ABSTRACT: The terrorist attacks of “Charlie Hebdo” publishing house led to the creation of online social networking communities, titled “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”). These events enhanced individual participation in public processes and led to the expression of criticism of society as passive construct. However, the new communication technology not only enables the construction of virtual communities but also can lead to discrimination against social groups.

The object of the research – the new online communities “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) and their communication and mediatization content on social websites. The main goal of this work is to figure out the role of social media as a mediator in shaping individuals’ values, worldview, mobilizing new online movements (communities) and stakeholders, and promoting public polarization, segmentation and the confrontation in different virtual environments through “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) case studies on social websites like Facebook and Twitter.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of social networks content confirmed the hypothesis that in different symbolic (virtual) communities, “Charlie Hebdo” cartoons and the terrorist attacks in France are presented diametrically contrary to the provisions of the target group to which the message is supposed to be addressed to. Concerning the case of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”), the information is deliberately intended to form a negative perception of Islam and Muslims in an emphasis on freedom of speech and press, terrorism and the threat of Islamism; thus, it is demonizing, stigmatizing and marginalizing the religious
community. Meanwhile, in the social network, “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) has chosen communication strategy (style and rhetoric) aimed at forming a diametrically opposite counter through religious tolerance concept, as expressed in negative attitudes towards the West, focusing on Islamophobia, racism and xenophobia faced by Muslims – the immigrants in the West.

A comparative analysis that was conducted confirmed the hypothesis that participants of different online (protest) movements do not get the equal “mediatised voice” opportunity to be heard in two diametrically opposite approaches by supportive audiences, because of that, information asymmetry and selectivity can enhance the dominant discourse (in their culture medium) and lead to discrimination against social groups: expression of Islamophobia and Christianophobia in the society. In the case of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”), speeches of the presidents, politicians, journalists and lawyers encourage Islamophobic and Muslimophobic discourses in society, while “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) initiators – Muslim representatives – express completely different positions, for example, emphasizing Western cultural hegemony, domination and oppression.

**KEYWORDS:** New Online Movements, Mediatization, Social Media Activism, “Je suis Charlie”, The Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Social Networks Content.
INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, social media have become an essential source of information which enable people to form groups, achieve particular goals and share information, therefore traditional local communities are changed by global online social networking communities (Segerberg, Bennett, 2011). The appearance of “Je suis Charlie” movement after the terror attacks of “Charlie Hebdo” publishing house can not be regarded as a mere expression of the freedom of the speech or press, whereas the Internet not only allows individuals to “construct” new online communities and create new spaces for their interaction (for example, sharing their common interests) but can also encourage marginalization and stigmatization of certain social groups (such as ethnic or religious minorities) (Gerbaudo, Treré, 2015, p. 865). Although Internet and new interactive virtual spaces have increased opportunities for citizens to participate in the movements beyond national boundaries, however Keen (2007) argues that false information which is provided in social media might be harmful for consumer's ability to think critically, analyze and interpret the events or phenomena which are described as well as other individuals’ arguments, which may lead to discrimination (negative attitudes) against particular groups in the society.

The analysis of new online movements “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) and their communication in the social networking websites is relevant for several reasons. In particular, these new media-oriented movements manifested on a global scale because it is a new platform of expression which allows to respond to significant international events (Velasquez, LaRose, 2015, p. 456). Recent studies (Keen, 2008) have shown that social media usage and various interpretations of media texts are important to construct cultural identity and significant to feel belonging to society; therefore, it is assumed that information which is provided in the social networking websites is rarely neutral because new communication technologies operate as medium within certain values in the society. In addition, the mediatization of new movements means that organizers and participants of such protests as “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) use information and communication technologies (social websites Facebook, Twitter), which allows users to share some information and enables social interaction. Messages in the communities of social networking websites are formulated and presented in such a way that could reach a significant attention, because it can be perceived as institutionalized mean of uniting or encouraging solidarity in the society (Sen, Spyridakis, Amtmann, Lee, 2010). Although social media exclusively promotes emergence of virtual protests, it is assumed that new online movements are intended not only to express
solidarity but also lead to polarization between the representatives of Muslims and Western world by forming and maintaining two radically different positions.

After the 9/11 events, many studies (Sami, Sajid, Allievi, Bleich) confirmed that negative attitudes towards Muslims (usually described as Islamophobia) have become a prominent feature in Western societies, whereas Muslims were condemned, demonized and considered as the main object of discrimination. Although the role of media and the far-right groups in promoting Islamophobia in particular society has been widely debated, however not enough attention was paid to the role of social networking websites in shaping value orientation of individuals, developing and maintaining the negative images of Islam and Muslims. In this research, representation of Islam and Muslims is deconstructed by using quantitative and qualitative content analysis of social networking websites, analyzing the socio-cultural context; therefore, it is assumed that in the case of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement, users of social networking websites (Facebook and Twitter) are involved in the stigmatization of Islam and Muslims as well as into Islamophobic discourse.

Therefore, the main object of the research – the new online communities, “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”), communication and mediatization content of social networking websites. The main goal of this work is to figure out the role of social media as a mediator in shaping individuals values, worldview, mobilizing new online movements (communities), stakeholders and promoting public polarization, segmentation and the confrontation in different virtual environments through “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) case studies on social websites like Facebook and Twitter.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research involves the use of quantitative and qualitative content analysis of social networking websites Facebook and Twitter. The period research involves lasts from January 7, 2015 to July 7, 2015 (6 months). The aim is to identify and compare how two radically different “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movements are described in the social websites, how value orientation of participants (consumers of social networks) is constructed and what attitudes are formed towards these new online movements (neutral, criticizing, ironic). In this part of the study, quantitative and qualitative analysis method is applied for the content, which is associated with “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not
The Mediatization of New Movements: the Case of “Je Suis Charlie” movements in the social websites. The content of published information is compared in order to determine the similarities and differences, the inclusion and exclusion of main actors in the discourse.

Quantitative content analysis is based on the following quantitative criteria:
- Amount of publications on the wall (Wall Posts) (maintaining positive, neutral, negative rhetoric);
- Text (as an extra or the main information);
- Amount of comments (Discussion boards);
- Average amount of Like / Share and Favorite / Retweet;
- Amount of pictures, videos, and links.

Qualitative content analysis is based on the following qualitative criteria:
- Rhetoric of texts (Wall posts) as well as comments;
- The main features of photos and videos (visual aspects).

These criteria are analyzed through the methodology of discourse quality developed according to Habermas Theory of Communicative Action which is based on the following principles (Validity Claims): Truthfulness, Comprehensibility, Sincerity, Legitimacy (Cukier, Ngwenyama, Bauer, Middleton, 2009, p. 179). Although this is a common analytical framework, however it proposes researcher with a set of theoretical constructs which is designed for analyzing the empirical observations (elements of speech or text) in communication (Stahl, 2008, p. 165). Validity Claims are defined by special dimensions for each criterion separately (Table No. 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Validity Claims</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Distortion</th>
<th>Speech Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Content of the assumptions of what is</td>
<td>Truthfulness</td>
<td>Erroneous interpretation, misrepresentation</td>
<td>Argumentation and evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>considered based on the facts and arguments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The speaker is honest or sincere</td>
<td>Sincerity</td>
<td>False Assurance</td>
<td>Metaphors and connotative words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is said is linguistically understandable</td>
<td>Comprehensibility</td>
<td>Confusion</td>
<td>Rhetoric and semantic rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clear and comprehensible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What the speaker says (and does) is correct</td>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>Illegitimacy</td>
<td>Use of experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and in line with existing norms and values</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL NETWORKING WEBSITES\(^1\)

The analysis of information which is published on social websites has revealed that the frequency of the words and their combinations can be a reference to a certain rhetoric in order to mobilize and polarize society in the context of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement. The aim of the primary quantitative and computer analysis of texts is to explore general aspects of rhetoric, which may be an attempt to influence individuals’ value orientation. The frequency of 12 concepts/phrases were examined for the quantitative content analysis in the publications: Freedom of Speech, Religious tolerance, Islamism, Terrorism, Islamophobia, Racism, Europe awake, Let’s Unite, to Stop, I am not a Terrorist, to Offend, Mocking (Table 2). The results showed that the concepts of Terrorism (105 photos and comments) and Islamism (102) were mainly found in the publications presenting “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement. Meanwhile, the phrase Freedom of Speech (98) was often used in combination with a similar expression Freedom of the Press. It is noted that the concepts of Europe awake (55), Let’s Unite (49), to Stop (44) were not dominating but in the same line with the main theme of numerous publications. According to the results of the study, it was assumed that public mobilization and polarization depends on a choice of particular language (rhetoric) in the social media, it is likely that such terms can be used for artificially creating or maintaining hostility between different groups in the society.

\(^1\) Quantitative and qualitative content analysis of social networking websites is based on Sutkutė, R. The Mediatization of New Movements: The Case of “Je suis Charlie”. Master Thesis in Integrated Communication / supervisor Prof. Dr. K. Juraitė; Vytautas Magnus University, Faculty of Political Science and Diplomacy, Department of Public Communication. Kaunas, 2016. 121 p.

Table 2.
The frequency of concepts in the rhetoric of Facebook and Twitter social networks in the context of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movements

Source: concluded by the author based on results of quantitative content analysis
The results of quantitative content analysis showed that the most frequent expressions found in publications presenting “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movement were Religious tolerance (101), I am not a terrorist (98), meanwhile concepts such as Racism (69), To offend (57), Mocking (55) was not very popular, but nonetheless often repeated in pictures, video and comments; therefore, it is assumed that it is indirect (linguistic) function of social media to form value orientation of activists of social networks and followers of certain websites by selecting publications with, usually negative, concepts or phrases.

According to the results of quantitative content analysis, three main categories (the dominant images) were excluded for the qualitative content analysis of social networking websites (Annex No. 1):

1. The role of social media on freedom of the speech and press;
2. The role of social media in the context of religious tolerance;
3. The role of social media in the context of terrorism and Islamism.

The following chapter presents qualitative content analysis: discussing and comparing two different social networking websites: Facebook and Twitter. For an objective evaluation of the chosen two diametrically opposed pages in both social networking websites – “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”). In order to maintain a certain contrast (two different views of events in France), an assumption is made that the representatives of different cultures perceived these events contrarily and it was the reason for their solidarity with the representatives of the West and Islamic culture (the analysis is important in order to figure out the role of social media as an mediator, not only representing an objective information but at the same time shaping value orientation of the audience to which the message is designed).

Conducted qualitative content analysis of four different social networking websites confirmed the hypothesis that publications are formed in order to form an attitude of the audience, for which they are intended, favorable to the majority of the public (online community). The results revealed that in the social networking communities “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”), information (photos, video) intentionally forms negative attitudes not only towards the events in France but in general to Islam and Muslims as a religious community with emphasis on the freedom of the speech and press (Annex No. 2), terrorism (Annexes No. 3, No. 4) and the threat of Islamism (Annex No. 5), thus demonizing, stigmatizing and marginalizing Muslims as community which is not complying with the standards of Western society (Annex No. 6). Meanwhile, selected
communication strategy (style and rhetoric) in the social networking website “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) is aimed at forming diametrically opposite arguments (creating response to “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement) through the concept of religious tolerance (Annex No. 7) as expressed in the negative attitudes towards the West with emphasis on Islamophobia (Annex No. 8), racism (Annex No. 9), xenophobia (Annex No. 10) and muslimophobia (Annex No. 11) faced by Muslims – immigrants in Western society; therefore, there is a requirement to resist this Western hegemony (Annex No. 12), domination (Annex No. 13) and oppression (Annex No. 14). However, it is assumed that not only “racist” Western media selectively sorts the way to present global events to the public (Annex No. 15) but the same model of information selection is valid in diametrically different online communities.

A comparison of how different groups of actors are involved in the construction of value orientation to social groups found out that although there is no clear disclosure of the main players’ identity, information in the publications suggests that in the case of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”), these are representatives of West (sharing speeches of presidents, politicians, journalists, lawyers (Annex No. 16) and their declared goal – to protect society from the possible expansion of Islam (Annex No. 17) and “white genocide” (Annex No. 18) while organizing “new” Crusades (Annex No. 19). Meanwhile, in the case of “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”), they are representatives of Islamic culture (Annex No. 20) expressing the antagonistic positions towards Western cultural hegemony (Annex No. 21) and the media which has become a primary instrument to oppression they have experienced (Annex No. 22). Their arguments are based on the dominant stereotypes of Islam and Muslims (Annex No. 23), failed policy of “multiculturalism” in the West (Annex No. 24) or parallel to Antisemitism (Annexes No. 25, No. 26) and analogy of the Algerian War (Annex No. 27). The interested parties (representatives of “I am Charlie” and “I’m not Charlie” movements) do not gain equal access for the outgoing messages (information) to be heard in both diametrically opposite audiences which have different viewpoints; for this reason, it may be useful to strengthen the dominant discourse (in their cultural medium) despite the information asymmetry (various discrepancies between facts, which are presented, and reality as well as selectivity of information). Whereas social media provides false information which is harmful for consumers’ ability to think critically, analyze and interpret arguments provided by other individuals, it may lead to the discrimination (negative attitudes) against particular social groups: expression of Islamophobia and Christianophobia in society.
The analysis of discourse of Islamism and terrorism on social networking websites revealed some discrepancies connected with logical consistency; for example, it is written in one publication: “What’s the difference between a mosque and a Trojan horse? – None” (Annex No. 28). Therefore, the following statements and rhetorical questions are intended to emphasize the similarity between the mosque and a Trojan horse, because it is the object “hiding” Muslim communities that are going to conquer all Europe and create a society with Islam being the dominant religion. The publications constantly emphasize aspect of fanaticism which is related both to terrorism and Islamism because Muslims are portrayed in the framework of absolute religious fanaticism with such statements as “No Sharia in Europe” (Annex No. 29) or “Europe awake!” (Annex No. 30), accordingly these publications encourage negative perception of this religious community. The main claim of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement expressed in social websites Facebook and Twitter is to stop the expansion of the Muslims in Europe and destruction of the main Western values (Freedom of the Press, Freedom of the Speech). Thus, these examples justify the assumption that there is no specific evidence and reasoning to confirm the allegations in the discourse of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) movement, contrary, they use abstract information that Western audiences could deliberately create the image of violence as natural phenomenon underlying the existing social order in the Muslim society.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Social media is becoming the most important channel of communication through which the messages can reach target audiences and the main attention can be focused on discourse, especially visual graphics (pictures and video) of online movements. However, new online technologies create new virtual communities which support a unilateral position and do not recognize different arguments: in the discussions, information is presented to accomplish the interest of the majority of virtual community and uses arguments justifying lexis, because of that, it has a limited possibility of consensus and constructive dialogue.

Publications of social networking websites support the opposite movement diametrically – “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) emphasizes the “fight” against the image of a Muslim as a terrorist in Western societies as well as in the media, whereas it can be assumed that this stereotype is formed and supported by representation of this religious community in mass media. This is well illustrated by the main picture of terrorist attacks on 7th January on the social networking site Twitter showing how one of the attackers shot a lying policeman. 

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(Figure No. 1). In the case of “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movement, the same picture is represented in the social networking site but with additional textual information (the attacker who shoots the lying policeman is called a terrorist, and the victim (policeman Ahmed Merabet) is described as a Muslim) (Figure No. 2). The aim is to encourage the public value orientation that “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movement also condemns the attacks of “Charlie Hebdo” publishing house but Islam has nothing to do with terrorism, besides, policeman (Ahmed Merabet), who professes Islam, becomes the victim of the terrorist attacks. Thus publications of diametrically opposite movement emphasize that Islamism, terrorism or any kind of violence is not the hallmark of the Muslim community, accordingly drawing attention to the representation of Muslims and already formed stereotypes connected with coercion and violence (mistakenly believed that violence is deeply rooted in Islamic law and thus not breaking any moral values).

New information and communication technologies as well as internet are changing Habermas concept of public sphere (in the case of ideal conditions, it avoids domination, manipulation and uncertain arguments), because social networking websites are becoming one of the main instrument for creating new online communities that support a unilateral position and not recognize the opposing arguments. Validity Claims are based on Habermas Theory of Communicative Action, therefore provide a strong basis for empirical research and obsess clear requirements such as Truthfulness, Comprehensibility, Sincerity and Legitimacy. Textual analysis based on Habermas discourse ethics can be used as an instrument for the assessment of the discourse rationality, whereas
a systematic analysis of the elements might not only reveal the speaker’s value orientation and objectives of communication but can be also used for critical content analysis of communication, therefore can be considered as a common methodology in order to effectively assess deviations in the given discourse.

Social media is regarded as a platform for new online movements, because without mediation and representation, expressed resistance, created publications in virtual sphere and movements would lose meaning in the contemporary society. Social networking websites, such as Facebook or Twitter, become the new tools of public discourse and people’s empowerment, by which the criticism to the society is expressed as a passive construct emphasizing members of community as active, creative and able to organize themselves. Social media activism reduces the value of traditional social movements whereas shape phenomena of Half-hearted activism, Meaningless activism, Clicktivism, or Slaktivism. The reason is that individuals can easily join any online community, create and maintain collective identity, share information, therefore, they feel involved in the public (frequently global) events and have no real basis (motivation) for mass demonstrations, rallies or protests. Social media promotes the formation of exceptionally virtual (protest) movements (online communities) which create a new form of passive (peaceful) resistance.

False information which is represented in this communication platform “destroys” critical thinking, whereas additional information (for contextual understanding) is removed from the discourse. According to the results of qualitative content analysis, it is assumed that colonization of public sphere (Habermas concept) in the 21st century is carried out with the support of social media. The analysis of Validity Claims revealed that online communities support unilateral positions because discussions reflect the interests and arguments of majority; therefore, the possibility of a constructive dialogue is limited. Although formed value orientations of social groups has not been analysed, it is likely to be significant in promoting hostile or even violent reactions in the society; thus, it should be noted that the further development of this topic could evaluate mediatization effects of these online (protest) movements on the other forms of activism in real-life physical spaces.
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Discourse of “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) and “Je ne suis pas Charlie” (“I’m not Charlie”) movements

Quantitative content analysis of social networking websites

“Facebook”: “Je suis Charlie” “Je ne suis pas Charlie”

“Twitter”: “Je suis Charlie” “Je ne suis pas Charlie”

Qualitative content analysis of social networking websites
(The main categories identified by the results of quantitative content analysis)

Freedom of Speech and of the Press

Validity Claims

Truthfulness

Comprehensibility

Sincerity

Legitimacy

Religious Tolerance

Validity Claims

Truthfulness

Comprehensibility

Sincerity

Legitimacy

Islamism, Terrorism, Fundamentalism

Validity Claims

Truthfulness

Comprehensibility

Sincerity

Legitimacy

Source: concluded by the author based on results of quantitative content analysis


Annex No. 6


Annex No. 7


Annex No. 8


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The Mediatization of New Movements: the Case of “Je Suis Charlie”

Annex No. 14


Annex No. 15


Annex No. 16


Annex No. 20


Annex No. 21


Annex No. 22


Annex No. 23


Rūta SUTKUTĖ

Annex No. 27


Annex No. 28


The Mediatization of New Movements: the Case of “Je Suis Charlie”

NAUJŲJŲ JUDĖJIMŲ MEDIATIZACIJA: „JE SUIS CHARLIE“ ATVEJIS

SANTRAUKA


Atlikta kokybinė ir kiekybinė socialinių tinklalapių turinio analizė patvirtino hipotezę, kad skirtingose simbolinėse (virtualiose) bendruomenėse „Charlie Hebdo“ karikatūros bei teroristiniai išpuoliai Prancūzijoje pristatomi diametraliai priešingai, formuojant nuostatas, palankias tikslinės auditorijos, kuriai skirtas pranešimas, daugumai. „Je suis Charlie“ („Aš esu Charlie“) atveju pateikiamia informacija sąmoningai siekiama suformuoti neigiamą požiūrį prieš islāmą ir musulmonus, pabrėžiant žodžio ir spaudos laisvę, terorizmo bei islāmizmo grėsmę, tokiu būdu demonizuojant, stigmatizuojant bei marginalizuojant šią religinę bendruomenę. Socialiniuose tinklalapiuose „Je ne suis pas Charlie“ („Aš nesu Charlie“) pasirinkta komunikacine strategija (stilistika ir retorika) siekiama formuoti kardinaliai priešingus kontrargumentus, pasitelkiant religinės tolerancijos sampratą, kadangi išreiškiamos neigiamos nuostatos dėl Vakarų, akcentuojant islamofobijos, rasizmo bei ksenofobijos problemas, su kuriomis susiduria musulmonai imigrantai Vakaruose.

Lyginamoji analizė patvirtino argumentą, kad skirtųjų internetinių (protesto) judėjimų dalyviams nesuteikiamos vienodos mediatizuoto balso galimybės būti išgirsti išgiūstų abiejų kardinaliai priešingiai požiūriai palaikančių auditorijų. Dėl šios priežasties informacinė asimetrija ir selektyvumas gali sustiprinti įtaką kultūrinėje terpėje dominuojančią diskursą bei lemti socialinių grupių diskriminaciją: islamofobijos bei krikščionofobijos raišką visuomenėje. „Je suis Charlie“ („Aš esu Charlie“) atveju dalijamas prezidentų, politikų, žurnalistų pasakojimai, kurie skatina islamofobijos bei musulmonų diskursą
visuomenėje, o „Je ne suis pas Charlie“ („Aš nesu Charlie“) veikėjai – musulmonų atstovai, išreiškiantys priešiškas pozicijas Vakarų kultūrinei hegemonijai, dominavimui ir priespaudui.

RAKTINIAI ŽODŽIAI: naujieji internetiniai judėjimai, mediatizacija, socialinių medijų akti-vizmas, „Je suis Charlie“, kiekybė ir kokybė socialinių tinklalapių turinio analizė.