

this cluster had ties to this account. The second cluster in this category was formed around a number of mainstream media organizations and media personalities. Zaman Gazetesi (zamancomtr), Samanyolu Haber TV (shabertv), Serdar Bal (balserdarr), Metin Yıkar (myıkar) were the nodes dominant in this cluster. Zaman, Turkey's highest circulation newspaper, and Samanyolu Haber Tv were among the conservative media outlets, critical of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government for alleged corruption since December 2014. Both Serdar Bal and Metin Yıkar represent Samanyolu Haber Tv as the editors of the news department. The third cluster emerged around the three larger nodes in the network, namely İrfan Değirmenci (degirmencirfan), Ertuğrul Albayrak (ertgrlalbyrk), and Savaş Tıgılı (didimli009). In this cluster, both İrfan Değirmenci and Ertuğrul Albayrak run the morning news show on a mainstream television channel, whereas Savaş Tıgılı is a local resident with only 40 followers, far fewer than İrfan Değirmenci (940K) and Ertuğrul Albayrak (76.6K). Nevertheless, a tweet mentioning Tıgılı and these two media personalities attracted great attention, resulting in a large number of retweets.

Clusters clearly take their place among the determining factors regarding the overall form of a network. Nevertheless, individual (singular) nodes also have a crucial role in the diffusion of meanings. Granovetter (1973, p. 1366) asserted that "whatever is to be diffused can reach a larger number of people, and traverse greater social distance, when passed through weak ties rather than strong." Twitter can be considered as a significant platform for the propagation of content through weak ties. However, unlike movement organizations, individual accounts in general are not easily identified on this social media even if they are well networked. The provided profile information is usually insufficient to give a clear indication of the characteristics of a node. In this study, additional research using search engines was conducted for further information on specific nodes. Also, tweets posted by those accounts revealed their stance on the case, and an analysis of their existing connections to other nodes complemented the findings from the analysis of tweets.

#### 4.2. Framing the Protest

The self image of SMOs and their attitude towards the issues they campaign on has substantial implications for the way in which they seek out prospective allies (Diani, 1995: 13). In fact, clusters in particular and networks in general are formed in accordance with those issues, as well as their implications for framing. Seeking and exploring the instances of framing within a social network allows an understanding of a movement's dynamics, and gives insight on its broader context. Regarding the İztuzu protest network, four frames derive from the data retrieved for qualitative analysis: Environmental justice, economic competitiveness, political economy, and legality.

Environmental justice (Čapek, 1993; Cable & Shriver, 1995; Pellow, 1999; Taylor, 2000; Haluza-DeLay & Fernhout, 2011) is a prognostic frame through which activists articulate their demands. As prognostic framing involves the articulation of a proposed solution for the problem (Benford & Snow, 2000: 616), it is concerned with changing extant reality (Benford, 1993: 689). An identification of the general strategies and tactics developed during the course of the protest revealed that it was structured around such issues as nature, loggerhead turtles, and world heritage. Economic competitiveness (Nisbet, 2009; Chetty, Devadas, & Fleming, 2015), on the other hand, focuses on the issue of unearned income. As a diagnostic frame, it puts emphasis on injustice, and depicts İztuzu as the victim. Another diagnostic frame, political economy (Carroll & Ratner, 1996; Pellow, 1999), draws the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. In this oppositional frame, counterpower involves resistance in the sense of concerted *opposition to domination* (Carroll & Ratner, 1996: 609). Accordingly, the frame opposes AKP, DALÇEV, and Ramazan Oruç. Political economy is an extensive frame that integrates various interconnected problems, which may have political, economic, societal or, as in this case, environmental connotations. The final frame, legality (Brown, 2013), concentrating on the legal process, can be considered as a movement-specific frame, indicating that the protest was grounded on a legal basis.

Since mobilization does not always require preexisting collective identities, activists' efforts to strategically frame identities are critical in recruiting participants (Polletta & Jasper, 2001: 291). During the İztuzu protest, the efforts of İztuzu Dayanışması to unite activists with diverse orientations was effective in the propagation of the environmental justice frame. Also sponsored by various EMOs, meaningful connections occurred between the actors of this category and their framing practices (Figure 2). As Diani (1995: 10)

asserts, in the case of an environmental movement it is not unusual for groups with an initial strong interest in urban issues, for example, to expand the scope of their action to include nature protection and even animal rights themes. Evidence to support this argument is provided by İztuzu Dayanışması, who incorporated into their cause issues such as opposition to damage to nature and wildlife protection (caretta caretta in particular), inequities of intergenerational resource consumption, and public ownership. The environmental justice frame was also sponsored by activist platforms and local residents.

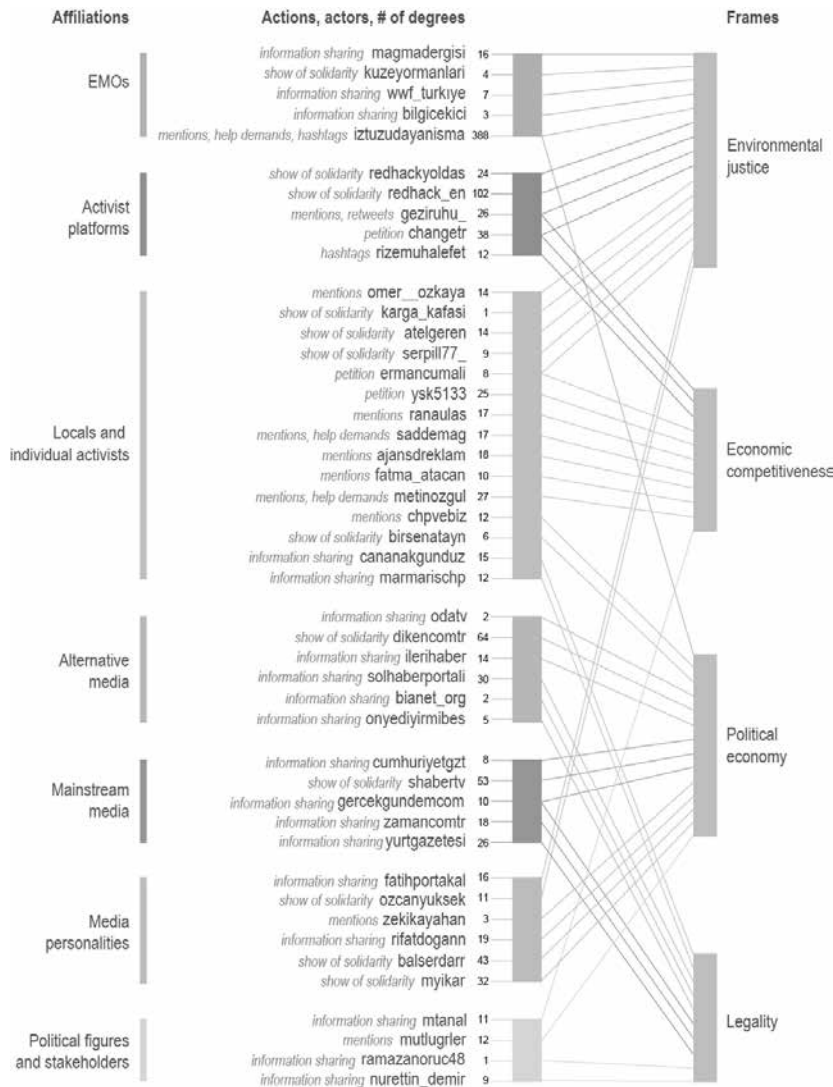
References correlated with the frames help specify the type of the movement. In the case of İztuzu, the emphasis on environmental concerns was strong, however, political grievances also nurtured the protest. In common with the Gezi protests, a significant tendency to oppose the policies of the AKP government shaped its dynamics. As seen in Figure 2, economic competitiveness and political economy, as diagnostic frames, were highly concentrated by a multitude of actors.<sup>2</sup> As Benford (1993: 686) asserts, disputes over *diagnoses* can pertain to problem identification or to attribution of blame or causality. The former involves the articulation and amplification of an aspect of the world which is collectively considered to be in need of ameliorative action, whereas the latter involves specifying 'blame for some problematic condition by identifying culpable agents, be they individuals or collective processes or structures' (Snow & Benford, 1992: 137).

In the context of the İztuzu protest, economic competitiveness rather pertains to problem identification, and the political economy frame was implemented primarily for the attribution of blame. Compared to economic competitiveness, the wider scope of political economy attracted a more diverse range of actors. It also represents the turn in which protestors directed their complaints against specific figures.

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<sup>2</sup> Regarding the cases in which tweets did not include any references for the coding of frames, available links were followed, and the texts on the relevant web pages were consulted. Certain actors were excluded from the figure as they did not correspond to any frame and/or action. For instance, the tweets of İrfan Değirmenci and Savaş Tıgılı did not feature any frames. However, these accounts portrayed participants' feelings about İztuzu, which were appealing enough to be retweeted excessively.

Figure 2. Actors by Affiliation and Frames of the Protest



Fundamentally, legality can be considered a media frame, as it was sponsored both by alternative and mainstream media. It became a distinct component of the protest due to pending legal proceedings. During the course of the protest, a number of documents which served to show the veracity of court decisions were shared on Twitter by the media organizations, and also media personalities. Hence, presence of the legality frame was amplified by means of intensive retweeting activity, as the accounts of such media organizations and media personalities have innumerable followers. Additionally, Nurettin Demir (nurettin\_demir), Muğla MP for the Republican People's Party (CHP), highlighted the legality issues to his 12.3K followers. Ramazan Oruç (ramazanoruc48) also developed a dialogue around legality, although his purpose was different, i.e. to defend his position.

Success of a movement to a great extent depends on the consensus of its actors and consistency of its frames. Reaching an agreement on attributions is therefore important to concerted action, as definitions of a situation often designate targets of collective action (Benford, 1993: 689). In this sense, SMOs seek to resolve diagnostic and prognostic frame disputes in order to achieve *consensus mobilization* (Klandermans, 1984) or *frame alignment* (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). However, the absence of interdependency within the movement network can be considered as a major drawback on the organization of collective action,

because collaboration becomes a greater challenge when different ideas and tendencies compete for domination in the network. In the İztuzu protest, EMOs and activist platforms as a whole seemed to have agreed on the environmental justice frame. Having connections to several groups and individual actors, İztuzu Dayanışması in particular maintained a central position diminishing any possible disputes between the participants. Other than the focal organization, some larger nodes in the network, such as RedHack also served a similar function by steering participants towards certain frames, but lacked the ability to reconcile disputes. In fact, İztuzu Dayanışması was the only organization that clearly defined the boundaries of the protest, as well as being the only node linking the prominent actors.

As a result of frame alignment processes, SMOs put strategic efforts to link their interests and interpretive frames with those of prospective constituents and actual or prospective resource providers (Benford & Snow, 2000: 624). These efforts generate mobilization potential for the formation of a movement for which Twitter offers an effective set of instruments. Beyond microblogging, Twitter helps collaboration and contributes to mobilization practices through its conversational structure, a substantial element in a milieu in which social movements are cultivated. During the İztuzu protest, several forms of activities were observed pertaining to participants' mobilization practices on Twitter. These activities fall under two categories: operational and dissident. The former category promotes collective action, and involves direct activities aiming to incorporate potential participants, such as mentioning media personalities and stakeholders, inviting to online petitions, and requesting support from foreign press and environmental organizations. The latter category consists of activities based on public attention calling tactics, such as information sharing (particularly breaking news and live broadcasts), the showing of solidarity (helping the construction of a collective identity), retweeting, and using hashtags.

Mobilization is formed around, or perhaps, triggered by frames. This does not mean that the emergence of mobilization potential depends on frames, rather, they inherit potential for participants' mobilization. Linking Twitter activities to the frames of the protest helps provide insight into the particular clusters which are inclined towards collective action. As seen in Figure 2, operational activities are gathered around the economic competitiveness frame, mainly sponsored by the activist platforms along with locals and individual activists. Moreover, each actor category conducts a particular activity, which is consistent as a cluster. These activity clusters tend to be distinct, according to the category. To illustrate, news media conducted information sharing activities, media personalities showed solidarity, while political figures, stakeholders and EMOs conducted dissident activities on Twitter.

The process in which the motives of the movement is drawn cannot be realized without the concept of *frame resonance*. Regarding the concept, "the question is not what is or ought to be real, but rather how reality should be presented so as to maximize mobilization" (Benford, 1993: 691). If the frames are congruent with participants' motivations, then it is more likely that the movement will have greater mobilization potential. Regarding this rationale, the degree of a proffered frame's resonance depends on its credibility and its relative salience (Benford & Snow, 2000: 619). Within the given limits of this research, it was not possible to measure the credibility of the frames; however, salience can be observed with reference to the number of connected actors (Figure 2).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, environmental justice and political economy frames were the more salient, due to their connections with a variety of actors, predominantly those with high degrees.

The presence of a mobilization potential is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for actual protest; therefore, this potential still needs to be activated (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992: 556). The achievement of mobilization potential basically depends on reaching and convincing people to participate in the movement. In this sense, operational activities on Twitter not only facilitate the spreading of movement's ideals and beliefs, but also they are useful in prompting activation. In some cases, these activities are quite straightforward, as seen in the following tweet:

<sup>3</sup> Their salience can also be tracked regarding the distribution of nodes in the map (Figure 1). For instance, in this research, the EMOs are in general associated with the environmental justice frame, and the salience of their clusters corresponds to the salience of the frame in question.