LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Twitter and the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution Gen 2.0 and Web 2.0 for Lebanon 3.0

By

Mira Matar

A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Affairs

School of Arts and Sciences

May 2020

(Thesis Approval Form)

(Copyright Release Form)

(Plagiarism Policy Statement)

Dedication Page

To the 2.5 million Lebanese who have taken to the streets to draw their fate. To the women who have been on the frontline of the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution. To the revolution's martyrs who have laid their lives for change. And to the youths who still believe in the future of Lebanon. Your thawra will triumph.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This study wouldn't have been possible without the support and help of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Imad Salamey for his continuous motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. I would like to thank him for trusting and encouraging me to enroll in the master's degree in International Affairs. It was a great privilege and honor to work and study under his guidance. I couldn't have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my master study. I would like to also thank my committee members Dr. Lina Kreidie and Dr. Paul Tabar for their encouragement and insightful comments. I must express my profound gratefulness to my mother, the reason behind it all. My father, the #HeForShe in my life. My brother, for being my backbone. You, my family, are the reason I am such a believer. Finally, this thesis wouldn't have been completed on time without the COVID19 lockdown. Thankful for the unexpected.

Twitter and the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution Gen 2.0 and Web 2.0 for Lebanon 3.0

Mira Matar

ABSTRACT

Social media played a focal role in determining political discourses in the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution. Precisely, they helped spread revolutionary enthusiasm and eagerness across the Lebanese territory. No one could have predicted that the government plan to tax WhatsApp calls would push 2.5 million Lebanese to the streets in the biggest cross-confessional protests in Lebanon's history. Yet, after Malak Alaywe-Herz kicked a ministerial bodyguard in the groin when he fired his rifle into the sky to disperse protesters on October 17, 2019, revolutionary fervor spread across the Lebanese blogosphere. The Lebanese have taken to the streets to protest decades-old corrupt system, hence threatening the coalition government. The 2019 Lebanese October Revolution had many triggers. One of which was 'Web 2.0' and its power to humanize mass frustration and anger at the status quo. Common stories amplified and augmented on Twitter and inspired dissidents to face the ordeal and name and shame Lebanon's confessional political ruling class. In the streets, dissidents created a human chain connecting the north and the south across the country, in show of unity. Online, they tweeted 'all of them means all of them' and 'the people are one,' using the hashtag people started to ask: How would Twitter undermine confessional divide in favor of a cross-confessional communication revolution? Focused mainly on the microblogging site, this paper created a unique set of data collected from tweets posted using the

hashtag #.ينتفض لبنان. The content analysis examined the nature of the discourse trending online and tracked dissident-generated tweets that reflect a sense of unity. The result is that for the first time we have evidence confirming Twitter's use for a cross-confessional communication throughout the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution.

Keywords: Revolution, Twitter, Tweet, Hashtag, Social Media, ICTs, Web 2.0, Gen 2.0, Echo Chamber, Online Homophily, Internet Shutdown, Political Order, Nationalism, Confessionalism, Lebanon, Arab Spring.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I- INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Situating the Thesis	1
1.2 Research Question in Detail	5
1.2.1 The Main Thesis Question	5
1.3 Contemporary Written Works on ICTs and Revolutions	6
1.4 Significance of the Study	7
1.5 Methodology	8
1.6 Definitions	8
1.7 Informative Figures	11
1.8 Roadmap of the Thesis	14
1.9 The Appositeness of the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution	15
II- Twitter and the 'Augmented Revolution'	16
2.1. Introduction	16
2.2 Traditional Media: the 'Spiral of Silence'	17
2.2.1 Where does Lebanon stand?	19
2.3 Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs): the 'Spiral of Voice'	19
2.4 Virtual Revolutions	23
2.5 '#' why Twitter Specifically?	27
2.6 ICTs vs Governments: the 'Big Brother'	31
2.7 Hashtag Activism: Tweets and the Streets	33
2.8 Lebanon's Protest Movement: Fellow Feeling	34
2.9 Summary	36
III- The Process	38
3.1 Introduction	38

3.2 The Method.	39
3.3 Why #!بنان_ينتفض?	40
3.4 Data Collection	42
3.5 The Process	44
3.6 Main Labels	47
3.7 Organization of Tweets	47
3.8 Conclusion	51
IV- 'Web 2.0' for 'Leb 3.0'	53
4.1 Introduction	53
4.2 Organizing the Tweets: The Themes	53
4.3 What do the top 10 Tweets say?	59
4.4 Attention-grabbing Trends (#)	63
4.5 What do Main Themes Tell us?	68
4.6 Conclusion	82
V- What Have we Learned?	83
5.1 New Media and Political Order	83
5.2 Summary of Thesis	84
5.3 Answering the Main Research Question.	85
5.4 'Web 2.0' and 'Gen 2.0' for 'Leb 3.0'	87
5.5 Ways Forward	88
5.6 Progress of the 2019 Lebanese October Revolution	89
RIRL IOGRAPHY	91

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Top 10 Tweets on #لبنان_ينتفض#	48
Table 2 Tweets Coding Final	54

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Government's Justifications vs Actual Causes of Internet Shutdowns	11
Figure 2 Internet Shutdowns Around the Globe in 2019	12
Figure 3 33 Incidents of Twitter Blocking in 2019	12
Figure 4 Governments not Acknowledging Internet Shutdowns in 2019	13
Figure 5 Hashtags Related to #لبنان_ينتفض#	42
Figure 6 Hashtags Related to #لبنان_ينتفض#	42
Figure 7 Languages Used on البنان بنتقض#	43
Figure 8 ينتفض _ لبنان# Usage Worldwide.	44
Figure 9 ينتفض _ لبنان# Tweet Percentage in Lebanon	44
Figure 10 Twitter Advanced Search: The Hashtag	45
Figure 11 Twitter Advanced Search: The Language	45
Figure 12 Twitter Advanced Search: The Timeframe	45
Figure 13 Twitter Advanced Search: The Minimum Number of Likes	46
Figure 14 Twitter Advanced Search: Exclusion of Replies and Links	46
Figure 15 261 Tweets Divided Amongst Different Sects.	64