid arguments, Arnstein (1969) states that her own model has its limitations such as the fact that the model exclusively draws attention to the basic differences in perception between the powerful and the helpless citizens, while, in reality, neither groups are uniform and their diversity can't be ignored. She also cautions that the model does not analyse the biggest obstacles to reaching true levels of participation, which might be problematic as both sides of the stakeholders, citizens, and those in power, may encounter barriers in its implementation (Arnstein, 1969).

Another important model of citizen participation that can be considered in this study is Timney's (1998) model of citizen participation, due to the diversity of approaches it presents. Timney's (1998) presents three different paradigms for citizen participation, namely: active, passive, and transitional. Some of the elements presented by these models take us back to the basis of levels of effective citizen participation presented earlier in Arnstein's model (1969).

According to Timney (1998), *active participation* involves the direct participation of citizens in decision-making processes, with them as key stakeholders in the process. In this model, participating citizens are the centre of the decision-making process, articulating the way it occurs and the policies that arise from it, with other agents (stakeholders) playing a more secondary role, or as mere consultants.

On the other hand, Timney (1998) defines *passive participation* as the process where the role of citizens is nothing more than a mere formality, which must be fulfilled for the sake of morality, but where citizens do not in fact have power over the process decision in question. In this paradigm, it is the power structures that have total agency over the decision-making procedures, while citizens have a role with very limited relevance. Lastly, under the *transitional model*, citizens and agencies share power and control, with the citizens' role being primarily advisory, meaning that despite having an important role in this type of decision-making processes, citizens do not hold total power over the processes that lead to it (Timney, 1998).

Although the concept of citizen participation is considered more common in traditionally more democratic settings by many authors (Day, 1997; Callahan, 2007; Fung, 2015), the object of study of this project - the particular case of Angola - demands a literature review on the application of this concept in non-democratic contexts.

Firstly, it's worth noting that non-democratic regimes are treated in various ways, within the political science field, according to pre-established criteria, such as: dictatorship, tyranny, authoritarianism, autocracy, totalitarianism, and despotism (Márquez, 2017). A fundamental feature that distinguishes democratic states from non-democratic ones is the presence of a large plurality of groups with the possibility of competing for power and appealing to popular decision, through elections, which is not generally common in non-democratic states, where usually a restricted group of people has the ability to hold exclusive power for a long time, without the possibility of being successfully challenged by others (Márquez, 2017).

Despite having formally declared itself a democratic state in 1992, with the introduction of the first multi-party elections (Blaauw, 2014), and its government promoting itself as such up to today (Jornal de Angola, 2022), Angola's democratic classification is still up for much debate

given its anti-democratic practices and political hegemony that has lasted for several decades (Roque, 2009). Despite holding regular elections and having democratic-like institutions in operation, Angola has been governed by the same party, the MPLA, since it became independent from Portugal in 1975 (Freedom House, 2023), and has a strong record of regular violation of pre-established democratic practices, such as the restricting freedom of expression rights, persecution of political opponents and control of the courts and the press, which leads to an open debate regarding its classification as a non-democratic regime, with many authors calling it either an autocracy or an authoritarian state (Roque, 2009; Blaauw, 2014; Skaar et al., 2015).

Skaar et al., (2015, p. 160), for instance, describe Angola as “an autocratic one-party state”, and this argument will serve as the basis for the citizen participation approach that this study intends to use. To support Skaar et al., (2015) claim, in addition to the constant denunciations of the lack of democratic practice in Angola, despite the elections, which emanates internally from many politicians, journalists and academics (Mosaiko, 2021; Silva, 2020; Hensing, 2022), another element that can help illustrate the political-democratic context in the country are the international democratic indexes that generally position Angola in a very low position, considering it an authoritarian regime, due to its low score in fundamental criteria of democratic states such as independence of institutions, police repression and respect for freedoms of assembly, demonstration, press and expression (Shirley, 2022).

Understanding the democratic setting is key to study how citizen participation is dealt with because, as Åström et al., (2012) notes, given the socio-political challenges in authoritarian regimes, citizen participation in these contexts is seriously threatened as it is not in the interest of these political regimes, spread all over the world, that people can freely express their ideas and thoughts. In the case of Angola, in addition to the constraints created by the political context, the fact that the civil war in the country after its independence further delayed the active exercise of citizen participation is aggravated, making this a considerably new and developing phenomenon (Pereira, 2008).

Åström et al., (2012) claim that the challenges faced by citizen in authorization regimes might have played a role in the rise to the concept of 'e-participation'⁶, with the expansion of the internet and access to social networks that allow citizens to participate in the political, social and economic life of their countries without necessarily running the same risks that they would run if they did it offline. However, Kneuer & Harnisch (2016) note that e-government⁷ application, and consequently e-participation demands, depends on the political context within which they occur.

Kneuer & Harnisch (2016) highlight that while authoritarian governments may be interested in implementing e-government tools, as a way of trying to reproduce their propaganda about themselves, these states, unlike democracies, have a very limited interest in that which are the effective participation of citizens, even when it is done through technological platforms. The authors say that authoritarian states are more concerned with the perception of them, or any of their actions that may demonstrate a democratic willingness to listen to citizens, than with citizens' contributions (Kneuer & Harnisch, 2016). On the other hand, Åström et al. (2012) cautions that E-participation programs might therefore enable non-democratic governments to increase their level of control over the digital sphere rather than democratising it.

To finalise this chapter, it's important to highlight the role of communication in the citizen participation processes, as they are “a structure of information exchange” (Gaunt, 1998, p.279). The importance of communication in decision-making processes ranges from being the main gateway for interaction between the actors involved in the process, to being an indispensable tool for different groups to express their ideas, intentions, and feelings in the clearest and most objective way (Gaunt, 1998). Rasila & Mudau (2013) claim that effective communication between different stakeholders in decision-making processes also contributes to creating a sense of belonging on the part of citizens in relation to matters involving the government. The authors say that the communication models that are used in citizen participation processes must be carefully thought out, as they need to be properly adapted to the needs of those who will use them.

⁶ Partnership-based relationship with the government where citizens actively participate in determining the procedure and subject matter of policy making (Peristeras et al., 2009)

⁷ The application of information technologies by government organisations, which have the power to change interactions with the public, private sector, and other branches of government (Peristeras et al., 2009)

Active communication between a diverse citizenry and public officials is the essence of citizen participation. This communication exchange needs to be two-way, especially when there are obvious differences in the race, class, or gender of public officials and the population that a specific policy or program is intended to serve (Gaunt, 1998).

2.2 Social Media and Social Movements

This second chapter will fundamentally address the main interconnections between social media and social movements, especially evaluating how and why social media have become a very important tool in the communication processes of social movements across the world (Shehada, 2012; Poell & van Dijck, 2015; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). Likewise, this chapter also aims to explore the concept of digital mobilisation, reviewing literature on what it is, how it happens, particularising the case of Facebook, one of the most used social networks in the world (Pullen & Cooper, 2010), which is one of the main study variables of this project.

Firstly, it's important to provide some background context on social media, which is defined as a collection of Web-based programs that enable the production and sharing of user-generated content, building on the conceptual and technological underpinnings of Web 2.0. (Kaplan & Mazurek, 2018). Carr & Hayes (2015) claim that although the concept of social media has many definitions, attributed by contributions made in various fields, such as communication and information, most definitions agree to the idea that social media is related to digital technologies with a focus on user-generated interactive or content. The term “social media” is believed to have been used for the first time in 1994 “on a Tokyo online media environment, called Matisse” (Aichner et al., 2021, p.1).

Although they are generally used as synonyms for each other, Alalwan et al., (2017) notes that it is important to distinguish the conceptual differences between social media and social network sites. The authors point out that while social media are platforms that give people the ability to broadcast, approach, and influence a greater number of people, social networking are means to communicate and engage with staff members directly, building genuine relationships with them through social media (Wells, 2011 in Alalwan et al., 2017).

Aichner et al., (2021) argue that since 1994 the number of social media platforms and its users have increased dramatically, leading it to be the most important applications of the internet today. Kaplan & Mazurek (2018) claim that social media has become a major phenomenon with undeniable impacts on the most varied sectors of human life, and that for this reason its interdisciplinarity requires more and more studies that aim to better understand its impacts. As platforms that facilitate communication, it's believed that people use social media for a variety of reasons: from socialising with friends and family, romance and flirting, job seeking and professional networking, interacting with companies and brands to doing business (Aichner et al., 2021).

Given the great diversity in the type of existing social media platforms today, many authors now classify them in different categories, namely: collaborative projects, (micro)blogs, content communities, social networking sites, virtual game worlds, and virtual social worlds (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Kaplan & Mazurek, 2018).

2.2.1 Digital Social Networks as an alternative means for Social Movements?

Despite being a term widely used worldwide, the available literature does not propose a universal definition for the term 'activism', nor does it provide sufficient information to define the origin of the term (Müller, 2023). Although there are other perspectives, Cammaerts (2007) states that the term is relatively new and was only introduced in the mid 70s. Activism is "the ability to act and make or change history" (Cammaerts, 2007, p.217). He sees it as a way of transforming societies, based on objectives defined by their actors, including activists.

Activists are vital to establish relationships between social movements and other stakeholders in power, such political parties (Böhm, 2015). It is the motivation of individuals, unique people, that enriches social movements - which are a consequence of the convergence of common objectives among people who come together to create social movements. Joyce (2010) claims that in recent years, digital activism has emerged, as a consequence of the growing interest of individuals and groups in using digital resources to promote campaigns and defend issues of various interests.

Kaun & Uldam (2017) note that although many studies of digital activism across disciplines and contexts place too much emphasis on how recent it is, the digital revolution began much

earlier than the rise of social media in the 2010s. When approaching the early emergence and rise of the so-called digital activism, Hardt (2017) draws a correlation with a growing protest cycle by emphasising media and communication aspects of social movement organisation and an ever-accelerating rate of technological change.

The emergence and worldwide popularity of social media is making activists - from the most varied segments - less dependent on traditional media such as TV, radio, and newspapers in order to disseminate its key messages (Poell & van Dijck, 2015). Shehada (2012), goes further arguing that these online platforms have become vital to the activity of various social groups thriving for change worldwide. This is because many activists have for some time now recognised the role of the Internet to advance their social changes agendas (Sutton & Pollock, 2000). However, Lilleker (2018, p.109) cautions that although digital technologies have for long been described as “the panacea” for all democracy-linked issues, the reality has not proven to be as easy as that.

Hwang & Kim (2015) argue that participatory culture is an important feature of social media, as they have the ability to provide a more open environment so that different people, whether they know each other or not, can engage around the same subjects they are interested in. This idea is supported by Hansen et al., (2010), who claims that new technologies have not only created new spaces for interaction, but also created new ways for people to interact with each other. The exclusive platform provided by social networks for people to expose ideas, thoughts, experiences, might lead to sharing common interests and offering a forum for community members to discuss issues (Howard & Hussain, 2011).

The idea of collective identity, generally used by scholars to explain “how social movements generate and sustain commitment and cohesion between actors over time” (Fominaya, 2010, p.1), may be relevant to argue about the growing effect of social media in social movements. As an intermediary, social media facilitate interaction between different actors, generally connected by their common interests, often leading to greater engagement and empowerment (Hwang & Kim, 2015). “Contrary to the traditional mobilisation that combines individuals’ resources to establish collective power through social movement organisations, the diverse voices can be effectively collected and transmitted to the society on social media”, Hwang & Kim (2015, p.1) note.

The ideals of collective identity presupposed for the existence of social movements dialogues positively with the interaction opportunities offered by computer-mediated communication (CMC), and it is for this reason that Hampton (2003) argues that it creates better conditions for a more effective and productive interaction for interests of collective action. Still on studies of social movements, Tajfel (1981) claims that participation in social movements is a type of behaviour based on collective identification, which can be observed in the emergence and growth of many social movements driven by social networks.

In their study on 'The social affirmation use of social media as a motivator of collective action', Kende et al., (2016) asserted that active participation is a reinforcing factor of group identification, as participating actively on social media guarantees the expression of collective identity, which facilitates political mobilisation. The authors argue that their findings showed that offline actions are often linked to ongoing online discussions that have to do with individuals' group interests, particularly their political engagements (Kende et al., 2016). One of the main takeaways from the authors' research is that through the affirmative use of social media, individuals seek for social change through collective action (Kende et al., 2016), which reveals the potential of social networks as important platforms for strengthening social movements.

Many scholars believe that digital media has significantly contributed to the growth of social movements worldwide (Suwana, 2019; Shehada, 2012; Hwang & Kim, 2015). It offers a wide variety of tools that can be widely used to increase the civic engagement of organisations and advance their social change agendas, whatever they may be (Suwana, 2019). Social media allows the creation of in-person social networks that facilitate communication, coordination of action, sharing of information and the creation of action strategies for the objectives desired by certain groups (Curran et al., 2016). This is the great opportunity that social media offers for activism, which can expand its capacity to act as well as its social or even global impact (Meek, 2011). However, Mitu & Vega (2014) warn that the use of social media for social movements is not limited by the tools that are offered, nor in the ability of citizens to access or connect through digital media, but fundamentally in the ability of activists to organise action strategies on these platforms. This claim reinforces the idea that social media do not, in themselves, offer a proposal to the contemporary challenges of social movements, on the contrary, it is the active action of activists, thought out and strategic, that leads to the massification of social movements on digital media platforms.

In addition to benefits such as greater connection and interaction between potential participants through social media (Howard & Hussain, 2011), mobilisation is an element that is highly mentioned when accessing the relevance of social networking platforms for social movements (Curran et al., 2016), due to its high power of reach and its way of engaging diverse audiences through targeted content. Furthermore, González-Bailón et al., (2011) notes that in social networks, the structure of social movements changes considerably, towards a more decentralised and horizontal form due to the fact that they have a platform that is more open to contributions from its users.

In their research, Hwang & Kim (2015) suggest that this more democratic and open structure can translate into greater efficiency and effectiveness of social movements, in two fundamental aspects: (1) through social networks, users and supporters of social movements can contribute to the greater globalisation of their causes, even at a local or national level, due to the large global reach that the platforms have. Wright (2004) claims that this cross-border communication enhances social movements' ability to mobilise across different nations. Secondly (2), they argue that social media offer a privileged space for mere participants, and not necessarily activist leaders, to start new campaigns or activism initiatives, which reinforces the democratic value, especially in the case of those social groups historically excluded from the social narrative of their contexts (Hwang & Kim, 2015).

Historically there have been some social media-led movements that are often taken as case studies to better understand the role, and importance, of social networks in social movements (Suwana, 2019). One of these events, much studied by scholars across the world (Arafa & Armstrong, 2016; Rane & Salem, 2012; Papaioannou & Olivos, 2013), is the 2011 Arab uprisings, commonly known as Arab Spring, which was a set of anti-government demonstrations and democratic uprisings across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region (Arafa & Armstrong, 2016), believed to have been started via social media platforms (Rane & Salem, 2012). The emergence and popularity of this great social media-led movement, which left a significant historical legacy, was so associated with digital mobilisation that many began to treat them as either 'Facebook' or 'Twitter' revolution, given the crucial contribution these social media platforms, in particular, are believed to have played.

In their study on the role of social media in the Arab Spring, Rane & Salem (2012) argue that the events that later came to be known as the Arab Uprisings in the early 2010s were not a direct consequence of social media. The authors raise that social, political, and economic issues played a more central role, as a driving factor of collective action amongst different national social movements across the Arab world. However, using the diffusion theory, a theory widely used to understand the transfer of ideas across social movements, Rane & Salem (2012, p.9) concluded that “the use of social media in the Arab uprisings confirms the critical role of direct contact and identification between social movements in the diffusion process”. Expanding on the role of social media for these movements, the authors say that social media were fundamental platforms for advancing a strategic agenda of the promoters of these movements, which was the attempt to appeal to the international media, so that the movements' actions could reach across-broader audiences, becoming stronger and more appealing in this way.

Like Rane & Salem (2012), later Arafa & Armstrong (2016) agree too that the Arab Spring was not a consequence of social media. However, the authors are more categorical about the contribution of digital media not only to the convergence of collective action, between the different national movements involved, but about how these platforms provided a technical and effective infrastructure for these various movements to develop, sustain and intensify over a considerable period. In their article titled "Facebook to Mobilise, Twitter to Coordinate Protests, and YouTube to Tell the World": New Media, Cyberactivism, and the Arab Spring”, the authors explore the role of social media, as alternative means of communication to strengthen the movements' actions as well as means of disputing the traditional media narratives in the region, which are generally managed and controlled by governments (Arafa & Armstrong, 2016).

Despite maintaining a factual case-by-case relationship, which links the Arab Spring events to extra-social media factors, the authors, as well as many of their counterparts, do not relativize the role of social media, not only as a strategic mechanism for coordinating action but also even as an information means, given the distrust in traditional state-run media. This element of information flow that was produced on social media, raised by Arafa & Armstrong (2016) here, establishes an important relationship between online activism as a driving factor for offline activism as earlier claimed by Kende et al., (2016). “Before taking to the streets to liberate society from dictatorship, revolutionaries found cognitive liberation in the free flow of information online” (Arafa & Armstrong, 2016, p.97). In this way, an interconnection between

online and offline activism is made here, as a way to understand that they do not need to be mutually exclusive, as we will see some authors argue later.

In addition to the Arab Spring, another example that is commonly used in studies that aim to analyse the growing relationship between social movements and social media is Occupy Wall Street, defined as one of the largest social movements in the history of the United States (Clark, 2012). It was a long-lasting demonstration in New York City from September 17 to November 15, 2011, against corporate law corruption and economic inequality (Volle, 2022).

Contrary to what we saw with the case of the 2011 Arab Uprisings, there is no dispute about a direct correlation between the emergence of Occupy Wall Street and social media (Suh et al., 2017), since this movement emerged from Twitter with the hashtag #OccupyWallStreet (Berkowitz, 2011). The tweet was attached to a picture of a ballerina dancing on the back of the Wall Street bull in New York, US. Although claiming that the protests that followed were not an exclusive direct result of social media, Suh et al. (2017) argue that Twitter and Facebook played a crucial role in the attention the movement was able to get both nationally and internationally.

Suh et al. (2017, p.3) attributes the rapid way in which the movement was able to spread across the US, to its foundation and regular use of social media, especially because it was through these platforms that “many people in local found communities information and coordinated occupations”. The authors highlight that this rapid diffusion also had effects on global audiences, who even outside the US began to have constant and regular information about the movement's actions and efforts.

In their approach trying to find the links between state repression and the diffusion of protests, through social media, Suh et al. (2017) extensively review the literature on the subject, especially focusing on the risks and costs of social movements participation in state repression contexts. In their work, the authors present several ways that can be used to repress the immersion or maintenance of social movements in contexts of economic repression, due to the various constraints that it can cause to potential participants, such as lack of time or money. However, Suh et al. (2017) note that the Occupy Wall Street protests were highly regarded as peaceful, both by the general public and the media, which would have led to a positive impact of repression for the proliferation of these movements. In an attempt to theorise this, Suh et al.

(2017) presented a model that attempts to elucidate how state repression had a positive impact on the proliferation of Occupy Wall Street protests, as they were seen as pacifist, which gave rise to an unfair and illegitimate perception of the action of state repression. A key feature of this model is the way in which social networks appear as a mediating element of communication between general perceptions about variables.

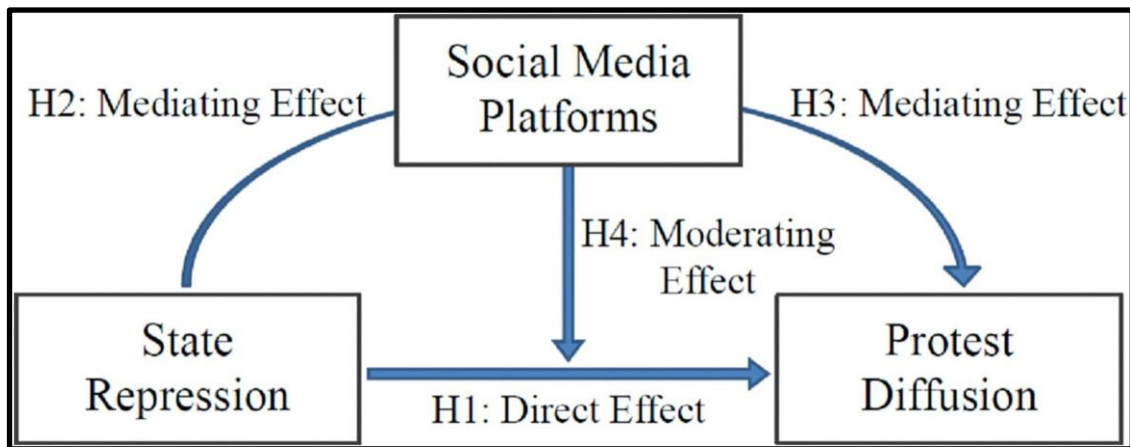


Figure 3 - Social media intervention model (Suh et al., 2017)

Like any other contemporary social movement, the propagation challenges of the Occupy Wall Street movement also had a highly contested relationship with traditional media (DeLuca et al., 2012). The political polarizations of the US led to a heated debate about the way in which the protests were being covered by the media, with some saying that the protests were being covered in a very positive tone and others claiming that the tone was quite negative. An important element that the authors DeLuca et al., (2012) note in their study is that even before the movement began to be properly framed by the traditional media, it was highly neglected, almost ignored, because it was an initiative originating from outsiders. Those that were common. It is in this sense that the authors highlight the role of social media in the proliferation of this movement. “Social media creates new contexts for activism that do not exist in the world of traditional mass media organisations. With social media, the grounds of possibility for activism have been multiplied and transformed.” (DeLuca et al., 2012, p. 508). As a contemporary internet-assisted social movement, Occupy Wall Street was able to use repression as a motivation factor to mobilise participation to its protests, thanks to the use of social media platforms (Suh et al., 2017).

Wolfsfeld et al., (2013), argue, however, that to understand the role of social media in social movements it is necessary to first understand the context in which this influence occurs. Meaning that despite being universally accepted that digital social networks have contributed to a mobilisation element worldwide - considering that more and more people have access to social networks - the influence of social media might have been overestimated (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). They claim that most of the studies on the positive impact of social media for collective action have been done in Western democracies, which can have a significant impact on the biases created when it comes to the perception of the real power these platforms have for social change (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013).

To support their argument, Wolfsfeld et al., (2013) present two theoretical principles, based on a political contest model (Wolfsfeld, 1997), which has been widely used to understand the role of traditional media in political conflicts. The first principle establishes that: *“One cannot understand the role of social media in collective action without first taking into account the political environment in which they operate”* (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013, p.119). Access to free and uncensored Internet is one of the first questions raised by this principle, arguing that people who live in less democratic political contexts generally live in conditions of greater poverty, and therefore have more difficulty accessing it to the internet (Herkenrath & Knoll, 2011). Wolfsfeld et al., (2013) note that, as a result, it is exactly those people with the greatest need to mobilise against their governments who have more difficult access to the internet, due to the constraints of their sociopolitical contexts. The authors claim that this phenomenon, theorised as ‘the principle of cumulative inequality’, has previously been studied by Gamson & Wolfsfeld (1993), stating that those who need the media the most are the ones who have the most challenges accessing it.

Still on the first theoretical principle, the authors say that the second reason why the political context in which people are located is important for accessing the role of social media in collective action is the motivation that leads people to mobilise in the first place. That is because, depending on the place, people have different motivation factors that lead them to mobilise collectively (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). They take as example the fact that citizens in more developed countries, and therefore benefit from accessing uncensored internet, are less likely to demonstrate high levels of anti-government sentiment or interest in permanently engaging with politics overall. Instead, Wolfsfeld et al., (2013) claims that people in more liberal settings would rather use the internet for entertainment and communication purposes.

The authors consider that although social media are quite important for collective action processes, they should be seen as facilitators and not as the main causes that lead people to mobilise and take collective action. In this first principle, Wolfsfeld et al., (2013, p.119) argue that social media should be considered as relevant elements for protests “if and when there is sufficient access and motivation”.

Kyriakopoulou (2011) also warns that accessing the role of social media within authoritarian regimes must be careful, as, contrary to the Western experience, it cannot be categorically stated that social media are the gateway to democratisation, and, consequently, for the actions of activists and movements in totalitarian regimes. The author claims that despite the role of social media, as communication vehicles and sharing of democratic values, they also pose dangers to the democratic foundation in authoritarian political settings.

“The same potential vehicles of democratisation can be used as mechanisms for monitoring citizens, spreading propaganda and sustaining authoritarian orders” (Kyriakopoulou, 2011, p.25). This argument by Kyriakopoulou (2011) reinforces the principle that there are many aspects, including the socio-political context, that must be analysed and considered when evaluating the real impact of social media on collective mobilisation processes, closely associated with traditional Western pluralism and freedom. In extensive agreement with this more cautious current of thought, Lilleker (2018, p.110) states that “having the ability to create content online does not equate to being read or heard”. This is a powerful statement that can contribute to informing about the reality of pseudo-democratization of various authoritarian states, which use tactics considered democratic, such as guaranteeing access to the Internet or allowing the national use of several social media platforms, with purposes that do not always serve democratic principles.

In authoritarian and competitive authoritarian regimes, control of any form of media is particularly important as it is understood to be one of the most effective ways of ensuring the maintenance of the status-quo (Aslan, 2022). Therefore, these regimes are increasingly engaged in having control over old and new ways of media, due to their potential to trigger citizens against their regime (Aslan, 2022). In the case of Angola, Roque (2021) claims that the government control and surveillance over citizens, through intelligence and national security infrastructures, aims to crush any form of dissent or activism.

The second theoretical principle presented by Wolfsfeld et al., (2013, p.120) claims that: “*A significant increase in the use of the new media is much more likely to follow a significant amount of protest activity than to precede it*”. In this paradigm, the authors argue that contrary to what one might believe, there is an inverse correlation between the use of social media and sociopolitical changes. Wolfsfeld et al., (2013) suggest that when a relevant political event occurs, especially in non-democratic contexts, people are more likely to check alternative media, such as social media platforms, blogs, foreign news outlets coverage, mainly because they have high levels of distrust in their domestic state-run media outlets. The authors highlight that people are particularly interested in understanding what is happening in these major political events, when they understand that they can have a considerable impact on their daily lives. The basis of this principle takes us to the politics-media-politics (PMP) principle, presented in the political contest model (Rahat & Sheaffer, 2007), which suggests that changes in the political scenario have a great power to change and cause changes also in the media.

In other words, instead of initiating the processes of change in political scenarios, social media are affected by the change in these scenarios and can then exert influence so that further change can be achieved (Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). “Political change (such as the initial protests associated with the Arab Spring) leads to changes in the use of the social media (e.g., more people signing up and using social media for political content), which can lead to further changes in the political environment (such as more people participating in protests)”, Wolfsfeld et al., (2013) argue.

To conclude this subchapter, it is important to look at the model proposed by Kidd & McIntosh (2016) which claims that that the analysis of the correlation between social media and social movements can be distinguished into three different groups, namely: (1) Techno-optimism; (2) Techno-pessimism and, finally, (3) Techno-ambivalence. The authors justify the emergence of these categories as the need to distinguish the different approaches there are on the subject (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016).

Firstly, the authors define techno-optimists as those who highly valued the role of digital media for social movements, as they see it as an important mechanism that can help them achieve their goals (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). They say that although techno-optimists recognize the challenges that social media might pose to social movements, they believe that there is sufficient evidence to highlight the essential role of social media for activism. One of the

leading figures in this current of thought, according to Kidd & McIntosh (2016), is Manuel Castells. He claims that combined with technologies, social movements have a greater chance of promoting the social transformation they desire (Castells, 2012). With the development of what he considers the 'information age', real power is in the hands of those who have great control over digital platforms (Castells, 2012). The author also argues that many contemporary movements - such as Occupy Wall Street or even Arab Spring - are good examples of how the combination of offline and online networks can help the success of social movements (Castells, 2012). Contemporary social movements are able to learn from the most successful techniques employed by previous movements, Castells (2012) claims. Adding that these movements, with a hybrid character, are leaderless as they have distrust in conventional power structures and as a result of the ways in which organisational hierarchies have been weakened by network society (Castells, 2012). This group of thinkers, which Yilmaz (2017) also calls 'cyber-utopians', argues that digital media have a revolutionary and transformative role in political results, ensuring greater citizen participation and strengthening democracy, as a consequence (Yilmaz, 2017).

Secondly, Kidd & McIntosh (2016, p.788) approach techno-pessimists as those who consider "the promises of social media to be hyperbolic and superficial". These thinkers argue that an illusory idea was created that social media had a huge disruptive potential, but in fact they fundamentally change very little in the way people interact in real life (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). According to the authors, social media can contribute to increasing citizen participation through sharing and likes but do not necessarily contribute to an increase in offline actions, such as taking to the streets to protest (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). Yilmaz (2017) claims that one of the biggest currents of criticism against techno-optimists is slacktivism. Slacktivism was a concept first introduced by Dwight Ozard and Fred Clark in 1995 to describe those who participate in a social or political movement virtually and with little personal effort in its offline support (Yilmaz, 2017). The term which is a combination of the words "slacker" and "activism", can also be called clicktivism or 'feel good activism' (Yilmaz, 2017). Morozov (2012) claims that slacktivism is a practice that generally consists of online engagement actions, such as joining politics online, signing e-petitions, sharing online campaign content, or disseminating links or even promoting online discussions. Critics of this practice point out that slacktivism is problematic because it significantly reduces the tangible and practical actions of social movements through minimal online actions that can be carried out by anyone (Yilmaz, 2017). In his research on Political activities on the Internet, Christensen (2011) states

two main issues as negative impacts of social media for political participation: the first has to do with the fact that slacktivism enables participants to feel too comfortable and good about themselves as they believe that through the small online actions they take, they are contributing greatly to achieving the objective of their social movement. Secondly, according to Christensen (2011), online activism is replacing much more effective traditional actions in activism. Techno-pessimists argue, therefore, that the conformity that social media activism provides to participants leaves them more conformed, and, as a result, less willing to take real-world participation actions with a greater potential to help them achieve their goals more effectively (Yilmaz, 2017).

Lastly, Kidd & McIntosh (2016, p.789) claim that “techno-ambivalence researchers, however, are those who fall most explicitly in the middle of the spectrum”. Meaning that those are scholars who, while recognizing the role and potential of social media for social movements, are interested in making a rigorous assessment of its shortcomings too. This group of thinkers refuses to romanticise neither traditional activism nor new forms of activism, instead it waits for the emergence of evidence about the real impact of the use of social networks on activism (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016).

2.2.2.1 Digital Activism in Authoritarian Regimes

In their article titled “Digital activism: After the hype”, Kaun & Uldam (2017) discuss the importance of considering extra-factors in the relationship between technologies and activism. In one of their subchapters, the authors call 'Myth of Universality', the universal claim about the positive role of new technologies for digital activism, a model with greater success in democratic setting. Many authors consider that it is important to understand political, social, and economic factors when trying to establish a correlation between the efficiency of using digital media to advance the political agendas of activist groups (Joyce, 2010; Kaun & Uldam, 2017; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). The idea that the role of social media is effective regardless of the context is dangerous because it falls into a context that assumes that all social movements with access to social media thus have the formula to achieve all their objectives.

Although at one point it was believed that the expansion of the internet would mean the expansion of democracy (Milner, 2006), Rød & Weidmann (2015) state that access to the internet is not exactly a guaranteed path to the democratisation of states. Analysing the expansion of internet access in non-democratic regimes, such as the case of Saudi Arabia, the authors warn that it is important to understand in what context the expansion occurs and what effects it causes (Rød & Weidmann, 2015).

The results of the authors' study show that the expansion of internet access has caused counterproductive effects to democratic purposes in authoritarian regimes. One of the main findings of their study is that the governments most concerned with controlling the information that circulates domestically are those with the greatest expansion of internet access (Rød & Weidmann, 2015). This result proposes an intriguing contradiction for those authors who overestimate the role of social media for social movements action. The authors claim, therefore, that this result completely contradicts those who believe that the expansion of internet access automatically translates into empowering activists and social movements with the purpose of defending causes aligned with democratic practice. “If the Internet can be used as a tool to solidify autocratic survival by shaping public opinion as well as to identify dissenters, then more repressive regimes should be the most interested in providing online connection. Since the users of ICT (Information and communication technology) are likely to be members of the urbanised, intellectual, and political elite, monitoring has immediate information benefits for autocratic leaders”, Rød & Weidmann (2015, p.349) argue.

One of the key premises of this dissertation project is that the Angolan social movements, under analysis of this study, use social media as an alternative communication mechanism, as they have been denied access to the traditional media in the country, which is mostly state-run (Human Rights Watch, 2023). This reality places these groups in a marginalised social position, which requires a review of the literature on how disadvantaged groups use social media as alternative communication tools. Firstly, it is important to state that social exclusion is a multifaceted concept that describes mechanisms that prevent certain groups or individuals from fully engaging in society (Popay, 2010). Therefore, marginalised groups are those excluded from mainstream social, economic, educational, and/or cultural life, according to Baah et al., (2019). Marginalisation, that could be caused by several factors such as race, gender, age, or even political views, occurs as a result of unequal power relationships between different social groups (Baah et al., 2019).

When it comes to the way social excluded groups use social media as alternative ways of communication, Gonzales (2015) states that one of the key bases of the social diversification hypothesis is that marginalised groups generally use the internet, rather than in-person communication, to increase their reach and level of interaction with other actors, while more privileged groups tend to use the internet only to reinforce relationships and thoughts already displayed in the public sphere.

Rodriguez (2000) argues that when minority groups struggle to access mainstream media they can create their own media, meaning alternative communication spaces to expose their views. In the context of social movements, especially in authoritarian and non-democratic contexts, these alternative spaces have increasingly been social media or similar platforms.

Walker & Orttung (2014) claim that despite technological developments, which result in greater democratisation in internet access, authoritarian states have found revolutionary and effective ways to remain in power. The authors argue that one of these forms continues to be the control, formal or informal, of mainstream media, which are those that in certain contexts continue to have the greatest reach. In the case of Angola, for instance, the state currently runs most of the media outlets in the country, including former private-run television channels (Ndomba, 2020). Although media control is generally a feature associated with countries such as China and Russia, Walker & Orttung (2014) argue that this practice is not excluded in the context of communist or post-communist countries. They note that this phenomenon also happens in countries such as Azerbaijan, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Iran, Mozambique, and Rwanda. Generally speaking, the authors claim that in many countries, regardless of the nature of their political regimes, states have used the power of news and information to control the political narrative amongst mass audiences (Walker & Orttung, 2014).

Amongst its various functions, such broadcasting pro-regime propaganda, Walker & Orttung (2014, p.72) argues that one of state-run media's crucial role is "to trash and discredit alternatives to the authoritarian status quo before these can gain traction with citizens at large". Meaning that, state-controlled media are highly instrumentalized as a way to marginalise politician opponents and anti-regime social movements, the authors (2014) claim. "Without meaningful access to the airwaves, opposition groups find it hard to reach potential supporters or become significant voices in the public discussion" (Walker & Orttung, 2014, p.72). And

this is one of the main challenges social movements face in Angola, forcing them to look for new means and ways of positioning and expressing themselves, as well as being able to connect with external audiences.

In an article on “Alternative Media Spaces, The Case of Russian LGBT News Blogging Community”, Boklage (2018) explores how news blogging has become an essential communication tool for the LGBT community in Russia, given the lack of space that this marginalised group has in the public debate. The author says that the Russian government's decision to ban what they considered 'homosexual propaganda' in 2013 caused serious repercussions for this group's public positioning in society. As a result, public discourse on issues related to the LGBT community in Russia is almost non-existent, which contributes to the reinforcement of social stereotypes and excludes the reality of these people from the social arena. When it comes to media coverage, the state-run Russian media tends to strongly follow what is dictated by the political regime discourse, as practised in many authoritarian countries (Walker & Orttung, 2014).

Boklage (2018) claims that the LGBT community in Russia faces many issues when dealing with the rare mainstream coverage they received. Firstly, the lack of visibility, given the lack of traditional media coverage, means that this community is unable to have the ability to expose its vision, ideas, and thoughts in the public arena, as they are simply treated as if they did not exist (Boklage, 2018). And secondly, the very rare media coverage that this group eventually receives only aims to demonise them, as a group of people who intend to subvert public morals and violate traditional family rights (Boklage, 2018). This hostile reality, to which the LGBT community in Russia has been subjected for so long, may have led a group of people from this community to turn to blogging as an alternative way of overcoming these challenges, Boklage (2018) claims. “The Internet and associated technologies can offer underrepresented groups alternative spaces of self-representation and at least some media visibility”, Boklage (2018, p.185) states.

It might be relevant to draw a parallel here about the context of the LGBT community in the case of Russia, as presented by Boklage (2018), to the case of Angola, particularly analysing the way in which revolutionary social movements are treated by the mainstream media in the country. In Angola, too, there is a notorious attempt to make any type of actions by social movements not aligned with the government's way of operating unfeasible. In the news and

media field, this practice is done in two ways: (1) Simply not reporting on actions, including demonstration or protests, promoted by anti-government or not government-aligned social movements, no matter how much attention they have received from the public (Agência Lusa, 2021). And (2) use the mainstream media to demonise all groups or political opponents, through news outputs without any journalistic impartiality, and where subjects accused of alleged wrongdoings are not given the opportunity to defend themselves or tell their versions of the facts (José, 2013). In the case of Angola, this practice has led to the gradual discrediting of the state-run media by some segments of society (Rodrigues, 2022), which still does not reduce its unique power of national reach.

Despite appearing optimistic about the potential of social media to maximise the voice of marginalised social movements in authoritarian and competitive authoritarian contexts, such as Russia and Angola, respectively, Walker & Orttung (2014) claim that so far television has no real competitors. The authors recognize that the growing power of social media has enabled an unprecedented revolution, enabling ordinary citizens to have access to more information and creating the possibility for people to communicate more quickly and effectively. “Social media can also help to shape narratives, especially with regard to shared grievances, and are altering mechanisms of collective action”, Walker & Orttung (2014) claim. However, they say that the new media are still a long way from challenging television's dominant position in authoritarian societies; they are essentially in what could be called an "insurgency phase" of their development (Walker & Orttung, 2014, P.73). In this sense, aware of the great power traditional media still holds over a large part of populations, especially those with less social access, authoritarian regimes rely on it as a weapon to control and gatekeeper the political narratives of their realities, silencing everyone and any issues that are not of their interest.

2.2.2 Digital Mobilization

Due to the disruptive influence that digital media has on our lives today, Brown (2020) claims that the success of contemporary social movements largely depends on their actions on social media. This dependence relationship that is drawn between the success of social movements and their activity on social media can be attributed to the fact that many authors argue that nowadays social media are vital spaces for mobilisation, an element that is so crucial to the maintenance of these movements (Poell & Van Dijck, 2015; Brown, 2020; Chen et al., 2021).

Before individuals can be part of and take action in favour of a group or organisation, they need to be mobilised to do so. Rosenstone & Hansen (1993) define mobilisation as the act of persuading people to get involved in politics in order to influence laws, win over support for their positions, win elections, and change rulings. Mobilisation is used by political parties, politicians, social movements, activists, and other political and social actors to have sufficient support to achieve their purposes. Although mobilisation is not an exact guarantee of participation, Haßler et al., (2023) claim that it is important for it to happen for participation to occur. Despite recognizing that the two concepts are generally interconnected, the authors establish a hierarchical relationship between them: stating that mobilisation comes always before participation (Haßler et al., 2023).

Historically, political, and societal groups applied a traditional process of top-down mobilisation (Deutsch, 1961). This model implies a rigid hierarchy in which people were mobilised only to carry out specific tasks, such as voting or similar, but were not necessarily encouraged to actively participate in political processes. This model presupposed the existence of participants who were more passive than active, willing to simply act as suggested by those mobilising them. Haßler et al., (2023) argue that to this day, traditional political groups still apply these models as a primary way of mobilising their target audiences. However, von Beyme (1992) suggests that with the emergence of new political parties and new social movements in the 1970s, mobilisation processes became less centred on leadership, transforming it into a bottom-top mechanism. In these bottom-top mobilisation processes, there was a greater democratisation of public participation, which meant that there was greater political involvement on the part of the mobilised public. This transformation has demanded from the more traditional mobilisation actors a review of their action mechanisms as they were already outdated compared to the innovations proposed by the new mobilisation actors (Haßler et al., 2023).

Later on, in the 21st century, social media emerged, offering a fresh avenue and tool for mobilisation, which has since intensified by integrating both top-down and bottom-up approaches (Haßler et al., 2023). The role of social media came to be particularly seen as revolutionary because, at once, it offered different opportunities for activism on a single platform, such as: mobilising, emancipating, and promoting self-identity values (Poell & Van Dijck, 2015). Despite producing an effect similar to that produced by traditional means of mobilisation (such as posters or mass-tv adverts), social media offers a more specific

opportunity to target specific groups or individuals (Haßler et al., 2023), which increases its power of effectiveness. They argue that with the use of much fewer resources, when compared to those needed by traditional mobilisation mechanisms, digital media is able to appeal to a wide range of audiences, while using different approaches, simultaneously (Haßler et al., 2023). Russmann et al., (2021) goes further stating that the simple possibility that social media users have to disseminate messages across various social media platforms can be considered in itself a powerful mass-centred mobilisation tool.

Chen et al., (2021, p.1) argue that the use of social media to mobilise large-scale collective action, such as the case of Occupy Wall Street in 2011(Suh et al., 2017), have created an expectation that digital platforms would have essentially revolutionised the “underlying logics and mechanisms of collective action”. Particularly, as pointed out by Haßler et al., (2023), there was an expectation that social media would make forms of communication more informative, decentralising the power of authority figures within movements, while facilitating detached but effective communication among members (Benkler et al., 2015; Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2016). However, Chen et al., (2021) suggest that scientific evidence does not always back up these general assumptions that have been made about digital mobilisation, highlighting that in some cases there are studies that present results completely contrary to these ideas.

The pursuit of collective action involves “the challenge of persuading, or even compelling, self-interested individuals to contribute their private resources to achieve collective goals” (Chen et al., 2021, p.2). This makes communication and organisational efforts imperative for the success of collective action, as they are two fundamental elements in the task of convincing people to start acting in the name of a greater good. Flanagin et al., (2006) argue that the process of collective action is a communicative process in nature as they understand that group actions depend on the communication signals that people receive. In the digital context, collective action demands an individual action that goes beyond private-public barriers, so that users can, freely, act and express themselves according to their interests, so that they can influence other users with common interests (Flanagin et al., 2006). It is for this reason that Wang & Chu (2017) claim that in digital mobilisation, visibility is a primary objective as it facilitates the identification of people with common interests, which is the keyway for using social media to facilitate group action. Therefore, Chen et al., (2021) defend that while a user is sharing their individual interests or concerns on social media, they are transferring, even if unconsciously,

their private issues to the public sphere, which can generate commotion or sympathy, which can generate mobilisation. This is what is considered the use of digital communication as a mobilisation tool and as a prerequisite for political engagement (Theocharis, 2015).

As far as the logistical issues of organising collective action is concerned, Chen et al., (2021) states that with the emergence of social media there was a transfer of responsibilities, with online media now assuming the role that traditional organisations used to do. Bimber et al. (2005) argue that the process of collective organisation involves a varied set of tasks such as: *how to contact, motivate, persuade, and coordinate the self-interested participants to contribute*. One logistical dimension that social media have resolved is making the participation process less costly, and therefore, more accessible to a larger group of stakeholders (Margetts et al., 2013). Secondly, social media offer a set of technological features - such as *mention, retweet, and hashtag* - that make it easier for dispersed people to locate and interact with pertinent people, to hear from people who have similar concerns, and to establish communities and groups without the need for central or authority figures (Wang & Chu, 2017).

Chen et al., (2021) state that to understand how collective action works and is communicated, it is also important to assess the organising process of it. The authors say that it is possible to understand the main challenges of collective action through the various communicative tasks that compose them. Therefore, Chen et al., (2021) claim that these organisational processes can be analysed through the structures of organisations, the way in which individuals interact with each other as well as the way in which group agendas are set up. Based on Flanagin et al. (2006)' collective action space framework - aimed at theorising collective action's communicative tasks by assessing modes of engagement and interaction - Chen et al., (2021) proposed a Two-dimensional structure of collective action.

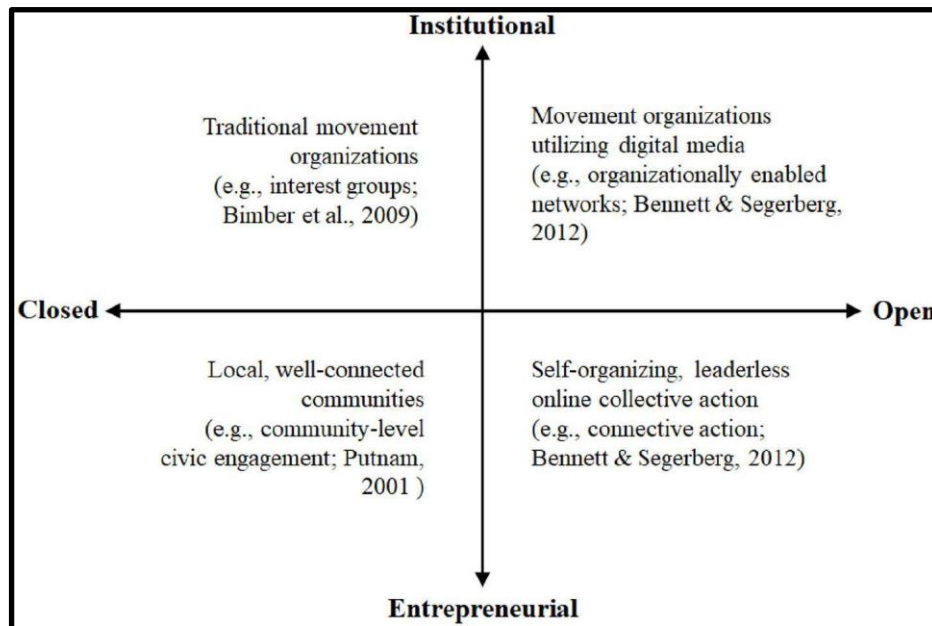


Figure 4 - Two-dimensional structure of collective action (Chen et al., 2021)

According to the Flanagan et al. (2006)' framework, collective action organisation processes are characterised in two distinct dimensions: engagement and interaction. In the engagement category, there are two dimensions, namely: 1) *institutional engagement* and 2) *entrepreneurial engagement*. Their dimensions are fundamentally different due to their nature, way of operating and leadership style. While the institutional engagement type indicates one with a more rigid and centralised hierarchical structure, with pre-defined decisions by leaders, the entrepreneurial engagement one refers to a style of greater freedom and autonomy for participants, without rigid structure, more open leadership and with the opportunity for participants to take initiatives and mobilise resources for collective action. The hierarchy levels of organisational processes vary from entrepreneurial (highest horizontal) engagement to institutional (highest hierarchical) (Chen et al., 2021).

Based on the collective action space framework, the type and levels of hierarchy play a fundamental role as it determines the type of tasks that group participants must carry out (Flanagan et al., 2006). In the case of the institutional mode of engagement, for instance, agenda setting, and resources mobilisation are tasks exclusively designed for movement leaders, with others (considered followers) having no power to do so. The scenario changes in the case of the entrepreneurial mode of engagement where the diversity of leadership style means that different actors, whether leaders or followers, have autonomy to make different decisions, as they deal as “peers of each other”. (Chen et al., 2021, p. 4).

Flanagin et al. (2006) indicate the mode of interaction as the second dimension of the collective action organisation process. The mode of interaction can be distinguished by levels of informality and levels of formality. In the first case, actors engage in regular activities over a period of time, creating a closer relationship between them (Chen et al., 2021). This type of relationship generally strengthens the ties that unite participants, creating group identification values. In more formal relationships, there is a certain distance in the relationships that exist between the different participants, giving rise to impersonal relationships. In this type of interactions, interpersonal relationships are irrelevant, and the basis of interaction between participants is fundamentally the sharing of information about interests and concerns (Chen et al., 2021). The authors establish that, therefore, the main difference between both modes of interaction is the type of network or community structure, suggesting that groups with a more personal mode of interaction are linked by closer and more common causes (such as local groups) and groups with a more informal mode of interaction are fundamentally linked by information flow, which is more characteristic of online networks. Consequently, weaker ties make up the open, cross-cutting community structure of impersonal interactions (Burt, 2004). Chen et al. (2021) used these notions to define the levels of opening and closing in their Two-dimensional structure of collective action.

Social media gives activists the possibility of drawing popular attention to their causes (Schaaf & Quiring, 2023) as well as mobilising supporters for their planned actions (Lee et al., 2017). This presupposes that the use of digital media by social movements must be interpreted as a strategic action, as opposed to a mere popular trend. The positive correlation between the use of social media and collective action success, as we saw above with the techno-optimists (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016), justifies the fact that social media are being used quite intensively by activists (Belotti et al., 2022; Wong & Wright, 2019; Billard, 2020). However, Hutchinson (2019) asserts that in order to use social media effectively, aiming to raise awareness on its issues, enlist supporters, and mobilise for collective actions, social movements have to adapt to *social media logics*.

Van Dijck & Poell (2013) claim that to understand what social media logics is, it is imperative that one first understands *mass media logics*, which was the foundation for the origin of social media logics. Mass media logic is a set of values or common-sense rationality that are fostered in and by media institutions and permeate every public sphere and shape its organisational

frameworks (Altheide & Snow, 1979). The authors explain that in contemporary societies, media logic has forced many institutions to go under unprecedented changes, as they belong to a media culture. Over time, Altheide & Snow (1979) argue that the power of the media was exacerbated through discursive strategies and performative tactics that came to be seen as universal in all types of institutional contexts. The concept of media logic was based on principles of neutrality and independence, assuming that the media had the ability to frame reality as natural and fair as it was, and for this reason it became a point of reference on how reality reflected on itself (Altheide & Snow, 1979).

Social media logics, on the other hand, are “the processes, principles, and practices through which these platforms process information, news, and communication, and more generally, how they channel social traffic” (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 5). Van Dijck & Poell (2013) argue that although social media logic is entangled with mass media logic, the first one adds new elements as well as transforms existing traditional mechanisms. Social media, like mass media, can project their logic beyond the platforms on which they are produced, but their technological unique, discursive, economic, and organisational strategies are more likely to stay hidden or come across as normal (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013). For this reason, the authors present four elements that distinguish social media logic from mass media logic.

The first key difference is that in social media logic the content suggested to users arises based on their behaviour and previous research, through independent hidden algorithms (*programmability*) instead of a human editorial process, as happens in mass media logic (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013).

Although at the beginning of its emergence, social media promised to be more democratic platforms than mass media, with the idea that all users would have the same opportunities to participate and contribute, over time this reality changed. With the emergence of influential figures on social media, the second element of social media logics (*popularity*) is equal to mass media logic, as both follow the principle of generating public attention. Contrary to the principle of mass media logic, which was to connect audiences to content (Altheide & Snow, 1979), social media logics have always been, since its very beginning, creating opportunities for connection between people (*connectivity*). This principle greatly distinguishes both logics, as while one demands a passive audience (mass media logics) the other demands an active

audience (social media logics) ready to start new online relationships or even strengthen existing relations through social media platforms.

Lastly, *datafication*⁸, understood to be one of the key foundations (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013). While mass media logics relied on audience research or polls to determine which content was most desired by its audiences, social media logics is based on the possibility of gathering a set of very specific information about users that benefits unprecedented users content targeting, based on their specific needs. “What makes datafication a crucial characteristic for social media logic is its ability to add a real-time data dimension to mass media's notion of liveness” (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p.10). In addition to being able to be used for target personalised adverts, the real-time data collection embedded within the social media logic also makes it possible to track, and consequently address, issues that affect the public interest, such as a flu outbreak, through the type of searches people do at a specific time, in a specific region (Van Dijck & Poell, 2013). This information can be used to send target-ads about the flu outbreak as well as to help the national health system to put in place measures aiming to minimise the eventual damages to public health.

To make sure that they are noticed by like-minded others, activists and social movements have to base their actions on social media on the principles of social media logics (Schaaf & Quiring, 2023). In their study on “The Limits of Social Media Mobilisation: How Protest Movements Adapt to Social Media Logic”, conducted within the German setting, Schaaf & Quiring (2023, p.203) found out that “protest movements are in part strongly oriented toward the logic of social media (for example, by using postings that are more visual, humorous, and designed to encourage interaction)”. According to the study, activists' greater understanding of social media logic is down to their use of social media for personal reasons.

Although there is still very little literature on how activists and social movements learn and incorporate social media logics into their actions on social media (Schaaf & Quiring, 2023), Johansson & Scaramuzzino (2019) found out in their work - on works' rights social movements in Sweden - that some groups tend to increasingly personalise their campaigns, as a way of

⁸ It refers to how many previously unquantifiable aspects of the world can now be rendered into data via networked platforms: not only the profile or demographic information provided by respondents to (online) surveys, but also automatically generated metadata from smartphones, including timestamps and GPS-derived locations (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013)

highlighting their presence on social media. Even so, it is still not so easy to establish whether there is a strategic element behind the adaptation of social movements to social media logic, or whether it is a reality that occurs for some other reason, beyond the activists' personal experience with social media (Schaaf & Quiring, 2023). However, they conclude that the activists interviewed in their study were able to internalise the functionalities of social media logic to be able to mobilise through digital platforms.

Schaaf & Quiring (2023) warn that the adaptation of social movements to the social media logics has its shortcomings too. Ziegele et al. (2014) point out one of the main might be hate speech may be sparked by the emotional and intimate communication proposed by the logic of social media approach. Furthermore, since underlying algorithms typically target like-minded users, adhering to social media principles may also increase the likelihood of finding yourself in echo chambers⁹ (Bright et al., 2020). This is highly problematic for activists as it takes away their sense of perspective on how others, especially those who do not support their cause, seem to them as well as their actions. Thus, as seen above, activism also benefits from external inputs.

2.2.3 Facebook and activism: communication and mobilisation

Originally founded in 2004, Facebook is one of the most popular social networks worldwide (Low & Wong, 2021). Its mission statement claims that it aims “to give people the power to build community and bring the world closer together” (Wu, 2021). Facebook’s own statement claims that its platform encourages “more than 3 billion people around the world to share ideas, offer support and make a difference” (Facebook, 2017). Over the years, Facebook has been through various changes and adaptations, and the platform has been used in a wide variety of ways since its creation (Brown, 2020). Unlike it was in its very beginning, Facebook is today more than a mere platform that people use to get in touch with one another (Throneburg, 2018). Over the time, it has incorporated a variety of products that strengthened its influence and power use, such as: a standalone messaging application, known as *Messenger*, an online marketplace for users to buy and sell goods and services, and fundraising platforms (Throneburg, 2018).

⁹ In social media, it is a setting or ecosystem where people are exposed to ideas that, through repetition and communication within a closed system, strengthen or validate their preexisting beliefs without providing a counter argument (Cinelli et al., 2021).

Brown (2020) argues that, alongside *Twitter*, Facebook has for long been the epicentre of social media activism. She claims that the success of social movements that use Facebook, as a communication, organisational and mobilising tool, has proven how essential Facebook has become to social movements and activism in general. Brown (2020) takes as examples the cases of the *Black Lives Matter* and the *Catalan Independence Movement*, which she claims were partly massified due to its activity on Facebook. “Both movements attribute a significant amount of what they have been able to achieve to Facebook and of course see the continued benefit of using it as a platform because both movements are still active on Facebook and using it to communicate, organise and mobilise” (Brown, 2020).

Back in 2011, Graybill-Leonard et al. (2011) fundamentally divided Facebook’s features into four main categories, namely: *profiles*, *groups*, *pages*, and *events*. Firstly, they defined *profiles* as the way people portray themselves to other users. Facebook’s users are given the opportunity to personalise their own profiles, by adding personal information relevant to them (such as work, education, current town/city, relationship status, etc). It makes each Facebook user's profile unique and allows other users to find similarities in personal details or common interests. Secondly, the authors defined *groups* as “smaller communities within Facebook that support certain interests or beliefs that are shared by others” (Graybill-Leonard et al., 2011, p.2) that can be created and monitored by Facebook users. They claim that active engagement in Facebook groups grants users access to unique information and discussions that they would not have access to otherwise. Park et al. (2009) argues that Facebook groups are so essential for network purposes as they allow users to take part in activities and discover opportunities they might not have otherwise had. Paris et al. (2010) claim that *pages* and *events* are interactive features that allow individuals, companies, non-profits, and various social groups to promote, and monitor access, to their products. They say these features are particularly important as they allow users to showcase their products or events (Paris et al., 2010).

Brown (2020) claims that it is relevant to assess how Facebook, as a communication and social interaction tool, has changed over the years, trying to align its core mission statement (thought back in 2004 when the app was created) and the purposes that the application serves nowadays. Despite being an application, which has undergone several changes and updates, Brown (2020) argues that Facebook is still serving its initial core statement which was to provide “a private online communication platform that allowed for interpersonal communication of text and visual messages between individuals, but with a reach for larger groups or communities”

(Müller and Hübner, 2014, p.28). However, Brown (2020) claims that Facebook's potential to reach larger audiences has been expanded with the insertion of features such as *MarketPlace* (which allows the buying and selling of articles on Facebook), *Groups*, *Events*, *Livestream* as well as other recent ways for specific interactions such as *Facebook Dating*.

It's believed that apart from groups, one of Facebook features that contributed most to higher information and exchange flows are "statuses". Within their Facebook profiles, users can update their "status", which will promptly appear in the Facebook "newsfeed" along with the status' updates of other users who are connected to them (Semaan et al., 2014). It is through this Facebook newsfeed that a set of information is disseminated, as a result of user's status updates, through texts, videos, or images. This information flow that is created between Facebook friends, people with common interests or friends-of-friends is intensified with exchanges users are allowed to make, by sharing views, opinions, and emotions, through features such as: *liking*, *giving emoticons*, *sharing*, and *commenting* (Cheung, 2019). However, Brown (2020) warns that the networks created on Facebook can be problematic as they have a high risk of creating what are known as echo chambers. "That is problematic because while self-awareness is important, it is also important to be aware of wider society because awareness is the first step towards change. Also, the fact that Facebook is able to "choose" what people see can be seen by some as dangerous because in the wrong hands, people could be placed at a severe disadvantage due to underexposure of reality or overexposure to harsh realities", she claims (2020, p.71).

Cheung (2019, p.6) suggests that "the Facebook features allow users to engage in discussions on a wide range of topics and issues including politics. They can share their political opinions and engage others in conversations by posting comments and adding photos or graphics on the status messages and wall postings". This statement is largely supported by Brown (2020) who claims that Facebook offers appropriate tools for long-lasting interactions to occur, through mechanisms that help people interested in debating/discussing certain topics to come together, creating a greater sense of community.

The wide variety forms of interaction, as well as the diversity of users on the platform, are for Brown (2020, p. 69) "part of the appeal of social media usage for activism and Facebook in particular for activism". As a pioneer social media platform used for activism (Brown, 2020), it seems that Facebook has taken centre stage in the conversation about the social and political

implications of the Internet (Lev-On, 2019). “The multiple tools on the platform from statuses to live streams to groups and fundraisers that can serve a multitude of purposes make it particularly appealing for social movements” (Brown, 2020, p. 70).

Yilmaz (2017, p.149) praises Facebook’s features as it enables it to be “an excellent tool for informing, mobilising, and organising political supporters”. This statement is supported by Paris et al. (2010, p.532) who argues that “Facebook is a powerful online social media tool to reach countless individuals”. Yilmaz (2017) claims that given Facebook’s popularity across the world, it is through it that many users join various activist, social or political groups. According to the author, Facebook gives people a platform to express their feelings, thoughts, and ideas about a wide variety of subjects.

When it comes to activism, Facebook gives social movements a chance to collaborate, develop movement tactics and make sure members understand them as well as act on them in order to achieve their goals (Brown, 2020). Numerous movements have achieved unheard-of success thanks to Facebook, which is well-known for its capacity to support social movements, especially in terms of mobilisation, according to Brown (2020). Ueno & Bélanger (2019) take the example of the Occupy Wall Street Movement to highlight how Facebook, as a mobilising and recruiting tool, is able to prepare and persuade activists not only for online action but also to prepare them for needed offline actions. In their study on “The Roles Of Facebook In Creating New Anti-Corruption Social Movement Through Online Community In Indonesia”, Sulistyó & Azmawati (2018) claim that the use of Facebook groups was an effective mechanism for raising awareness about information from social movements against corruption. Study participants said they gained greater group awareness while interacting with others in Facebook groups, and that they would be more motivated to take offline actions, as a result of the greater collective action awareness they gained on social media (Sulistyó & Azmawati, 2018).

Different authors distinguish the role of Facebook for activism into two fundamental categories: 1) Communication and 2) Organization and Mobilization (Brown, 2020; Cheung, 2019; Graybill-Leonard et al., 2011).

Facebook is believed to provide an easy and accessible way for people to communicate with each other, without needing much effort (Brown, 2020). The author claims that both the design

and key features for the platform allow for easy communication to occur amongst users as well as allowing rapid dissemination of diverse information, through various means such as images, graphics, videos, or text. This wide variety of communication mechanisms offered by Facebook facilitates interaction and engagement between users, which can be a great advantage for activism.

Another Facebook's communication affordance is that the platform allows users to determine who can or cannot have access to their content. Brown (2020) claims that with this feature, Facebook helps activists to firstly identify who their potential audiences are as well as accordingly target messages to them. The opportunity that social movements have to target specific communication campaigns to niche groups helps their communication strategy, as they are much more aware of which techniques to use in each specific case. Lastly, the fact that Facebook is managed by an international company, and has no interference from any political power, is believed to contribute to the trust some activists have, while using the platform as a communication tool (Qualman, 2013). However, Brown (2020) argues that the Cambridge Analytica scandal in 2018 ¹⁰ has drastically altered the trust that many users had in the platforms, leading many people to decide to abandon it.

In addition to the communication processes that occur on Facebook, such as collection of information, publication of information, dialogue, Warren et al. (2014) claims that online activists also use the platform for more practical actions, such as coordination offline actions and lobbying for decision makers.

The authors' study found out that as opposed to traditional practices, many activists have exclusively been using Facebook to coordinate actions, such as scheduling demonstrations. Given the various user's information Facebook provides, protest organisers are able to better decide strategic tactics when planning events of that sort. The author says that features such as 'tagging' helps activists with actions planning, as it originates quick responses from potential demonstrators. In addition to these public coordination mechanisms, Warren et al. (2014) state

¹⁰ "In 2018, several news sources documented that Cambridge Analytica acquired psychographic data for Facebook users and used that data to target ads for the November 2016 US election. Although none of the news reports indicated that Facebook was complicit in this matter, some Facebook users publicly announced they would leave Facebook and encouraged others to do so" (Brown, 2020, p.1)

that activists also use *Messenger*, Facebook's private messaging application, to coordinate both online and offline actions.

Warren et al. (2014) also say that activists use Facebook to lobby and advocate for causes important to them. This type of advocacy can happen by encouraging people to take certain actions, for instance: signing an online petition, targeting specific complaints to authorities (be it online or offline) or requesting supporters to change their profile picture as an act of support to a specific cause. Although they may seem simplistic, these small actions can gain great relevance when adopted by a significant number of people. Facebook is particularly an appropriate network for this type of collective behaviour, as, through its algorithm, it has the capacity to expand the most talked about topics on the platform very quickly.

Lastly, Vie (2014) claims that even seemingly insignificant acts, like updating one's Facebook status to a meme, can make a big difference by raising awareness of pertinent issues and fostering a supportive atmosphere for people who identify with marginalised groups. In his studies on the effects of memes on Facebook, Vie (2014) argues that social media memes enable digital activism that raises awareness of important issues and inspires collective action.

2.3 Facebook as a key ally to Angolan activism?

Due to its affordability and ease of use, Facebook is among the most widely used and influential social media platforms in Angola (Moreira & Araújo, 2021). According to data from StatCounter, which is an Ireland-based web traffic tool, Facebook is the most used social media in the country, with 53.65% of users, followed by Pinterest, with 22.77%, and Twitter, with 8.08% (StatCounter Global Stats, 2023). Kemp (2023), who cites data from Meta's own reports, claims that in early 2023 alone, Facebook had about 3.55 million users in Angola, which is a significant increase of 1.2 million users when compared to the 2022's user numbers. Facebook claims that its reach in terms of users in Angola accounts to 16.4% of the entire eligible population, which are people above 13 years old (Kemp, 2023). In terms of demographic usage, it claims that men are the higher consumers of the platform, with 57.1%, followed by women with 42.9%.

Although there are not yet many academic studies that evaluate the role of Facebook in the activities carried out by Angolan social movements, many authors recognize the importance of

social media - Facebook in particular - in reinforcing the first actions of the young revolutionary movement that emerged in Angola in 2011 (Marcon, 2020; Blanes, 2023; Quitunga, 2015).

Marcon (2020) claims that many of the first demonstrations of the revolutionary youth movement (popularly known in Angola as “revús”) were convened through social media, such as Facebook and Youtube, and blogs. In his master's thesis, Quitunga (2015) evaluates the influence of the Arab Spring on activism in Angola, given the massive demonstrations which took place in Angola between 2011 and 2015. Like Quitunga (2015), Blanes (2023) also draws a parallel between the emergence of the revolutionary movement and the influence that the Arab Spring had across the African continent. Both authors point out in their works that despite the control of the media, generally held by the government and its political and economic elites, the emergence of social media, such as Facebook and other independent media outlets in the early 2000s, made it possible greater circulation of information produced by non-official entities (Quitunga, 2015; Blanes, 2023).

Despite the challenges that Facebook is facing in the Global North, with a growing demand for greater regulation following the Cambridge Analytica scandal in 2018, the platform continues to have an undeniable influence in the Global South (Malik, 2022). When it comes to many African countries, Facebook's impact continues to be transversal, with the platform gaining various affordances over time. Malik (2022) claims that in many African authoritarian regimes, Facebook has had a positive outcome as it has guaranteed the possibility of free speech for citizens as well as facilitating civic activism.

Contrary to what is seen in Western realities, where young people have drastically replaced Facebook with the emergence of new social media platforms, such as TiKTok (Vogels, 2022), in Angola Facebook continues to be a leading platform when it comes to youth-led anti-government protest on social media (Ângelo, 2021).

All four social movements that this project has as objects of study, namely: *Associação Angola Rescue* and *EcoAngola* (Reformative social movements); and *Movimento Cívico Mudei* and *Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola* (Revolutionary social movements organisations) are much more active and have better engagement on Facebook than on any other social media platform they use. This might be partly because of Facebook’s popularity in the country but

also because it is easier for people to build community on Facebook than on other digital platforms (Campos, 2022).

As much as almost ten years ago in the promising case of the seventeen activists arrested in Angola for reading a book, popularly known as “15+2” case¹¹, as illustrated in Blanes's (2023) latest book, as in more recent cases of Angolan activism, Facebook has been used as a strategic tool to debate, create, and propagate new forms of activism in Angola (Campos, 2022). Recent examples, which will be discussed further below, include notable civic and political campaigns such as: #2022VaisGostar, a digital anti-MPLA campaign that emerged against incumbent president João Lourenço in the 2022 elections; #AcabaDeMeMatar, a Facebook-led protest against the government's political and economic measures in 2018 and most recently the nationwide Facebook-led “Fica em Casa” protest, where supports were called to stay at home, instead of going to work/school, as a way of protesting government's actions and policies in 2023 (Pinto et al., 2023).

However, it is worth mentioning that the openness that Facebook grants to social movements in Angola does not mean that their efforts on the platform go unchallenged by the running regime (Campos, 2022). On the contrary, the greater the efforts to spread campaigns against the government by independent civil society actors, the greater the initiatives of government actors to challenge them, with counter campaigns, tightening of legislative measures for digital surveillance, trolling and personal attacks, facilitated by Facebook's lack of content moderation in Africa (Malik, 2022).

2.3.1 Exploring Facebook 0

Facebook Zero was an initiative launched by Facebook (now Meta) in 2010, aiming to provide “users with a stripped-down, text-only version of the Facebook mobile website” (Nothias, 2022). This project, which works as a result of a partnership between Facebook and mobile operators in some developing countries (Sen et al., 2017), allowed many users to access the platform completely free of charge, drastically increasing the platform's user base in the Global South (Nothias, 2022). The process of being able to access a digital platform without internet

¹¹ Fifteen human rights defenders were detained by the Angolan police in June 2015 while attending a meeting. They were reading Gene Sharp's *From Dictatorship to Democracy* and discussing peaceful methods of protest. The case went global at the time (Front Line Defenders, 2016).

access is called zero-rating, and this is what gave the name to the Facebook Zero project, according to Nothias (2022).

Following the positive impacts that emerged from the Facebook Zero initiative, Facebook has over time launched several other zero-rating initiatives particularly targeted at the developing world (2022). In 2013, three years after the launch of Facebook Zero, the company launched a new zero-rating project called *Internet.org* (Nothias, 2022). At the time, Facebook defined it as “an open program for developers to easily create services that integrate with Internet.org”. It claimed its key goal was allowing more people to enjoy the benefits of being online (Meta, 2015, p.2). Futter & Gillwald (2015) argued that Internet.org was a much more “comprehensive offering than Facebook Zero”, considering that it gave users access to a large range of products, including Facebook, Facebook Messenger, and a number of national websites about women's issues, the news, the market, education, and health (Futter & Gillwald, 2015).

Nothias (2022) claims that the selection of the platforms provided by Internet.org was “arbitrarily made by Facebook” and included western news media outlets such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA) and Deutsche Welle (DW). These and other companies, not only from the media and communications sector, partnered with Facebook so that their content could be more widely consumed via Internet.org. In 2015, two years after the launch of Internet.org, Facebook had already formed local partnerships with local phone operators in 17 countries (Futter & Gillwald, 2015). According to Meta (n.d), Facebook reported back then that more than nine million people had gained access to the internet because of its efforts with Internet.org.

Futter & Gillwald (2015) argue that both Facebook and its telecommunications partners argued that zero-rating is a mechanism that can provide internet access to those audiences who find it harder to do so. In addition to the benefit it obtains from these initiatives, Facebook says that its main mission with this type of projects is to contribute to greater democratisation in internet access, which can result in fostering economic development for both small businesses and national economies (Futter & Gillwald, 2015). However, not everyone seems very optimistic about Facebook's philanthropic goals. That is why Internet.org faced a lot of criticism worldwide as internet activists, and general critics, argued that there was a hidden Facebook business agenda behind the intention to massify internet access (Nothias, 2022).

In 2015, for example, India, the country with the largest number of Facebook users in the world, banned “Free Basics”, a key pillar of Facebook's Internet.org program (Wazir, 2016). Although the program increased the number of users to over a million at the time, Internet.org was not able to survive in India for long because of the actions of local activists who were against it. They argued that these Facebook initiatives violated the principle of Net Neutrality¹² (Prasad, 2017). This group of Indian activists, made up by a coalition of tech experts, journalists, and everyday people, pushed back Facebook's Internet.org in India under the movement Save the Internet (STI), which became known worldwide (Prasad, 2017). “As part of the Save the Internet Campaign, more than a million Indians wrote to the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) to support the prohibition of zero-rating” (Futter & Gillwald, 2015, p.3). The activists' main argument was that Internet.org services violated the principle of net neutrality and digital rights as they limited people to having restricted access to Facebook and its partners, rather than the web as a whole (Parmar, 2016).

In addition to the particular case of India, which prompted a change by Facebook in relation to Internet.org (Nothias, 2022), many authors note that there has been a growing movement against zero-rating globally (Prasad, 2017; Parmar, 2016; Wazir, 2016). Critics of zero-rating see initiatives like Internet.org as dangerous as they claim they will limit internet usage and competition (Futter & Gillwald, 2015). “They claim that zero-rating violates a prerequisite for the Internet to drive innovation and economic development, Net Neutrality” (Futter & Gillwald, 2015, p.3). Zero-rating critics claim that these initiatives are so problematic that they even put at risk the United Nations Human Rights Council’s pledge according to each: every citizen has a right to unfettered Internet access (Futter & Gillwald, 2015).

Nothias (2022) claims that it was because of India's pushback at Internet.org that in 2015 Facebook came up with the rebranding program, starting to call it *Free Basics*. In addition to the name change, one of the key features of Free Basics is that it was more open than Internet.org, meaning that furthermore to the sites chosen by Facebook, any developer could include their platform in Free Basics (Nothias, 2022). “Any developer could have their website

¹² It is the idea that, rather than your internet service provider, you are in charge of what you see and do online. (Ofcom, 2021)

on the Free Basics platform – if they made their site compatible with Facebook’s technical requirements” (Nothias, 2022, p.1).

The Free Basics initiative is still a highly controversial one (Nothias, 2020). Seen as one of the largest of its kind, it has been implemented in 32 African countries without much scrutiny, as opposed to what happened in India (Nothias, 2020). Meta’s own website defines it as tools that make “the internet accessible to more people by providing them access to a range of free basic services like news, maternal health, travel, local jobs, sports, communication, and local government information” (Meta, n.d.). They claim that they already have millions of new internet users across Africa, Asia, and South America (Meta, n.d.).

Facebook Free Basics’ program still has the same approach as Internet.org. It works as a result of partnerships between Facebook and mobile providers in developing countries across the Global South (Meta, n.d). Despite appearing to have a noble goal, which is the democratisation of access to zero-rated web services for people in less privileged contexts, Free Basic project has been facing serious opposition and criticism from various internet neutrality and digital rights activists and researchers (Global Voices Advox, 2017; Solon, 2017; Sen et al., 2017).

However, Nothias (2020) points out that the unprecedented defeat Facebook faced in India has not stopped its Free Basic expansion goals across the Global South. Nothias (2020) notes that up to July 2019, Facebook's Free Basic had been implemented in 65 countries around the world, including 30 African countries. The author's research focuses on trying to better understand the popularity of the initiative on the African continent and understanding why pushbacks (like what happened in India in 2015) did not have relevant effects on the way these services are seen in the African reality. To carry out his analysis, Nothias (2020) focuses on the role of digital civil society on the African continent. He argues that the expansion of Free Basics in Africa, without much scrutiny or backlashes, is due to two key factors, namely: “(1) Facebook's evolving strategy, particularly its growing engagement with civil society organisations and (2) the focus of digital rights activists across the continent on other issues, including Internet shutdowns, government censorship, and the lack of data privacy frameworks (Nothias, 2020, p.1).

In his research, Nothias (2020) argues that despite the ban that India placed on Internet.org would have suggested a complete end to the program, Facebook continued with massive

expansion in other markets in the Global South, such as Africa. Part of the large expansion of Free Basics in Africa is due to a partnership between Facebook and an Indian telecom company's subsidiary, Airtel Africa. During the heated debates on net neutrality in India, which preceded the ban on Internet.org, Airtel announced it would expand the program in the 17 African countries where it operated, which included countries such as Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Internet.org, 2015).

In his independent research, which involved using VPA to access Free Basic data, Nothias (2020) uncovered major discrepancies about Facebook's claims regarding the implementation of Free Basic in Africa. As for July 2019, Nothias (2020) claims that Free Basic was live in 28 African countries, including Angola, and not in 32 countries, as claimed by Facebook. He found out that the program was not live anymore in countries such as Congo, Morocco, and Chad. Another key result from Nothias's (2020) findings is that there are four countries where Facebook had previously announced that it would launch the program but had not launched it by the data collection date, namely Zimbabwe, Uganda, Burkina Faso and Sierra Leone. Despite not having become a major global movement, as in the case of India, Nothias's (2020) research also highlights that Egypt was the first and only (up to now) African country to ban Facebook Free Basics in 2016. According to Abutaleb & Menn (2016) Egypt decided to ban the initiative following Facebook's denial of the Egyptian government's request to be able to spy on users.

Facebook's Free Basics project was implemented in Angola in 2012, as a result of a partnership between the giant tech firm, Facebook, and Unitel, Angola's largest telecom company (Moreira & Araújo, 2021). On its official website, Unitel claims that "the Unitel client will be able to update its status, read news, comment on posts and other information of interest, without being charged. As it is a text-only site, the Unitel customer will not have access to multimedia elements (images, videos, and audio), with a link always being available to view it" (Unitel, n.d).

After a few years, in 2015, Facebook also established a partnership with the second largest telecom company in Angola at the time, Movitel, which launched Facebook Flex (Barbante & Oliveira, 2021). Despite the partial change in the initiative's name, perhaps for commercial reasons, the project was exactly the same as Unitel's. On its official website, Movitel defines

the program as “a service that allows Movitel customers to access Facebook for free at any time and without data costs” (Movitel, n.d).

Barbante & Oliveira (2021) claim that the user must enter one of the following addresses in the browser of their mobile device to access the Facebook Zero service: "https://0.facebook.com"; "https://o.facebook.com"; "http://O.facebook.com" or "https://zero.facebook.com". Facebook Zero, as a popular, mobile, easy-to-use technology does not require development and/or acquisition of software and is free to access. It emerged as an alternative means and opportunities to boost online communication for economically vulnerable individuals (Barbante & Oliveira, 2021). The advantage of this version of Facebook is that it works on most phone devices, including smartphones (with an operating system) and conventional devices (with devices without an operating system).

Although there is a considerable lack of academic research on the impact of Facebook Zero in Angola, the work of Moreira & Araújo (2021) briefly points out how this tool has been quite valuable, as a fundamental means of communication between young people, mainly in rural and disadvantaged areas. Both due to the marketing dissemination of Unitel and Movitel, and the need to communicate, given the low internet access in Angola, Facebook Zero has become, over the years, a very consolidated tool in the Angolan reality.

2.3.2 Communication strategies and tactics

Gálvez-Rodríguez et al. (2014) claim that for some time now, social networks have been considered relevant and indispensable resources for improving the public relations of non-governmental organisations. Highlighting the particular importance of Facebook in this sense, the authors argue that for the platform to produce the desired effects, appropriate communication strategies must be implemented (Gálvez-Rodríguez et al., 2014). Among other factors, such as network activity, social media experience, organisation age and organisation size, the authors say that the internationalisation of actions should be considered as one of the factors as to why non-profit organisations choose to use social media to communicate their activities.

According to Waters' (2009) research, nonprofit organisations use social media to communicate with donors and volunteers, manage their operations more efficiently, and inform the public about their services and programs. Waters et al. (2009), on the other hand, argue that organisations aim to establish connections with influential publics by means of engaging with stakeholders on Facebook and other social media platforms. Blanes' (2023) book on Angolan activism, highlights how Facebook was used by the Angolan revolutionary movement as a way of cultivating and strengthening relationships with its audiences and potential supporters of its causes.

Despite seeming to be a new subject, with the growing relevance of social media in our lives, the subject of online relationship development to public relations was first raised by Kent & Taylor (1998), when arguing for building dialogic relationships through the World Wide Web by offering a strategic framework grounded in theory that makes it easier to establish connections with audiences via the Internet. Since then, authors such as Kelleher (2006) have been calling for “organisations to implement strategic virtual communication strategies to cultivate relationships with key stakeholders” (Waters et al., 2009, p.2). In his book on public relations online, Kelleher (2006) attempts to explain how enduring principles of effective public relations can be used in a shifting media landscape, and how successful public relations practice is impacted by shifting media landscapes.

Waters (2007) argues that given that Facebook is free, very simple to use, and has built-in interactivity, it has the potential to lessen the communication challenges that organisations faced in the past. This is because Facebook allows organisations of all sizes to stay in real-time contact with a wide range of stakeholders. In the case of Angola, these challenges in the public communication of social movements are related to their inability to access the media, as well as public spaces, to disseminate their messages for political reasons, as previously discussed (Blanes, 2023). In a study on using Facebook as a tool in universities' communication strategy, Waite & Wheeler (2014) concluded that Facebook can be a useful tool for communicating with stakeholders if organisations understand that using it alone will not yield the same results as using it as part of a larger, more comprehensive communications plan.

Bortree & Seltzer (2009) add that social media platforms, such as Facebook, offer organisations a platform to engage with key audiences and allow users to interact with each other about subjects of common interest. These features, the authors claim, should create the perfect

environment for dialogic communication. However, Bortree & Seltzer (2009) argue that some advocacy groups are not exploring in depth the opportunities dialogic strategies platforms like Facebook offer. According to them, some of these groups believe that being present on these platforms, with some level of activity, guarantees, in itself, the possibility of people using their platforms as a mechanism for dialogue. The authors consider that these efforts are not enough, and make these organisations miss out on the positive outcomes that can come from an adequate dialogic strategy, such as network activity, extensiveness, growth, and responsiveness of users and organisations (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009).

Non-profit organisations should be encouraged to use the Internet as a medium for disseminating information about their mission, objectives, and projects (Corby & Sowards, 2000). Walters (2007) argues that social networks like Facebook offer many communication abilities that should be used to the advantage of organisations whose communication is critical to advancing their agendas.

Grunig and Hunt (1984) argue that the two-way symmetrical model¹³ is the ideal approach to public relations. However, it is worth noting that this traditional perspective in the context of corporate communication is somehow contested in the context of activist communication. Ganesh & Zoller (2012) argue that it is because it ignores alternative strategies for activist social change that function as confrontational communication, disregarding the importance that contestation and tension can have in this type of communication.

Walters (2007, p. 63) argues that “for organisations, this model [two-way symmetrical] is the cornerstone of building relationships”. Authors like Getzendanner (1999) argues that honest and open dialogue between organisations and their stakeholders is fundamental to understanding the interests that motivate interactions. In this sense, social movements using Facebook as a communication tool must pay attention not only to what they publish but fundamentally to the responses/feedback they receive from their various stakeholders.

Regarding the use of Facebook for company marketing purposes, for instance, Galati et al. (2017) claim that adoption of social media-based marketing strategies by businesses has a

¹³ According to the authors, this model is defined as a balanced and harmonious relationship between the organisation and its publics, including the media, that is built on reciprocity, feedback, and respect for one another (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

positive effect on direct consumer interaction. According to them, the strategies employed enable the businesses to obtain marketing information, learn about current performance, and forecast future performance based on consumer feedback. There are four ways in which the strategies used by companies can affect their performance, namely: the connection between businesses and society (social capital), consumer preferences as disclosed, the conversion of social corporate resources into operational performance capabilities (corporate social networking), the transformation of social-marketing resources into financial performance capabilities (social marketing), and knowledge of consumer preferences as revealed (Paniagua & Sapena, 2014). Although social movements do not aim to sell products or make profits, like companies, these examples of corporate communication activities on Facebook may be relevant to understanding communication strategies employed on this platform. In the same way as we have already seen with the case of social movements, a growing number of companies have stated that platforms like Facebook have revolutionised the way they communicate with their main stakeholders (Capriotti & Zeler, 2020).

Neill & Moody (2015) argue that more than ever, Facebook is being used in companies' strategic communication approaches, which helps to build and strengthen relationships between companies and their stakeholders. Although corporate communication is considerably different from that practised by non-profitable organisations - for reasons ranging from financial factors to organisational structures - Cho et al., (2016) argue that some lessons from the use of social networks by companies can be useful for understanding the actions of non-profit organisations online.

Breakenridge (2012) claims that although the incorporation of social networks as a means of public relations has significantly changed the corporate communication sector, some basic elements such as selecting the relevant metrics and reporting back the findings continue to be fundamental practices for strategic communication. Neill & Moody (2015) claim that Facebook introduced new analysis metrics such as 'liking'. Additionally, audience profiles on social media show where people are congregating, what topics and issues interest them, how positive or negative the audience sentiment is, how they share content, how much of their voice is compared to competitors, and their connections with prominent influencers (Breakenridge, 2012).

Capriotti & Zeler (2020) argue that in order to maintain effective communication bridges with their audiences through Facebook, organisations use information resources provided by the platform. In their popular book, *The Social Media Bible*, Safko & Brake (2009) state that social media offers many ways for users to create and disseminate content. According to the authors, this content produced on platforms such as Facebook can include resources such as: images, texts, links, hashtags, emoticons, labels, video, audio, or GIFs. Quintly (2016) suggests that the use of interactive, graphic, and audiovisual resources promotes a wider and more dynamic distribution of content.

When it comes to Facebook specifically, Capriotti et al. (2016) divides its resources into three categories, namely: 1) graphic (text, emoticons, and photos/images); 2) interactive (user tags, links, and hashtags); and 3) audiovisual (audio, video, and animated image). This categorization made by the authors helps us to interpret in a more technical way how some Angolan social movements communicate on Facebook. As an example, we can consider various cases of widespread anti-government protests called by Angolan social movements via Facebook. One of them is the hashtag #2022VaisGostar (translated into English as #In2022You're going to like it), a movement considered spontaneous, which became widely disseminated as a threat to the ruling-party MPLA, and its president João Lourenço, at the time before Angola's general elections in August 2022. Renato (2020) notes that the hashtag is full of sarcasm, showing that, despite appearing to encourage, it warns that one should not engage in a certain behaviour, because the consequences will be negative. Luamba (2020) defines the campaign as a “call for political alternation in the next elections in Angola, accusing the President of not fulfilling his political promises”. Despite not being led by a specific social movement, the hashtag #2022VaisGostar became very popular, dominating many electoral debates in Angola, and even leading the president to react to it. This was one of the highest points, which validated the great popularity of this slogan which emerged on Facebook, as it is highly uncommon in Angola for the president to react to campaigns against him, let alone those only spread on social media (Campos, 2023). Renato (2020, p.1) notes that this slogan was one of the “most used phrases in memes and tips that warn of possible electoral results that may not be good for the party in power and for their candidate, because of the choices that voters will be able to make at the time of their vote”. He notes that although the hashtag was initially interpreted as a joke by some, #2022VaisGostar took on very serious proportions that could not continue to be ignored by the Angolan regime (Renato, 2020).

Capriotti et al. (2016) warns that although the audiovisual category is considered the most popular on Facebook, only visually appealing content is insufficient to effectively encourage social engagement. Therefore, it is imperative that organisations combine several information resources, such as video, images, and text, to ensure greater interaction between Facebook users (Brubaker & Wilson, 2018). It is for this reason that organisations need to create the appropriate environment, through their virtual communication strategy, for interaction to occur on the Facebook platform (Capriotti et al., 2016).

Likes, shares, and comments are the three ways that users can interact with content on Facebook, according to Capriotti et al. (2016). Posts from organisations must be aesthetically appealing enough to elicit likes, shares, and comments from users in order to spark dialogue (Brubaker & Wilson, 2018). Although the concept of aesthetically appealing may be subjective, a general analysis shows that the type of publications made by social movements in Angola always try to combine linguistic and visual elements. In recent years, due to the urgency of broadcast events as they occur, Facebook lives have also become a very common way for these movements to communicate directly with their audiences.

In their research on “Engaging stakeholders through social networking: How nonprofit organisations are using Facebook”, Waters et al. (2009) have identified three fundamental virtual communication strategies that have been used by non-governmental organisations to promote relationship cultivation, which are: (1) Disclosure, (2) Information Dissemination and (3) Involvement.

With regard to *disclosure*, as the first communication strategy employed by non-profit organisations on Facebook, Waters et al. (2009) argue that this strategy arises as a greater need for organisations to be more open and transparent, taking into account the growing scrutiny aimed at non-profit organisations worldwide. While encouraging organisations, such as social movements, to use social media to promote their work, Kelleher (2006) notes that transparency is a fundamental element of a strong and impactful online presence. To achieve the necessary level of communication disclosure on Facebook, authors argue that organisations must provide a set of information on their pages, including a thorough history of the organisation, a list of the people in charge of updating their Facebook's profile, logos, and visual cues to establish the connection, and hyperlinks leading to the organisation's website or main communication channel (Berman et al., 2007).

In this regard, in 2018 Meta launched Facebook Transparency (Joseph & Sheedy-Collier, 2020). It is a tool that allows Facebook users to freely access key data from Facebook pages, commonly used by social movements, public figures, and organisations. This tool makes available data such as: date the Page was created, the primary country locations where the Page is managed and the people overseeing the Page in every nation (Joseph & Sheedy-Collier, 2020). They claim that the information is provided “so people have more information to help them gauge the reliability and authenticity of the content they see in their feeds”. For the purposes of this dissertation, Facebook Transparency will be used to analyse the level of transparency of Angolan social movements under study.

Marcon (2020) notes, however, that in the Angolan context there have been many times when activists have purposefully hidden the identities of individuals who schedule public demonstrations, through Facebook, for fear of reprisals. Marcon (2020, p.195) categorises this as the “strategy of non-individual accountability of its mobilizers”.

Regarding the second virtual communication strategy proposed by Waters et al. (2009), organisations are expected to provide *relevant information* for those who search or come across their Facebook pages. This information, say the authors, must be strictly related to the organisation's operations, offering a comprehensive overview of the organisation's work, actions, and initiatives. One of the bases of these principles is the claim by Taylor et al. (2001) according to which organisations' social media pages should contain useful information for their stakeholders. In this category, focused on Information Dissemination, it is argued that the type of information disclosed by organisations on Facebook determines its relevance (Waters et al., 2009). There are several forms of information dissemination used by organisations on Facebook, including sharing links to outside news articles about the organisation, social movements, or its causes; uploading images, audio, or video content from the group and its backers; and posting announcements and responding to inquiries on the discussion wall or message board (Carrera et al., 2019). On the other hand, Waters et al. (2009, p.103) encourages organisations/social movements to post press releases and campaign summaries on their Facebook pages as a way “to maximise the impact” of their online presence.

Lastly, Waters et al. (2009) argue that *interactivity* is one of the most important features for establishing more consistent relationships (involvement) between organisations and their

audiences. According to the authors, constant engagement with stakeholders allows organisations to create a more solid base of knowledge of their audiences' needs. In their study on “The Effect of Web Characteristics on Relationship Building”, Jo & Kim (2003) argued that for organisations to build relationships with their stakeholders, interactivity was crucial. Organisations should provide various details to their users, such as email, telephone number, as well as list volunteer opportunities or provide an events calendar to engage stakeholders offline (Waters et al., 2009). This information exchange allows to create an environment of greater trust and cooperation between the organisation and the main stakeholders. For the purposes of this dissertation, the framework of virtual strategic communication (Waters et al., 2009) will be used.

To conclude, it is important to state that this literary review focused on making an in-depth outline of the main theories that link social movements and social media. The study of social movements allowed us to classify the four Angolan social movements into two distinct categories, reformative and revolutionary social movements, based on the literature Aberle's (1966) research. This categorization, with attention to what other authors suggest, allows this study to better understand the key characteristics of each type of social movement. This literature review also focused on digital mobilisation, as a way of trying to understand how social movements have used the affordances of social media to their benefit. Throughout this literature review, a subchapter was particularly dedicated to the way in which social movements operate under authoritarian regimes, which sheds further light on what Kaun & Uldam (2017) called the myth of universality, the universal claim about the positive role of new technologies for digital activism, a model with greater success in democratic settings. Lastly, this chapter reviewed the main studies that address the way in which Facebook has been used as a communication tool for social movements in Angola and elsewhere.

3. Methodology

This dissertation emerged from the need to explore the role of social media as communication tools for social movements in Angola. Although online social networks are part of the daily lives of some Angolans, and, therefore, an integral part of the communicative positioning of social movements, there are very few insights into their specific role when it comes to digital

mobilisation. Considering the saturation of the traditional media environment in Angola, which is highly controlled by the country's autocratic regime, the use of online social networks has become relevant for Angolan social movements, which makes this study an important tool for understanding the nuances of these organisations' presence on Facebook. As an Angolan journalist, attentive to the growth of social movements and their scale of political influence, the author considers that the interconnection between social movements and online social networks in Angola is a subject that should deserve more academic attention, due to its relevance for the democratic consolidation in the country.

The core objective of this study is to identify the main patterns that emerge in the communication carried out by different types of Angolan social movements on Facebook. Evaluating the online presence and their activity on Facebook, this study aims to investigate what are the main communication strategies and tactics of groups belonging to reformative and revolutionary social movements. Likewise, this research aims to provide better insight into what communication strategies and tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising user engagement or eventual offline actions.

3.1 Research Design

This research will focus on unpacking the key communication strategies and tactics employed by both segments of Angola's reformative and revolutionary social movements on Facebook as well as on correlating these communication efforts to user engagement based on the platforms' metrics. As outlined in the table below, this study is fundamentally composed of a main research question (RQ1) and two sub-research questions, namely RQ1a and RQ1b. It is through these research questions - addressed by different methods - that this project aims to make a contribution that reflects on the role of the Facebook platform for social movements in the Angolan context.

Table 1 - Methods associated with research questions

N°	Research Question	Method
1	What is the role of Facebook in the communication strategies and tactics of groups belonging to reformative and revolutionary social	Interviews and Content Analysis

	movements in Angola?	
1a	a) What are the main characteristics and features of these groups' Facebook posts, and how do they differ from each other?	Content Analysis
1b	b) Which communication strategies/tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising user engagement (based on Facebook metrics) and eventual offline action?	Content Analysis and Interviews

To achieve its objectives this study employs an explanatory sequential approach, a mixed method, which involves combining an initial quantitative approach to data collection and analysis followed by qualitative methods (Creswell, 2014). It will first run a quantitative content analysis (CA) (Neuendorf, 2016) - followed by semi-structured interviews (SSI) - qualitative - (Patton, 2015). The choice of this research method is based on the need to obtain results that can be complementary to each other and, thus, contribute to reinforcing the final results presented by this project. Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998) claim that mixing methods is a mechanism for collecting, analysing, and integrating qualitative and quantitative methods within a single study with the purpose of improving understanding of a certain research problem.

Ivankova et al., (2006) argue that there has been an increasing popularity in the use of mixed method approaches both within the fields of social and health sciences. The authors explain that part of this trend is due to the fact that it is understood that the use of a single method, whether quantitative or qualitative, is not always sufficient "by themselves, to capture the trends and details of a situation" (Ivankova et al., 2006, p.3). The use of two distinct methods (qualitative and quantitative) in combination can enhance one another and provide a more thorough analysis by utilising each other's strengths, meaning that one method can make the other even stronger (Greene et al., 1989; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Through the use of a mixed methods research methodology, one can achieve a deeper and richer understanding of a research problem than either traditional research approach alone can provide by balancing the power of numbers and generalizable outcomes with the rich context of people's lived experiences (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

However, Creswell (2014) warns that despite the popularity of mixed-method approaches, researchers need to have a more critical analysis of the main outcomes that may arise from the combination of more traditional methods with more recent ones. Amado & Silva (2022) note that another shortcoming of using a mixed-method approach are the demands from its use such as: greater resources (financial, time, and expertise), diverse forms of coaching, combining a research team's work, and summarising findings.

The explanatory sequential approach is one of the six mixed methods identified by Creswell (2014) as one of the most commonly used in academic research. Ivankova et al., (2006) describe it as a highly popular method that involves gathering and examining data in two consecutive phases within a single study: first for quantitative data, and then for qualitative data. However, they warn that despite seeming straightforward, implementing this type of mixed method is not exactly an easy task (Ivankova et al., 2006). In the case of applying the explanatory sequential approach, researchers must consider certain methodological concerns, the order in which the data collection and analysis is done, the priority or weight assigned to the quantitative and qualitative phases of the study, and the stage or stages of the research process where the results are integrated and the quantitative and qualitative phases are connected (Creswell, 2014).

In their research on 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs', Greene et al., (1989) came up with a framework that establishes that in research employing mixed methods, there are five reasons to combine, namely: *Triangulation*, *Complementarity*, *Development*, *Initiation* and *Expansion*. By definition, 1) *Triangulation* refers to the use of several methods to approach the same research question with the purpose of verifying the result, creating greater reliability. "The core premise of triangulation as a design strategy is that all methods have inherent biases and limitations, so use of only one method to assess a given phenomenon will inevitably yield biases and limited results" (Greene et al., 1989, p.256). Whereas 2) *Complementarity* is used in order to measure overlapping as well as distinct aspects of a phenomenon, both qualitative and quantitative methods are employed, providing an in-depth, comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. The main difference between *Triangulation* and *Complementarity* is that while the intention of triangulation is to use different methods to verify the results of the same phenomenon, the complementarity intention can be to evaluate different levels of the same phenomenon (Greene et al., 1989).

3) *Development* seeks to utilise the findings of one method to assist in developing or providing information for the development of the other method, which includes decisions about sampling, implementation, and measurement. While 4) *Initiation* searches for inconsistencies and paradoxes, new perspectives on frameworks, and the rephrasing of queries or findings from one method in terms of queries or results from another. Lastly, 5) *Expansion* aims to increase the depth and scope of inquiry by applying various techniques to various inquiry components (Greene et al., 1989).

For the purpose of this study, the use of the explanatory sequential approach is fundamentally justified for reasons of triangulation and complementarity, based on the framework of Greene et al., (1989). The design of this investigation is based on the need to evaluate two agents in relation to the role of Facebook as a communication tool for social movements in the Angolan context. The plan is for the implementation of the method to be sequential, following the principle of first conducting quantitative research (Content Analysis), followed by qualitative research (Semi-structured interviews (SSI), followed by the interpretation of the results.

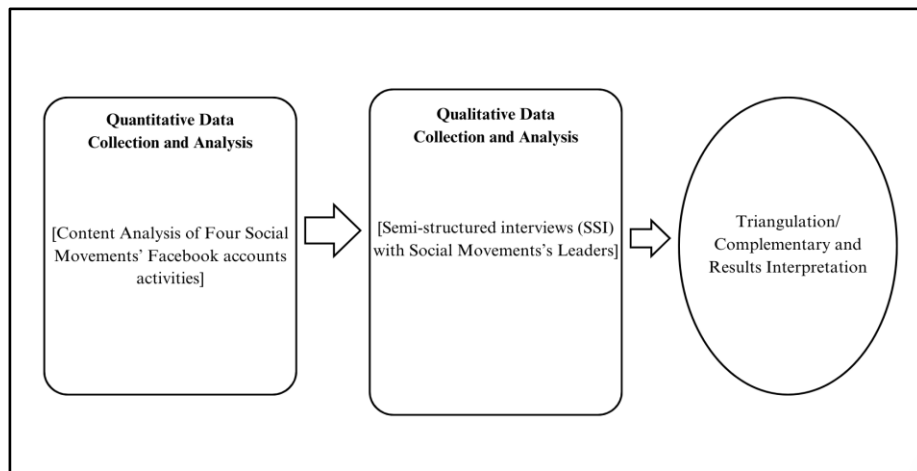


Figure 5 - Sequential exploratory approach design

Firstly, it will run a quantitative content Analysis of the Facebook activity of 4 Angolan social movements namely: Reformative social movements (Associação Angola Rescue¹⁴ and EcoAngola¹⁵) as well as two Revolutionary social¹⁵ movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei¹⁶ and Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola¹⁷).

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/AngolaRescue?mibextid=dGKdO6>

¹⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/somosecoangola?mibextid=dGKdO6>

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/MudeiAngola?mibextid=dGKdO6>

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/josue01oficial?mibextid=dGKdO6>

A content analysis is a research method that employs a number of techniques to produce reliable text interferences (Weber, 1990). These interferences can affect a variety of factors, including the message's sender, content, and recipient (Weber, 1990). In the social sciences, content analysis is regarded as one of the most relevant research techniques (Krippendorff, 1980). It argues the case that comprehending language's function in social contexts is essential to comprehending social phenomena, which makes this method relevant for this study. When done properly, content analysis is a powerful tool for comprehending social media content, despite certain drawbacks such as the fact that it is time-consuming (Stemler, 2019). The results obtained in the content analysis will be very useful in establishing the interview guide necessary for the second method used, the in-depth interviews.

Secondarily, the qualitative method that this study will employ involves conducting interviews with individuals responsible for managing social media within each of the social movements under analysis. Kaplan & Maxwell (2005) argue that qualitative research aims to understand problems or specific circumstances through an examination of the viewpoints, actions, and social context of those involved. They assert that qualitative research utilises data in the form of words rather than numbers and is conducted in natural settings to achieve its key objectives. According to Gudkova (2017), interviews represent one of the most fundamental forms of data collection in the field of social sciences. There are several types of interviews, namely: structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and unstructured interviews. In the case of this dissertation, the semi-structured interview (SSI) will be utilised. SSI involves a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up inquiries about how or why (Adams, 2015). Generally, these types of interviews are chosen because they afford greater flexibility in the types of questions asked and answers provided, while still adhering to a script to maintain focus during the interview process.

3.2 Population and Sampling

Given the diversity of social movements with various objectives in the Angolan context, this study had to segment the different types of existing social movements based on Aberle's model (1966), which posits four fundamental types: alternative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary. In accordance with this established paradigm, the study chose to concentrate on

the online activities of reformative and revolutionary movements, considering their impact on the political and social landscape in Angola. With the escalation of social and political tensions in Angola, social and political activism has played a highly significant role in shaping numerous contemporary events within the Angolan context.

The movements under analysis in this study, namely Reformative social movements (Associação Angola Rescue and EcoAngola) as well as two Revolutionary social movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola) were chosen based on their relevance in the activist context in Angola as well as its high level of followers on the digital platform Facebook (the platform under analysis in this dissertation).

To ensure rigorous analysis standards in relation to quantitative content analysis, this project decided that analysis run on the 4 Facebook pages will access exactly the same variables (see more below in figure 6) in an established period of three months.

This project has chosen to set a three-month period to ensure the most comprehensive analysis possible, equally representative of the Facebook activity of the pages of the various social movements under examination. The study has determined that the analysis of Facebook activity should span from May to July 2023. This timeframe is chosen in consideration of the end of May when the Angolan parliament approved a controversial law on the statutes of non-governmental organisations in Angola (Rodrigues, 2023). This political event, highly significant for the activities of social movements in Angola, is considered a relevant temporal parameter for evaluating their online activities.

3.3 Corpus Analysis

Before conducting the content analysis, this study opted to delimit its corpus analysis to gain a better understanding of the data dimension that will be examined. Vaughan & O’Keeffe (2015) define linguistic corpus as a research technique involving the use of technology to analyse real language in extensive databases. Corpus analysis, in this case, is a technique aimed at generating specific data sets that will later be interpreted, examined, and analysed as part of

the research project. For this study, CrowdTangle was employed. It is described as a Facebook tool designed to facilitate the viewing, tracking, reporting, and analysis of public content on social media (Rianto & Pratama, 2021). The authors emphasise that CrowdTangle has served as a significant academic research resource utilised by numerous researchers worldwide, particularly those with interests aligned with the social networks covered by the tool, such as Facebook.

Rianto & Pratama (2021) note that using the historical data feature on CrowdTangle web, entering keywords, selecting the desired time period to be sampled, and filling out the form for the type of posts and accounts are the steps involved in data gathering with CrowdTangle. In the case of this particular research, with the aim of determining the corpus of analysis, links to the Facebook pages of each social movement under analysis were inserted; all types of posts were chosen, and the analysis period was determined between 01/05/23 and 31/07/23, as explained above. After automatically running the search, CrowdTangle emailed the researcher the requested data in CSV format. The data includes tables and graphs that detail daily and monthly activity data from Facebook pages.

After receiving the individual reports from each of the social movement pages on Facebook, the researcher of this study had to determine which were the most important variables in the corpus analysis based on the main objectives of this research. This interpretation of categories is supported by the claim made by Vaughan & O’Keeffe (2015) that almost every corpus analysis tool need human interaction with the data that the software tools can produce automatically.

Table 2 - Corpus of Analysis sourced by CrowdTangle

	Social Movement 1	Social Movement 2	Social Movement 3	Social Movement 4	
Page name	Associação Angola Rescue	EcoAngola	Movimento Cívico Mudei	Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola	
Analysis period	01/05/23 - 31/07/23	01/05/23 - 31/07/23	01/05/23 - 31/07/23	01/05/23 - 31/07/23	
Total of posts	33	53	294	250	

Average daily posts	0.34	0.58	3	3	
Most common post type	Photos	Photos	Photos	Photos	
Collection Method	CrowdTangle	CrowdTangle	CrowdTangle	CrowdTangle	
Total					630

Due to the differing numbers of publications across the four Facebook pages analysed during the designated content analysis period, the study's author opted to pre-establish precise sample percentages for each group. This decision aimed to ensure transparency and fairness in the analysis process. Based on data obtained from the Corpus of Analysis via the Crowd Tangle tool, it was observed that the Associação Angola Rescuen page had the lowest number of publications from May to July 2023, totalling 33 posts. Consequently, the author chose to analyse an equal number of posts from the other Facebook pages to maintain fairness and consistency in the analysis. This approach guarantees that no page receives disproportionate attention or bias in the analysis.

Following the distribution of posts on the Associação Angola Rescue page—10 posts in May, 8 posts in June, and 15 posts in July—the same principle was applied to select posts for analysis on the EcoAngola, Movimento Cívico Mudei e Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola pages. In total, 132 posts were analysed, corresponding to 33 posts from each group under analysis. It's important to note that the decision to conduct a proportional analysis of posts for each social movement's Facebook page also stemmed from resource constraints. Considering the original corpus would involve analysing over 600 posts, such a large dataset was deemed unrealistic due to limitations in research resources and time constraints.

3.4 Content Analysis

In an effort to address the two sub-research questions of this study, which aim to evaluate the frequency of posts by social movements, their engagement metrics (likes, shares, and comments), and the type of content shared, certain variable units were selected for content analysis. It is noteworthy that the variables and analysis indicators chosen were drawn from

previous academic studies referenced in the literature review, such as the framework proposed by Waters et al. (2009) on the 'Frequency of public relations strategies used by nonprofit organisations on Facebook'.

The fourteen (14) variables comprising the Content Analysis grid of this study were primarily selected with the aim of providing deeper insights into addressing the primary research questions posed by this study. Subsequently, each variable, concept values, and theoretical origin will be explained below.

To provide a more accurate estimate of the total number of posts (n=132) examined in the study, the first variable (V01) establishes the numerical identification of the examined posts. The second variable (V02) aims to identify the social movement to which each post under analysis refers to. In this category, each of the social movements under analysis in this study were numerically identified (in a list that goes from 1 to 4). The third variable (V03a) is responsible for identifying the months referring to when the posts were made, based on the delimited time chosen and justified above, while the next sub-variable (V03b) focuses on the exact days in which the publications were made online.

The fourth variable (V04) is identified as "Type of Content", whose implementation arises from gaining deeper insights into the types of content most and least used by social movements on Facebook. In this sense and based on studies by Waters et al. (2009) and Rianto & Pratama (202) this category encodes elements such as: Text posts (Statuses); Photos; Facebook Videos; Facebook Lives.

The sixth variable (V05) is responsible for categorising the type of content conveyed in each post, and for this reason it is called "Posts' objective/goal". This variable, which was also taken from the work of Waters et al. (2009), is considered relevant for the objectives of this study as it helps to draw conclusions about what type of utility each social movement attributed to its online activity. The specific elements analysed within this variable are the following: Protest events; Information sharing; Call for online action; Call for offline action.

Next variables from six to thirteen (V06 to V13) represent distinct categories of "Engagement". Their focus is to understand the way in which Facebook users interact with publications made by social movements. The fact that the Facebook platform currently offers different ways of

interacting with posts makes this one of the variables with the largest number of coded values, namely: Like; Love; Sad; Angry; Laugh; Surprised; Comment; Share. The theoretical definition of this variable arises from previous studies by authors Neiger et al. (2012) and Capriotti et al. (2016), whose work also focused on content analysis studies on Facebook.

Lastly, the fourteen variable (V14) is “Subject (Public Interest)”. This variable arises from the need to understand which issues are of most concern to social movements under analysis, according to the posts they make on their Facebook platforms. The formation of this variable arises from a complementary and joint analysis between more generic global theories on the types of social movements, presented by (Flynn, 2011), and some research that focuses on the most common specific issues to the Angolan context, such as the case of Blanes (2023), Telo (2018) and Vidal & Andrade (2008). Based on this immersion theories, the following issues, that will be used to code this last variable, emerged: Democracy and Governance; Human Rights and Civil Liberties; Anti-Corruption; Labor Rights and Workers' Rights; Land Rights and Rural Development; Environment and Conservation; Women's Rights and Gender Equality; Education and Healthcare.

This study’s author used his personal Facebook account to conduct the desired content analysis on each of the social movement pages to be analysed. Since their Facebook pages were all public, the author had unrestricted access to all available information. The author's first step was to identify the dates pre-established by the study in order to access the publications to be analysed. This process was facilitated by Facebook's search toolbar, which assists in identifying the day, month, and year of the publications being searched for. After carefully reading each of the publications to be analysed, including all variables pre-established by the study, the posts were individually coded in an Excel sheet based on the variables outlined in the codebook.

3.5 Interviews

The central objective of the semi-structured interviews in this study is to obtain deeper insights into the role and importance that Facebook holds for social media managers of social movements in Angola. Through these interviews, conducted with individuals responsible for the digital communication of each social movement, the aim is to understand whether there are predefined strategies and tactics for their communication on Facebook and what relevance they

attribute to the platform, considering the context of social communication in Angola. The social groups selected for this study have a relevant activity on Facebook and consequently a considerable number of followers on the platform. The semi-structured interviews will help us understand whether Facebook plays a strategic role in their communication efforts or whether its growth and importance have simply evolved organically.

Considering ethical aspects aimed at providing comprehensive information about the study to potential participants, the researcher submitted a participation consent protocol for the research project. The protocol included aspects such as the study's objectives, potential benefits for society, data processing procedures and confidentiality, refusal to participate, and potential risks. Copies of each of the participation consent protocols, duly signed by the participants, can be found as attachments to this project.

The semi-structured interviews (SSI) will be partially based on findings from the initial content analysis and partly aimed at addressing the main research question of this study. The interviews will be conducted individually with each of the representatives of the social movements via the Microsoft Teams platform, given the geographical distance between the researcher, who is in Portugal, and the interviewees, who are all based in Angola. To ensure balance and transparency among all interviews conducted, they will follow the same script for all interviewees. Contrary to the planning of structured interviews, Adams (2015) argues that when planning SSI, one should not think about preparing a questionnaire as it implies a rigid and finalised plan. Instead, Adams (2015) suggests preparing an interview guide that should include the main topics of discussion as well as some open-ended questions that can be further elaborated by the interviewees. He also suggests that the topics be carefully considered beforehand because despite being semi-structured interviews, the questions and answers need to focus centrally on addressing the research questions they aim to answer.

Table 3 - Brief characterisation of the sample

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4
Name	Fátima Pires	Érica Tavares	Isis Hembe	Kennedy Manuel
Contact	dropbox.geral.angola@rescue@gmail.com	ersomepata@gmail.com	isishembe@gmail.com	kennedyrevu1999@gmail.com

Role	Founding member/ Social media manager	Founding member/ Social media manager	Social media manager	Founding member/ social media manager
Social Movement	Associação Angola Rescue	EcoAngola	Movimento Cívico Mudei	Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola
Number of followers	16k	13k	64k	76k
Interview Date	10/04/2024	24/04/2024	10/04/2024	10/04/2024
Interview Collection Method	Microsoft Teams Classic	Microsoft Teams Classic	Microsoft Teams Classic	Microsoft Teams Classic
Language used for interview	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese

In preparation for the interviews, the author created open-ended questions based on the initial analysis of the content, with the aim of addressing this study's main research question. The questions were systematically categorised into three primary groups: communication preferences, Facebook strategies and tactics, and digital mobilisation. All questions posed to the interviewees aim to contribute to addressing the research questions of this study as well as providing a deeper understanding of the approach that social movements have regarding the role of Facebook in their external communication efforts. Given that digital mobilisation is an important element of social movements online, as we have seen in the literature review, the third group aims to cover this segment. The semi-structured interviews (SSI) questionnaire, both in English and in Portuguese, can be found as an attachment of this project.

After conducting the interviews, the author's next step was to transcribe each of the interviews into a Word document, which served as the basis for analysing the responses obtained. Subsequently, the author translated each interview conducted in Portuguese into English, as this is the original language of production for this study. Adams (2015) argues that once the SSIs are completed and available for analysis, the analysis process should be conducted cautiously and meticulously. He claims that as a hybrid method, SSIs can be analysed and reported in a hybrid manner as well. Thus, the author advises searching through all the gathered data in the interviews for relevant and significant patterns that can be illustrated by impactful quotes made throughout the interviews. Lastly, he claims that "All in all, effectively conducted

semi-structured interviews, even though labour-intensive, should be worth the effort in terms of the insights and information gained" (Adams, 2015, p. 504).

4. Results

4.1 Content Analysis

To address the research questions, the Facebook posts coded (n=132) during the content analysis underwent a series of examinations using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) tool to determine and understand the main characteristics of communication by social movements on Facebook. This included identifying the most common types of posts, the most prevalent topics, as well as the main characteristics of engagement patterns by users on the Facebook pages of the following Angolan social movements: Associação Angola Rescue, EcoAngola, Movimento Cívico Mudei, and Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola.

RQ1a sought to understand the main characteristics and features of reformative and revolutionary social movement's posts on Facebook (meaning in what type of content they publish) as well as how they differ from each other. To answer this question, the author carried out a cross tabulation analysis in SPSS - an analysis generally done to analyse categorical data (Momeni et al., 2018) - and the results showed that photos are the most used type of content across all four Facebook pages analysed, with a total of 84 photographs. This result indicates a strong desire among all social movements - reformative and revolutionary - for more visual communication on their Facebook platforms, potentially in order to become more attractive and generate greater engagement with their followers.

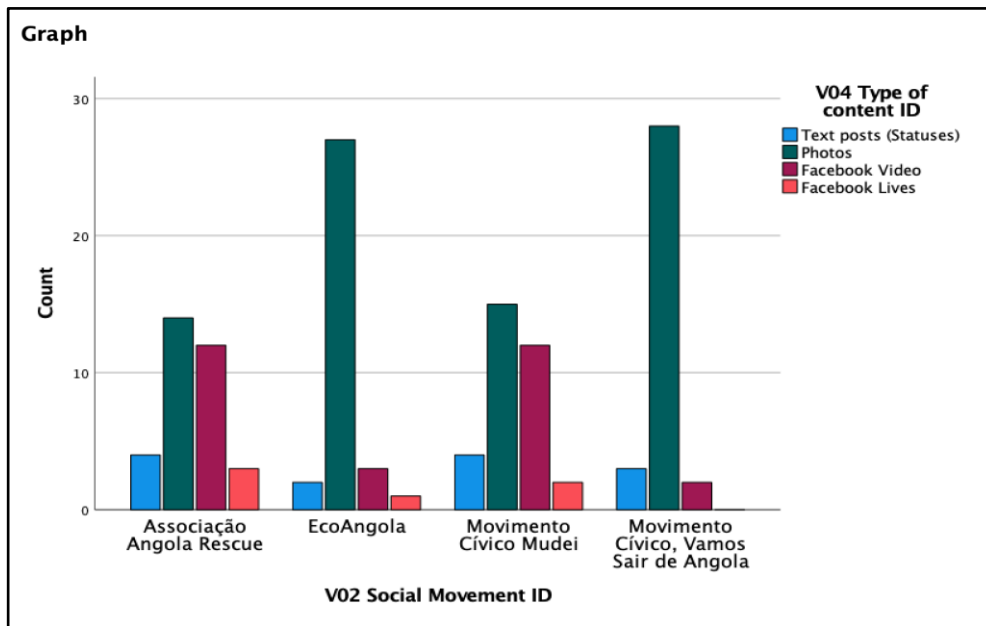


Figure 6 - Cross Tabulation analysis run on SPSS to find out the distribution of type of content per social movement

Although less common compared to visual content, text posts (statuses) were still used by all movements, totalling 13 posts. This suggests a balanced approach that combines text-based information with visually appealing content. In this regard, Associação Angola Rescue and Movimento Cívico Mudei are the pages that used statuses the most during the analysis period, which does not allow us to make a direct connection indicating particularly significant usage for a specific segment of social movements, in this specific sub variable about text posts (statuses). Similarly, videos were also used across all movements, with 29 videos posted in total. Movimento Cívico Mudei and Associação Angola Rescue demonstrated greater engagement with video content, indicating an effort to leverage multimedia for communication. Live videos were less common across all movements, with a total of only 6 live videos. This suggests a more selective approach to real-time engagement, possibly reserved for specific events or critical updates.

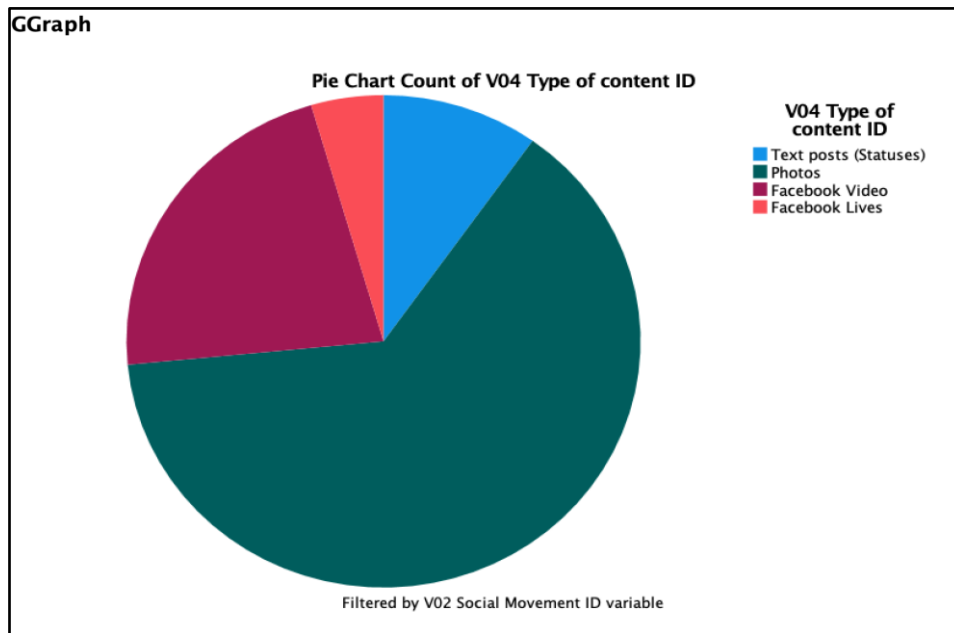


Figure 7 - Overall distribution of type of posts across the four Facebook pages

A cross tabulation analysis was conducted to examine the distribution of posts' objectives (V05 Posts' objective ID) across various social movement groups (V02 Social Movement ID) in Angola. The results revealed distinct patterns in communication strategies employed by different movements. Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola demonstrated a higher engagement in promoting protest events, whereas EcoAngola was prominently involved in information sharing activities. Offline action calls were distributed across multiple movements, with minimal emphasis on online actions. These findings underscore the varied approaches to digital activism and communication strategies adopted by social movements in the context of Angola's civil society.

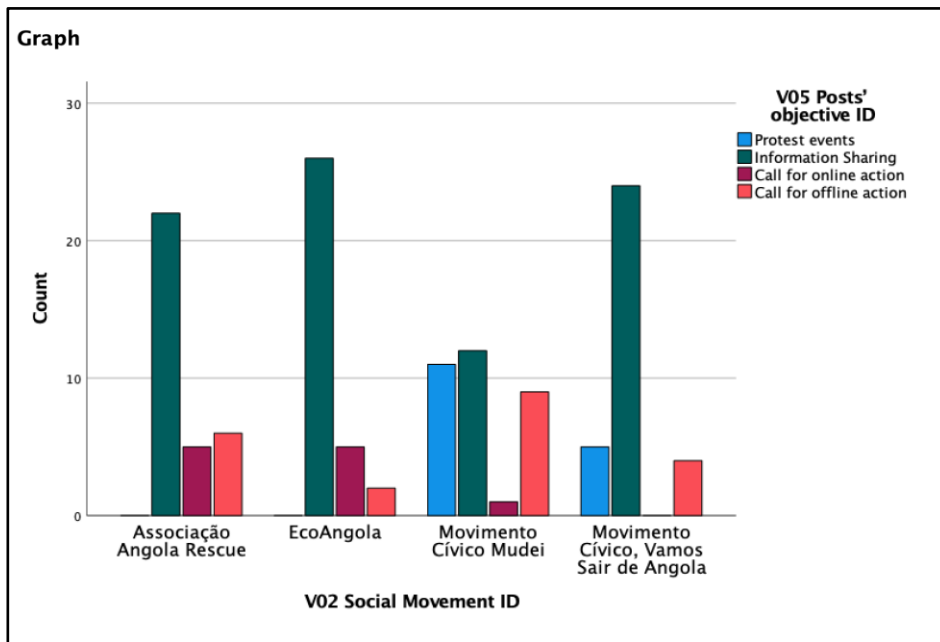


Figure 8 - Cross Tabulation Between Posts Objectives vs Social Movements

A cross tabulation analysis revealed varying thematic focuses among social movement groups (V02 Social Movement ID) in Angola. Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola exhibited strong advocacy for democracy, governance, and human rights issues. EcoAngola was prominently associated with environmental and conservation advocacy. Additionally, Associação Angola Rescue and EcoAngola demonstrated engagement in education and healthcare subjects. Notably, anti-corruption advocacy was primarily associated with Movimento Cívico Mudei. These findings underscore the diverse thematic priorities and strategic focuses of social movements operating within Angola's civil society.

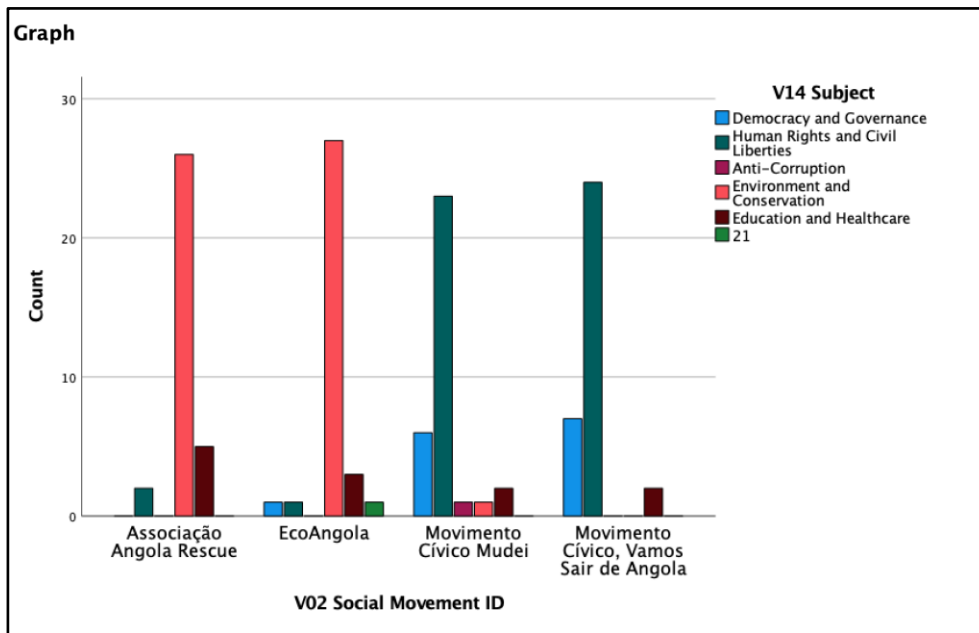


Figure 9 - Cross Tabulation between Subject and Social Movements

In addition to attempting to understand the main metrics influencing the communication choices of Angolan social movements on Facebook, this study also focused on the popularity of each social movement as a way to analyse RQ1b, which aims to understand which communication strategies/tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising user engagement (based on Facebook metrics) and eventual offline action. Even before conducting Content Analysis, the number of followers of the revolutionary social movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola) established in our Corpus of Analysis was substantially higher than the number of followers of the reformative social movements (Associação Angola Rescue and EcoAngola).

To establish this comparison at the level of digital engagement metrics such as V06 Like, V07 Love, V08 Sad, V09 Angry, V10 Laugh, V11 Surprised, V12 Comment, and V13 Share, the author of this study used the "Graphic Builder" feature of SPSS to establish a correlation between social movements (V02) and the aforementioned metrics. As per the initial hypothesis, the result indicates a substantially higher level of engagement from the revolutionary movements compared to the reformist movements.

During the analysed period, the revolutionary movements had the highest number of likes, comments, and shares compared to the reformist movements. Overall, Movimento Cívico Mudei was the movement with the highest level of engagement, with likes on its posts

exceeding 600 and its posts receiving the highest number of shares above 400 on Facebook. Next comes Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola, with the highest number of loved posts compared to the other organisations. Similarly, posts from this page had a considerable number of comments, demonstrating the high level of interaction from its followers on its publications.

On the other hand, posts from the reformative social movements did not achieve engagement that even reached the 200 marks. The posts from EcoAngola had a relatively higher number of likes, loves, comments, and shares compared to those of Associação Angola Rescue, which had the lowest levels of engagement based on the metrics established for this study.

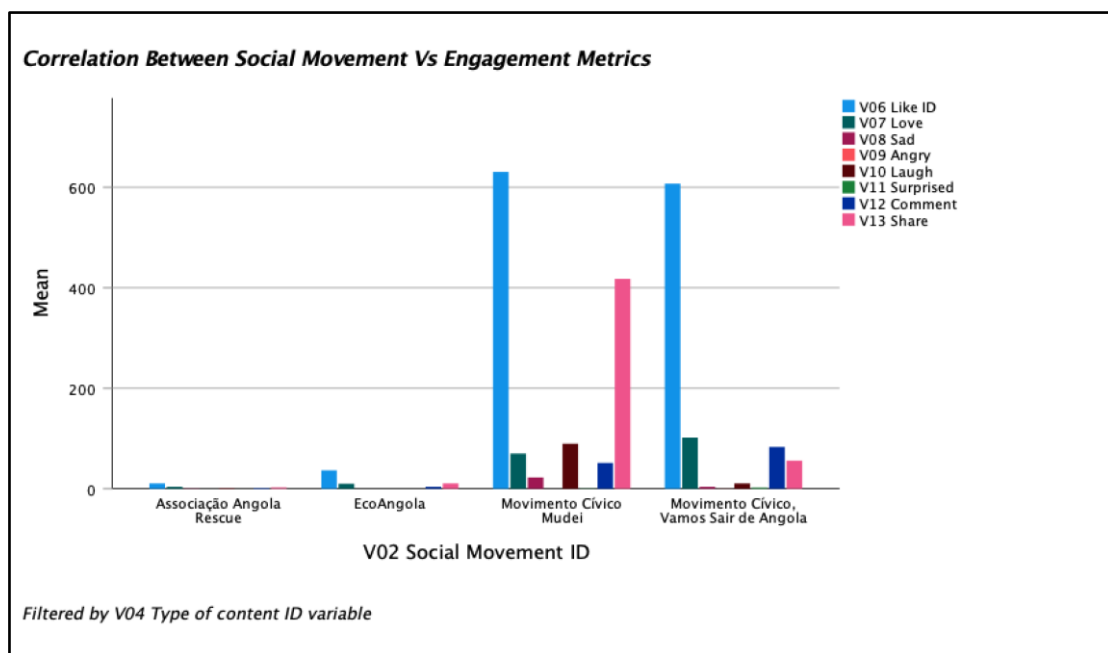


Figure 10 - Correlation Between Social Movement vs Engagement Metrics

Finally, SPSS was also used to create a graph that establishes a correlation between the type of posts (V04) and the different engagement metrics used in this study. The objective of this correlation is to understand which types of outputs are most popular among the followers of the four social movements on Facebook. Overall, Figure 12 shows that Facebook Videos (V04/4) are the most popular type of content for followers, receiving the highest number of likes, comments, shares, and other reactions compared to other content types. Despite being the most utilised content type by all social movements (as seen earlier), photos appear in second place as the content type with the highest engagement from followers. Facebook Lives are the type of posts with the lowest level of engagement, with a reduced number of likes, comments, and shares.

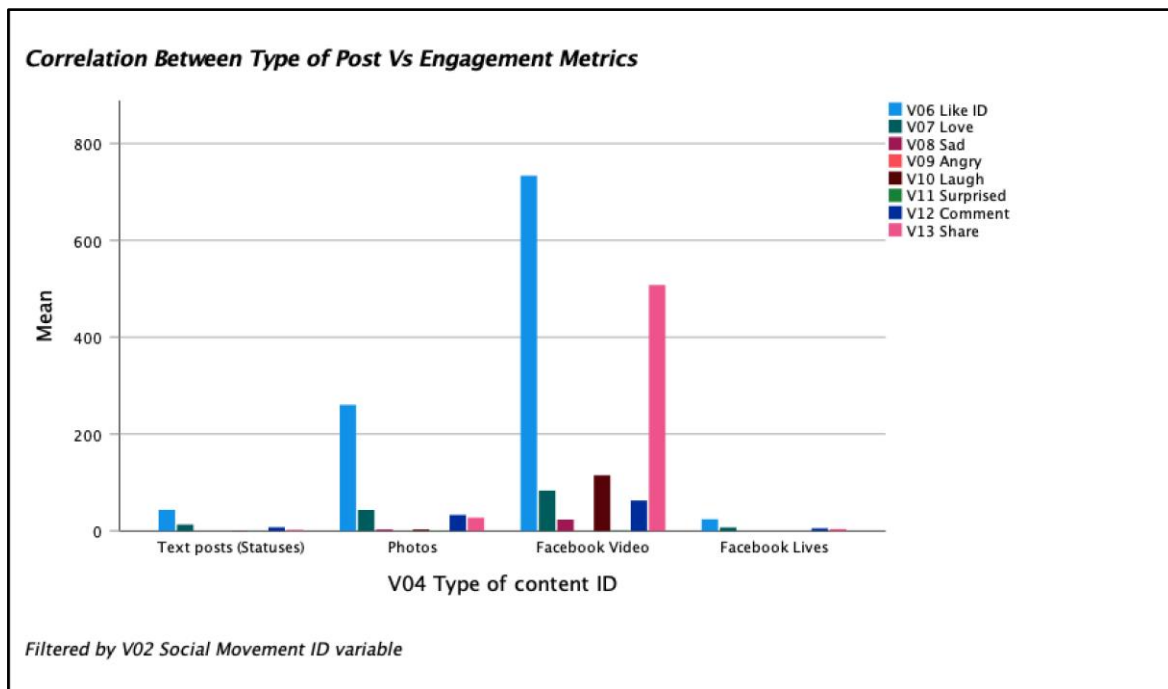


Figure 11 - Correlation Between Type of Post vs Engagement Metrics

Overall, the results above help us understand the main patterns of social movements' publications on Facebook as well as understand what the similarities and differences between them are (as questioned by RQ1a). These qualitative results also help us to partially answer RQ1b, which focuses on understanding which types of publications are generally more popular compared to others, based on the engagement metrics established by Facebook. These quantitative results will be complemented by interviews with representatives of each social movement, which will allow us to draw more objective conclusions about the general role that Facebook has in the external communication efforts of these organisations. Likewise, this combination of data will allow us to cross-reference with the literature covered in this work on the correlation between social movements and social networks.

4.2 Interviews

To complement the results obtained in the Content Analysis above, Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) were conducted with those responsible for digital communication of each of the social movements under analysis in this study. In general terms, this methodology was applied to obtain more qualitative data on the role and relevance of Facebook for social movements in the Angolan context, as well as understanding what are the specific communication techniques employed by them on the platform. Unlike what happened with Content Analysis, whose analysis categories were mostly extracted from the literature review (*concept-driven*), the Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) with social media managers provided the necessary information to create the categories that will be presented below (*data-driven*), as explained by Müller (2023) in her study.

The Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) with social media managers from the four social movements studied in this project were based on an interview guide composed of eleven open-ended questions. The same questions, which were asked individually to each participant, were the basis for creating the following categories for the results presentation below, namely: 1) Media and Communication Background of Social Media Managers; 2) Communication Management - Challenges and Opportunities; 3) Content Choices; 4) Relationship between Social Movements and Traditional Media; 5) Importance of Facebook for Social Movements; 6) Digital Mobilization and Offline Action.

4.2.1 Media and Communication Background (Social Media Managers)

Considering the thinkers who, like Finne & Grönroos (2019), argue that public relations communication efforts should be carried out by professionals specialised in communication, the first question aimed to understand the professional background of each movement's social media managers. This question aims to provide a demographic characterization of the people who manage the communication of these movements, being able to position them according to their skills and abilities in terms of communication/public relations. In general, the Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) revealed that none of the social media managers have any training, specialisation or background in media and communication. In other words, the individuals who take care of the communication of the four social movements under analysis in this study are people from other areas of activity who carry out the work of managing social networks on a

voluntary basis because they identify, individually, with the causes of the movement for which they work.

Érica Tavares, who is a biologist and one of the co-founders of EcoAngola, says that her journey in managing EcoAngola's social networks “started in a very organic way”. She adds: “I didn't exactly have any sort of training. I used to manage my own social media profiles, and when we started EcoAngola, we had started not exactly with the intention of creating an NGO, but we wanted it to be an environmental education project. We first created a page on Facebook, adding some parallel content, sharing from other pages, then we opened the Instagram page and that's when we started to transform the information a little more”.

The same happened with Fátima Pires, co-founder and social media manager of the Associação Angola Rescue. A banker by profession, Pires indicates that despite not having any experience in the area of social media management, the need to have an independent communication platform for the organisation, and the lack of resources to hire someone to play this role, forced her into it. “I began managing our Facebook because we needed to share our initiatives and activities. So that people could get to know that we exist, what we do, seek credibility for our work, through images, because people like to see images, videos, facts, and this is now possible for free, otherwise we would have to depend on [press] interviews.”

Revolutionary social movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola) share the same experience, where social media managers perform their functions without actually being communication specialists. In the case of the Movimento Cívico Mudei, Isis Hembe says that he has had some experience managing social media, as an independent artist, which increases his capacity as a content producer. Kennedy Manuel is categorical in stating that he has no previous experience in the communication sector, justifying his role as page manager, as a need to expose the work of his movement.

4.2.2 Communication Management - Challenges and Opportunities

Despite having a lack of training/background in communication as a common denominator, the social movements analysed have different ways of managing their communication as well as different mechanisms for doing so. One of the main differences that the Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) revealed is that while the digital communication of most social movements is

managed by one person, generally as a volunteer, EcoAngola is the only organisation that has a paid position as a “coordinator for social media management” of the organisation, in addition to having an editorial board that is generally consulted to make decisions about the content to be made available online.

Likewise, from the interviews, EcoAngola is the only organisation that has a communication plan for its social networks, which makes it easier to carry out its work. “We have been hiring people for three years now, and in particular for the management of communication on EcoAngola's social networks. The main role or responsibility of this coordinator is to manage our communication plan, so we have the annual observances calendar, we have the schedule, then we have the activities that take place at EcoAngola weekly, so you have to prepare the flyers, we also do [Facebook] lives and information that we want to discuss, engage with the people who follow us, we also have an environmental education component in which we share tips, for example, we call *EcoDicas*, in which we give tips on resolving consumption, improving our use of natural resources, but in the sense of informing and raising awareness, then we also have the information that we share, for example training, opportunities that may exist in EcoAngola...”, says Érica Tavares from EcoAngola.

On the other hand, due to limited financial resources, other organisations say they do not even have the financial resources to hire specific people to handle the communication of their social movements, meaning communication tends to happen in a more organic way. Fátima Pires, from the Associação Angol Rescue, says that the organisation's communication is done in a very organic way because she, as the page manager, has to straddle the line between managing the page and resolving other vital matters to its functioning. “I created a funny layout, but it is hard work, we have to pay attention to annual observances (relevant to us), we have to pay attention to what is happening and the pages have to have daily updates and our pages doesn't, because whoever is managing, it's me and I have, in addition to the responsibility of the page, the responsibility of monitoring the organisation itself. This requires great logistical management to manage financial resources that are becoming less and less. Between going to a meeting to resolve what I need for the organisation to stay alive and taking a photo to put on the page, guess what I prioritise, right?”, says Fátima Pires.

Regarding communication planning, revolutionary social movements have a more selective approach to the information they receive for publication in their channels. For this reason, they

do not have a concrete communication plan. In the case of the Movimento Cívico Mudei, Isis Hebe explains that in addition to the information the movement independently shares, they apply a verification criterion to information from other sources to ensure the credibility of the content published on their official platforms. "We have a specific criterion in terms of quality, which is to ensure that the information is true, based on reality, verifiable, and supported by evidence, especially in cases of public complaints, etc. So, for us, this is a very important criterion. Our goal is, in some way, to strengthen community actions, so we don't always have the capacity in terms of structure to cover everything with the best technical quality. Therefore, we adapt to the circumstances we encounter in the field," says Isis Hebe.

"We don't have a publication plan; as you can see, we publish various topics, particularly those related to immigration. We share stories about people living abroad and experiencing that reality; they often tend to share photos and convey their experiences. So, it varies a lot; we don't have a publication schedule," says Kennedy Manuel, Movimento do Vamos Sair de Angola.

4.2.3 Content Choices

Based on the results of the Content Analysis, this study aimed to use Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) to gain a deeper understanding of the thinking behind certain communication choices. Given that the Content Analysis on the type of posts most made on Facebook by the four social movements is more focused on visual elements (such as images and videos), we asked why this type of choice is predominant. In general, social media managers explained that they use more photos and videos to ensure greater interaction with their followers, but they also acknowledged the importance of text, especially considering features of the Facebook 0 initiative in the Angolan context.

"We use more photos and videos with the goal of capturing people's attention. It's easier to grab attention this way. So that's the idea, to grab more people's attention by posting photos and videos of people who are abroad, motivating those who intend to emigrate to not lose hope and videos need to be short because people don't like to spend a lot of time watching, so we use more of this type of content. We use these resources because we know people don't like to read much," says Kennedy Manuel from the Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola.

Another characteristic of this category is that the communication choices of the movements, even those without a specific communication plan, are heavily oriented towards the tastes and needs of their users. In this sense, the responses consistently reflect the preferences of the audiences. This can be observed, for example, in the statement by Fátima Pires from the Associação Angola Rescue. "Texts generally become tiresome on social networks because people don't like to read. They have to be very short, perhaps."

The strategic thinking behind the communication choices made on Facebook by these organisations can also be seen in the statement of Érica Tavares from EcoAngola, who demonstrates particular attention to ensuring that a wider audience has access to the content of her organisation, regardless of their socioeconomic background.

"Here in Angola, for example, we have Unitel, which is a telecommunications network. They have Facebook 0, which is essentially free Facebook that can be accessed without Wi-Fi or mobile data. You just need to have mobile data enabled, even if you don't have credit, you can access Facebook 0. So, on Facebook 0, people cannot download images, but they can read text. Therefore, we try to combine text and photos. Photos are for those who can access the internet and view photos, but also because we want to prove, we want to showcase what we are doing, the actions taking place, because there's always that fear that NGOs sometimes are not doing what they claim to do, so photos end up being proof that it's happening, a way to attract attention. Even in the type of photos, we also make a selection that promotes, for example, gender equality, photos that show, like, before and after a clean beach, things that can inspire and generate some positive feeling from the reader or viewer to try to create this engagement."

Given that these organisations are also present on other digital platforms besides Facebook, some responses illustrate a thought process that influences decisions about the types of content to be published on each platform. When asked about communication choices on Facebook, Isis Hembe from the Movimento Cívico Mudei said, "Previously, we realised that text works very well here [on Facebook], but in some ways, especially for certain types of activities and focuses, content production varies a bit...So, some content typically engages better when done in video".

The internal decision-making process regarding positioning on social networks varies greatly depending on the type of social movement and the internal communication structure existing

in each of them. Although there is a written guideline on what they can and cannot publish on social media, social movements say they are fully aware of what to publish or not publish on their pages. In more extreme or perhaps controversial cases, this decision-making process can be taken autonomously by the page manager - as in the cases of the “Associação Angola Rescue” and the “Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola”. While social movements with a more robust communication structure - such as EcoAngola and Movimento Cívico Mudei - other movement entities can be consulted in particular cases of positioning on social networks.

4.2.4 Relationship between Social Movements and Traditional Media

One of the most evident common denominators among the four interviews conducted is the relationship between traditional media, particularly public, and social movements in Angola. When asked about their relationship with the traditional press in Angola, both revolutionary and reformist social movements revealed the challenges they face in gaining access to the press to promote their activities, initiatives, and social visions. In the case of revolutionary social movements, the interviewees believe that this difficulty arises from the political context in Angola where political power exerts significant control and influence over much of the traditional press.

Isis Hembe, from the Civic Movement Mudei, says: "The issue is that the national press, especially the state-owned one, positions itself as antagonistic to the kind of voice we want to represent. We don't have a hostile attitude towards the press because we don't engage with them. And it's clear that it's not specifically against the Mudei Movement, but it's a stance against all critical voices of the regime. In fact, Mudei's platform itself is a response to this type of difficulty our press faces, which is the lack of pluralism in voices."

Hembe's response correlates with other answers given by other movements that justify their online presence as a way to express themselves without necessarily depending on the traditional press closely linked to the Angolan political regime. "We have never had interviews with public entities. These are generally issues that do not interest this type of press in our country, and that's why we exist too," says Kennedy Manuel from the Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola.

Despite not directly criticising the political regime in Angola, revolutionary social movements also claim to have difficulties accessing traditional press, which they use as a reason to justify their strong presence on platforms like Facebook. "Unfortunately, the national press is very selective. We feel that there is definitely more attention given to other NGOs that are more connected to the political system and that, in some way, are closer to the interests of certain political parties at the national level," says Érica Tavares from EcoAngola. Despite admitting that they are sometimes invited to do some media interviews, Tavares says it mostly involves small and private organisations, as revolutionary social movements also mention.

Regarding participation in the traditional press in Angola, Fátima Pires from the Angol Rescue Association says: "We cannot speak of frequency [of participation in press outputs]. This happens at specific times of the year, such as Christmas; we are usually approached, or when there is a social media post that exceeds the standards and reaches a journalist's attention, and they become interested and want to talk about the subject. And then we are invited. There is no regularity of interviews on television and radio channels."

4.2.5 Importance of Facebook for Social Movements

Despite almost all social movements using other social networks in their external communication efforts, such as Instagram, YouTube, WhatsApp, and LinkedIn, all the interviewees categorically stated that Facebook is the most important and useful social network for their movements. This importance attributed to Facebook is justified by them due to its distinct functionalities and, above all, because it remains the network with the widest reach in Angola.

In the case of EcoAngola, Érica Tavares highlights the importance that Facebook has in reaching socially less privileged audiences: "Facebook, for me, is definitely one of the most engaging social networks, where we can reach a segment of society with less access, but which often has more willingness and availability to help than people who, for example, use Instagram." This view is equally shared by Fátima Pires of the Angola Rescue Association, who says that despite Instagram being a platform with great engagement, the reach of Facebook (even to global audiences) is always greater. "We've had Facebook posts end up in Brazil with an absurd number of comments, for example, and shares, more than 200 shares, around 300. This has never happened on Instagram," says Pires.

Within revolutionary social movements, interviewees say that Facebook plays a vital role in their information sharing and engagement with their key audiences. Isis Hembe of the Movimento Cívico Mudei says, "Facebook practically participated in a paradigm shift, which is still in its first steps, but already demonstrates its impact [in Angola]. Because before, we were confined to public and private press, now Facebook is able to be a more impartial source of information".

This vision of Facebook's role in democratic strengthening is also shared by other participants. Érica Tavares, from EcoAngola says, "In terms of democratisation, [Facebook] is indeed very important because it ends up providing more access to information. As it is a vehicle for different type information from what is seen, for example, on the Public Television of Angola, and often most citizens end up using only public television, so it's always another more independent vehicle that is freer to communicate and share sometimes more sensitive and critical situations about society." This view is reinforced by Fátima Pires of the Angola Rescue Association, who says, "I can say that we have been alive since we were founded back in 2016, not through TPA, TV Zimbo, nor RNA (Angola media organisations), but it's thanks our Facebook page and friends of friends of friends."

4.2.6 Digital Mobilization and Offline Action

Lastly, the Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI) also sought to understand how social media managers view the effects of digital mobilisation, given that their social movements often call for actions from their followers. For this purpose, the interviewees were asked to provide an analysis that establishes a correlation between digital engagement and the actions of their followers in the offline world. In terms of results, a difference can be established here in how different types of social movements interpret the impact of digital mobilisation: while reformist social movements indicate that digital mobilisation has real, and even vital, impacts on their activities, revolutionary social movements are more reserved.

Both EcoAngola and the Associação Angola Rescue say they have felt the impact of digital mobilisation since the beginning of their organisations' activities. By regularly calling people to certain actions, the organisations say they have been able to sustain their operations thanks to the engagement of users on their social networks that has translated into actions in the offline

world. "Without social networks, EcoAngola would not exist and would not have the strength it has today," said Érica Tavares of EcoAngola, while Fátima Pires said, "I can say that we have been alive since founded back in 2016 thanks to our Facebook page and friends of friends of friends."

"For example, the first activity we did with EcoAngola, I was organising it and I wasn't even in Angola. We shared it on Facebook, this was our very first activity, few people knew about EcoAngola, it was a beach cleaning activity on Mussulo Island. We managed to get support to purchase materials, bags, gloves, etc. We found a partner to help us remove the waste that was being collected, but above all, that was the first demonstration to us of the strength our organisation would have with a good use of social networks, because we managed to have, I believe it was about 120 or 150 volunteers, it was the first activity, 150 volunteers for that activity, we were very surprised, we were expecting at least 20, 30 people, but more than 100 people showed up," states Érica Tavares.

"It works because people know that we are going to take animals from the street in terrible condition, broken, malnourished, to a clinic that is not the cheapest, but a clinic with all modern amenities. These animals sometimes stay there for a year, where are we going to get the money to cover the expenses of these animals? We immediately post on our page (Facebook) and inform them, 'This animal will be admitted to clinic X and we will need your support.' If there were 100 people, sometimes 100 people would pay for the animal's treatment, even if they only gave a thousand kwanzas. We don't specify any amount. If it's a can of sausage, it also helps, we deliver it to the clinic, and they can feed the animal. There are people who donate food, for example. So, people have been sensitive and, in that aspect, it has been amazing to see many people who love animals and want to see them out of this still cruel reality," says Fátima Pires.

On the other hand, the revolutionary social movements analysed in this study have a somewhat more balanced position. While Kennedy Manual of the Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola is somewhat more optimistic about the impact of digital mobilisation, Isis Hembe claims that digital engagement does not always translate into offline action, justifying this with the socio-political context of Angola.

"Behind the computer, we are all very brave, we all have a lot of willpower, but it is also understandable. I understand our context, which is also a context of great fear. We only have

Facebook as a tool, and Facebook has an advantage, the police won't come to beat you with a baton and such, and it will end there. So, in some ways, online engagement does not always translate to offline action. But Facebook is always useful to mobilise some people. So, a brave one always shows up, 2, 3, 4, but among 100 who said they would come, it ends up being like 16 [in a public demonstration]." says Isis Hembe.

5. Discussion

In general terms, this study aims to evaluate the role of Facebook as a communication tool for reformative and revolutionary social movements in the Angolan context. In addition to looking to unpack the main communication strategies used by these social movements on Facebook, this study also aims to identify the main characteristics of communication carried out on the platform as well as establish which factors lead to more online and offline mobilisation from their supporters. To answer the main research question, and its sub-questions, this study employed both a Content Analysis (CA) and Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI).

This chapter will focus on the analysis and interpretation of data obtained through the methods used, focusing on answering the research questions raised at the beginning of this research, while articulating them with previous literature relevant to this field of study.

The main research question aims to understand the role of Facebook in the communication strategies and tactics of groups belonging to reformative and revolutionary social movements in Angola. Through a combination of the two methods used, it was possible to answer this question. The results of the Content Analysis showed that all the social movements analysed in this study - both reformative and revolutionary - use Facebook primarily to serve the same purpose, which is to share information. This result is justified by the fact that the majority of publications analysed by each social movement (above 10 posts) had the common objective of sharing some type of information with their audiences. Likewise, this CA result is reinforced by the result of the SSI where it was common ground among the four individuals interviewed that Facebook is used as the primary platform for sharing their activities, initiatives, and public positions with external publics. Despite using other platforms, such as Instagram, YouTube and LinkedIn, social media managers from four social movements claim that Facebook continues to be the most important platform, with great relevance and impact, when it comes to their external communication efforts.

This result aligns with one of the main dimensions that different authors, such as Brown (2020), Cheung (2019) and Graybill-Leonard et al., (2011), attributed to the role of Facebook for social movements, which is to communicate. As information sharing is a fundamental asset for a social movement's function, communication becomes a fundamental element for their action. And since the Facebook platform provides key features that enable easy and accessible communication (Brown, 2020), the platform has become one of the main options for different movements worldwide, and the results of this project show that Angola is no exception. But while in other parts of the world, different social movements have already migrated from Facebook to other platforms such as X (previous Twitter) (Brown, 2020), the results demonstrate that in Angola, Facebook still continues to be the platform of choice for the groups analysed in our study.

The importance attributed by social movements to Facebook in the Angolan context is largely related to the fact that it is the most used platform in Angola (Moreira & Araújo, 2021) but is not limited to this alone. As a result of SSI, Érica Tavares and Fátima Pires (social media managers of EcoAngola and Associação Angola Rescue, respectively) stated that one of the main reasons that drives them to use Facebook, as a primary communication platform, is the great reach that Facebook has inside and outside Angola. Tavares said that Facebook has allowed the dissemination of EcoAngola's work to different audiences in Angola, regardless of their social or economic background, while Pires highlighted events in which posts from the Associação Angola Rescue have reached foreign audiences, such as in Brazil.

As a rapidly growing platform in Angola, gaining millions of new users every year, Facebook has led the ranking of the most used social media in the country for many years (StatCounter Global Stats, 2023). This high level of users makes Facebook an essential platform for sharing digital content in Angola, reaching different audiences. As also highlighted by Érica Tavares at SSI, Facebook 0 is a Facebook feature that largely contributed to the platform's popularity in the country, having enabled access to audiences with fewer financial resources to access the internet. This role of Facebook 0 in democratising greater access to the platform, by socially less privileged people, is also addressed in the study by Moreira & Araújo (2021) who emphasise its importance especially for young people in rural and disadvantaged areas.

As for the global reach that Facebook can provide to social movements, as mentioned by Pires in the SSI, this result recalls the need for social movements to make an impact not only within their context of action but also outside of it. As advocates of causes, social movements are aware that the causes they fight for in their countries are often global causes and therefore often even seek inspiration from similar movements in other countries. In this sense, Meek (2011) argues that social networks, such as Facebook, offer social movements the opportunity to internationalise, causing a global impact, which would often be more difficult to achieve without the help of these platforms. An example that can be cited here is the case of Arab Spring - although there is no consensus on whether or not it originated on social media (Rane & Salem, 2012) - authors such as Arafa & Armstrong (2016) point out that its sustainability and media relevance is closely related to the role of platforms like Facebook, where information was shared and where a lot of mobilisation also took place.

Another relevant result for RQ1 is that the CA showed that revolutionary social movements use Facebook more to share “protest events” than reformative social movements. This result takes us back to the essence of each of these types of movements, which differ in terms of their objectives and modus operandi too. Flyin (2011) distinguishes them as follows: while reformative social movements are those that aim to change a segment of society, often linked to values of justice and equality, revolutionary movements are those seeking general social transformation, and therefore are often seen as radicals. This difference in objectives in both movements often informs their way of acting and their preferred means of demonstrating against something or conveying a message. Thus, the greater inclination of the revolutionary movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei Mudei and Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola) to use Facebook to publicise “protest events” is interpreted as a clear and direct manifestation of those that are the core values of their organisations. As movements with a broader scope of action, the need to constantly demonstrate a critical stance - in the face of different events that take place in societies - must be the basis for the greater number of 'Protest Events' posts on their Facebook accounts, when compared to reformative social movements, which generally have a focus on continuous awareness about their subjects of interest.

Therefore, Facebook not only serves these groups as a platform to communicate but also to mobilise people for concrete actions such as participating in demonstrations. In fact, this result also corroborates with the second dimension of Facebook's role for social movements -

established by authors such as Brown (2020), Cheung (2019) and Graybill-Leonard et al., (201) - which is 'organisation' and 'mobilisation'.

Devoid of other mechanisms to do so, the revolutionary Angolan social movements analysed in this study heavily depend on Facebook to mobilise people for online or offline protests. As Isis Hembe says in the SSI, Facebook has for many years been one of the main mobilisation tools for the revolutionary movement, having been the platform used to mobilise young people to participate in the first anti-government demonstrations in 2011, as also indicated by research by authors such as Telo (2018) and Blanes (2023).

However, it is worth noting that although the CA results demonstrate a greater preference for revolutionary social movements to share information about 'protests', reformative social movements also claim to use Facebook extensively for mobilisation actions so that their followers take a certain action such as requesting food donations to help rescued animals, in the case of Associação Angola Rescue, or asking for help from volunteers to collect solid waste on beaches, as in the case of EcoAngola. In general, the combination of CA and SSI results shows that Facebook plays a central role in the external communication efforts of both social movements, manifesting itself in different dimensions. This role of Facebook as a communication tool is openly recognized and praised by communication managers from the four movements under analysis, which can serve as an element of evaluation of the growing influential role that Facebook plays as a platform that provides resources for people to share their opinions, feelings, and ideas on a wide range of topics (Yilmaz, 2017).

The first sub-research question (RQ1a) was: what are the main characteristics of these groups' Facebook posts, and how do they differ from each other. To answer this question, a CA was run to first understand what types of content are most commonly used by social movements on Facebook. The results of this CA showed that while *images* are the most predominant content and most used by all social movements on Facebook, *Facebook lives* are the least used. The trend towards greater use of visual content, such as images on Facebook can be explained by the fact that social movements have to create ways of greater engagement with their followers. Firdauz et al., (2023) argue that for a long time, scholars interested in the use of platforms like Facebook by social movements have been trying to understand the effect of visual framing on these movements to understand how well these platforms work as information distribution channels.

“Images have a powerful influence in framing due to their ability to elicit emotions with minimal cognitive effort. Visuals, often perceived as objective facts, can be a potent tool for persuasion”, Firdauz et al., (2023, p. 35) claim. Consequently, the use of images by social movements is often done intentionally, as the people managing the Facebook pages of the four social movements understand this effect. In the SSI result, Fátima Pires, from the Associação Angola Rescue, said that the decision to publish shocking images of mistreated animals is “a conscious one” as she understands that people need to feel shocked, outraged or hurt to be able to take some kind of action or make a decision. The same thought is shared by Kennedy Manuel, from Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola, who is categorical in saying “We use more photos and videos with the goal of capturing people's attention”. This intentional thought of wanting to cause some type of reactions to users can be supported by a study by Picard & Klein (2002) who discovered that specific negative emotions can be evoked by particular types of images, such as those that arouse disgust, wrath, or anguish, and these feelings can activate motivational processes.

As for the fact that *Facebook Lives* are the least used type of content by all social movements, there are some considerations that can be made too. Although like images, *Facebook Lives* are also content with the potential of having a great impact on audiences, the low level of this content tool in the context of social movements in Angola may be based on a set of factors that require a deeper analysis. The SSI results indicate that *Facebook Lives* are not a preferred choice for social media managers of social movements as they require a set of greater technical preparation, such as having enough money to sustain it for a long time, having access to stable internet and above all having time to carry them out, contrary to other types of contents. Fátima Pires, from Associação Angola Rescue, for instance, says she prefers to avoid *Facebook Lives* because she understands that doing them requires time to prepare for the purpose. Despite being seen as “a disruptive new technology”, *Facebook Lives* also has its shortcomings such as the fact that it is a spontaneous communication tool whose duration of effect can be greatly reduced due to elements linked to the preservation of this type of content (Sheffield, 2018, p.99).

Another important element to answer the first sub-research question (RQ1a) are the CA results regarding the approach topics. While the reformative social movements (EcoAngola and Associação Angola Rescue) make mostly publications linked to issues about Environment and Conservation, the revolutionary social movements (Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento

Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola) publish on Facebook more issues related to Human Rights and Civil Liberties. These results show that there is a big difference between the topics that are most covered by each type of movement, highlighting, once again, how the communication carried out by these social movements on Facebook is largely influenced by their specific objectives and interests, as pointed out by Flyin (2011).

Likewise, the SSI results indicate that despite the external communication of the four social movements under analysis being carried out by professionals who are not from the field of communication, there is, nevertheless, a general awareness about the decision-making process regarding published content on Facebook. Comments such as "texts generally become tiresome on social networks because people don't like to read. They have to be very short, perhaps", by Fátima Pires, from Associação Angola Rescue, demonstrating the concern and attention of these social media managers to their supporters' key interests. As a consequence, an argument can be made that the background in communication is not always the most important variable for people who deal with the external communication of social movements. However, it is worth noting that, as Müller (2023, p.289) mentions in her study, the lack of specialised professionals can lead to a "vague, instrumental and punctual" application of strategic communication knowledge.

The SSI results also showed that the level of investment made in the external communication of a social movement does not necessarily have to do with the nature of the movement but rather with the structure and financial resources it has. Evidence of this is that the movements with greater resources to hire/select a specific person (or volunteer) to only take care of their communication - as is the case of EcoAngola and Movimento Cívico Mudei - are the movements that manage to have a more solid and structured communication plan, compared to movements where the person who manages their communication accumulates multiple other functions - as in the case of the Angola Rescue Association and the Movimento Vamos Sair de Angola. However, the cases under analysis show that the greatest level of reach of a social movement Facebook page is not always achieved through better/more professional planning of strategic communication, as the social movements that deal with communication in a more intuitive and spontaneous way are those that have the greatest number of followers on Facebook, Associação Angola Rescue (76k) and Movimento Vamos Sair de Angola (16k). However, it is worth noting that the greater number of followers does not necessarily mean that they are sending the message more effectively than other social movements, since Verčič

(2008) notes these sorts of organisations do not benefit from the best outcomes that strategic communication management may offer.

Finally, a second sub-research question (RQ1b) asks which communication techniques or strategies used by both movements have been more effective in encouraging digital mobilisation and, ultimately, offline action (based on Facebook metrics). To answer this question, CA ran a crosstabulation that established the correlation between engagement metrics (Like, Love, Sad, Angry, Laugh, Surprised, Comment, and Share) and the activity of the four social movements on Facebook. The first result shows that revolutionary social movements receive a significantly higher level of engagement than reformative social movements. This high level of engagement, particularly highlighted by Likes, Love and Shares, is an element that can serve to reinforce the greater number of followers that revolutionary social movements have when compared to reformative social movements. Another element that can be used to understand these results is the fact that the agenda of revolutionary social movements, in a context of regular events that lead to socio-political instability such as that of Angola (Arko-Cobbah & Olivier, 2016), may be more appealing to a larger part of society than the agendas of reformative social movements, which generally only manage to target certain segments of society with values similar to those of the activists behind them. The fact that revolutionary social movements do not focus on a specific issue, but rather are fighting to change the status-quo on various social fronts, can also contribute to a greater diversity of audiences that they can reach (Welton, 1993), reflected in this way in its higher levels of engagement when compared to other types of social movements.

Regarding the communication strategies with the highest engagement, *Facebook Videos* are the content with the highest level of engagement across all the social movements Facebook pages, even above the *images* that are the content most used by the movements. The content with the lowest number of engagement are the *texts (statuses)*. This again indicates a public preference for visual content over the work of social movements. This result can serve as a recommendation for social movements to invest more in *Facebook Videos*, given the high level of engagement they can generate.

With regard to digital mobilisation for specific actions, the SSI results demonstrate a curious fact: although revolutionary social movements have a greater number of online engagement, this does not always translate into the ability to mobilise for offline actions, which is different

from reformist social movements. Isis Hembe, from the Mudei Civic Movement, says that great engagement on Facebook does not always necessarily translate into great engagement for offline actions. Hembe says that people often give great support to demonstrations, through Facebook, but then do not show up in person. This result raises an important reflection on what Uldam (2017) called the 'Myth of Universality', in relation to a supposed global positive impact of social media on social movements.

Hembe's statements also fit into the concept of slacktivism, which is the concept that refers to those people who are very active on social media but do nothing or very little in the offline world to advance the agendas of the social movements they defend (Yilmaz, 2017). The fact that the great digital mobilisation online is not always reflected in practical actions in the real world has given voice to a group of critical voices about the alleged revolutionary role that social networks have in the life and activity of social movements across the world (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). Isis Hembe says he understands that people are more capable of protesting on social media than on the streets because of the context of great repression of freedoms in Angola. It is for this reason that authors such as Uldam (2017) warn that it is necessary to be cautious when evaluating the role of social networks in social movements in a positivist way, as external factors such as the political and social context must also be analysed.

On the other hand, the CA and SSI results show that despite having a significantly reduced engagement, reformative social movements manage to have a greater capacity to mobilise people for offline actions. Fátima Pires even says that the functioning of Associação Angola Rescue is heavily dependent on the mobilisation of people to help with concrete actions, such as rescuing animals, caring for animals, raising money to pay for medical treatments for animals. Érica Tavares says that EcoAngola has also managed to mobilise several volunteers for activities such as beach cleaning, through Facebook, and other actions. The fact that mobilisation for offline actions for the reformative social movements do not represent a major threat to the political regime in Angola may be a justification for understanding the higher level of mobilisation that these groups are able to have when compared to revolutionary social movements.

It's worth noting that a key takeaway from this dissertation is to understand the main motivations that lead Angolan social movements to use Facebook as their main communication tool. According to SSI results, the need for Angolan social movements to have Facebook as a

central platform for their external communication has to do with the great challenges that these groups face in accessing the traditional media in Angola.

According to the responses - transversal to revolutionary and reformative social movements - social movements in Angola face a major limitation in accessing the country's traditional press due to issues linked to the current political context in the country, where voices that do not align with the political discourse of the country's regime have very limited or almost non-existent access to the country's main media outlets, mostly owned by the state. Hence, the massive use of platforms such as Facebook appears to be a response given by social movements given the limitations, they have in accessing more conventional means of communicating with the masses. This SSI result correlates with what Mattoni & Treré (2014) claim about how technology had the power to offer new possibilities that revolutionised the way social movements currently communicate, when compared to older social movements that were quite dependent on the traditional press (Della Porta & Diani, 2017).

As De & Thakur (2016) point out, the use of social networks is a way for social movements to become more autonomous in their communication efforts, thus ceasing to be less dependent on conventional media. In the case of Angola, the results show that Angolan social movements have greater access to the private press or foreign press than the Angolan national press, which is highly linked to the country's ruling regime. “Without meaningful access to the airwaves, opposition groups find it difficult to reach potential supporters or become significant voices in the public discussion” (Walker & Orttung, 2014, p.72).

These results and analysis contribute to reinforcing the importance of Facebook in the Angolan context, serving as a catalyst for a more plural, inclusive, critical, and transparent public debate on the key social affairs that will not necessarily be addressed in state-run media. The SSI results also highlight how respondents see Facebook as a more plural form of information tool than the content disseminated by the state-run media, and for the reinforcement of democratic principles, such as freedom of expression, press and demonstration. Thus, the SSI results align with what Cheung (2019, p.6) claims when he says that “the Facebook features allow users to engage in discussions on a wide range of topics and issues including politics. They can share their political opinions and engage others in conversations by posting comments and adding photos or graphics on the status messages and wall postings”.

Like any other study, this one also has its limitations too. Regarding the methodology used, this study would have benefited from an approach that included a qualitative Content Analysis (CA) of the comments and other forms of interactions made to the Facebook posts analysed during the chosen sampling period. This qualitative CA would have allowed the study to group, name and identify the different reactions that followers have in relation to the content disseminated, helping to answer RQ1b which focuses on the success of the communication strategies employed by these movements on Facebook. Likewise, the methodological part of this study would be further reinforced if ordinary members or followers of social movements' Facebook pages were included in the interviews - based on their high engagement activity on Facebook. Therefore, the study would have more insights and data from the perspective of those who use the Facebook outputs from the analysed movements, possibly having greater capacity to establish elements that correlate online engagement and digital mobilisation with practical actions in day-to-day life, especially in the case of revolutionary social movements. These limitations are a consequence of the short time allocated to carry out this project as well as the lack of technical resources to carry out a study whose corpus of analysis would be much larger, therefore, more complex to be done.

Lastly, another limitation that can be pointed out to this project is the number of Facebook posts analysed by each social movement during the time period delimited by the research. Although the choice was based on a criterion pre-defined by the researcher, it can be argued that more than 33 posts could have been analysed per each social movement in order to strengthen the results achieved. This study's author aims to take into consideration all the outlined limitations when carrying out future studies focused on the role of Facebook as a democratic reinforcement platform in sub-Saharan African contexts. As the author of this study intends to deepen his academic research, at the doctoral level, interconnecting themes that correlate social movements, the role of state-run media and social media, the limitations presented by this study will serve as a foundation for the deepening academic research on these topics that require greater academic input in the Angolan context.

6. Conclusion

This study has delved into the role of Facebook as a pivotal communication tool for reformative and revolutionary social movements within the Angolan context. By employing a combination of Content Analysis (CA) and Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI), this research sought to unpack

the primary communication strategies used by these movements on Facebook, identify key features of their communication on the platform, and determine factors driving online and offline mobilisation among their stakeholders.

Overall, this project's key findings underscored that Facebook serves as a central platform for both reformative and revolutionary movements to disseminate information and engage with diverse audiences. The CA revealed a predominant use of Facebook across all movements to share information, while SSI reaffirmed its significance as the primary channel of external communication efforts of these groups. This aligns with existing literature attributing Facebook's role in facilitating communication for social movements globally (A. J. Brown, 2020; Cheung, 2019; Graybill-Leonard et al., 2011).

Despite the emergence of new platforms and the global shift to platforms like Twitter in certain contexts (Brown, 2020), the study highlights that Facebook remains the preferred choice for Angolan movements when it comes to communicating and disseminating their work. This preference is not solely attributed to Facebook's popularity in Angola but also to its broad accessibility, especially through features like Facebook 0, which have democratised access to the platform (Moreira & Araújo, 2021).

Reformative movements, such as EcoAngola and Associação Angola Rescue, predominantly focus on environmental and conservation issues, while revolutionary movements, exemplified by Movimento Cívico Mudei and Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola, emphasise human rights and civil liberties. This divergence reflects how communication strategies are influenced by the scope and objectives of each movement (Flyin, 2011).

The study also revealed distinct engagement patterns between reformative and revolutionary movements, with revolutionary groups garnering higher engagement levels, particularly through likes, shares, and comments. Despite this, reformative movements demonstrated greater success in mobilising followers for offline actions, highlighting nuances in digital engagement versus real-world impact (Uldam, 2017).

Facebook's pivotal role in the communication strategies of Angolan movements underscores its importance in circumventing limitations posed by traditional state-controlled media. Movements rely on Facebook to amplify their voices and engage in critical public discussions,

contributing to a more pluralistic and democratic discourse within the country (Mattoni & Tre , 2014).

While this study provides valuable insights, it also has its limitations such as sample size and methodological constraints. However, it is important to highlight that the importance of this study is justified by the dearth of academic research that focuses on the relationship between Angolan social movements and the role of social media. Therefore, this study has the potential to position itself as pioneering research for future authors who intend to investigate and understand the role of social networks as a tool for defending democratic values in competitive authoritarian regimes, such as Angola. Furthermore, future research could explore qualitative content analysis of user interactions and involve ordinary followers for a deeper understanding of engagement dynamics. Additionally, expanding the study's scope to other Sub-Saharan African contexts could enrich our understanding of Facebook's role in reinforcing democratic processes. Upcoming studies could also consider the dangers linked to social media platforms like Facebook being controlled or restricted by authoritarian regimes, such as those in China, Russia, North Korea and Iran (Kalathil & Boas, 2001).

In summary, this research underscores Facebook's multifaceted role as a catalyst for communication, engagement, and mobilisation within Angolan social movements. By leveraging this platform, movements navigate media restrictions, amplify their causes, and engage diverse audiences, contributing to a more inclusive and participatory democratic landscape.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 - Content Analysis Grid of accounts and posts on Facebook

Sampling: Reformative social movements (*Associação Angola Rescue* and *EcoAngola*)
 Revolutionary social movements (*Movimento Cívico Mudei* and *Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola*).

Time period: 01/05/23 - 31/05/23 (Maio, Junho e Julho 2023)

Total of Facebook posts: 132

Developing variables that can answer your ROs and test your Hs

Variables	Value	Code Source	Research Question
V01 CoderID	Identify oneself through coder number assigned	N/A	
V02 Social Movement ID	1 = Associação Angola Rescue 2 = EcoAngola 3 = Movimento Cívico Mudei 4 = Movimento Cívico, Vamos Sair de Angola	N/A	
V03a Month ID	1 = May 2 = June 3 = July	(Rodrigues, 2023)	
V03b Day ID	Identify the date (day) the post was published	N/A	
V04 Type of content ID	1 = Text posts (Statuses) 2 = Photos 3 = Facebook Video 4 = Facebook Lives	(Waters et al., 2009) (Rianto & Pratama, 2021)	What are the main characteristics of these groups' messages and interactions with and between users?
V05 Posts' objective/goal ID	1 = Protest events 2 = Information Sharing 3 = Call for online action 4 = Call for offline action	(Waters et al., 2009)	Which communication strategies/tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising more people for a certain

			action?
V06 Like (Engagement)	Identify how many times the post has been liked	(Neiger et al., 2012) (Capriotti et al., 2016)	Which communication strategies/tactics employed by both movements have proven to be more successful in mobilising more people for a certain action?
V07 Love (Engagement)	Identify how many times the post has been loved	SAME	SAME
V08 Sad (Engagement)	Identify how many people have reacted with sadness	SAME	SAME
V09 Angry (Engagement)	Identify how many people have reacted with anger	SAME	SAME
V10 Laugh (Engagement)	Identify how many people have reacted with laughter	SAME	SAME
V11 Surprised (Engagement)	Identify how many people have reacted with surprise	SAME	SAME
V12 Comment (Engagement)	Identify how many comments the post received	SAME	SAME
V13 Share (Engagement)	Identify how many times the post has been shared	SAME	SAME
V14 Subject (Public Interest)	1 = Democracy and Governance; 2 = Human Rights and Civil Liberties; 3=Anti-Corruption; 4 =Labor Rights and Workers' Rights; 5= Land Rights and Rural Development; 6 = Environment and Conservation; 7 = Women's Rights and Gender Equality; 8 = Education and Healthcare;	(Vidal & Andrade, 2008) (Flynn, 2011) (Telo, 2018)	What are the main characteristics of these groups' messages and interactions with and between users?

Level of engagement metrics (definitions)

Table 1. Cont.			
Code	Definition	Code Source	Illness Self-Regulation Representation ^a
<i>Engagement</i>			
Like	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the thumbs up icon	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Love	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the heart emoji	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Sad	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the sad emoji	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Angry	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the angry emoji	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Laugh	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the haha emoji	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Surprised	Number of times members reacted to the post by pressing the wow emoji	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Comment	Number of times members reacted to the post by replying with text, gif, etc.	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A
Share	Number of times members reacted to a post by sharing it	Neiger et al. [42]	N/A

^a Illness self-regulation representations were coded based on information from Leventhal et al. [40] and Hale et al. [46].

This table was taken from Apperson et al. (2019)

Appendix 2 - Semi structured-Interviews (SSI)

Appendix 2.1 - SSI Interview Guide in English

Interviewee Name:

Profession:

Any background in media or communication?

In English:

Topics	Open-ended questions
Communication choices	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In terms of social movement communication, what are the main mechanisms you use to communicate your actions/activities/initiatives to external audiences? 2. What is your relationship with traditional media (TV/radio/newspapers) in Angola? 3. Among the social media platforms where you are most present, which one has been the most effective in transmitting your messages and why? 4. Do you have any specific strategic plans for managing communication on social media or is your communication conducted organically?

	5. How does internal decision-making work on the communicative positioning of the movement on different issues?
Facebook strategies and tactics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Our content analysis showed that, in general, photos and videos are the most commonly used resources by social movements on Facebook. Is there any specific reason for this? 2. Our research also indicates that a large portion of the posts aim to share information. Could this be a result of the limited space you have in traditional media? 3. Do you have any way or mechanism to filter out hate or inappropriate content like 'let's burn them all (online moderation)? 4. What role do you think Facebook plays in democratising access to information in Angola?
Digital mobilisation/ Offline action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do you think that the dissemination of information on Facebook has an impact on mobilising people for certain actions outside of social media? Provide specific examples, please. 2. How do you perceive the potential for digital engagement among users, such as through likes, comments, and shares, to influence and translate into real-world actions offline?

Appendix 2.2 - SSI Interview Guide in Portuguese

Nome do Entrevistado:

Profissão:

Alguma experiência em mídia ou comunicação?

Em Português:

Tópicos	Questões abertas
Escolhas de comunicação	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Em termos de comunicação do grupo, quais são os principais mecanismos que vocês utilizam para comunicar as vossas acções/actividades/iniciativas para públicos externos? 2. Qual é a vossa relação com a imprensa tradicional (tv/rádio/jornal) em Angola? 3. Das redes sociais em que vocês estão mais presentes, qual delas tem sido a mais eficaz na transmissão das vossas mensagens e porquê? 4. Vocês têm algum plano estratégico específico para a gestão comunicação para as redes sociais ou a vossa comunicação é

	<p>feita de modo orgânico?</p> <p>5. Como funciona o processo de tomada de decisão interna sobre o posicionamento comunicativo do movimento em diferentes questões?</p>
Estratégias e táticas no Facebook	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A nossa análise de conteúdo demonstrou que de um modo geral as fotografias e os vídeos são os recursos mais utilizados pelos vossos grupos no Facebook, há alguma razão específica para isto? 2. A nossa pesquisa também demonstra que grande parte das publicações têm o objetivo de compartilhar information - será esta uma necessidade que surge da falta de espaço que vocês têm na mídia tradicional? 3. Você tem alguma maneira ou mecanismo para filtrar conteúdo de ódio ou inapropriado, como 'vamos queimá-los todos (moderação online)? 4. Qual é o papel que vocês acham que o Facebook tem a nível da democratização do acesso à informação em Angola?
Mobilização digital/ Acções offline	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acha que a disseminação de informação no Facebook tem impacto na mobilização de pessoas para certas ações fora das redes sociais? Dê exemplos específicos, por favor. 2. Acredita que o engajamento digital dos usuários (que se manifesta através de likes, comentários e shares) pode se traduzir em real action no offline world? Why?

Appendix 2.3 - Interview Consent EcoAngola



PROTOCOLO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO EM PROJETO DE PESQUISA

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A investigação para a qual a(o) convidamos a participar faz parte do projeto "Amplificar vozes através de meios alternativos: o papel do Facebook no fortalecimento dos movimentos sociais em Angola", orientado pela Professora Doutora Nalide Müller.

OBJETIVO DO ESTUDO

O objectivo geral deste estudo é o de investigar como organizações específicas de movimentos sociais de Angola têm utilizado a plataforma Facebook para comunicar as suas mensagens principais, mobilizar actividades online e offline bem como compreender que tipo de interação obtêm dos seus principais intervenientes.

Para isso, este estudo analisará as interações no Facebook de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Reformadores (a *Associação Angola Rescue* e a *EcoAngola*) - cuja actividade foca-se na defesa de temas sociais específicos, como a causa ambiental e proteção dos animais - bem como de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Revolucionários (*Movimento Cívico Mudei*, uma organização cívica engajada nos processos democráticos e o *Movimento Cívico, Vamos sair de Angola*, um grupo online que promove a imigração dada a actual complexa situação social e económica do país) - ambos com uma actuação mais crítica ao actual status-quo de Angola.

A informação recolhida será usada para fins académicos, nomeadamente a elaboração de uma dissertação de mestrado em Ciências da Comunicação na Faculdade de Ciências Humanas da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, e/ou redação e apresentação de artigos sobre o tema

BENEFÍCIOS POTENCIAIS PARA A SOCIEDADE

Ao analisar como os movimentos sociais em Angola utilizam o Facebook para comunicar suas mensagens e mobilizar atividades, o estudo pode fornecer uma compreensão mais profunda das

estratégias e táticas empregadas por esses grupos. Este estudo pode potencialmente beneficiar os movimentos sociais em Angola bem como ser uma base de estudo para futuros pesquisadores interessados nas relações entre os movimentos sociais e as redes sociais.

PROCEDIMENTOS

A metodologia de pesquisa deste estudo compreende fundamentalmente dois momentos:

- Análise de conteúdo:** Nesta etapa, o autor do estudo realizará uma avaliação independente do conteúdo das atividades dos movimentos sociais no Facebook, no período compreendido entre maio e julho de 2023. A análise será conduzida através da própria página do autor no Facebook; sendo possível que o autor solicite aos movimentos sociais qualquer insight adicional, caso seja apropriado.
- Entrevistas complementares:** Após a fase de análise de conteúdo, o autor pretende realizar entrevistas individuais com os responsáveis da área de comunicação/redes sociais de cada movimento social identificado, com o objetivo de complementar os resultados obtidos. Nesta fase, o autor deverá contactar a pessoa designada para a realização das entrevistas, presenciais ou remotas, de acordo com as circunstâncias.

TRATAMENTO DE DADOS E CONFIDENCIALIDADE

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RECUZA EM PARTICIPAR

É inteiramente livre de participar ou não neste estudo. Se se voluntariar para participar no estudo, é livre de se retirar a qualquer momento sem consequências de qualquer tipo. Também é livre de recusar responder a qualquer pergunta ou de participar numa atividade específica.

RISCOS POTENCIAIS

O estudo não envolve quaisquer riscos potenciais, quer sejam sociais, legais ou financeiros.

IDENTIFICAÇÃO DE INVESTIGADORES

Se tiver qualquer questão ou apreensão com este estudo, poderá contactar: Israel Campos – +244946177630 ou +44 7513 359216 || israelcamposmedia@gmail.com || s-iamcampos@ucp.pt

Declaro ter lido e compreendido este documento, bem como as informações verbais que me foram fornecidas pelo investigador Israel Campos. Desta forma, aceito participar neste estudo e permito a

utilização dos dados que de forma voluntária forneço, sabendo que as informações fornecidas serão publicadas e divulgadas para fins exclusivamente académicos.

Nome: Erica Sofia Mena Pavão Tavares

Assinatura: *Erica Sofia Mena Pavão Tavares*

Data: 14/03/2024

Appendix 2.4 - Interview Consent Associação Angola Rescue



PROTOCOLO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO EM PROJETO DE PESQUISA

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A investigação para a qual a(o) convidamos a participar faz parte do projeto **"Amplificar vozes através de meios alternativos: o papel do Facebook no fortalecimento dos movimentos sociais em Angola"**, orientado pela Professora Doutora Naidé Müller.

OBJETIVO DO ESTUDO

O objectivo geral deste estudo é o de investigar como organizações específicas de movimentos sociais de Angola têm utilizado a plataforma Facebook para comunicar as suas mensagens principais, mobilizar actividades online e offline bem como compreender que tipo de interação obtêm dos seus principais intervenientes.

Para isso, este estudo analisará as interações no Facebook de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Reformadores (a *Associação Angola Rescue* e a *EcoAngola*) - que representam uma relativa baixa ameaça ao regime do país - bem como de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Revolucionários (*Movimento Cívico Mudei*, uma organização cívica engajada nos processos democráticos e o *Movimento Cívico, Vamos sair de Angola*, um grupo online que promove a imigração dada a actual complexa situação social e económica do país) - ambos críticos do actual status-quo de Angola.

A informação recolhida será usada para fins académicos, nomeadamente a elaboração de uma dissertação de mestrado em Ciências da Comunicação na Faculdade de Ciências Humanas da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, e/ou redação e apresentação de artigos sobre o tema

BENEFÍCIOS POTENCIAIS PARA A SOCIEDADE

Ao analisar como os movimentos sociais em Angola utilizam o Facebook para comunicar suas mensagens e mobilizar atividades, o estudo pode fornecer uma compreensão mais profunda das

estratégias e táticas empregadas por esses grupos. Este estudo pode potencialmente beneficiar os movimentos sociais em Angola bem como ser uma base de estudo para futuros pesquisadores interessados nas relações entre os movimentos sociais e as redes sociais.

PROCEDIMENTOS

A metodologia de pesquisa deste estudo compreende fundamentalmente dois momentos:

1. **Análise de conteúdo:** Nesta etapa, o autor do estudo realizará uma avaliação independente do conteúdo das atividades dos movimentos sociais no Facebook, no período compreendido entre maio e julho de 2023. A análise será conduzida através da própria página do autor no Facebook; sendo possível que o autor solicite aos movimentos sociais qualquer insight adicional, caso seja apropriado.
2. **Entrevistas complementares:** Após a fase de análise de conteúdo, o autor pretende realizar entrevistas individuais com os responsáveis da área de comunicação/redes sociais de cada movimento social identificado, com o objetivo de complementar os resultados obtidos. Nesta fase, o autor deverá contactar a pessoa designada para a realização das entrevistas, presenciais ou remotas, de acordo com as circunstâncias.

TRATAMENTO DE DADOS E CONFIDENCIALIDADE

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RECUSA EM PARTICIPAR

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RISCOS POTENCIAIS

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IDENTIFICAÇÃO DE INVESTIGADORES

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utilização dos dados que de forma voluntária forneço, sabendo que as informações fornecidas serão publicadas e divulgadas para fins exclusivamente académicos.

Nome: Fátima Pires

Assinatura:

Data: 6/3/24

Appendix 2.5 - Interview Consent Movimento Cívico Mudei



PROTOCOLO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO EM PROJETO DE PESQUISA

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OBJETIVO DO ESTUDO

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Para isso, este estudo analisará as interações no Facebook de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Reformadores (a *Associação Angola Rescue* e a *EcoAngola*) - cuja actividade foca-se na defesa de temas sociais específicos, como a causa ambiental e proteção dos animais - bem como de duas organizações dos Movimentos Sociais Revolucionários (*Movimento Cívico Mudei*, uma organização cívica engajada nos processos democráticos e o *Movimento Cívico, Vamos sair de Angola*, um grupo online que promove a imigração dada a actual complexa situação social e económica do país) - ambos com uma actuação mais crítica ao actual status-quo de Angola.

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PROCEDIMENTOS

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2. **Entrevistas complementares:** Após a fase de análise de conteúdo, o autor pretende realizar entrevistas individuais com os responsáveis da área de comunicação/redes sociais de cada movimento social identificado, com o objetivo de complementar os resultados obtidos. Nesta fase, o autor deverá contactar a pessoa designada para a realização das entrevistas, presenciais ou remotas, de acordo com as circunstâncias.

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utilização dos dados que de forma voluntária forneço, sabendo que as informações fornecidas serão publicadas e divulgadas para fins exclusivamente académicos.

Nome: *Isis Hembé de Oliveira*
Assinatura: *Isis Hembé de Oliveira*
Data: *7/03/2024*

Appendix 2.6 - Interview Consent Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola



PROTOCOLO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO EM PROJETO DE PESQUISA

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BENEFÍCIOS POTENCIAIS PARA A SOCIEDADE

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2. **Entrevistas complementares:** Após a fase de análise de conteúdo, o autor pretende realizar entrevistas individuais com os responsáveis da área de comunicação/redes sociais de cada movimento social identificado, com o objetivo de complementar os resultados obtidos. Nesta fase, o autor deverá contactar a pessoa designada para a realização das entrevistas, presenciais ou remotas, de acordo com as circunstâncias.

TRATAMENTO DE DADOS E CONFIDENCIALIDADE

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RECUSA EM PARTICIPAR

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RISCOS POTENCIAIS

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utilização dos dados que de forma voluntária forneço, sabendo que as informações fornecidas serão publicadas e divulgadas para fins exclusivamente académicos.

Nome: *Keniedi Manuel Domingo*
Assinatura: *Keniedi M. Domingo*
Data: *18/04/2024*

Appendix 3 - Transcript of Interviews

Appendix 3.1 - Transcript/ Érica Tavares (EcoAngola)

Data: 22/04/2024

Israel Campos (IC): Estimada Erica Tavares, muito obrigado por ter acolhido o nosso convite. Inicialmente a primeira pergunta que eu tenho é tentar compreender se quando começaste, portanto, a fazer a gestão da comunicação virtual da EcoAngola, se tinha alguma formação, algum background que tivesse a ver com mídia, a comunicação, ou a gestão de redes sociais?

Érica Tavares (ET): Bem, tudo começou de uma forma muito orgânica, não tinha propriamente uma formação, fazia a gestão das minhas próprias redes sociais, gosto de partilhar como pessoa, e quando começamos a Econgola, nós tínhamos começado, nem era propriamente com a intenção de fazer uma ONG, mas tinha um projeto de educação ambiental. Criamos primeiro uma página no Facebook, foi a primeira página, começamos a meter a alguns conteúdos assim paralelos, compartilhar de outras páginas, depois abrimos o Instagram e quando abrimos o Instagram é quando começamos então a transformar um bocadinho mais a informação. O nosso objetivo inicialmente era de partilhar informação de educação ambiental, então o que fazíamos era utilizar o Canva, que é uma ferramenta simples para quem tem o básico de informática, para começar a estruturar alguns conteúdos e informações, em formato de flyers, em formato de coisas que nós poderíamos partilhar nas redes sociais da Econgola, com os logos da Econgola, e foi aí que nós começamos. Depois do Facebook e do Instagram aberto, decidimos criar então o website, porque começamos a ter bastante engajamento, era uma página muito nova e basicamente logo na primeira semana conseguimos ter pelo menos uns 100 seguidores e engajamento, as pessoas a partilharem o conteúdo e nós aí conseguimos ver que havia uma necessidade de haver mais partilha de informação, só que a questão das redes sociais é que a informação depois ela meio que fica no passado, vai passando porque as redes sociais vão atualizando com timeline, o que é publicado agora é o que vai aparecer primeiro, então foi aí que decidimos criar o website é para podermos ter conteúdo, melhor estruturar do artigo com referências, informação que fosse trazer portanto mais ciência, o fundamento mais fortes para assim partilharmos com o público. E então a nossa estratégia era fazermos os artigos, partilhávamos no site e depois partilhamos os links dos artigos para as redes sociais. Em seguida abrimos logo o LinkedIn e abrimos também o Twitter. Portanto, estávamos a gerir inicialmente essas quatro redes sociais e depois também abrimos o YouTube. Mas o YouTube vem já quando começamos as atividades um ano depois, mais ou menos, mas inicialmente eram só estas quatro redes sociais. O Facebook é uma das redes sociais senão a rede social mais usada em Angola, aliás para a EcoAngola neste momento, o Facebook é que nós temos mais seguidores.

IC: Vocês têm algum plano específico para a gestão destes distintos canais de comunicação, ou seja, vocês planificam o tipo de informação que vão publicar, ou seja, já tem um calendário de efemérides ou um cronograma de publicações, por exemplo?

ET: No princípio, era difícil de fazer isso, era tudo só voluntariado, não tínhamos pessoas suficientes, então nós íamos criando conteúdo de acordo com situações da atualidade, né?

Depois também fizemos logo, no princípio, um calendário de efemérides. Existem muitas efemérides ambientais, a nível nacional e a nível global, então nós fizemos também uma seleção de quais são as efemérides que nós queremos partilhar no nosso feed, aquelas mais importantes que as pessoas vão partilhar mais, e aquelas que são assim menos relevantes, fazemos apenas partilhas no story, para informar as pessoas, porque as efemérides de alguma forma são sempre um ponto importante para fazer lembrar certos assuntos, certas informações. Nós já há três anos que temos contratado pessoas, e em particular para a gestão da comunicação em redes sociais da EcoAngola, e o papel ou responsabilidade principal desse coordenador é de preparar mesmo esta coordenação, portanto temos o calendário de efemérides, temos o cronograma, depois temos as actividades que acontecem na EcoAngola semanalmente, então tem que se preparar os flyers, fazemos também lives e informação que nós queremos discutir, engajar com as pessoas que nos seguem, temos também uma componente de educação ambiental em que partilhamos dicas, nós chamamos por exemplo *EcoDicas*, em que damos dicas da resolução do consumo, melhoria da nossa utilização dos recursos naturais, mas no sentido de informar e consciencializar, depois também temos as informações que nós partilhamos, por exemplo das formações, oportunidades que possam existir na EcoAngola e não só, normalmente as oportunidades na EcoAngola nós lançamos no feed, a republicação de outras oportunidades dependendo da relevância, nós também partilhamos no nosso story, então nós vamos tentando alterar a informação, e depois também temos a partilha de eventos que já aconteceram, eventos que estão a acontecer, partilhamos, por exemplo, as formações, as palestras, os encontros e depois partilhamos também informação ou conteúdo de inspiração, vamos assim dizer, porque nós queremos fazer com que as pessoas tomem ação, com que as pessoas engajem, com que as pessoas participem nas actividades, então tentamos também misturar e trazer conteúdo que possa engajar e convidar o cidadão a tomar ação, a participar das nossas actividades ou até promover as actividades de outras organizações.

IC: Ok, e depois, como é que funciona o processo de tomar a decisão interna sobre o posicionamento de comunicação da EcoAngola, por exemplo, sobre algum assunto sensível?

ET: Cada assunto, às vezes, tem a sua forma. Nós temos alguns mecanismos internos, base, que é sempre a verificação de várias pessoas, mas o que acontece, por exemplo, em questão de denúncias, que costumam ser o tipo de assuntos mais sensíveis que nos chegam, de crimes ambientais, como caça furtiva, essa questão, às vezes, de animais estarem em condições não tão boas. Portanto, nós primeiro fazemos uma avaliação dessa informação. O que é que esta informação nos diz? Temos informação suficiente para chegar ao público, porque nós tentamos ser responsáveis, não queremos desinformar o público muito menos causar situações que podem pôr em risco a nossa reputação ou também batalhas em que nós também sabemos que podemos não ganhar. Então, primeiro, fazemos uma avaliação do tipo de informação. Se não temos informação suficiente, tentamos fazer uma investigação, chegar às partes envolvidas na situação, na denúncia, etc., ou, por exemplo, se for um crime ambiental de uma zona que esteja poluída, mandamos alguém fazer uma averiguação, tirar algumas fotos, coisas que nos ajudem

a construir um caso, porque nós também usamos as redes sociais como uma forma de ativismo, nós tentamos trazer esses assuntos para chamar a atenção à sociedade, mas não só chamar a atenção, mas também como pedir a ação da sociedade, precisamos de dar atenção e só nós como organização não conseguimos fazer isso, né? Então, por exemplo, na questão de animais que estão em condições, não estão livres, animais selvagens que estão encarcerados, etc., o que nós fazemos é primeiro avaliar informação. Chegamos às instituições, temos os contactos diretos, infelizmente sabemos que nem sempre através da forma ou da via formal nós não conseguimos chegar aos stakeholders certos, então nós fazemos um contacto informal com os contactos que já temos dentro das instituições, por exemplo, Instituto Nacional de Biodiversidade e Conservação, às vezes estão líderes e também membros de outras organizações, tentamos perceber o assunto. Depois tentamos saber qual é a resposta que o governo vai dar. Quando as respostas não são suficientes ou não há atenção suficiente para o determinado assunto, aí nós, portanto, a equipe de comunicação prepara um comunicado, uma informação, tentamos captar imagens, coisas que vão fortalecer esse caso. Depois de fazermos isso, é passado por um grupo que faz a avaliação do todo, o conteúdo que é transmitido na ECO Angola. Perante este tipo de comunicados acaba sempre por ter muita repercussão, muito feedback, às vezes feedback negativo, às vezes feedback positivo, né, a sociedade civil vê que alguém está preocupado, mas depois também mete a organização numa posição também sensível, porque infelizmente aqui em Angola as pessoas que são críticas, as pessoas que comunicam, muitas vezes, as verdades nuas e cruas são postas de lado, porque não fazem parte, né, do sistema que propagam status ou e nós felizmente temos o orgulho de dizer que nós tentamos ser o oposto disso e tentamos lutar contra isso. Temos uma veia ativista, mas também temos o lado diplomático, não queremos criar ou tentarmos ter sensibilidade para não criar conflitos desnecessários que possam pôr em risco a EcoAngola como um todo e não fazer ataques que possam nos meter em situações que afetem a organização comum todo.

IC: Agora podemos passar um bocado mais para o Facebook. Como nós dissemos antes das entrevistas, nós fizemos uma análise de conteúdos e, por exemplo, no caso da EcoAngola, a nossa análise também mostrou que o de modo geral há uma utilização muito grande de fotografias e vídeos são recursos muito utilizados. Acha que há alguma razão específica para isso?

ET: Sim, definitivamente. Bem, há aqui duas questões. Nós aqui em Angola temos, por exemplo, a Unitel, que é uma rede de telecomunicação. Eles têm o Facebook .0, que é basicamente o Facebook gratuito, que pode se entrar sem ter propriamente acesso a um Wi-Fi ou a dados móveis. Basta só ter o dado os móveis ligados, mesmo que não tenha saldo, consegue ter acesso ao Facebook .0. Então no Facebook .0, as pessoas não conseguem fazer download de imagens, mas têm um texto. Conseguem ler o texto. Então nós tentamos fazer uma junção, uma união de texto e fotografias. Fotografias para aqueles que conseguem sim ter acesso internet e ver as fotografias, mas também porque nós queremos comprovar, queremos expor aquilo que nós estamos a fazer, as ações a acontecerem, porque existe sempre aquela receio das ONGs, às vezes não estarem a fazer aquilo que dizem que fazem, então as fotografias acabam por ser um comprovativo de que está a acontecer, uma forma de nós atraímos a atenção e mesmo no tipo de fotografias, também fazemos uma seleção que promovem, por exemplo, a

igualdade de género, fotografias que demonstrem, tipo, antes e depois de uma praia limpa, coisas que possam inspirar e gerar algum sentimento positivo por parte do leitor ou por parte da pessoa que está a ver para tentar criar este engajamento. E às vezes podem ser utilizadas fotografias um bocado mais pesadas, como por exemplo já tivemos crimes ambientais de tartarugas mortas, e nós temos que expor isso, então usamos às vezes fotografias um pouco mais sensíveis para também captar esta atenção, então depende muito de qual é o objetivo da informação que nós queremos transmitir, mas tentamos unir as fotografias ao texto. Os vídeos normalmente são utilizados mais em resumos, em certas atividades grandes, alguns parceiros que nós temos, alguns financiadores ou doadores querem ou procuram ganhar um bocado mais de espaço na sua estratégia de marketing, etc., então nós tentamos de alguma forma jogar também com isso e fazemos alguns vídeos de resumo que depois partilhamos no Youtube, e através do Youtube nós também conseguimos meter no website, então estamos a tentar relacionar todas as redes sociais, as nossas ações e criar este histórico, criar essa credibilidade, demonstrar este trabalho, as ações, as pessoas, os sorrisos, portanto esta união, bons exemplos, inspiração, há muita coisa que nós tentamos transmitir na nossa comunicação.

IC: Isto levanta uma outra questão que é, qual é a vossa relação com a imprensa tradicional em Angola?

ET: Bem, infelizmente a imprensa nacional é muito seletiva, é muito seletiva, nós sentimos que há definitivamente mais atenção para outras ONGs que estão mais conectadas ao sistema político e que, de alguma forma, caminham mais aproximados ou mais próximos daqueles que são os interesses de certos partidos políticos a nível nacional. Nós somos uma organização apartidária e esta é uma posição que é muito clara e muito direta na nossa comunicação, nas nossas atuações e, portanto, isto acaba de alguma forma por criar aqui uma parede, né, entre nós e a imprensa nacional porque os interesses são diferentes. Mas o que é que nós fazemos para engajar? Novamente, muitas vezes nem sempre de forma formal, nós fazemos, por exemplo, para eventos em que nós queremos a presença da imprensa ou queremos a transmissão no telejornal ou no jornal ou numa revista, nós temos contactos de pessoas dentro destes canais, quer seja na televisão, nos jornais, etc., temos contactos de pessoas que lá trabalham, que têm alguma sensibilidade, que de alguma já participaram de alguma atividade nossa e que, portanto, corresponderam a isso, então nós tentamos também fazer esta seleção neste sentido, né, e depois lançamos um comunicado de imprensa ou uma nota de imprensa com a informação do que é o evento, quem são, quando, onde, como, para tentarmos, de alguma forma, também orientar a forma como a comunicação é feita, porque já tivemos várias experiências no passado, de jornalistas irem para o evento, não perceberem bem o evento ou até fazerem um comunicado que é, pode até me terem causa, portanto, o objetivo da atividade que se está a realizar ou da ação que se está a realizar, isso já aconteceu no passado, então, nós fazemos os comunicados, as notas de imprensa, dependendo, né, desse nível de relevância da ação e depois lançamos para esses contatos que nós temos também nas na comunicação social. De vez em quando as rádios assim de mais privatizadas vão mandando um outro convite para a participação, mas são muito poucos. Por ano devemos receber uns menos de 10 convites, assim que venham voluntariamente do outro lado para nós, mas grande parte das vezes somos

nós a solicitar para fazer um debate, para participar de um encontro, para fazer uma entrevista, então nós vamos sempre lançando estas provocações e vendo quem corresponde.

IC: Voltando um bocado às rodas sociais, vocês têm algum mecanismo para filtrar o conteúdo de ódio ou conteúdo inapropriado que eventualmente possam surgir nas vossas publicações do Facebook?

ET: Nós não temos nada assim automatizado e, felizmente, assim, não tem... destes, vamos fazer cinco anos este ano, destes históricos, não tivemos assim alguma situação mesmo de conteúdo de ódio e etc. Já tivemos alguns bots e situações assim, mas são coisas muito singulares e fazemos o trabalho de forma manual, quando é conteúdo assim que não se enquadra, nós apagamos. Mas, quando é, por exemplo, crítica sobre alguma situação, nós normalmente deixamos os comentários, porque nós queremos essa liberdade de expressão e tentamos, de alguma forma, porque nós, como organização da sociedade civil, fazemos críticas à sociedade e, portanto, temos que estar abertos também a críticas sobre o que nós fazemos e o que nós comunicamos. E já aconteceu, no passado, de haver, assim, discussões renhidas nos comentários de alguma publicação, de alguma coisa que tenha, assim, contestação pública, ou um posicionamento nosso, ou a falta de algum posicionamento nosso e é cobrado, mas fazemos isso de forma manual, passa normalmente por esta discussão dentro do grupo de comunicação, se for coisas mais sensíveis para a direção e, quando é o extremo de sensibilidade, vai mesmo até a assembleia. Mas, felizmente, até agora nunca tivemos situações muito críticas. Normalmente são coisas que nós eventualmente vamos tendo no comentário, outros os respondemos de forma cordial e respeitosa e, muitas das vezes, fica por aí.

IC: Qual é o papel que vocês acham que o Facebook tem a nível da democratização do acesso à informação em Angola, tendo em conta os elementos que mencionou, a questão do Facebook Zero, e depois, segundo, a questão do comportamento da imprensa nacional?

ET: O Facebook, para mim, é definitivamente uma das redes sociais de mais engajamento, de mais ação, onde nós conseguimos chegar a um meio da sociedade com menos acessos, mas que muitas vezes até tem mais vontade, mais disponibilidade, né, do que as pessoas que, por exemplo, utilizam o Instagram. Em termos de democratização, é sim muito importante porque acaba por dar este acesso, acaba por ser um veículo para uma informação diferente daquela que é vista, por exemplo, na Televisão Pública de Angola, né, e muitas vezes a maioria dos cidadãos acaba por utilizar apenas a televisão pública, então é sempre um outro veículo mais independente que é mais livre de comunicar e partilhar às vezes as situações até mais sensíveis e mais críticas sobre a sociedade.

IC: Vocês estão muito constantemente chamando as pessoas para alguma ação ou estão à procura de voluntários para algum programa, para algum projeto específico ou querem pessoas para ajudar a fazer alguma coisa, etc. Acham que essa disseminação de informação nas redes sociais, no Facebook em particular, tem tido impacto na mobilização de pessoas para ações específicas, tem algum exemplo que possa dar em que realmente vocês chamaram, disseram as

peças, olhem, queremos fazer uma limpeza no dia X, e as pessoas realmente têm aparecido, têm correspondido, isso?

ET: Definitivamente. Definitivamente. **Sem as redes sociais, a EcoAngola não existiria** e não teria a força que hoje tem. Aliás, todos, a maior parte dos nossos voluntários nós angariamos através das redes sociais desde o primeiro dia em que começamos. Até parte dos cofundadores que hoje são cofundadores da Econgola foram engajados logo no princípio através das redes sociais e particularmente através do Facebook. A título de exemplo, a primeira atividade que nós fizemos com EcoAngola, eu estava a organizar. Eu nem sequer estava em Angola, organizei o flyer, fiz as coisas todas no canva. Partilhamos no Facebook, a primeira, esta foi a primeira atividade, poucas pessoas conheciam a Econgola, era uma actividade limpeza na Ilha do Mussulo, conseguimos ter apoio para compra dos materiais, sacos, luvas etc. Conseguimos encontrar o parceiro para ajudar -nos a fazer depois a remoção dos resíduos que estavam a ser coletados, mas acima de tudo aquela foi a primeira demonstração para nós da força que a nossa organização teria com uma boa utilização das redes sociais, porque nós conseguimos, acredito que foram cerca de 120 ou 150 voluntários, foi a primeira atividade, 150 voluntários para aquela atividade, aquilo foi para nós ficarmos muito surpresos, nós estávamos à espera de pelo menos 20, 30 pessoas, mas apareceram mais de 100 pessoas, a partir daí foi a demonstração de que tínhamos, sim, que tiramos o maior proveito das redes sociais e acima disso, portanto, foi se repetindo, fomos organizando e continuamos a organizar várias atividades e o nosso mecanismo principal de engajamento é definitivamente as redes sociais, Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn e Twitter, e anunciamos sempre com dias da incidência, tentamos também, de alguma forma, contribuir com transporte, alimentação dependendo de quem são os nossos parceiros, isso também influencia muito no engajamento dos voluntários para irem ou não a atividade, mas as redes sociais continuam a ser o nosso maior veículo de ação voluntária.

ET: Queria só acrescentar que acima da ação voluntária de engajamento, acho que também é influência pública, influência pública que, portanto, o nosso posicionamento, este nosso engajamento e o nosso posicionamento nas redes sociais acaba por transmitir uma sensação de credibilidade e confiança para aquelas pessoas que seguem o nosso trabalho e conseguem sentir a diferença da forma como nós comunicamos, como com outras organizações que, se calhar, estão mais ligadas a política ou a partidos políticos em Angola. Isso dá -nos muita mais credibilidade e confiança. E, por exemplo, nós tivemos a situação do Okavango, quando a lei das áreas de conservação em Angola foi alterada para que se pudessem explorar recursos naturais dentro das áreas de conservação, nós fizemos um abaixo-assinado, uma carta aberta que foi enviada para vários ministérios, nomeadamente o Ministério da Cultura Turismo e Ambiente, que era na altura, hoje é só o Ministério do Ambiente, e enviamos para outros ministérios do comércio, de petróleos, etc. Fizemos um encontro, tínhamos, partilhamos a carta, depois nas redes sociais conseguimos mais de 10 mil assinaturas para esta carta, portanto houve muita pressão que nós conseguimos, isso tudo transmitido através das redes sociais, e acima disso depois também fizemos uma discussão, que nós temos o nome de café ecológico para discutir, chamamos portanto os representantes do governo, representantes de outras organizações para discutirmos publicamente sobre este assunto, e foi transmitido no Facebook

com muito engajamento, muita discussão, portanto acaba por ser um veículo também de comunicação até entre o próprio aparelho governamental e a sociedade civil, porque esta conversa muitas vezes não acontece, não existe esse canal, portanto o facto de termos de um posicionamento tão forte que acaba por pressionar algum tipo de resposta por parte do governo, acaba por tornar também as páginas da EcoAngola um canal com muita influência a nível ambiental.

Appendix 3.2 - Transcript/ Fátima Pires (Associação Angola Rescue)

Data: 10/04/2024

Entrevistador (Israel Campos): Fátima Pires, muito obrigado por ter aceite o nosso convite para esta entrevista. Primeiro, gostaríamos de saber se a Fátima tem algum background em comunicação ou mídia, sendo a gestora das redes sociais da Associação Angola Rescue?

Fátima Pires (FP): Não tenho absolutamente nenhum background nessas áreas. Sou bancária de profissão.

IC: Então como é que se dá esse início a essa jornada de lidar com a comunicação da associação?

FP: O início dá-se precisamente por haver uma necessidade de nós publicarmos as nossas atividades. As pessoas ficarem a saber que nós existimos, o que é que nós fazemos, ir buscar credibilidade para o nosso trabalho, através das imagens, porque as pessoas gostam de ver imagens, vídeos, factos, e isto gratuitamente é possível a pena para as redes sociais, senão teríamos que depender de entrevistas, como estas, como a TPA e outras, isto é muito mais difícil. O Facebook e outros canais estão muito mais à mão, e têm um alcance tremendo também, não é?

IC: Em termos de comunicação da Associação Angola Rescue, quais são os principais mecanismos que vocês utilizam para comunicar as vossas ações, actividades, iniciativas, para os públicos externos?

FP: É assim, principalmente nas redes sociais.

IC: Nomeadamente, entre as redes sociais, quais são as que vocês utilizam?

FP: É o Facebook e o Instagram. Nós utilizamos as duas em simultâneo, porque elas estão interligadas, inclusive.

IC: Mas entre as duas, entre o Instagram e o Facebook, onde é que tem mais interações?

FP: Ora, bem, isto é relativo, vamos, se calhar, achar que é o Instagram, que tem mais interações, mais cliques, entretanto, onde nós temos um maior alcance, é precisamente o

Facebook, o Facebook tem cerca de, sei lá, quase 20 mil visualizações, mais de 15 mil assinantes da página, não é? E o Instagram deve ter, sei lá, 3 mil para aí, não é? Portanto, eu acho que as pessoas usam mais o Instagram, estes que estão no Instagram, são mais adeptos do Instagram, então eles interagem por aí, os da página do Facebook, percebemos pelas visualizações que eles acompanham, só não cliquem tanto. É relativo, nós já tivemos publicações do Facebook que foram parar ao Brasil com um número absurdo de comentários, por exemplo, e partilhas, mais de 200 partilhas, 300 para aí. Isto nunca aconteceu no Instagram.

IC: Portanto, o Facebook tem essa projeção que consegue alcançar mais públicos, até inclusive fora da Angola?

FP: Exactamente, basta que alguém que tenha vários amigos, por exemplo, no estrangeiro, partilhe, e ele tem um leque grande de amigos, de repente nós estamos num outro país.

IC: Depois a outra pergunta era, Fátima, qual é a relação que vocês têm para a divulgação também das vossas ações, atividades, iniciativas com a imprensa tradicional, televisão, rádio e jornal em Angola? Com quanta frequência vocês são convidados a dar entrevistas e que podem falar do vosso trabalho?

FP: Não se pode falar em frequência. Isto acontece em alturas específicas do ano, como por exemplo no natal, costumamos ser procurados, ou quando há alguma publicação que excede os padrões e vai parar a algum jornalista e ele interessa-se e quer falar sobre o assunto. E aí somos convidados. Não existe uma regularidade com os órgãos normais da televisão e rádio.

IC: Então, portanto, por isso há essa maior, claro, dependência também das redes sociais, imagino.

FP: Sim, e claramente posso dizer que os apoios que nós temos tido até agora não foram a partida da televisão nem da rádio. Foi a mesmo a partir da nossa página do Facebook. Salvo raras excepções, não temos tido nenhum apoio de alguém, de algum patrocinador, através de entrevistas na imprensa. Já pelas redes sociais acontece bastante de pessoas nos contatarem e dizerem “vi a situações X, como é que eu faço para ajudar?” Isso sim, temos tido bastante.

IC: Fátima, vocês têm algum plano específico para a gestão da comunicação nas redes sociais? Ou a vossa comunicação é feita de modo mais aleatório?

FP: Aleatório. Isto de gerir páginas, ligando a pergunta que me fizeste inicialmente sobre eu ter alguma formação, gerir uma página requer realmente uma formação. Eu acredito porque isto dá muito trabalho. As imagens têm que ter um padrão, a comunicação tem que ter um padrão. As pessoas têm que conseguir identificar, de longe, aquela comunicação, ainda que eu não consiga ler, de certeza que é Angola Rescue. Isto nós conseguimos fazer, não é? Criei um layout engraçado e isto já se consegue, mas é trabalhoso, nós temos que estar atentos às efemérides, temos que estar atendidos ao que se passa e as páginas têm que ter movimento diário e as nossas páginas não têm, porque quem está a gerir, sou eu e eu tenho, além da

responsabilidade da página, tenho a responsabilidade de acompanhar a associação em si. Isto requer uma gestão logística grande de gerir os recursos financeiros que são cada vez menos. Entre ir a uma reunião para resolver aquilo que eu preciso para a associação continuar viva e fazer uma fotografia para colocar na página, adivinhe o que eu priorizo, não é? E depois disso, a casa, a família, e o trabalho, que é este que se me sustenta, não é associação pois que a associação é algo que eu faço com o coração não tem outra justificação, resta muito pouco tempo e então, só mesmo quando da. Por vezes eu chego a fazer publicações de madrugada, acorda à noite e antes de voltar adormecer faço uma publicação desde que saí de manhã cedo, por exemplo porque não há tempo mesmo para isso tanto, não é fácil.

IC: Fátima mencionou sobre ter feito um layout claro que as publicações na Angola Rescue são todas quase todas sem o logotipo e depois daquele layout que tem as cores do logotipo. Mas queria entender como é que funciona há um processo, por exemplo para tomar a decisão sobre vamos publicar isso ou não vamos publicar isso por exemplo, sabemos que às vezes há imagens que são chocantes e há imagens em péssimo estado visual e etc há um processo interno de tomar a decisão isso pode ir ou isso não pode ir porque é bastante chocante ou não?

FP: Com relação aos animais nós não poupamos as imagens que as pessoas têm que ter noção da gravidade dos casos.

IC: É uma medida intencional mesmo?

FP: Sim, é uma chamada da atenção intencional porque não se fala de animais em Angola não se fala, as pessoas não têm noção muitas vezes do que quais são as atrocidades que esses animais passam e então, mas o Facebook acaba por fazer policiamento, muitas vezes, nós quando recebemos imagens chocantes, temos um véu a dizer “atenção em imagens chocantes” e a pessoa abre se quiser, é já um policiamento com o Facebook tem automático.

IC: Depois, a nossa análise do conteúdo que fizemos sobre as vossas publicações, demonstrou que a do modo geral, as fotografias e os vídeos são os recursos mais utilizados por vocês no Facebook. Há alguma razão específica para isso?

FP: Ora bem. Sim. Então vamos lá começar. Os textos por regra nas redes sociais tornam-se cansativos porque as pessoas não gostam de ler. Têm que ser muito curtos, se calhar. Eu disse no início que a nossa atividade, se ela até agora se prolonga no tempo e as pessoas aderem, é porque as pessoas gostam de ver imagens, gostam de constatar o que de fato aquilo acontece, porque escrever toda a gente escreve. Aliás, imagina um jornal só com textos, sem imagens. É um livro e as livrarias sabem o que é que passa para vender um livro, não é? Pronto, então as imagens falam muitas vezes mais que um texto longo, então nós temos que usar imagens e vídeos. Quanto às lives, eu não gosto muito da parceira, eu podia fazer muitas lives, apontar para o animal que está ao pé de mim e falar sobre isso, porque nós estamos ao pé das imagens e podemos fazer isso. É uma defesa minha, não fazer isso, só quando necessário, é muito restrito, tanto eu não vou encontrar muitas imagens minhas na página, e mesmo as entrevistas

de visão contam -se aquelas em que eu compareço, prefiro envolver mais voluntárias, mesmo para aqueles que se idam também parte da associação, não tem que ter estrelas, não é?

IC: E depois outra concentração que nós também fizemos é que grande parte das vossas publicações têm um objetivo ou de compartilhar a informação ou de solicitar alguma ajuda, né, que as pessoas tomem alguma ação através daquela publicação que vocês fizeram. Isso tem funcionado, portanto, queremos entender qual é essa correlação que existe entre o apelo que se faz no mundo digital e às vezes os postos podem ter muitas partilhas e muitos likes e muitos comentários, mas depois a nível, esse engajamento todo tem-se traduzido efetivamente em ações por parte das pessoas que vos cheguem que acompanham o trabalho?

FP: Eu posso dizer que nós estamos vivos desde, ou nascemos, em 2016, nós estamos em 2024, até hoje nós continuamos a salvar vidas, a alimentar crianças e como eu disse, não é através da TPA, nem da TV Zimbo, nem da RNA (órgãos de comunicação social), mas é através da nossa página do Facebook e de amigos dos amigos dos amigos. E então eu estaria a ser ingrata se dissesse que não, podíamos estar mais longe e fazer muito mais, sim, ou seja, o que nós recebemos nos mantemos de pé até agora, ok? Ok. Então resulta. Então resulta.

Resulta porque as pessoas sabem que como é que nós vamos tirar animais da rua em péssimo estado, partidos, desnutridos, levamos para uma uma clínica que não é das mais baratas, uma clínica em condições, com tudo que há moderno. Esses animais ficam por vezes lá um ano, onde é que nós vamos arranjar dinheiro para custear as despesas deste animal? Nós colocamos logo na nossa página (Facebook) e informamos logo “Este animal vai ser internado na clínica X e vamos precisar do vosso apoio”. Se fossem 100 pessoas, às vezes 100 pessoas pagariam o tratamento do animal, mesmo só dando mil kwanzas. Nós não colocamos nenhum montante. Ajuda com o poder. Se for uma lata de salsicha, também serve, a gente entrega na clínica e eles conseguem alimentar o animal. Há pessoas que entregam ração, por exemplo. Então as pessoas têm sido sensíveis e nesse aspecto tem sido um espetáculo ver com muitas pessoas que gostam dos animais e querem ver -nos fora dessa realidade tão cruel que ainda é nossa.

IC: Então com o tempo de trabalho com a associação também já tem, ganha-se essa credibilidade e as pessoas passam a confiar mais no trabalho da associação e não há dúvida em relação a isso. Mas vocês já tiveram alguma circunstância em que, por exemplo, tiveram comentários no Facebook menos agradáveis, porque eu quero saber qual é a relação, sei que é sua Fátima gerir à conta e sei que deve ser muito trabalho, mas a Fátima, por exemplo, vê comentários e responder comentários ou faz a publicação e espera que entre em contato por outra, por outra via. Costuma ler comentários e responder a eles?

FP: Costumo sim, sim, sempre que estou com um telefone e encontro algum comentário, sim. As pessoas não só comentam, comentam nas publicações como também mandam mensagens para o back office da página, não é? Mensagens desagradáveis, muito, muito, muito raramente.

IC: E depois, finalmente, a última pergunta é tentar compreender da Fátima qual é que acha que é o papel que o Facebook tem a nível da democratização do acesso à informação em Angola.

FP: Olha, o Facebook é uma plataforma sem limites, não é? Sem limites. Felizmente nós não estamos numa China em que se bloqueia o Facebook, ou outros países mais severos nesse aspecto, não é? Aqui as pessoas utilizam o Facebook à vontade, acho que é uma liberdade. Acho que nós conseguimos apresentar as nossas inquietações sem irmos até determinar o nível que acaba por afetar a nossa imagem, a nossa probabilidade e a de outras pessoas também. E então eu acho que até agora tem sido livre, acho que há sim alguma censura, alguma repreensão, mas as pessoas realmente aquilo que querem expor no Facebook, que tiverem documentado, tiverem certeza, tiverem na primeira pessoa, eu acho que devem estar aberto, né? Acho que fica patente essa utilidade que o Facebook tem para o vosso trabalho.

Appendix 3.3 - Transcript/ Isis Hembe (Movimento Cívico Mudei)

Data: 10/04/2024

Entrevistador (Israel Campos): Estimado Isis Hembe, muito obrigado por ter acedido ao nosso convite. Primeiro, gostaria de saber se tem alguma formação em comunicação ou gestão de redes sociais, uma vez que é o gestor da página do Facebook do Movimento Cívico Mudei?

Isis Hembe (IH): A minha relação com a comunicação/gestão das redes sociais aconteceu de forma espontânea... eu tenho o meu trabalho relacionado à arte e isso me obriga de alguma maneira a ter um pouco de visão nesse sentido. Eu estou desde Outubro do ano passado a gerir as páginas do Mudei mas eu já tenho uma relação com muita gente que estava dentro do projeto anterior, então já fiz várias participações relacionadas à criação de conteúdo em outras ocasiões, não como um produtor, era simplesmente um voluntário.

IC: Ok, então a primeira pergunta seria, em termos de comunicação do movimento Mudei, quais são os principais canais que vocês utilizam para divulgar as suas ações e iniciativas para o público em geral?

IH: Normalmente, o Facebook é o nosso principal canal, mas nós também alternamos um pouco com o Twitter e o Instagram. Primeiro é que o Facebook tem mais usuários em Angola, especialmente o nosso público, não são pessoas muito versadas em tecnologia, então o Facebook é como se fosse a rede social mais popular entre nós, mas também alguma atividade no Twitter e no Instagram.

IC: Ok, mas claramente, sim, os números mostram que o Facebook é aquela que tem mais engajamento, mesmo a nível de seguidores e de partilha do conteúdo, algumas pessoas poderão dizer que isso tem a ver com o facto de que a rede social mais popular é Angola e, portanto, tem um alcance maior, mas também vocês produzem vídeos que, às vezes vão para o Youtube?

IH: Sim, nós temos uma página no YouTube, mas nós utilizamos mais para conteúdos um pouco maiores, mais demorados e tal. Na verdade, nós nos adaptamos às plataformas passando as possibilidades que elas nos dão, as ferramentas que elas nos dão. E o YouTube é muito bom

para conteúdos de pesquisa, não é aquele tipo de conteúdo, você vai colocar e as pessoas estão à espera de visualizar e tal. Existem alguns usuários de YouTube, assim, fanáticos em Angola, mas eu posso dizer que para o nosso tipo de objetivo em termos de comunicação não é muito útil porque nós fazemos coisas que têm impacto instantâneo e não necessariamente de pesquisa, mas algumas atividades, como a cobertura que nós fizemos das eleições e etc, num período posterior a minha presença, a nós colocamos lá, porque isso vai servir de pesquisa e no Facebook normalmente não é um bom espaço para deixar coisas que têm alguma coisa relacionada à pesquisa e etc.

IC: De modo geral, qual é a relação que o movimento Mudei tem com a empresa tradicional? Tipo, televisão, rádio, jornal, Angola. Geralmente são convidados a dar entrevistas, é também o mecanismo que vocês utilizam para passar a vossa mensagem, ou como é que funciona?

IH: Não, não temos tido este tipo de entrevistas. O problema é que a imprensa nacional se posiciona, especialmente a estatal, se posiciona como antagônica ao tipo de voz que nós queremos dar. Nós não temos uma atitude bélica em relação à imprensa, porque nós não vamos lá. E é evidente que não é uma coisa específica contra o Movimento Mudei, mas é uma postura contra todas as vozes críticas ao regime. Inclusive a própria plataforma do Mudei vem para dar resposta a esse tipo de dificuldade que a nossa imprensa tem que é: a falta de pluralidade nas vozes.

Uma das principais motivações do Movimento foi garantir o voto justo e uma das principais reclamações que havia nesse sentido era que a imprensa não dava vozes à oposição, então a maior parte das do tempo de antena para os partidos políticos era concentrado para o partido de situação [MPLA], então de alguma maneira a nova gestão política tem uma tendência a eliminar vozes, que eu não diria que sejam necessariamente contrastantes, mas elas querem ter uma voz única, querem ter uma única narrativa, então de certa maneira nós acabamos por não ser tidos, nem achados. Nós fizemos um trabalho de coleta de votos, de intenções de votos e fomos totalmente ignorados, apesar de sermos praticamente uma das principais plataformas nesse sentido que estava vocacionada para esse sentido e tal, a imprensa, especialmente a pública, tem uma relação assim esquisita, perante a nossa actividade.

IC: Então diria que existe uma maior tendência em terem cobertura mediática de órgãos privados ou internacionais, como, por exemplo, vimos nas eleições de 2022?

IH: Sim, exatamente. Nós temos tido mais facilidade em ter acesso a este tipo de entrevistas porque na verdade existem aqui em Angola bloqueios institucionais. Nós conhecemos os jornalistas dos órgãos públicos, com quem nos cruzamos em eventos e temos uma boa relação. Mas institucionalmente, como não é o direcionamento que muitos querem ter, especialmente a imprensa pública, então fica mais difícil eles nos convidarem para os seus espaços. Quanto à imprensa privada, nós temos alguma relação e até temos a intenção de criar mesmo pontos para fazermos uma coisa coletiva, especialmente para aquelas que têm a tônica de criar essa alteridade em termos de narrativas políticas e foco na actividade cívica.

IC: A nível de planificação, vocês têm algum plano assim específico para a gestão da comunicação das redes sociais, portanto, que determina a qualidade do tipo de posts que são feitos?

IH: Sim, nós temos um determinado critério, em termos de qualidade, que é garantir que as informações sejam verdadeiras, que seja algo que tenha o mesmo respaldo na realidade, possa ser verificável e que tenha provas, especialmente se forem denúncias e etc. Então, para nós isso é um critério muito importante. O nosso objetivo é, de alguma maneira, fortalecer as ações comunitárias, então nem sempre nós temos capacidade em termos de estrutura para fazer as coberturas com as melhores qualidades técnicas. Então, nós vamos nos adaptando às circunstâncias que vamos encontrando no espaço.

IC: Já tiveram alguns casos em que receberam informações que vocês não publicaram, porque achavam que não, ou não poderia dizer a verdade ou não ia de encontro àquilo que é a vossa visão enquanto movimento?

IH: Sim, sim, já tivemos vários casos. Às vezes nós temos que ter esse cuidado porque são denúncias e denúncias são graves às vezes. Se você coloca uma denúncia que eventualmente não está bem fundamentada, isto tira um pouco de credibilidade da própria organização, então nós tentamos fazer um processo de verificação rigoroso. Muitas vezes até os próprios denunciadores é que desistem, porque nós temos que fazer uma série de perguntas para tornar a denúncia mais verificada possível, então às vezes simplesmente não conseguimos postar algumas coisas por causa da consistência.

IC: A análise do conteúdo que nós fizemos demonstrou que geralmente as fotografias e os vídeos são os recursos mais utilizados pelo Mudei no Facebook. Há alguma razão específica para isso?

IH: Sim, a razão é mesmo também da questão da plataforma, antes nós percebemos que os textos funcionam muito bem também aqui, mas de alguma maneira, especialmente para determinados tipos de tem várias atividades e tem vários focos, não só focos de denúncia, a produção do conteúdo varia um pouco, tem produtos mesmo que são produtos culturais para incentivar a participação pública, como eu caso do “Descentralizado”, então esses produtos normalmente engajam melhor quando são feitos em vídeo, então de alguma maneira isso foi dirigindo, a própria plataforma também incentiva a produção de vídeo especialmente para fazer a concorrência ao TikTok, então, é basicamente isso.

IC: Acha que também há uma relação maior, engajamento maior das pessoas quando se publica uma denúncia, ou uma informação com um vídeo, uma imagem do que quando se publica são textos, acha que é uma relação diferente?

IH: Sim, sim. Embora que, vamos dizer que cada um tem um efeito diferente e um efeito necessário. Não necessariamente os vídeos substituem, por exemplo, as mensagens em texto.

Quando são aquelas coisas que estão a acontecer agora, são coisas instantâneas, não sei se você escrever um texto eventualmente vai ter menos impacto do que se tivesse feito um vídeo. Então, de certa maneira, cada formato tem um impacto diferente e necessário na nossa comunicação.

IC: Vocês têm alguma maneira ou mecanismo para filtrar conteúdo de ódio ou conteúdo inapropriado? Portanto, nos comentários.

IH: Não, nós não temos nenhum mecanismo. A plataforma de alguma maneira já tornou o Facebook um pouco mais sensível e às vezes questões de semântica podem fazer com que o um conteúdo não esteja acessível com as pessoas, então nós praticamente estamos no mesmo suscetíveis a esta auto-regulação do Facebook.

IH: Mas tem algum tipo de moderação, por exemplo, em relação aos comentários, vocês recebem muitos comentários, respondem comentários, leem os comentários para entender o que as pessoas querem dizer, qual é a vossa relação com esse feedback?

IH: Sim, nós estamos atentos aos comentários, inclusive, porque nós temos um tratamento da informação que às vezes é interativa, né? Nós, por exemplo, tivemos a fazer cobertura da greve dos trabalhadores da função pública e não só, e como tu deves imaginar, nós não somos uma grande estrutura que pode chegar em todas as partes do país para saber quais são as escolas que estão em greve, então as pessoas vão dando também a sua contribuição, fazem fotos, enviam as fotos para nós e nós estamos lá estimular também as pessoas, “se você vê no teu bairro alguma escola que está trancada e etc, faça fotos e etc”, e o público dá alguma maneira também nos ajuda a compor estas informações.

IC: De modo geral, tendo em conta também aquilo que disse sobre a versão que a imprensa em Angola, a imprensa estatal tem de dar voz a pessoas que são consideradas discordantes daquilo que o Estado de Coisas, qual é o papel que acha que o Facebook tem em Angola a nível da democratização do acesso à informação?

IH: O Facebook praticamente participou de uma mudança de paradigma, que ainda é embrionária, mas que já demonstra que tem onço já [em Angola]. Porque antes o que acontecia é que nós estávamos confinados à imprensa pública e privada e normalmente a imprensa publica tem os seus condicionamentos e a imprensa privada, muitos deles também estão relacionados com o regime político do país ou não querem ter conflito e depois nós temos um estado muito sensível, uma coisa simples, parece que você quer bater de frente. Então o Facebook serviu ferramenta, não só de plataformas, que deu esse canal para as pessoas se expressarem e isso teve impactos, muito impacto até mesmo nas últimas eleições, por exemplo, se você verificar alguns dados que nós colocámos, por exemplo, nas últimas eleições a respeito das províncias que mais usam a tecnologia e os centros urbanos e etc, houve mais dificuldades em termos de ter, por exemplo, muitos votos para o partido do poder ou para o outro partido do golpe, sempre houve um pouco mais de equilíbrio, porque as pessoas falam mais, a informação circula mais etc. Então o Facebook, eu acredito que seja o dos principais, as

principais ferramentas, vai fazer um pouco dessa dualidade entre esse discurso homogêneo que já criado artificialmente e as reais necessidades das pessoas.

IC: Vocês conseguem encontrar essa correlação entre o engajamento que as suas fazem a nível online de partilhar, depois likes e de comentar e depois em ações específicas fora das redes sociais, tanto alguma relação entre um posto de uma manifestação de muita popularidade, isso sempre se traduz na presença das pessoas lá no terreno ou não?

IH: Nem sempre, que era bom que fosse assim. Por trás do computador somos todos muito corajosos, temos todos muita força de vontade, mas também é compreensível. Eu entendo o nosso contexto, que é um contexto também de muito medo. Nós só temos o Facebook, como ferramenta, e o Facebook tem uma vantagem, não vai dar lá o polícia com o pureté e tal, e vai ficar por aí. Então, de alguma maneira, nem sempre se traduz isso, mas o Facebook teve, só para ter uma ideia, a primeira manifestação em Angola foi convocada no Facebook em 2011. Então, aparece sempre um corajoso, 2, 3, 4, mas entre 100 que falaram, vamos fazer, vai parecer uns 16. Por aí, não é uma coisa assim, os números nem sempre, mas é para, como eu disse, o contexto tem muito a ver também, mas o Facebook tem um impacto real e traduz, traduz desejos reais, isso é uma verdade, embora que às vezes esses desejos não chegam a ser realizado, mas estão lá.

Appendix 3.4 - Transcript/ Kennedy Manuel (Movimento Cívico Vamos Sair de Angola)

Data: 10/04/2024

Entrevistador (Israel Campos): Estimado Kennedy Manuel, muito obrigado por ter aceite a nossa entrevista. Inicialmente, gostaria de saber se o Kennedy tem alguma formação ou background em comunicação ou gestão de redes sociais?

Kennedy Manuel (KM): Muito obrigado pelo convite. Não, não tenho nenhuma formação nesta área de comunicação.

IC: Em termos de comunicação, quais são as principais PLATAFORMAS que vocês utilizam para comunicar as vossas ações, atividades e iniciativas para o público? Ou seja, para além do Facebook alguma outra plataforma que vocês utilizam?

KM: Nós utilizamos apenas no Facebook e temos um grupo no Whatsapp.

IC: Destas duas plataformas, Facebook e Whatsapp, qual é a que vocês mais utilizam?

KM: Utilizamos mais o Facebook. O Whatsapp é um grupo onde as pessoas partilham ideias entre si, então não há muita necessidade de entrar em contato. Há mais partilha de ideias entre as pessoas que pretendem emigrar.

IC: Ok, e então poderia dizer que o Facebook tem sido a plataforma mais eficaz nessa transmissão de mensagens?

KM: Sim, sim, sim, é a mais eficaz, porque a com mais seguidores, né, e as pessoas têm mais aderência no Facebook em relação ao Whatsapp.

IC: Vocês têm um plano específico para o tipo de conteúdo que vai para o Facebook ou acontece de forma mais orgânica. Como é que vocês se organizam para colocar a informação?

KM: Olha, não temos um plano de publicação, como vê, nós publicamos diversos assuntos, diversos assuntos ligados à imigração, publicamos assuntos relacionados de pessoas que estão no estrangeiro e estão a vivenciar aquela realidade e tentam elas têm a tendência sempre de partilhar com nós, partilhem algumas fotos e partilhem a ideia de como é que é, então varia muito, não temos uma agenda de publicação.

IC: E como é que essas coisas que querem partilhar a informação entram em contato com vocês?

KM: Geralmente, elas entram em contato pelo Facebook ou pelo número que consta na página, que é o número do WhatsApp.

IC: Nós fizemos uma análise de conteúdos da vossa página, que mostrou que de modo geral vocês utilizam mais fotografias e vídeos na vossa publicação. Há alguma razão específica para isso? Por exemplo, em comparação a outros grupos fazem mais lives ou publicam mais textos, mas vocês em particular utilizam mais fotografias e vídeos. Teria alguma razão para isso?

KM: Nós utilizamos mais fotografia e vídeos com o objetivo de chamar a atenção das pessoas. Fica mais fácil para poder chamar a atenção das pessoas. Então essa é a ideia, chamar mais a atenção das pessoas, publicando fotos e vídeos de pessoas que estão lá (exterior) motivando também outras pessoas que pretendem emigrar a não perder a esperança, utilizando fotos de outras pessoas. E vídeos têm que ser vídeos curtos, porque as pessoas não gostam muito de perder muito tempo assistindo, então utilizamos mais esse tipo de conteúdo. Utilizamos esses recursos, pois sabemos que as pessoas não gostam muito de ler.

IC: Então, vocês têm consciência do comportamento do utilizador. Ou seja, mencionar essa parte que as pessoas não gostam de ler. Então, é por causa disso que vocês também pautam por ter, quando tem textos, textos muito curtos.

KM: Sim, é uma escolha com base nas necessidades das pessoas que nos seguem, Não adianta publicar um conteúdo que sabemos que não será do agrado dos nossos seguidores.

IC: Também vimos que, por exemplo, na vossa página, grande parte do trabalho que vocês fazem é compartilhar a informação, com potenciais pessoas que querem emigrar. De onde é

que surge essa ideia, ou necessidade, de criar uma página que partilha informação exclusivamente sobre emigração?

KM: Apesar do conceito de imigração já ser muito antigo entre nós, nós criamos esse movimento pois muita gente jovem pretende imigrar, tendo em conta a situação social e econômica do país que tende a piorar a cada ano que passa, e atendendo o facto de que as pessoas precisam de viver com dignidade. E nós criamos este movimento a fim de de ser um canal de partilha de informação massiva sobre os processos de imigração, incentivando e elucidando aqueles angolanos que pretendem sair de Angola. A nossa intenção é passar uma visão realista sobre o processo de imigração e destacar as histórias de sucesso. A nossa ideia é também a de chamar a atenção do nosso governo, a fim de tentar melhorar as coisas aqui no nosso país.

IC: As vossas publicações têm um grande número de comentários. Vocês têm alguma maneira, algum mecanismo para filtrar, por exemplo, quando alguém está nos comentários a partilhar informações falsas ou ofensivas, tem alguma forma de moderar ou de controlar os comentários que são feitos?

KM: Não, infelizmente não temos nenhum mecanismo para isto. Mas costumamos olhar para os comentários e tentar responder os comentários. Nós respondemos a alguns comentários, mas temos muita dificuldade em responder mensagens no off mesmo, tentamos responder alguns comentários, porque há aderência de muita gente a pedir informações no privado, tentamos responder, mas não conseguimos responder todos, por isso a nossa ideia é pegar tantas mensagens que têm algo em comum, ou seja, falando de algum ponto, e nós tentamos buscar informações credíveis a fim de partilhar na nossa página Facebook a fim de que todo mundo possa aceder à informação.

IC: Qual é que acha que é o papel que o Facebook tem na democratização do acesso à informação? Por exemplo, esse assunto, por exemplo, de incentivo e migração, é uma questão que não é abordada na imprensa tradicional, né? Qual é a importância que você acha que o Facebook tem nesse sentido de poder passar essa informação às pessoas que elas não conseguiriam ter acesso na televisão ou na rádio?

KM: Olha, a importância do Facebook é pelo facto de ter muita gente a usar, porque o WhatsApp normalmente é mais para a partilha de conteúdos, então o Facebook é muita gente a usar, menores de idade, jovens maiores de idade, tanto idosos, então chega muito mais fácil usar o Facebook a partilha de informação do que qualquer outro meio de comunicação. E é uma ferramenta onde podemos fazer partilhas sem censura.

IC: Acha que a disseminação da informação no Facebook tem tido impacto na mobilização das pessoas, para que, por exemplo, no vosso caso, consigam de facto emigrar? Vocês conhecem casos de pessoas que emigraram por causa de informações que foram acompanhando na vossa página?

KM: Sim, sim. Temos relatórios de várias pessoas que emigraram devido a nossa partilha de informação. Também ajudamos, por exemplo, recentemente, uma jovem necessitada aqui em Angola. Ela quis sair daqui para Portugal. Fornecemos todas as informações que ela precisava e ela conseguiu pedir o visto. Este é o impacto real do nosso trabalho.

IC: Vocês alguma vez já foram contactados para dar algum tipo de entrevista num órgão de comunicação social em Angola?

KM: Já, já, nós já falamos em rádio. Em Angola já falamos sobre o movimento vivo na rádio, acho que em duas rádios aqui, a Rádio Eclésia e a DW. Fomos entrevistados quando o movimento começou a surgir, aquele todo impacto que ele teve no início. Lembro-me que havia deputados a criticar este movimento e nós demos as respostas a esse tipo de pessoas, porque aquilo alastrou, muita gente falou sobre sair do país, porque o movimento começou a dar uma visibilidade grande a este tipo de assuntos.

IC: Ok, mas nunca tiveram, por exemplo, entrevistas em órgãos de comunicação social públicos como a TPA, RNA, Jornal de Angola?

KM: Não, nunca tivemos entrevistas em órgãos públicos. Estes são geralmente assuntos que não interessam muito a esse tipo de imprensa no nosso país e por isso é que nós existimos. Estamos comprometidos em continuar a auxiliar aquelas pessoas que querem imigrar. As pessoas podem e devem muito bem migrar se assim entenderem. E ninguém as pode proibir disto pois o mundo pertence a todos, o mundo não é de ninguém.