

# Parahyangan Catholic University Faculty of Social and Political Science Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

# Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's March Movement

Thesis

By: Fransisca Bianca 2014330146

Bandung

2017



# Parahyangan Catholic University Faculty of Social and Political Science Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

## Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's March Movement

Thesis

By:

Fransisca Bianca 2014330146

Supervisor

Elisabeth Adyiningtyas Satya Dewi, Ph. D

Bandung

2017



### Faculty of Social and Political Science Department of International Relations



#### Thesis Validation

Name

: Fransisca Bianca

Student ID

: 2014330146

Title

: Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's

March Movement

Has been examined in Final Examination On Thursday, December 21st, 2017 And thereby declared GRADUATED

:

The Board of Examiners

Chairperson and member of examiners

Sylvia Yazid, Ph. D

**Secretary** 

Elisabeth Adyiningtyas Satya Dewi, Ph. D

Member

Sapta Dwikardana, Ph. D

With the acknowledgement of, Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo, M.Si.



#### **Statement**

I, as followed:

Name

: Fransisca Bianca

Student ID

: 2014330146

Department

: FISIP / International Relations

Title

: Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's March

Movement

Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own research, and it has not been previously proposed for the same purpose by any other academics or party. Any information, ideas, and facts gained from parties are officially cited in accordance to the valid scientific writing method.

I declare this statement with full responsibility and I am willing to take any consequences given by the prevailing rules if this research was found to be invalid, or if this statement is found to be untrue.

Bandung, December 14th 2017

65ED2AE(324010978

#### **Abstract**

Name : Fransisca Bianca

Student ID : 2014330146

Title : Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's March

Movement

The Women's March was a mass demonstration occurring on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017 in Washington, D. C., indirectly aimed at then-newly inaugurated United States President, Donald Trump. The national-level march eventually grew into a global event, as marked by the emergence of similar marches entitled 'sister marches' worldwide. The 'sister marches' bore similar if not identical issues within its demonstrations to that of the Women's March in Washington D. C., such as gender inequality among political, health, and environmental issues. The globalization of the march itself was the result of the utilization of Facebook, a social media platform, in spreading worldwide information regarding the Women's March in Washington, D. C. and its 'sister marches.'

By using Constructivism theory, Public Sphere theory, New Media concept, Value-Added theory, Globalization theory, and gender equality concept, this research attempts to provide an explanation as to how Facebook was able to globalize the Women's March movement, resulting in its 'sister marches', with the assumption that Facebook as an Internet-based communication platform provides the interconnectivity needed to globalize the movement. Conclusively, this research has found that the emergence of 'sister marches' marks the success of Facebook in globalizing the Women's March.

**Keywords**: Social media, Facebook, Women's March, globalization, 'sister marches'

#### **Abstrak**

Nama : Fransisca Bianca

NPM : 2014330146

Judul : Facebook: Its Influence in Globalizing the Women's March

Movement

The Women's March merupakan aksi demonstrasi yang berlangsung pada 21 Januari, 2017 di Washington, D. C. Adapun demonstrasi ini secara tidak langsung ditujukan terhadap presiden Amerika Serikat yang pada saat itu baru saja dilantik, Donald Trump. Aksi yang semula berskala nasional pun menjadi berskala internasional, ditandai dengan munculnya aksi-aksi 'sister marches' di seluruh dunia. Aksi-aksi 'sister marches' mengusung isu serupa hingga sama persis dengan isu yang diusung pada Women's March di Washington, D. C, seperti ketidaksetaraan gender, disertai isu politik, kesehatan, hingga lingkungan. Globalisasi dari aksi Women's March sendiri disebabkan oleh digunakannya Facebook, sebuah wadah media sosial, dalam menyebarkan informasi secara meluas mengenai Women's March dan 'sister marches' yang mengikutinya.

Dengan menggunakan teori Konstruktivisme, teori Public Sphere, konsep New Media, teori Value-Added, teori Globalisasi, dan konsep kesetaraan gender, riset ini berupaya menghasilkan sebuah penjelasan mengenai bagaimana Facebook mampu mengglobalisasikan aksi Women's March hingga turut memunculkan aksi-aksi 'sister marches' yang mengikutinya. Hal ini disertai dengan asumsi bahwa Facebook sebagai wadah komunikasi berbasis Internet memungkinkan terjadinya interkonektivitas yang dibutuhkan untuk menjadikan aksi Women's March berskala global. Secara kesimpulan, riset ini menemukan bahwa kemunculan 'sister marches' menandai keberhasilan Facebook dalam mengglobalisasikan Women's March.

**Kata Kunci:** Media sosial, Facebook, *Women's March*, globalisasi, *'sister marches'* 

#### **Preface**

With the highest of gratitude to God, the Almighty, and with thankful acknowledgement to all parties who have generously contributed to this thesis, the author presents this thesis, entitled "Facebook: It's Influence in Globalizing the Women's March Movement", which was completed to fulfill the author's final requirements to obtain a Bachelor's Degree in the major of International Relations, in the Faculty of Social and Politics, Parahyangan Catholic University.

This thesis strives to explore the significance of Facebook, a social media platform, in globalizing the Women's March movement. This thesis further explores the circumstances that supported Facebook's role in doing so.

The completion of this thesis was not without obstacles; therefore the author would like to express sincere gratitude to Elisabeth Adyiningtyas Satya Dewi, Ph.D the author's thesis supervisor, for her guidance and attentive supervision in the process of this thesis's completion. The author further realizes that this thesis is still far from being perfect. Therefore, the author is welcome for any criticism and inputs directed at this thesis for its betterment.

#### Acknowledgement

First and foremost I would like to take this opportunity to thank God, The Almighty. Without His grace and blessing, this day wouldn't come. I thank God for giving me this opportunity to bring my family pride and happiness, and may it be the first of many more to come.

I would also like to present this thesis, and the entity of my experience and achievements in IR UNPAR to my family; my mother, father, and sister. Thank you for never failing to believe in me, and thank you for your endless support and love.

To Elisabeth Adyiningtyas Satya Dewi, Ph. D, my supervisor, I would like to express my highest gratitude for her guidance, inputs, and support during the completion of this thesis. Without her attentive guidance, the obstacles and challenges I faced while writing my thesis would not have been handled as well and effectively as they were.

To the colleagues and acquaintances that I've had the pleasure of encountering, learning from, and working closely with I would also like to express my love, gratitude, and best wishes. May life take all of you only in the best directions onwards.

To my dearest friends and loved one who filled my days in UNPAR with laughter and unforgettable moments, words could never do justice to the love I deeply feel for all of you. You know who all of you are. I could only wish you the best of what life has to offer, and the very best of luck for wherever you are heading now. Life would never be the same without all of you, and yet we all

must move on and go after each of our destinies. Still, do know that I will cherish the moments I've shared with you that made my university days bearable very

closely to my heart.

Every ending is just a new beginning. And the best way to enjoy and savor

every single bit of life, as in the words of Walt Disney, is to keep moving forward.

Bandung, January 2018

Fransisca Bianca

V

### **Table of Contents**

| Abstract  | i                            |
|---|------------------------------|
| Abstrak   | ii                           |
| Preface   | . iii                        |
| List of Figures   | viii                         |
| CHAPTER I   | 1                            |
| INTRODUCTION  | 1                            |
| 1.1 Research Background   | 1                            |
| 1.2 Problem Identification  | 9                            |
| 1.2.1 Research Limitation   |                              |
| 1.2.2 Research Question   |                              |
| 1.3. Purposes of the Research   |                              |
| 1.3.1 Practical Use of the Research   |                              |
| 1.4. Literature Review  |                              |
| 1.5. Theoretical Framework  |                              |
| 1.6. Research Methods   |                              |
| 1.6.1 Data Collecting Technique   |                              |
|   |                              |
| CHAPTER II  | . 22                         |
| FACEBOOK'S INFLUENCE AS A SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORM TOWARDS THE WOMEN'S MARCH  2.1 Purpose of the Chapter  2.2 Definition of Social Media  2.3 Social Media as a Platform  2.4 Origins of Facebook  2.5 Origins of the Women's March  | . 22<br>. 22<br>. 25<br>. 27 |
| 2.6 The Spread of the Women's March through Facebook  |                              |
| CHAPTER III   | 34                           |
| THE WOMEN'S MARCH'S USAGE OF FACEBOOK AND ITS RESULT  | Γ                            |
| IN INTERNATIONAL-LEVEL SISTER MARCHES   | 34                           |
| 3.1 The Women's March as a Movement Generated on Social Media   | . 34                         |
| 3.2 Social Media's Role in Globalizing the Women's March in Washington  |                              |
| 3.3 Countries in Which the Women's March's 'Sister Marches' Occurred  |                              |
| 3.4 Details of 'Sister Marches' within Several Countries  | . 46                         |
| CHAPTER IV  | 60                           |
| ANALYZING THE GLOBALIZATION OF THE WOMEN'S MARCH THROUGH 'NEW MEDIA POWER: THE INTERNET AND GLOBAL ACTIVISM'  4.1 Purpose of the Chapter  4.2 'New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism' and the Utilization Facebook by the Women's March Movement  4.3 'New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism' and Facebook's Rolin Globalizing the Women's March Movement | . 60<br>of<br>. 61<br>le     |

| CONCLUSION   | . 73 |
|--------------|------|
| Bibliography | . 76 |

## **List of Figures**

| Figure 3.1 Map of Worldwide Sister Marches. | 45 |
|---|----|
| Figure 4.1Women's March on Newspaper        | 65 |
| Figure 4.1 Women's March on CBS News        | 65 |
| List of Tables                              |    |
| Table 3.1 Issues Within Sister Marches.     | 63 |

#### **CHAPTER I**

#### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Research Background

In this modern and digitalized era, communication systems and the widespread of information have been experiencing an increase in quality, which directly presents an impact in society and the lives of the people in it. Therefore the media as a platform for the spread of information and communication activities has undeniably become an inseparable aspect from society itself. This is due to the fact that the media has been playing in role in becoming a link between society and several significant events in the course of history, and also significant events in the public's personal lives as well, since the media has been providing the public with a large part of the imagery and 'soundtrack' of the public's memories regarding these events. Examples of these events include the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the 35<sup>th</sup> President of the United States in 1963, the car crash resulting in the death of Princess Diana of England in 1997, up to events which occurred in the millennial era such as the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City in September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 (also known as the 9/11 incident) and the second Iraq war in 2003.<sup>1</sup>

The media has also been successful in captivating the public's attention and is responsible for the creation of a constructed reality by the media itself. To

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella, D. Charles Whitney and J. McGregor Wise, *MediaMaking: Mass Media in a Popular Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), accessed March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017,

https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/mediamaking/book226844

further explain how the media is a representation of how the speed and the wide spread of information and communication systems have had an increase in this millennial era, this paper will take as an example the fact that the media plays a significant role in broadcasting the terrorist attack which occurred in the infamous 9/11 incident in New York City. The attack itself has, throughout the years, become a crucial moment in history, which has resulted in a global-wide impact most likely known as the beginning of 'war against terrorism'. Television broadcasts at the time became a main source of the spread of news, facts, images, and information regarding the attack; this shows how news broadcasts made by the media through television was successful in creating the attack into a worldwide concern in a short period of time.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the 9/11 incident several reports stated that the Internet as a means of communication, which had only been made known to the public for a short time back then, was experiencing difficulty in connection due to the large number of people attempting to access information regarding the attack. However, the 9/11 proved to have marked the beginning of the popularization of the Internet, due to the fact that the percentage of its number of users have increased compared to prior to the attack. The Internet has since then become the source of 'alternative' news, containing several records of personal accounts made by its users up to conspiracy theories made by civilians regarding the 9/11 attack. The use of the Internet as a form of media as a platform for the spread and the sharing of various information regarding the attack has also resulted further in the

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,

beginning of a certain 'perspective' being made about people who were suspected to have had a connection and similar backgrounds to that of the party held responsible for the attack, which consist of US citizens who were Muslims and who immigrated from Middle East countries.<sup>3</sup>

The relevance of media in broadcasting information regarding the 9/11 attack is just one of the many examples of how the media and communication are aspects which are bound to the daily lives of the public, especially since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The interconnectedness of the media and society has increased so significantly that there began to be a distortion between the reality as portrayed by the media and actual reality.<sup>4</sup>

Several years following the beginning of the millennial era, which was also marked by the 9/11 attacks, there began to emerge a realization by the public that significant media brands would start to become secondary to a new platform of communication in the form of social media, such as Twitter. This type of network provided by social media allows communication activities to run faster and easier, and with a wider range of broadcasting target for the public, while also providing its users with connection and cellular packages, which are highly accessible for the public. The high speed in which information spreads through this type of network is considered more capable in keeping up with the speed of news broadcasting as the public would demand. However, the credibility and

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid.,

accessibility of the news being published itself should still become the main concern in news broadcasting.<sup>5</sup>

Internet-based communication platforms such as social media also allow more parties to be able to contribute in it. For instance, the emergence of several new actors such as citizen journalists and citizen photographers now play roles in the new communication system through social media. Technological and communication network developments in millennial era have also brought upon us lesser language barrier obstacles in inter-state communications. The establishment of more advanced cellular connections have also took part on these developments. In this new communication platform, credibility and depth of knowledge one has regarding a particular issue no longer becomes a main concern, but rather the speed at which one is able to provide their response and opinion to the public becomes more relevant.<sup>6</sup>

With the increase rate of usage of this online-based communication platform plays an important role in emphasizing the role of the media, specifically regarding freedom of press, which has not yet been implemented in all states. The ability of social media to spread information, including information that may not be completely open for the public, has also been increasing significantly in this millennial era. This fact is due to there now being a kind of 'online trial' by the media, in which the public engaged in a particular discussion has the ability to place their personal opinions regarding the issue and the actors behind it. Connectivity through this online-based platform also makes apparent how the

-

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, *The New Digital Age*, trans. Selviya Hanna (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2014), 41-43, 46-48.

media's role in the public's social lives has also been experiencing a significant increase <sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, in this digitalized era the media also plays a role in state and government activities. Media technology, which can be seen through the emergence of electronic-fueled medias such as social media as mentioned previously, has affected and in some cases even altered political communication patterns. This can be exemplified by changes in the use of the media by government officials and fellow state-representing actors such as political parties as a means of gathering public support, especially during election times. Although governmental communication patterns vary one from the other, depending on their respective social and economical situations or environments, it remains clear how political communication through the media has become very influential and is of use by democratic governments. These political communication activities are aimed to influence the environments surrounding a particular government to benefit the actors behind it, one of the goals being to create a particular political image or identity.<sup>8</sup>

For instance, former 44<sup>th</sup> US President Barack Obama's presidential campaign taking place in 2008 used Facebook, a popular social media, as its campaign platform. This campaign then became successful in captivating the attention of the public widely. Through the usage of the media in Obama's case, US citizens who were about to cast their vote and even global citizens managed to

\_

<sup>7</sup> Ihid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Saqib Riaz, "Effects of New Media Technologies on Political Communication," *Journal of Political Studies; Lahore* 17 (2010): 161-173, accessed March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017, http://search.proquest.com/docview/866302242/7C15A067D61C4557PQ/12?accountid=31495

experience a 'closer' communication with the Obama Administration. This example also shows how in a democratic society, the media, especially internet-based media can play a role in encouraging society to engage in political debates and in becoming a platform for open debates in society. The success experienced by the Obama Administration in using the media as a means to achieve its political ambitions may result in the ways in which the society perceives a certain issue, as the public perception becomes controlled by the users of the media.<sup>9</sup>

With the progression of media usage through online-based communication networks, while also influencing political activities as mentioned previously, the media can also be seen as a potential threat to the authority of government bodies of a state. This is due to there being fear of the legitimacy of these bodies being bypassed by the emergence of new interest groups which are able to relate and associate themselves better with the issues which are becoming the society's main concern, compared to government officials. The issues that are brought up by these interest groups include lifestyle issues and environmental issues. The influence and relevance of these interest groups may further affect the existing government system, such as through affecting the public's perception regarding their personal choices for upcoming elections. This shows how the media can turn into an actor with influence so significant that the public perception relies on how the media chooses to broadcast a certain issue such as an election, and therefore

0

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.,

political activities leading up to that election may need to take cautious steps, such as in regards to the campaigns.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, the media's role as a means for information spreading and broadcasting may result in concern from certain parties. As an example, Pierre Bordieu, a sociologist, expresses his concern that television may eventually impose a threat to democracy itself. This is due to his concern that society will eventually began losing faith in the political system as a result from information fed by the media. Even so, this can also be considered as a challenge to the media in positioning itself as a part of the state's democracy system.<sup>11</sup>

The actors that are involved in the media, such as news anchors, need to uphold their responsibilities in providing information and news that are balanced and rational to society, so that society itself is able to participate in democracy and develops its own perceptions regarding public policies that are being made.<sup>12</sup>

The case to be discussed within this research itself, the Women's March, refers to a women-led protest, which took place on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017, in Washington D. C., United States of America. The march followed the inauguration of the United States' then-newly president-elect, Donald Trump. The organization of the event mainly utilized Facebook, a social media platform, as its means of spreading information. Results of the movement's widespread

http://search.proquest.com/docview/219527308/fulltext/DBF75FD23BB440E3PQ/1?accountid=31495

7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Frederick J. Fletcher, "Media, Elections, and Democracy," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 19 (1994): 131-150, accessed March 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jan van Cuilenburg and Richard van der Wurff, *Media and Open Societies: Cultural, Economic and Policy Foundations for Media Openness in East and West* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2001), 38-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*,

information through Facebook further resulted in numerous 'sister marches' worldwide; 'sister marches' are similar marches to the initial Women's March in Washington, held in solidarity by global volunteers with similar if not identical protests. 1314

This research will discuss 10 countries in which the 'sister marches' were held; the usage of only 10 countries is aimed as an attempt to keep the narrative and discussion within this research effective, and with consideration of there being publication limitation when it comes to the local news of several countries. This research will also use the Gender Inequality Index (GII) issued by the United Nations Development Programme as an indicator in determining which country will be discussed. The GII, which measures gender inequality in countries by identifying aspects of human development such as reproductive health, empowerment, and economic status<sup>15</sup>, is used due to the fact that it's hoped to be able to provide a selection of countries with high numbers of discrimination towards women and girls. Furthermore, with consideration of the Women's March and its following 'sister marches' bearing protests which in majority refer to gender inequality, this research deems the GII as feasible in narrowing countries within this research in which 'sister marches' are held.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Protests Around the World Show Solidarity with Women's March on Washington," The Guardian, accessed September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017,

https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/21/protests-around-world-show-solidarity-with-womens-march-on-washington

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "The Women's March Heard Round the World," Foreign Policy, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017, https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/21/the-womens-march-heard-round-the-world/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "Gender Inequality Index)", United Nations Development Programme, accessed September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017

http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii

In conclusion, it becomes apparent how in this digitalized era the media plays a significant role in not only broadcasting news and information to the public, but also in shaping the public's opinion. Therefore, it also becomes apparent how the media has had an increase in its significance especially in democratic countries where the media's activities are not limited and thus the flow of information and communication conducted through the media, including social media, may run at a faster speed. The significance and the role of the media, particularly social media in influencing the public is what will become the focus of the explanations on the following chapters.

Furthermore, the relevance of media, such as social media, in causing a widespread of information regarding certain issues is shown by the aforementioned role of Facebook in popularizing the Women's March movement. The aim of this research itself is to further elaborate Facebook's role in doing so, as will be done in chapter II, III, and IV.

#### 1.2 Problem Identification

The problem to be specifically discussed in this research is in regards to how social media has been highly influential in the spreading of information regarding the Women's March movement, which occurred on January 21<sup>st</sup> 2017.<sup>16</sup> The Women's March itself is a mass-demonstration protest indirectly aimed at the United States then president-elect, Donald Trump.<sup>17</sup> The movement first started in Washington, D. C. and eventually became a global event as marked by the

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "The March," Women's March, accessed September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, https://www.womensmarch.com/march

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "The Women's March Heard Rond the World," Foreign Policy, accessed September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/21/the-womens-march-heard-round-the-world/

emergence of its 'sister marches.' <sup>18</sup> The social media to be discussed in this research is Facebook, since it has become highly influential in spreading information regarding the Women's March movement due to the fact that through these social medias, the Women's March movement became not only a local event in Washington D. C. (which was the place of origin of the movement) and other US cities, but rather occurred in several other cities from countries around the world such as Sydney, London, Paris, Berlin, Cape Town, and others<sup>19</sup>.

Through the publications done by Facebook, Women's March movements which took place outside the US were initiated and organized by volunteers who were previously not a part of the original Women's March organizers in Washington, D. C. Thus, with the acknowledgement of Facebook's significance in globalizing the Women's March movement, the research within this thesis aims to further discuss and analyze how Facebook was able to do so.

#### 1.2.1 Research Limitation

This research will be limited to the discussion of how the aforementioned social media, Facebook, has become influential in globally spreading information regarding the Woman's March movement.<sup>20</sup> The aforementioned social media has been chosen to be focused on in this research due to the fact the author has found

\_

<sup>19</sup> "Sister Marches," Women's March, accessed September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017, https://www.womensmarch.com/sisters

https://www.cnet.com/news/facebook-twitter-instagram-womens-march/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Protesters Rally Worldwide in Solidarity with Washington March," CNN, accessed September 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017,

http://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/21/politics/trump-women-march-on-washington/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "How Facebook, Twitter Jumpstarted the Women's March," CNET, accessed September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017

the aforementioned social media to be the most influential in bringing the event to the public's attention. Thus, the social media to be discussed in this research will be limited to the aforementioned one only.

#### 1.2.2 Research Question

How did Facebook influence the globalization of the Women's March movement?

#### 1.3. Purposes of the Research

This research aims to further study how Facebook has become very influential in the spreading of information, the construction of public perception and opinion, and the occurrence of a global event.

#### 1.3.1 Practical Use of the Research

This research is hoped to be a reference to its readers in understanding how far social media can become influential to the public's lives, socially and politically, considering how in this case, social media made a national movement such as the Women's March into a global event.

#### 1.4. Literature Review

The first literature to be used in this research is entitled Women and Media: International Perspectives, specifically in a chapter by Gillian Youngs. According to Youngs, the Internet or 'virtual space' can be seen as a sphere, and not just an additional social arena or a set of interrelating spaces. To the public, the Internet could act as a means of facing obstacles, which are physical

constraints and boundaries of traditional settings, such as homes, cities, and nations. Going beyond the previously challenging physical and geographical boundaries becomes a characteristic intertwined with the Internet.<sup>21</sup>

While we previously live in a physical and geographically challenged world, such is no longer the case with the existence of the Internet. Feminists are a part of the public that also benefit from the existence of the Internet, due to the fact that cyberspace within the Internet enable 'woman-machine linkages', and supported attempts of spreading information and communication. Furthermore, the cyberspace also allow the emergence of new knowledge-building processes.<sup>22</sup>

The next article to be used in this paper is entitled Feminism, Women's Movements and Women in Movement, by Sara Motta, Cristina Flesher Fominaya, Catherine Eschle, and Laurence Cox. According to Motta, Fominaya, Eschle, and Cox in this article, there are several movements initiated by women who refuse to be labeled as feminists, although the movements referred to do show feminist movement characteristics at times.<sup>23</sup>

Examples of these movements are movements based on environmental and peace action issues. Refusal towards being labeled as feminists is due to the fact that there's an understanding that the usage of such label would only further marginalize the movement. This is a result of there still being a strong patriarchal

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gillian Youngs, "Cyberspace: The New Feminist Frontier?" in *Women and Media: International Perspectives*, ed. Karen Ross and Carolyn M. Byerly (Padstow: TJ International Ltd, 2006), 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Sara Motta, Cristina Flesher Fominaya, Catherine Eschle, and Laurence Cox, "Feminism, Women's Movements and Women in Movement," *Interface: A Journal For and About Social Movements* 3 (2011): 1-32, accessed February 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017,

http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Interface-3-2-editorial.pdf

belief in society, and thus the use of a feminist label would only imply negative impressions on a movement that is attempting to create social change. The strong patriarchal belief still relevant in society also gives a certain gender to a social movement, and this results in a certain hierarchy in society which harms the movements involved.<sup>24</sup>

The final literature to be used in this research is a chapter entitled "Engagement in the Public Sphere: Women and the Press in Kuwait" by Haya al-Mughni and Mary Ann Tétreault in "Women and Media in the Middle East: Power through Self-Expression." According to al-Mughni and Tétreault, commercial news media can have a rather plural nature. This nature of plurality then becomes the basis of what John Stuart Mill referred to as a 'marketplace of ideas'; meaning the commercial news media itself can be seen as a platform for its readers, viewers, and listeners to stumble upon a varying range of coverage, stories, and perspectives. Furthermore, due to the plural nature of these contents, the public with access to the media can then fulfill their individual needs, as the contents are not served in uniformity.<sup>25</sup>

Based on the information provided by each literature used, this paper will further attempt to complete the information in each aforementioned article. Firstly, an example to explain the ability of the Internet to enable international interconnectivity, allowing the widespread of information to and from the public is realized by the fact that Facebook, a social media platform based on the

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Haya al-Mughni and Mary Ann Tétreault, "Engagement in the Public Sphere: Women and the Press in Kuwait," in *Women and Media in the Middle East: Power through Self-Expression*, ed. Naomi Sakr (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 121.

Internet, has enabled information regarding the Women's March to spread widely and finally turning it into a global event; further discussion of which will also be done in the next chapters.

Secondly, the construction of public perception by the media in this research will be regarding how US President Donald Trump's behavior as depicted in the media is often considered offensive towards women and minorities in the US through his use of words, which further resulted in the emergence of negative responses towards President Trump. This negative response also resulted in the Women's March movement, which eventually became a global phenomenon and is an example of how other issues aside from women issues can be brought to the public's attention through a social movement, as mentioned in the third article.

Finally, through this research, further discussion regarding the ability of the media to provide a variety of perceptions, in order to fulfill the needs of each individual will be done in the next chapters, namely regarding the emergence of a variety of issues within each 'sister march' following the initial Women's March in Washington, D.C. based on the personal need of each 'sister march'.

Therefore, conclusively this research aims to fulfill the gaps between the information provided by all three literatures by attempting to show how the three main focuses of the literatures can eventually become connected to one another and thus resulting in a local social movement that escalated into a global phenomenon.

#### 1.5. Theoretical Framework

In order to analyze the discussion within this research and further provide an answer to the research question, this research will be using W. Lance Bennett's writing on New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism as a theoretical framework. Within his analytical writing, Bennett mentioned several elements or points that support his discussion on the existence of new media in the current international system; some of which, namely those deemed relevant to the discussion within this research, will be used as indicators in using Bennett's New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism as a theoretical framework.<sup>26</sup>

In the chapter entitled 'New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism' within 'Contesting Media Power', Bennett argues that in today's world, any attempt to contest the media's power appear to be smaller than ever before. In addition, there have also emerged several global media trends such as growing media monopolies, the rise of commercialized news and information systems, corporate norms shunning social responsibility beyond profits for shareholders, and government deregulation (as according to several sources Bennett quoted). Furthermore, in today's world, the flow of information across social, technological, and geographical boundaries becomes possible due to the fact that various media have become interactively connected.<sup>27</sup>

The connection of various media also resulted in the emergence of global protest networks, which fight for issues such as social justice. In the process of

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> W. Lance Bennett, "New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism," in *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*, ed. Nick Couldry and James Curran (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 16-35.
<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*.

actualizing such, the networks created by these activists utilize new digital media for the purpose of coordinating, planning, and publicizing information regarding their activities, which are related to their respective causes. With this in mind, Bennett's analytical focus is thus to identify the conditions which made it possible of activists to utilize new media, such as the Internet, mobile phones, wireless networks, streaming technologies, and the World Wide Web itself for information sharing, in order to allow themselves to deliver their messages and communicate with their protest networks without the concerns of geographical and media boundaries.<sup>28</sup>

In his understanding, Bennett also sees the Internet, which is a part of new media, as a communication medium. The ability for the public to now freely engage with one another on new digital media also comes with the possibility for the public to utilize this medium to promote a change regarding various conditions in their environments, especially in personal digital media. This ability also signifies the presence of the Internet as a form of open public sphere, where the public can share and exchange their ideas and plans regarding protests. This process of sharing and exchanging can be done with relative speed and ease on a global scope without the need to depend on mass media channels.<sup>29</sup>

The existence of this public sphere also comes with the emergence of 'network army'. According to Richard Hunter, a 'network army' refers to a number of communities and individuals who are united with one another based on their ideology and not their shared location geographically. These communities or

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*,

individuals are also not bound by a leadership structure that is not formal; with influencers rather than bosses.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, when these diverse networks within new digital media attempt to interact, exchange information, establish electronic records, and coordinate their action with one another, it would be impossible without digital communication platforms such as lists, email, mobile phones, and organization and campaign websites. Therefore, conducting a global level protest would also not be possible without the utilization of the Internet, which enables global communication and coordination.<sup>31</sup>

Bennett also argues that the changes that have been happening in the social and political dynamics of protest is due the rearrangement that economic globalization has done towards politics, identity formation, and social institutions within societies. This signifies how digital personal media has been able to connect people without the concerns of borders such as time, space, and issues.<sup>32</sup>

The emergence of global communication infrastructures has also allowed several things to happen; firstly the ability for ordinary people to create high quality content, secondly for the creation of interactive networks on a large scale which is engaged by the aforementioned content, thirdly for the content to transmit across continents and borders, and fourthly for personal contents can have access to mass media due to the convergence of media systems. These conditions allow for global change movement to be empowered by the capacity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*,

for internal and external communication by the Internet. These days, the Internet's ability to build its number of audiences seem to differ from activist internal communication in earlier days such as niche newspapers, underground radio, and mimeographed pamphlets. This is due to the fact that the Internet has been able to reach audiences beyond the activists' circles.<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, Bennett mentioned that the Internet's power to hold global protests can result from a few elements. In the case of this research, the element deemed relevant is that derived from the globalization of communication infrastructures; that is the increasing penetrability of the media, whether old technology or new, mass or niche, to communicate cross-cuttingly and thus enabling viral messages to pass through the boundaries of cyber time and space and finally reach large audiences who are willing to expose themselves to diverse experiences resulting from global change in the world. This condition, along with the others, becomes an important contextual factor responsible for the power of personal digital media when it comes to globalization due to the fact that it correlates to globalization itself, as it portrays the freedom of one's identity from the boundaries of modern organizations, the rearrangement of distance, place, and time, and finally the emergence of networks that harmonize the aforementioned factors 34

The Internet itself is user-generated, as it needs the interaction with its users within material and social contexts that create a matrix in which the public is able to understand and locate the power of new media to further provide new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*,

spaces for discourses and coordinated actions. For instance, it is within new media that the public is able to witness the changing of messages that are radical from the level of micro media such as lists, emails, or personal blogs into mass media such as TV shows and newspapers.<sup>35</sup>

This analytical understanding by Bennett is to be used to provide an analytical explanation within this research in attempting to explain Facebook's influence as a social media platform and a part of new digital media in globalizing the Women's March movement.

#### 1.6. Research Methods

The method to be used in this research is the qualitative research method, which assumes that in studying and addressing a social or human problem, interpretative or theoretical frameworks could be used.<sup>36</sup> The qualitative method further recognizes the assumption that reality is a result of social construction by the people in that reality.<sup>37</sup>

The qualitative method used in this research is for the purpose of answering the research question, which has been previously mentioned, regarding the effect of social media in the publication of the Women's March, which resulted in the movement becoming global.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> John W. Creswell, "Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design," (United States of America: *SAGE Publications, Inc.*, 2013), 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> John W. Creswell, "Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design," (United States of America: *SAGE Publications, Inc.*, 2013), 125.

#### 1.6.1 Data Collecting Technique

This research uses extraction as its data collecting technique, meaning that the collection of data used as research material in this particular research will be gathered from literature sources. The data used in this research was collected from various sources such as articles obtained from the Internet, news from both printed and/or digital medias online, and also from other literature sources such as journals or books, whether printed ones or ones accessed through the Internet.

#### 1.7 Thesis Structure

This research is divided into five chapters. Chapter I consists of discussions regarding problem identification, research limitation, research question, purpose of the research, practical use of the research, literature review, theoretical framework, research method, data collecting technique, and thesis structure.

Chapter II consists of discussion regarding how the social media plays a role as a news and information broadcaster to the public regarding the events of the Women's March movement which occurred on January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017. Social medias, which became influential on the Women's March movement (Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter) consist of users which were not only citizens of the US (the place of origin of the Women's March), but also users who were citizens of several other countries worldwide.

Chapter III consists of discussion regarding how the publication of the Women's March movement through social media has then turned Women's

March into a global phenomenon as opposed to a local movement taking place in the US only.

Chapter IV analyzes how the media, social media in particular, has played an important role in turning the Women's March movement into a global phenomenon using the theoretical framework aforementioned in the previous sub chapter.

Chapter V consists of the conclusion of this research.