

themselves the exact conditions and reasons for shared linking without additional forms of analysis (Elmer, 2006: 13). Thus, this research employs framing analysis as a qualitative methodology to uncover further implications.

What makes a network is the ties among its actors, thereof indications on the status of actors, and their ties, such as degree centrality, closeness, and betweenness provide substantial answers to the foundations of a network. However, what counts is not just the presence of a tie, but its content, as well as its patterns (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014: 8). Therefore, it is important to understand the rhetorical dynamics of a movement, and to explore how issues are formed around dialogues that circulate within the network. In this study the findings from SNA are complemented and supported with qualitative content analysis of the issues that emerged during the movement in order to create a detailed observation of the characteristics of network clusters, and to highlight the relative importance of the various types of connections. By limiting the analysis to Twitter, it is possible to pay particular attention to the interrelations as well as dialogues between actors, and their framing practices, which are explored to observe how collective action was achieved in the protest.

Regarding the rationale and aims of this study, the research is designed in two phases: SNA and framing analysis. First phase consisted of several processes, including data retrieval, data classification, and mapping. As certain hashtags occurred during the protest, a basic Twitter search was conducted with relevant keywords to explore the prominent actors, and quantitative facts were obtained for SNA. NodeXL, which delivers up to 18000 tweets per search, was used to collect data during the period of the protest. As a next step, data was cleaned up and sorted to serve the specific needs of this research. It was reformatted for data visualization. Lastly, Gephi was employed with the Force Atlas 2 layout algorithm to illustrate the network. Nodes, representing Twitter accounts, were filtered by degree range to create an enhanced map in which 31% of the nodes and 54% of the edges are visible. Nodes with a degree range of 10 and higher, along with the key nodes having at least 1K followers were selected for qualitative analysis. These nodes, which characterize the aggregate network, were color-coded by their affiliation. Each selected node was specifically investigated on Twitter (e.g. number of tweets, followers etc.) and secondary sources, such as websites, journals, and reports were consulted where relevant.

The second phase was basically formed around framing analysis. During this phase, qualitative techniques were conducted to discover which frames dominated the network. The sample of over 50 accounts were placed on a coding template for framing analysis, and all tweets sent from those accounts were examined. The frames and their ties to relevant accounts were linked together to illustrate the discursive network. Moreover, the motivational aspects of actors, such as call for mobilization, help demands, show of solidarity, and information sharing were coded. At this point, the direction of activity between the accounts was considered as the columns on the data sheet listed them accordingly. The first column, for instance, listed the accounts as the source of activity, and the second column sorted the accounts addressed on the first. A combination of accounts in both columns were considered while coding the frames, whereas only the first one was taken into account for coding the activities.

#### 4. FINDINGS

Findings from the research comprise two complementary sections. The first section introduces the actors and their connections in the structural network of the protest, and the second explores the frames while presenting a discussion on the mobilization of the İztuzu protest with reference to the actions taken on Twitter.

##### 4.1. Mapping the Protest's Network

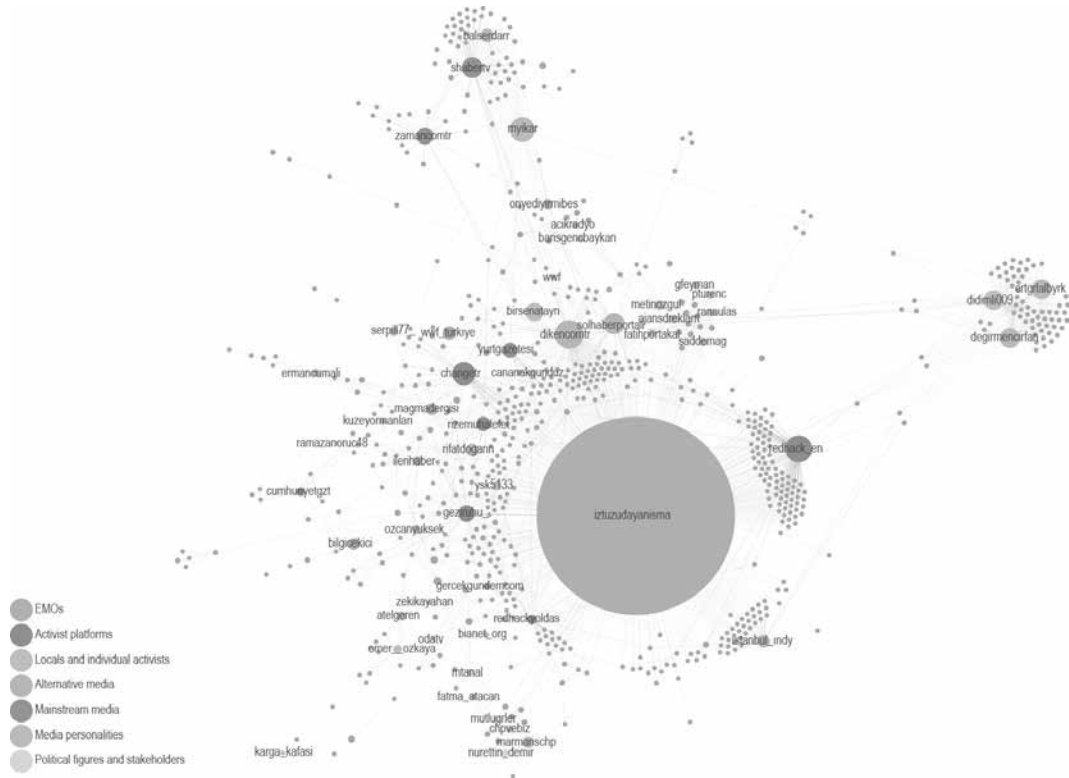
In the development of movements the production of identities corresponds to the emergence of new relationship networks among actors, and these relationships serve as a basis for the development of informal communication networks, interaction, and, when necessary, mutual support (Porta & Diani, 2006: 94). While a substantial portion of a network is consciously developed during campaigns organized by social movement organizations, the remaining part emerges spontaneously. According to Klandermans and Oegema (1987), it is

necessary for recruitment networks to be mobilized and activated during a mobilization campaign, and the success of this process depends, to a great extent, on the formation of the movement network:

However successfully a movement mobilizes consensus, however large its mobilization potential, if it does not have access to recruitment networks, its mobilization potential cannot be realized. Networks condition whether people become targets of mobilization attempts: The more a movement's reach-out networks are woven into other organizations, the more people are reached by mobilization attempts (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987: 520).

The Internet sphere in Turkey has become a stage on which diverse and novel forms of political activity can be observed, from individual to collective action (Akn & Ziraman, 2015: 13). Regarding the context of this study, Twitter, as a platform for those activities, can be considered an effective tool in the expansion of the İztuzu protest network. However, Twitter itself does not mobilize a movement, but supports the development of informal communication networks, which are comprised of a myriad of social forces. The diversity of these social forces, which includes the actors themselves, as well as their occupations and motivations, provides the framework in which the protest develops. As seen in Figure 1, several actors are noticeable in the İztuzu protest Twitter network. These are classified according to their categories as EMOs, activist platforms, locals and individual activists, alternative media, mainstream media, media personalities, political figures and stakeholders. At first sight, stronger linkages are observed within the actors of the same category, and weaker connections across a multiplicity of categories. However, this initial analysis is eventually revealed to be an oversimplification.

Figure 1. Actors of the İztuzu Protest



Curtis and Zurcher (1973) define social movements as *multiorganizational fields* in which interorganizational processes can be identified, both on organizational and individual levels. By

multiorganizational fields, they refer to “the total possible number of organizations with which the focal organization might establish specific linkages” (1973: 53). In the case of the İztuzu protest, İztuzu Dayanışması (iztuzudayanisma) was the focal organization in the network with the highest degree (388).<sup>1</sup> Mostly linking to alternative media, activist platforms, local and individual activists, İztuzu Dayanışması represented the core of the network, and served as the hub connecting other nodes. Indeed, it was the only node to conjoin prominent actors. Relations among other actors were relatively disorganized, meaning that the larger nodes were connected only to lower ranking nodes, and not directly to each other. Even between the environmental organizations, no direct ties were found to exist.

Because institutional routes are usually blocked, social movement groups find allies among other insurgent groups (Rosenthal et al., 1985: 1023). The efforts of these groups to find allies often result in network clusters. In the İztuzu protest network, in which there is a remarkable level of disengagement between the larger nodes, clusters become significant components of analysis. In this context, several clusters are observed in the protest network, most of which having formed around İztuzu Dayanışması. Among these, the largest developed in relation to RedHack (redhack\_en). The hacker group, which became active following the Gezi protests, also claimed responsibility for hacking several governmental institutions in the recent past. As the dominant node in its cluster, RedHack has 102 ties, as well as being connected to several other nodes via RedHack Yoldaş (redhackyoldas).

Several other clusters has been centered by alternative media. With a degree of 64, Diken (dikencomtr) was the largest node among this category. As it is linked to İztuzu Dayanışması, Diken has led to a cluster of regular Twitter users. However, it had no connections to the prominent nodes in the network other than İztuzu Dayanışması, and most of its network was also linked to this focal organization. With 10.6K followers, İstanbul Indymedia (istanbul\_indy) has 37 degrees, thus forming another cluster. Similar to Diken, most of the nodes in its network were linked to İztuzu Dayanışması. As the only Independent Media Center in Turkey, its website operations are limited, but excessive activity is observed on Twitter. Outlines of another cluster can be drawn with reference to Sol Haber Portalı (solhaberportali). This organization, which provided information on the legal process, reflects the patterns of clusters seen in other news media organizations. 30 nodes tied to Sol Haber Portalı retweeted the news referring to the encouraging court decision.

Other clusters having direct connections to İztuzu Dayanışması emerged around GeziRuhu (geziruhu\_), Metin Özgül (metinozgul), and Yurt Gazetesi (yurtgazetesi). GeziRuhu, an activist account referring to the Gezi protests, has several connections to key nodes. Among those Rize Gençlik Muhalefeti (rizemuhalefet), Mahmut Tanal (mtanal), and Fatih Portakal (fatihportakal) can be listed. Rize Gençlik Muhalefeti, a dissident activist platform representing youth, also active on Facebook, has supported the protest using several hashtags. As a member of the Human Rights Investigation Commission at the parliament and a member of the Republican People’s Party, Mahmut Tanal has links to locals, along with Mutlu Gürler (MutluGRLER), another political actor. Neither Rize Gençlik Muhalefeti nor Mahmut Tanal were directly associated with İztuzu Dayanışması. An additional key node linking to GeziRuhu was Fatih Portakal, the renowned anchorman of Fox TV. He was also a major actor in the cluster revolved around Metin Özgül. As an individual activist, Metin Özgül led to a cluster linking to individual activists along with media personalities, namely Gülgün Feyman (gfeyman) and Pınar Türeñç (pturenc). This small-scale cluster included nodes of diverse categories. The final cluster directly connecting to İztuzu Dayanışması was formed around Yurt Gazetesi. As a mainstream news organization, Yurt Gazetesi did not link to the key nodes in the network, except for Canan (cananakgunduz), an activist with 1118 followers.

Other than those clusters directly linking to İztuzu Dayanışması, additional clusters emerged whose central nodes were not directly linked to the focal organization. The first of these was Change.org Türkiye (changetr), a relatively larger node with a degree value of 38. Although accountable for coordinating the online petition, Change.org Türkiye did not mention İztuzu Dayanışması in its activities, however particular nodes in

<sup>1</sup> İKUP and İztuzu Dayanışması are different organizations. Even though İKUP declared itself as the official institution to take and implement decisions regarding the protest, İztuzu Dayanışması has been fairly active on Twitter. At the time of the protest, İKUP’s Twitter account (saveiztuzu) had 106 followers, whilst iztuzudayanisma had 10.5K.