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Social Network Site Communities as Agents and Spaces of Pursuing Influence in Society

Forms, Stages and Attributes of Building Communicative Power

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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ABSTRACT

Before the emergence and high popularity of social media, individuals or even collectives of individual citizens rarely had strong voice in public discourse. Social media, and its social network sites (SNS), have allowed individual people to form communities to create discourse around issues they find meaningful, and even unite their power to fight for a common cause and potentially influence changes in society.

The objectives of the thesis were to investigate what types of 'societal influence (SI) oriented SNS communities' the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed, even to the extent that they can challenge news media and business organizations and government institutions. The theoretical framework introduces the necessary multidisciplinary research literature and nature of the thesis and makes a novel characterization of the 'SI oriented SNS communities'.

The thesis consists of three empirical studies reported in original articles. The data were gathered through multiple, mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, including collecting computational large data sets, semi-structured survey and interviews, observation of Internet and social media contents, and news archive searches. Analysis methods include statistical analysis, content analysis, close reading, case studies and thematic and media content analysis.

The thesis suggests that the SI oriented SNS communities function both as core agents and effective spaces of influencing change in society, and their communicative power is formed in two stages: Stage I consisting of communities gathering people and affecting collective image formation and Stage II consisting of communities creating concrete activities and alternate solutions. Further, the thesis located nine quality and behavior attributes central to the communicative power formation of the SNS communities, and divided them as essential attributes for Stage I and enabling attributes for Stage II communities. The thesis also suggests that the SNS communities and (traditional) news media have their unique roles as societal agenda setters and makes conclusions about their intertwined and complex power relations. The thesis finally gives cooperation insights for all the social media actors discussed in the thesis.

Keywords: communicative power, societal influence, social media, social network site, online/virtual community, social movement, news media, agenda setting

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TIIVISTELMÄ

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Verkkoyhteisöpalveluiden yhteisöt yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen pyrkivinä agentteina ja toimintatiloina: Kommunikatiivisen vallan kehittymisen muodot, tasot sekä ominaisuudet
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Ennen sosiaalisen median valtakautta yksittäisten kansalaisten ja yhteisöjen on ollut vaikeampi saada ääntään ja tahtoaan osaksi julkista yhteiskunnallista keskustelua. Sosiaalinen media ja sen verkkoyhteisöpalvelut ovat mahdollistaneet kansalaisten jakaa tietoa, keskustella ja verkostoitua, sekä potentiaalisesti myös aiempaa tehokkaammin muodostaa valtarakenteita haastavia verkkopohjaisia yhteisöjä ja ryhmiä, joissa kansalaiset voivat yhdessä vaikuttaa yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen.

Tämän väitöskirjatutkimuksen tavoitteina oli monitieteisen lähestymistavan avulla selvittää, minkä tyyppisiä yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen pyrkiviä verkkoyhteisöpalveluiden yhteisöjä Internetin ja sosiaalisen median areena sisältää ja miten näiden yhteisöjen potentiaalinen kommunikatiivinen valta muodostuu, erityisesti suhteessa uutismediaan, yrityksiin ja valtionhallintoon. Väitöskirjassa pyrittiin myös tekemään uusi kuvaus verkkoyhteisöistä, jotka pyrkivät erityisesti yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen.

Väitöskirja sisältää kolme empiiristä osatutkimusta, joissa on käytetty monia määrällisiä ja laadullisia tutkimusmenetelmiä. Aineistonkeruumenetelminä käytettiin koneellista massadatahakua, puolistrukturoitua kyselyä ja haastattelua, Internetin ja sosiaalisen median sisällön havainnointia ja uutistietokantoja. Analyysimetodeina käytettiin tilastollista analyysiä, sisällön analyysiä, lähilukua, tapaustutkimusta, temaattista analyysiä ja mediasisältöjen analyysiä.

Väitöskirjan tulosten perusteella yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen pyrkivät verkkoyhteisöt toimivat kommunikatiivisen vallan muodostumisessa sekä muutoksen ydin-agentteina että tehokkaina toimintatiloina. Valta muodostuu kahdessa tasossa, joista ensimmäisessä pyritään keräämään ihmisiä yhteen ja vaikuttamaan kollektiiviseen mielikuvien muodostumiseen ja toisessa luomaan konkreettisempia aktiviteetteja ja vaihtoehtoja yhteiskunnallisen muutoksen toteuttamiseksi. Lisäksi tuloksena löydettiin yhdeksän ominaisuus- ja toimintapiirrettä, jotka vaikuttavat keskeisesti yhteisöjen toteutuneeseen kommunikatiiviseen valtaan, ja piirteet jaettiin ensimmäisen valtatason välttämättömiin ja toisen valtatason mahdollistaviin edesauttaviin piirteisiin. Tutkimus myös totesi verkkoyhteisöillä ja uutismedialla olevan eriäviä rooleja yhteiskunnallisten agendojen asettamisessa ja vallassa toisiaan vastaan. Lopuksi väitöskirja pyrki myös antamaan neuvoja siinä käsiteltyjen toimijoiden yhteistyölle.

Avainsanat: kommunikatiivinen valta, yhteiskunnallinen vaikuttaminen, sosiaalinen media, verkkoyhteisöpalvelu, verkkoyhteisö, sosiaalinen liike, uutismedia, agenda setting -teoria

FOREWORD

My research project has its origins in an international project (2010-2012) focused on the professional self-images and relations of PR practitioners and journalists. The vast popularity of social media and the potential but also contested power of its audiences, anyhow, attracted and drove me to put more emphasis of research on how these online individuals and communities influence the processes of the (traditional) communication professionals. Through own research, ideas from supervisors and multidisciplinary projects and contacts the PhD focus finally fixed on the groups and communities of the social media space and their power relations with recognized power-holders of society, including news media and business organizations and government institutions. I started my PhD studies in the discipline of Organizational Communication & Public Relations and end my studies in the discipline of Journalism in the University of Jyväskylä. Thus, both subjects and disciplines have an emphasis in my research and in this thesis.

FIGURES

TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SI   Societal influence
SNS   Social network site
ICT   Internet communication technology
PR   Public relations
MP   Member of parliament
UGC   User generated content
CMC   Computer mediated communication
RMT   Resource mobilization theory
SMO   Social movement organization
SMI   Social movement industry
NSM   New social movement
ACP   Actualized communicative power
API   Application Programming Interface
ANOVA   One-way analysis of variance
AHG   Ad hoc group
RQ   Research question

CONTENTS

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I. The role of social media in societal change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate activity on Facebook

II. Facebook's ad hoc groups: a potential source of communicative power of networked citizens

III. Business and news media perspectives on the power of social media publics: Case Finland

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and motivations

The communication arenas of most societies have always consisted of (active or non-active) publics, audiences and customers. Habermas (1962) emphasized the "public sphere" as an arena where individual people joined together to critically debate and unite power against illegitimate use of power and state domination, thus increasing their "communicative power". Hence, citizens have traditionally utilized the offline sphere and their close networks to discuss societal and public matters (e.g. by gathering to public places) and mainly used word-of-mouth exchange of consumer experiences, low-key consumer behavior and choices, writing letters to media houses, street protests, and representative politics/democracy to make a difference in societal matters.

Social media have led to a new culture of communication which gives access to information and public voice to many individual actors, in addition to the traditional power-holders, such as media, businesses and government (see Van Dijck, 2013). According to Bruns (2007, p. 2) "the rise of what is now described as social software or Web 2.0 environments stands to have a profound impact on social practices, the media, economic and legal frameworks, and democratic society itself". This new online communication arena enables the general public to form wide networks beyond personal networks and, for instance, to raise large segments of people to discuss and challenge consumer experiences, societal and news media issues and politics, and even fight for a common cause. The Internet and social media arena is suggested to have affected the formation of social movements, for instance in that it "enables ordinary citizens to connect and organize themselves with little to no costs, and the world to bear witness" (Lopes, 2014, p. 2). There are various examples of meaningful and successful Internet and social media enabled organized civic action around the world (see Castells, 2012; Bakardjieva, 2011).

According to Dutton (2009) networked individuals enabled by Internet communication technologies (ICTs) build their communicative power by sourc-

ing and disseminating information independently from authorities or institutions and linking up in such ways that their communicative power can hold the other estates (government, corporate and media) accountable (see also Newman, Dutton & Blank, 2012). Thus individuals, connected via ICTs, could form a "Fifth Estate" – a possible notion of a revolutionary shift of power away from the other estates (Dutton, 2009). Social media, due to its manner of enabling social networks, can even bypass the relevance of traditional intermediaries of society, such as news media, in forming social movements. This is because the social media arena provides a venue for public discourse, publicity and validation of the issues meaningful for individuals (see Lopes, 2014). On the other hand, Dutton and Dubois (2015) see that the Fifth Estate is not replacing the traditional media (the Fourth Estate), but instead see the relationship as complementary. For instance, the media can increase the communicative power of the Fifth Estate and the traditional media benefit from social media by using their content. Castells (2012, p. 4) points out: "Power relationships are constructive of society because those who have power construct the institutions of society according to their values and interests". So, the question is who has the communicative power in the developing Internet based social media ecosystem?

Like Gordon's (2017) notion of 'online communities as agents of change and social movements' this PhD thesis focuses on SNS (social network site) communities as agents of change and social movements in Finland. The main data of the thesis comes from the SNS platform Facebook. More precisely, the focus is on the communities formed or operated by individuals (outside of organizational/institutional control) on a SNS and oriented to building communicative power, which can potentially influence changes in society. "Social change" is defined as "the significant alteration of social structure and cultural patterns through time" (Leicht, 2013, September 30; see also Harper & Leicht, 2016). "Societal change" is more relating to change at the (macro) level of society (see Hansen & Postmes, 2013) and used as a multidisciplinary concept relating to terms such as social change, social movements, protest, and collective action (see Blackwood, Livingstone & Leach, 2013). Konttinen and Peltokoski (2010) include both terms in their discussion of collective action in the phrase "societal (social) movement" (in Finnish: "yhteiskunnallinen (sosiaalinen) liike"). The SNS communities of this thesis are viewed to be oriented to influencing many levels and forms of potential change in society, such as pursuing to influence the worldviews (e.g. values and norms) and behavior of people, influence the processes and behavior of power-holders in society, and influence power-relations between actors of society. Consequently, the thesis wishes to use the phrase 'societal influence (SI) oriented SNS communities', in short 'SI oriented SNS communities', to refer to the focus communities of this thesis. This phrase is used to encapsulate the multidisciplinary approach and overall social and societal levels of influence the communities may have. The phrase also aims to form an aggregate overview of the group and community types and perceptions the sub studies of this thesis contain on the communicative power formation of the SNS communities.

From these premises, the thesis aims to discover what types of SI oriented SNS communities appear in the social media arena and how their potential communicative power is formed, especially in relation to news media and business organizations and government institutions. From the communicative power formation perspective, the thesis focuses mainly on the aspects that are in control of the communities, including qualities, objectives, behavior, tactics and acquiring resources. The SI oriented SNS communities bear resemblance to many established concepts, such as 'online/virtual communities', 'social movements', 'collective/connective action' and the notion of the 'Fifth Estate', for instance in their structure, objective and tactics. The communities still have qualities making them unique forms of communicative power formation in the social media era, including their main (virtual) social media 'community space' of origins and/or operation and variety of objectives, targets and manners of influence. More specific identifications and characterization of the SI oriented SNS communities in relation to other similar notions, concepts and theories are discussed at the end of the 'Theoretical framework' chapter.

The focus and perspective of this thesis are significant, firstly because social media and SNS communication are largely considered entertainment oriented and motivated by users' personal, even selfish objectives (e.g. Curran, Fenton & Freedman, 2012; Brandtzæg & Heim, 2011). Further, online communities are most often venues for connecting and building relationships and gaining information and knowledge (see Porter, 2004; Plant, 2004). Online/SNS communities, nevertheless, have much more varied functions besides mere social interaction and entertainment depending on their objectives, such as forming social movements for creating social change (Castells, 2012, 2007).

Secondly, "networked individuals" (i.e. individuals communicating and interacting with each other via multiple Internet arenas simultaneously, cf. Rainie & Wellman, 2012), such as bloggers and citizen journalists have been quite extensively studied (see St. John III & Johnson, 2016; Cooper, 2006). However, when the networked individuals unite their resources and networks to form communities in which they further network, exchange information and aim to make a difference in society, they potentially can form even greater or at least a different kind of communicative power operating as, for instance, 'online social movements'. Nevertheless, from the sociology perspective, "online social movements" appear to be mostly either using ICTs for some advantages (i.e. one resource among others) or operating exclusively online (see Hara & Huang, 2013). Further, more modern notions of collective action, such as "connective action" (see Bennett & Segerberg, 2012), emphasize people independently sharing 'personalized' content related to a common civic and political action theme on various new media social networks and platforms. This thesis takes a somewhat reversed and specific approach by focusing on the SI oriented SNS communities which are formed and/or organize, operate and communicate their action themes and form communicative power mainly on the Internet, in a specific 'SNS platform community-space', but also adopt other resources, spaces and tactics in their mission. The thesis further suggests a more multidisciplinary

approach is needed to study community based social movement and collective action on social media, combining journalism and organizational communication studies, sociology and political science theories, with Internet studies.

Overall, this thesis views social media and its SNS platforms as spaces and mediums potentially enabling individual people to connect with masses of people, despite geographical or time-based distance, allowing the formation of communities to create discourse and fight for a common cause. The thesis does not take an unequivocal technological determinist approach (see McLuhan, 1964), suggesting that technology explicitly determines social or political change, societal structures or cultural aspects. Hence, it is not seen that the Internet, social media and its platforms alone determine the activities of the SNS communities and/or success of their missions. The activities of the SNS communities and manner of utilizing all the resources (online and offline) and many aspects of society, such as culture, societal conditions and opportunity structures, all potentially affect the outcomes of the missions. Nonetheless, the technological effects cannot be bypassed either. Social media and its platforms can potentially impact on the formation of communities, their agendas and activities, and internal discourse. These effects are due to, for instance, platform algorithms affecting what information people are exposed to, overall information, news and increased 'fake news' content circulated online, and online user personal data misuse and manipulation by those with power (see more thorough discussion of these issues in the 'Conclusions' chapter).

Thirdly and finally, the focus of the thesis can be considered significant because business, media and government organizations and their communication professionals and officials may lack tools to (co)operate with many online publics. These challenges may be, for instance, due to the overall arbitrariness of the SI oriented SNS communities, and because their objectives and power formation methods are not clear or understood. The SNS communities may also benefit from understanding how they can potentially increase their communicative power through quality and behavior decisions and form cooperation with the organizational and institutional segments of society.

The Finnish context is important and significantly guides the settings and results of this thesis. Scholars often emphasize the effects of unequal access to technology and the Internet, and other societal inequality factors, hindering the possibility of communicative power formation of citizens. Nevertheless, these scholars are mostly referring to the general unequal state of the world and/or the studies are focused on countries with overall lower equality and democracy levels, newly democratic countries, and/or countries with low Internet penetration (e.g. Chayko, 2017; Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Castells, 2012; Curran et al., 2012; Lim, 2012; Bakardjieva, 2011). Finland is a welfare state which the World Audit (2018) ranks third globally with respect to democracy, fourth with respect to press freedom and third with respect to lack of corruption. Finns are active users of Internet and social media. According to official statistics, 88% of Finns (16-89 years old) have used the Internet in the past three months, 73% of the same population use the Internet many times a day, and 61% have used the Internet to follow some SNS service (like Facebook) within the past three months

(Statistics Finland, 2017a). Despite the remaining inequalities of access to or usage of the Internet in Finland, which are present in every society and culture, for example Dutton (2013a, p. 45) notes that "the existence of a Fifth Estate is not dependent on universal access, but upon reaching a critical mass of users". Finally, Finnish society and culture is not generally considered to be oriented to strong opposition and challenges against institutional power-holders, but instead a rather consensus-driven political culture, oriented to discussion and problem solving (see Reunanen, Kunelius & Noppari, 2010). Hence, the liberal-democratic welfare state and consensus-driven culture of Finland, where the Internet and social media usage can be considered high, offers an important but somewhat less studied context to investigate the types and manner of communicative power formation of SNS communities.

The SNSs overall create a good venue to study communities aiming at increasing their communicative power due to the qualities and user motivations of the platforms (see Lai & Turban, 2008). SNSs also allow for more intimate space for participation in comparison with other social media platforms (see Brandtzaeg & Heim, 2011). Facebook is nowadays just one popular SNS and social media platform among various many others in a so called "social media universe", such as YouTube, Instagram, Myspace and Twitter, and hundreds more (see Desjardins, 2017, July 19). Facebook was chosen for this PhD thesis, for instance, due to its high popularity among the Finnish adult population (see Pönkä, 2017, Jan 26), who may be perceived as potentially interested and involved in collective civic action. Additionally, the Facebook platform enables the creation of pages and public groups by individuals for collective action.

The Internet and social media have also been highly criticized as spaces allowing citizens public voice and increasing their communicative power. For example, Dahlberg (2005) states that agendas of most online corporate portals and professional media sites are set by organizations instead of people, although the sites offer people the possibility for voicing difference and contestation. Furthermore, he notes that people critically active in online portals tend to be politically active also offline and only sensational issues raised on the platforms get public and media attention. Similarly, Curran et al. (2012) state that social media usage is drawn to entertainment purposes, is unequal and dominated by certain classes, races and genders, reinforce existing social hierarchies and closed communities, and is internally dominated by corporate powers and the monitoring of personal information for advertising purposes. Also, Hargittai (2007) notes that SNS usage varies by gender, context and online experience and, for example higher education is connected to Facebook usage. Furthermore, the Internet can give people and groups with questionable objectives and information sources excessively strong presences (see Depatin, 2008). Consequently, social media enables 'fake news' and information to become reality to many people (see Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Balmas, 2012). Morozov (2011) overall sees making a difference in society through the Internet and its platforms as an illusion or utopia. These issues, among others, in relation to the SI oriented SNS communities will be discussed in relevant chapters of the thesis, especially in the 'Conclusions'.

1.2 Objective, research questions and approach

The main objectives of the thesis were to investigate what types of SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed, even to the extent that they can challenge power-holders, especially news media and business organizations and government institutions. This objective is further divided into three research questions:

1. What are the possible objectives and modes of actions of the SI oriented SNS communities?

2. What attributes and/or conditions enable achieving the objectives of the SNS communities and thus increase their capacity of communicative power formation?

3. What is the relationship and power structure between the SI oriented SNS communities and the (traditional) news media?

The thesis focuses on the objectives, modes of action and enabling (quality and behavior) attributes related to building communicative power of communities formed or operated independently by individuals on a SNS, and in particular oriented to influencing change in society. In this focus, the thesis takes a multidisciplinary approach, combining theories and concepts from traditional communication studies (journalism and organizational communication and PR), sociology as well as political science and Internet studies. The thesis focuses on journalism and organizational communication due to the academic study background of the author of the thesis. Political communication and sociology theories and concepts are also incorporated as they are considered significant elements in the formation of the overall picture.

According to Dutton (2013b), Internet studies are concentrated around general key research topics, such as societal implications, but also specialization in the field is continuously developing. Internet studies are not overall a specific discipline but instead drawing from more than one disciplinary perspective and calling for an interdisciplinary approach. Nevertheless, there is also consensus in the Internet study field. Dutton (2013b) categorizes central focuses of Internet Study as the following: 1) technology (design and development), 2) use (who uses the Internet and in what ways, why individuals, groups, communities etc. use the Internet in specific ways and what patterns of usage support differing aims), and 3) policy (who/how shapes law and policy in relevance to the Internet). Thus, this thesis views that multiple perspectives and methodologies are essential for the study of the Internet.

The thesis is overall grounded in a social constructionist ontology which considers knowledge and meaning to be constructed by people through social interaction (Burr, 1995). More specifically, understanding of meaning and reality (the world, people, phenomena etc.) has been constructed and is continuously constructed in interactions and negotiations between people, devel-

oped through and in historical and cultural processes and contexts. The 'negotiated' understandings also affect social action (ibid.). In the study of SI oriented SNS communities, individuals of the SNS communities are thus seen to create their own meanings and share, discuss and form accepted aggregate meaning, mostly in the SNS community context. The other actors, business, news media and government communication professionals/officials, also create their reality through communication and their observations of the activities of the communities. Power relations are constructed through perceptions of the other's communication behavior and social interactions (negotiation and debate) between the societal and social media actors. The construction of meaning also guides the concrete real-world actions of the various actors towards each other.

Research paradigms generally emphasize epistemological opposite stances: positivist, quantitative research and constructionist, qualitative research. This thesis and its sub studies, nevertheless, employ a "mixed methods" research design and approach, increasingly accepted and found beneficial for coherent research results (see Byrne & Humble, 2007; Kelle, 2006). The social constructionist approach is affiliated with qualitative methods. Nonetheless, from this thesis and its strong Internet Study focus perspective, both qualitative and quantitative methods are of the most importance to achieve the objectives of the thesis. Consequently, the methodological choices of the thesis are guided by a more pragmatic approach (see Morgan, 2007). Both qualitative and quantitative data and results of their analysis in this thesis are considered as possible representations of communicative artefacts produced in social interactions and their consequent actions. The objective is to use the (best) methods needed to build an overall picture, representing different aspects and viewpoint of the issue. In this process, the theory and overall picture are not build only on quantitative/statistical facts but instead building upon them by deepening the research with qualitative methods, or combinations of the both.

1.3   Thesis design and structure

The PhD thesis consists of three empirical studies investigating the study topic and objective from significant perspectives (see Table 1).

TABLE 1   Studies of the thesis and their main focuses and objectives

Study	Focus and objective
I. Sormanen, N. and Dutton, W. H. 2015. The role of social media in societal change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate activity on Facebook. *Social Media + Society*, 1 (2), 1–16	Locating online social movements from Facebook with orientation to increasing their communicative power and societal influence, detecting their operations and attributes affecting communicative power formation, and estimation of success in communicative power.

II. Sormanen, N., Lauk, E. and Uskali, T. 2017. Facebook's ad hoc groups: a potential source of communicative power of networked citizens. *Communication & Society*, 30 (2), 77–95	Investigating the motivations and objectives of Facebook's ad hoc groups, categorizing the groups according to the findings and evaluation of the communicative power capacity of the groups via audience-driven agenda setting capacity.
III. Sormanen, N. In Review. Business and news media perspectives on the power of social media publics: Case Finland	Investigating perceptions of PR practitioners and journalists on the communicative power capacity of social media's individuals and communities and their influence in the work of the communication professionals.

Study I examines the extent to which Facebook contains online social movements aiming at, having potential and succeeding in increasing their communicative power, and thus forming paradigms of a Fifth Estate. The study sets new selection criteria for identifying online social movements on social media with objectives of increasing their communicative power, uses step-by-step content analysis to locate them, suggests and tests attributes to measure online and offline activities that may affect their success, and uses embedded case studies to showcase the procedures and those movements that have succeeded in creating communicative power and societal influence. The study also reflects the Fourth and Fifth estate arena processes and tactics in communicative power formation.

Study II examines Facebook ad hoc groups and pages aiming at raising issues to public agenda and enhancing the communicative power of networked citizen. The study uses an online survey to investigate the general motivations and objective of the members of the groups. The study also categorizes the groups according to their missions and the members' motivations and objectives, ranging from those more socialization/entertainment oriented to those aiming at influencing changes in society. The study further uses media analysis to showcase how news media uses the groups as news sources, thus giving the communities increased societal agenda setting status and potentially increased communicative power.

Study III uses interviews to investigate how PR practitioners and journalists as representatives of business and news media organizations perceive the communicative power of online individuals and communities of social media, and how the online publics influence the work of the communication professionals. The study showcases many factors influencing power relations between the communication professionals and the online publics, and for instance, suggests a summary of qualities assigned to powerful communities on social media, formed on the basis of the professionals' descriptions.

Two of the three studies included in this thesis are published in peer-reviewed international journals and one is in review. The author of this PhD thesis, Sormanen, is the first author in all the articles. Two of the articles were co-authored with other scholars from the respective research area(s) and one

was authored independently by the author of this thesis. The responsibilities concerning each article are the following:

- Article I: Sormanen designed the study together with professor William H. Dutton. Sormanen gathered the data, analysed the data, compiled the figures and tables and wrote the article with Dutton's assistance (especially) on his expertise on the Fifth Estate idea. Sormanen was responsible for corresponding with the editor of the journal.

- Article II: Sormanen designed the study with professor Epp Lauk and Dr. Turo Uskali. Background of the study lay with the FERG project, including also Dr. Jukka Jouhki and MA student Maija Penttinen. Sormanen designed and constructed the online survey with feedback from the FERG research group. Penttinen (hired assistant in the project) implemented the finished survey online and was in contact with the administrators of the Facebook groups/pages. The media-analysis was performed by Penttinen. Sormanen (SPSS) coded and analysed the survey result data, compiled the figures and tables, and aggregated applicable media-analysis results in the article. Sormanen wrote the article with the assistance of Lauk and Uskali (and feedback from the FERG group). Penttinen was responsible for the qualitative close reading based results written in the article. Sormanen was responsible for correspondence with the editor of the journal.

- Article III: Sormanen is the sole author.

After the 'Introduction' chapter, the second main chapter of the thesis presents the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework contains discussion about communicative power, more precisely the traditional and contemporary (social media era) views on communicative power, and the organizational viewpoint. The section also introduces the metaphor of the Fifth Estate and the related theory, and presents the complex and intertwined dynamics of the social media and news media. This theoretical chapter further explains social media and social network sites as the context of the thesis, and presents online/virtual communities and social movements as influencers of change in society, and the behavior and quality structures of social movements. The theoretical section concludes with a subchapter discussing the identifications and characterization of SI oriented SNS communities in relation to other similar concepts and theories.

The third main chapter present the methodological approach of the thesis. The chapter includes summaries of data collection and methods of analysis for each study. The fourth main chapter is a summary of the findings of the three studies included in this thesis. The fifth main chapter consists of the discussion of the study findings. This chapter is divided into three subchapters discussing and answering the specific three research questions of the thesis. The fifth chapter also includes a final subchapter reviewing insights into (concrete) cooperation among the social media actors based on the results and their discussions. The thesis ends with conclusions, including evaluations of research and its limitations and future research suggestions. The original papers are attached at the end of this thesis after the Finnish summary, references and appendix.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The thesis investigates the SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities in relation to building communicative power through concepts and theories from many disciplines, which is customary in Internet Studies (see Dutton, 2013b). The multidisciplinary approach was also perceived as essential to form a more comprehensive picture of the overall research objective. Concepts and theories of virtual/online communities, communicative power and the notion of the Fifth Estate could be regarded as included in the Internet studies and general communication studies fields. Journalism theories and concepts focus mainly on agenda setting, audience-driven agenda setting, news criteria and news formation processes and roles (e.g. citizen journalists cf. 'professional' journalists) in the social media era. From the organizational communication and PR view the focus is on the stakeholder approach and organizational image and reputation aspects. The political communication science aspects are related to online political citizen initiatives and overall challenges to representative politics in the social media era. From the sociology field the focuses are on online social network (site) users' general motives and objectives and social movements. The SNS communities are reviewed in comparison to (traditional and more modern) social movement theories, and especially resource theories (see Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

The thesis recognizes the other theories related to the formation process of social movements, such as relative deprivation (see Gurr, 1970), and theories related to the external effects on social movements to succeed, such as the political opportunity theory (see Tilly, 1978). The thesis, nonetheless, focuses mostly on the internal aspects of the communicative power formation of the communities. These include in particular those aspects that are in control of the existing communities: qualities, objectives, behavior, tactics and acquiring resources. The thesis does not study or focus specifically on the 'collective identity formation', and "the creation of collective claims and recruitment into movements", regarding social movements, but the thesis recognized these and (in particular) the "strategic and tactical decision making and movement outcomes" as important aspects of the "collective identity" model (see Polletta &

Jasper, 2001, p. 285) to be included in the research focus (and analysis) in the future. The 'Theoretical framework' chapter ends in a subchapter identifying and characterizing the SI oriented SNS communities the way they are perceived in this thesis in comparison to many other parallel concepts and theories presented in the following theoretical framework.

2.1 Communicative power and change in society

Castells (2007, p. 239) accounts power to be "the structural capacity of a social actor to impose its will over other social actor(s)". According to Thompson (1995, p. 13) power is "the ability to act in pursuit of one's aims and interests, the ability to intervene in the course of events and to affect their outcome". "Throughout history communication and information have been fundamental sources of power and counter-power, of domination and social change" (Castells, 2007, p. 238). From the sociology perspective, according to Leicht (2013, September 30):

> Social change is the significant alteration of social structure and cultural patterns through time. Social structure refers to persistent networks of social relationships where interaction between people or groups has become routine and repetitive. Culture refers to shared ways of living and thinking that include symbols and language (verbal and nonverbal); knowledge, beliefs, and values (what is "good" and "bad"); norms (how people are expected to behave); and techniques, ranging from common folk recipes to sophisticated technologies and material objects.

Further, there are macro and micro levels of social change. For instance, Harper and Leicht (2016, p 627) see that "social change" can be perceived in three ways: as significant social events (e.g. war), broad-scale social trends and cultural themes, and changes occurring in close spheres of the lives of individuals, such as work and religion. Social change is closely connected to social and political movements (see ibid.). Hansen and Postmes (2013) explain that there are many pathways and causes for social change, such as intergroup relations and conflicts (e.g. social movements), where people pursue through protest to affect changes in cultural values, norms, and intergroup relations. They also regard other factors, such as adoption of technologies and distribution of money, as relevant causes for social change. Relating to change at the level of society, they use the term "societal change" to "refer to alterations in the way people live together, such as changes in institutions, structure, and relations within a given society" (Hansen & Postmes, 2013, p. 274). Moreover, Blackwood et al. (2013, p. 106) choose to use the term "societal change", for instance, as it "evokes related terms such as social change, social movements, protest, and collective action, which have been the focus of a vibrant and growing literature within social and political psychology, as well as in sociology, politics, anthropology, history, and other behavioral sciences."

Habermas (1996; 1962) introduces the public sphere as an (offline) arena where individual people joined together to critically debate and unite power against illegitimate use of power and state domination and how this discourse creates communicative power. The public sphere is a theory of democracy where public opinion acts as a mobilized political force capable of expressing people's voice in decision making and holding officials accountable (Fraser, 2007).

According to Castells (2007), in the 21st century the development of ICTs has led to the formulation of a new communication space where corporate media and mainstream politics negotiate societal power and where people create their own horizontal networks of mass communication, "mass self-communication". This communication includes people's "multimodal exchange of interactive messages from many to many both synchronous and asynchronous", to empower themselves (Castells, 2007, p. 246). Thus, the Internet and social media have given individual actors (the public), in addition to institutions and power-holders (e.g. businesses, media, government), tools for getting access to information, wider and faster means of disseminating information, and creating networks of people which may alter power relations in society.

Papacharissi (2002) concludes that online digital technologies create a new public space but do not necessarily create a public sphere that meets Habermas' criteria if the space merely enhances discussion. Nevertheless, Depatin (2008, p. 70) for instance summarizes:

> It is safe to say that the Internet has become an important platform for expressing opinions and for revitalizing the public sphere. Although it does foster audience and issue fragmentation, it has a great potential for promoting audience-driven public discourses. It thus opens up public discourse to the periphery, instead of focusing on the central forces of the media system and the political system. As sentinels and sensors, the virtual public spheres of the Internet do not have actual problem-solving cap asities, but they can strongly influence the public agenda. Thus they can force conventional media and the political system to recognize and address socio-political problems and under-represented issues.

Moreover, for instance, Morozov (2009, May 19; see also Morozov, 2011) sees online activism resembling "slacktivism", a "feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact", but instead gives people the illusion of being a part of a campaign and making a difference, although they are merely members of an online group. Nevertheless, Castells (2012) emphasizes the concrete power of people coming together in the Internet social networks and forming against government, media and corporations which formerly controlled channels of communication. These so called social movements born in the social networks of Internet and social media have power because they are free from institutional power, for example government and media corporation controlled mass media. Also, for instance, Hintikka's (2010, p. 134) concept of "netpower" (term translated by the author of this thesis, original Finnish term "verkkovoima") describes a phenomenon where large segments of sporadic people can self-organize through digital networks into a project and operate without formal hierarchy or coordination fast, efficiently, temporarily and globally to

achieve a concrete goal. In this respect, the digital public sphere or space does not only enhance discussion and is not only an illusion of pursuing change in society but instead may create a means for people to voice their interests, to form (large) networks of people and organize activities which potentially lead to increase in communicative power, even concrete changes in society.

From the organizational viewpoint, the Internet and social media arena brings about both opportunities and challenges for business, media and government organizations/institutions and their communication professionals/officials. In Mexico, 1978, the World Assembly of Public Relations defined that "public relations is the art and social science of analysing trends, predicting their consequences, counselling organisation leaders and implementing planned programmes of action which will serve both the organisation's and the public interest" (Butterick, 2011, p. 6). For businesses, the Internet and social media are good venues for marketing and forming communication with customers, but the arena also allows unsatisfied publics to be highly critical and form action against businesses (see Champoux, Durgee & McGlynn, 2012). For example, Den Hond and De Bakker (2007) discuss how activist groups and social movements function as claimants, for instance, in corporate social responsibility matters, pressuring corporate social change activities occasionally with considerable success. According to Den Hond and De Bakker (2007, p. 901) "the nature and level of a firm's corporate social change activities can be understood as an expression of what that firm believes to be its social responsibilities" Thus, online publics have become one highly important and challenging, potentially a new kind of, "stakeholder" (i.e. all people, groups, organizations and institutions having a stake or potential influence in the business, see e.g. Freeman, 1984) for business organizations. Online publics may be able to affect the overall image and reputation of the businesses, and potentially also corporate activities, such as social change activities.

According to a Finnish survey, journalists perceive themselves most as neutral informers, proponents of the weak, and monitors of the political and business sectors (Niskala & Hurme, 2014). For news media, social media provides a venue for, for instance, distributing content and finding story topics (see Ananny, 2014) but the online individuals and groups can also become "watchers of the watchdog" with the power to monitor mainstream media and criticize their news stories (see Cooper, 2006). The dynamics of social media publics and traditional media are more thoroughly discussed in subchapter 2.1.2 of this 'Theoretical framework'.

In a democratic country, the political structures and processes of a nation are traditionally in the hands of its Members of Parliament (MPs) and government, (i.e. representative politics), which pretty much dictate the changes in matters of social or political change, like for instance legislation. The political process theory (also known as the political opportunity theory, see e.g. Tilly, 1978) emphasizes the opportunities that the political climate of a society affords to collective political citizen mobilization against power-holders. Hara and Huang (2013, p 492) summarize: "Political process theory argues that the failure

or success of social movements depends on political opportunity structures—the broad social, economic, and political dynamics that shape opportunities and constraints for mobilization". For example, Heikka (2015, p. 268) presents how Finland's constitutional reform of 2012, The Citizens' Initiative Act, offered people "a channel to pursue meaningful civic agency and encounter the legitimacy crisis of representative democracies". Accordingly, the Act ensures that citizen initiatives that gather 50,000 signatures are considered equal, and must be considered with similar procedures as legislative initiatives presented by MPs. Especially the case of the 'Equal Marriage Law' campaign is the first successful Finnish digitally crowdsourced legal citizen initiative (read more from Heikka, 2015). This is one example of how the Internet and its networked publics nowadays may influence government operations.

In summary, the communicative power of online publics and/or communities can exert to influencing many forms of traditional power-holders, such as news media and business organizations and government institutions. Although social and digital media as a communication space may not be totally corresponding with the idea of the original public sphere, social media's networked individuals are considered, for instance, as a "fifth power or Fifth Estate" influencing the public sphere and public opinion (see Hidri, 2012; Dutton, 2009).

2.1.1 The Fifth Estate

The "Fifth Estate" is one new metaphorical view on the formation of communicative power by online networked individuals. Following the U.S. tradition, the first three estates have come to be linked to the separation of powers in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. The press has been defined as the "Fourth Estate", a strong independent institution, in many liberal democratic societies since the 18th century (see Carlyle, 1846; de Tocqueville, 1835). "In short, members of the Fifth Estate are Internet-enabled networked individuals who, independent of institutions, access resources and people in ways that enhance their communicative power" (Dutton & Dubois, 2015, p. 53). More specifically, Dutton and Dubois (2015, p. 52) define the concept of a Fifth Estate:

> to refer to the ways in which the Internet is being used by increasing number of people to network with other individuals and with information, services and technical resources in ways that support social accountability across many sectors, including business and industry, government, politics and the media.

Dutton and Dubois (2015) see that the Fifth Estate does not replace representative government although it affords more direct forms of political participation to citizen, but instead can manage to hold political representatives more accountable. In addition, they do not see the Fifth Estate replacing the Fourth Estate either, but instead see the two estates having a complementary relationship. This is because Fifth Estate activities often gain communicative power through media coverage and media houses use, for instance, social media content as a part of their online publications.

The Fifth Estate covers many types of networked individuals' activities and objectives. These include individuals searching information online, creating information online, joining self-selected networks and leaking information online, and collectives aggregating information on online platforms and aggregating observation or experiences on online platforms, through various Internet-enabled technologies. Thus, collective action is one of the strategies of the Internet's Fifth Estate (Dutton & Dubois, 2015; Newman et al., 2012; Dutton, 2009)

Hidri (2012) also acknowledges the existence of a "fifth power". Accordingly, social media, as a fifth power due to its openness and freedom has become an effective venue to monitor traditional media, "the fourth power". The fifth power is, Hidri (2012, p. 19) argues, a "new approach to building social reality outside of the dominant moulds of media and regulations applied in the communication industry and production of meaning". Further, Cooper (2006) views bloggers as a manifestation of the Fifth Estate as they can monitor mainstream media and thus act as "watchers of the watchdog". Citizen journalism, discussed it the following subchapter, is also a possible manifestation of a 'fifth power'.

Some scholars (see Cooper, 2006) view specific individual actors in the Internet and social media, such as bloggers, as prime paradigms of a Fifth Estate, for example in their role of monitoring the news media. Similarly, Dutton and Dubois (2015) do not view social movements exactly equivalent to a Fifth Estate, because they state that even "one networked individual can play a critical role in holding an institution to higher standards of accountability" (p. 56). Thus, emphasizing the (networked) individuals' role in Fifth Estate, they see that social movements most often rely on and are built upon the individuals sourcing information and building the movement (ibid.). Collective action is, nevertheless, one of a number of the strategies of the Internet's Fifth Estate (Newman et al., 2012; Dutton, 2009).

The question remains how the Fifth Estate and the Fourth Estate operate and co-exist. On the one hand, for instance, Uskali, Niskala and Lauk (2014) found that online protest groups are formed in Finland in response to both poorly constructed news stories as well as activities of newspapers considered unprofessional or unethical. On the other hand, online enabled civic action benefits to some extent from visibility on traditional media (see Bakardjieva, 2011).

2.1.2 Social and traditional media dynamics and power relations

The traditional "agenda setting" theory describes how the emphasis of mass media on certain issues and topics affects issues people consider important (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This translates to media "telling its readers what to think about" (Cohen, 1963, p. 13). Through other levels of agenda setting theory, such as "framing", it is suggested that the media can focus attention on certain aspects and events of an issue, and thus further affect readers' agenda (and opinion) formation (see McCombs, 2005). The media can still today be considered a meaningful societal agenda setter. Castells (2007, p. 241), for example,

contends that "what does not exist in the media does not exist in the public mind". Further, McCombs (2005) notes, that the agenda setting effects have also been documented to include the online circulation of news.

The Internet and social media have become a part of people's news consumption patterns. According to the Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2017), Finns continue to follow news both from traditional (print) media (weekly followers: 85% of respondents) and from websites of news organizations (weekly followers: 88% of respondents). Overall, 47% of respondents follow news through social media, which is somewhat less than other Nordic countries (Sweden and Denmark 54%). Nevertheless, 70% of Finns aged 18-24 years follow news from blogs and social media, compared to 33% of over 65 years. Overall, 18% of the respondents also share news on social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Reddit). Facebook has maintained its status as the most used social media news tool: 35% of respondents use Facebook to read, share and discuss news (compared to 5% on Twitter). In Finland, trust in institutions, including news organizations, is higher compared to many other countries. For example, 62% of the respondents in Finland trust the news in general compared to 38% in the USA. (ibid.)

Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p. 106) specify "news values" which journalists use consistently to make story selections and predict what the public will consider enticing and sufficiently important to read: 1) prominence/importance, 2) human interest, 3) conflict/controversy, 4) the unusual, 5) timeliness, and 6) proximity. Traditionally journalists have also had various sources for their news stories, such as individuals, officials, organizations, other news media, government, interest groups, and public relations' personnel (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), which still apply today. The emergence and popularity of the Internet and social media have, nevertheless, affected individual content producers' role in the societal agenda setting and news formation process (see Bruns, 2007). For example, Lee, Lewis and Powers (2014) found that audience clicks on news topics clearly affect the news placement decisions made by editors. According to Ananny (2014), 'non-journalists' and "user generated content (UGC)" have always played some role in news production (e.g. interviews and external/historical data sources etc.). Today the social media arena has made the process somewhat more complex. Ananny (2014, p. 6) summarizes some of the recognized readers' UGC and activities in relation to news processes as follow:

> Reader interactivity and UGC let readers debate issues identified by the news organizations, critique story details and framings, suggest topics and beats, participate with anonymity, provide background for future stories, converse with individual reporters, contribute content, and make certain stories more visible than editors had originally intended.

According to Wall (2015), UGC has been found in various research from the perspective of media as both a threat to professional journalism (e.g. its validity) and as a possibility for collaboration in news production.

Moreover, the Internet and social media audiences are seen to have more power in setting societal discussion agendas as people did before the digital era. Uscinski (2009) discusses the term "audience-driven" agenda setting to describe how issues discussed by the public can lead to media altering their agenda. For example, Kim and Lee (2006) refer to a somewhat similar process as "reverse agenda-setting". Depatin (2008) views especially bloggers and the blogosphere but also other Internet-based communication, such as online discussion groups and collaborative writing and publishing, as effective forces of participatory journalism and agenda setting power. This communication can force traditional media to notice and address the lifeworld issues the public considers important and interesting (ibid.). Nevertheless, Neuman et al. (2014) found that the discussion topics of social media audience are not equivalent to the news agenda provided by the traditional news media. Instead, social media discuss more social issues (e.g. birth control, abortion, same-sex marriage and public order issues) compared to the traditional media. Instead of one-way agenda-setting from one to the other (social media cf. traditional media), they found more of interdependence of the two (ibid.).

Bakardjieva (2009, see Bakardjieva, 2011, p. 66) uses the term "subactivism" to refer to the "politically charged attitudes and actions that proliferate at the level of the everyday life of individuals and groups". Bakardjieva (2011, p. 66) further states:

> Typically, subactivism remains subjective and submerged in the mundane course of individual life and because of that it produces no immediately visible consequences in the public and political spheres. However, novel practices intersecting new media (blogs, social networking sites, video-sharing sites and others) and traditional media (press, radio, television) bridge the everyday life of the subject and these previously remote deliberative spheres. The proliferation of such practices creates favorable conditions for subactivism to transform into activism proper.

Thus, traditional media is a visibility amplifier, potentially increasing public interest of new media enabled civic action, in particular when the media have a favorable stance towards the action (ibid.).

Citizen journalism, both individual and collective, is considered as an important information source in the modern society, and mostly evident in crisis situations where individuals use digital/social media to report happenings (e.g Wall, 2015). For example, St. John III and Johnson (2016, p. 186) define "citizen journalism" as "(1) citizens who report, and/or manage others who report news stories, primarily online and, (2) do so while not employed at traditional for-profit news organizations (but may have previously worked in such news operations)". Wall (2015, p. 798) define citizen journalism as "news content (text, video, audio, interactives, etc.) produced by non-professionals. Such content may capture a single moment (e.g., witnessing an event), be intermittent (e.g. a Twitter feed), or be regularly produced such as by hyper-local news operators." This thesis views citizen journalists as independent producers of digital/social media information comparable to news content, such as reports of happenings and issues, who are not professional and/or freelance journalists. Wall (2015)

further discusses "digital citizen journalism" as one type of social movement action, where collectives of activists come together to form resistance to existing political or social systems. These forms of social movement action function, for instance, in the form of an independent 'media center' and a movement organized around it, also performing street actions (ibid.).

The independent media efforts by citizens, nevertheless, have many forms and varying objectives. Both individual and collective news production which is not based on facts (or truth), generally referred to as "fake news" has been a part of the Internet and social media communication for a while. For example, growth of online news form "echo chambers" or "filter bubbles" where like-minded people are not faced with alternative or diverse perspectives (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Furthermore, social media platforms afford users with no professional merits or reputation to create content without any fact checking or external validity judgement that can reach as many readers/viewers as mass media news (ibid.). According to research, fake news can become real news for people when they are highly exposed to it (Balmas, 2012). Furthermore, those people who have lower levels of trust towards news media are reported to prefer non-mainstream news sources, such as social media, blogs, and digital-born providers, and they are also likely to participate in online news efforts (Fletcher & Park, 2017). Similarly, the Finnish social media scene has become an arena of conflict between the traditional media and the social media users producing information and discussing controversial issues in society, such as immigration. Alternative news outlets have been formed on social media, picking content from online (traditional) news and adapting it to fit their perspectives and objectives, often criticizing the professional journalists as biased (Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2017).

2.2 Social media and Social network sites

This thesis focuses on communicative power formation in the social media context, more specifically within and through its social network sites (SNSs). Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p. 61) define social media, consisting of tools such as Wikipedia, YouTube, Facebook, as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content." According to Bertot, Jaeger and Grimes (2010, p 266) social media is:

> …content and interactions that are created through the social interaction of users via highly accessibly Web-based technologies. Social media can be used to refer to both the enabling tools and technology and to the content that is generated by them. Social media include but are not limited to blogs, wikis (e.g. Wikipedia), social networking sites (e.g. Facebook), micro-blogging services (e.g. Twitter), and multimedia sharing services (e.g. Flickr, YouTube).

Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018a) define social media as "websites and applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking". Many definitions thus adopt also 'applications' in the social media definition, which can include, for instance, mobile chat services such as Facebook messenger, WhatsApp and Snapchat. Boyd and Ellison (2007, p. 211) define SNSs as:

> …web-based services that allow individuals to 1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, 2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and 3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.

Brandtzæg and Heim (2009) argue that the first ten most important reasons for using SNSs to be the following: 1) seeking new relations, 2) contacting friends, 3) general socializing, 4) access to information, 5) debating and discussion, 6) free SMS, 7) time-killing, 8) sharing/consuming content, 9) unspecified fun, and 10) profile surfing. SNSs are also classified as venues of democratic participation and expression where people can communicate and group with people who have similar interests (see Lai & Turban, 2008). Moreover, online (Web 2.0) social network users' motivations and objectives range from friendship, appreciation, knowledge sharing, democratic participation, financial support, and collective creation (Lai & Turban, 2008) to debating, expressing affiliation, building a sense of community, providing and receiving social support, collecting information, and providing answers to questions (Welser et al., 2007).

Communities formed on SNSs are seen to allow for more intimate space for participation, compared to for example YouTube, and thus increase people's activity (Brandtzæg & Heim, 2011). Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) classify social networking sites, such as Facebook, as high with regards to self-presentation/self-disclosure and medium with regards to social presence/media richness. For example, blogs they regard as high on self-disclosure but low on social presence, and content communities, such as YouTube, as low on self-disclosure and medium on social presence (ibid.).

For instance, Facebook allows users to create an individual profile and create and/or join (public) pages and (public, closed, secret) groups for different purposes. Facebook has become one of the most used SNS in the world, with over 2 billion users overall (Heat, 2017, June 27), and over 1.7 billion monthly active users worldwide (Statistic Brain, 2017). Facebook is also one of the most popular social network service in Finland. According to 2017 statistics, approximately 60% of Finns aged 16-89 are registered to a SNS (Statistics Finland, 2017b) and 49% follow some SNS nearly daily (Statistics Finland, 2017c). Facebook is estimated overall as the second most popular social media service in Finland after YouTube (see Pönkä, 2017, Jan 26). Pönkä (2017) after reviewing various statistics, estimates that in 2017 there are 2.6 million Facebook users in Finland (47% of the population).

Consequently, based on the qualities and user motivations, ranging from friendship and socialization to democratic participation and collective creation, SNSs are valid venues to conduct research on communities aiming to increase

their communicative power. SNS platforms also provide an 'intimate' space for people to communicate and organize collective action. Facebook, moreover, is considered one of the most popular SNS in Finland and enables individuals to create public groups and pages for collective/community actions.

2.3 Online communities and social movements influencing change in society

SNS communities may be seen as forms of online or virtual communities, which have been classified in many ways according to their types and objectives. Online communities are also considered as agents of change and contemporary social movements (see for example Gordon, 2017). Social movements have a long history of research, definitions and theories of their operations in the offline space, but extensively also in the online space.

2.3.1 Online (networked) communities

Online publics (i.e. people communicating on the Internet and social media) generate and review content both individually and within communities in the social media and SNS context. Rainie and Wellman (2012) refer to "networked individualism" in explaining how in the Internet age people as individuals are increasingly communicating and interacting with each other via multiple Internet arenas. Wellman, Boase and Chen (2002, pp. 152-153) see that "network understanding of community not only makes sense in modern times, it contributes to understanding of the place of the Internet in everyday life". In this view, people have their individual social networks which come together and form new networks on the Internet and social media arena, and networked individuals are significant agents and basis of Internet-based communities (ibid.). Online (networked) communities are not, anyhow, always or even most commonly formed based on pre-established interpersonal connections but instead are often based on people joining them according to a common topic or interest.

"Virtual communities" (or online communities - both terms are often used synonymously) are defined, for instance, as "an aggregation of individuals or business partners who interact around a shared interest, where the interaction is at least partially supported and/or mediated by technology and guided by some protocols or norms" (Porter, 2004, p. 1). Gordon (2017, p. xv) sees that "the concept of "community of interest" broadens the definition of "community" to those who share common interests and viewpoints without the need for proximity." Gordon (2017, p. xvi) further notes:

> The arrival of the Internet made it possible for members of a community of interest to exchange ideas without ever having to meet in person. The ability to interact online dramatically simplified the processes of forming and maintaining such a community. In the early days of the Internet, the medium of choice for establishing connections was email and the medium for broadcasting ideas was the blog. But, the arrival of

social network services (SNS), such as Facebook and YouTube, deepened and en-riched the interactions that could take place, allowing for a sense of community among a community's members.

Jones (1997) sets 'minimum' conditions for a group-CMC (computer me-diated communication) to be considered a virtual community (more specifically a "virtual settlement, i.e. a "virtual community's cyber-place"): (1) a minimum level of interactivity; (2) a variety of communicators; (3) a minimum level of sustained membership; and (4) a virtual common-public-space where a signifi-cant portion of interactive group-CMCs occur. According to Jones' view, these conditions exclude an e-mail list of being a virtual community because it does not allow for interactive discussion between variety of communicators. In addi-tion, Facebook, IRC, or some other social media or network site platform, would not constitute a virtual community, but a single channel inside them could (ibid.), for example a group or a page on Facebook.

Porter (2004) proposes a new typology of virtual communities. At the first level, the typology separates the communities based on their initiators: "mem-ber-initiated" communities are established and managed by their members and "organization-sponsored" communities are set up and operate under sponsor-ship from commercial or non-commercial organizations. On the second level, the communities are categorized based on relationship orientation: members of "member-initiated" communities are oriented to social or professional relation-ships and members of "organization-sponsored" communities form relation-ships among members and between individual members and the sponsoring organization. Virtual communities have different levels of virtual interaction, ranging from those interacting only virtually to those networking both virtually and in physical contact (see Porter, 2004).

Plant (2004, p. 51) suggests that online communities "work to fulfil two basic human desires, first, to reach out and connect to other human beings and secondly to obtain knowledge." Porter (2004) also summarizes individuals' us-age motivations of virtual communities consisting of 1) communities of transac-tions, where people for instance sell and buy products, 2) communities of inter-est, where people discuss interests, 3) communities of relationships, where peo-ple form relations, 4) communities of fantasy, where people explore new identi-ties, and 5) communities set up and used by firms for marketing goals. Fur-thermore, Gordon (2017, p xvii) notes that online communities have also been recognized to be effective in processes of social movements. He summarizes such online community social movement processes as organization and coordi-nation of protests, collective identity formation, generating calls to action, get-ting the attention of mass media, creating public awareness, and attaining re-sources (ibid.).

2.3.2 Social movements

"Social movements" are defined by Diani (1992, p. 13) as "networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations,

engaged in a political or cultural conflict on the basis of a shared collective identity". Castells (2007, p. 249) defines (online) social movements as "collective actions aimed at changing the values and interests institutionalized in society, what is tantamount to modify the power relations." Snow, Soule and Kriesi's (2004, p. 11) define 'social movements' as follows:

> …collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.

The concept of "collective identity" vastly discussed in relation to social movements, is defined, for instance, by Polletta and Jasper (2001, p. 285) as "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution". The role of collective identity is related to various aspects of social movements and phases of protest: "the creation of collective claims, recruitment into movements, strategic and tactical decision making, and movement outcomes" (ibid.).

From a quite traditional point of view, McCarthy & Zald (1977 pp. 1217-1219) define a social movement as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society". Further, within the "resource mobilization theory" (RMT) emphasizing internal organization of social movements, they define that "a social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals". Even further, "all SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement constitute a social movement industry (SMI) -the organizational analogue of a social movement". (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, pp. 1217-1219). Thus, in this view a social movement consists of many SMOs which mobilize the goals of a social movement.

Social movements are overall divided into "new" and "old" social movements (see Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010). The "old" movements refer to working-class and labor union movements of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, which were highly institutionalized and formally organized and their target was the government and its politics. By contrast, "new" social movements raised in the 1960s and 1970s are organized around non-class-based interests and themes, such as the environment, lifestyle, cultural and identity equations, animal rights, race, gender and so forth. They focus more on correcting experienced grievances instead of demanding overall social change. Additionally, in contrast to the old movements, they emphasize non-hierarchical organization models, and often also pursue publicity and use unconventional means to attract media attention. (See overall description from Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010). According to Hara and Huang (2013, p. 492) "new social movement (NSM) theory advocates the values of identity, equality, direct participation, democracy, plurality, and difference."

Konttinen and Peltokoski (2010, pp. 3-4) define "societal (social) movements" (translated by the author, in Finnish: "yhteiskunnallinen (sosiaalinen) liike") as "voluntary but goal oriented organized collective action, which challenge prevalent societal conditions by utilizing non-parliamentary behavior means, and public discussion" (direct quotation translated by the author of this thesis). Accordingly, the social movements appeal by their mission to the support of wider masses of people and focus their statement to some powerful actors in society who might perform and/or stand as an obstacle to the demands. The appeals are, nonetheless, never focused on only parliamentary decision makers, but instead on other advocates who share the same societal interests or beliefs. In this sense, the core of their influence means is people's independent activity. The movements can present themselves as also lifestyle movements, cultural movements or communal movements. Sometimes the movements do not even attempt to articulate specific overall alternatives but instead express discontent, raise new questions to the public discussion and build autonomic everyday life networks and ad hoc style forms of influence channels (see Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010).

In accordance with the aforementioned view, 'ad hoc style forms of influence' are also forms of more recent social movements. According to Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary (2017):

> Ad hoc is a word that originally comes from Latin and means "for this" or "for this situation." In current American English it is used to describe something that has been formed or used for a special and immediate purpose, without previous planning.

In a somewhat similar manner, Hintikka (2010) discusses the collective power of people coming together through digital networks to solve some current problem. He describes the "netpower" as a means of large segments of random people self-organizing into a project, quickly and efficiently, without any formal hierarchy or coordination. This form of netpower is not generally formed on the basis of societal conflict or injustice, or as a counter-power to institutions. Instead it describes more a short-term project to solve some concrete objective and the collective often disappears when the task is solved. In this sense, the Internet enables a collective to rapidly solve problems due to group power (ibid.).

The popularity of ICTs and social media have raised questions about the relationship between and effects of technology on social movements and brought about for example the term "online social movements". Scholars, such as Hara and Huang (2013; see also Loader, 2003) view that the term "online social movement" refers to either offline social movements using ICTs for some advantages or to social movements operating and taking place exclusively online. In this view, ICTs are mostly just one resource used by social movements among others discussed in the following subchapter.

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2.3.3 Quality and behavior structures of social movements

Lopes (2014) has summarized traditional theories of conditions in which social movements are most likely to emerge. The conditions can be divided into two broad categories. The first is "opportunity structures" which entail social, institutional and economic wellbeing issues, which for instance cause individual people grievances, anger and choices to mobilize. The second is "mobilizing structures", entailing, for instance, resources (e.g. money and organizations skills), interaction between individuals and the effect of media coverage on people's choice to mobilize (ibid.).

The "resource mobilization theory" (RMT) emerged in the 1970s to explain how social movements effectively mobilize resources, for instance the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities and other parties, to reach their goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The RMT contrasts to the earlier dominant views of how shared grievances, for example relative deprivation (Gurr, 1970), were the most important component in the generation of social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Edwards and Gillham (2013, p. 1) more thoroughly summarize:

> Rejecting both the view held by some earlier movement scholars that social movement actors were deviant or anomic, and the pluralist assumption that all parties willing to engage in the political process have a reasonable chance that their grievances will be heard and addressed, resource mobilization scholars sought to understand how rational and often marginalized social actors mobilized effectively to pursue their desired social change goals.

In the RMT, social movement organizations (SMOs) gather their resources generally though four main internal and external mechanisms (Edwards & Gillham, 2013; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004): 1) "Self-production" of networks and issue coalitions, (socializing) human resources, or producing items (e.g. T-shirts, posters etc.); 2) "Aggregation" of resources held by dispersed individuals into collective resources, such as collecting money or volunteers, or moral resources in the form of support from respected individuals or institutions; 3) "Co-optation/appropriation" of resources of other organizations or groups they are related to, such as buildings, staffs or rituals; and 4) "Patronage" referring to individuals or organizations giving foundation grants, donations or contracts, often leading to some control over the SMOs.

Five distinct types of resources have been identified in the RMT: 1) "Moral resources" including, for instance, the overall legitimacy and integrity and the support of (general public and celebrities) the movement receives; 2) "Cultural resources" including silent knowledge of how to undertake many tasks related to movements, such as protests, meetings, festivals and using social media, and making products for the movement, such as music, literature or magazines; 3) "Human resources" including resources like labor, experience, skills, expertise, and leadership; 4) "Material resources" combining financial and physical capital, such as money, property or office space; and 5) "Social-organizational resources" of infrastructures, social networks and organizations, entailing for in-

stance dissemination of information and internal organization. Combinations of the four means of access with the five types of resources exemplify various mixes of resources social movements use to pursue their goals of social change. (See more detailed explanations from Edwards & Gillham, 2013; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

Hara and Huang (2013, p. 496) opine that for social movements "ICTs can be seen as resources or means to capitalize on other resources such as money, time, and materials." Firstly, the social movements have control over their information content, for example, on their own websites, which is a means to disseminate information without mass media. Secondly, ICTs can be used to effectively disseminate information about the issues and involve supporters in the activities of the movements. Thirdly, the Internet is a cost-effective medium for information dissemination and coordination of actions. The Internet is also an effective tool for raising an issue to the public attention, for mobilization, and for creating collective actions, such as voting, lobbying or demonstrating (Hara & Huang, 2013).

According to Lopes (2014), social media may even have the power to replace all the traditional mobilizing structures because it enables people to organize rapidly and with low costs and it can bypass officials and mass media. For example, digital crowdsourcing in legal citizen initiatives could be viewed as equaling the adoption of many of the traditional resources of social movements. Heikka (2015, pp. 268-269) describes the process of the first successful Finnish digitally crowdsourced legal citizen initiative as follows:

> The CI-Act introduces crowdsourcing in the law-making process on several levels. Firstly, ideas and initiatives for new laws were collected on digital platforms. Secondly, the task of campaigning and signature collection was outsourced via social media to a previously undefined group of people. Thirdly, law drafts were composed by campaign activists on Google Drive and published for debate and expressions of support or opposition on the digital Open Ministry platform.

In addition, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) discuss "connective action" instead of the traditional "collective action" in the context of social movements. In this view, the traditional 'collective action' is reliant on strong organizational coordination of action and requires individuals to contribute to the collective effort, entailing the problem of people turning into 'free-riders' and leading to the need on many types of resources (cf. RMT) to form action. In contrast, Bennett and Segerberg argue that "connective action networks are typically far more individualized and technologically organized sets of processes that result in action without the requirement of collective identity framing or the levels of organizational resources required to respond effectively to opportunities" (ibid., p. 750). Connective action emphasizes personalized action, which can help mobilize individuals and increase emotional commitment to action. It also emphasizes co-production and sharing based on personalized expression, enabled by communication technologies, which help actions and content to be widely distributed in the social networks.

Castells (2007) sees social movements born in the digital age having power because they are free from institutional power and they operate in different venues, such as online and offline social networks and occupation of public space, for example on the streets. Further, Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010, pp. 231-233) suggest: "On the one hand, the Internet facilitates and supports (traditional) offline collective action in terms of organization, mobilisation and transnationalisation and, on the other hand, it creates new modes of collective action". This means disseminating information about classical street demonstrations online to gather participants or creating altogether new online modes of protest actions. While noting that groups use various tactics online and offline, Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010) summarize different types of actions used by social movements (or "cyber-protests"). First the actions range from Internet-supported higher threshold types (more violent action/destruction of property, sit-in/occupation of space, transnational demonstration/meeting) to Internet-supported lower threshold types (legal demonstrations, consumer behavior, donating money). Second the actions range from Internet-based higher threshold types (hacktivism, culture jamming, protest website/alternative media) to Internet-based lower threshold types (email bomb/virtual sit-in, online petition). Thus, in addition to the changing levels of Internet-dependence of the actions, some actions of social movements present also a higher threshold for people to participate, for example due to their legality (ibid.).

2.4 Identifying and characterizing the societal influence oriented SNS communities

The three studies of this thesis use different terms and somewhat different descriptions to refer to the same type of collective action relating to communicative power formation through SNSs (see following chapter 4). Study I discusses 'online social movements' as collectives of individuals using Internet and social media to organize and influence change in society, operating on both online and offline arenas. Study II discusses Facebook's 'ad hoc groups' as groups and pages that were formed in the SNS context for a particular purpose, such as covering issues not addressed by traditional media or as public spaces for debate and citizen participation. Study III views 'social media's communities' as protest or lobby ad hoc groups, campaigns or social movements organizing for a common goal, such as influencing change in society.

Consequently, to be able to form a more thorough overall characterization of the preliminary vision this thesis has on the SI oriented SNS communities, the communities need to be compared to other similar concepts and theories discussed previously in this chapter. Table 2 summarizes the main characteristic aspects of the SNS communities, including their 1) initiation, origins and actors, 2) sphere or space of operation, 3) operation manner, and 4) objective or influence manner and target of influence. The following discussion, summa-

rized in Table 2, presents which of the existing concepts, theories and notions of online/virtual communities, social movements, online civic and political action and the Fifth Estate the SNS communities have most in common with and can be included in their characterization.

Firstly, in comparison to online/virtual communities, the SI oriented SNS communities have most resemblance in their space of operation, and initiation, origins and actors. The SNS communities overall cover Jones' (1997) minimum conditions of virtual communities, and especially concerning the operational space they have "a virtual common-public-space where a significant portion of interactive group-CMCs occur". The SNS communities are also required by the developed selection criteria in Study I (see Study I methods) to be set up by individuals, and mostly resemble the "member-initiated" initiation type of virtual communities (Porter, 2004). The online/virtual communities overall emphasize objectives of connections, knowledge and relationships, interact around a shared interest and their target of influence is mostly the members of the community (Gordon, 2017; Plant, 2004; Porter, 2004). The SI oriented SNS communities also have objectives of connections and knowledge and interact around shared interest. Nevertheless, the selection criteria used in Studies I and II in particular aims to differentiate the SI oriented communities from those mainly oriented to entertainment, discussion and socialization. Thus, the SNS communities differ from online/virtual communities in that, in addition to interaction, shared interest and knowledge, they have a 'higher' cause or goal which is connected to influencing some form of change in society. The SI oriented SNS communities also largely aim and reach further beyond the members of the communities, and thus have also some external parties related to their mission as targets of influence.

Secondly, the SNS communities also have many similarities with social movements, but have most differences in their main space of operations compared to social movements. Research suggests ICTs are mostly enabling resources for social movements. For instance, Hara and Huang (2013) categorize 'online social movements' as either using ICTs or taking place exclusively on the internet. The SI oriented SNS communities of this thesis, in contrast, are formed and/or mainly operate, organize and communicate their actions in a specific social media based community. The communities thus have a main 'virtual common-public-space' (see Jones, 1997), in this case a Facebook page or group, where they communicate and organize, but they also utilize offline activities and various resources to reach their goals. Study I shows how the process of communicative power formation of a SNS community is a mixture of changing and interrelated online and offline activities and impacts. These activities and impacts include, for example, organizing a demonstration in the virtual common space, gathering on the street to demonstrate, and reporting about the event again in the online environment (see Table 5, chapter 4.1). Further, the overall activities of all the SNS communities can vary greatly from Internet-based (activities only exist because of the internet, such as online peti-

tions) to Internet-supported (activities easier to organize because of the Internet, such as offline demonstrations/protests) (see Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010).

Hintikka's notion of "netpower", where ad hoc collectives of people come together through digital networks to solve some current problem, resembles most the space and manner of operation of SI oriented SNS communities in relation to social movements. Nevertheless, differing from the idea of 'netpower', the SNS communities of the thesis may also be long term projects, they often rely on shared beliefs and solidarity and may act as a counter-power to institutions or other power-holders in society (cf. Hintikka, 2010).

Regarding the lengths of existence of the SI oriented SNS communities, more ad hoc type movements are most likely to cease to exist after their mission is finished, either found to be unsuccessful, impossible or successful. Those SNS communities that are tied to some wider ideologies or movements are likely to exist the longest because they often concern issues which are a matter of continuous and long term discussion or conflict in society. Nonetheless, all the SNS communities may continue to exist and function if they find another purpose for their community and common SNS space, such as another mission or sharing information or news surrounding the past issue.

Thirdly, despite the differences in the space of operation, the SI oriented SNS communities have a lot in common with social movements in all other aspects. The SNS communities, for instance, are also "networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals" (Diani, 1992, p. 13) and "collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels" (Snow et al., 2004, p. 11). The SI oriented SNS communities resemble Konttinen and Peltokoski's (2010, p 3) definition of present day 'societal (social) movements' as "voluntary but goal oriented organized collective action, which challenge prevalent societal conditions by utilizing non-parliamentary behavior means, and public discussion" (translated by the author). Also, Konttinen and Peltokoski's description of how the movements are reliant on support of the masses, discourse and people's independent activity, and focus their statement to powerful actors of society who have control over the issues, fit the characterization of SI oriented communities.

Overall the missions of the SNS communities are seen to surround "new" themes such as the environment, lifestyle, cultural and identity equalities, animal rights and so forth, and may be focused on correcting experienced grievances. The SNS communities are, nonetheless, also often demanding changes on the societal level and can have desires of directly challenging government and its politics, considered more characteristic of "old" social movements, without the highly institutionalized and formally organized characteristics (see description of "old" and "new" movements from e.g. Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010).

Another way of seeing the difference between the 'new' social movements and the 'old' is the way Bennett and Segerberg (2012) compare traditional "collective action", which they argue is based more on established groups and ideologies and reliant on organizational coordination, to a more contemporary political action they call "connective action". Connective action is a more self-

organizing individualized personalized action, digitally networked action (DNA), which demands less organizational control of people because they are willing to act due to personal reasons or motivated by personal frames. The networks of the 'connective action' do not, nevertheless, require 'collective identity' to form action, and instead are based on rather weak-ties. The SI oriented SNS communities are quite like the notion of 'connective action' in that they are self-organizing, independent from organizational control, and rely on people willingly sharing content and contributing to the cause. Nevertheless, in contrast to connective action, the SI oriented SNS communities are connected by a clearer shared identity and motivations (cf. collective identity, e.g. Polletta & Jasper, 2001), not merely weak-ties. Moreover, their communication and content/information sharing is viewed more centralized and organized on the SNS virtual common-public-space, not dispersed on digital media. People independently sharing content online further enables the communicative power of the SNS communities (see further discussion in chapter 5.2.4).

Finally, the main targets and manners of influence of social movements generally challenge or defend some extant authority (e.g. Snow et al., 2004), engage in a political or cultural conflict (e.g. Diani, 1992), affect the values and interests of society (Castells, 2007) or appeal for support from the wider masses to focus statements to powerful actors in society (Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010). The targets and manners of influence of the SI oriented SNS communities are an aggregation of the traditional and modern social movements as well as the Fifth Estate perceptions. The Fifth Estate consists of Internet-abled networked individuals who build their communicative power by sourcing and disseminating information independently from authorities or institutions and linking up in such ways that their communicative power can hold the other estates (government, corporate and media) accountable (Dutton & Dubois, 2015; Newman et al., 2012; Dutton, 2009). Thus, the Fifth Estate notion also has variety of resemblance with the origins, operation manner and influence manners and target of influence of SI oriented SNS communities. The characterization of this thesis adopts the idea from the Fifth Estate as to how networked individuals independently access resources and people, disseminate information and link up in such ways that they can hold the other estates accountable. Consequently, the influence manners of SI oriented SNS communities include challenging, defending, influencing, holding accountable, but in addition to these, according to the results of this thesis, also bypassing (see chapter 5.1). The targets of the influences include authorities, organizations and institutions, people (inside the communities) and the general public.

In summary, the SNS communities are seen to have various similarities with the earlier perceptions, concepts and theories of "social movements", "communities of interest", "netpower", "collective/connective action", "member-initiated, socially-oriented online communities", and the "Fifth Estate". The communities, nevertheless, also have unique aspects compared to the other perspectives, especially in their main space of origins and/or operation (i.e. the SNS community functioning as the virtual common-public-space) and the varie-

ty and plurality of objectives, targets of influence and ways of influencing the various targets of society. The communities pursue to influence the worldviews (e.g. values and norms) and behavior of people, influence the processes and behavior of power-holders in society, and influence power-relations between actors of society.

TABLE 2 Characterization of SI oriented SNS communities

Aspects	SI oriented SNS communities	Existing notion/concept/theory most in common with
1. Initiation/origins/actors	Individual people (ad hoc) initiated (voluntary but goal oriented) collective action around a shared interest	Social movements (e.g. Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010; Diani, 1992) Collective identity (Polletta & Jasper, 2001) (Member-initiated) online/virtual communities (Porter, 2004) Communities of interest in SNS (Gordon, 2017) Fifth Estate (e.g. Dutton, 2009)
2. Sphere/space of operation	Formed and/or mainly operate/organize/communicate their actions in the Internet, in a SNS virtual common-public-space, but also often utilize online and offline activities and various resources to reach the goals	Online/virtual communities (Jones, 1997) Netpower (Hintikka, 2010)
3. Operation manner	Operating outside of institution/organization control/influence (and mainly also support) as long term or short term projects, where networked individuals access resources and people, disseminate information and link up effectively	Social movements (e.g. Snow et al., 2004; Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010) Connective action (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012) (Socially-oriented) online/virtual communities (Porter, 2004) Fifth Estate (e.g. Dutton, 2009)
4. Objective/influence manner and target of influence	To influence worldviews and activities of people and gather support of the general public for an issue To a) influence, challenge or defend, b) to hold accountable or c) to bypass societal authorities, organizations and institutions	Social movements (Konttinen & Peltokoski, 2010; Castells, 2007; Snow et al., 2004; Diani, 1992) Fifth Estate (e.g. Dutton, 2009)

Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018b) defines "community", for instance, as "a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic

in common" and "the condition of sharing or having certain attitudes and interests in common". The same dictionary defines "group" as "a number of people or things that are located, gathered, or classed together" and "a number of people that work together or share certain beliefs" (Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018c). Nevertheless, within the social media context, some reflections see that online 'communities' consist of people with similar interests and goals and do not require the people to know each other beforehand. 'Social networks', on the other hand, consist of people one knows and 'groups' are created for any purpose of people being together but can entail less commitment (Johnson, 2014, July 25). Further, the term "collective" is defined as something "done by people acting as a group", "relating to or shared by all the members of a group" or "a cooperative enterprise" (Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018d). Consequently, the use of 'community' in this thesis instead of other concepts such as 'group' or 'collective' should still be considered and potentially revised in the future. The overall objectives and activity performed by the communities could be called, for instance, 'SNS based collective (civic and political) action' but this phrase does not function as a roof concept for the groups / collectives/ communities of the thesis. The concept 'SI oriented SNS community' is thus used as a necessary macro concept in the thesis, referring to both the more ad hoc type forms of online groups and more traditional online social movement type communities, which are all considered to be (online) communities (of interest) that operate/exist on social network sites (SNS) and are oriented specially to influencing change in society.

The thesis returns to the characterizations of SI oriented SNS communities summarized in this chapter (see Table 2) in the 'Discussion of findings' chapter and in the 'Conclusions'. Before the discussion and conclusions, the following chapters focus on the methodology (chapter 3) and summarizing the finding of the studies of this thesis (chapter 4).

3   METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The thesis combines different data and methods in its three studies with the general objective to investigate what types of SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed. Overall, the thesis includes multiple perspectives: First, observations and evaluations of social media communication and activities performed by people and organizations made by the researcher. Second, motivations, objectives and tactics enunciated by the SNS community members. Finally, articulated perceptions that communication professionals (in business and media sectors) have about the SI oriented SNS communities.

The thesis was grounded in an overall social constructionist ontology (see Burr, 1995), affiliated with qualitative methods. The thesis and its sub studies, nonetheless, employed a "mixed methods" research design and approach which incorporated different qualitative and quantitative techniques. Methods were selected according to each research problem to find the best solutions and various methods that could be incorporated for a single research project (see Byrne & Humble, 2007). Studying the communication and activities of SNS communities benefitted from this kind of approach as the communication moves from the social media context, containing high volumes of UGC, to real life social contexts, including individual perceptions of how different phenomena and society is constructed. Data collection methods included an available Facebook page database, computationally gathered large data sets, semi-structured survey and interviews, observation of Internet and social media platform content, and collection of news media artefacts from databases and Internet. Qualitative and quantitative analysis methods included statistical analysis, content analysis and quantifying content, close reading, case studies, and thematic and media content analysis.

Research paradigms generally emphasize epistemological opposite stances: positivist, quantitative research and constructionist, qualitative research. For example, Slevitch (2011) concludes that quantitative and qualitative methodologies are not compatible and cannot be integrated due to the logic of the entire-

ly different ontological and epistemological perspectives. In contrast, Kelle (2006) concludes that despite the 'paradigm wars' mixed methods of qualitative and quantitative are rapidly developing in the social science field. Moreover, their mixed usage has two purposes and benefits: mutual validation of data and findings, and production of more coherent picture of the investigated issue (ibid.).

Morgan (2007) suggests that a pragmatic approach (i.e. emphasizing action and practical orientations in conducting research) to research methods is a means to incorporate both qualitative and quantitative methods in research in social sciences. First, the pragmatic approach relies on "abductive" reasoning which moves back and forth between induction and deduction without necessarily adopting just one perspective, and thus quantitative results can lead to qualitative analysis. Second, the pragmatic approach suggests it is impossible to reach either complete subjectivity or objectivity, but instead an "intersubjective" approach is needed to find a mutual understanding. Finally, from this perspective, research results do not have to be either entirely context-dependent or universal, but instead some are specific and others more generalizable. Knowledge generated from one setting can be used for the most appropriate purpose in another circumstance ("transferability") (Morgan, 2007).

Consequently, various methods form a coherent view of the overall objective of the thesis. The methods were chosen according to which tools provided the best way to investigate a specific aspect or a group and find an answer to each research question in the studies. Quantitative results can act as guiding results for qualitative research and vice versa, and the combinations of both results lead to further theoretical insights. For example, quantitative amounts of posts made by members and administrators of the SNS communities on their community page gave an overall good presentation of the communicative activity of the communities. Nevertheless, more qualitative methods, such as observation of the Internet and the Facebook page content and case studies, were needed to investigate the specific ways the communities were active (online and offline). The semi-structured survey results, on the other hand, gave an overview of the motivations and objectives of the members of the communities behind the activities.

The data of all the studies and this thesis refers to social media and Facebook users of all ages ranging from approximately 15 to 90 years. Each study employed different data collection and analysis methods which are summarized in Table 3. The methods are introduced per study more thoroughly in the following three subchapters.

TABLE 3   Summary of data collection and analysis methods

Studies and their methods	Data collection methods	Description of data	Analysis methods
I 1. method	Facebook page data collected from "Fanilista.fi" website/database	'Fanilista.fi' database lists more than 2,300 of the most popular Finnish Facebook pages	Step-by-step criteria/theory based content analysis to form the final dataset
I. 2. method	Observation of Facebook pages, Internet and news media content	Facebook pages contain page mission information, textual and visual posts, information about events, member counts etc. Internet includes and news media publish information about notable activities performed by Facebook pages	a. Qualitative and quantitative observation and content analysis of the pages' type and purpose, member count, age/lifespan and offline activities b. Forming case studies presenting the pages' objectives, actors, operations and success in societal influence
I. 3. method	Facebook page online activity data collected computationally via Facebook semi-public APIs	Data include all public posts posted on the Facebook page 'walls'	Counting post amounts made by administrators and members
I 4. method	News media data collected from "Mediabase" software tool and Google	a. 'Mediabase' containing news from 53 popular Finnish newspapers from the period of 12 months b. First 50 returned articles from Google search including the Facebook page names	Searching and counting news items referring to the Facebook page names and relevant content
II 1. method	Semi-structured online survey	Survey results from 712 individuals from 16 Facebook groups and pages	a. Statistical analysis by SPSS: descriptive frequencies, averages/means and analysis of variance by One-Way Anova b. Close reading of open questions
II 2. method	Searching news archives of newspapers and other search engines (e.g. Google) to locate news related to the ad hoc groups	233 largest newspapers in Finland and smaller publications including news concerning the ad hoc groups	a. Media content analysis to quantify group appearance in news b. Close reading to identify group presentation manners in news
III	Semi-structured interviews	Interview transcripts from 3 PR practitioners and 3 journalists	Thematic analysis to find meaningful patterns and convergent themes of perceptions

3.1 Study I

Study I utilized various qualitative and quantitative methods (see previous Table 3) to determine (1) the degree to which Facebook pages are being used for 'online social movements', (2) whether they movements are effective in creating communicative power, and (3) what (online and offline) page related attributes potentially increase the creation and actualization of communicative power and societal influence of the movements. The study used the term 'actualized communicative power' (ACP) to indicate the achievement of societal influence or change the online social movements could create. Hence, the study also uses the term 'societal change', but this thesis preferred overall to use the phrase 'societal influence' to emphasize the aggregate, multilevel change the SNS communities sought to influence society.

The main data of the study consisted of a weekly updating official listing of the most popular Finnish Facebook pages, the 'Fanilista.fi' database. When the data was gathered, January 1, 2014, the Fanilista.fi sample consisted of 2,329 pages. The database was accessed last in 2014 and the Internet database (website) had ceased to exist in 2017, as announced on their official Facebook page. All the pages had pre-set categories which were given/chosen by the administrators to Facebook pages when they are created, such as 'Local business', 'Company', 'Community', 'Cause', and so forth.

Facebook was chosen as the object of study because of its overall popularity, and its popularity in Finland. According to 2014 statistics, from the adult (16–74 years old) Finnish population approximately 56% of Finns were at the time registered to a SNS and 95% of SNS users were followers of Facebook (Statistics Finland, 2014). Furthermore, Facebook enables individuals to create pages for networking and collective action and Facebook's format allows open access for qualitative page-content research. Facebook's format also at the time allowed for computational retrieval of semi-public data (i.e. 'big' or large data sets) via Facebook APIs (Application Programming Interfaces). Facebook pages were selected instead of groups because they were slightly more accessible to everyone. Pages can be found and viewed by anyone, and are joined by 'liking' the page, and thus create a good venue for collective projects. Fanilista.fi database was chosen because it was judged as a sufficiently comprehensive, available listing of popular Finnish Facebook pages.

The Fanilista.fi database showed that the Facebook platform was full of pages formed for differing purposes, ranging from local businesses, companies and non-profit organizations to communities and causes. The objective was to identify the pages being used for online social movements and aiming to increase their communicative power from the total page data set. Consequently, the page data was content analysed step-by-step using five specially chosen selection criteria, derived from earlier theories of "social movements"

(see Castells 2007; 2012; Snow et al., 2004) and the "Fifth Estate" (see Hidri, 2012; Dutton, 2012; 2009). The selection criteria included pages which:

1. were set up by individuals acting with some degree of organization and continuity,

2. used ICTs to enable creation of networks of individuals,

3. worked independently, outside of conventional institutional or organizational authorities,

4. used Internet-enabled sourcing and dissemination of information

5. were formed to challenge, support or hold to account a societal authority, institution, or issue (i.e., seeking to effect societal change).

Holsti's (1969, p. 14) popular definition of content analysis is "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages". Aditionally, the coding of the data in content analysis has different approaches. In the process of "emergent coding", categories are formed based on preliminary analysis of the data, and in the process of "priori coding" the categories by which the data is analysed are formed beforehand based on theory (see Stemler, 2001). The content analysis of Study I resembled mostly the priori coding approach but also new categories were formed in the process to reach the research objective.

The content analysis, elimination and re-categorization process took place in four phases. In the first phase, the ready-made Facebook page categories were identified (N=142). In the second, phase the six most popular categories and a newly formed category 'Other', formed from the less popular pages, were content analysed and evaluated based on the criteria. This analysis revealed two ready-made categories, 'Community' and 'Cause', consisting of 157 pages that fitted the criteria. In the third phase, the 157 pages were re-categorized by the authors into eight newly formed categories by observation of their objectives. When the new categories were again analysed based on the criteria, two categories, 'Cause/Mission' and 'Protest/Support', comprising 27 pages, fitted the criteria and were selected as the final data of the study. (For a more thorough explanation of the entire four-phase content analysis process see Table 1, p. 5, of the original Study I, which is attached to this thesis.)

To evaluate if the 27 pages now judged to present online social movements were effective in creating communicative power and societal influence, and which factors potentially increase the efficiency, further research was needed. The study set seven (theory and observation based) attributes which could potentially affect or indicate success of the objectives of the movements, of which all but the first required further study methods. The attributes and their evaluated impacts (written in the original Study I) were:

1. **Page type and purpose**: The issue/mission of the page needs to be of importance at least to some segment of society for the page to attract followers.

2. **Member count**: Numerous members mean more are disseminating information and inviting others to connect, which will increase the allure of the page. Numerous members may also attract media attention and increase the image of power among societal power holders.

3. **Media visibility**: Media's agenda setting and power to shape opinion can have an effect on pages' publicity, popularity, member count, officials' and corporations' attention and success in reaching the pages' objectives.

4. **Online activity**: Active administrators are potentially the driving forces of any online pages. They have to spread news of the page and when the member base is secured, they can activate the members online. Pages may also be active due to an active member community online diffusing information and activating others.

5. **Offline activity**: Social movements operate in both online and offline social networks (see Castells, 2012) and online groups have the potential of mobilizing participation by performing offline group-like civic functions (e.g. Feezell et al., 2009). Offline activities may have an impact on members' perception of pages' power, attract more members and be a way to get media's and officials' attention.

6. **Age/lifespan**: The time-span of the pages' existence may increase their potential for success and societal influence.

7. **Societal influence** = Evaluation of ACP and Fifth Estate potential: Regardless of pages' objectives, their communicative power can be measured on the basis of how they are able to reach their end goal(s) and create concrete societal influence.

Some of the attributes required more qualitative, but also mixed qualitative and quantitative, methods and analysis. The process of observation, analysing content and making judgements was used to analyse the Facebook pages, Internet and news media content related to the pages. The overall analysis of the Facebook pages revealed a lot of basic information about pages, including their type and purpose, member counts and ages/lifespan of the pages. Further, the offline activities of the pages could be evaluated by both qualitatively observing page administrators' and members' page 'wall' posts and their discourse of events and activities, as well as quantitatively analysing lists of past and future events reported on a subsection of the pages (feature of Facebook pages) and reporting of participants in the events. The offline activity evaluations also included observing Internet sources and news stories related to their actualization and participation (see overall offline evaluation judgements and set quantifiable values summarized in Appendix of the original Study I attached to this thesis). Finally, the page, the Internet and news media observation was also used to form case studies presenting the actors, objectives and operations of the pages being used for online social movements, and specifically to form a judgement of their concrete societal influence.

Some of the attributes required more quantitative methods and analysis. The online activity evaluation of the pages entailed counting the amounts of posts made by the administrator(s) and the members on the page 'walls'. The post data of the pages was retrieved via Facebook semi-public APIs, which are Application Programming Interface tools provided by Facebook allowing outside web developers to read and retrieve open data from the service's social

graph. The retrieved data was transferred to a special data warehouse built by IT specialist Jukka Rohila (in cooperation with the author of this thesis, see Sormanen et al., 2015). The data included all page posts since the day each page joined Facebook up to March 30, 2014.

Finally, as the last mixed method, media analysis was used to locate the mass of news stories based on the Facebook pages. Firstly, a software tool called 'Mediabase', created by Jukka Rohila, was used to search for all the names of the pages. The tool was programmed to subscribe to RSS-feeds of Finnish news and media outlets and enabled word searches and analysis of the news content. The analysis was conducted in March 2014 when the tool had been saving news content for 12 months and included 53 online versions of the most popular traditional Finnish newspapers. Additionally, Google was also used to search for the page names, because some of the pages had been created before Mediabase was in operation. The first 50 returned articles for each page name were reviewed from Google search and included in the analysis. All the stored news stories from Mediabase and Google were read and those made by recognized online newspapers, TV and radio, relating to the respective pages, were included in the media visibility evaluation counts.

To be able to make further quantitative evaluations of the attributes, and which attributes correlate with success in societal influence, all but the first attribute (page type/purpose) were set a value on a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high). First, the quantitative analysis results made it possible to calculate values for the pages according to their member counts and ages from the smallest to the largest. Second, the quantitative news coverage and online activity results could also be set to the scale on the basis of, for instance, their lowest and highest scores and averages, and values best describing the level of the action in their overall result context. Finally, offline activity and societal influence values were made on the same scale but through a more qualitative, or mixed, evaluation relying on the researcher(s)'s aggregate judgement. Offline activities were given a quantifiable value according to both quantitative amounts of event notices (and participants in the events) found from the Facebook pages and qualitative observations (page posts and discourse and Internet and news stories) related to actualized events and their participation from the public (see values from the Appendix of the original Study I). The case studies were used to set a value for the overall societal influence of the pages. (See more detailed explanations of the value calculations for each attribute from Table 3, p. 7, of the original Study I attached to this thesis.)

Finally, the study selected the six most popular and the six least popular pages according to their membership sizes for more in-depth analysis. The pages were analysed according to each attribute on the scale from 1 to 5. Consequently, the results offered an overall rating for all the attributes, including success in societal influence, concerning the 12 pages under in-depth investigation (see Table 4, p. 9, of the original Study I attached to this thesis). Further, the ratings of attributes 2-6 (i.e. member count, media visibility, online activity, of-

fline activity and age) for each page made it possible to correlate them as variables potentially affecting the final attribute 7, success in societal influence.

3.2 Study II

Study II also used multiple methods (see Table 3) in its four main objectives. First, to categorize Facebook ad hoc groups according to their missions. Second, to discover what specific motivations and objectives members of the different types of ad hoc groups had. Third, to find out if the members of the ad hoc groups aspired to attract traditional media attention to further their objectives. Finally, to showcase if the ad hoc groups achieved attention from traditional news media.

The main data of Study II comes from a semi-structured online survey created in the Google survey system. The survey was designed to investigate the ad hoc group members' motives, objectives, perceptions and activities. The survey consisted of 33 questions, based on earlier theories of motivations and usage manners of SNSs (see Brandtzæg & Heim, 2011; 2009; Lai & Turban, 2008; Welser et al., 2007), and included Likert scale, multiple choice and open questions. The overall Facebook sample consisted of 27 open Facebook groups and pages selected according to their different missions, representing different types of groups formed in the SNS (Facebook) context. The administrators of the selected groups were contacted and asked to distribute the survey link to their group members. At the beginning of the survey, the respondents were asked to indicate which group they were a member of and to answer the survey with their own group in mind. The survey resulted in 712 individual survey responses from 16 groups by the end of December 2013, including 38 respondents who did not identify with any group and 18 respondents who did not want to reveal their group. (See more detailed description of the 16 groups of the study from Table 1, p. 81, of the original Study II attached to this thesis). The survey covered questions concerning overall sectors of: 1) general respondent information (age, gender, education and income level); 2) members' motives to join the group; 3) members' perceptions of objectives of the groups, and 4) members' perceptions of information sharing activity and online and offline operations of the group.

Study II utilized the same five selection criteria developed and used in Study I (see Study I methods) to identify ad hoc groups in the Facebook survey sample pursuing to increase communicative power and create societal influence and to differentiate them from groups mostly oriented to entertainment and socialization. Thus, based on preliminary observations of the groups and evaluation of their objectives, the ad hoc groups were categorized into five specific categories: 1) social wellbeing movements, 2) community/discussion groups, 3) protest/support movements, 4) ideological movements, and 5) law initiatives. The specific qualities of the categories are further presented in the chapter 'Summaries of study findings', Study II.

The survey responses were statistically analysed using SPSS by descriptive frequencies, averages/means and analysis of variance by One-Way Anova. "The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to determine whether there are any statistically significant differences between the means of two or more independent (unrelated) groups" (Laerd statistics, 2017). The overall analysis of the survey data focused on the 712 respondents as well as comparing the 16 groups based on their category types (e.g. community/discussion groups, law initiatives etc.). In addition, 'close reading' was used to analyse the open questions. "Close reading" is the process of first, observing a text or a phenomenon to notice some facts and details about it, such as features, elements or references, and second, making interpretations of those observations (see Kain, 1998).

Further, media analysis was used in Study II to detect how much the Finnish news media has used the same specific ad hoc groups as news sources and topics. "Media content analysis is a sub-set of content analysis and applies a systematic method to study mass media as texts, including interview transcripts, film narrative and forms, TV programs and content of newspapers and magazines" (ECU Library, 2018). News coverage showcases the potential of the groups to influence societal agendas through traditional news media, also referred to as 'audience-driven agenda setting' (see Uscinski, 2009). The media data was collected in June-July 2015 (by MA student Maija Penttinen) including the ten (circulation-wise) largest newspapers in Finland at the time according to the Finnish Newspaper Association, and smaller publications. The Finnish Newspaper Association's website consisted of a summary of the '10 largest newspapers in Finland by print circulation' from the year 2014. The list has, since, been removed from the Internet. The final sample consisted of 233 newspapers. All news items dealing with, or referring specifically to, the ad hoc groups of the survey were searched from the archives of the newspapers and other search engines (e.g. Google) from the period of existence of each group (2010-2015). The media content analysis (performed by Penttinen) focused on quantifying how much and which groups gained news coverage. Further, the media coverage amounts were compared (by the author of this thesis) with the membership sizes of the groups and different group type categories set in the article formulation, and the survey objective results were also compared with the media coverage results. Close reading (see Kain, 1998) was used (by Penttinen) as a qualitative method to identify the specific ways, means and purposes that the traditional news media uses to present the ad hoc groups in news.

3.3 Study III

Study III used only one main method, semi-structured interviews, in its objective to investigate Finnish PR practitioners' and journalists' perceptions of the potential communicative power of individuals and communities operating in

social media and the effects these publics' online presence and activities have on the professionals' working processes. Interviews were chosen as the method to obtain a collective current state description from the professionals about their perceptions concerning different social media audiences.

The target groups (population) of the interview study were Finnish communication professionals in (news) media and (business) companies (N=6). The interviewee selection process of the study was closest to the "judgement sample" strategy, in which interviewees best serving the purposes of the study are selected (Marshall, 1996). The objective was for the sample population to represent the core economic sectors of Finland's corporate business and news industries, as well as provide good representation of different age groups, field/work experience and gender distribution. Thus, the PR practitioners were selected from the food industry, construction industry and PR agency fields and the journalists represented a national newspaper, a medium to large regional newspaper and the freelance sector. The interviewees were aged 25 to 56 years, had lengths of service from 3 to 25 years and comprised of two female and four male respondents. The identities of the interviewees were anonymized in the study.

The study used face-to-face semi-structured interviews with four participants. The other two participants responded to the open questions by email due to difficulties in organizing face-to-face interviews. Semi-structured interviews were selected as a method because they enable to maintain a structure to the interview questions as all the participants are asked the same basic questions but still give the participants freedom to express their own thoughts. The structure of the questions also enabled comparisons between the responses. For example, Barribal and While (1994, p. 330) state that semi-structured interviews "are well suited for the exploration of the perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues and enable probing for more information and clarification of answers".

The researcher personally contacted the participants and conducted the interviews between December 2015 and March 2016. The face-to-face interviews lasted between 85 to 115 minutes and were conducted and transcribed in Finnish. Summaries of the record transcripts and overall data and notes were translated into English by the author.

The interviews followed the same types of questions included in three overall themes: (1) communication professionals' roles and processes in the Internet and social media era, (2) their views on and strategies towards online publics, and (3) their views on the communicative power of social medias' publics. In addition, some of the questions were customized for the specific respondents based on background research of their organizations and personal social media communication.

The interview data was analyzed by reading the transcribed words, phrases and sections and using enunciated perceptions and activity descriptions to find meaningful patterns and convergent themes from the texts. The results are reported covering overall and more specific themes and by using

data extracts in relevant sections to showcase how the interviewees announced the issues. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) state: "Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail". They, for instance, suggest a six-phase coding process to form significant patterns form data: 1) "familiarising yourself with your data", 2) "searching for themes", 3) "generating initial codes", 4) "reviewing themes", 5) "defining and naming themes", and 6) "producing the report ". (Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 89-93).

4   SUMMARIES OF STUDY FINDINGS

The objectives of the thesis were to investigate what types of SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed. The thesis consists of three studies investigating the main objectives from different perspectives and each study has its specific research questions (see Table 4). The following three subchapters summarize the findings of the studies.

TABLE 4   Research questions per studies

Study title	Research questions
I. The role of social media in societal change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate activity on Facebook	1. How many Facebook pages from this population fit the set criteria of online social movements with potential for creating greater communicative power? 2. Are there examples of pages creating movements with this potential demonstrating actual societal change in ways that conform to conceptualizations of a Fifth Estate? 3. How do relevant online (online activity and gained membership size) and offline (offline activity and gained media visibility) page attributes influence the effectiveness of online social movements in translating communicative power into societal change?
II. Facebook's ad hoc groups: a potential source of communicative power of networked citizens	1. How to categorize Facebook's AHGs according to their declared missions? 2. In what do the main motivations and objectives of AHGs differ? 3. Do AHGs provoke traditional media attention to further their objectives? 4. What types of AHGs achieve public coverage through traditional media?
III. Business and news media perspectives on the power of social media publics: Case Finland	1. How has the Internet and social media arena and the individuals and communities operating therein affected the working processes of PR practitioners and journalists? 2. Do the communication professionals perceive that social media's individuals and communities have communicative power to influence, challenge or hold businesses and news media accountable?

4.1 Study I

The objective of Study I was three-fold. First, to locate those online social movements that have aims and potential for creating communicative power. Second, to discover what types of online social movements create communicative power and accomplish societal influence. Finally, to discover what online and offline attributes impact on the social movements in creating societal influence.

Study I used specific five selection criteria (see Methods chapter, Study I) for identifying pages being used for online social movements, instead of corporate sponsored or entertainment/discussion oriented pages, from the SNS Facebook. With a step-by-step content analysis process of the official listing of 2,329 most popular Finnish Facebook pages, Fanilista.fi, the study located 27 (1.2% of total) pages conforming to the criteria. The 27 pages were thus considered to be online social movements with the aim and potential to increase their communicative power and create societal influence. Online social movements are seen in Study I as collectives of individuals using Internet and social media to organize and achieve societal influence, operating in both online and offline arenas, and capable of translating their communicative power into a Fifth Estate. The objective and activity descriptions showcase the movements covering different forms of campaigns, movements, communities and citizen legal initiatives, all aiming to create communicative power in different ways (see Table 2, p. 6, of the original Study I attached to this thesis).

Further, the study set seven attributes to analyse different online and offline activities, qualities and success of the six most popular and least popular (N=12) pages (by membership size). The attributes were: 1) page type and purpose, 2) member count (size), 3) media visibility, 4) online activity (administrators and members), 5) offline activity (administrators and members), 6) age/lifespan, and 7) societal influence (i.e. valuation of ACP and Fifth Estate potential). All attributes, except page type and purpose, were given quantifiable values from 1 (low) to 5 (high) to be able to make comparisons and correlations between them.

According to the results, four of the most popular six online social movements (named '875grams', 'I do 2013', 'Chow Radar' and 'Viking Line') were found to be highly successful in forming actualized communicative power and societal influence (scoring 5) (see Table 4, p. 9, of the original article). All the measured attributes, except the lifespan of the pages, were found to be significant in the creation of societal influence (see Figures 1-5, pp. 9-11, of the original article). Among the four most successful movements the significance of the attributes could be overall put in the following order: 1) membership size (average value 5), 2) online activity (average 4.25), 3) media visibility (average 4), and 4) offline activity (average 3.5).

Firstly, membership size had a high correlation with success in societal influence, as all four most successful movements in societal influence (scoring 5)

also had large amounts of members (score 5). Nonetheless, there was a clear anomaly as two of the movements with high membership sizes (scoring 5) were unable to achieve hardly any societal influence (1 and 2). Those movements with lower membership sizes (1) generally had lower societal influence (1 or 2), except the small 'Myyrmäki movement' scoring average (3) on societal influence.

Secondly, media visibility was found to roughly correspond with societal influence. Media visibility was found to have high correlation with two of the most successful movements, both '875 grams' and 'I do 2013' movements scoring high on success in societal influence (5) and media visibility (5). The remaining two successful movements achieved average (3) media visibility. The remaining unsuccessful movements all achieved quite low media visibility (1 or 2), 'Myyrmäki movement' again achieved average media visibility (3).

Thirdly, online activity results had a quite high correlation with success in societal influence. Among the four most successful movements, both administrators (5) and members (5) of the 'I do 2013' movement were highly active online, and the other successful three movements had quite active administrators (3 and 4) and members (4 and 5). Also, 'Myyrmäki movement' had high online activity (admin 5, members 4) although receiving only average overall success. The remaining unsuccessful movements had quite low but slightly higher aggregate online activity results compared to success in societal influence.

The online activity results indicate that the activity of the members can be regarded as equally important in the formation of success in societal influence compared to the activity of the administrators (i.e. leaders). Hereby I want to correct that the sentence on p. 12 of the published article should be read as: "Among the most successful four pages, their significance was in the following order: (1) membership size, (2) online activity, (3) media visibility, and (4) offline activity". Thus, the sentence should not include the phrase "(especially leaders)" because as stated, online activity performed by both members and leaders was equally found to correlate with the success.

Finally, offline activities also correlate quite high with success in societal influence among three of the successful movements with the anomaly of 'Chow Radar' having very low offline activity results (admin 1, members 1) but still high societal influence (5). The administrators (5) and members (5) of the 'I do 2013' movement were highly active. Also, the administrators of '875 grams' and 'Viking Line' were highly active (5) and members average (3). 'Myyrmäki' was again found very active offline (admin 5, members 4). The remaining unsuccessful movements had very low offline activity of both administrators and members. The results indicate that the offline activity of administrators (leaders) is somewhat more important compared to the activity of members in creation of societal influence.

The lifespan (age) attribute results did not correspond with success in societal influence. This indicates that the length of the movements is not a significant factor influencing the success of the movements. Nevertheless, the study

did not evaluate specifically the stages (e.g. beginning vs. finishing stage) of the movements which may be a more relevant factor than the overall lifespan of the movements in the creation of success in societal influence.

Overall the results showed that the successful movements could attract a large member size which may be due to their issues (i.e. page type and purpose) that were able to tap into the societal consciousness of people. Membership size, nevertheless, did not prove to be a direct indicator of success in societal influence, as two of the largest six movements failed in their missions. The 'Myyrmäki movement' was also able to create average societal influence by operating effectively in its local environment. The case studies further revealed that many aspects, in addition to the measured attributes, may have impacted on the success of the movements.

The largest successful movement '875 grams' was initiated by a father of a premature baby. It was primarily aimed to be a communication channel for a circuit of friends and later, after large popularity, transformed into a campaign to raise money for children's hospitals. The movement has raised meaningful amounts of money for children's hospitals and helped to donate an incubator. The movement could be judged to owe its success to its strong and active leadership (the father acting as a public face for the campaign), professional campaign-like operations and a very touching/emotive topic. All aspects generated high online and offline activity and media interest in the campaign.

The 'I do 2013' movement was originally formed by friends to make an online civic initiative petition to achieve equal marital rights for same sexes. Within six months the movement transformed into a registered citizen association which succeeded in getting the first crowd-sourced civic law approved in the Finnish parliament on 28 November, 2014. The campaign lead to the creation of the general 'Equal Marriage Law' campaign on Facebook. The success of the movement was due to a topical issue (unresolved by society), very professional campaign leadership tactics and internal and external communication, various offline events and activities, armies of volunteers (also crowdsourcing for expertise), cooperation with organizations and public figures, and vast media attention.

The 'Chow Radar' collective created by anonymous administrators started as a Facebook page with a mission to share information concerning unhealthy and unethical food production. The movement has evolved to other Internet platforms and publications. The online actions of the collective have included many boycotts and law initiatives against food companies, supported by several thousands of people. The collective has gained the attention of media and businesses because they have managed to use Facebook to gather together a large membership of food consumers and create an environment where people can go to find, ask and share food related information. The collective thus has potential to affect consumer behavior and to monitor and pressure corporations.

The 'Viking Line' movement was initiated by an individual with the aim of persuading a ferry line to order its next ship from a Finnish ship builder. The campaign was based on the premise that if the ferry line agrees to the proposi-

tion by 'liking' the page, people promise to be customers of the ship at least once a year for 3 years. The company noted the group once it had gathered 20,000 members and sought cooperation with it. The company eventually ordered its new ship from a Finnish shipbuilder, regardless of whether the movement was the main reason. The success of the campaign was based on its active leader contacting the ferry company and disseminating information about the campaign on Facebook and to news media, including the activity of the members. The campaign is an example of creative use of consumer behavior turned into public group pressure which was also noticed as a beneficial cooperation and marketing possibility by the company.

Two of the top six most popular movements, despite also being able to gather large membership counts and having potentially relevant and emotive issues, were not able to transform their activities into communicative power. The 'General Strike 15.10.2010' movement was able to gather over 100,000 members on Facebook to make a promise to join a strike against government officials' pay rises. Nevertheless, due to its unrealistic (even illegal) mission, poor planning and lack of an organizer (or leader) who would actively disseminate information online, on the strike day less than a hundred turned up to protest. News media described the mission as a failure. Similarly, the 'Kimmo Wilska support group' managed to attract a vast amount of 'like' clicks on Facebook presumably due to its entertainment value. Nonetheless, no one made any further internal or external group communication or online or offline actions to further the goal of the mission. The remainder of the pages were unable to gather either members or create notable communicative power.

The findings of the study show that there is quite limited quantity of online social movements (n=27) on SNSs such as Facebook aiming at increasing their communicative power (1.2% of the total pages). Further, the findings indicate that there are also quite few (n=4) movements of these achieving significant levels of communicative power (14,81% of those aiming at increasing their communicative power). Nevertheless, on a strongly entertainment, discussion and marketing oriented platform like Facebook, these findings of collectives of individuals using Internet and social media to organize action which demonstrate a good potential at influencing changes in society, is quite significant. The study was found especially beneficial in suggesting a method for identifying the online social movements from a SNS platform and creating a set of attributes to measure formation of communicative power.

Study I concludes that the social media (the Fifth Estate) arena has enabled people to take part in the discussion and processes of societal happenings and form diverse communities no matter how physically distant they are to each other. Before social media, public discussions happened mostly in the news/mass media, among power-holders of society, and in offline (close) networks of people. Traditional media (the Fourth Estate) is still a significant agenda setter picking publishable content from online and offline happenings and affecting online and offline public discussion. Online social movements, nevertheless, produce their own content/information in the SNS spaces and

self-organize online and offline activities. These activities may be noticed by media, wider publics, and even decision makers, and are again reported by the individuals online. The process of communicative power formation of online social movements is a mixture of changing online and offline activities and impacts. The movements often still also benefit from media coverage to reach their goals. Thus, the processes are seen to be intertwine and the Fifth Estate arena's communicative power formation is seen to be built on the grounds of the Fourth Estate arena. See the overall processes of communicative power formation of the Fourth and Fifth Estate arenas compared and presented in the following Table 5 (table compressed from Table 6, p. 12, of the original Study I attached to this thesis).

TABLE 5   Fourth and Fifth Estate arena processes of communicative power formation

Fourth Estate arena processes	Fifth Estate arena processes
Societal issue rises offline and/or is set on the media agenda	
Issue discussed in media (stories decided by journalists/media houses) + discussion between media and power-holders and in offline (close) networks of people	Issue discussed online on social media platforms (people source and disseminate information created by the press and independent from press and authorities/power-holders)
People organize offline in close networks	People organize and disseminate information on social media platforms (=networked individuals)
Offline meetings, protests, sit-ins, signature collections for petitions, collecting money, boycotts of products, etc.	Online petitions, protest websites, virtual sit-ins, online information diffusion to create boycotts, influence consumer behavior, and organize offline events etc.
Media focus on the offline activities / impacts	From online and offline activities/impacts, and media news coverage on the activities/impacts, the discussion returns to social media platforms
The issue gets more publicity	Online activities and online diffused information of offline events get media's and larger public's attention
The issue gets powerful institutions', authorities' or corporation's attention	
Discussion continues in media and in offline close networks of people	Discussion and activities continue in social media platforms
HYPOTHESIS	
Discourse of the issue remains between power-holders and media => citizens have low communicative power	Group power created online, supplemented with media attention => increased communicative power of networked individuals

4.2 Study II

Study II focused on Facebook's ad hoc groups, referring to groups and pages formed on the SNS for a specific purpose. The study used the abbreviation 'AHGs' to refer to ad hoc groups. Study II had four specific main objectives. First, to categorize Facebook ad hoc groups according to their declared missions. Second, to discover what specific motivations and objectives members of the groups have. Third, to find out if the members of the groups aspire traditional media attention to further their mission's goal. Finally, to showcase if the groups achieve public coverage through traditional media.

The study selected a sample of 27 Facebook groups and pages for an online survey based on preliminary evaluation of their objectives. Categories formed from these groups and pages included: 1) 'societal wellbeing movements', which, for example, gather money for children's healthcare; 2) 'community/discussion' groups, which are, for example, formed to stay in touch with friends; 3) 'protest/support movements', which, for example, protest corporations and their malpractice; 4) 'ideological movements', which, for example, fight against racism; and 5) 'law initiative' movements, which, for example, crowdsource law change. The hypothesis was that the objectives of the groups would correlate with the categories. The survey resulted in 712 individual responses from 16 different groups and the answers were evaluated both on the total respondent level (n=712) and between the group categories (n=5). The study utilized the same selection criteria set in Study I to judge if the general objective of the groups was to create communicative power and influence change in society against 'softer' objectives of friendship/socialization and entertainment.

Firstly, the results showed that the general age and education level distribution among the survey population was quite even. The results, nonetheless, indicated that there is a specific socio-demographic segment of society, educated 26-35 year olds, who are interested in being active in meaningful societal issues and missions, especially law initiatives and ideological movements, but also protest/support and societal wellbeing movements. More mature people (46 years and older) are attracted to the community/discussion groups, which are somewhat 'lighter subject areas'. Younger people (15-25 years) are more evenly interested in societal wellbeing, protest/support and law initiative groups. People with a secondary level education dominate in the societal wellbeing, community/discussion and protest/support groups. Members with higher educational levels were more attracted to ideological movements and law initiatives. Most of the respondents earned less than 40,000€ per year (71.9%) and 14.2% 40-70,000€ per year. Most of the protest/support group members had the lowest income levels (under 10,000€ per year).

Overall, most of the motivations of people to join ad hoc groups were tied to acquiring and sharing information (mean values 4.07 and 3.06 on a scale from

1=not important at all to 5=very important). The possibility to influence matters by being a part of the group was considered the third most important (mean value 2.97). (See all motive values from Table 3, p. 85 of the original Study II attached to this thesis). There was, nevertheless, significant statistical difference found in motivations among the different ad hoc group category types, especially community/discussion and all the other types. The community/discussion group members were most interested in entertainment, friendship and discussion, as the members of the other groups were more motivated by information dissemination and the potential influence of the groups (see Figure 3, p. 86, of the original article).

The objective results showed that the primary perceived objectives of the ad hoc groups were sharing mission related information (mean value 4.17), aspiring people to discuss (3.77), participate and act (3.85), and contributing to achieving common goals (3.55). Objectives least important to the members were general conspicuousness and media visibility of the groups (see Table 4, p. 87, of the original article).

There were again statistically significant differences found between the community/discussion groups and the other group types. Members of law initiatives, ideological and protest/support groups, which may be judged to have ambitions of a broader societal influence, rated objectives of information dissemination, activating people, achieving common goals and encouraging discussion higher than the other groups, even societal wellbeing movements. The community/discussion group members rated reaching specific goals, conspicuousness of the group and media visibility lower compared to all the other groups, and were most interested in information, discussion and bringing people together (see Figure 4, p. 87, of the original article).

Thus, the aggregate survey results show that the groups oriented to societal influence (law initiatives, ideological and protest/support groups) were not only motivated and had high objectives of information diffusion, discussion and activating people but were also highly interested in influence and reaching their specific goals. Figure I (Figure 5, p. 92 of the original article) shows how the different group types range on an overall scale from those with stronger objectives of societal influence and reaching their specific goals, to those that have 'softer' objectives of friendship, socialization and entertainment.

MOTIVATION/
OBJECTIVE

Socialization and
entertainment

5 | Community/
discussion

4

Societal wellbeing
movement

3

Protest/support
movement

2

Ideological
movement

Societal influence
and emphasis on
reaching goal

1

Law initiative

1   2   3   4   5
Low media   High media
visibility   visibility
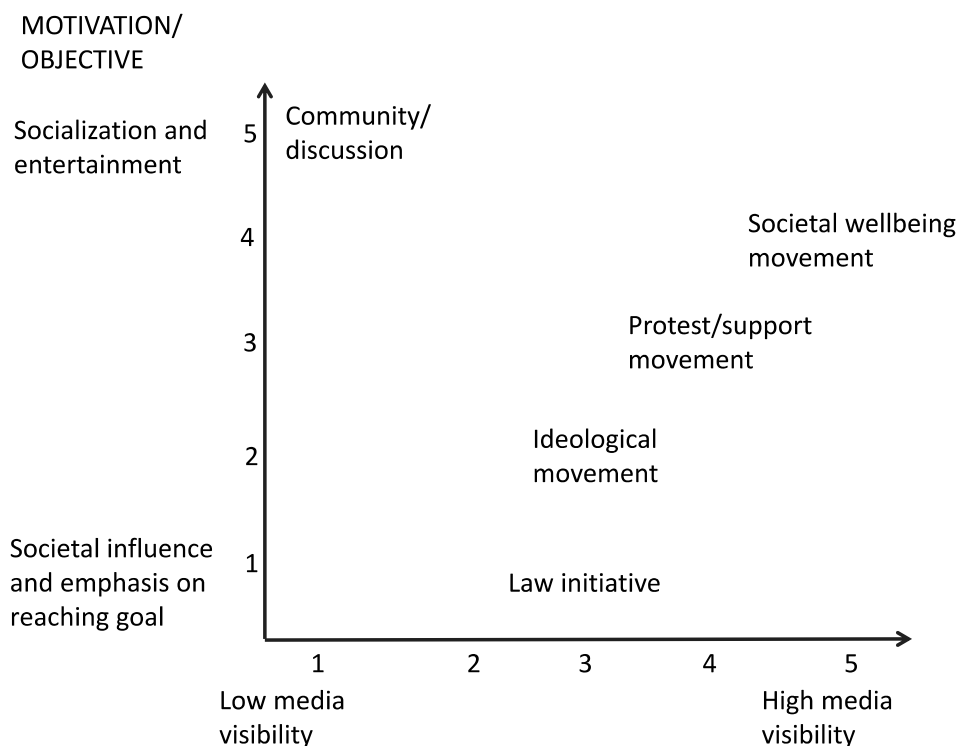
FIGURE 1   Scale presenting motivations/objectives and media visibility of ad hoc group
            categories

Consequently, the members of the groups were found to be highly motivated and aimed at acquiring and sharing information inside their groups. The survey activity perception results, nevertheless, showed that the members were somewhat less active in disseminating information and acting outside the space of their own groups, and for example organizing offline activities. A little less than half of respondents (48%) stated sharing information about the group on Facebook (outside their own group) and 6% stated sharing information outside Facebook on other platforms (most often on Twitter). On the other hand, more than half of group members (53.7%) state that the groups have organized or are planning to organize activities offline.

Additionally, the survey results revealed, quite unexpectedly, that none of the group members, not even the societal influence oriented groups, aspire to attract much traditional media attention to further their mission's goal. This is surprising because traditional media as a societal public agenda setter may be an effective means of reaching massive number of people and getting credibility, for example in the eyes of decision makers. The study speculated that aspiring to attract media attention may be more desired by the leaders of the communities rather than the members. Despite the lack of the members aspiring to attract media attention, quantitative media analysis showed that the societal influence oriented groups received highest media coverage, 94 news items out of all 97 new items (see Table 6, p. 89, of the original article). The community/discussion groups had only 3 news items focused on them (see also the previous Figure 1 for the groups' media visibility on a scale).

The results also showed correlation between the amount of news items per group categories and the number of members in the groups (see Table 8, p. 90, of the original article). Further, the qualitative close reading results revealed that size was not the only determiner of achieved media coverage. According to the results, other factors, such the groups' emotive and thought-provoking topics, connections to current events or conditions, and capability to exert influence on issues of common concern, shaped news coverage. Overall, the groups of the study obtained only a moderate level of media coverage. Ten out of the sixteen groups (63%) had received publicity in newspapers and the most covered group received only 40 news items between the years 2010-2015. Nevertheless, this study focused specifically on the specific groups and their missions (not only their issues) as the focus of the news items, thus making the specific groups more meaningful focuses and actors in the news formation process. This type of specific news focus can be seen to exemplify 'audience-driven agenda setting'.

4.3 Study III

Study III used semi-structured interviews to reach two main objectives. First, to investigate how PR practitioners and journalists perceive that the Internet and social media arena and the individuals and communities operating therein have affected the working processes of the communication professionals. Second, to find out if the communication professionals perceive that social media's individuals and communities have communicative power to influence, challenge or hold businesses and news media accountable.

In the study, (potentially) societally influential individuals of social media were classified as bloggers and citizen journalists or any individuals communicating on the Internet but in a non-organized manner. Social media's communities oriented to influencing societal issues were seen as protest or lobby ad hoc groups, (official) campaigns or social movements organizing, communicating and networking in the Internet to achieve some common goal, for instance change in society.

The interview results suggest firstly, that the social media arena has had some profound effects on the working procedures of the professional, but most of the traditional roles of PR practitioners and journalists still prevail. Both sets of professionals see that journalists are still needed as a societal authority that can provide truthful information in the increasingly fragmented online communication sphere. Some of the journalists also note that they may now also be needed to take a new role as a 'stabilizer of public (online) discussions'. This role relates to journalists providing facts and making sense of issues amidst various potentially false or valid online statements and discussions made by individuals or communities operating in the Internet and social media arena.

On the one hand, social media has provided journalists access to more news subjects and sources, increased the means to diffuse own news stories ef-

ficiently, and affected the way journalists evaluate what topics are worthy to write news about. Journalists, for instance, admit that they afford more focus on stories about regular people if the stories turn out to gather a lot of attention online. Journalists are thus interested in the quantity of 'likes' and 'followers' of a social media discussion, phenomenon or a community. On the other hand, social media has made journalists more accountable for their work and checking facts. Moreover, the power or role of journalists as societal agenda setters is seen to have somewhat declined because in the social media arena people can create and share content and thus raise issues to public attention independently.

PR practitioners are seen by both sets of professionals as very meaningful for businesses in the social media era because they are needed to handle crisis situations due to various social media audiences. On the one hand, the social media arena has provided PR practitioners advantages, such as online platforms available to create content directly for stakeholders, speed of communication exchange, increased online discourse monitoring, and the possibility of dialogue with various publics. On the other hand, both sets of professionals see PR practitioners facing great challenges due to uncontrollable audiences and groups on social media that can form unorganized or organized attacks against businesses.

Despite increasing access to online monitoring and joining online discussions, both sets of professionals show hesitancy in having dialogues with confrontational publics. The current most common online communication strategies include pre-determined answers to questions and statements for crisis situations, and handling issues that have caused vast discussion, criticism or protests case-by-case.

The professionals have quite a positive stand towards easily classifiable communities on social media and individuals, such as bloggers. Bloggers are today treated by PR practitioners nearly the same way as journalists. Bloggers are often invited to the same press conferences and are sent the same product samples as journalists. According to journalists, bloggers operate as great citizen journalists when their stories are based on facts. Based on the journalists' statements, the study also suggested novel specific qualities separating professional journalists from citizen journalists. Journalists separate themselves from citizen journalists by:

1. being journalism professionals that work for a media house or as freelancers, and thus have the time and motivation to follow stories and check facts thoroughly,

2. following clear ethical and practical journalistic guidelines ('guidelines for journalists' set by the Finnish Union of Journalists and regulated by the Council for Mass Media),

3. aiming at separating their opinionated stories from actual news stories, and

4. perceiving as an obligation the need to work for the public interest.

Both sets of professionals stated that they often ignore and dislike more arbitrary individuals' incoherent, short and anonymous discussions online. Journalists view that anonymous individuals or those writing under pseudonyms online are often the ones attacking them under false pretenses and making their work difficult. Journalists also perceive alternative media sites, distributing what is called 'false/fake news' as contemptible. Although journalists (to some extent) must tolerate these sites in accordance with freedom of speech, they generally state not wanting to get involved with their activities, not even correct their messages when considered false. Overall, journalists view plurality of views as a positive aspect of social media but also see the sphere forming closed 'bubbles' of like-minded people sharing limited information, even false information.

PR practitioners are aware that social media contains many kinds of communities, such as boycott groups and social movements, of which some are connected to their organizations. PR practitioners recognize that social media's communities centered around societal and everyday life issues (such as food, health and work) are popular among people today. Furthermore, information disseminated in these communities potentially have a meaningful effect on people's images on issues, as well as on images and reputation of businesses involved with the issues. Nevertheless, PR practitioners often regard those communities monitoring them and disseminating unfavorable information about them as having quite limited abilities in reporting facts and issues overall. These publics are mostly ignored and considered 'ignorant'.

Social media's communities present a cooperation potential for PR practitioners, but the communities are viewed as either quite problematic stakeholders or still indifferently as stakeholders. Although usually quite well organized, the communities frequently cannot be classified as traditional stakeholders of either an organization or business. Indeed, they rarely communicate with the PR practitioners under any rules or traditions in the context of traditional business, NGOs or activist associations and thus may not care about their image or tactics. Interplay with social media's communities is also difficult because the communities may not have clear leaders with whom PR practitioners can pursue discussion and cooperation.

Journalists state they do not actively monitor or search for communities connected to their media organization or their own news. Journalists also claim to avoid unnecessary dialogue with all online publics, mostly because in today's media hostile societal atmosphere, outcomes may easily turn aggressive and unconstructive. Journalist still say they have no desire to appear to be a 'silent elite' and do emphasize the possibility of brainstorming with online audiences to create news stories. The study raises questions whether media houses should put more resources into monitoring and managing the issues of the digital environment, and if the 'stabilizer' role is one of the most important for journalists in the future of the social media era.

Overall, the communicative power of social media's individuals and communities is clearly acknowledged by all the professionals. The online pub-

lics can hold businesses accountable for their activities, cause notable 'issue storms', voice customer demands and make journalists more pedantic with their work (e.g. checking facts). The power is still complex, used for both good and evil and not automatic at all. The online publics are seen to have power to influence issues but not make the final decisions. The professionals view power as being actualized fully if the social media's:

1. **individuals** are identifiable (not anonymous) content producers, who produce content in a continuous manner (for example bloggers), and whose information content is based on facts.

2. **communities'** activities are well organized, they have identifiable leadership and the activities and communication (internal and external) are based on factual information and individual actors who can perform in a professional manner.

The study further summarizes qualities assigned to issues or missions of powerful social media's individual and communities, as judged and enunciated by the professionals:

1. Importance of the topic (relevance to large segments of society, relevance to corporate processes and reputation and societal meaningfulness judged by media),

2. Quantity of people involved (e.g. group membership size), following and/or discussing the issue,

3. Amplitude of discussion (reaching varied and sufficient audiences online and offline),

4. Media attention (journalists reporting about the issue or group/community), and

5. Communication and activities must be professionally organized and performed, and based and planned according to factual information.

Consequently, the overall view of the two sets of professionals is that social media's individuals and communities should, for them to have actual communicative power, operate under the aegis of a traditional societal authority figure and institutional/organizational rules. This viewpoint may be because then they would be easier, more familiar stakeholders with whom to operate. Nevertheless, Study III concludes that social media's individuals and communities still tend to operate conforming to the culture and freedoms of social media and not necessarily operate according to traditional rules. The study findings show a demand for future research focused on different social media's individual and community actors to acquire knowledge of their differences in objectives, tactics, and perceptions of operating with core institutions of society, such as businesses and news media.

5 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The main objectives of the thesis were to investigate what types of SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed, even to the extent that they can challenge power-holders, especially news media and business organizations and government institutions. This objective was further divided into three research questions:

1. What are the possible objectives and modes of actions of the SI oriented SNS communities?

2. What attributes and/or conditions enable achieving the objectives of the SNS communities and thus increase their capacity of communicative power formation?

3. What is the relationship and power structure between the SI oriented SNS communities and the (traditional) news media?

The following subchapters aim to answer and discuss the three research questions of this thesis. The final subchapter of the section reviews further insights into (concrete) cooperation among the social media actors based on the results and their discussions.

5.1 RQ1: Types, stages and forms of SNS communities in building communicative power

Studies I and II are the main sources for answering the first research question: What are the possible objectives and modes of actions of the SI oriented SNS communities? By combining the SNS community (Facebook page and group) data of Studies I and II, and evaluating their detectable objectives and modes of action, the thesis first re-categorizes the communities into six (somewhat) new types of SI oriented SNS communities. Further in this chapter, the thesis sug-

gests that the SNS communities can be also categorized into different stages and forms of building communicative power and influencing change in society.

Study I presented a list of 27 pages found from Facebook based on the criteria (see Study I methods), and presented an overall description of their objectives and activities. Study II included 9 of the same 27 pages, and 7 additional groups and pages from Facebook. The study had a slightly different approach by categorizing the ad hoc groups into five categories: 1) societal wellbeing movement, 2) community/discussion groups, 3) protest/support movements, 4) ideological movements, and 5) law initiatives. Study II showed that there is strong statistical difference in the motivations and objectives between SNS communities oriented to entertainment and discussion (i.e. community/discussion groups) and those pursuing some form of societal influence (i.e. law initiatives and ideological, protest/support, and societal wellbeing movements). The following categorization thus excludes the 'community/discussion groups' from further evaluation because they do not fit one of the main objective criteria regarding orientation towards societal influence (see Study I methods, criteria 5) of the studies and this thesis overall. Further, 'Fur farm free Finland 2025' page was removed from this summary and categorization because it is an official campaign of the animal rights' citizen organization 'Animalia'. 'Pekka Haavisto for President 2012' page was removed because it is an official political campaign page. Thus, the two SNS communities do not work independently, outside of institutional or organizational authorities, as required by criteria 3. 'I want to see other things also' page was also removed because it is mainly an advertisement page for a private campaign.

The Appendix table of this thesis includes the aggregate group and page data (N=33) of Studies I and II categorized, which is based on the general objective categories of Study II (see more detailed description of the categories from 'Summaries of study findings', Study II). The listing has an extra category developed for communities aiming at affecting consumer patterns of people as well as procedures of business organizations named 'Consumer behavior and pressure community', and the 'protest/support' groups are separated into independent 'support' and 'protest' community categories. The categories are referred to as 'communities' instead of 'movements' conforming to the general conceptualization of this thesis. Thus, the six (novel) categories of SI oriented SNS communities located in this thesis are the following: 1) support communities, 2) protest communities, 3) ideological communities 4) societal wellbeing communities, 5) law initiative communities, and 6) consumer behavior and pressure communities. Chapter 5.4 includes a somewhat more thorough discussion of the category types, their specific targets of influence and how business, news media and government organizations and institutions, and their representatives, should take the communities of the different categories into account.

The communities have been appointed to the specific categories depending on their general objectives and their overall modes of action. The modes of action defined for each category take into account, for example, 'organization, communication and social networks' as key features and resources of social

movements (see Lopes, 2004), the manner of social movements operating in both online and offline contexts (see Feezell, Conroy & Guerrero, 2009; Castells, 2007), and recognized types of (both Internet-supported and -based) actions used by social movements, such as demonstrations, meetings, consumer behavior, donating money, online petition and protest website (Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010). Further, media's agenda setting and power to shape opinion on societal issues (see McCombs, 2005) and potential audience-driven agenda setting (see Uscinski, 2009) are aspects which can be used by the communities to further their goals.

The Appendix table forms a basis for categorizing the SNS communities into two stages of building communicative power proposed in this thesis, presented in the Table 6.

TABLE 6   Two stages of building communicative power

Objectives and modes of action	Formation of communicative power
Stage I communities	
Gathering together a SNS community with somewhat similar beliefs or objectives (mass of members), pursuing more members and public support, and disseminating and exchanging information on the issue	Communicative power forms through 'mass of members' and information dissemination/exchange affecting collective image formation
Stage II communities	
Using SNS communities' existing resources of information dissemination/exchange and 'mass of members' for: a) crowdsourcing for expertise, funding or manpower, b) affecting consumer behavior, c) preparing/making online civic initiatives, d) organizing online activities, such as boycotts, e) organizing offline activities, such as demonstrations, and f) gaining further public attention (e.g. through news media)	Communicative power forms through: 1. 'mass of members' and information dissemination/exchange affecting collective image formation, and 2. creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete modes of actions to a) influence, challenge or defend, b) to hold accountable or c) to bypass societal authorities, organizations and institutions

The Stage I SNS communities support or protest an issue, person or organization, such as supporting the right of people to gain basic income, protesting the discrimination of people, or supporting a news anchor who was fired. The main objectives of the communities appear to be gathering together people (i.e. forming a community) and pursuing to get more members and public support. Their main modes of action include disseminating and exchanging own information (e.g. information gained by monitoring authorities or corporations/organizations) and information produced by others (e.g. news or information from other missions/movements) on their Facebook page or group 'walls'. The motivations tied to the communities reflect similarity with identified social network users' motivations of knowledge sharing, expressing affiliation, building a sense of community, providing and receiving social support,

collecting information, and providing answers to questions (Lai & Turban, 2008; Welser et al., 2007). The communities gather together people with similar objectives and beliefs and share information on the subject, which can affect people's worldviews, images and attitudes towards issues and make a societal difference through such collective image formation.

Some of these SNS communities resemble Konttinen and Peltokoski's (2010) description of social movements which may not attempt to articulate specific overall alternatives but instead express discontent, raise new questions to the public discussion and build autonomic ad hoc style forms of influence channels. Stage I communities also have the potential to be noticed by decision makers, for instance, due to their membership size, and can potentially impact on the procedures of decision makers by forming large masses of conjoint interests. Nevertheless, the Stage I communities have not taken any (or many) further steps, such as executing concrete activities or suggesting alternative solutions to the situation, to influence changes in society. This may be a deliberate choice or lack of resources. Most of the communities categorized as 'support communities' and 'protest communities' are the ones mainly oriented to disseminating and exchanging information on the issue, instead of more concrete actions (see Appendix of this thesis).

The Stage II SNS communities support or protest similar issues as the Stage I communities, such as supporting the rights of teachers or protesting a large gas station concern. All the communities disseminate information produced by them or others, gather together people to form (large) SNS communities and pursue more members and public support. Nevertheless, contrary to Stage I communities, the Stage II communities use their resources of 'mass of members' (i.e. membership size), networks and information exchange to create concrete activities. The modes of action include, for instance, a) crowdsourcing for expertise, funding or manpower, b) affecting consumer behavior, c) preparing/making online civic initiatives, d) organizing online activities, such as boycotts, e) organizing offline activities, such as demonstrations, and f) gaining further public attention (e.g. through news media). With these modes of action, the communities aim to influence, to hold account or to bypass traditional decision makers and power-holders in preparing and/or actualizing change in society. The communities also create concrete alternate solutions/change propositions in addition to affecting general public opinion and increasing discussion surrounding public matters or everyday life issues.

Especially the SNS communities categorized as 'societal wellbeing communities' are pursuing to bypass traditional power-holders in creating change in society by, for instance, gathering money to create better healthcare for children or gathering people/manpower to improve city life and street tidiness. The communities categorized as 'law initiative communities' generally crowdsource for support and/or expertise in preparing for law change petitions and aim to influence procedures in preparation and/or actualization of political change. 'Consumer behavior and pressure communities' are aiming to hold accountable and challenge businesses and other organizations and their proce-

dures, and aim to affect people's consumer behavior and use the large membership sizes of the communities to pressure corporate decision making. The specific community types use various online and offline activities, and means to gain publicity, to further their objectives.

Thus, in addition to motivations tied more to knowledge, information and community, suggested in the context of Stage I communities (Lai & Turban, 2008; Welser et al., 2007), motivations tied to Stage II reflect similarity with identified social network user motivations of democratic participation, financial support, and collective creation (Lai & Turban 2008). The motivation of individual people to be a part of SNS communities are often also partially connected to general motivations to use SNSs, such as getting in contact with new people, keeping in touch with their friends, and general socializing (Brandtzæg & Heim, 2009). Nevertheless, Study II shows that these are not the main motivations of the members of SNS communities aiming at increasing their communicative power and influencing changes in society.

When exploring the communities even further, it appears that some of both Stage I and Stage II communities are more similar to independent ad hoc movements formed for a specific purpose, such as protesting (a newly arisen) societal iniquity, and some can be seen more as active segments of larger social movements. The Appendix table thus includes also a consideration if the SNS communities are the main/only organization and communication venue or instead an effective organization and communication collective of a wider, existing movement. Table 7 further categorizes the communities according to their forms of 'agency' and 'independence vs. dependence' from wider movements and present how the two forms can be categorized together with the stages previously introduced.

TABLE 7   Categorization of SNS communities according to forms and stages

Forms and stages of SI oriented SNS communities	Form I The SNS community as a *core ad hoc* form movement, with the community space as the *main/only* organization and communication venue of the movement	Form II The SNS community as an *effective* organization and communication *online collective space* of a larger/wider movement/campaign
Stage I	SNS communities as a*gents* of collecting a 'mass of members' and affecting collective image formation	SNS communities as *spaces* of collecting a 'mass of members' and affecting collective image formation
Stage II	SNS communities as *agents* of creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities	SNS communities as *spaces* of creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities

The Form II sector of Table 7 presents communities which mostly resemble the SMOs (social movement organizations) operating as segments of wider social movements (i.e. SMIs, social movement industries) and implementing

their goals (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The Stage I communities of the Form II 'SMO' view function mainly as support or protest movements/communities of a wider, existing, movement affecting collective image formation. For example, the 'Pro gender neutral marital law' community functions as a support movement/community for the overall 'Equal Marriage Law' campaign. The Stage II communities of this view, in turn, are similarly seen to be collectives of a wider social movement but also additionally creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities to reach the goals of the overall mission. For example, 'the I do 2013' community was an effective Stage II community of the same 'Equal Marriage Law' campaign.

Overall, these Form II SNS communities resemble what Hara and Huang (2013, pp. 505-506) describe as "ICTs as Spaces" for social movements to "exist and undertake their activities". In most of the Stage II cases, nevertheless, the Form II SNS communities have played a major part in the formation of the movement/campaign, and most of the operations go through the SNS communities. Thus, the movements/campaigns may not be as successful without the SNS communities, including other digital resources. Many of the 'law initiative communities', 'ideological communities', and those 'protest communities' and 'support communities' which have government/political decision makers as targets of influence, especially appear to be formed as concrete effective segments pursuing to influence change in society desired by wider social movements.

The Stage 1 sector of Table 7 presents communities which have been formed as independent operators for a specific purpose, and thus represent more ad hoc forms of SI oriented SNS communities. The Stage I communities of this Form I 'ad hoc' view mainly function as information dissemination and exchange and collective image formation venues but may have very concrete objectives protesting or supporting a cause and pursuing public support for it. The Stage II communities are also set up for a specific purpose or mission but additionally create concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and use concrete activities to reach their goals. The Form I Stage II communities may, for instance, crowdsource for funding to buy a lack of hospital equipment, instead of merely discussing or raising awareness of the issue.

These Form I SNS communities resemble most the notion of 'online communities as the core agents of change and contemporary social movements' (see Gordon, 2017). Most of the 'support communities' and 'protest communities' that have the general public and business organizations as their targets of influence, and 'societal wellbeing' and 'consumer behavior and pressure' communities have the SNS community as the main or only organization and communication venue of the overall mission. The Form I communities are the paradigm examples of the characterization of the SI oriented SNS communities of this thesis, presented in chapter 2.4 (see Table 2), due to their independence and main digital space of organization and communication.

From the RMT (resource mobilization theory; see Edwards & Gillham, 2013; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004) perspective, all the communities in the data

can be seen to be using the resource gathering mechanism of "self-production" of networks and issue coalitions. Additionally, the communities use "co-optation/appropriation" of resources in the form of disseminating information appropriated from other similar movements or missions, including news. Stage II communities can be seen to further "aggregate" resources held by dispersed individuals into collective resources, such as collecting money or volunteers, or support from respected individuals. Especially the Form I communities are seen as quite independent actors from organizations and institutions. The Form II communities, on the other hand, more potentially may also be functioning with the help of foundation grants (i.e. "patronage") and under more control from the wider movements (or SMIs).

In conclusion, the SI oriented SNS communities can be overall categorized into two stages and forms of building communicative power and pursuing influence in society. The communities have a variety of more community specific objectives and modes of actions. It is difficult to evaluate which specific activities are the best in general because the activities are case specific, and it is not the objective of this thesis. Anyhow, we can evaluate more thoroughly what general qualities and behavior structures according to the study results are the most beneficial for SNS communities in achieving their goals, and what societal conditions affect the success. These aspects will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

5.2 RQ2: Quality and behavior attributes affecting communicative power of SNS communities

All the studies of this thesis brought up different quality and behavior attributes related to the communicative power formation of the SI oriented SNS communities. These results are used to answer the second research question of the thesis: What attributes and/or conditions enable achieving the objectives of the SNS communities and thus increase their capacity of communicative power formation? Study I set six attributes to investigate different online and offline activities and qualities related to the success of SNS communities in creating communicative power: (1) page type and purpose, (2) member count (size), (3) media visibility, (4) online activity, (5) offline activity and (6) age/lifespan. The study also investigated the attributes' correlation with success in (7) societal influence, and other more specific success aspects represented via case studies. Study II investigated why people join certain types of SNS communities and what are the community members' perception of the objectives of the communities. The study also showcased how and why SI oriented SNS communities become addressed in traditional news media. Study III summarized PR practitioners and journalists' perceptions on the factors and qualities which make SNS communities powerful and which aspects of the communities have the greatest effect on the work of the professionals.

First, the thesis discusses attributes that, according to the study results, enable or disable achievement of the objectives of the SNS communities. The thesis is specifically focused on those aspects that are in control of the communities, such as qualities, objectives, behavior, tactics and acquiring resources. The discussion also includes a short investigation of societal conditions, such as culture and societal and political conditions and opportunities, which are perceived relevant when considering possibilities of societal influence. Many of the following suggested attributes and their outcomes overlap and are related to each other. As a quite simplistic example, membership size attracts media attention, but also the topic and purpose of the community can attract media attention as well as more members to the community.

5.2.1 Enabling quality and behavior attributes

Topic or purpose of the community: The case studies of Study I revealed that the SNS communities successful in forming communicative power attracted a large membership size and this may be due to their issues that could tap into the societal consciousness of people. The missions of the successful communities were more specifically related to 1) touching/emotive topics (such as children's health), 2) topical societal issues or injustices (which have been long discussed in society but not yet resolved) and 3) using social media to share information and let people get involved in an issue that concerns everyone (such as food/nutrition, health, work/securing work possibilities for people).

The media analysis results of Study II also showed, and affirmed the results, that the topics and current and influential matters advocated by the communities were essential reasons for news media attention and coverage. The motivations of SNS communities in the same study further revealed that among top three motivations of people to join their community were centered around information connected to an important issue and the expected possibility of the community to make a difference in a societal issue they considered important.

According to Study III, PR practitioners and journalists specifically emphasize importance of the topic of a social media community. More specifically they emphasize the relevance of the topic to large segments of society, relevance to corporate processes and reputation and its societal meaningfulness judged by media, as key qualities of powerful social media's communities. Study III also revealed that PR practitioners are aware that people are highly interested in online information concerning many everyday life issues, for instance health and food related issues. Further, people search for information, monitor institutions and get involved in SNS communities dealing with such every day, social issues (cf. e.g. the concept/notion of "mundane citizenship", Bakardjieva, 2012).

Overall, the topic and purpose of the SNS community is of most importance. From the RMT resource type perspective, the topic of the community may advance access to "moral resources" (legitimacy, solidarity, and support) and "human resources" (labor, skills, expertise), which bring about potentially also "cultural" and "material" resources (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013). The issue can be relevant for a specific population and successful in a specific con-

text, but when the topic is touching/emotive enough and/or concerns large part of society, public interest in the issue and its legitimation is more guaranteed.

Membership size of the community: The measurements of Study I rated membership size to be a key attribute among SNS communities succeeding in creating communicative power. Also, the case studies of Study I suggested that businesses react to memberships sizes of SNS communities because they can form large networks of customers in both a highly igneous and potentially profitable social media marketing environment. In addition, in matters such as gathering money, online boycotts and civic law petitions the amount of people involved can be one the most important factors of the success of the communities.

Further, Study II showcased that media attention to specific SNS communities is at least partially guided by the number of members a SNS community can gather. Study III further emphasized the importance of membership size as journalists saw the 'likes' or 'followers/members' of a social media community or issues quite meaningfully affecting their consideration to raise the issue on the media agenda. Moreover, one main quality assigned by PR practitioners and journalists to powerful SNS communities according to Study III findings was the quantity of people involved (e.g. group membership size), either following and/or discussing the issue.

Study II showed that the members of SNS communities did not consider the large membership size of the community as an important factor in their decision to join the community (rated second to last of the motives). This is somewhat surprising and should be further studied, because a large member count could be expected to increase the allure of the page.

Although, for example, Morozov (2009, May 19; 2011) discusses the click-based culture of joining groups and illusion of making a difference online ("slactivism"), it could be suggested that even mere participation, a 'like' click, in an SNS community can potentially make a difference. For example, according to Van Laer and Van Aelst, Facebook pages or groups formed against or in favor of an issue are forms of 'online petitions'. They can gather large amounts of members to "'sign this cause by becoming a member of this group" (ibid., p. 241). The case studies of Study I exemplified one successful community, 'Viking Line', of which entire pressure tactic was relied on people's 'like clicks' on the page. Additionally, Christensen (2012) found that the suggestion of negative impact of the Internet on political engagement, generating 'slactivism', is misguided and instead virtual participants are both active and competent citizens.

Overall, the membership size of the communities reflects the amount of people reached by the mission and people potentially taking concrete action in the mission activities. The membership size could be seen to constitute the traditional RMT view of individuals involved in the social movements, such as "adherents" believing in the goals of the mission as well as potential "constituents" providing resources for the mission (see McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Also, smaller communities can be successful in their missions if they have enough

members in a specific context. For example, the 'Myyrmäki movement' of study I attracted a good-sized membership in its local environment and activated people both online and offline to achieve a good level of communicative power. The results suggest that gathering a large membership size is very important to the mission success of SNS communities because it is a means to attract attention of media, businesses and (government) decision makers. In some cases, membership size is also necessary for performing the activities of the community, and nearly always increases the possibility of influence due to group power.

Online communication activity and internal organization of the community: The measurements of Study I showed that there is strong correlation between the internal online activity (i.e. communication on the Facebook 'walls') of the SNS communities and their success in creating communicative power and societal influence. The measurements more specifically indicated the online communication activity levels of both members and leaders are equally important in reaching the goals of the mission. Whether leaders' or members' activity is slightly more important appears to vary according to missions. All the successful case study communities in Study I performed activities, such as online boycotts, gathering money, drafting law petitions and offline events, which require high levels of online organizing, giving directions and disseminating information by both leaders and members. One successful SNS community in the case studies of Study I, 'Chow radar', functioned only in the online environment, without the need of offline activities to fulfil its mission.

The survey results of Study II support the notion that members of the SI oriented SNS communities are active and motivated online inside their communities, especially in acquiring and sharing information and activating others. The results also showed that nearly half of the respondents (48%) were sharing information about the group on Facebook, outside their own group or community. The communities benefit, and even rely on, people being personally invested in the cause and sharing actively content both inside and outside their community on social media. These aspects may be seen similar to the strengths identified in the modern form of "connective action" (see Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

Study III also indicated that PR practitioners and journalists regard the breadth of discussion online as a meaningful quality of powerful SNS communities. In this respect, the discussions and well-designed operations inside the group may be an indicator of the potential power, for example threat, of the community against a business, media organizations or another authority.

Overall, the SI oriented SNS communities need their community to have some internal online communication activity and organization to exists and perform their basic operations. External online communication of the mission and its issues (outside the online space of the community) can be thought even to increase the possibilities of success. Online communication and organization of the communities can be seen to take over (or replace) the traditional RMT structure of "social-organizational" resources (social networks, internal organization and information dissemination) (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013). Although a

SNS community may exist without any online activities, merely as a set up page or group, on Facebook, SNS communities have little chance of increasing their communicative power without any online communication and organization. Online activities, and online organizing, guide and boost the other activities and qualities that are enabling the success of the missions, such as offline activities and media coverage.

Media coverage/visibility gained by the community: The measurements of Study I found some correlation between how much news media visibility the communities gained and their success in creating communicative power: Of the most successful communities, two achieved maximum media visibility and two achieved average media visibility. The study also concluded that in the process of communicative power formation of the SNS communities, the traditional media is still a significant agenda setter picking content from online and offline happenings and affecting and guiding online and offline public discussion. Moreover, it was judged in the study that the communities benefit from media coverage to reach their goals. Equally, according to Study III, both PR practitioners and journalists see that attention from news media (journalists reporting about the issue or community) is a significant quality of SNS communities which are valued to be powerful by the professionals.

The survey results of Study II indicated that, surprisingly, the members of the SI oriented communities do not aspire to attract much traditional media attention, even though media publicity might be considered beneficial to reaching the goals of the mission. This may be explained through a speculation that the members are not as concerned about the general publicity of the communities, but in fact see it as a responsibility of the leaders. It may also indicate that the members of the communities perceive a decline in the power of news media as a societal agenda setter due to social media affording people direct possibilities to create and share content. These speculations, nonetheless, require further research.

The RMT sees media as an essential space of public discussion and a resource for social movements to gain publicity, validity and legitimacy (see McCarthy & Zald, 1977, see also Lopes, 2014). Various earlier studies also view media visibility aiding civic online action and communicative power formation (see Dutton & Dubois, 2015; Bakardjieva, 2011). The thesis results likewise suggest that media visibility may be a good tactic enabling further publicity, legitimacy, and potentially popularity of the communities and their issues among the general public. It is also considered a good means of getting attention of officials and organizations/businesses. Although media coverage/attention is not mandatory for a community to build communicative power, negative media coverage can potentially decrease the success possibilities of a community (read more from chapter 5.3).

Offline activity of the community: According to the survey results of Study II, majority of the community members (53.7%) state that their communities have organized or are planning to organize activities offline. The measurements of Study I showed that offline activities also correlate quite high among

three of the successful communities with the anomaly of one successful community, 'Chow Radar', not using or needing offline activities as part of its mission. The activity of leaders appeared to be slightly more important in offline activities affecting success, but varying according to specific communities.

Study I (see case studies and Appendix of the original article) presented how most of the successful communities used various offline activities suitable for their respective objectives, such as meetings, demonstrations, petition signature gathering on streets, shows, fundraising events and so forth. The study also concluded that the process of communicative power formation of SNS communities is a mixture of changing online and offline activities and impacts. For example, offline activities are planned and organized online (inside the community), executed on the streets and again reported about on the page 'wall' of the community.

Study III further validates the importance of offline activities for SNS communities as PR practitioners and journalist emphasize amplitude of discussion (reaching varied and sufficient audiences online and offline) as an important quality among powerful SNS communities. The professionals see that the discussion and publicity of the issue operated by the SNS community should disseminate outside the 'bubble' of the community, and like-minded people, to become a societally meaningful topic. For example, street demonstrations leading to news coverage potentially enable discussion surrounding the subject on a wider societal level. Also, discussion of the issue on other online platforms creates discourse outside the 'bubble' of the community.

Nevertheless, not all successful SNS communities use or need offline activities. Some communities strategically choose to operate mainly online and use the community, for example, as an online discussion forum, information source, space for leaking information gained by monitoring power-holders, and organizing online boycotts.

Offline activities are not specified as specific resources by the RMT, most probably because traditionally social movements have operated offline and present day social movements still mostly utilize ICTs as one resource (see Hara & Huang, 2013). Offline activities are, nevertheless, an important resource from the SI oriented SNS community perspective. Especially for the Form I communities (i.e. agents of societal influence, with the community space as the main/only organization and communication venue) the offline activities are means of increasing communicative power in a significant manner.

Leadership: Many of the earlier attribute discussions brought up the role and importance of leadership in the success of the communities. For instance, it was speculated that it is leaders instead of members who are aspiring media and public attention, and leaders' offline activities were rated somewhat more important in the creation of societal influence.

Study I overall showed that leaders are important in many operational aspects of the communities. Firstly, it can be noted that administrators (i.e. leaders) have set up the community, have at the same time decided its type and purpose, have collected at least the first members, and can also administer people in the

community. Thus, leaders have great influence in the internal evolution of the communities. The leaders are also central in the main activities of the communities, both online and offline. Study I showed that the successful communities had very active leaders who, for instance, disseminated information on the community page 'wall', marketed the issue to different publics, acted as faces of the missions, and were directly in contact with companies, media and political decision makers. The leaders also organized various offline and online activities, and other means to take part in the mission, for the members as well as broader audiences.

Study III indicated that PR practitioners and journalists also emphasize leadership as a quality of powerful SNS communities. The professionals view that it is beneficial for the communities to have identifiable leaders with whom the professionals can be in contact with when necessary.

Leadership is an important "human resource" in the RMT (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013). SNS communities have the potential to be very non-hierarchic collectives and function without specific leaders (e.g. due to their online space enabling communication and organization). Nevertheless, the results indicate that identifiable and/or active leadership is an enabling attribute in the success of the SI oriented SNS communities. The specific meaning and functions of leadership in the success of building communicative power should, nonetheless, be further studied. For instance, Breindl (2012) suggests that successful digital rights' campaigning require political, technical and social skills, and leadership often rises from these skills (naturally).

Professionalism in communication and operations: Study I showed that among most of the successful communities the preparation, general operations and, for instance, external communication were well and professionally organized. Many of the missions of the successful communities, perhaps due to their organization and professionalism, even evolved into official campaigns and registered citizen associations.

According to Study III, PR practitioners and journalists also view that the power of SNS communities is highly influenced by how well their activities and operations are organized and how professionally their members and leaders can communicate and perform. The business and media professionals particularly emphasize the factualness of the information which the missions of the communities are based on and of the information they disseminate and operate with.

The RMT also emphasizes many resources related to overall professionalism of organization and communication of social movements. These include, for instance, experience, skills, leadership ("human resources") and knowledge of how to accomplish activities and items ("cultural resources") (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013). Although adopting business and professional conduct and manners somewhat fights against the nature, freedom and independence of SNS communities, professionalism and factualness can benefit cooperation with organizational/institutional professionals (see further discussion of the subject in chapter 5.4).

Activities for people to engage and contribute: Chapter 5.1 concluded that Stage II communities use various modes of action to concretely reach their objectives. Many of these activities included those in which the members of the communities had a meaningful role. Study I more concretely showed that the successful communities, for instance, crowd-sourced expertise and manpower from individuals, encouraged people to donate money or their time, and gave people a change to share information and make consumer decisions with concrete consequences. The offline activities are also especially mostly forms of action where people can be physically present, be active and concretely contribute, such as meetings, signature gatherings and street protests. Many successful communities also have sought and gained support from celebrities and societal elites. In addition, it was noted that according to the survey of Study II, among the top three motivations of people to join an SNS community were centered around the possibility to make a difference in a societal issue they considered important.

Thus, although one active leader could potentially perform a mission with the background support of the community, the SNS communities mostly benefit from, or sometimes even relying on, people's activity and providing resources for the use of the mission. The RMT takes into account these resource aspects included in, for instance, "human resources" (e.g. labor, experience, skills), and "moral resources" (e.g. support from celebrities or societal elites) (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013; McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

5.2.2 Disabling quality and behavior attributes

The case studies of Study I introduced the 'General Strike 15.10.2010' community which had some of the basic qualities needed for a SNS community to succeed in its mission. The community had a strong topic and purpose that concerns large part of society and gathered a large online membership count. The community, nevertheless, lacked planning, internal communication and organization, and leadership. Moreover, the operations and tactics of the community were judged by news media and authorities as illegal and thus lacked general legitimacy. The community gained media coverage but it was mostly negative. The community may have had succeeded in their mission if the threshold of taking part in an (illegal) strike would not have been so high for the members.

In a similar manner, the 'Kimmo Wilska support group' community gathered a large online membership. The community, nevertheless, had very low online activity and organization inside the community, their message was quite unplanned and no further activities were made by the leader or the members to further the goals of the mission. Thus, the community got a vast amount of 'like' clicks due to its topic, and perhaps entertainment value, and is a classic example of "slactivism" (Morozov, 2009, May 19), a click-based culture and feel-good type of activism on social media.

5.2.3 Societal qualities and conditions

Finns have the worldwide highest rating on trust towards the police and second highest rating on trust towards the political system and the legal system (Eurostat, 2017). In addition, the Finnish culture is generally considered to be oriented to discussion and problem solving, generating a quite consensus-driven political culture (see Reunanen et al., 2010). Thus, the Finnish culture has not been a foundation and has not functioned as an arena for radical challenges against governmental, media or business organizations. On the contrary, the Finnish cultural context appears to be, according to the results of this thesis, more in favor of SNS communities with legal, non-radical missions and activities. People in Finland thus may more easily take part in low-threshold actions. For example, the successful communities of Study I used actions, such as online petitions, influencing consumer behavior or money donations, instead of high-threshold activities (see Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010). Moreover, the results indicate that those missions and tactics which are considered legitimate and legal in the eyes of (news) media, (government) authorities and the wider public, have the best possibilities in succeeding in their objectives.

In addition, other societal conditions, such as the extent to which the issue has been a topical public issue in the home country and/or internationally, and the economic (see Lopes, 2014) and political state and opportunity structure of the country (see Tilly, 1978), greatly influence the success of the communities. For example, the overall 'Equal Marriage Law' and the 'I do 2013' campaigns, or any citizen law initiatives today, greatly benefit from the government's Citizens' Initiative Act affording the opportunity for citizens to challenge representative democracy. In addition, for instance the mission of the 'Viking Line' community might have been very topical and close to people's hearts because it was aiming at increasing domestic employment opportunities in a recession and high unemployment period in the country.

Moreover, the societal and demographic inequalities in access to digital and social media have been widely discussed as hindering the democratic and societal influence possibilities of the Internet and social media (see Curran et al., 2012; Hargittai, 2007). Nevertheless, in the context of this thesis, firstly, Internet and social media penetration in Finland are quite high. Secondly, the general respondent information of Study II showed that although women respondents dominated in all the Facebook communities (84.1%), the general age distribution among the survey respondents was very even: 15-25 (18%), 26-35 (23.9%), 36-45 (22.6%), 46-55 (18.4%), and over 56 year olds (17.1%). Also, lower levels of education prevailed among the respondents (58% had secondary education or lower) compared to University degree (40%). Further, most the respondents earned less than €40 000 per year (71.9%), while 14.2% had income from €40-70 000, and only 2.5% earned more than €70 000 per year. Thus, the SNS communities are shown, in this case, to be accessible as well as used by variety of demographic and socio-economic groups in Finland. The types of communities,

which attract people are shown to have more variation (see Study II findings). For example, people with very low income levels were found most attracted to protest communities (e.g. against the government) and people with higher education were more attracted to ideological and law initiative communities. Some people may be more driven to civic action overall, online and offline (see Dahlberg, 2005), but people can potentially find their own form of civic action online, regardless of social status.

5.2.4 Summary of RQ2

By combining the attribute results of RQ2, the following summary Table 8 of quality and behavior attributes enabling communicative power formation of SI oriented SNS communities can be formed. The first three attributes are divided into minimum/essential and enabling features.

TABLE 8   Attributes enabling communicative power of SNS communities

Quality and behavior attributes enabling communicative power formation of SI oriented SNS communities	
1. Topic or purpose	*Minimum/essential*: the topic of the community needs to be of importance and/or alluring at least to some demographic segment of society or geographic community/area. *Further enabled if:* - the topic is very current, emotive or concerns large part of society - societal conditions are propitious for the topic - media, authorities and general public legitimize the topic/issue
2. Membership size	*Minimum/essential:* the community needs to be able to gather a 'mass of members' in its context (demographic or geographic), judged to be forming a concrete public with a collective interest/image by the target of influence, e.g. general public or power-holders of society. *Further enabled if* the membership size is very high because it more potentially leads to media coverage and recognition in the eyes of power-holders and decision makers.
3. Online communication activity and internal organization	*Minimum/essential:* the community needs at least basic (internal) communication about the topic/objective, information dissemination and (internal) organization performed by the leader(s) and/or members. *Further enabled if* the (leader(s)' and members') online communication activity (inside the community as well as on other online platforms) is very high and internal organization efficient because it potentially generates more concrete actions and showcases power in the eyes of power-holders. Activity and organization also indicate members' commitment in the mission.
4. Media coverage/ visibility	Media visibility enables general publicity and popularity of the SNS communities and their issues, and is a means of getting attention of officials and businesses. In addition, media can help to legitimize the topic and tactics of the mission.

5. Offline activities	Offline activities increase people's possibility to be active in the issue and potentially enable getting the attention of media and other power-holders. Offline activities are also an extension of the mission to a wider physical action and societal discussion arena.
6. Leader-ship	SNS communities can function without leadership, but identifiable and active leaders enable the success of the missions through many internal decisions and operational functions, such as contacting media and businesses.
7. Profes-sionalism in communica-tion and operations	Well planned and professionally organized missions, including external information dissemination and marketing based on facts, influence the image of the communities and their success potential in the eyes of media and (organizational/institutional) decision makers.
8. Activities for people to engage and contribute	Engaging and making it possible for people to be active in the missions, e.g. through crowdsourcing for expertise or offline events, enable, and are depending on the mission also sometimes nearly mandatory for, the success of the missions.
9. Socie-ty/culture appropriate mission and tactics	SNS communities are more potentially successful in Finland if their mission and tactics are considered legitimate by general public, media and authorities (not illegal or too radical). People are more favorable generally towards low-threshold activities.

For instance, Lopes (2014) suggests that social media can replace most of the traditional mobilizing structures of social movements, such as resources (e.g. money, time, labor, organization skills), interaction between individuals, and public and media solidarity and legitimacy. Hara and Huang (2013) view that social movements can use ICTs to cost-effectively advance, for instance, information dissemination and collective action. This thesis suggests that social media can minimize the SI oriented SNS communities' need of "material resources" (see Edwards & Gillham, 2013), including money, property and office space, due to social media's low costs and access by many people, especially in Finland. Thus, the material resources are mostly excluded from the discussion and this summary. The SNS communities also function as a space for networking, organization and discussion for citizens, where information can be shared and exchanged fast, and without the necessity of traditional/mass media or elites/power-holders. Thus, the SNS communities can be seen to be taking over a lot the "social-organizational resources" (ibid.). The social media and SNS spaces, nevertheless, cannot afford the communities with "moral, cultural and human resources" (ibid.) although the online networks make it easier for the communities to find skillful people to perform tasks and increase publicity and legitimacy among people, regardless of support and legitimation from media and other power-holders.

From the overall results, the thesis suggests a further conclusion. The SI oriented SNS communities of the Stage I level of affecting collective image formation (see chapter 5.1) are judged to only require, at the minimum level,

the three first attributes (see previous Table 8) for achieving communicative power:

1. Topic and purpose (meaningful/alluring at least to some demographic segment of society or geographic community/area);

2. Large or meaningful number of members (enough in its context, i.e. judged to be forming a concrete public with a collective interest/image by the target of influence); and

3. Online communication (at least basic) about the topic/objective, internal information dissemination and internal organization performed by the leader(s) and/or members.

These quality and behavior attributes are evident, for example, in good/large membership scale SNS communities created to discuss and exchange consumer information from a specific field (e.g. food industry). The communities can form such large membership sizes with collective interest, and possibly also images, that the power-holders, such as businesses, may have to recognize the communities as important stakeholders, having potential influence on their processes or reputation. The communities thus may be seen as forming, for instance, meaningful consumer groups. Consequently, the thesis suggests that the gathered 'mass of members', combined with online organization, communication and information dissemination, are presenting already a highly meaningful structure in the formation of communicative power. When the communities become very large, they communicate both inside and outside their own community on social media (and offline) and organize for instance online activities (such as boycotts), and their topic is meaningful to a large segment of society, their possibility to influence concrete changes in society (reach Stage II) increases notably (see Table 2).

The SNS communities involving the necessary minimum qualities/attributes most of the time, nevertheless, need to entail and utilize many further activities and resources as Stage II communities; creating concrete alternate solutions or change propositions and using concrete activities to influence change in society. These 'enabling' attributes encompass the remaining six attributes of Table 8:

1. Activities for people to engage and contribute;

2. Leadership (active and clear);

3. Offline activities as a separate attribute of SI oriented SNS communities (cf. traditional social movements);

4. Professionalism in communication and operations;

5. Society and culture appropriate mission and tactics; and

6. Gained (neutral/positive) media visibility.

All the enabling attributes can enhance the possibility of success of the SNS communities, depending on the missions. For example, the attribute (5) 'society and culture appropriate mission and tactics' could be seen to be essential for most of the successful community missions in Finland. This attribute cannot, anyhow, be classified as mandatory for the Stage I communities because the 'mass of members' can also constitute a very closed interest/image/worldview bubble of like-minded people. Their interest and/or worldviews might not be accepted by the general public, media and authorities but they can still form enough communicative power to form (an undetermined level of) influence in society and a threat to some people, organizations and institutions. For instance, alternate 'fake news' sites and racist communities can potentially form such collectives. Nevertheless, these communities rarely receive legitimization from the wider society, for instance due to their non-fact based missions, and thus potentially have lesser concrete influence capabilities on societal issues. Thus, the lack of some enabling attributes, such as culture appropriate mission/tactics and neutral/positive media visibility, may greatly decrease the concrete societal influence potential of the communities.

The thesis gives an overall proposition of the enabling quality and behavior attributes of the SNS communities but recognizes that the success factors greatly depend according to types of communities, as well as specific communities. For example, although one individual/leader could make a citizen initiative ready for signature collection, communities pursuing law change often require human resources and crowdsourcing for expertise to make the law drafts of citizen initiatives (see Heikka, 2015). Law initiative communities, however, often also require the other five enabling attributes (including favorable societal and political conditions and opportunities) for their missions to translate into actual political decision making. Protest communities may, on the other hand, specifically need more concrete offline activities, such as street demonstrations in their missions. Hence, SNS communities are often reliant on different attributes depending on their missions. The enabling attributes should be further categorized according to their essentialness and meaning for specific types of communities in future studies.

Figure 2 presents a summary of this suggested theoretical vision of the required 'minimum, essential attributes' for Stage I communities (see inner circle) and the 'enabling attributes' for Stage II communities (see outer circle) in achieving communicative power.
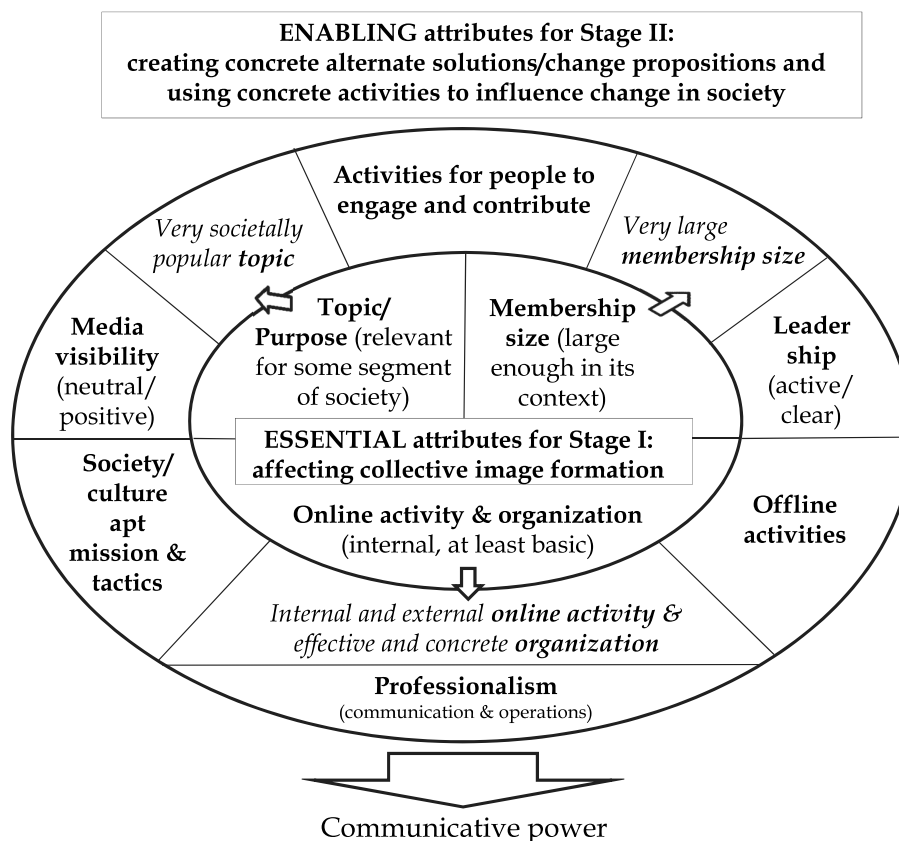
FIGURE 2   Essential attributes for Stage I and enabling attributes for Stage II communities
           in achieving communicative power

Many modern notions of new media based civic and political activity to-day (such as "connective action", see Bennett & Segerberg, 2012) function on the basis of people adopting motivational themes and distributing them online in-dependently, 'loosely', and on various social networks and channels/platforms. This form of civic action is seen to require less of the traditional resources (cf. RMT). The 'community based' power focus of this thesis is seen more concent-rated on the 'virtual common-public-space', where communication and or-ganization are planned. Nevertheless, when the leaders and members of the communities further (jointly or independently) share content outside the com-munity on other social networks and platforms, the communicative power po-tential is increased (see Table 8 and Figure 2). Moreover, the thesis concludes that in the case of the SNS communities, also more traditional resources, such as leadership and professionalism and factualness of the information, can be quite beneficial to particularly the (Finnish) SI oriented SNS communities operating as the core agents of change in society. This is especially if they desire to coop-erate with traditional organizations, institutions and power-holders of society and distinguish themselves from false information and fake news based com-munities. The communities are perceived as spontaneous, self-regulatory and 'freely' organizing and communicating agents, but often when they reach out-side their 'bubbles', they become more similar to 'campaigns' pursuing a certain change in society, and may benefit from operating in a convincing manner.

The thesis reveals in various sections the relationship of the news media to the communicative power formation of the SI oriented SNS communities. The next chapter discusses and aims to answer the third research question of this thesis: What is the relationship and power structure between the SI oriented SNS communities and the (traditional) news media?

5.3 RQ3: Relationship and power structure between SNS communities and the (traditional) news media

The public discussion arenas of societies have been traditionally dominated by mass/news media and certain authorities, organizations and institutions. The results of Study I (see Table 5 of this thesis) show that in the process of SNS communities forming social movements (or any collective action), the role of the news media is different than it was before the high popularity of social media. Today, once a societal issue arises (offline, online and/or set by the media), it can be picked by individual(s) who use the social media platform to source and disseminate information independent from press and authorities. The individuals can form online communities around the issue in which they organize and create concrete activities, such as online and offline boycotts, potentially more effectively than before in the offline context, due to the qualities of the Web 2.0 arena. The individuals of these collective efforts can also independently report about the accomplished online and offline activities related to the missions in the social media space. Traditional news media can still be seen as a significant agenda setter picking publishable content from online and offline happenings and potentially affecting offline and online public discussion. Nevertheless, in this process, the news media can be a complementary force in the communicative power formation, and not as the principal agenda setter of public discussion as before. As Study I concludes, in the 'Fifth Estate era' people voicing their stances, creating content independently and creating group power online, supplemented with media attention, potentially leads to increased communicative power of online networked individuals.

Consequently, like Dutton and Dubois' (2015) view of the Fourth and Fifth Estates relationship, this thesis sees the relationship of news media and the SI oriented SNS communities as complementary, or more precisely, intertwined and complex. First, SNS communities can monitor news media and its contents in a very systematic way, and thus function as "watchers of the watchdog" (see Cooper, 2006). The communities can also challenge or bypass the news media by forming their own 'collaborative digital citizen journalism projects' (cf. Wall, 2015). Further, they may call for boycott a media organization, and thus create, for instance, negative image for a media house. The SNS community data of this thesis did not include communities formed specifically for being for or against news media organizations although the Finnish Facebook context also contains pages having these objectives. These communities are for instance, formed to

monitor news media operations; poorly constructed news stories and activities of newspapers considered unprofessional or unethical (see Uskali et al., 2014). Secondly, the online content, as well as online and offline activities, created by SNS communities function as news sources for media, as evident from this thesis. Thirdly, SNS communities circulate (online) news content from traditional media to validate their issues, and source discussion agendas from the media (see Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2017). Finally, the SNS communities may also pursue and often benefit from media coverage to achieve their objectives, as was shown in this thesis: All the SNS communities of Study I found successful in their overall missions both aspired to get and also received media attention. Media visibility correlated highly with two of the most successful movements and two achieved average media visibility. The unsuccessful movements achieved low media visibility or negative media visibility. Hence, although SNS communities may not necessarily need news media to form communicative power, news media may have power to hinder the success possibilities of a mission, for instance through negative framing of the issue.

Journalists and PR practitioners may regard some of the content produced on the SNS communities of this thesis as forms of 'fake' or 'false' news. For example, product information or evaluations disseminated by the 'Chow radar' community may not be in favor of businesses and thus considered untrue. Nevertheless, the community data of this thesis did not include communities that could be categorized as 'fake news outlets' or communities per se. The communities included in this thesis overall did not include any very extreme communities either. Only the community 'Finnish Defense League (FDL)' has a societally controversial anti-Islamic agenda, which the community claims to be non-racial and specifically against radicalized Islamism.

Overall, the news content created and circulated, and sometimes even altered by online communities can form a conflicting relationship between online publics and news media. The news media can sometimes be seen as the adversary, part of the elite who are defending the 'other side' of the societal discussion, especially when the news media are not in favor of the views or mission of the communities (cf. Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2017). Portraying the media as the 'enemy' may be used for example by those 'alternative media sites' and communities which support issues viewed as very controversial in society. Social media platforms allow people to transfer information and news, which has not gone through any fact checking, to a very wide audience, and may be considered the (complete) truth by some people (see Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Balmas, 2012). The interviews of Study III showed that journalists find alternative media sites distributing false or fake news contemptible and would not want the responsibility of correcting their messages for the public.

Additionally, the results of the thesis suggest that the social media era has affected the news formation process of journalists, giving social media content producers potentially more communicative power. Content produced by individuals (or UGC) has become more central to the news formation process of journalists due to Internet and social media, and function as easily accessible

topics and sources. Public interest towards the online topics is easy to verify according to the amounts of people following, liking or otherwise interacting with the issues. The media has always aimed to respond to public interest and thus public agenda has always, to some extent, guided media agenda (see Neuman et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the social media has made the public agenda more visible and their power more transparent to everyone. In Study III, journalists stated picking content from social media based on the amount of 'likes' or 'followers' the content receives. Hence, story focus may today be more often put, for instance, on an individual person's quite everyday experience if the story gets enough popularity and interest in the social media.

Communicative power of individuals and publics is visible also, for example thorough, "audience-driven agenda setting", where public discussion can impact on media's agendas and news topics (see Uscinski, 2009; Depatin, 2008). Audience-driven agenda setting is exemplified in Studies I and II when the SI oriented communities and their missions (not only their issues) become the subject of the news items, and thus potentially affect the agenda of societal discourse on the issue. Overall, the news coverage was found to be related to the communities' large membership sizes and focused on communities promoting emotive, topical and current issues or injustices concerning the people in question. Thus, the communities could make the traditional media notice and address the lifeworld issues the public considers important and interesting (see Debatin, 2008).

Finally, in addition to being complementary, the thesis sees the news media and the SNS communities having somewhat different kinds of roles as societal agenda setters. Neuman et al. (2014) found that social media audiences do not necessarily discuss similar issues as the news media, but the social issues that concern them (e.g. same sex marriages, corporate wrongdoings etc.). This thesis suggests that the SI oriented SNS communities may adopt issues from traditional media but often have agendas which the media have not sufficiently covered nor which society has not resolved. Especially the ad hoc group type communities (Form I, agents of change and social movements) often have missions tied to agendas which have not been resolved by the traditional powerholders of society. The issues may not be of interest to the media until raised by the individuals and communities who form strong consortiums around their specific interests. Furthermore, the results of the thesis suggest that news media are still needed to set general societal agendas, and function as an overall 'authority' covering a somewhat more general picture of a phenomenon. News media is a validator (trustable source) of factual news and stories. This view was, for instance, presented by the communication professionals, especially PR practitioners, in the interviews of Study III. Overall, Finns after all still trust the news (see Reuters Institute Digital News Report, 2017) and this is worth preserving.

Citizen journalism is also an important function of social movements born and operating on the social media arena (see Wall, 2015). The SI oriented SNS communities, in this thesis, are also judged to be forming their own 'citizen

journalist news consortiums', which in the news creation context could be somewhat comparable to citizen journalist 'media centers' (see ibid.). The communities, thus, function both as agents and spaces of more traditional movements and collective action, as well as news creation and circulation venues covering issues which are not topical or sufficiently emphasized by traditional news media. The 'news' content created by the SNS communities can often be more critical and subjective in their position to issues compared to traditional news media. This is a natural view as the communities are most often protesting or supporting an issue or a cause instead of merely reporting about it, and often report about their own activities. Consequently, the communities can become meaningful 'news hubs' and citizen journalist collectives, which can impact on people's images on societal issues.

Before the conclusions, in the next chapter the thesis offers some short insights for (co)operation among the social media parties or actors discussed in this thesis: the SI oriented SNS communities and the communication professionals of business, news media and government organizations and institutions.

5.4   Insights for (co)operation among the social media actors

In addition to theoretical insights, this thesis may provide some operational insights for business, news media and government organizations and institutions, and their representatives, in understanding the objectives and power formation methods of the SNS communities and how to potentially form cooperation with them. Further, the SI oriented SNS communities may gain insight from this thesis on how to improve their operations and get some perspective on how business and news media professionals view their legitimacy and operations.

Chapter 5.2 overall provides SNS communities insights into what are the essential and enabling features and actions that may increase success of their missions. In addition, the chapter shortly discusses the pitfalls and cultural aspects which have caused some SNS communities to fail in their missions, such as illegal missions and activities or 'like-click-based' missions with no online activity (information dissemination and discourse), organization or leadership. Furthermore, according to the interviews of Study III, the perspective of PR practitioners appears to be that most SNS communities monitoring and/or disseminating unfavorable information about the businesses are incapable of reporting facts. The practitioners also lack strategies in confronting the communities. Further, journalists deliberately avoid too much conversation with online audiences, but consider popular social media phenomena and information based on facts worthy to be used as news sources. Consequently, the SNS communities should preserve their independence form organizations and institutions and their open discourse and inclusive nature provided by the culture and freedoms of social media to remain popular and powerful. Nevertheless, if the SNS communities desire cooperation and wish to be legitimated by the professionals, they could also emphasize professionalism and factualness of their

content and communication (distinguishing them from e.g. 'fake news' and false information based communities), and make their objectives as clear as possible. The results also indicate that the SNS communities benefit from having clear leaders and/or contact points. The SNS communities can also inform journalists about their communities when reaching high amounts of members or with special 'human interest' topics. The online topics today can more easily reach the news threshold, and can afford the communities needed publicity to reach their objectives.

The thesis concluded in categorizing the SNS communities of the data in six types according to their objectives and modes of action (see chapter 5.1 and Appendix of this thesis): 1) support communities, 2) protest communities, 3) ideological communities 4) societal wellbeing communities, 5) law initiative communities, and 6) consumer behavior and pressure communities. The Appendix table also includes identification of the specific targets of influence of each of the communities.

The Support Communities' targets of influence overall include government/political decision makers, people/general public and businesses/organizations. These communities mainly (only) gather the community together, pursue more members, disseminate/exchange information and form discourse around the subject, and thus do not as such portray a threat for or seemingly demand activities from any organizations.

The Protest Communities' targets of influence, operation manners and objectives are the same as those of support communities, but some of these communities more often also form offline activities, such as street demonstrations. Both support and protest communities should be monitored by the communication professionals as they have potential of creating meaningful communicative power through large membership sizes and collective image formation (see Table 6 and Figure 2 of this thesis). The communities may quite abruptly take on more concrete activities and 'attack' businesses, organizations and institutions. By understanding their potential, communication professionals may create a strategy for future encounters or even form cooperation with the communities before people form (possibly incorrect) images or any concrete confrontation occurs.

The Ideological Communities are formed to generally influence government/political decision makers and people/general public, and they are usually part of a wider societal or international ideology and (macro) social movement. The communities may form powerful hubs which may require monitoring from authorities and decision makers.

The Societal Wellbeing Communities aim to influence people/general public. The main activities of the communities include mostly crowdsourcing for societal operations, such as keeping the streets clean or gathering money to buy equipment for hospitals, that would generally be performed by government or other institutions, NGOs, or organizations. Thus, these communities are not usually a direct risk or opposition to organizations but they may act as competition, for instance, in the service production industry. These communi-

ties also often indicate when the (local or national) government or institutions are performing poorly and showcase online group power to solve the problem.

The Law Initiative Communities aim to influence government/political decision makers and decision making. Their most general tactic is making online legal citizen initiatives, but they also utilize many other activities aiding the success of their petitions and overall image of their issues and missions. These communities need to be taken into to account by government decision makers because, primarily, the Finnish government is now required by law to consider a civic law petition if more than 50,000 certified signatures are collected. In addition, the communities also present a meaningful segment of voters in a specific issue which may be strategically meaningful for, for instance, MPs and political party campaigns.

Lastly, the Consumer Behavior and Pressure Communities are formed against or to influence businesses and organizations in general. The main tactic of these communities is to affect consumer behavior of a large segment of people, such as by disseminating information and advising people to purchase certain products or use certain services, or affect procedures of organizations through group pressure and, for instance, (online) boycotts. The communities form a concrete threat to businesses/organizations if they are formed against them, are highly popular in size as well as often visible in the (mass and news) media. These communities also represent a good cooperation and marketing possibility for businesses/organizations, especially if their objectives are not formed against the specific businesses/organizations. The communities nowadays form a similar threat against media houses. By monitoring and sharing information about the operations of media houses or organizations, the communities can influence the image and reputation and competitive position of the media organizations.

SNS communities may form their power without any need or desire to discuss the matter or cooperate with the organizations due to the advantages of forming independent communities and actions on social media platforms. Consequently, PR practitioners and journalists benefit from accepting the new rules of operations of social media audiences and communities and operate on the communities' terms, although they may not always play by the same familiar (traditional) rules. The SNS communities should be taken seriously as new important stakeholders and form strategies to operate with them. If the entire mission of the SNS communities is based on false information or 'fake news', most probably the community will never form relations with the organizations. This situation might demand defense efforts. In other situations, there might be room for some discussion. If a SNS community with overall neutral (even good) objectives is disseminating incorrect information about an organization, the community might be willing to also accept an alternate explanation and even publish the business/organizational perspective on the issue as one side to the story.

PR practitioners should be active in monitoring SNS communities potentially forming large missions against their businesses as these communities of-

ten also gather media attention. The communities may even function as the main sources of information and news related to the subject to some people. Media houses might benefit from an overall more active organizational communication management process of monitoring and emphasizing discourse with online audiences, for instance, to secure reputation and their competitive position in the field. Study III concludes that from the professional and ethical perspective, journalists might consider the importance of societal responsibility and their role as a 'stabilizer of public (online) discussions'. This relates to journalists needed to provide facts and make sense of issues amidst various potentially false or valid online statements and discussions made by online individuals or communities.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this thesis were to investigate what types of SI (societal influence) oriented SNS (social network site) communities the Internet and social media arena consists of and how their potential communicative power is formed, even to the extent that they can challenge power-holders, especially news media and business organizations and government institutions. The thesis was overall grounded in a social constructivist ontology but utilized a 'mixed methods' approach, combining multiple quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis methods. The thesis consisted of three empirical studies and their results, which are the basis of the conclusions of this thesis.

Social media, and its SNSs, have allowed collectives of people to form discourse and exchange information around the themes and issues they find meaningful, get visibility for their issue, and even join forces to form action for a common cause. The results of the thesis overall suggest that through these modes of action some SNS communities can independently achieve significant communicative power. The percentage of the SNS communities aiming at creating communicative power was not found to be large among the overall population of SNS communities on Facebook (n=27, 1.2% of total pages). The amount of communities succeeding in creating communicative power was not found large either (n=4, 14.81% of those aiming at). Nevertheless, more important than the numbers for this thesis are the ways the SNS communities could build communicative power. Further, it cannot be claimed that the successful SNS communities of this thesis were the sole reasons for achieving any change in society. Nonetheless, the successful SNS communities were found to be able to attract the attention and/or have some levels of influence in the operations of societal authorities/decision makers and (traditional) power-holders of society, and affect the behavior of people, potentially also worldviews.

Moreover, people's motivations to operate on SNS environments are often mostly considered entertainment, friendship and socialization oriented. The results of this thesis however presented clear differences in motivations and objectives of the members of SI oriented SNS communities and the members of those communities mostly oriented to discussion and socialization. The mem-

bers of SI oriented SNS communities were found to have high motivations and objectives of information diffusion and activating people and were also highly interested in influence and reaching their specific goals.

To be able to form a characterization of the preliminary vision this thesis had on the SI oriented SNS communities, the communities were compared to existing concepts and notions of online/virtual communities, social movements, collective/connective action and the Fifth Estate (see chapter 2.4). The SI oriented SNS communities were found to be those that are:

1. Individual people (ad hoc) initiated (voluntary but goal oriented) collective action around a shared interest.

2. Formed and/or mainly operate/organize/communicate their actions in the Internet, in a SNS virtual common-public-space, but also often utilize online and offline activities and various resources to reach the goals.

3. Operated outside of institution/organization control/influence (and mainly also support) as long term or short term projects, where networked individuals access resources and people, disseminate information and link up effectively.

4. Aiming to both influence worldviews and activities of people and gather support of the general public for an issue, and to influence, challenge or defend, to hold accountable or to bypass societal authorities, organizations and institutions.

Thus, the SNS communities have various similarities with the earlier perceptions, concepts and theories. The communities, nevertheless, also have quite unique aspects compared to the other perspectives, especially in their main 'community' space of origins and/or operation (i.e. the virtual common-public-space) and variety and plurality of objectives, targets of influence and ways of influencing them. In other words, this perspective combines the features of member-initiated, socially oriented online/virtual communities, operating independently with a common interest, with the variety of social/societal change objectives, targets and influence manners included within the board social movement and collective/connective online action theory field and the Fifth Estate perspective. The characterization of the SI oriented SNS communities was essential for this thesis and can be meaningful, for instance, for future research.

The studies of this PhD thesis were specifically used to answer three research questions. The first question was: What are the possible objectives and modes of actions of the SI oriented SNS communities? By combining the page and group data and results of Studies I and II, and making further reflections on the objectives and modes of action, the thesis first re-categorized the SNS communities into six distinct types: 1) Support Communities, 2) Protest Communities, 3) Ideological Communities 4) Societal Wellbeing Communities, 5) Law Initiative Communities, and 6) Consumer Behavior and Pressure Communities.

Second, the thesis categorized the communities into two stages of building communicative power according to their objectives and modes of action, and into two forms according to their independence or dependence from wider movements or campaigns. The categorizations resulted in four different types

of SI oriented SNS communities according to their stages and forms, presented in Table 9 (see four inner columns).

TABLE 9   Four types of SNS communities according to the forms and stages

1&2) Protest and support communities as ad hoc groups/movements, having the general public and business organizations as their targets of influence	4) Societal wellbeing communities 6) Consumer behavior and pressure communities
1. FORM I / STAGE I SNS communities as core *agents of* social movements and *societal influence* affecting collective image formation	2. FORM I / STAGE II SNS communities as core *agents of* social movements and *societal influence* creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities
3. FORM II / STAGE I SNS communities as effective *spaces of* social movements and *societal influence* affecting collective image formation	4. FORM II / STAGE II SNS communities as effective *spaces of* social movements and *societal influence* creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities
1&2) Protest and support communities as a part of a wider movement/campaign, having government/political decision makers as targets of influence	3) Ideological communities 5) Law initiative communities

The thesis suggests first, that there are **two forms** of SI oriented SNS communities: I) communities functioning as '**core agents**' of social movements and societal influence (cf. Gordon, 2017) and II) communities functioning as '**effective spaces**' of (existing, wider) social movements and societal influence (cf. Hara & Huang, 2013). Second, the thesis suggests there are **two stages** of SI oriented SNS communities in building communicative power: I) communities gathering people together and affecting collective image formation and II) communities creating concrete alternate solutions/change propositions and using concrete activities to reach their objectives.

Form I SNS communities are formed for a specific/new purpose and functions as the main/only organization and communication venue of the mission. The Stage I communities of this Form I mainly gather people together, aim to get more members and public support, disseminate and exchange own and others information, and through these activities mostly effect collective image formation surrounding the issue. The Stage II communities of Form I present also ad hoc style forms of SNS communities with the community as the main operational space of the movement (i.e. agent). In addition to collective image formation, the Stage II communities also use the existing resources of 'mass of members', networks and information exchange to create concrete alternate solutions/change propositions for societal issues and use concrete activities to reach their goals. The Form I communities are overall considered the paradigm examples of the SI oriented SNS communities of this thesis (as characterized in chapter 2.4) due to their independence and main space of operations. Furthermore, from the six aforementioned community category types 'Protest and Support Communities' as ad hoc

groups/movements, having the general public and business organizations as their targets of influence, mostly embody the Form I/Stage I characteristics. 'Societal Wellbeing Communities' and 'Consumer Behavior and Pressure Communities' embody the Form I/Stage II characteristics (see top columns of Table 9).

Form II communities are the effective and enabling communication and organization online spaces and collectives of wider movements or campaigns. Stage I/Form II communities also affect collective image formation of the issue. Especially as Stage II communities they may play a great part in actualizing the societal influence objectives of the wider movements through alternate solutions and using concrete activities. 'Protest and Support Communities' as a part of a wider movement/campaign, having government/political decision makers as targets of influence, embody mostly the Form II/Stage I characteristics. 'Law Initiative' and 'Ideological' communities embody the Form I/Stage II characteristics (see bottom columns of Table 9).

The second specific research question was: What attributes and/or conditions enable achieving the objectives of the SNS communities and thus increase their capacity of communicative power formation? The study findings resulted in the identification of those attributes which are considered as having the minimum essential qualities for the communicative power formation of Stage I communities and those enabling Stage II communities in communicative power formation. Figure 2, presented in chapter 5.2.4, summarized these findings.
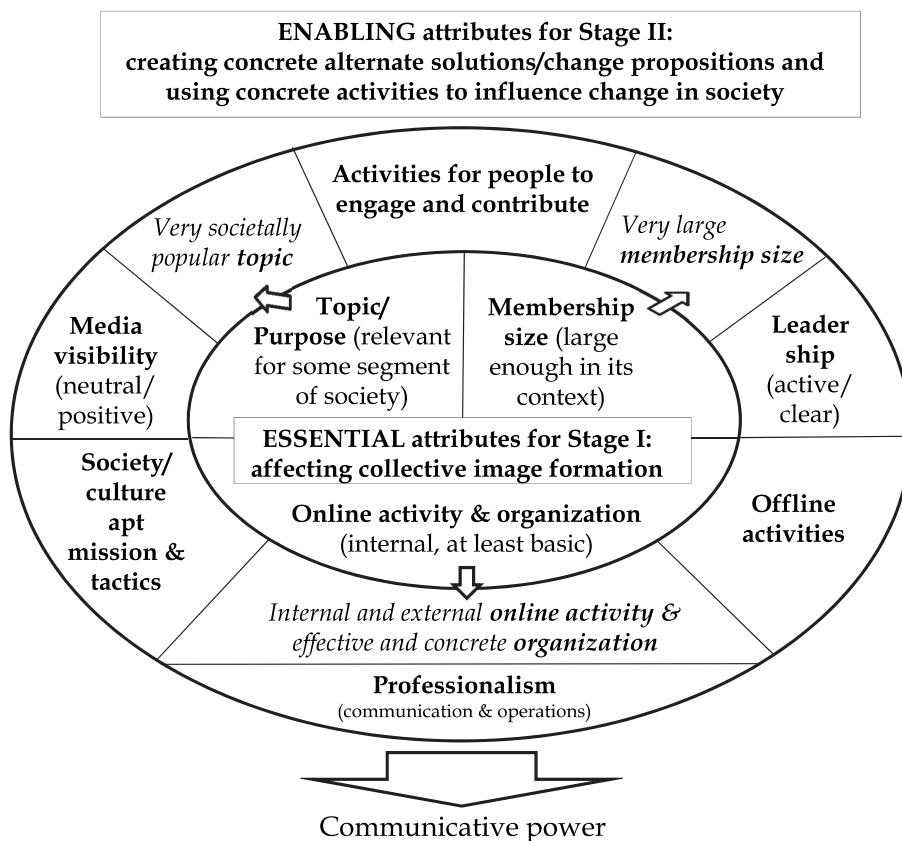

FIGURE 2   Essential attributes for Stage I and enabling attributes for Stage II communities in achieving communicative power

The summary included overall nine quality and behavioral attributes, divided into two levels. Firstly, the inner circle presents three essential minimum attributes required for creating communicative power on the Stage I level of affecting collective image formation, including:

1. Topic and purpose (meaningful/alluring at least to some demographic segment of society or geographic community/area);

2. Large or meaningful number of members (enough in its context, i.e. judged to be forming a concrete public with a collective interest/image by the target of influence); and

3. Online communication (at least basic) about the topic/objective, internal information dissemination and internal organization performed by the leader(s) and/or members.

It was further concluded that if the topic is highly popular in society, the communities reach a very large membership size, and the communities communicate and share information both inside and outside their own community on social media and organize online activities, their possibility to influence concrete changes is society increase notably (i.e. reach Stage II, see outer circle of Figure 2).

Second, the outer circle presents the final six attributes which further enable the actualization of communicative power of Stage II communities; creating alternate solutions and using concrete activities to influence change in society (see Figure 2). The results concluded that SNS communities are reliant on varying enabling attributes depending on their types and missions, some communities requiring all the attributes. The attributes are divided into 'essential' and 'enabling' but are not ranked within the two levels. This is because the meaningfulness of each attribute is believed to be case dependent and future research is needed to make the theoretical suggestion more detailed.

The thesis overall suggests that SNS communities can create meaningful communicative power, even demanding the attention of (traditional) power-holders of society, already on the Stage I level by forming large membership sizes with collective interests/images and online (internal) communication activity concerning the cause. Concrete actions and change propositions used by Stage II SNS communities further increase the capacities of affecting power-holders and influencing changes in society.

Many modern notions of online civic and political activity today function on the basis of people adopting motivational themes and distributing them online independently and on various social networks and platforms (e.g. 'connective action'). Although the communities of this thesis are also perceived as quite spontaneous, self-regulatory and 'freely' organizing and communicating agents, their core communicative power formation is concentrated on the 'virtual common-public-space' (i.e. the SNS community) where communication and organization are (initially and overall) planned and organized. To further their success, the information is shared on more varied networks and platforms,

and the communities also benefit from more traditional resources, offline presence and professional campaign type manners.

The third research question was: 3. What is the relationship and power structure between the SI oriented SNS communities and the (traditional) news media? Overall, the thesis concluded that the relationship and power structure between the SNS communities and news media are complex and intertwined. In relation to (traditional) news media, the SI oriented SNS communities can form power, for instance, through (1) monitoring operations and news content of media organizations, (2) forming boycotts against media houses (3) by impacting on news story content and framing (e.g. through audience-driven agenda setting), and (4) creating content/information and 'news' independent from traditional media. The SI oriented SNS communities of this thesis are seen to be able to form communicative power without news media. Nevertheless, the effect of news media in the success of the SNS communities is significant and news media may have power to hinder the success possibilities of a mission, if not legitimized by the press. The SNS communities also use the news created by news media to validate their own missions and agendas, thus still crediting news media as an important source of news.

Traditional news media and SNS communities can sometimes have different and at other times overlapping agendas and fairly different roles as agenda setters. The news media are still seen to be an important societal agenda setter, needed as an overall 'authority' covering a somewhat more general picture of a phenomenon and a source and validator of factual news. SNS communities can focus on the same or different topics than the traditional media. They can be, for example, more focused on social issues concerning everyday-life or generally those issues which have not been covered (enough) by the traditional media. The news creation of the communities is, nevertheless, often more subjective and critical compared to traditional media. In this respect, the communities form 'news hubs' and citizen journalist collectives, which can have significant effect on people's images on issues.

The thesis also summarized in chapter 5.4 concrete (co)operational insights for all the social media actors discussed in the thesis based on the results. Chapter 5.2 overall gives insights for the SI oriented SNS communities on how to better their operations according to the essential and enabling attributes and showcasing common pitfalls. The summary also offers advice for communities on how to potentially increase the possibility of cooperation with PR practitioners and journalists. For the benefit of the communication professionals, the insights summarize what are the specific targets of each categorized type of community and how the communities can influence various societal actors. Overall, the thesis suggests that the communication professionals should take notice and monitor the Stage I communities which potentially have power and/or have potential to increase their power. The Stage II communities, on the other hand, form direct threats and opportunities to many types of organizations and institutions. The professionals are also encouraged to pursue coopera-

tion with the communities on the communities' terms and conforming to their independent and free nature provided by the social media space.

The thesis also wishes to address some criticisms of Internet and social media as spaces enabling equal communication, enhancing democracy and increasing communicative power of citizens in relation to the focus communities of this thesis. Firstly, technological development may always lead to the exclusion of some demographic or societal groups. Civic actions and social movements may also be more alluring to, and led by, people who are somewhat more affluent, politically and societally aware, or have higher education. Nevertheless, joining and contributing to a Facebook page or open group is accessible for all individuals with Internet access, and Internet and social media penetration in Finland is very high. Moreover, results of Study II showed that the general age distribution among the survey respondents was very even, lower levels of education prevailed among the respondents, and most the respondents earned less than €40 000 per year. The types of communities, to which people are attracted had more variation. Thus, although certain people may due to their background or individual qualities be more attracted to online collective action overall, or to specific forms of action, the SI oriented SNS communities discussed in this thesis are accessible as well as used by a variety of demographic and socio-economic groups in Finland.

Secondly, although advertisements and the mining of profile and group/page data for enterprises are key elements in Facebook's business model, there is no indication, at least in the context of the studies of this thesis, that corporate interests drive the activities or issues of the SNS communities. It must be acknowledged that in the overall context of Internet and social media those with power and money (corporations and government) can use the platforms and users' online data for their own benefits. The world has witnessed cases such as the Cambridge Analytica data scandal and, for instance, the Facebook emotional contagion experiment which manipulated the news feeds of a large amount of Facebook users for research purposes (see Jouhki et al., 2016). Facebook can also censor and ban conversations, communities and people on the platform, thus affecting agendas and discourse on the platform. Further and even more concretely related to this thesis are Facebook's algorithms, which affect all operations on the platform. The platform can offer and make people exposed to certain types of information and news, including false information and 'fake news', which can overall affect people's images, worldviews, formulation of communities and their agendas, and discourse and shared information inside the communities. Algorithms can also potentially affect the processes of SNS communities because they, combined with people's choices and online behavior, dictate what community information the members see on their personal newsfeed and what information they receive notifications about.

Finally, the Internet and social media are notorious for their 'click-based-culture' with no concrete societal outcomes, and this is most probably true for many online community efforts merely relying on the 'clicks'. This thesis, anyhow, gives indication that even 'clicks' and 'likes' today on SNS platforms and

communities is a form of societal action and participation, which can become powerful and societally meaningful when, among other features, combined with a legitimate mission and online activity and organization.

The social media and SNS community spaces can take over many former social movement resources due to their cost-effectiveness and effectiveness as spaces of organization, communication and networking. Nonetheless, the SI oriented SNS communities, for instance, still need to find skillful people to perform tasks and increase publicity and legitimacy of their cause among people, which the online space can somewhat advance and enable. Further, social media or SNSs are not the only or main spaces where social movements are overall created or communicative power is formed. This PhD thesis merely focused on the SNS communities which are formed and/or mainly operate, organize and communicate their actions in a specific SNS online space. The thesis also acknowledges that there can be many levels of 'digitality' among these types of communities. Consequently, SNS communities are seen as effective spaces of building communicative power and, according to the results, allow communities to function as agents and spaces of social movements and influencing change in society. Moreover, as discussed in this thesis, many societal conditions, cultural qualities as well as other external (organizational, institutional and individual) actors affect the operations and success of the communities. The choices of the communities, and individuals in them, have also great effect on the outcomes of the missions. Many forces, online and offline, affect people, their worldviews, choices and activities today, and digital technology is one of them.

Furthermore, it must also be acknowledged that social media and its platforms are in continuous transformation. For example, the structure, data access and usage of platforms change quickly. Facebook is still (in 2018) highly popular, in particular among the adult population, but there are studies and speculations regarding its decline (in Finland), for instance due to the user data scandals and EU (GDPR) personal data regulations (see Pönkä, 2018). Thus, another platform or service could take the place of Facebook anytime, and for example function as a space where SI oriented SNS communities are formed and organize, supposing that the platform offers the possibility to form discourse and plan action in an organized way. This thesis focused on Facebook because the platform offers pages and groups for the purpose of collective agency. The agendas of many of the communities discussed in this thesis can surely also be found on other social media platforms, and should be further studied in their context.

The community data and studies of this thesis are focused mostly on rather positive aspects of SNS communities increasing their communicative power and pursuing to influence change in society. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that many communities operate nowadays online with more negative, even minacious objectives. There are, for example, people and communities disseminating unverified, even false, information and news, and/or discriminating and repressing other people or groups of people, for instance ethnic or religious

minorities. Furthermore, people have the tendency to join networks and communities which conform to their own worldviews and circulate content they prefer and want to believe in. Thus, the online/SNS communities cannot be claimed to be overall sources of diverse information and worldviews but instead may form quite closed bubbles of like-minded people. Nevertheless, if the discussion reaches a varied enough public discussion, and is valid enough to go through the general public, news media and even organizational/institutional spheres, the legitimacy in the case of the SI oriented SNS communities and their missions can be more verified.

6.1 Evaluation of research and limitations

The PhD thesis and its embedded studies covered many features of the communicative power formation of SI oriented SNS communities. The thesis and its specific studies had also limitations and some aspects need further evaluation. This section first focuses on ethical considerations of the studies and after this evaluates various other quality aspects of the studies and the thesis overall.

Ethical evaluation of methodological issues. The collection and analysis of data and presentation of research results of the studies of this thesis demand for some ethical considerations. Social media and its data may be considered as easy research targets and all the content produced on social media may appear to be available for research due to their public nature. Some of the most core areas of research ethics within social media are evaluations of what is considered private or public content, informed consent of the individuals involved in the research, securing the anonymity of the individuals, and the potential risk or harm the research process might inflict on the sample population (see AoIR, 2012; Zimmer, 2010).

Study I and II data included only open groups and pages on Facebook, which are purposefully set up by their administrators or founders as open networking and discussion spaces. Thus, the research did not penetrate any content set up as private in its origins or objectives. The large data sets of Study I computationally retrieved from the Facebook pages included such large amounts of communication data from individual users that gathering informed consent from each participant would have been very difficult, indeed nearly impossible. The data was, nevertheless, anonymized. Moreover, no personal information data lists were saved, and the data was only analyzed statistically, thus securing the anonymity of the subjects in the analysis process and in the presentation of results. The data also only included information and communication the individuals had set as public on the Facebook platform, which is the only data that can be computationally retrieved with the used API system.

The qualitative data analysis and presentation of results has more ethical concerns. For instance, some of the administrators (i.e. leaders) of the pages or groups may be identified although they are not addressed by their names or any other details in the studies or this thesis. Study I also presents some trans-

lated quotations of the leaders' and members' communication from the pages to exemplify data analysis procedures. These extracts could be potentially traced back to the Facebook pages and lead to identification of their producers. Study I did not have informed consent from the potentially identifiable subjects of the study but the research and its results are seen to inflict very little potential harm to the subjects. The 'leaders' as subjects also could be considered as rather public figures, understanding their own publicity in their decision to initiate and act as leaders of the SNS communities pursuing public collective action.

The survey respondents of Study II were all informed and knew the objectives of the research they were a part of, and the respondents' personal information and identities remained anonymous and unidentified through the research process. The interviewees of Study III all also knew the objectives of the research and gave their consent. The interviewees were kept anonymous and as unidentifiable in the presentation of results as possible.

Overall quality and limitation considerations. The entire thesis is a learning process. Many insights and new knowledge reached at the end of the process would have been beneficial at the beginning. The aim was, nevertheless, to obtain the best results possible with resources and knowledge available at the time of conducting the studies, and form as comprehensive evaluation and summary of the results as possible in this thesis.

Firstly, it is acknowledged that chapter 5.1 discussing the first research question includes some new categorization and analysis of the communities forming the data of Studies I and II of the thesis. The new analysis and categorization is presented in the Appendix table of this thesis but is not included as such in the original articles. These finding were made after Studies I and II were published when viewing the aggregate community data, and were found to be so significant that they needed to be included in the thesis. The results also correspond with other findings covered and presented in the original studies, and thus were judged to be sufficiently valid to be included in the thesis. The categorization of the communities and names of the categories might still benefit from even further research and evaluation.

Secondly, the results and discussion of this thesis would have benefitted from a more coherent terminology of the SNS communities in the different studies. All the studies, nevertheless, examined the same types of communities with similar objectives. The communities were referred to in Study I as 'online social movements', in Study II as 'Facebook's ad hoc groups', and in Study III as 'social media's communities', such as protest or lobby ad hoc groups, campaigns or social movements. It was found necessary in the thesis to form a unified characterization for the communities. Thus, the communities were compared to existing concepts and theories and their unique characteristics were identified. Consequently, the different approaches and terms used in the studies led to a more comprehensive evaluation and characterization of the SI oriented SNS communities, which may also benefit future research.

Moreover, Study I could have included more attributes in its quantitative measurements, such as leadership. The final nine quality and behavior attrib-

utes summarized in this thesis were, nevertheless, located conclusively only after reviewing the results of all the three studies. There are also other very meaningful attributes and aspects not considered in this thesis, which could potentially affect or indicate success of the objectives of SI oriented SNS communities. In addition, some of the attributes of Study I could have been investigated more thoroughly and from more varied viewpoints. For instance, the online activity levels of Study I were mainly measured based on the number of page wall posts made by leaders and members of the communities. The study could have made more qualitative analysis of also the page wall posts. These aspects, nevertheless, sought to be more thoroughly presented via the case studies and Study II also gave further insight into members' online and offline activities. Manually analysing all the page wall posts in Study I would have been nearly impossible.

Study II would have benefitted from including the administrators of the ad hoc groups as a separate respondent group to the survey to be able to make more comprehensive inferences of the motivations, objectives and activities of the leaders of the communities. For example, the leaders may have stronger motivations of achieving media attention and increasing the membership size of the SNS communities. The leaders could also have been interviewed separately to get a better insight into their objectives, and their responsibilities and the significance of their activities in the success of the missions. Additionally, three pages were excluded from the new categorization and analysis made in this thesis of the overall group and page data of Studies I and II (see Appendix): 'Fur farm free Finland 2025', 'Pekka Haavisto for President 2012' and 'I want to see other things also'. Consequently, the results of Study II might be slightly different if these changes would have been made to the original data of Study II.

Finally, Study III interviews with PR practitioners and journalists could have gone even deeper into the concrete encounters of the communication professionals with the leaders and members of SNS communities. For example, some case examples of successful and unsuccessful cooperation between the parties would have given the thesis and future study many insights. The interview population also could have been larger and it entirely lacked the political and government segment of society, which is central to the thesis and would have been beneficial to the overall results and conclusions. The thesis focused on the business and media organization segments due to the academic background of the author of the thesis. Nevertheless, more focus on the political segment would bring significant insight into the research, for example, as a future study.

Mårtensson et al. (2016) have created a multidisciplinary model for describing quality of research practice. They identified four main areas of assessing research practice and quality, including the following main area terms and their definitions: "Credible (Research that is Coherent, Consistent, Rigorous and Transparent); Contributory (Research that is Original, Relevant and Generalizable; Communicable (Research that is Consumable, Accessible and Searchable); Conforming (Research that is Regulatory Aligned, Ethical and Sustaina-

ble)" (ibid. pp. 599-600). The studies of this thesis are overall evaluated to be measuring the aspects they were designed to, and the studies are original and relevant in their content. The studies have sought to be transparent and ethical in their data collection and analysis methods and presentation of results. Additionally, the results of the studies and this thesis can be considered sustainable, at least within the limits of technological and social media development. They can also be considered generalizable at least in the context of their study area, including the online platform, cultural and national context. Future research is still, nevertheless, needed to make the results of the thesis even more generalizable.

6.2   Future research

The PhD thesis raises many future research suggestions which were not thoroughly covered in the previous qualitative considerations. Primarily, aspects which were not specifically deciphered but should be further studied are, how much offline activities have an impact on members' perception of the potential of the SNS communities to create change in society. Secondly, do offline activities attract more members to the communities? Thirdly, do and how offline activities function to get the attention of (news) media and authorities or organizations.

Additionally, the thesis proposed that SNS communities can be divided into two forms and into two stages of building communicative power and influencing change in society. The thesis, nevertheless, investigated and discussed the behavior and quality attributes of the SNS communities on a quite aggregate level and compared the essential and enabling attributes only for the two stages of building communicative power. Thus, future studies would benefit from investigating the attributes and their effects, among and between the different forms (agents and spaces) of SNS communities. The two stages of building communicative power could also be categorized into even more precise stages, or the stages could have various internal qualities. Future research of these aspects would require closer examination of the communities, including qualitative observations of social media content, and for example interviews. It would also be very interesting to study and compare how and whether the different form and stage type communities generate different kinds and quantities of media coverage. Specific attributes could be investigated more thoroughly in the context of SNS communities or movements with specific objectives and tactics, as well as different levels of 'digitality'. This research could enable forming a more specified theoretical proposal of the order of emphasis (essentialness) or meaning the attributes have for different types of SI oriented SNS communities. Additionally, the concept and theory of "collective identity" and its role in various aspects of social movements from their creation, recruitment of members, and specifically tactics and outcomes (focus of this thesis regarding communicative power formation), require future research in the context of SI oriented SNS

communities. Other relevant theories lacking from the thesis should also be considered.

The thesis also presents other interesting areas for future study. More thorough quantitative analysis could be made by adding various attributes to test their significance in the formation of communicative power and societal influence. More quantitative and qualitative analysis in the form of surveys and interviews of members' and leaders' online activities could be made according to specific cases and SNS communities. This research could uncover roles and activities performed by the members and leaders, such as who gives directions, disseminates information and organizes offline events, to evaluate fully their impact on the success of the communities. Future research would be also interesting to be made on how SNS communities, and their leaders and the members, concretely aim to approach and cooperate with news media, business and government organizations and their representatives. It would also be beneficial to investigate how the organizations and their representatives respond to these efforts. This research focus could offer more insight for future cooperation possibilities among the social media actors. Finally, the overall results of this thesis could be compared to, and the study methods replicated in, different social media and SNS platforms, and potentially also tested in different cultural contexts.

FINNISH SUMMARY

Verkkoyhteisöpalveluiden yhteisöt yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen pyrkivinä agentteina ja toimintatiloina: Kommunikatiivisen vallan kehittymisen muodot, tasot sekä ominaisuudet

Sosiaalinen media on mahdollistanut yksittäisten kansalaisten ja ryhmien luoda omaa sisältöään, jakaa tietoa, keskustella, verkostoitua ja nostaa yhteiskunnalliselle keskusteluagendalle heille tärkeitä asioita aiempaa nopeammin, tehokkaammin ja näkyvämmin sekä ajasta ja paikasta riippumattomammin. Verkossa toimivat kansalaiset pystyvät potentiaalisesti aiempaa tehokkaammin myös muodostamaan valtarakenteita haastavia (suuriakin) verkkopohjaisia yhteishankkeita ja niin sanottuja sosiaalisia liikkeitä.

Tämän väitöskirjatutkimuksen tavoitteena on monitieteisen lähestymistavan (viestintätieteet, sosiologia, poliittinen tiede ja Internet-tutkimus) avulla selvittää, minkä tyyppisiä yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen pyrkiviä verkkoyhteisöpalveluiden yhteisöjä Internetin ja sosiaalisen median areena sisältää ja miten näiden yhteisöjen potentiaalinen kommunikatiivinen valta muodostuu. Tutkimus keskittyy yhteisöjen kommunikatiivisen vallan muodostumiseen erityisesti suhteessa uutismediaan, yrityksiin ja valtionhallintoon. Tutkimuksen fokuksena ovat erityisesti yhteisöt, jotka on muodostettu ja/tai toimivat, organisoituvat ja viestivät aktiviteeteistaan ensisijaisesti verkkoyhteisöpalvelun yhteisötilassa (sivu tai ryhmä), mutta toimivat usein myös Internetin ulkopuolella, reaalimaailmassa ja käyttävät monia resursseja. Verkkoyhteisöt pyrkivät sekä vaikuttamaan ihmisten maailmankuvaan ja toimintaa ja keräämään julkista kannatusta asialleen, että vaikuttamaan, haastamaan tai puolustamaan, pitämään vastuullisena tai sivuuttamaan toiminnallaan yhteiskunnallisia auktoriteetteja, organisaatioita ja instituutioita.

Väitöskirja sisältää kolme osatutkimusta, joista kaksi on julkaistu kansainvälisissä vertaisarvioiduissa journaaleissa ja yksi on arvioinnissa. Väitöskirjassa on koottu johtopäätöksiä perustuen osatutkimusten tuloksiin, kokonaisdatan uudelleenkategorisointiin sekä tutkimuksissa käytettyyn ja niiden jälkeen kerättyyn teoriakirjallisuuteen. Väitöskirjan empiirinen tutkimus ja siitä tehdyt julkaisut toteutettiin Media-alan tutkimussäätiön (entinen Viestintäalan tutkimussäätiö) rahoituksella.

Tutkimus nojaa yleisesti sosiaalisen konstruktionismin ontologiaan, jossa tiedon ja merkityksen nähdään muodostuvan ihmisten vuorovaikutuksen kautta erinäisissä historiallisissa ja kulturaalisissa prosesseissa ja konteksteissa. Tutkimus käyttää kuitenkin metodologiassaan mixed methods -mallia ja pragmaattisempaa lähestymistapaa, yhdistäen monia laadullisia ja määrällisiä aineiston keruu- ja analysointimetodeja sen mukaan, mikä metodi parhaiten sopii tutkittavaan kysymykseen, antaen mahdollisimman täysivaltaisen kuvan kohteesta.

Ensimmäinen osatutkimus keskittyi tutkimaan, kuinka paljon Facebookissa on verkkopohjaisia sosiaalisia liikkeittä, jotka tähtäävät lisäämään kommunikatiivista valtaansa ja vaikuttamaan yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen, minkä

tyyppiset liikkeet onnistuvat näissä tavoitteissaan ja mitkä sosiaalisen median (online) ja reaalimaailman (offline) ominaisuudet vaikuttavat liikkeiden kommunikatiivisen vallan muodostumiseen. Toisessa osatutkimuksessa Facebookin ad hoc -ryhmiä, eli tiettyä tarkoitusta varten perustettuja ryhmiä, luokiteltiin niiden tavoitteiden perusteella, selvitettiin kyselytutkimuksen avulla ryhmien jäsenten motivaatioita, tavoitteita ja toimintamuotoja, sekä tutkittiin media-analyysin avulla, kuinka paljon ja miten uutismedia käyttää ryhmiä uutisagendassaan. Kolmannessa osatutkimuksessa selvitettiin haastatteluiden avulla, miten PR-ammattilaiset ja journalistit näkevät sosiaalisen median yleisöjen ja yhteisöjen vaikuttavan omiin työprosesseihinsa ja näkevätkö he sosiaalisen median yleisöillä ja yhteisöillä olevan kommunikatiivista valtaa haastaa yrityksiä ja uutismediaa toiminnassaan.

Yleisesti väitöskirjan tulokset osoittivat, että kommunikatiivista valtaa tavoittelevia ja tavoitteissaan onnistuneita verkkopalveluiden yhteisöjä on vain pieni määrä Facebookin yhteisöjen yhteismäärästä. Tavoitteissaan menestyneet yhteisöt ovat pystyneet kuitenkin saamaan uutismedian, yritysten ja päättäjien huomion sekä vaikuttamaan heidän toimintaansa. Yhteisöt ovat myös vaikuttaneet ihmisten toimintaan ja potentiaalisesti myös maailmankuvaan. Tulokset osoittivat tarkemmin, että yhteiskunnalliseen vaikuttamiseen pyrkivät yhteisöt voidaan jakaa kuuteen erilliseen kategoriatyyppiin niiden tavoitteiden ja toimintamuotojen perusteella. Lisäksi tulosten perusteella yhteisöt toimivat kommunikatiivisen vallan muodostumisessa sekä muutoksen ydin-agentteina, että tehokkaina toimintatiloina, ja valta muodostuu kahdessa tasossa, joista ensimmäisessä pyritään keräämään ihmisiä yhteen ja vaikuttamaan kollektiiviseen mielikuvien muodostumiseen ja toisessa luomaan konkreettisempia aktiviteetteja ja vaihtoehtoja yhteiskunnallisen muutoksen toteuttamiseksi. Lisäksi tuloksena löydettiin yhdeksän ominaisuus- ja toimintapiirrettä, jotka vaikuttavat keskeisesti toteutuneeseen kommunikatiiviseen valtaan ja piirteet jaettiin ensimmäisen valtatason mahdollistaviin välttämättömiin ja toisen valtatason mahdollistaviin edesauttaviin piirteisiin. Tutkimus myös käsitteli erikseen yhteiskunnalliseen muutokseen pyrkivien verkkoyhteisöjen ja uutismedian suhdetta ja valta-asetelmia ja löysi yhteisöille ja uutismedialle eriäviä rooleja yhteiskuunallisten agendojen asettamisessa ja vallassa toisiaan vastaan.

Väitöskirja ja sen osatutkimukset luovat yleiskuvan yhteisöjen tyypeistä, toiminnan muodoista ja kommunikatiivisen vallan muodostumisen tasoista ja niihin vaikuttavista piirteistä. Jatkotutkimusta tarvittaisiin erityisesti eri asioita tavoittelevien yhteisöjen yksityiskohtaisempaan tarkasteluun niiden tavoitteiden onnistumiseen vaikuttavien ominaisuuksien ja toimintamuotojen näkökulmasta. Väitöskirjassa ehdotettua teoreettista mallia tulisi tarkentaa. Lisäksi olisi mielenkiintoista tutkia tarkemmin yhteisöjen jäsenten ja johtajien rooleja ja toimia yhteishankkeissa sekä sitä, miten yhteisöt konkreettisesti yrittävät muodostaa vuorovaikutusta tai yhteistyötä uutismedian, yritysten tai valtiohallinnon ja päättäjien kanssa ja miten yhteistyö onnistuu.

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1. Niskala, N. & Hurme, P. 2014. The other stance: Conflicting professional self-images and perceptions of the other profession among Finnish PR practitioners and journalists, Nordicom Review 35 (2), 105–121.

2. Sormanen, N. & Dutton, W. H. 2015. The role of social media in societal change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate activity on Facebook, Social Media + Society, 1 (2), 1–16.

3. Sormanen, N., Rohila, J., Lauk, E., Uskali, T., Jouhki, J. & Penttinen, M. 2016. Chances and challenges of computational data gathering and analysis: The case of issue-attention cycles on Facebook, Digital Journalism 4 (1), 55–74.

4. Sormanen, N., Lauk, E. & Uskali, T. 2017. Facebook's ad hoc groups: a potential source of communicative power of networked citizens, Communication & Society, 30 (2), 77–95.

APPENDIX

The aggregate group and page data (N=33) of Studies I and II, including their general objective categories, names, targets of influence and forms, and modes of action

General objective categories	Names of the pages and groups (in English) + *who/what is their target of influence* + is the SNS community the MAIN/only organization and communication venue or an EFFECTIVE organization and communication collective of a larger/wider movement/campaign?	General detectable modes of action
1) Support Community 6 communities, 18% of all	1. Kimmo Wilska suppot group – to affect corporate decisions [MAIN] 2. Sorry I am a journalist – to affect people [MAIN] 3. Real milk comes from Satakunta – to affect people [MAIN] 4. Save Vantaa river – *to affect decision makers* [MAIN] 5. I support basic income – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] 6. Pro gender neutral marital law – *to affect decision makers* EFFECTIVE]	**100% use:** 1) Disseminating (exchanging) own information (e.g. information gained by monitoring authorities or corporations/organizations) and information produced by others (e.g. news or other missions) + pursuing to get more members and public support
2) Protest Community 13 communities, 39% of all	1. I did not vote for the True Finns – against a political organization [MAIN] 2. I say NO to increasing supervision, surveillance and patronage – *to affect decision makers* [MAIN] 3. Helping others should not be taxed - *to affect decision makers* [MAIN] 4. Sensible days – to affect people + against corporations [MAIN] 5. Hate has no room in Finland - Against discrimination and hate – to affect people [MAIN] 6. "Program is barely subtitled" – to affect corporate procedures [MAIN] 7. Talvivaara has to be closed – against a corporation [MAIN] 8. General strike 15.10.2010 - *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] 9. Save Our Burgers – to affect people + against corporations [EFFECTIVE] 10. Hands off student benefits – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] 11. We challenge the government to live on income support for a month – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE]	**100% use:** 1) Disseminating (exchanging) own information and information produced by others + pursuing to get more members and public support **+somewhat used:** 2) Organizing offline activities, such as meetings and demonstrations

	12. Say NO to MPs' pay raises – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] 13. NO to Yle tax 2017 (former "Say NO to new TV fee raise) – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE]	
3) Ideological Community 2 communities, 6% of all	1. Finnish Defense League (FDL) – to affect people + *decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] 2. My Finland is International – to affect people [EFFECTIVE]	**100% used:** 1) Disseminating (exchanging) own information and information produced by others + pursuing to get more members and public support **+ somewhat used:** 2) Organizing offline activities, such as meetings and demonstrations 3) Organizing online activities 4) Strategic usage of/appearance on other media: news, TV, books, websites etc.
4) Societal Wellbeing Community 5 communities, 15% of all	1. 875 grams – to affect people [MAIN] 2. Call your Grandma <3 – to affect people [MAIN] 3. Myyrmäki movement – to affect people [MAIN] 4. DogDroppings Into a Bag – to affect people [MAIN] 5. Unusual matters – to affect people [EFFECTIVE]	**100% used:** 1) Disseminating (exchanging) own information and information produced by others + pursuing to get more members and public support **2) Crowdsourcing for expertise, funding or manpower** **+ mostly used:** 3) Strategic usage of/appearance on other media: news, TV, books, websites etc. 4) Organizing online activities 5) Organizing offline activities, such as meetings and demonstrations
5) Law Initiative Community 4 communities, 12% of all	I do 2013 - *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] Sense into copyright law – *to affect decision makers* [EFFECTIVE] School discipline in order, power back to teachers - *to affect decision makers* [MAIN/EFFECTIVE]	**100% used:** 1) Disseminating (exchanging) own information and information produced by others + pursuing to get more members and public support

	Sign basic income initiative – *to affect deci-sion makers* [EFFECTIVE]	**2) Making online legal citi-zen initiatives** **+ mostly used:** 3) Crowdsourcing for exper-tise, funding or manpower 4) Organizing online activi-ties 5) Organizing offline activi-ties, such as meetings and demonstrations 6) Strategic usage of/appearance on other me-dia: news, TV, books, web-sites etc.
6) Consumer Behavior and Pressure Community 3 communi-ties, 9% of all	Chow radar – to affect people + <u>corporate decisions</u> [MAIN] Viking Line - <u>to affect corporate decisions</u> [MAIN] Option for ABC – to affect people [MAIN]	**100% used:** 1) Disseminating (ex-changing) own information and information produced by others + pursuing to get more members and public support **2) Affecting consumer be-havior and pressuring or-ganizations** **+ mostly used:** 3) Organizing online activi-ties, such as boycotts 4) Crowdsourcing for exper-tise, funding or manpower **+ somewhat used:** 5) Making online citizen initiatives 6) Organizing offline activi-ties 7) Strategic usage of/appearance on other me-dia

Normal font = general public/people as target of influence Italics = government/political decision makers as target of influence Underlined = businesses and other organizations as target of influence Bold = news media as target of influence *(note: none found)* [MAIN] = SNS community as the main/only organization and communication venue of the movement [EFFECTIVE] = SNS community as an effective organization and communication collective of a larger/wider movement

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN SOCIETAL CHANGE: CASES IN FINLAND OF FIFTH ESTATE ACTIVITY ON FACEBOOK

by

Niina Sormanen & William H. Dutton, 2015

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The Role of Social Media in Societal Change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate Activity on Facebook

Niina Sormanen[1] and William H. Dutton[2]

Abstract

The Internet can be used to reconfigure access to information and people in ways that can support networked individuals and enhance their relative communicative power vis-à-vis other individuals and institutions, such as by supporting collective action, sourcing of information, and whistle blowing. The societal and political significance of the Internet is a matter of academic debate, with some studies suggesting a powerful role in creating a "Fifth Estate," and other studies challenging such claims. Research on this issue has not yet comprehensively focused on social network sites and those operating in a very liberal-democratic context. Based on an embedded case study of Facebook use in Finland, this study focuses on the uses of social media in building communicative power, such as in capacity to foster social movements in ways that conform to conceptions of the Internet's Fifth Estate. The case study combines qualitative and quantitative methods to examine a sample of 2,300 Facebook pages and their online and offline activities and impact qualities. The results located 27 pages that reached a threshold we established for identifying online social movements with the potential for enhancing their communicative power, with a small minority of four cases appearing to have actualized communicative power. These findings not only reinforce the potential of Fifth Estate activity on social media but also underline the challenges of societal change in this predominantly entertainment-oriented social context. In addition, the study showcases the intertwined process of online and offline attributes affecting societal influence of online social movements.

Keywords

social media, communicative power, Fifth Estate, social movement, Facebook

Introduction

The use of social media, or social network sites (SNS), has increased exponentially since 2004 when Facebook was launched, followed by many other SNS, such as Twitter in 2006. Given the worldwide diversity of SNS, it is difficult to generalize about their role, but they are primarily focused on supporting the networking of social interaction, such as in connecting friends. Nevertheless, the use of social media for societal change and political activities is potentially critical because these networks are formed around important social communities and relationships that could be turned to societal influence.

Despite famous examples of the use of social media such as in the Arab Spring (Rane & Salem, 2012), not much SNS research is focused on an overall societal picture of communicative power formation, including "networked individuals" (individuals as independent actors interacting via Information Communication Technologies [ICTs] with numerous diverse others via multiple Internet arenas simultaneously; see, for example, Rainie & Wellman, 2012), challenging both governance institutions and corporations, and the media impact in all this. SNS research has been more focused on specific political activities and networked individuals' intended activities, such as building on friendship ties (Ellison & boyd, 2014). Studies of the political uses of SNS have focused on a general worldwide scale or on non-democratic, newly democratic, or relatively authoritarian national contexts (e.g., Bakardjieva, 2011; Bennett &

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Segerberg, 2012; Castells, 2012; Curran, Fenton, & Freedman, 2012; Lim, 2012).

This study explores the degree that SNS have been used for societal influence in the broadly liberal-democratic context of Finland, where national political–administrative traditions would be open to citizen initiatives and collective action. We ask whether SNS are used in ways that can enhance the relative "communicative power" of their users relative to other individuals and institutions (Castells, 2007; Dutton, 1999; Habermas, 1996). Although the role of SNS in political initiatives and collective actions is a matter of considerable debate in Internet studies, various research has concluded that the Internet as well as SNS can play an important role in social movements and collective action (e.g., Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Castells, 2007, 2012), civic political engagement and participation (e.g., Feezell, Conroy, & Guerrero, 2009), and civic corporate monitoring and challenging (e.g., Champoux, Durgee, & McGlynn, 2012).

Habermas (1962/1989, 1996) introduced the public sphere as an (offline) arena where individual people joined to critically debate and unite against illegitimate use of power and state domination and theorized how this discourse creates communicative power. Flynn (2004) further explains that Habermas' communicative power is "the key normative resource for countering the norm-free steering media of money and administrative power" (p. 434). Whether or not one adopts notions of a public sphere, the potential for the media and the Internet, in particular, to be used in ways that enhance the "communicative power" of networked individuals has been developed by a number of scholars (Dutton, 1999; Garnham, 1983), such as by enabling the rise of a Fifth Estate that could hold institutions more accountable in ways analogous to the press in an earlier era (Dutton, 2009; Hidri, 2012). However, questions have been raised about whether communicative power online can translate into meaningful societal or political change as opposed to a form of "clictivism"—simply generating online activity.

The potential communicative power of individuals networked through social media is the focus of this study. Specifically, on Facebook, are the individuals networked around liking particular "pages" which are seen in this study as prime paradigms of "online social movements", that is, collectivities of individuals using Internet and social media to organize and achieve societal change (Castells, 2007; Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004), which operate today in both online and offline arenas (Castells, 2012), and may be capable of translating their communicative power into a Fifth Estate. Collective action is one of a number of strategies of the Internet's "Fifth Estate" (Dutton, 2009; Newman, Dutton, & Blank, 2012), but this is a central aspect of online political and societal change that merits study in a particular online context. The Fifth Estate develops from individuals, enabled by ICT networking and sourcing information that is independent of authorities, to increase their communicative power to bypass and hold powerful institutions of society (media, corporations, and state) accountable. We use the term "actualized communicative power" (ACP) in this study to denote the achievement of societal influence or change, conforming to the potential attributed to the Fifth Estate.

The key objective of this study is to identify as a specific case of SNS, online social movements on Facebook that exhibit a potential for enhancing the relative communicative power of their users vis-à-vis institutions, or others that are the target of their activities. This is executed by searching all Facebook pages within a well-defined population to detect those fitting a set of five selection criteria that are anchored in theories of communicative action (further detailed in section 'Data and Methods').

The study's related objective is to detect those movements we have identified that make a difference and achieve ACP. We determine this through qualitative case studies of each of the pages identified as potentially relevant to Fifth Estate activities. In doing so, we also explore possible attributes of online and offline activities and impacts that appeared to explain why some pages were successful in actualizing their communicative power.

Given that there is neither accepted scale nor set of attributes for determining the political or societal effectiveness of online movements' actions, the article also seeks to move closer to a definition of the attributes and possible scales that could be used to compare the relative effectiveness of online social movements in translating communicative power into societal change.

Finland was viewed as an important setting for this case study since the nation is at the high-end in its use of Facebook (95% of all Finnish SNS users following Facebook; Statistics Finland, 2014a) and also has a global reputation for its liberal-democratic political–administrative traditions. Facebook was chosen as the object of study not only because it is the most popular SNS in Finland, but it also offers the facility for individuals to create pages to network while also providing open access for researchers. The database of *Fanilista.fi* that lists more than 2,300 of the most popular Finnish Facebook pages was the source of the sample population.

The study sought to examine three specific research questions (RQs) in its main objective of examining the extent of SNS in building the communicative power of online social movements, the process of their online and offline activities, and their influence on the achievement of societal change. The RQs were as follows:

1. How many Facebook pages from this population fit the set criteria of online social movements with potential for creating greater communicative power?
2. Are there examples of pages creating movements with this potential demonstrating actual societal change in ways that conform to conceptualizations of a Fifth Estate?
3. How do relevant online (online activity and gained membership size) and offline (offline activity and

gained media visibility) page attributes influence the effectiveness of online social movements in translating communicative power into societal change?

Communicative Power Online

There are a number of distinct but often complementary perspectives on the emergence of communicative power in the online world, including the ways in which the Internet enables individuals to search independently, and otherwise source, distribute, or leak information; network with others; and become sources of collective intelligence (Dutton, 2012). The Internet's role in supporting social or political movements can be seen as one important form of communicative power. Social movements have been defined by Snow et al. (2004) as

> collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part. (p. 11)

More generally, Castells (2007) has defined social movements as "collective actions aimed at changing the values and interests institutionalized in society, what is tantamount to modify the power relations" (p. 249).

Social movements have been tied to the Internet as a space for launching or reinforcing their activities and interactions, and the Internet has been found in many cases to be useful to achieve their objectives (e.g., Zimbra, Abbasi, & Chen, 2010). Castells (2007, 2012) especially emphasizes the potential influence of people coming together in digital social networks and forming against government and corporations which formerly controlled channels of communication. These networked social movements born in the digital age have power because they are autonomous, free from institutional control, and operate in different venues, such as online as well as offline social networks and public space. To some scholars, such as Snow et al. (2004, pp. 4-5), "social movements and the activities they sponsor" have become one kind of "a Fifth Estate" activity, as we posit in this article.

Dutton (2009, 2012) and also Newman et al. (2012) argue that networked individuals are enabled by ICTs to develop relatively more communicative power by sourcing and disseminating information independently from authorities or institutions. Collective action is one of many ways in which their sourcing and collaboration might be used to exercise this communicative power, but remains one important approach. By linking up with each other online, networked individuals can enhance their communicative power relative to other estates (such as government, corporate, and media) and hold them more accountable, thereby challenging institutional authorities and power holders, and effecting change in policy or practice.

The written press, first described as the "Fourth Estate" by Edmund Burke in 1787, and later defined (Carlyle, 1846; De Tocqueville, 1835), has been a strong institution and societal controller/monitor in many liberal-democratic societies since the 19th century. The Fifth Estate reflects an additional source of pluralist accountability that might also shift the relative power of other estates in particular circumstances. Through giving voice and independent sources of information to the users, that is, individuals as producers and users of digital information, SNS tools can contribute to leveling societal roles and increasing citizen involvement in democratic processes (Bruns, 2007). For example, bloggers as a manifestation of the Fifth Estate have been seen as "watchers of the watchdog" in their power to monitor and hold mainstream media accountable (Cooper, 2006). Hidri (2012) further explains that the Fifth Estate is not against an extension of, or the end of the Fourth Estate, but merely a "new approach to building social reality outside of the dominant molds of media and regulations applied in the communication industry and production of meaning" (p. 19).

SNS and Communicative Power

Prime paradigms of SNS, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Myspace, are classified as venues that can support more democratic participation and expression, creating a place for people to communicate and network with people with similar concerns and interests (Lai & Turban, 2008). Papacharissi (2013) argues that by SNS a "networked self" can be actualized, saying,

> The flexibility of online digital technologies permits interaction and relations among individuals within the same networks or across networks, a variety of exchanges and ties, variable frequency of contact and intimacy, affiliation with smaller or larger, and global and local networks formed around variable common matter. (p. 208)

One of the most studied aspects of SNS has been online political discussion and citizen engagement. Research has shown that SNS group usage can have positive effects on political participation (e.g., Bode, Vraga, Borah, & Shah, 2013; De Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012). More precisely, Kushin and Kitchener (2009) found that Facebook, due to its unique features, increases the possibilities of political discussion and bringing together people with different perspectives. Feezell et al. (2009) found that membership of political Facebook groups increases offline political participation.

Beyond the political sphere, narrowly defined, the Internet has also enabled networked individuals to challenge or monitor businesses, corporations, and media companies: "Today, corporate wrongdoings, public gaffes, and unsatisfactory service that originate offline migrate into the social media sphere within minutes in the form of angry posts, wall-based conversations, and activist-orchestrated attacks" (Champoux

et al., 2012, p. 22). Facebook, more than other SNS, has been seen as a venue for angry consumer groups targeting companies. These outbursts are also often quickly picked up by mainstream media (Champoux et al., 2012).

At the same time, critics of this view have argued that political participation on the Internet most often amounts to little more than "slactivism" (Morozov, 2009). This term describes a feel-good type of activism online which is easy to do and which is a product of the click-based culture of SNS. Furthermore, SNS have been viewed as an inefficient venue of political mobilization because they are oriented to such low levels of commitment, which leads to protests instead of long-term political projects, and are not only perceived as self-referential and motivated by users' personal fulfillment but also as lacking sufficient coordination and organization to produce concrete results (Curran et al., 2012).

The Finnish Context and Facebook

Finland is a Nordic welfare state with a population of just over 5.4 million. In comparison to 150 other countries, the World Audit (2014) ranks Finland as the third highest with respect to democracy, press freedom, and lack of corruption. Also, the Finnish culture is considered to be a consensus-driven political culture, oriented to discussion and problem solving (Reunanen, Kunelius, & Noppari, 2010), and it has not traditionally been a foundation or arena for radical challenges against governmental or business organizations. In comparison to totalitarian countries where oppositional views and political movements are restricted or denied, Finland possesses numerous free venues of expression and networking for political action. Consequently, social media in political action is seen as having less significance (Nordenstreng & Wiio, 2012).

Finns, across both genders, are comparatively active Internet users. Official statistics (Statistics Finland, 2014b) for 2014 show that for the adult (aged 16–74 years) population, Internet usage within a 3-month period was very high (92%) as was usage several times a day (70%). Finns are also active SNS users with 56% of the population being registered to a SNS (Statistics Finland, 2014a). Founded in February 2004, Facebook has not only become the largest SNS worldwide, with over a billion monthly active users and over 54 million pages (Statistic Brain, 2014), but also the most popular in Finland with 95% of SNS users as followers (Statistics Finland, 2014a).

Facebook generally comprises people's individual profiles, newsfeeds, different applications, groups, and "pages". Pages were designed originally to be used for real businesses and brands to communicate to the public (cf. groups for individuals' usage). In practice, pages have been created very often for networking purposes by individuals. Pages are founded by one or more person as an administrator. They can be found and seen by anyone and are joined by "liking" the page. They have therefore become a primary space on Facebook for collective efforts at networking around particular issues or causes.

Data and Methods

This study applies the analysis of Internet and Facebook content, quantitative communication data analysis, media analysis, and case studies to determine the degree to which Facebook pages are being used for social movements and whether they are effective in changing policy or practices targeted by the movements. Facebook was chosen because of its nationwide popularity and because it enables individuals to create pages for networking. Furthermore, Facebook's format provides open access for page-content research. While open groups are almost as open as pages, other types of groups are more restricted. Moreover, there is a list available as an online database, of Finnish Facebook pages, while none exists for groups, thus making a comprehensive group database for research less feasible to define.

Detection of Facebook Pages With Potential Communicative Power

The main data of the study consist of a weekly updating of the official listing of the most popular Finnish Facebook pages on the Fanilista.fi (2014) database. Preliminary qualitative reviews of this database indicated that activities of some citizen-based Facebook pages shared many features of common definitions of social movements and could be discovered through this data set. These online communities, if successful, should be capable of challenging the power holders of society and causing real-world power-shifts in line with the potential of a Fifth Estate. On the basis of developing definitions of online "social movements" (Castells, 2007, 2012; Snow et al., 2004, p. 11) and the "Fifth Estate" (e.g., Dutton, 2009, 2012; Hidri, 2012), the authors set five selection criteria for identifying pages with potential to achieve communicative power and the role of a Fifth Estate. The five criteria are pages which

1. Were set up by individuals acting with some degrees of organization and continuity;
2. Use ICTs to enable creation of networks of individuals;
3. Work independently, outside of conventional institutional or organizational authorities;
4. Use Internet-enabled sourcing and dissemination of information;
5. Were formed for the purpose of challenging, supporting, or holding to account a societal authority, institution, or issue (i.e., seeking to effect societal change).

The process of identifying and selecting Facebook pages for in-depth analysis consisted of four phases (see Table 1). On 1 January 2014, the aggregate of the Fanilista.fi sample

Table 1. Four-Phase Process of Detecting the Finnish Facebook Pages With the Most Potential for Enhancing Communicative Power.

Phase 1	Identification of ready-made Facebook pages (*N*=2329) by categories (*N*=142)						
Phase 2	Six most popular Facebook categories (*n*=pages)						
	Other comprising 136 Facebook categories (*n*=pages) + category of *Cause* (*n*=pages)						
Local business (*n*=182)	Company (*n*=155)	Community (*n*=151)	Musician/Band (*n*=148)	Product/Service (*n*=119)	Non-profit organization (*n*=118)	Other (*n*=1450)	Cause (*n*=6)
Phase 3	New categories developed by study for community and cause pages (*N*=157 pages)						
Discussion (*n*=61)	Corporate (*n*=53)	*Cause* (*n*=16)	*Protest* (*n*=11)	Dare (*n*=7)	Politics (*n*=3)	Spam (*n*=3)	Not found (*n*=3)
Phase 4	Categories selected for analysis of potential communicative power (*n*=27 pages)						
Cause/Mission (*N*=16)				Protest/Support (*N*=11)			

(*N*=2,329 pages) incorporated a set of categories (*N*=142), of which the six most popular categories by number of pages (*n*) were Local businesses (*n*=182), Companies (*n*=155), Communities (*n*=151), Musicians/Bands (*n*=148), Products/Services (*n*=119), and Non-profit organizations (*n*=118). The less popular 136 categories had a range of page counts from 1 to 85. These categories were combined for the purpose of the study as "Other."

When applying the selection criteria to each of the 142 categories, only two categories were suitable for further analysis: "Communities," which was populated by 151 pages and "Other," which had a small but distinct category of Causes with 6 pages (see Table 1). As it was not clear whether all the remaining pages fit the five criteria we established, all 57 pages within these two categories were reviewed and grouped into eight new categories defined according to the basic objectives and activities of the pages, enabling further evaluation of them fitting the main selection criteria. These eight categories were as follows: (1) Discussion/Entertainment/Informative (those whose main activity/objectives include discussion and entertainment; *n*=61), (2) Corporate/Organization (official corporate/organization brand pages; *n*=53), (3) Cause/Mission (pages with specific joint social movement missions, challenging an authority or societal state of issues; *n*=16), (4) Protest/Support (pages specifically protesting/supporting a cause/person; *n*=11), (5) Dare mission (such as breaking records; *n*=7), (6) Politics (such as official pages for politicians or parties; *n*=3), (7) Spam/Advertising (*n*=3), and (8) pages on the list but not found in Facebook (*n*=3).

Further content analysis of the 157 pages indicated that only two categories comprising 27 pages met all of the selection criteria: (3) Cause/Mission (*n*=16) and (4) Protest/Support pages (*n*=11; see Table 2), providing a basis for addressing the first RQ. The final 27 pages were found to be formed in the SNS context by individuals independent from institutions or organizations and using ICTs to source data, to disseminate data, discuss, network, and organize. Furthermore, they could all be defined as communities with an aim of forming social movements and/or challenging

powerful institutions of society over issues, and in this respect, pursuing societal change.

The study of whether a SNS enables an online social movement to enhance its communicative power requires a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methods to assess a set of attributes (see Table 3) on which the Facebook pages could be evaluated. The qualitative aspect of the study was made from the researchers' observation and analysis in January 2014. Specifically, the pages' offline activity evaluations were based on observing page administrators' and members' page wall post suggestions, discourse of events and activities, formed events, and Internet sources and news stories related to their actualization and reporting of participants. The first example (translated into English) is of the Viking Line page administrator's wall post discourse indicating offline activity (i.e., the leader participating on a ship cruise with other page members) and one member's comment:

> Greetings from Grace, from the first seminar on the brand new ship. (16 January, 2013)

> Today trying the Viking Grace!☺ (January 16, 2013)

The second example is of a media news story concerning the I do 2013 campaign's sold-out support concert:

> The since spring planned I do 2013 support concert's tickets were sold out in ten minutes. (Hokkanen, 2013, 24 April)

Offline activities were also quantified from all the pages that had official listings of their events (a feature of Facebook pages). Thus, the specific quantifiable values of offline activities (see Table 3) were based on an overall evaluation of both aspects (see evaluations in the 'Appendix'). The pages' general societal influence (SocInf) was based on the researchers' case study evaluations of either or both the mission success of specific pages and any general societal change they achieved, which this study considered as "actualized communicative power" (ACP) and paradigmatic of an emerging Fifth Estate. The short case studies grounding the SocInf analysis are presented at the end of the 'Results' section.

Table 2. The 27 Finnish Facebook Pages Judged to Have the Potential to Enhance Online Communicative Power.

Founding date	Finnish page name translated to English	Objective or activity description	Member count
March 2013	875 grams	Campaign to collect money for children's hospitals	118,071
Oct 2010	General Strike 15.10.2010	Strike movement against pay raises for government officials	79,453
Feb 2013	I do 2013	Campaign and citizen legal initiative for equal marital rights for same sex couples	75,105
Oct 2010	Kimmo Wilska support group	Movement to support the reinstatement of a popular news anchor	42,894
Sept 2013	Chow Radar	Community monitoring food producers and suppliers	37,703
Sept 2010	I promise to use Viking Line ships if new vessels are ordered from Finland	Campaign to persuade a ferry line to order its fleet from a Finnish shipbuilder	20,762
Sept 2011	Pro gender-neutral marital law	Campaign for gender-neutral marital laws	18,015
Dec 2011	Option for ABC	Community protesting against the use of the gas station and restaurant chain ABC	14,846
April 2011	I did not vote for the True Finns	Protest community against the nationalist political party True Finns	8,434
Aug 2010	I say NO to increasing supervision, surveillance, and patronage	Community promoting privacy rights and protesting state surveillance	6,640
April 2012	School discipline in order, power back to teachers	Community protesting violence against teachers and supporting their rights	6,432
Dec 2010	I want to see other things also	Community addressing people's right to decide on outdoor advertisements	5,678
Nov 2012	Sense into copyright law	Citizen legal initiative to change the Copyright Act	5,179
March 2013	Sorry I am a journalist	Movement against bad journalism via self-criticism	5,164
Feb 2013	Hands off student benefits	Community questioning the limiting of student benefits	5,063
May 2010	Call your Grandma <3	Campaign aiming to sensitize people to seniors' loneliness	4,774
Feb 2011	Finnish Defense League (FDL)	Citizen organization against Islamic extremism	4,586
June 2013	Helping others should not be taxed	Community movement against taxation of voluntarily helping others	4,175
Aug 2011	Real milk comes from Satakunta	Community supporting the use of local milk products	3,674
July 2010	Save Vantaa river	Community movement to maintain a river in good condition	3,533
Jan 2011	I support basic income	Community movement in favor of adequate income support for all citizens	3,235
Oct 2012	Sensible days	Community protesting against consumer hysteria	2,918
Oct 2012	Myyrmäki movement	Community promoting activities supporting the well-being of a city	2,573
Sept 2012	Unusual matters	Movement against the social exclusion of young people	2,268
Oct 2010	Hate has no room in Finland—Against discrimination and hate	Communities protesting against hate groups targeted at foreigners	1,771
Oct 2012	"Program is barely subtitled"	Community protesting against poor subtitles on TV programs	1,696
Feb 2011	Save Our Burgers	Campaign to preserve the quality of fast food	1,176

The data required for quantitative analysis of each page's online activity were retrieved via Facebook semi-public application programming interfaces (APIs),[1] including Facebook query language (FQL) and Graph APIs. The retrieved content included all public posts by administrators and members to the page wall. These data represent numerical accumulations since the day each page joined Facebook up to 30 March 2014.

Table 3. Attributes of Facebook Pages, Descriptions, and Value Calculations.

Attribute	Description	Measurement/calculation of quantifiable value
#1. Page type and purpose	The issue/mission of the page needs to be of importance at least to some segment of society for the page to attract followers	No quantifiable value. Pages are evaluated to have important topics if they attract members
#2. Member count	Numerous members mean more are disseminating information and inviting others to connect, which will increase the allure of the page. Numerous members may also attract media attention and increase the image of power among societal power holders	Six largest pages = 5 points Next largest 5 pages = 4 points Mean 5 pages = 3 points Next smallest 5 pages = 2 points Six smallest pages = 1 point
#3. Media visibility	Media's agenda setting and power to shape opinion can have an effect on pages' publicity, popularity, member count, officials' and corporations' attention, and success in reaching the pages' objectives	An aggregate number of media articles found by *Mediabase* and *Google*: >50 = 5 points—*Very high* >10 < 50 = 4 points—*Quite high* >5 < 10 = 3 points—*Mean* >1 < 5 = 2 points—*Quite low* <1 = 1 point—*Low*
#4. Online activity: administrators and members	Active administrators are potentially the driving forces of any online pages. They have to spread news of the page and when the member base is secured, they can activate the members online. Pages may also be active due to an active member community online diffusing information and activating others	Number of page wall posts by administrators and members: >300 = 5 points—*Very high* >100 < 300 = 4 points—*Quite high* >50 < 100 = 3 points—*Mean* >10 < 50 = 2 points—*Quite low* <10 = 1 point—*Low*
#5. Offline activity: administrators and members	Social movements operate in both online and offline social networks (see Castells, 2012), and online groups have the potential of mobilizing participation by performing offline group-like civic functions (e.g., Feezell, Conroy, & Guerrero, 2009). Offline activities may have an impact on members' perception of pages' power, attract more members, and be a way to get media's and officials' attention	Aggregate evaluation of qualitative case analysis of Facebook pages, news, and Internet, and quantifiable event results from Facebook pages: 5 points—*Very high activity* 4 points—*Quite high activity* 3 points—*Mean activity* 2 points—*Quite low activity* 1 point—*Low activity*
#6. Age	The time-span of the pages' existence may increase their potential for success and societal influence	48–60 months = 5 points 36–47 months = 4 points 24–35 months = 3 points 12–23 months = 2 points 0–11 months = 1 point
#7. Societal influence = Evaluation of ACP and Fifth Estate potential	Regardless of pages' objectives, their communicative power can be measured on the basis of how they are able to reach their end goal(s) and create concrete societal influence	Case study evaluation of pages' objective success and/or general societal influence: 5 points—*Very high effects* 4 points—*Quite high effects* 3 points—*Mean effects* 2 points—*Quite low effects* 1 point—*Low effects*

ACP: actualized communicative power.

Media analysis was conducted using two different search engines during week 14 in March 2014. First, *Mediabase*, a software tool, was programmed to subscribe to RSS-feeds of Finnish news and media outlets and enable word searches, and analysis of the news content was used to do Internet searches for the 27 pages' names.[2] By the time the analysis was conducted in March 2014, the tool had been in operation saving news content for exactly 12 months and included 53 online versions of the most popular traditional Finnish newspapers.[3]

Second, because some of the pages had been active before Mediabase was used to begin searching in March 2013, Google was used to search for the page names. The first 50 returned articles for each page name were then reviewed. All the stored news stories were read and those made by recognized online newspapers, TV, and radio, relating to the activities of the respective pages, were saved and stored. While this review concurrently provided a valuable qualitative perspective on the pages, the primary objective of this search was to count the number of stories mentioning each of the pages.

This study recognizes the problem that the "age" of the pages affects the results of the pages' attribute results as some pages had been alive under a year and others many years at the observation period, but it still focuses on the entire lifespans of attribute results. This is because the age of the page is not a stable variable of, for example, how much online activity occurs on a page: Some pages' high peaks of activity have already passed at the beginning of the period due to the specific mission characteristic, such as the General Strike which was focused on a 1-day event after which all activities and media attention vanished, and others continue as long-term projects, such as the Chow Radar page.

Attributes and Levels of Measuring Facebook Pages' Communicative Power

One objective of this study was to discover whether there are specific online and offline actions and impact attributes that shape the relative success of Facebook pages' objectives. Since research into SNS pages has not previously used this approach, a list of attributes was developed for this study. The study relied on (1) qualitative observations and the studies of other researchers to indicate which attributes were most likely to have the most significant effect and (2) an in-depth analysis of the six most, and the six least, popular pages with the attributes. The authors finally settled on seven attributes that appeared most significant, all of which except for #1 were evaluated on a scale of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*; see Table 3).

The overall scale 1–5 was selected for consistency with all the scales, as the results could be adjusted to them in their overall result contexts. First, the existing member counts and months of pages' existence could be indicated by an acceptable value point from 1 to 5 from the smallest to the largest. Second, the overall results of coverage, lowest and highest scores by page, average of six smallest and largest, and overall average amounts of media articles found (e.g., $n = 171$, lowest $n = 0$/highest $n = 79$, average six smallest = 1.5/six largest = 27, and general average = 14.25) and page wall posts were used to set scales best describing the level of the action in their overall result context. Finally, offline activity and societal influence scoring was made on the same scale but through a more qualitative evaluation, uniting quantitative event notices to observation analysis in offline activities, and using the overall case studies as indicators of societal influence.

Results

First, because all the 12 pages under scrutiny attracted members of the public, they were all judged to be of some importance to a segment of society. In addition, we knew the sizes of the pages' memberships—those who "liked" the page—and the "ages" of the pages. Hence, Table 4 displays how the pages were analyzed with points ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = *low*, 5 = *high*) according to the number of memberships, age, and the remaining four attributes: media visibility, online activity, offline activity, and the attribute measuring ACP and Fifth Estate potential, that is, general SocInf.

As SocInf reflects the apparent actualization of communicative power, four of the largest pages were judged to have acquired very high ratings in this respect, noted by (5) influence values (see Table 4) and thus can be considered as case examples of pages with the potential for communicative power that actually reached a level of influence on society (ACP). To visualize how the action and impact attributes related to the success of the SNS pages, the other attribute results are displayed in Figures 1 to 5 in relation to SocInf values. A basic hypothesis common to the relationships displayed in the figures is that the value/significance of the attribute is judged in comparison with the page's SocInf (equal or higher SocInf compared to each attribute = high significance of the attribute).

Figure 1 suggests four different types of pages (see Table 5). Four are among the most popular and influential, high on number of likes and influence, such as *875 grams*. Three are low in popularity and influence, such as *Hate has no room*. However, there were some popular pages that had relatively little influence and less popular that had relatively more influence.

In the context for the size of membership (Figure 1), the results indicate that the common hypothesis is valid in 83% of the cases as the SocInf values are equal or higher compared to member counts, but that among the other 17% there are anomalies. Among the four highest SocInf pages, the member count value average is 5.

In the context of media visibility (Figure 2), the results indicate that the common hypothesis is valid for 92% of the pages. Among the highest SocInf pages, the media visibility average is 4—media visibility roughly corresponds with societal influence.

In the context of online activity (Figure 3), there are interesting differences. On one hand, SocInf values for 58% of the pages are lower than their online activities; however, on the other hand, those that were relatively high in activity online did tend to have more social influence. For example, among the four highest SocInf pages the online activity average is 4.25.[4]

In the context of offline activity (Figure 4), expectations are supported in that 92% of the pages that were influential had higher offline activity. Among the four highest SocInf pages the offline average is 3.5 with one major anomaly lowering the average, where *Chow Radar* indicated low offline activity but high influence.

The lifespan of the pages' existence appears not to be the best indicator of pages' SocInf (see Figure 5). Although the hypothesis is valid in 58% of cases, most of the "older" pages have low SocInf, and among the four highest SocInf pages, the age average is 2.25.

Overall, the first, but overly simplistic observation is that the size of membership seems to be one key attribute because pages with large memberships generally have more success in achieving ACP. However, there are major exceptions that are interesting alternative patterns.

Table 4. Six Most and Six Least Popular Facebook Pages Rated According to Attributes and Societal Influence.

| Page name	Member count	Media visibility	Online activity	Offline activity	Age	Societal influence
875 grams	5 N = 118,071	5 MB = 48 G = 13	A = 4/M = 5 AD = 228 ME = 406	A = 5/M = 3	2 MO = 13	5
General Strike 15.10.2010	5 N = 79,453	2 MB = 0 G = 3	A = 1/M = 4 AD = 1 ME = 289	A = 2/M = 2	4 MO = 42	2
I do 2013	5 N = 75,105	5 MB = 67 G = 12	A = 5/M = 5 AD = 420 ME = 403	A = 5/M = 5	2 MO = 15	5
Kimmo Wilska support group	5 N = 42,894	2 MB = 0 G = 3	A = 2/M = 2 AD = 10 ME = 26	A = 1/M = 1	4 MO = 42	1
Chow Radar	5 N = 37,703	3 MB = 1 G = 7	A = 4/M = 4 AD = 177 ME = 125	A = 1/M = 1	1 MO = 7	5
I promise to use Viking Line ships if new vessels are ordered from Finland	5 N = 20,762	3 MB = 0 G = 8	A = 3/M = 4 AD = 72 ME = 284	A = 5/M = 3	4 MO = 43	5
Sensible days	1 N = 2,918	2 MB = 0 G = 3	A = 2/M = 2 AD = 38 ME = 19	A = 1/M = 1	2 MO = 18	2
Myyrmäki movement	1 N = 2,573	2 MB = 0 G = 4	A = 5/M = 4 AD = 579 ME = 133	A = 5/M = 4	2 MO = 18	3
Unusual matters	1 N = 2,268	2 MB = 0 G: 2	A = 3/M = 2 AD = 70 ME = 29	A = 2/M = 2	2 MO = 17	2
Hate has no room in Finland	1 N = 1,771	1 MB = 0 G: 0	A = 3/M = 2 AD = 64 ME = 25	A = 1/M = 1	4 MO = 42	1
"Program is barely subtitled"	1 N = 1,696	1 MB = 0 G = 0	A = 3/M = 2 AD = 73 ME = 17	A = 1/M = 1	2 MO = 18	1
Save Our Burgers	1 N = 1,176	1 MB = 0 G = 0	A = 4/M = 2 AD = 102 ME = 22	A = 1/M = 1	4 MO = 38	1

MB: number of Mediabase news; G: number of Google news; A: administrators' activity; M: members' activity; AD: number of administrators' posts; ME: number of members' posts; MO: months of pages' existence.
Offline activity evaluations are introduced in the Appendix.
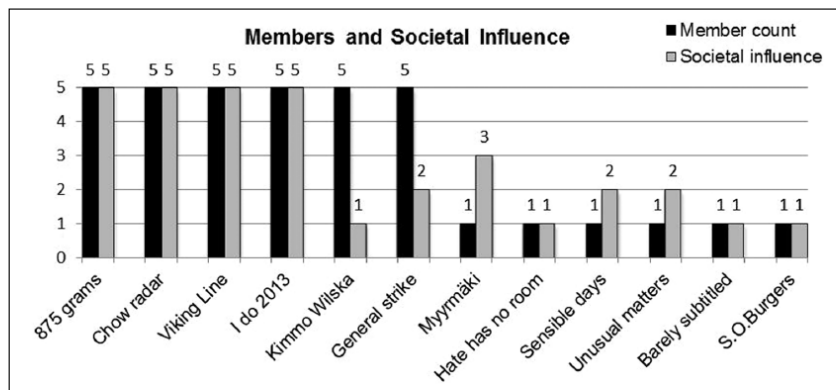
Figure 1. Facebook pages' memberships related to societal influence evaluated in a range of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*).

**Table 5.** Types of Pages According to Popularity and Influence.

| Members	Influence	
	Lower	Higher
Higher	Kimmo Wilska, General Strike	875 grams, Chow Radar, Viking Line, I do 2013
Lower	Hate has no room, Barely subtitled, Save Our Burgers	Myyrmäki, Sensible days, Unusual Manners
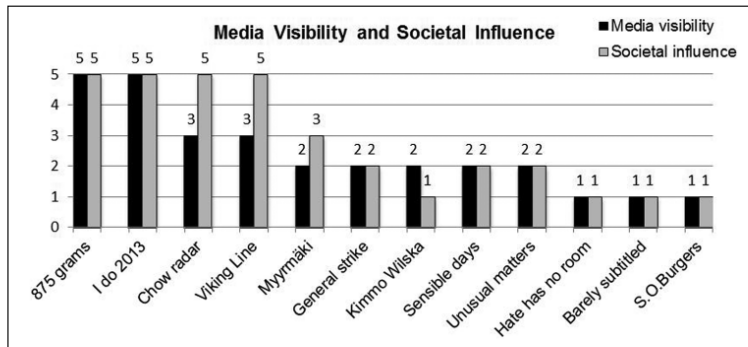
Figure 2. Facebook pages' media visibility and correlating societal influence evaluated in a range of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*).
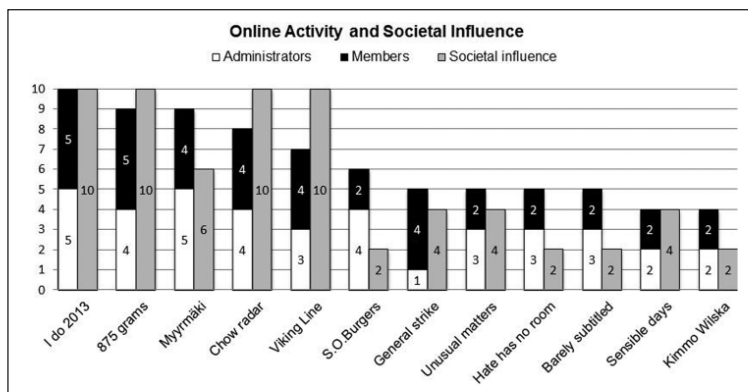
Figure 3. Facebook pages' online activity and correlating societal influence analyzed with separate administrator and member activity evaluated in a range of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*).
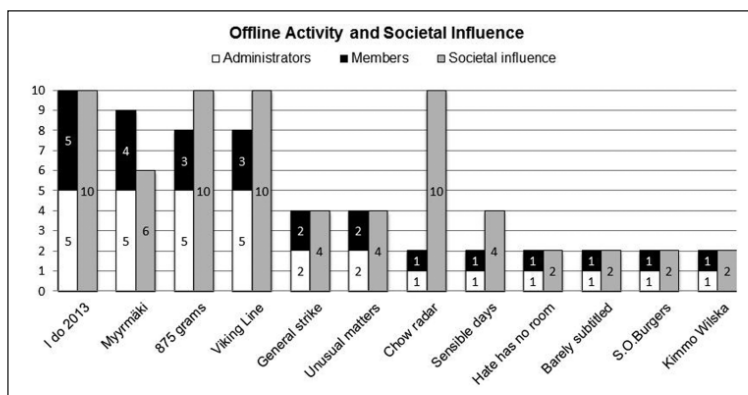
Figure 4. Facebook pages' offline activity points and correlating societal influence analyzed with separate administrator and member activity evaluated in a range of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*).
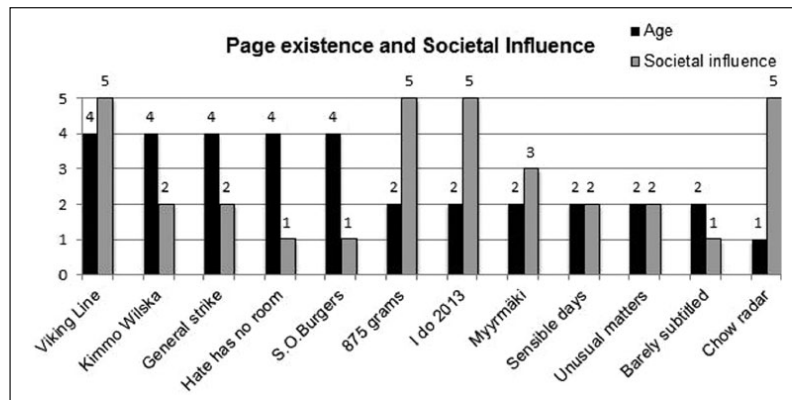
Figure 5. Facebook pages' existence related to societal influence evaluated in a range of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*).

In the following section, the case studies, on which the SocInf values were based, are covered and used to further examine the dynamics of the qualitative aspects of the specific pages to determine various success factors and, for example, why ACP was not the automatic preserve of the largest pages, and why for instance some pages succeed without offline activities.

Brief Case Studies

Although, especially among the most popular societal causes, there are various actors and campaigns involved in certain issues which had been in operation before the current cases, the pages presented here are identified by the authors based on the case study observations as the leaders and/or main actors of the specific causes. Moreover, the identifications are seen to be reinforced by the public, media and authorities, especially among the cases recognized as achieving ACP.

The largest page, *875 grams*, had the greatest possible SocInf value. The father of a premature baby created the page. The page's initial mission was to provide an environment that enabled friends to display their interest in the baby's well-being. As the interest expanded beyond the couple's familial, the father changed the mission of the page into an official campaign for collecting money for children's hospitals. The specific campaign, carrying the *875 grams* name and the "father" as its public face, received high popularity among the (online) public and (mass) media. High media visibility is probably the result of high levels of administrator activities both on and offline, which was ably supported by the members, as well as celebrities who have supported the campaign. The media have referred to the page as a Facebook phenomenon (e.g., Tamminen, 2013, March 31). The success of the specific fundraising campaign has raised around €300,000 in donations for a new children's hospital and helped to donate an incubator. The page's ability to tap into people's inherent empathy with the plight of premature babies and to raise significantly large funds indicates a high level of ACP.

The *General Strike 15.10.2010* page, despite having the second largest membership that at one time peaked at over 100,000, was unable to convert its potential into high SocInf. The page was formed to plan a general strike protest against government officials' pay rises. Societal institutions were unsupportive, the media described the mission as a failure, and local government branded the strike and all its activities as illegal. On 15 October 2010, the day of the General Strike, less than 100 strikers turned up. Explanations of the mission's failure may include, first, that the threshold of signing up to a protest page on a SNS is much lower than actually joining the protest and, second, the poorly planned and organized unrealistic mission lowered the potential of the page in the eyes of the participants, and the media and authorities did not grant it legitimacy.

The *I do 2013* page achieved maximum SocInf value. Since March 2012, the Finnish government has been required by law to consider passing into law any civic initiative that has more than 50,000 certified adult signatures. The aim of the page, originally formed by friends, was to achieve equal marital rights for same sexes via a civic initiative petition. The minimum number of signatures was achieved the day the campaign went public and within 6 months the Facebook page had become a registered citizen association; had gained the support of armies of volunteers, human rights organizations, and public figures; and gained a total of 167,000 signatures. The page's "leader" handed the signed petition to the parliament proceedings. Although the parliament's law committee decided against bringing the petition into law in June 2014, the parliament plenary session voted in favor of the law on 28 November 2014 and historically approved the first crowd-sourced civic law initiative in Finland. Although there have been other groups aiming at the same law change, and no doubt have raised awareness of the issue before thus paving the way for the initiative to be passed, the *I do 2013* campaign can be seen as the main driving force of the final law change, also recognized by the media, public, and authorities.

The *Kimmo Wilska support group* despite having the fourth largest membership failed to convert its potential

into high SocInf values. The page seeks to persuade Finland's public broadcasting service to reinstate one of its popular news anchors who pretended to be drinking beer while reading news during a live broadcast. What was meant to be a joke related to an alcohol control news story. The failure of the mission may be due to the fact that although people found the gimmick and its media attention interesting for a while, the issue is not close or personal enough for people to take more action than mere "like" clicks of support. In addition, the mission lacked recognition by the media or authorities.

The *Chow Radar* page gained high SocInf value. A collective of anonymous administrators created what they later claimed to be Finland's most influential food media. The page's mission is to reveal scams concerning the sale of unhealthy food and provide information on better options. The mission does not seem to need offline activities, preferring to operate strategically as an online source that uses public pressure to challenge corporations and officials. The offline activities in this case are the societal impacts, that is, consumer behavior changes. Each of the many online actions, for example, law petitions and boycotts, have been supported by as many as several thousands of people who have joined the actions and disseminated activity-related information through their own Facebook pages. Consequently, *Chow Radar* has received quite a lot of media exposure and gained the attention of enterprise corporations. We conclude that the page's success in achieving ACP is due to its recognized role as a corporate, official and societal moderator, and source of information.

The *Viking Line* page achieved a high level of ACP due to achieving its aim of persuading Viking Line AS (a ferry line) to order its proposed addition to its fleet from a Finnish shipbuilder. A key component of the page's campaign was to link "liking the page" to a promise by the members to use Viking Line ships at least once a year for 3 years if the company purchased a Finnish-built ship. The page's leader actively contacted Viking Line, and once the page member count reached close to 20,000, Viking Line invited representatives of the Facebook page to open cooperation discussions. In October 2010, Viking Line ordered the new ship from the Finnish shipbuilders STX Turku. News stories indicated a connection between the Viking Line's order decision and the Facebook page, and the ferry line company legitimated the mission by recognizing its communicative power through cooperation.

The case studies to some extent explain why sheer size of membership cannot be considered as a direct indicator of reaching success in societal change (ACP). Two of the largest pages failed in SocInf due to many factors. The *Myyrmäki movement* was able to attract a good-sized membership in its local environment and activate people effectively both online and offline, thus achieving average SocInf. The other smaller national *Sensible days* and *Unusual matters* pages reached only some SocInf perhaps due to quite low levels on all of the measured aspects.

Discussion

While the influence of SNS on societal and political change is a matter of debate, there are case studies of instances when online networks played a critical role in social movements and other Fifth Estate activities. The question not addressed is how common are these instances in the larger scale of social networking. This study looks at Facebook pages as prime paradigms of online social movements in one country as a basis for estimating the prominence of societally and politically influential sites.

To do this, with a step-by-step content analysis process, the study searched the Fanilista.fi database of first categories and then individual pages that could have a potential for communicative power using criteria developed from the theoretical definitions of social movements and the Fifth Estate. The findings show that while 2,302 of the 2,329 pages are corporate or business based or oriented to entertainment and discussion, a small, but visible and significant number 1% (27 pages) can be considered as examples of Facebook pages with potential to achieve communicative power.

We then identified examples of the Facebook pages that appeared to have achieved their ambitions and therefore conformed to conceptualizations of an effective Fifth Estate role. By evaluating the general SocInf of the six largest and the six smallest pages (by membership), the study identified four cases as having achieved significant communicative power: Chow Radar, Viking Line, 875 grams, and I do 2013. At this first analysis level, unifying factors among the pages appear to be their membership size, their ability to tap into the societal consciousness of people and to attract cooperation and/or enough group power to force recognition in the eyes of legally or otherwise societally recognized institutions/organizations.

Looking more closely at online and offline attributes that may be significant in achieving influence, the study selected five attributes (pages' membership size, media visibility, online and offline activities, and age) for evaluation and compared the attribute results of the 12 pages against the SocInf values. The results showed that especially the online attributes (size and online activity), but also all the first four, were important in building success. Among the most successful four pages, their significance was in the following order: (1) membership size, (2) online activity (especially leaders), (3) media visibility, and (4) offline activity. Pages' ages were not considered as reliable indicators of SocInf in this study (specifically designed to focus on the entire lifespans of attribute results) as the pages were in different stages of their mission: some old (failed) ones still alive on Facebook, but inactive and some old and new pages continuously active in both online and offline activities. Further studies should concentrate on online social movements' success factors specific to their respective mission stages.

Nevertheless, no one attribute appeared to dictate ACP alone, and their variance and aggregate impact should be further tested. By indicating and testing possible online and offline attributes to measure communicative power, this

study provides further possibilities for examining how significant the detected attributes are for online social movements with different strategies and objectives. A number of factors beyond the attributes, and beyond the reach of the brief case study explanations, could also be seen to affect the achievement of ACP and need further research. Some of these can be classified as (1) good leadership and organization, (2) provision of good background information, along with active information sourcing and dissemination, and (3) the crowdsourcing of freelance professional help.

This study concludes that in online social movements, online and offline arenas are interdependent in shaping the significance of their communicative power (e.g., Castells,

2007, 2012): Unlike the "former" ruling arena of public discussion, the press and (mass) media (addressing societal issues, which lead to offline discussion and at times also activities, which sometimes lead back to media agenda), the Fifth Estate arena also functions as a space allowing information input, and powerful networks, of individuals, potentially leading to constant shifts of discussion and actions from online to offline, and back online. Table 6 summarizes how the Fifth Estate era process of communicative power formation, supplemented by the still strong and meaningful Fourth Estate public discussion processes (see Hidri, 2012), is a combination of case by case changing online and offline activities and impacts, where both are significant and intertwined.

Table 6. Online and Offline Activities and Impacts Entwined Within the Fifth Estate Arena Process of Communicative Power Formation, Building on the Grounds of the Traditional Fourth Estate Arena.

Fourth Estate arena processes	Fifth Estate arena processes	Viking Line page as a case example
Societal issue rises offline and/or is set on the media agenda		*Offline* societal and *media* focus on the ferry line's decision to use either a national or a foreign shipbuilder
Issue discussed in media (stories decided by journalists) + discussion between media and societal power holders and in offline close networks of people	Issue discussed online in social media platforms (people source and disseminate information independent from press and authorities)	The influences of the ferry line's decision on the future of Finnish dock industry discussed by the press in traditional *media* and by individuals in many *online* social media platforms
People organize offline in close networks	People organize in online platforms (=networked individuals)	*Online*: Page formed on Facebook gathering people to join a campaign where "liking the page" is a promise to use Viking Line if the company purchase a Finnish-built ship
Offline meetings, protests, sit-ins, signature collections for petitions, collecting money, boycotts of products, and so on	Online petitions, protest websites, virtual sit-ins, online information diffusion to create boycotts or influence consumer behavior, and so on	*Online*: Discussion, diffusion, and vast amount of people joining the campaign
		Offline: Page leader contacts the corporation, meetings with corporate representatives, supporters' collective ship cruises and so on
Media focus on the offline activities/impacts	From online and offline activities/impacts the discussion returns to social media platforms	People link *media* news to the *online* page and report about *offline* activities/impacts on the *online* page
The issue gets more publicity	Online activities and online diffused information get media's and larger public's attention	Due to the page's high *online* member count and information shared by the leader of *offline* activities, media attention and online discussion escalate
The issue gets powerful institutions', authorities', or corporation's attention		Due to all *online* and *offline* activities/impacts and *media* attention, the campaign's power is recognized by the ferry line and cooperation continues
Discussion continues in media and in offline close networks of people	Discussion and activities continue in social media platforms	*Media* report on the proceedings and the page leader and members continue discussion on the *online* page, report proceedings, and meet *offline*
Hypothesis		Outcome
Discourse of the issue remains between societal power holders and media→citizens have low communicative power	Group power created online, supplemented with media attention→increased communicative power of networked individuals	Online-originated citizen-organized group pressure and positive consumer lobbying have an effect on corporate decision making→increased communicative power of networked individuals

Overall, although we conclude that it is possible for Facebook pages to develop a Fifth Estate role, there are high thresholds, and the emergence of social movements is the exception rather than the rule. This may be due to various reasons. First, the number of potential online pages with Fifth Estate aspirations is low because the possibilities to create pages and groups for networking purposes on SNS like Facebook are still dominated by the entertainment and social functions, for which the site was designed. Although

entertainment and discussion objectives do not necessarily exclude formation of communicative power, and might well increase the potential for reaching larger communities, these pages are less likely to pursue concrete societal change than to participate in activities that are social and entertaining. Second, online social movements may still lack recognition as legitimate actors of society as Internet and SNS activism is seen more as "slactivism" (Morozov, 2009) and as motivated by users' personal fulfillment,

without the ability to create concrete results (Curran et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, SNS do provide a platform for well organized and led social and political movements. SNS pages in Finland with a legal and culturally accepted basis (non-radical social movements) have gained positive reactions and cooperation from corporations and media, and, despite some hesitation, from political decision makers and government. This may reflect a subtle shift from traditional representative politics toward citizen involvement in decision making and their political empowerment in Finland. In addition, the press adopting news topics from SNS pages and their missions can increase the Fifth Estate's role in societal agenda setting as so called "gatewatchers" alongside the Fourth Estate (see Bruns, 2003).

Conclusion

The Internet is an effective innovative public space, which has the potential to enhance social movements by facilitating individuals to network with other like-minded people in ways that can enhance their communicative power consistent with conceptions of the Fifth Estate. This study shows how the Fifth Estate can be actualized in the context of one SNS, Facebook. Although very limited in frequency, about 1% of Facebook pages created in Finland developed the potential to enhance the communicative power of networked individuals. No one expects all or most Facebook pages to lead to social movements—that would be absurd.

The importance of this study is that, first, the study methods reveal one way of detecting and content analyzing a SNS and drawing a picture of the Facebook "page" scene from the perspective of enhancing the communicative power of online social movements. Second, this study is one example of the possibility of developing operational definitions of the communicative power of online pages, although it leaves many questions unanswered. As neither a scale nor set of online and offline attributes against which the communicative power of online movements can be measured exists, this study made a move in the direction of providing relative rankings of sites on critical dimensions of both. The study suggests that further research might advance the development of theory and reliable indicators of the impact of SNS and their potential to contribute to a Fifth Estate role.

This study is not without limitations. As there are no available success criteria for achieving communicative power, the study relied much on the researchers' qualitative analyses, observations, and judgments of the Facebook pages and their influence. Thus, the results are guided by qualitative assessments that are subjective but strive to be transparent and which appear to yield conclusions that have a reasonable level of face and construct validity.

Furthermore, a comprehensive database of Finnish newspapers and their news would require purchasing access to each existing digital news media archive. Consequently, the study relied on other options, such as the Mediabase research

tool, which provides good quantitative data but cannot be considered comprehensive due to its current scope and timescale, and the Google search for online news, which usually gives different return results, and whose results are affected by the users' Internet activities. Nevertheless, the analysis appeared to provide a relative ranking of media coverage that would be likely to hold up to the inclusion of further media.

The study gives a view of communicative power formation in a specific online environment, cultural context, and target sample, leaving room for various future research possibilities. Similar research could be replicated in different social media and SNS platforms and also in different cultural contexts.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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Notes

1. The Facebook semi-public application programming interfaces (APIs) are tools provided by Facebook allowing outside web developers to read and retrieve open data from the service's social graph. The specific data tool organizing the content has been created by an information technology (IT) specialist working in a Finnish research group, which includes the first author of this article.
2. Created by the same IT specialist mentioned in Note 1.
3. Although there are around 200 Finnish newspapers online (Finnish Newspapers Association, 2014), most have very small circulations and are local.
4. In order to display the online and offline activities of administrators and members, the total possible value for both the activities and the SocInf was increased to 10.

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Appendix

Facebook Pages' Offline Activity Evaluations for Determining Quantifiable Values.

Page and value	Administrators' offline activities	Members' offline activities
875 grams	Various offline activities performed by the leader, such as TV appearances, newspaper interviews, participation in fundraising events, and a published book on the issue	Members mostly function as a support base on FB. FB wall communication indicates some statements of interest and participation in activities
A = 5/M = 3	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
General Strike 15.10.2010	The leader encouraged members to take part in one demonstration on the strike starting date in Helsinki or their home towns	According to news stories, only around 20 people gathered in front of the congress building to protest with posters and megaphones despite indicated will on FB wall
A = 2/M = 2	One event presented on FB	117 event participation confirmations on FB
I do 2013	Various newspaper and TV interviews and numerous events, concerts, standup shows, picnics, and recruiting local leaders to form signature gathering groups on the streets initiated by the leader(s)	FB wall communication indicates strong interest in and support for various offline activities
A = 5/M = 5	11 events presented on FB	2,339 event participation confirmations on FB
Kimmo Wilska support group	No event or other offline activities suggested, encouraged, or reported	No suggestions or indication of participation in offline activities
A = 1/M = 1	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
Chow Radar	No event or other offline activities suggested, encouraged, or reported	No suggestions or indication of participation in offline activities
A = 1/M = 1	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
I promise to use Viking Line ships if new vessels are ordered from Finland	Leader has made many FB wall reports of contacting and meeting with company representatives and organizing group celebration cruises	FB wall communication indicates quite strong interest in and support for offline activities, for example, participation in the group cruise, meetings, and indications of keeping the cruising promise
A = 5/M = 3	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
Sensible days	No event or other offline activities suggested, encouraged, or reported	No suggestions or indication of participation in offline activities
A = 1/M = 1	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
Myyrmäki movement	Various offline activities organized from streets cleaning, yard sales, and dinners to general meetings initiated by the leader(s)	FB wall communication and event pictures indicate quite strong interest and participation in offline activities
A = 5/M = 4	46 events presented on FB	2,441 event participation confirmations on FB
Unusual matters	Some encouragement and reports of recruiting local volunteers by the leader(s). Mostly info around other projects' events	FB wall communication indicates small levels of interests and participation in offline events
A = 2/M = 2	One event presented on FB	Three event participation confirmations on FB
Hate has no room in Finland	No event or other offline activities suggested, encouraged, or reported	No suggestions or indication of participation in offline activities
A = 1/M = 1	No event creation info on FB	No event participation info on FB
"Program is barely subtitled"		
A = 1/M = 1		
Save Our Burgers		
A = 1/M = 1		

FB: Facebook; A: administrators' numerical overall activity evaluation value; M: members' numerical overall activity evaluation value.

II

FACEBOOK'S AD HOC GROUPS: A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF COMMUNICATIVE POWER OF NETWORKED CITIZENS

by

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Facebook's ad hoc groups: a potential source of communicative power of networked citizens

Abstract

Ad hoc groups (sporadically formed on social network sites for achieving particular common objectives) have been seen as a public space for citizen participation and debate. This study focuses on Facebook's *ad hoc* groups in Finland. The aim is to detect the potential of these groups to enhance networked citizens' communicative power for raising societally important issues to public agenda and initiate changes in society. We suggest a categorization of the groups according to their missions, and present their members' specific motivations and objectives through an online survey. Despite the general entertainment-orientation and self-referential nature of social media, the results show that ambitions and objectives of *ad hoc* groups differ notably according to their main mission. Especially clear difference is found between discussion groups and those pursuing societal influence. In addition, media analysis is used to discover how much and for what reasons news media have used the specific groups as news sources. Although not strategically seeking media visibility, the societal influence groups gained larger news coverage, related to their thought-provoking topics, connections to current conditions, group membership size and potential to deal with issues of common concern.

Keywords
Social media, communicative power, *ad hoc* groups, audience-driven agenda setting, Facebook, Fifth Estate, journalism

1. Introduction

Many scholars argue that high levels of social media communication are entertainment-oriented, self-referential and motivated by users' personal fulfillment (e.g. Curran, Fenton & Freedman, 2012) and are even "closer to 'electronic autism' than to actual communication" (Castells, 2007: 247). Nevertheless, also other less selfish objectives exist in Social Network Site usage ranging from community building,

networking and social capital benefits for the society (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009) to forming counter power, which can turn into social movements functioning both online and offline (Castells, 2007; 2012; Bakardjieva, 2011).

Through giving the voice and power to individuals/users, online social networks enable citizens more easily to monitor the public domain of the official and institutional realms (Bruns, 2007; Keane, 2009; Papacharissi, 2009). Thus, *ad hoc* groups (groups and pages formed for a particular purpose) emerging on Social Network Sites (SNS) may, for example, utilize their communicative power when traditional media fails in articulating important issues, and providing people with public space for debate and citizen participation. Even further, Internet and social media have arguably enabled formation of a 'Fifth Estate', referring to "networked individuals" who by sourcing their own information and creating content online, independent from institutions, may become capable of challenging traditional societal power holders such as government, media and corporations (Dutton, 2009; Newman, Dutton & Blank, 2012).

Facebook's *ad hoc* groups are one example of a potential 'Fifth Estate' manifestation in social media (On the concept of the 'Fifth Estate' see more: Dutton, 2007; 2009). These groups may independently act as societal agenda builders as they are able to collect large online memberships around their issues, efficiently exchange information, and even instigate societal change. Some of these groups form around topical societal issues and gain media attention to their cause to emphasize their power, and thus form a potential synergy with the traditional media when they are used as news sources.

We aim to describe and compare Facebook *ad hoc* groups' (AHGs') motivations and objectives in order to detect how their issues and missions range and vary from societal change to entertainment. Thus, we also test the assumption that social media communication is largely oriented to entertainment and socialization against its potential orientation to influence societal agenda and enhance the communicative power of networked citizens. Studying the groups as a source for journalists' news coverage we attempt to demonstrate their potential influence in setting societal agendas through traditional media.

The notion of 'communicative power' was introduced by Habermas (1996) as a further development of Arendt's concept of political power. Habermas distinguishes between communicatively generated power and administratively employed power and discusses the ways communicative power can be transformed into administrative power (by using law as a transformer) (Trejo-Mathys, 2012). During the past decade, social media have permeated all spheres of life and changed the conditions of human (inter)action at both the individual and societal levels. Concomitant to the massive growth of digital networking sites, citizens receive new channels for collective action and expression. Castells (2009) sees this new quality of communication as mass self-communication that the creative audience realizes as an interactive production of meaning, thereby enhancing the communicative power of individuals. As Fenton (2012: 125–126) emphasizes "the act of digital self-communication has become part of many people's everyday rituals". Sormanen and Dutton (2015: 4) define five attributes for identifying one form of online AHGs - Facebook pages and groups - with potential to achieve communicative power and play the role of a Fifth Estate:

> Pages which: 1) were set up by individuals acting with some degree of organization and continuity, 2) use ICTs to enable creation of networks of individuals, 3) work independently, outside of conventional institutional or organizational authorities, 4) use Internet-enabled sourcing and dissemination of information, and 5) were formed for the purpose of challenging, supporting or holding to account a societal authority, institution, or issue (i.e., seeking to effect societal change).

This study uses these criteria to identify groups pursuing societal change and differentiate them from the mere entertainment oriented groups.

Brandtzæg and Heim (2009) argue the most important reasons for using SNSs to be: 1) getting in contact with new people (31%), 2) keeping in touch with their friends (21%), and 3) general socializing (14%). Welser et al. (2007) and Lai and Turban (2008) also list various reasons for people to join online conversations: friendship, debate, knowledge sharing, expressing appreciation or affiliation, building a sense of community, providing and receiving social support, collecting information, and providing answers to questions. These motives and reasons may vary depending on interests, age, educational background and gender. This study investigates the motivations of various groups according to their general mission and/or purpose (e.g. discussion or entertainment vs. striving societal change), focusing on their potentially differing objectives.

Before the Internet era, the news media were seen as the main setters of public agenda, thus determining which issues were societally important and in the public's focus (e.g. McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs, 2005; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). The Internet and social media have transformed the way journalists work, source information, and interact and co-produce with the public (e.g. Allan, 2006; Bruns, 2007; Pöyhtäri, Väliverronen, & Ahva, 2014). Newman et al. (2012) suggest that the Internet and social media have led to a mutually beneficial symbiosis of the Fourth and Fifth Estates, in which networked individuals and the press search for and share content and news, and build on and support each other. Audiences can also set the issue agenda for the media. "Audience-driven agenda setting" is a phenomenon where issues discussed by the public sometimes lead the media to adjust their agenda (Uscinski, 2009). Many studies have found that online channels, such as blogs, can synthesize people's opinions and form public agenda, which through spreading in the Internet influence news coverage of traditional media (e.g. Delwiche, 2005; Kim & Lee, 2006; Wallsten, 2007). When considering the previously noted media's ability to set the issue agenda for the public, audience-driven agenda setting may thus give online audiences more power to even influence wider societal agendas. Online audiences can hence also be seen as active sources in 'agenda building' (e.g. Rogers & Dearing, 1988; Tanner, 2004).

Online networks of individuals, such as Facebook AHGs, can build their communicative power by sourcing, sharing and influencing opinions independent from traditional media. Sharing information, knowledge and opinions are seen as some key features of an AHG, along with encouraging participation. Therefore, AHGs' publicity and presence in traditional media can be seen as effective means of reaching out to a massive number of people and gaining credibility (Nikkanen, 2012: 9). Thus, despite their independence, if AHGs objectives are to venture societal change they may also benefit from wider online and offline activities, including media attention.

All the aforementioned reflections lead us to ask the following questions in this study: 1) How to categorize Facebook's AHGs according to their declared missions? 2) In what do the main motivations and objectives of AHGs differ? 3) Do AHGs provoke traditional media attention to further their objectives? 4) What types of AHGs achieve public coverage through traditional media?

All SNSs, such as Facebook, are seen as venues of equal democratic participation and expression, which create a place for people to communicate and to group with people with similar interests (Lai & Turban, 2008). About a half of the adult Finnish population (aged 16-89 years) have joined an SNS, of which the most popular is Facebook. Since becoming popular in 2007, about three years after its launch in the United States, Facebook is currently used by 95 % of all Finnish users of SNSs. Younger generations are still the most active users but a rapid increase has occurred among elder generations during a few past years (Statistics Finland, 2014). Brandtzæg and Heim (2011) state that smaller communities on SNS, in comparison with large open communities such as YouTube or Wikipedia, may

provide lower thresholds and more intimate spaces for participation/contribution and thus show increased members' activity. Thus, Facebook AHGs may be seen as good targets to investigate networks of online individuals and their motivations.

2. Data and methods

This study makes use of multiple methods. First, an online survey was carried out for receiving information about Facebook AHG members' motives, objectives, perceptions and activities. Second, content analysis of Finnish news media was conducted to detect news stories in which the specific AHGs were presented.

2.1 Online survey of Facebook AHG members

The survey was composed with the aim of revealing AHG members' motivations to join an AHG, the group's shared objectives and individual interests, and estimations of the efficiency of the group's online and offline activities. The survey questions made use of earlier theories of activity and motivations to join and use SNS (e.g. Welser et al., 2007; Lai & Turban, 2008; Brandtzæg & Heim, 2009; 2011). The survey, created in the Google survey system, consisted of 33 questions (including Likert scale, multiple choice and open questions). The language of the survey was Finnish as all the target groups were Finnish (the authors are responsible for all translations). The survey was tested before its circulation by the research team and five external volunteers.

The overall sample consisted of 27 open Facebook groups and pages selected according to their different missions. The groups were categorized as: 1) social wellbeing movements (such as the *'875 grams'* community gathering money for prematurely born babies' hospital care), 2) community/discussion groups (such as *'We <3 Kerava'*, a community page for people from a small Finnish town), 3) protest/support movements (such as *'Talvivaara has to be closed'* protesting against a mining company causing environmental damage), 4) ideological movements (such as *'My Finland is International'* promoting acceptance of racial differences), and 5) law initiatives (such as the *'I do 2013'* with a petition to change Finnish law to accept same sex marriages). The categories were based on preliminary observations of the groups and evaluation of their objectives (cf. Welser et al. 2007; Lai & Turban, 2008). The selected groups' administrators were contacted and asked to distribute the survey link to their group members. The respondents were asked to identify themselves with one of the selected 27 groups and answer the survey with their own group in mind. The survey resulted in 712 individual survey responses from 16 groups by the end of December 2013, including 38 respondents who did not identify with any group and 18 respondents not wanting to reveal their group.

Table 1 shows the English translations of the final 16 groups, their assigned respondents, overall number of group members (as of the end of December 2013), the group category they represented, and whether they are Facebook pages or groups.

Table 1. Final selection of 16 Facebook groups of the current study

	Group name English translation [Finnish original]	Number of group members who responded to survey		Total number of group members	Group category	FB page or open group?
		Number	**%**			
1	875 grams [875 grammaa]	221	31	117883	Societal wellbeing movement	Page
2	We <3 Kerava	113	15.9	6203	Community/discussion	Group
3	Former city standers Lappeenranta [Entiset citynseisojat Lappeenranta]	97	13.6	2478	Community/discussion	Group
4	Fur farm free Finland 2025 [Turkistarhaton Suomi 2025]	69	9.7	17541	Protest/support movement	Page
5	My Finland is International [Minun Suomeni on kansainvälinen]	46	6.5	48690	Ideological movement	Page
6	I do 2013 [Tahdon2013]	33	4.6	74935	Law initiative	Page
7	Carpool Rovaniemi-Oulu-Rovaniemi [Kimppakyyti Rovaniemi-Oulu-Rovaniemi]	24	3.4	1508	Community/discussion	Group
8	Finnish Defence League (FDL)	15	2.1	4408	Ideological movement	Page
9	We challenge the government to live on income support for a month [Haastamme hallituksen elämään kuukauden toimeentulotuella]	11	1.5	58326	Protest/support movement	Page
10	Pro gender neutral marital law [Sukupuolineutraalin avioliittolain puolesta]	10	1.4	18020	Ideological movement	Page
11	Say NO to MPs' pay raises [Sano EI kansanedustajien palkankorotuksille]	7	1	35653	Protest/support movement	Page
12	Talvivaara has to be closed [Talvivaara on suljettava]	4	0.7	1454	Protest/support movement	Page
13	Pekka Haavisto for President 2012 [Pekka Haavisto Presidentiksi 2012]	2	0.3	97892	Protest/support movement	Page

14	Sign basic income initiative [Allekirjoita perustulo-kansalaisaloite]	2	0.3	975	Law initiative	Page
15	DogDroppings Into a Bag [KoiranPaskat Pussiin]	1	0.1	67	Societal wellbeing movement	Group
16	Say NO to new TV fee raise [Sano EI uudelle Tv-maksun Korotukselle]	1	0.1	31177	Protest/support movement	Page
	I do not know	38	5.3			
	I do not want to tell	18	2.5			
	Total	712	100	517210		

Table 2 shows how the respondents were divided into the group categories. As this categorization demonstrates, the AHGs fall into different categories according to their ambitions/objectives. The categories present AHGs ranging from more 'serious' aspirations to influence societal issues, such as law initiatives, fulfilling the criteria of the Fifth Estate (see Sormanen & Dutton, 2015) to those having 'softer' objectives of friendship and socialization. The categories are used in this study to compare group members' motives, objectives, behavior and perceptions based on their differing group missions.

Table 2. Respondent frequencies (N=656) according to group categories

Group category type	Frequency	%
Societal wellbeing movement	223	34.1
Community/discussion	233	35.5
Protest/support movement	94	14.3
Ideological movement	71	10.8
Law initiative	35	5.3
Total	656	100
Identification not revealed	56	

The survey responses were analyzed using SPSS by descriptive frequencies, averages/means and analysis of variance by One-Way ANOVA. The data analysis focused on 1) all 712 respondents and 2) comparing the 16 groups based on their category types (e.g. community building, law initiatives etc.). In this study, specific analysis aspects of the survey responses were:

1. General respondent information (age, gender, education and income level).
2. Members' motives to join the group were detected through the following question:
   "How important do you consider the following factors in your decision to join the group?" evaluated on a Likert scale from 1=not important at all to 5=very important.
3. Members' perceptions of group objectives (ranging from information diffusion, discussion, reaching specific societal goals, and group conspicuousness to media visibility) were detected through two questions: 1) "How important do you perceive the following objectives concerning the operations of the group?" evaluated on a Likert scale from 1=not important at all to 5=very important and 2) one open question: "Does the group have any other important objectives?"

4. Perceptions of group information sharing activity and operations online and offline were detected through five questions (to investigate the groups' activities and ambitions in relation to concrete external conspicuousness and media visibility): 1) "Have you shared textual or other group content outside the group on Facebook?", 2) "Have you shared textual or other group content to other platforms online outside of Facebook?", 3) "Have you noticed discussion about the group on other online platforms?", 4) "Has the group organized or planning to organize events offline?", and 5) Have you heard/read about the group from newspapers, radio or TV?"

2.2. Detecting the presence of selected AHGs in Finnish news media

The secondary objective of this study was to collect and analyze news stories in which the specific AHGs were presented. The purpose of this content analysis was to investigate how the groups' purposes and activities were covered in newspapers, which enabled to make conclusions about the AHGs potential to affect media agenda (i.e. audience-driven agenda setting).

The data was collected in June-July 2015, primarily from the ten largest circulation-wise newspapers in Finland (according to the data of Finnish Newspaper Association, 2014). An overview was also conducted on smaller publications (all of them being members of the Finnish Newspaper Association, with online editions and archives). The final sample consisted of 233 newspapers. From the 'lifetime' of each AHG (between 2010 and 2015) all news items clearly dealing with or referring to the AHGs in question were collected using search tools of the newspapers' archives and other search engines. The search was conducted using variants of the groups' names and related terms or topics. Close reading was then used in order to identify the ways, means and purposes of presenting AHGs in traditional news media[1].

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Survey: general respondent information

The general age distribution among the population (N=712) is quite even: 15-25 (18%), 26-35 (23.9%), 36-45 (22.6%), 46-55 (18.4%), and over 56 (17.1%). Bigger differences appear when looking at the distribution of various age groups among the different AHGs (Figure 1). Societal wellbeing issues, protests/support, ideological movements and law initiatives attract younger people (15-35[-45] years old) and community/discussion groups attract elder members ([36-] 46 upwards). Ideological movements are not popular among the youngest age group (15-25), while ideological movements and law initiatives are particularly popular among 26-35 years old.

Figure 1. Percentage of different age group members in the specified group types (N=656)
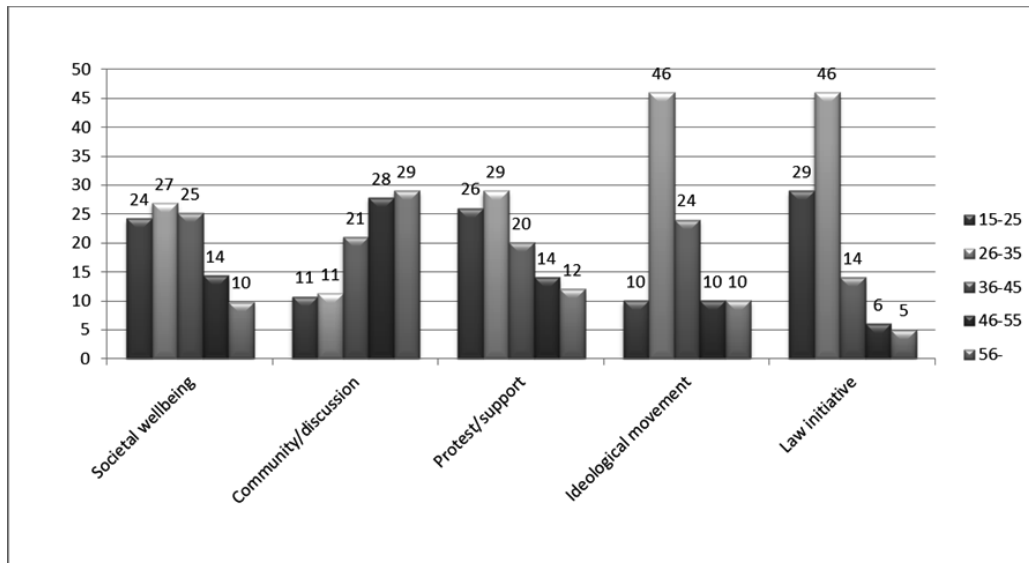
Women respondents dominate in all group types (84.1%) and especially in the AHGs devoted to societal wellbeing (97% women, 3% men). One explanation for these results is that the majority of the members of the largest AHG in our selection – "875 grams" – were women. Men have slightly larger representation in groups focused on community/discussion (75% women, 25% men) and ideological movements (women 66%, men 34%), compared to the protest/support (88% women, 12% men) and law initiative (89% women, 11% men) groups.

Among all the AHG members, lower levels of education slightly prevail (58% have secondary education or lower) and 40% have a University degree. As Figure 2 shows, people with a secondary level education dominate in the societal wellbeing, community/discussion and protest/support groups. Members with the higher educational levels are more attracted to ideological movements and law initiatives.

Figure 2. Proportion (%) of members' educational level among the group types
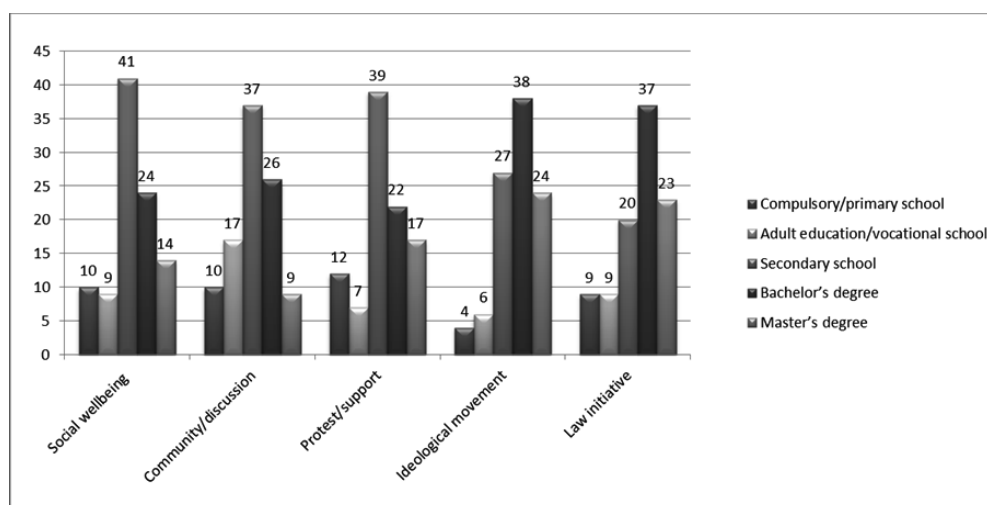
(N=656, excluding 'I don't know' n=6 and 'Other' n=4)

The majority of the respondents earned less than €40 000 per year (71.9%), while 14.2% had income from €40-70 000, and only a few earned more than €70 000 per year (2.5%). Members from the lowest income level (under €10 000) are clearly most interested in the protest/support groups (31%). This is not surprising as amongst these groups are those, which attract people with lower income to protest against the government e.g. the *We challenge the government to live on income support for a month* and *Say NO to MPs' pay rises.*

3.2 Members' motives to join the group

Primary motivation to join a group was to exchange information about the groups'/pages' specific issues. Expectations influencing these issues in society and the possibility to express one's opinion were the second important motivators. Also, individual participation was highly valued. The four least popular of the nine options were related to entertainment, group membership size and friends. (see Table 3). These results generally correlate with earlier SNS motivation studies (Welser et al., 2007; Lai & Turban, 2008; Brandtzæg & Heim, 2009; 2011).

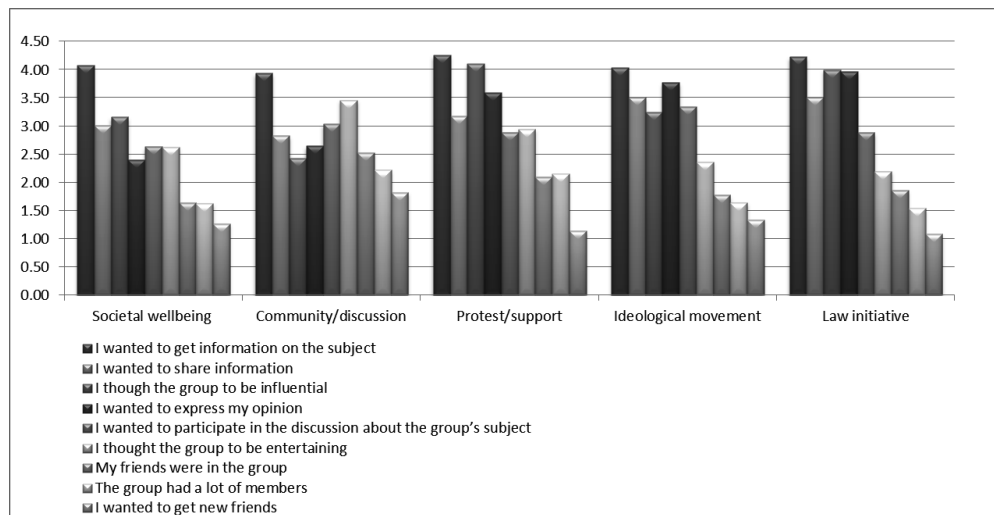**Table 3.** Group members' motives according to the importance for joining their group (N=712)

Motives in order of importance	Mean	Std. Deviation
1. I wanted to get information on the subject	4.07	.997
2. I wanted to share information	3.06	1.297
3. I thought the group to be influential	2.97	1.401
4. I wanted to express my opinion	2.90	1.357
5. I wanted to participate in the discussion about the group's subject	2.88	1.251
6. I thought the group to be entertaining	2.79	1.342
7. My friends were in the group	2.00	1.215
8. The group had a lot of members	1.85	1.129
9. I wanted to get new friends	1.49	.903

One-way ANOVA (p=.00 concerning each 9 motive statements) analysis revealed a statistically significant difference in motivations among the different AHG category types. A

Tukey post hoc test showed the biggest difference between the community/discussion groups and all the other group types in all motivation statements except 'getting information' (p=.00 only between community/discussion and protest/support and p=>.40 between community/discussion and all the other group types) and 'participating in discussion' (p =.01 only between community/discussion and societal wellbeing and p=>.30 between community/discussion and all the other group types).

Closer comparison of the AHG category types by mean values showed that the members of protest/support, ideological movements and law initiatives AHGs were more motivated by the group's potential influence and the possibility of expressing opinion than the members of other groups (see all mean values from Figure 3). Most interested in entertainment, friendships and participation in discussion are the members of community/discussion groups.

Figure 3. Mean values of the importance of various motivators among the different types of groups

I wanted to get information on the subject
I wanted to share information
I though the group to be influential
I wanted to express my opinion
I wanted to participate in the discussion about the group's subject
I thought the group to be entertaining
My friends were in the group
The group had a lot of members
I wanted to get new friends

(1=not important at all, 5=very important) (N=656)

3.3. Members' perceptions of group objectives

While the primary motive for joining an AHG was exchange of information about the issues important to the group, the primary perceived objective of the AHGs was sharing the groups' information. The second important objective was aspiring people to discuss, participate and act. Also, contributing to achieving common goals appears as an important objective. The members of the groups were less concerned about general conspicuousness and media visibility of their groups (see Table 4), which seems a bit surprising as public popularity potentially supports their aspirations.

**Table 4.** Evaluation of the importance of group's objectives (N=712)

Objectives in order of importance	Mean	Std. Deviation
1. Information sharing	4.17	1.011
2. Activating people	3.85	1.182
3. Discussion	3.77	1.135
4. Reaching a specific goal	3.55	1.323
5. Bringing people together	3.47	1.257
6. General conspicuousness of the group	3.07	1.369
7. Media visibility	2.91	1.408

In addition, open answers emphasized the specific missions and operational objectives of the groups, such as increasing the awareness of animal abuse, keeping in touch with childhood friends, forming networks, and fundraising for an incubator for premature babies.

A statistically significant difference was found between the objectives of all the AHG category types by using one-way ANOVA analysis (p=.00), except concerning objectives of 'bringing people together' (p=>.60) and 'discussion' (p=>.52). A Tukey post hoc test revealed most similarities (p=>.10) among objectives of the AHG groups focused on law initiatives, ideological movements and also protest/support movements. Clear differences appeared among those and the community/discussion groups.

A closer comparison of group category types by mean values (see Figure 4) shows that groups with ambitions of a broader societal influence (law initiatives, ideological and protest/support groups) rate information dissemination higher and are more interested in activating people to achieve common goals and encouraging discussion than the other groups. The community/discussion groups' members are not as interested in reaching specific goals, conspicuousness of the group or media visibility and rate all these objectives lower than the aforementioned groups. Interestingly, also societal wellbeing groups rate the objectives somewhat lower than the other groups, nonetheless giving more emphasis to reaching group goals.

Figure 4. Mean values of the importance of various objectives (1=not important at all, 5=very important) between group types (N=656)
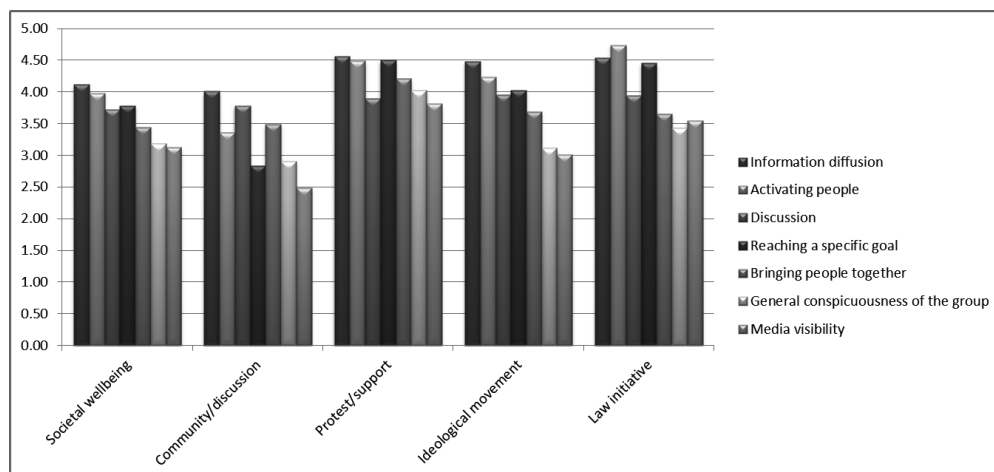
3.4 Ad hoc groups' online and offline activity, objectives, and presence in Finnish news media

It seems logical to expect that distributing information and acting outside the space of their own groups or even offline would be important for the members in achieving the groups' goals (e.g. Castells, 2007; 2012; Nikkanen, 2012). However, dissemination of the information about the groups is less active than could be expected, since less than a half of respondents (48%) have shared some information about the group on Facebook (outside their own group) and 6% have done it outside Facebook on other platforms (most often on Twitter). A small majority of group members (53.7%) state that the groups have organized or are planning to organize activities offline. Most of these are celebrations/parties (22%), meetings (14%) and demonstrations (12%). Close to half of group members (45.8%) have noticed discussions about the groups on other Internet platforms, mostly blogs and discussion sites. It could be concluded that the groups are not very efficient in disseminating their issues on the Internet and offline, yet there are signs of purposeful information distribution and organized activities.

Concerning traditional media attention, group members report mostly receiving information about their particular groups from newspapers (see Table 5).

Table 5. Proportions (%) of traditional media channels from which groups' members have got news/information about their groups (adjusted to group membership counts: group result frequency / group member count = %)

Group type	Newspaper	Radio	TV	Cannot say
Societal wellbeing movement	**80**	49	68	1
Community/discussion	**55**	6	2	0
Protest/support movement	**48**	15	23	5
Ideological movement	**32**	8	23	4
Law initiative	**83**	40	54	9

The analysis of the newspaper texts showed that ten out of the sixteen groups (63%) had received publicity in newspapers. The groups focused on societal wellbeing, protest/support, law initiative and ideological movements received most of the media coverage. 94 news out of all 97 concerned these societal influence oriented groups. The *875 grams* group ranked highest in news coverage appearing in 13 different newspapers and with the highest number of individual news (40), followed by *Pekka Haavisto for president 2012* (12 newspapers, 22 news items) and *I do 2013* (8, 10). See Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of newspaper coverage frequencies and total number of news per group and group type from the time period of 2010-2015

Group name	Group category	Coverage in different newspapers	Total number of news
875 grams	**Societal wellbeing**	**13**	**40**
Pekka Haavisto for president 2012	**Protest/support**	**12**	**22**
I do 2013	**Law initiative**	**8**	**10**
Dog droppings into a bag	Societal wellbeing	6	**7**
Finnish Defence League (FDL)	Ideological movement	4	6
We challenge the government to live on income support for a month	Protest/support	3	5
We <3 Kerava	Community/discussion	2	2
Fur farm free Finland 2025	Ideological movement	2	2
My Finland is International	Ideological movement	2	2
Former city standers Lappeenranta	Community/discussion	1	1
Carpool Rovaniemi-Oulu-Rovaniemi	Community/discussion	0	0
Pro gender neutral marital law	Ideological movement	0	0
Say NO to MPs' pay raises	Protest/support	0	0
Talvivaara has to be closed	Protest/support	0	0
Sign basic income initiative	Law initiative	0	0
Say NO to the new TV fee raise	Protest/support	0	0
Total		53	97

The analysis shows that the groups with higher aspirations for visibility in society and media (protest/support groups, societal wellbeing, law initiative and ideological movements) also get more coverage in the newspapers (see Table 7).

Table 7. Comparison of group types' news coverage frequencies from the media analysis and mean values of traditional media visibility and conspicuousness objectives from the survey results

Group category type	Objective of media visibility (mean 1-5)	Total number of news (frequency)	Objective of conspicuousness (mean 1-5)
Protest/support	3.81	27	4.02
Law initiative	3.54	10	3.43
Societal wellbeing	3.13	47	3.18
Ideological movement	3.01	10	3.11
Community/discussion	2.48	3	2.90

Also, there seems to be a certain correlation between the amount of news items in the newspapers and the number of the members of the groups: bigger groups (*875 grams*, *Pekka Haavisto for president 2012*, *I do 2013* and *We challenge the government*) tend to receive more media coverage (see Table 8).

Table 8. Comparison of selected groups by number of news and AHGs' followers/membership

Ranking by number of followers	Group name	Number of news items	Number of followers
1.	875 grams	40	118000
2.	Pekka Haavisto for president 2012	22	98000
3.	I do 2013	10	75000
4.	We challenge the government to live on income support for a month	7	58000
16.	Dog droppings into a bag	6	670
11.	Finnish Defence League (FDL)	5	4000
6.	Say NO to MPs' pay raises	0	36000
7.	Say NO to the new TV fee raise	0	31000

We also found an unexpected amount of media interest towards the groups with small membership, the 16th ranked *Dog droppings into a bag* and 11th ranked *Finnish Defense League*. The size of membership, though, does not guarantee large news coverage, as both 'Say NO' groups (ranked 6th and 7th by the number of members) received no coverage whatsoever.

Although some correlation exists between the amount of news and the total number of members on Facebook, mere size does not seem to explain why and how certain groups become addressed in traditional news media. Part of the reason probably lies within the group's general topic and in the possible transition of group activities out into the "real world". For instance, the topic of the group *875 grams* is very touching, and the news media like emotive stories. Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 106) have specified six different values which define the newsworthiness of a certain topic or text – importance, interest, controversy, the unusual, timeliness and proximity. Most of these criteria are met in the news coverage of the groups. The AHGs with the most news coverage (*875 grams, Pekka Haavisto for president 2012* and *I do 2013*) had especially moving or divisive topics, and the strongest effect on public societal issues. They were also the ones with the highest number of members on Facebook. Connections to current events or conditions were also a major contributor to the activity and magnitude of news coverage in all cases.

4. Conclusions and discussion

As the first step, a description of socio-demographic characteristics of the AHGs gave us a background for studying the motivations of the members and objectives of these groups as potential Fifth Estate agents. Although the younger generations are usually the dominant age-groups on the social media scene, they do not dominate, according to our results, in the Facebook AHGs. The youth's social media usage is moving towards 'chat' based platforms like WhatsApp and Snapchat. Increasingly, the elder generations are adopting social media, especially Facebook for communication, and AHGs create an easy venue to express one's voice in an intimate space (see Brandtzæg & Heim, 2011).

Surprisingly, elder people appear to be especially more attracted to discussion/community type groups (those considered as more 'light subject areas') and younger people are drawn to the other types. The 26–35 year old age-cohort is particularly attracted to ideological movements and law initiatives. These group types also attract more educated people. The educated over-30 year-olds may represent a specific part of society who are both interested in being active in meaningful societal issues (compared to younger people in general) and also very settled in the societal media scene (vs. older people). Another interesting result is the dominance of women in all group categories, although there are no major gender differences in the use of SNS in general in Finland. Overall age

and education level appear to be factors most predicting association with different types of AHGs.

The motivators for people to join an AHG fall into two clusters. The first is related to the cause's success and prominence through information dissemination, discussion and influence, especially concerning groups related to societal change/influence (protest/support, law initiative, ideological). The second includes socializing, entertainment and making friends (motivations of mainly discussion/entertainment groups). This division supports the thesis that society uses SNS, such as Facebook, for much more than mere entertainment (cf. e.g. Curran et al., 2012; Castells, 2007).

Clear differences appear between the group categories when comparing the prominence of the groups' objectives for the group members. Although all group types emphasize the objectives such as information diffusion, discussion and activating people (seen as quite typical to SNS groups in general) these are more important for the societal influence groups. This aspect combined with emphasis on reaching specific goals indicates that their discussion and activities are more firmly related to the groups' mission in comparison to community/discussion groups.

Thus, the overall aggregate of the group members' motivations and objectives shows that the groups classified into different categories clearly have variance in their concrete motivations and objectives – ranging from those with objectives closer to the 'Fifth Estate' aspirations, such as societal change, to those that have 'softer' objectives of friendship and socialization. The results also verify the initial group categories formed and introduced in the Methods section.

Some researchers have doubted whether the concern for public issues of 'networked citizens' is merely "an illusion of having a meaningful impact on the world without demanding anything more than joining a Facebook group" (Morozov, 2009; see also Karpf, 2010). However, our research shows that groups that have socially oriented missions are also stronger motivated in striving for their objectives. This does not prove that the activities in online networks are sufficient means to achieve these goals and objectives. Figure 5 displays evaluation of the group types presenting them on a scale from the softer motivations (5) to the more societal influence oriented ones (1).

Figure 5. AHG categories on a scale presenting their motivations/objectives and media visibility
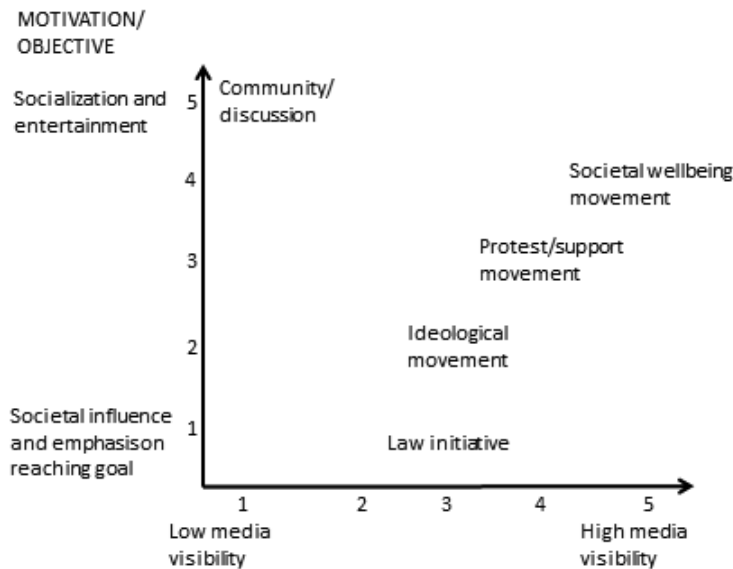
Unexpectedly, most of the societal influence groups did not emphasize media visibility and general conspicuousness quite as much in their objective evaluations, although generally traditional media is viewed as the setter of societal public agendas (e.g. McCombs, 2005; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). Their presence in media may be an effective means of reaching a massive number of people and gaining credibility (Nikkanen, 2012), thus increasing the possibility of reaching the groups' goals. It is also possible that 'leaders' of AHG missions are the ones aspiring media and public attention, rather than the members (i.e. survey respondents of this study) and thus, the members do not even share much group information outside the group, and are not interested in media relations. The members rely on or still need a leader to manage the missions' strategic aspects. Nonetheless, the results show that the members of all the societal influence oriented groups thought that their group had achieved a noticeable media attention.

As a secondary objective, this study examined how the AHGs were presented in news media. Although the top three individual news coverage AHGs of this study can be evaluated to have obtained (merely) moderate media visibility and although it may be quite common today for media to use topics and issues found from social media as their news sources (see e.g. Sormanen & Dutton, 2015), it is not that common for traditional media to use precisely the groups, not only their issues, as news topics. When the particular AHGs are the focus of the news, they may be seen more clearly as the initiators of and reasons for agenda building or setting.

Interestingly, the groups pursuing societal change/influence, not those more oriented to entertaining topics, were the ones gaining the largest news media coverage (see Figure 5). In general, the most essential factors in shaping news coverage appear to be the AHG's emotive and thought-provoking topics, connections to current events or conditions, group membership size and capability to exert influence on issues of common concern. It still demands further research which qualities truly make an AHG stand out from the crowd and become an interest for traditional news media, and of which magnitude.

The overall results of this study support the assumption that clearly identifiable categories of AHGs form in the social media, which differ significantly in their missions and more specific motivations and objectives. The groups range from those striving to enlarge their communicative power in order to initiate changes in society (i.e. Fifth Estate) to those seeking mere socialization and entertainment. The groups aspiring societal change are the ones gaining traditional media's attention and thus can also reach wider audiences and potentially wider societal influence. As Gosher and Gosher (2013) in their study on reciprocal agenda-setting effects (between social media and traditional media) demonstrate, the potential for SNS to directly shape media agendas does exist, though to a limited extent, and certain social networking sites have the potential to shape traditional elite media agendas. However, the actual impact and audience-driven agenda setting capability still need further investigation.

In the future it is important to add other levels to the study of AHGs' communicative power, such as the ways the groups use online news links as a part of their missions, and thus form additional potential synergy level with traditional media. Moreover, this study focused on quantitative aspects and gives only indications about the agenda setting capabilities of the AHGs. There is a need to go deeper into the motivations of AHG members and leaders, and the reasons why journalists use the groups as news sources. This may be achieved by doing qualitative content analysis of Facebook groups' discussions and comparing societal events and group activity with media stories. Another avenue would be doing interviews among AHGs and journalists. The quantitative findings of this study raise many new questions and form a good basis for further analysis.

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