

## **ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS' EVALUATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA INFORMATION FOR NGO JOURNALISM: THE EVIDENCE AND ENGAGEMENT MODELS**

Ella McPherson, University of Cambridge em310@cam.ac.uk

### **ABSTRACT**

This article contributes to the emergent literature on the use of social media at advocacy organizations; while much of this literature focuses on how these organizations produce social media information, this article explores the complementary and relatively unexamined practice of how advocacy organizations consume social media information, particularly with respect to how they evaluate it as part of that consumption process. The article develops two theoretical models of how advocacy organizations evaluate social media information. These models differ according to the information values at their cores and according to how these values are evaluated; correspondingly the models interact differently with social media's affordances. The key information value for the evidence model is the veracity of the information's metadata, and this is largely evaluated through a time intensive corroboration process drawing on human expertise. In contrast, the key information value pertaining to the engagement model is participation, evaluated by measuring the volume of participants in the information's production and transmission. In sum, the affordances of social media are often hindrances for the evidence model, as they can make metadata more difficult to verify. On the other hand, the engagement model builds on social media affordances, as these affordances facilitate participation and the evaluation of participant volume using digital analytics. In addition to shedding light on approaches to social media information evaluation at advocacy organizations, this article urge researchers and practitioners to keep their eyes peeled for barriers to pluralism as they use and study these approaches.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Human rights advocacy organization Amnesty International traditionally relied on in person investigations by staff researchers and on a network of long-term source relationships to gather information on the human rights situation in Syria. When the Syrian uprising began in 2011, however, Amnesty, like its fellow international human rights organizations, had trouble getting country access for its researchers. Simultaneously, a plethora of social media sources began publishing information they professed to document the Syrian conflict. As Maha Abu Shama, Amnesty's Campaigner on Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, described it:

So many activists popped up in different areas – new activists whom we were not aware of. We didn't know their history, we had not worked with them before, and the activists

that we know didn't know them either. So, especially at the beginning, when many of these activists were uploading things spontaneously online, whether on Youtube or Facebook or Twitter, we had to play catch up.<sup>1</sup>

This 'catch up,' namely the process of incorporating social media information into reporting on human rights in Syria, is one example of the phenomenon of advocacy organizations increasingly evaluating social media information as part of their work.

This phenomenon is symptomatic of a wider adoption of social media by advocacy organizations – and organizations in general – that we as researchers do not yet fully understand (Lovejoy and Saxton 2012; Obar, Zube, and Lampe 2012; Treem and Leonardi 2012). This article contributes to the emergent literature on the use of social media at advocacy organizations; while much of this literature focuses on how these organizations produce social media information (e.g. Briones et al. 2011; Lovejoy and Saxton 2012; Obar et al. 2012), this article explores the complementary and relatively unexamined practice of how advocacy organizations consume social media information, particularly with respect to how they evaluate it as part of that consumption process.

Advocacy organizations are organized actors who systematically pursue particular causes (Prakash and Gugerty 2010), often through directing information at targets with the intention of impelling change.<sup>2</sup> The media and communications field has increasingly approached advocacy organizations' communication practices as a particular form of journalism – namely, NGO journalism (e.g. Beckett and Ball 2012; Cooper 2011; Cottle and Nolan 2007; Fenton 2010; Kalcsics 2011; Powers 2014). This rationale for this designation is two-pronged. First, NGOs are progressively producing the news we consume, whether via mainstream media or social media. Second, NGOs communicating for advocacy often engage in similar practices to news organizations, such as evaluating, producing, and transmitting information, whether or not this information is formally designated as journalism. This article accordingly draws on the parallels between journalism and advocacy, deploying literature from the media and communications field towards constructing two of the possible theoretical models addressing how advocacy organizations evaluate social media information for NGO journalism.

In practice, these models contribute to the determination of advocacy-worthy information – in other words, the events and issues on which an advocacy organization should focus its finite advocacy resources. Of course, many other factors are in play in the determination of advocacy-worthy information, such as the political and economic contexts and the organization's particular priorities. Relatedly, the content of the information – what it is about – is important. But as we shall see with respect to social media information, its metadata – namely, the data about the content such as

---

<sup>1</sup> Personal interview with Maha Abu Shama, 3 April 2013.

<sup>2</sup> In this article, I refer mainly to those organizations whose primary mandate is advocacy, but the article's framework and models can also be applied to other types of civil society organizations, such as aid or operational NGOs, when they engage in advocacy.

its sources, times, and places of production and transmission – are also a determining factor. One of the fundamental ways in which social media information can vary from information communicated over other forms of media is in its metadata, as I explain in more detail below. The two evaluation models featured in this article value metadata differently; in other words, they have different information values with respect to metadata. Accordingly, the models encompass distinct practices for evaluating these information values. Specifically, the evidence model values veracity, which is tested by corroboration and the deployment of human expertise. The engagement model values participation, measured by the volume of sources contributing to the information's production and transmission.

The bulk of this article develops these two models, but it first begins by using the media and communications literature about the determination of newsworthiness to explain the determination of advocacy-worthy information, including the role of information values. It then outlines three ways in which the use of social media changes the metadata of information. These are the affordances of user-generated information, disembodied information, and digital analytics. After developing both evaluation models by drawing again on the media and communications literature and through the use of examples, the article concludes by framing these models within a central concern of the study of journalism. This is the exposure and elimination of barriers to pluralism in the public sphere, created as inadvertent byproducts of the practice of journalism.

#### **INFORMATION VALUES IN THE EVALUATION OF INFORMATION**

By examining organizations normally considered as sources in the literature as organizations also producing journalism, I am – in line with Schlesinger's (1990), Schudson's (2000), and Power's (2014) directives – extending the chain of analysis of journalism. Like news organizations, advocacy organizations are producing information for the consumption of others. For example, they produce journalism for mainstream news organizations to fill the news vacuum created by decreasing newsroom resources (Cooper 2011; Fenton 2010). They transmit direct-to-citizen via digital platforms, such as Amnesty International's AiCandle iPhone application, which features a 'News' bar button (Amnesty International 2011a), and Avaaz's *Daily Briefing* website, currently in beta mode (Avaaz 2013c). Their campaign communications concerning causes, even when these are not specifically designated as journalism, are produced to be consumed by the targets of their advocacy. Therefore, like journalism, advocacy is fundamentally a communicative act (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Of course, advocacy organizations' communications can differ significantly from journalism in several respects, such as their communicative aims, which include fund-raising and social change, and their packaging of information, which often appeals directly to emotion and action and aligns with particular moral and political stances and goals (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Moon 2012; Powers 2014:201). Furthermore, not all of advocacy organizations' advocacy communications are anchored in the consumption of information from other sources about causes – though a significant proportion is, and we can refer to this proportion as NGO journalism. It is the evaluation aspect of this

consumption of information to produce NGO journalism that is of concern here.

Comparing advocacy to journalism allows us to borrow from the media and communications literature to understand advocacy organizations' information evaluation values and practices. A significant theme in this body of research is the determination of newsworthiness, or the narrowing of available information from a variety of sources to useful information for news purposes (e.g. Fishman 1980; Gans 1979; Hall et al. 1978; Herman and Chomsky 2002; Tuchman 1978). This evaluation of information is influenced by a range of factors, including political, economic, social, organizational, and cultural conditions (Cottle 2003; Schudson 2000). A significant cultural determinant of newsworthiness is the information values commonly referred to in the literature as news values.

News values are notoriously opaque and subjective. Even so, numerous studies have attempted to outline 'taxonomies of news values' that identify information characteristics such as unexpectedness, negativity, and drama (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Golding and Elliot 1979; cited in O'Neill and Harcup 2009). These studies indicate that a measure of universality of news values exists across news organizations, but O'Neill and Harcup (2009) also posit that differences can be found across time, place, and sector and resulting from the introduction of new technologies. Based on my ethnographic research of human rights reporting in Mexico, I found that the information's source credibility was just as important as the information's content in determining its inclusion as news – if not more important, as the source credibility trumped content characteristics such as novelty and impact (McPherson 2010). Source credibility is an aspect of information's metadata, or the data about conditions of production and transmission such as source, place, and time. As such, news values can be separated into those that pertain to the content of information and those that pertain to its metadata. Transferring these analytical categories to advocacy organizations, then, we can understand their information evaluation practices as being driven, in part, by their own information values pertaining to content and metadata. Next, I summarize three changes that the use of social media for communication herald for information metadata.

### **RELEVANT SOCIAL MEDIA AFFORDANCES**

Social media is but the latest of a sequence of technological transformations changing the production, transmission, and consumption of information – transformations that Thompson refers to as the 'mediation of modern culture' (1990:164). Though social media increasingly blurs the boundaries between the practices of producing and consuming, resulting in new categories of practice such as 'produsage' (Bruns 2008), disaggregating these stages of communication can be analytically useful. This is because social media changes the production and transmission as well as the consumption and associated evaluation of information in different ways. It is useful to think about social media according to these changes, in contrast to defining social media according to platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, which creates potential for research narrowness and even obsolescence as new platforms are developed and older ones die out (Obar et al. 2012; Treem

and Leonardi 2012). Specifically, therefore, the literature defines social media by its affordances, or what it allows its users to do. Affordances are shaped by the tool's characteristics or materialities; in the case of social media, these materialities are often rooted in its digital nature (Treem and Leonardi 2012).

At least three affordances of social media are relevant for the evaluation of social media information at advocacy organizations; two of these affordances alter the conditions of the information's production and transmission, and therefore the information metadata that is available for advocacy organizations to evaluate. These are the affordances that support user-generated information and disembodied information. User-generated information results from social media's lowering of the technical and financial barriers for users to produce and transmit information. The implications for metadata are an increase in the variety and volume of sources producing content. Disembodied information arises because social media facilitate users' ability to transmit their information separately from the time and space of its production and to obscure their own offline, physical identities as sources through the use of online, pseudonymous identities. Disembodied information can thus complicate or render impossible the evaluation of metadata. The third affordance alters the conditions of information consumption by enabling particular types of evaluation. With respect to metadata, digital analytics are especially strong in evaluating more objective aspects, such as volume, rather than more subjective aspects, such as veracity. As we shall see in the models of social media information evaluation below, whether or not these three affordances support social media information evaluation depends in part on the information values shaping evaluation practices.

### **SOCIAL MEDIA INFORMATION EVALUATION MODELS**

The literature on advocacy organizations – and, more broadly, on NGOs – addressing their use of social media is emergent. As I mentioned, it tends to focus on these organizations' production of social media information rather than their consumption of it, which includes evaluation practices. Given this lacuna and the parallels between journalism and advocacy outlined above, it is useful to draw again on the media and communications literature to think about evaluation practices focused on social media information. This literature, also emergent (Hermida 2013), is concomitant with the rise of these practices at news institutions, themselves spurred by the increasing prevalence of citizen journalism transmitted via social media, particularly during disasters (for examples, see: Bruno 2011; Cooper 2011; Keating 2010; Murthy 2011). The literature suggests at least two models of social media information evaluation based on different information values. The *evidence model* evaluates social media information as another variety of evidence to support advocacy claims. As such, the *veracity* of metadata is a key information value, and this is currently measured largely through corroboration undertaken by human experts. In contrast, under the *engagement model*, advocacy organizations evaluate social media information for an indication of the public's engagement with its topic. As such, the information value sought in the metadata is *participation*, evaluated by measuring the volume of sources participating in the information's production and transmission.

These evaluation models are models of practice, not organizational models. Advocacy organizations evaluating social media information no doubt typically engage in both; that said, one might expect a preponderance of use of the evidence model at what Tsui (2009) calls 'legacy' NGOs, since these organizations may have bolted social media onto existing information evaluation practices. In contrast, we might expect to see a greater employment of the engagement model at the 'networked' NGOs (Tsui 2009) born in the era of – or because of – social media.<sup>3</sup> This is because these organizations are devising their information evaluation practices from scratch and are therefore more likely to create practices that reflect and draw upon the affordances of social media. To illustrate these models, I use examples of social media information evaluation at two advocacy organizations; as I emphasize in this article's conclusion, it is worth keeping social media use at these organizations in perspective, in that it is just one of a variety of channels of information and communication these organization draw upon in their advocacy work (Kavada 2012). We will look at the use of the evidence model in evaluating YouTube videos about the conflict in Syria at Amnesty International, an advocacy organization that states its aim as 'campaign[ing] to end grave abuses of human rights' (Amnesty International 2013c). Subsequently, we will turn to the use of the engagement model in evaluating information deriving from the Community Petition platform belonging to Avaaz, an advocacy organization that describes itself as a 'global web movement to bring people-powered politics to decision-making everywhere' (Avaaz 2013a).<sup>4</sup> These models are, at this stage, hypothetical and preliminary; I propose them in order to propel the research in the underexplored area of the use of social media information at advocacy organizations for NGO journalism.

---

<sup>3</sup> Of course, as Keck and Sikkink (1998) explain, advocacy organizations have a tradition, long predating social media, of operating in a network with others who share their aims.

<sup>4</sup> These examples draw from my preliminary and ongoing research into NGO journalism. I selected them, borrowing from the case study approach (Gerring 2007), to gain insight on the broader population of advocacy organizations through exploratory research and the generation of hypotheses, namely my models of social media information evaluation. Amnesty International and Avaaz are representative of a particular category of advocacy organizations: those that (1) have the interest and the resources to engage in the use of social media information (the resource criterion means that this research does not address digital divide issues, though this is an area for future research); (2) are relatively large organizations, in terms of membership and funding; and (3) are international in focus but headquartered in the West. These organizations do, however, differ in the eras of their establishment vis-à-vis the rise of social media, with Amnesty preceding it and Avaaz rising with it. Therefore, while these organizations are 'typical' of the advocacy organization category outlined above, they also provide insight in terms of their variance (Gerring 2007) along the 'legacy'-'networked' (Tsui 2009) continuum of advocacy organizations referenced above. In terms of analysis, I conducted thematic analysis of semi-structured background interviews with key informants and documents available publicly on both organizations' websites. These informants were Maha Abu Shama, Amnesty International Campaigner for Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, and Sam Barratt, Communications Director of Avaaz. Interview topics and corresponding analytical themes included the uses of social media at their organizations, attitudes towards and methods for verification of social media information, and the risks and opportunities of social media use.

## The evidence model

The communication of evidence related to causes is a core element of advocacy work (Clark 2001). The production of this evidence relies on an evaluation of available related information, and a key value sought in this information is veracity. In this sub-section, I develop the evidence model by first outlining the reasons behind advocacy organizations' concern with veracity. I go on to explore journalism's concern with the same information value, as well as what the emergent literature indicates its implications are for evaluation practices concerning social media information. The example of evaluation practices at Amnesty International as applied to Youtube videos on the conflict in Syria illustrate this model, in which we see that the evaluation of information veracity depends in part on the veracity of its metadata. This takes time, the triangulation of methods and sources, and human expertise. I conclude the sub-section by considering how the model unites the information value of veracity with the relevant affordances of social media in its evaluation practices – awkwardly, as it stands, though this may change with advances in digital analytics.

Establishing veracity can help advocacy organizations bolster their reputations, pursue their advocacy mandates, including meeting standards for evidence in a court of law, and allocate resources. We can see the value of veracity is the case of Amnesty International, which was founded in 1961 and currently has an international support base of over three million members who campaign against a broad array of human rights violations (Amnesty International 2013b, 2013c). The aim of these campaigns is to 'exert influence on governments, political bodies, companies, and intergovernmental groups... through various communication and media channels but also by mobilizing public pressure through mass demos, vigils and direct lobbying' (Amnesty International 2013a). Amnesty's trajectory coincides with the historical rise of human rights NGOs in terms of political prominence and persuasiveness. This rise is at least in part attributable to the 'credibility of their fact-finding' (Hopgood 2006; Orentlicher 1990:92). Abu Shama of Amnesty refers to this connection between veracity, organizational credibility, and organizational mandates when she describes her team's approach to social media information:

The strength of Amnesty's work in general is its credibility and impartiality. That is why our reports and our statements have an influence on policy-makers and media. So of course we are very careful in the ways we deal with social media because, if we commit a mistake, that would not only harm Amnesty's work on Syria, but it also could have an impact on our work in other countries and areas. That is why this long and complicated process of verification is essential.

In terms of bolstering reputations, human rights NGOs have developed and publicized clear investigation methodologies (Orentlicher 1990). This is in part because those accused of human rights violations may deny the facts behind the accusations and attack NGOs' credibility, and in part because convincing targets to act and react depends on conveying credibility (Brown 2008; Land 2009). Practices for evaluating the veracity of information content

and metadata are a crucial element of these investigation methodologies; besides protecting organizations' reputations, these practices also help them meet organizational mandates. As Cristoph Koettl, the Emergency Response Manager at Amnesty International USA, who blogs for Amnesty about technology and human rights, writes (2013b): 'We are looking at turning stories into evidence for use in advocacy and courts.' Law is a major mechanism through which human rights advocacy functions (Moon 2012). As Koettl explains (2013b), 'Identifying the place and time of an incident' – in other words, verifying information's metadata – 'is crucial for determining International Humanitarian Law compliance.' Finally, like the humanitarian organizations that are the subject of Tapia et al.'s (2011) and Tapia, Moore, and Johnson's (2013) research into social media information evaluation, establishing the veracity of an incident is also relevant to the deployment of resources, whether related to disaster relief or to advocacy.

Amnesty's website description of its general information evaluation practices underscores the value the organization places on veracity. On its 'Frequently Asked Questions' page (Amnesty International 2013a), the first sentence responding to the question of, 'How does Amnesty International carry out its work?' is: 'All our campaigning and research is fact based.' In response to the question, 'How does Amnesty International make sure it has the facts right?' the webpage continues:

Before any statement, publication or report is issued, its text is subject to close review to ensure it is factually accurate, politically impartial and consistent with Amnesty International's mission.

When Amnesty International deals with allegations rather than undisputed facts, it makes this clear in its findings and may call for an investigation.

If Amnesty International makes a mistake, it issues a correction.

As a result, Amnesty International's research is recognized globally for its reliability.

The emphasis in this text on concepts correlated with veracity, such as 'factually accurate' and 'research... reliability,' is clear. The distinctions in terms of treatment of 'undisputed facts' versus 'allegations' and 'mistake[s]' serve to further underline Amnesty's commitment to verification practices.

Veracity, and the verification practices it engenders, are core elements of journalism as well (Bruno 2011; Hermida 2012; Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001; Shapiro et al. 2013). Studies have shown that verifying social media information at news organizations has largely been a matter of applying existing evaluation practices to it (Hermida 2012, 2013); despite the digital nature of the information, verifying it is more about 'journalistic hunches than snazzy technology' (Turner 2012). For example, a new handbook written for journalists on how to verify digital information states that 'there is no quick way' of verifying the identity of a social media account. Rather, this verification of source requires 'painstaking checks,' including reviewing the source's network and previous social media postings. Ideally, the journalist

should speak directly with the original source of the information. These practices are akin to 'old-fashioned police investigation' (Wardle 2014:28–29).

At advocacy organization Amnesty International, practices for evaluating veracity are similarly 'long and complicated,' as Abu Shama described it. 'It requires a lot of follow up [and] diligence.... especially when we don't have access to the country ourselves,' she said, with reference in particular to the human rights situation in Syria since 2011. Despite the wealth of social media information surfacing about Syria, Abu Shama made clear that this material 'by itself – it cannot stand.' This is not unique to social media information, Abu Shama explained: 'What I am saying is that one thing alone is not enough. You need to use different things to weave together to establish a story.' Correspondingly, Amnesty describes the organization's general information evaluation methodology as one of 'cross checking and corroborating information from a wide variety of sources' (Amnesty International 2013a).

This is evident in Abu Shama's account of the practices she would typically deploy to evaluate the veracity of a YouTube video that, from initial appearances, related to the human rights situation in Syria. This video might portray a violation, which 'means something, it's shocking... but we need much more. We need to know: When did it happen? By whom? How? Is this video genuine or not? Is it authentic? We can't act on it unless we verify all those details.' To begin verifying a YouTube video, Abu Shama said she would first try to establish its location. She would then search for witnesses by scanning her offline network to see if she knows anyone from that location. If not, she asks network members if they might be able to put her in touch with their own contacts in that spot; 'it's all networking,' Abu Shama explained. The established sources that make up this network have gone through a lengthy credibility assessment process themselves, which Abu Shama explained:

There is a lot of personal judgment about that, but also history and dealings with the person. First, you think about the type of information they are giving you: does it rhyme with the pattern of abuses that you are aware of? If it is too odd or too different, you will be a bit more suspicious. If it rhymes, then you talk to other witnesses, other sources, and you compare. If they are public speakers, you constantly follow their activities and the statements they make to assess their agenda. Based on what you know about them, you also understand what the motivation is behind the information they have given you, as well as the agendas of other sources who might be telling you something about that person because they want to ruin their reputation or discredit them.

The new witnesses found through the network are also subject to a credibility check. Talking with first hand witnesses and survivors of violations is paramount, but other sources of information are also consulted for verification purposes. Abu Shama gave the examples of forensic pathologists, who might evaluate videos and photographs of bodies for signs of torture (see Amnesty International 2011b), and of satellite imagery, which might identify the

destruction of buildings. Other sources listed by Amnesty with reference to its evaluation process in general are: lawyers; journalists; diplomats; workers at religious, community, humanitarian, and human rights organizations; and refugees, prisoners, survivors of violations, and their families and representatives (Amnesty International 2013a).

In addition to the importance of triangulation of sources and methods, evident in these veracity evaluation practices is the contribution of human expertise, which corresponds with a long tradition of the import of expertise to Amnesty's research (Hopgood 2006) and the research of human rights NGOs in general (Land 2009). The researcher must have expertise akin to the 'journalistic hunches' referenced above; as Abu Shama described it, 'There's a lot of skill and personal judgment that you definitely develop with time and with practice.' Witnesses have expertise with respect to the violation in question, as they were present. Other sources, like those listed above, have various varieties of professional expertise. Corroborating information through the deployment and consultation of expertise is hard, time-intensive work – 'there is a lot of chasing,' Abu Shama said – and the changes to information attributable to social media can complicate it further.

Social media's affordances supporting user-generated and disembodied information – the latter especially if anonymity is sought – facilitate the amount of social media information emanating from Syria. Koettl (2013a) described the scenario as follows:

The torrent of videos from citizens and soldiers exposing possible war crimes and crimes against humanity ... is truly unique to the Syrian conflict. Having worked on several armed conflict situations, I have never before witnessed such volume of new video on a daily basis.

While this citizen activism via video is, at first glance, a boon (Gregory 2010), especially in a closed country context, the information is only of use if it can be verified. As Abu Shama commented, with respect to sifting through the results of entering the names of military units into YouTube's search function:

It is quite a time consuming thing – and there are so many materials on Youtube that you can look at, but not that many that are usable and useful. Although they might be documenting a violation, it's not clear when, how, or by whom.

These affordances of social media have introduced a tremendous number of unknown sources, which means that no known person – and perhaps no person at all – is immediately available to question on the information's content or metadata. If not explicitly included, the place and time of social media's information's production and transmission may also be difficult to establish at the point of evaluation. By separating the source, place, and time of the information's production from its content, the disembodied information affordance of social media also affords the production of false information. For example, Abu Shama described a YouTube video that purportedly documented a serious abuse in Syria but that actually was an edited version of a video filmed in Mexico some time beforehand and overlaid with new audio. As such, the same characteristics of social media that are affordances

for the production and transmission of information, by obfuscating that information's metadata, are hindrances for its evaluation under the evidence model.

The evaluation of social media information for veracity creates a bottleneck between available and valuable information at news organizations as well. This is in large part because the ability to detect veracity remains – or remains to be understood as – a human ability grounded in expertise. Bruno (2011) and Hermida (2013) write about the disconnect between the speed of social media information generation and the time required for verification as driving new practices for information evaluation. One such practice is crowd-sourced or collaborative expertise, which matches the volume of social media information with a greater volume of human evaluators. For example, news organizations engage witness members of the public in 'collaborative verification' in the live blog format for breaking news (Hermida 2011, 2013). Amnesty International is partnering with a university to create 'verification corps' of students to sift through social media videos (Koettl 2014; Nixon 2013).

These practices still, however, center on human expertise. Social media's affordance of digital analytics has not yet cracked the verification problem, though work is ongoing in that direction. Diakopoulos, De Choudhury, and Naaman (2012), for example, designed an algorithm-based interface to support journalists in locating and evaluating Twitter sources. This interface includes 'heuristics for credibility' such as the predominant locations of a user's network; this heuristic is based on the assumption that the more people the user knows in an area in question, the more accurate the user's Tweets about that area are (2012:10). Another example of emergent 'verification technologies' (Bruno 2011:67) is the InformaCam smartphone and tablet application, currently in beta form and the product of a collaboration between Witness, the Guardian Project, and the International Bar Association. Among other functions, this app embeds a variety of metadata into video in order to facilitate its evaluation, which is supported with desktop software (Guardian Project 2013; InformaCam 2013; Witness 2013). That said, the evaluation of social media information for veracity likely will continue to involve human expertise because of its subjectivity. Even so, as social media's affordance of digital analytics extends – as long as this corresponds with expanding comfort with artificial intelligence – the evidence model's bottleneck should widen.

### **The engagement model**

Like the evidence model, the engagement model centers on a key information value: participation. This participation is a manifestation of engagement and can be evaluated using measures of quantity and quality. Dahlgren (2009:81) usefully distinguishes between engagement and participation, stating that engagement 'refers to subjective states, that is, a mobilized, focused attention on some object. It is in a sense a prerequisite for participation.' In contrast, participation is an action. In this section, I first explain why member engagement and participation are fundamental to advocacy organizations. I then turn to the literature on social media evaluation at news organizations to explore how engagement in a topic of

information can be gauged by measuring the volume of source participation in the production and transmission of that information. This is illustrated in Avaaz's evaluation of the information emanating from its proprietary social media platform, the Community Petitions website (see Avaaz 2011a). The measure of volume of participation can be done real-time with digital analytics. I conclude the section by explaining how, in contrast with the evidence model, the engagement model is highly compatible with the affordances of social media. Since this model is generally used in tandem with the evidence model, however, the information in question can still encounter an evaluation bottleneck.

The engagement and participation of members in advocacy organizations' causes are essential to their reputations and the pursuit of their mandates.<sup>5</sup> With respect to reputation, characteristics such as legitimacy and credibility depend on advocacy organizations' abilities to both mobilize and represent their members' and the public's engagement (Brown 2008; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Advocacy organizations' reputations, in turn, influence their ability to attract volunteers and donations (Brown 2008; Gibelman and Gelman 2004). With respect to their mandates, engaging members can be an important part of the advocacy process – though not always, as NGOs might also lobby their targets directly and provide expert testimony, among other practices contributing to a single cause campaign (Davis, Murdie, and Steinmetz 2012; Karpf 2010). That said, a key mechanism at human rights NGOs, for example, for influencing a state to act on its human rights record is through 'shaming' the state publicly, which galvanizes public participation and thus pressure on the state (Davis et al. 2012; Land 2009). Public participation may take many forms, including marches, sit-ins, petition-signing, and sharing on social media.

The importance of engagement and participation to Avaaz's work is evident in how it describes itself on its website. Avaaz was founded in 2006 by two other advocacy organizations, Res Publica and Moveon.org, and now has almost 34 million members (Avaaz 2013d, 2014a). The organization characterizes itself as a 'global web movement to bring people-powered politics to decision-making everywhere' (Avaaz 2013a). It 'empowers millions of people from all walks of life to take action on pressing global, regional and national issues' by deploying a 'model of internet organising that allows thousands of individual efforts, however small, to be rapidly combined into a powerful collective force' (Avaaz 2013a). The emphasis in these descriptors – such as 'global,' 'people-powered,' 'millions of people from all walks of life,' 'thousands of individual efforts,' and 'collective force' – is on participation, and specifically the volume of participation. Avaaz is one of what Karpf calls a 'new generation' of 'large-scale netroots' advocacy organizations (2012:12, 3). These organizations build on the affordances of the internet to stay closely attuned to the causes that engage their members and map their priorities accordingly. In contrast with single-issue organizations, like Amnesty International with its focus on human rights, these organizations are therefore

---

<sup>5</sup> Because of the fluid boundary between notions of publics and notions of members, I use them interchangeably in the context of engagement with an advocacy cause. For more on the expanding notion of organization membership, see Karpf (2012).

what Karpf (2012) terms 'issue generalists.' As Avaaz's 'About Us' webpage explains (Avaaz 2013a):

Avaaz staff don't set an agenda and try to convince members to go along with it. It's closer to the opposite: staff listen to members and suggest actions they can take in order to affect the broader world. Small wonder, then, that many of our most successful campaigns are suggested first by Avaaz members themselves.

Avaaz chooses its campaign priorities via membership polls; for example, 'preventing catastrophic climate change' is the membership's priority to date for Avaaz campaigns in 2014 (Avaaz 2014b). Member polling is one way to evaluate engagement, as is the random sampling of 10,000 members on a weekly basis to test specific campaigns (Avaaz 2013a; Kavada 2012). 'Only initiatives that find a strong response are taken to scale,' the organization's website states, meaning that they are sent out to the entire membership (Avaaz 2013a). But Avaaz also has developed a platform for capturing and evaluating spontaneous and autonomous issues of member engagement. This is its Community Petitions website, a proprietary social media platform that facilitates members' participation in causes and Avaaz's evaluation of the volume of participation.

To explain how the volume of participation can be an information value, I return to the literature on the evaluation of social media information at news organizations. As Diakopoulos, Naaman, and Kivran-Swaine (2010:1) point out, social media information 'may aid and augment reporting' at news institutions both via 'individual content items,' as we saw in the evidence model, but also via 'aggregate information from the crowd's response.' The value for the determination of newsworthiness in the latter scenario is in the volume of participation in the information's production and transmission – an aspect, therefore, of the information's metadata.

We can see the value of participation in Hermida's (2010a, 2010b) understanding of Twitter as an 'awareness system' and a source of 'ambient journalism.' The characteristics of Twitter, such as its reach and format of brevity, fuel users' awareness of current events and contribute to the omnipresence of journalism in our surroundings. The awareness system's demands on the user, however, are low-level unless a phenomenon catches the user's attention. This capture of attention occurs predominantly through scale. As Hermida (2010b:301) explains it, 'In an awareness system, value is defined less by each individual fragment of information that may be insignificant on its own or of limited validity, but rather by the combined effect of the communication.' So the volume of public engagement in particular information on Twitter – visible through reTweets and the trending of hashtags for example – can support the determination of newsworthiness.

Similarly, Avaaz's Community Petitions website can support the determination of advocacy-worthy information. This 'warehouse site' (Earl and Kimport 2011:18), namely a platform for user generated information, allows any digitally literate individual connected to the internet to start his or her own petition. The site guides users wishing to produce a petition by asking the questions, 'Who do you want to petition? What do you want them

to do? Why is this important?' (Avaaz 2013h). This is followed by a page of transmission prompts with buttons users can click to share their petitions online. Users visiting a community petition page reach an interface that allows them to consume, produce and transmit the petition's content. For example, on 13 March 2014, I visited the Community Petitions website and clicked through to one of three petitions highlighted at the top of the homepage. This petition, written by user 'Carol C.' of Ireland, was targeting the European Commission to 'ban the import of animal trophies into EU member states' (see Carol C. 2014). On the right hand side of the petition page was a box encouraging me to 'sign this petition' with my email address, while at the bottom were buttons allowing me to share the petition via Facebook, email, and Twitter and to copy the petition's link. The page is replete with indicators of participant volume: a barometer that measures the number of signers against the petition's goal; a live ticker tape that lists the four most recent signers by name, how long ago they signed, and country (at the moment of my visit, these were signers from Germany, Namibia, United States of America, and France, who had signed in a time frame ranging from 'just now' to several minutes previously); and counters displaying the number times each share button had been clicked. Some of these indicators of the volume of participation were changing in front of my very eyes as other Avaaz members signed and shared the petition and thus participated in its (re)production and transmission.

If we think of social media in terms of the affordances of user generated information, disembodied information, and digital analytics, the Community Petitions website – with its member-written petitions, its signers producing and transmitting petitions across time and space, and its numerability – is clearly a social media platform proprietary to Avaaz. These affordances create new opportunities for the production, transmission and evaluation of information communicated via this platform. The editability (Treem and Leonardi 2012) of user-generated information, in this case, means the members who engage with the information can participate in its production and transmission. By signing a petition, for example, a member contributes to the production of its content and its metadata. Namely, the page's signature counter and ticker tape stream (content) and the number of sources involved in its production (metadata) increase by one. Transmitting a petition is also an act of production typical of the blurring of stages of communication on social media (Bruns 2008), as sharing it via one platform or another increases the share count on the petition's page, thus altering, again, content and source metadata. The disembodied information affordance of social media allows this cumulative contribution to occur across time and space and with online identities that may or may not correspond to offline identities. The digital analytics affordance of social media automatically sums these acts of participation using counters, so that petitions are instantly comparable with respect to the participation volume they elicit. As such, under the engagement model as under the evidence model, the affordances of social media are influencing the nature of metadata and how it is evaluated.

Because of the centrality of engagement and participation to advocacy work, advocacy organizations are interested in being able to measure them. Because engagement is a subjective feeling and participation is a concrete

action, it may be that participation is easier to measure; feelings of engagement must be elicited, while participation can be observed. A common dichotomy present in evaluations of evaluation and participation – and specifically in critiques about ‘armchair activism’ and ‘clicktivism’ – is that of quantity versus quality, with quality seen as more effective and desirable (Karpf 2010). These criticisms aside, quantity of public engagement and participation can be a very useful metric for advocacy, as it conveys the ‘volume of citizen interest’ to the targets of advocacy campaigns (Karpf 2010:8).<sup>6</sup> Prior to the advent of social media and other internet-enabled platforms, advocacy organizations were evaluating engagement, but this was a lengthy and expensive process (Karpf 2010). Karpf (2012) cites the example of the Sierra Club, which, every other year, contracted a research company to survey its membership. Online platforms, however, introduce a number of “analytics” tools’ that advocacy organizations can employ to evaluate ‘nearly in real-time, which issue topics, message frames, and action requests are of greatest interest to their online membership’ (Karpf 2012:36–37).

According to Avaaz Communications Director Sam Barratt’s description of how his organization monitors its Community Petition website, this site is one such platform.<sup>7</sup> Evaluation of the social media information generated by the site is one element of Avaaz’s determination of what information is advocacy-worthy. The organization is looking for community petitions that ‘demonstrate the ability to generate significant support;’ if a petition falls into this category, ‘Avaaz may send the petition on behalf of the whole Avaaz community to larger segments of our membership’ (Avaaz 2013g). One of the ways a petition’s potential for generating support can be determined is by measuring the volume of participation in the production and transmission of the petition.

With reference to petitions accumulating a number of signers, Barratt said, ‘It’s a case of an impact chance. So if we see campaigns that are rocking, we say, “Ok, let’s give this guy a hand to see what we can do.”’ Beyond sending the petition out to wider membership tranches, assistance can include connecting the petition’s original producers with contacts in the media and political sectors. As such, Barratt explained, Avaaz can act as a ‘voice amplifier.’ Similar to advocacy organization MoveOn’s digital petition platform, Avaaz’s Community Petitions site is also what Karpf describes as a “trickle up” mechanism, in which activists around a local or peripheral issue can demonstrate the popularity of the topic, increasing the issue’s exposure in turn’ (2012:33).

The engagement model, as demonstrated by the evaluation of proprietary social media information emanating from petition platforms, is thus based on the information value of participation, measured via the volume of sources. The affordances of social media support this model, as participation

---

<sup>6</sup> See Karpf (2010) and Kessler (2012) for rebuttals of ‘clicktivism’ criticisms, including the point that advocacy organizations tend not to depend on this type of participation on its own, but rather in collaboration with a plethora of other advocacy tactics to campaign for a cause.

<sup>7</sup> Personal interview with Sam Barratt, 9 January 2013.

is facilitated by the lowering of barriers to user generated content and by the disembodiment of information from time and space – and even from identity, as who the sources are, under this model, is not as important as how many there are. Evaluation of the volume of participation is supported by the social media affordance of digital analytics – visible in counters across the petition website – which is particularly strong on numeracy. Avaaz highlights its compatibility with digital affordances in statements on its website such as ‘From technology, new nimbleness and flexibility’ (Avaaz 2013a). Similarly, in response to the ‘Frequently Asked Question,’ ‘Does online activism actually work?’ the website states:

Yes! Technology alone doesn't create change, but it can supercharge campaigns that have a clear strategy and theory of change. By connecting citizens across borders at a scale and speed that was previously impossible, online tools allow many small actions to add up to something powerful (Avaaz 2013f).

As Karpf (2012) points out, it is not just advocacy organizations that are using digital analytics to evaluate engagement and incorporate it into their information decisions about what information is advocacy-worthy. News organizations are also folding audience engagement into their determination of newsworthiness. That said, the engagement model of evaluating social media information is not used on its own at either type of organization, but rather is an early step to determining the value of information to be used in advocacy or as news. For organizations whose credibility depends on the veracity of their information, information identified via the engagement model is subsequently evaluated via the evidence model. This is evident in Avaaz’s ‘commitment to accuracy,’ which is explained on a corresponding webpage, linked to its homepage, in the following way:

Much like a newspaper or a media organization creates stories, Avaaz creates and publishes hundreds of campaigns every year, and sends out thousands of emails, press releases and statements about these campaigns. Also like journalists, we often do these on very short timescales responding to urgent events.

We strive for accuracy, and 99.9% of the time we succeed. But it’s impossible to get it right every time, and when we get it wrong, we’re committed to publishing corrections to our public communications on this page.... (Avaaz 2013b).

At the stage of verifying information emanating from the Community Petitions platform, Avaaz faces the same challenges as outlined for Amnesty above with respect to assessing social media information under the evidence model.<sup>8</sup> Though social media’s affordances fundamentally make ‘large-scale

---

<sup>8</sup> Just as Avaaz is interested in both participation and veracity, so is Amnesty; as I mentioned, these models are often deployed in a hybrid fashion. Participation is a key element of Amnesty’s strategy, as evident in its traditional letter-writing campaigns and in its contemporary harnessing of digital analytics to render metadata around participation, as in its AiCandle app (see Amnesty International 2011a). This app headlines causes under an

netroots advocacy' organizations (Karpf 2012:12, 3) possible through their facilitation of engagement, they may continue, under current verification practices, to be hindrances when advocacy seeks to pair engagement with evidence.

## CONCLUSION

This article has developed two theoretical models of how advocacy organizations evaluate social media information. These models differ according to the information values at their cores and according to how these values are evaluated; correspondingly the models interact differently with social media's affordances. The key information value for the evidence model is the veracity of the information's metadata, and this is largely evaluated through a time intensive corroboration process drawing on human expertise. In contrast, the key information value pertaining to the engagement model is participation, evaluated by measuring the volume of participants in the information's production and transmission. In sum, the affordances of social media are often hindrances for the evidence model, as often they make metadata more difficult to verify. On the other hand, the engagement model builds on social media affordances, as these affordances facilitate participation and the evaluation of participant volume using digital analytics.

Throughout, the article has drawn on the media and communications literature. In addition to shedding light on social media evaluation models, this literature is useful for exploring the power dynamics of a normative aspect of journalism, whether occurring at advocacy or news organizations: pluralism. The media and communications literature tends to hold journalism to particular journalistic norms referring the roles journalism should play in a democracy. Pluralism, with respect to journalism's facilitation of the participation of a number and variety of voices in the public sphere, is a key journalistic norm; among other benefits to democracy, the media's support of pluralism can rectify power imbalances by enabling the less powerful to expose the abuses of the more powerful (Curran 1993, 2000; Habermas 1989; Keane 1991; Thompson 1995).

Talking about pluralism to advocacy organizations is a bit like preaching to the converted. Advocacy organizations contribute to pluralism not just through their own voices, which are predominantly alternatives to the political and economic elite, but also by creating channels to the public sphere for the voices on behalf of whom they advocate. Where the media and communications literature is useful is not in evangelizing a purposeful commitment to pluralism, which journalists and workers at advocacy organizations often share in any case, but in identifying the possibility of unintentional barriers to pluralism that arise in the determination of newsworthiness. For example, critical media scholars argue that a consequence of journalists' pursuit of objectivity and related information values is the privileging of elite sources, whom are seen as more authoritative and more likely to deliver facts rather than opinions (e.g. Fishman 1980; Hall et al. 1978; Herman and Chomsky 2002). These elite sources also benefit

---

'Activism' tab, each listed with a corresponding number of 'actions taken,' which are generally electronic petitions signed or pre-populated emails sent.

from the scarcity of resources like time and money in newsrooms, as both impel journalists to focus on sources that can provide the most amount of news with the least newsroom expenditure (e.g. Gans 1979; Herman and Chomsky 2002; McPherson 2012; Tuchman 1978). The very invisibility, inadvertence, and insidiousness of these sorts of barriers to pluralism urge their exposure as the first step towards rectification.

It is therefore worth considering how the evaluation models outlined in this article might impede their users' pursuit of pluralism despite their commitment to pluralism. This area is ripe for research, to the benefit of both scholars and practitioners; here it is possible to use the literature to lay some theoretical groundwork. First, we can assume that a source's ability to reach the public sphere via an information gatekeeper like a news or advocacy organization correlates with that source's ability to create the information value being sought by the gatekeeper. Second, we can assume that this correlation strengthens as the gatekeeper's resources for conducting information evaluation diminish. Third, we can assume that the source's ability to create the information value in question is correlated to that source's resources. In order to think about these resources expansively, we can consider them as forms of capital – including economic, symbolic (reputational), social (network), and cultural (education) capital – notable in that one form is convertible into another (Bourdieu 1986).

Abstracting away from the examples used in this article and thinking about the use of the evaluation models across institutions, it is possible to imagine these dynamics at work. For example, the evaluation of social media information for veracity is a significant drain on the resource of time at news and advocacy organizations. Sources that can speed up this evaluation process by providing verification shortcuts may find that their information is advantaged; this is because they are providing what Gandy (1982) terms an 'information subsidy,' in that they do some of the journalists' work for them. For example, a new verification guide for digital information written for journalists suggests that one verification strategy is checking a Twitter user's profile for a blue checkmark badge, which indicates that Twitter has verified that user's identity (Wardle 2014). Another strategy employed by humanitarian organizations (Tapia et al. 2013) as well as by human rights workers I have interviewed is to monitor social media information from curated Twitter lists of known and trusted sources. A strategy increasingly being adopted by social media sources in Syria, according to Abu Shama, was stating the date and location of the video's production on camera so as to supply the metadata that is a starting point of evidence model evaluations.

These strategies are not power neutral. According to Twitter's description of how it assigns its verified badges, verified Twitter users tend to be replete with symbolic capital; they are 'highly sought users in music, acting, fashion, government, politics, religion, journalism, media, sports, business, and other key interest areas' (Twitter Help Center 2014). 'We don't accept verification requests from the general public,' the website goes on to state. The users' curated Twitter lists have symbolic and social capital that advantages their information, in that their reputations and/or their offline connections mean that the evaluating organizations already see them as credible. The deliberate embedding of metadata into YouTube videos,

whether aurally or by using an app like Informacam requires cultural capital related to understanding how advocacy communication and digital communication works.

Source resources are potentially influential in the engagement model as well, as sources that can more easily generate the volume of participation sought by this model may be advantaged. Certainly, information can attract participation through its content. As Dahlgren (2009) points out, participation and engagement are underpinned by passion; in the case of advocacy, content that elicits emotion may be more likely to attract participation. This is aptly underscored by the Community Petition's webpage outlining pointers for petition success, which states (Avaaz 2011b):

#### TRUST YOUR GUT

Your experiences, emotions, and intuition are a better barometer than a lot of people give them credit. If you feel something is unjust and actionable, there's a good chance others would agree with you.

That said, for a consumer of information to have an emotional reaction to a piece of information, the information has to reach him or her first. A major way for an Avaaz-hosted community petition to spread is via transmitting it via producers' networks. 'It's simple,' the Avaaz (2013e) website states in its guide to promoting petitions, 'The more people you tell about your petition, the most signers you'll get.' The webpage goes on to recommend that, among other sharing strategies, petition producers email their friends ('more people have signed Avaaz petitions after being emailed by someone they know than from anything else') and post their petition to Facebook and Twitter ('And ask that friend with 10x as many followers as you to retweet you'). So the volume of participation in a community petition is due, at least in some part, to the producers' networks or their social capital.

Given the dynamics of these models, and the import of their core information values to the work of advocacy, one cannot expect to eradicate these inadvertent barriers to pluralism altogether.<sup>9</sup> Instead, as I stated, investigating these hidden barriers to pluralism is a first step to redressing them – to finding ways to ensure that the information of the relatively resource poor are folded into the communication practices of advocacy organizations. These may involve, as the organizations featured in this article do, complementing these social media evaluation models with a variety of avenues for sources to reach them. For example, according to Abu Shama, her team's preferred method for verifying information is on-the-ground research where sources can be interviewed face-to-face; this eliminates, for example, the need for these sources to have the digital literacy form of cultural capital mentioned above. Avaaz's Community Petitions homepage has a 'Happening Right Now' feature, which streams the petitions being signed at that moment, thus increasing their exposure and introducing a

---

<sup>9</sup> See Land (2009) for a comparable point with reference to human rights organizations framed in terms of participation versus professionalism.

measure of serendipity unrelated to producers' digital social capital into their volume of participation.

Thinking about the inadvertent barriers to pluralism in these evaluation models also feeds into the wider debates about the impact of digital media on democracy. As Hindman (2010) documents, much excitement exists around the opportunities for pluralism afforded by digital media. Indeed, we have seen that social media does afford a wide variety of sources and a great volume of information production and transmission related to advocacy (though, of course, digital divide issues limit these opportunities to sources with digital access and literacy). But, as Hindman (2010:15, 142) cautions, 'It may be easy to speak in cyberspace, but it remains difficult to be heard.' In line with this, the social media evaluation models remind us that pluralism is a two-way street; to understand it, we have to look at both the producers and the evaluators of information. This includes the middlemen institutions like advocacy and news organizations that are both evaluators and producers, and whose production for the public sphere often follows an evaluation of information produced by less powerful entities. The pluralism of information consumption – or, in Hindman's terms, who is heard – depends therefore in part on the information values at stake and the resources belonging to the evaluator and to the source. The changes new media bring to communication can alter the power dynamics of pluralism by affecting the nature and the distribution of the resources involved. Of course, these are not the only factors influencing pluralism in NGO journalism, and a full assessment of this burgeoning area requires researching the political, economic, social organizational, and other cultural factors referenced above. Insight on pluralism in advocacy would also be gained by examining the same influences on information consumption all along the NGO journalism chain, including the targets of NGO journalism such as the media, politicians, and members of the public. These areas are part of the broader remit of ongoing research associated with this article. This article has aimed, in the meantime, to shed light on approaches to social media information evaluation at advocacy organizations and to urge researchers and practitioners to keep their eyes peeled for barriers to pluralism as they use and study these approaches.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amnesty International. 2011a. "AiCandle on the App Store on iTunes." *iTunes*. Retrieved February 25, 2014 (<https://itunes.apple.com/gb/app/aicandle/id334420214?mt=8>).
- Amnesty International. 2011b. *Deadly Detention: Deaths in Custody Amid Popular Protest in Syria*. London, UK: Amnesty International Ltd. Retrieved (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE24/035/2011/en/874dfa1c-2041-4681-a610-dffe1aa1421c/mde240352011en.pdf>).
- Amnesty International. 2013a. "Frequently Asked Questions." *Amnesty International*. Retrieved May 19, 2013 (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/faq#how-ai-works>).
- Amnesty International. 2013b. "The History of Amnesty International." *Amnesty International*. Retrieved May 19, 2013 (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/history>).
- Amnesty International. 2013c. "Who We Are." *Amnesty International*. Retrieved May 19, 2013 (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are>).
- Avaaz. 2011a. "Avaaz Community Petitions." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 20, 2013 (<http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/>).
- Avaaz. 2011b. "How Our Petitions Work." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 21, 2013 ([http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/how\\_an\\_online\\_petition\\_works/?pv=32](http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/how_an_online_petition_works/?pv=32)).
- Avaaz. 2013a. "About Us." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 20, 2013 (<http://www.avaaz.org/en/about/?pv=40>).
- Avaaz. 2013b. "Avaaz and Our Commitment to Accuracy." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 20, 2013 ([http://www.avaaz.org/en/commitment\\_to\\_accuracy/?pv=21](http://www.avaaz.org/en/commitment_to_accuracy/?pv=21)).
- Avaaz. 2013c. "Avaaz Daily Briefing." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 20, 2013 (<http://en.avaaz.org/>).
- Avaaz. 2013d. "Avaaz Facts." *Avaaz*. Retrieved May 20, 2013 (<http://www.avaaz.org/en/pressfaq/?pv=10>).
- Avaaz. 2013e. "How to Promote Your Petition." *Avaaz*. Retrieved March 18, 2014 ([http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/how\\_to\\_promote\\_your\\_petition/?pv=22](http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/how_to_promote_your_petition/?pv=22)).
- Avaaz. 2013f. "Press Centre: Avaaz Facts." *Avaaz*. Retrieved March 13, 2014 (<http://www.avaaz.org/en/pressfaq/?pv=16&rc=fb>).
- Avaaz. 2013g. "Privacy Policy." Retrieved March 13, 2014 ([https://secure.avaaz.org/en/petition/community\\_policy/](https://secure.avaaz.org/en/petition/community_policy/)).
- Avaaz. 2013h. "Start a Petition." *Avaaz*. Retrieved January 20, 2014 ([http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/start\\_a\\_petition/?pv=19](http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/start_a_petition/?pv=19)).

- Avaaz. 2014a. "Avaaz - The World In Action." *Avaaz*. Retrieved March 13, 2014 (<https://secure.avaaz.org/en/front/?pv=186&rc=fb>).
- Avaaz. 2014b. "Where Next for Avaaz in 2014? Setting the Agenda." *Avaaz*. Retrieved March 13, 2014 ([https://secure.avaaz.org/en/poll\\_results\\_2014/?pv=350&rc=fb](https://secure.avaaz.org/en/poll_results_2014/?pv=350&rc=fb)).
- Beckett, Charlie, and James Ball. 2012. *Wikileaks: The Threat of the New News*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241–58 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. E. Richardson. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Briones, Rowena L., Beth Kuch, Brooke Fisher Liu, and Yan Jin. 2011. "Keeping up with the Digital Age: How the American Red Cross Uses Social Media to Build Relationships." *Public Relations Review* 37(1):37–43.
- Brown, L. David. 2008. *Creating Credibility*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Bruno, Nicola. 2011. *Tweet First, Verify Later? How Real-Time Information Is Changing the Coverage of Worldwide Crisis Events*. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford. Retrieved August 5, 2013 ([https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/fellows\\_papers/2010-2011/TWEET\\_FIRST\\_VERIFY\\_LATER.pdf](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/fellows_papers/2010-2011/TWEET_FIRST_VERIFY_LATER.pdf)).
- Bruns, Axel. 2008. *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Carol C. 2014. "The European Commission." *Avaaz*. Retrieved March 13, 2014 ([http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/The\\_European\\_Commission\\_1/?pv=1](http://www.avaaz.org/en/petition/The_European_Commission_1/?pv=1)).
- Clark, Ann Marie. 2001. *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Cooper, Glenda. 2011. *From Their Own Correspondent? New Media and the Changes in Disaster Coverage: Lessons to Be Learnt*. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford. Retrieved August 5, 2013 ([https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Working\\_Papers/From\\_Their\\_Own\\_Correspondent.pdf](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Working_Papers/From_Their_Own_Correspondent.pdf)).
- Cottle, Simon. 2003. "Media Organisation and Production: Mapping the Field." Pp. 3–24 in *Media Organisation and Production*, edited by Simon Cottle. London: SAGE.
- Cottle, Simon, and David Nolan. 2007. "Global Humanitarianism and the Changing Aid-Media Field: Everyone Was Dying for Footage." *Journalism Studies* 8(6):862–78.
- Curran, James. 1993. "Rethinking the Media as a Public Sphere." Pp. 27–56 in *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks. London, UK: Routledge.

- Curran, James. 2000. "Rethinking Media and Democracy." Pp. 120–54 in *Mass Media and Society*, edited by James Curran and Michael Gurevitch. London, UK: Arnold.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2009. *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, David R., Amanda Murdie, and Coty Garnett Steinmetz. 2012. "Makers and Shapers': Human Rights INGOs and Public Opinion." *Human Rights Quarterly* 34(1):199–224.
- Diakopoulos, Nicholas, Munmun De Choudhury, and Mor Naaman. 2012. "Finding and Assessing Social Media Information Sources in the Context of Journalism." Pp. 2451–60 in *Proceedings of the 2012 ACM Annual Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, CHI '12*. New York, NY, USA: ACM. Retrieved July 27, 2013 (<http://doi.acm.org/10.1145/2208276.2208409>).
- Diakopoulos, Nicholas, Mor Naaman, and Funda Kivran-Swaine. 2010. "Diamonds in the Rough: Social Media Visual Analytics for Journalistic Inquiry." Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Earl, Jennifer, and Katrina Kimport. 2011. *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fenton, Natalie. 2010. "NGOs, New Media and the Mainstream News: News from Everywhere." Pp. 153–68 in *New Media, Old News: Journalism & Democracy in the Digital Age*, edited by Natalie Fenton. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Fishman, Mark. 1980. *Manufacturing the News*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Galtun, Johan, and Marie Holmboe Ruge. 1965. "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers." *Journal of Peace Research* 2:64–91.
- Gandy, Oscar H. 1982. *Beyond Agenda Setting: Information Subsidies and Public Policy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub. Co.
- Gans, Herbert J. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York, NY: Pantheon.
- Gerring, John. 2007. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibelman, Margaret, and Sheldon R. Gelman. 2004. "A Loss of Credibility: Patterns of Wrongdoing Among Nongovernmental Organizations." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 15(4):355–81.
- Golding, Peter, and Philip Elliot. 1979. *Making the News*. London, UK: Longman.

- Gregory, Sam. 2010. "Cameras Everywhere: Ubiquitous Video Documentation of Human Rights, New Forms of Video Advocacy, and Considerations of Safety, Security, Dignity and Consent." *Journal of Human Rights Practice* huq002.
- Guardian Project. 2013. "The InformaCam Wiki." *Overview - InformaCam - Guardian-Dev*. Retrieved March 9, 2014 (<https://dev.guardianproject.info/projects/informacam/wiki/Overview>).
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John N. Clarke, and Brian Roberts. 1978. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London, UK: Macmillan London.
- Herman, Edward S., and Noam Chomsky. 2002. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Hermida, Alfred. 2010a. "From TV to Twitter: How Ambient News Became Ambient Journalism." *M/C Journal* 13(2). Retrieved July 27, 2013 (<http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/220>).
- Hermida, Alfred. 2010b. "Twittering the News." *Journalism Practice* 4(3):297–308.
- Hermida, Alfred. 2011. "Tweets and Truth: Journalism as a Discipline of Collaborative Verification." Cardiff University.
- Hermida, Alfred. 2012. "Social Journalism: Exploring How Social Media Is Shaping Journalism." Pp. 309–28 in *The Handbook of Global Online Journalism*, edited by Eugenia Siapera and Andreas Veglis. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hermida, Alfred. 2013. "#Journalism: Reconfiguring Journalism Research About Twitter, One Tweet at a Time." *Digital Journalism* published online.
- Hindman, Matthew. 2010. *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hopgood, Stephen. 2006. *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- InformaCam. 2013. "InformaCam - Secure & Verified Mobile Media." *InformaCam*. Retrieved January 15, 2014 (<https://guardianproject.info/informa/>).
- Kalcsics, Monika. 2011. *A Reporting Disaster? The Interdependence of Media and Aid Agencies in a Competitive Compassion Market*. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford.
- Karpf, David. 2010. "Online Political Mobilization from the Advocacy Group's Perspective: Looking Beyond Clicktivism." *Policy & Internet* 2(4):Article 2.

- Karpf, David. 2012. *The MoveOn Effect: The Unexpected Transformation of American Political Advocacy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kavada, Anastasia. 2012. "Engagement, Bonding, and Identity across Multiple Platforms: Avaaz on Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace." *MedieKultur* 28(52):28–48.
- Keane, John. 1991. *The Media and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Keating, Joshua E. 2010. "Lost in #Haiti." *Foreign Policy*, January 22. Retrieved August 5, 2013 ([http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/22/lost\\_in\\_haiti?page=0,0&w\\_p\\_login\\_redirect=0](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/01/22/lost_in_haiti?page=0,0&w_p_login_redirect=0)).
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kessler, Sarah. 2012. "Amplifying Individual Impact: Social Media's Emerging Role in Activism." Pp. 205–15 in *Media, Mobilization, and Human Rights: Mediating Suffering*, edited by Tristan Anne Borer. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Koettl, Christoph. 2013a. "Can Video Document Possible War Crimes in Syria?" *Amnesty International Human Rights Now Blog*. Retrieved May 17, 2013 (<http://blog.witness.org/2013/01/video-war-crimes-in-syria/>).
- Koettl, Christoph. 2013b. "Twitter to the Rescue? How Social Media Is Transforming Human Rights Monitoring." *Amnesty International Human Rights Now Blog*. Retrieved May 17, 2013 (<http://blog.amnestyusa.org/middle-east/twitter-to-the-rescue-how-social-media-is-transforming-human-rights-monitoring/>).
- Koettl, Christoph. 2014. "'The YouTube War': Citizen Videos Revolutionize Human Rights Monitoring in Syria." *PBS*. Retrieved March 8, 2014 (<http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2014/02/the-youtube-war-citizen-videos-revolutionize-human-rights-monitoring-in-syria/>).
- Kovach, Bill, and Tom Rosenstiel. 2001. *The Elements of Journalism*. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard. Retrieved March 5, 2014 (<http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/article/102543/The-Essence-of-Journalism-Is-a-Discipline-of-Verification.aspx>).
- Land, Molly Beutz. 2009. "Networked Activism." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 22:205–43.
- Lovejoy, Kristen, and Gregory D. Saxton. 2012. "Information, Community, and Action: How Nonprofit Organizations Use Social Media." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17(3):337–53.
- McPherson, Ella. 2010. "Human Rights Reporting in Mexico." PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge.

- McPherson, Ella. 2012. "Spot News Versus Reportage: Newspaper Models, the Distribution of Newsroom Credibility, and Implications for Democratic Journalism in Mexico." *International Journal of Communication* 6:2301–17.
- Moon, Claire. 2012. "What One Sees and How One Files Seeing: Human Rights Reporting, Representation and Action." *Sociology* 46(5):876–90.
- Murthy, Dhiraj. 2011. "Twitter: Microphone for the Masses?" *Media, Culture & Society* 33:779–89.
- Nixon, Rob. 2013. "Professor Developing Project to Authenticate Human Rights Abuse Evidence." *Florida State 24/7: The News Site of Florida State University*. Retrieved March 6, 2014 (<http://news.fsu.edu/More-FSU-News/24-7-News-Archive/2013/October/Professor-developing-project-to-authenticate-human-rights-abuse-evidence>).
- O'Neill, Deirdre, and Tony Harcup. 2009. "News Values and Selectivity." Pp. 161–74 in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Obar, Jonathan A., Paul Zube, and Cliff Lampe. 2012. "Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action." *Journal of Information Policy* 2:1–25.
- Orentlicher, Diane F. 1990. "Bearing Witness: The Art and Science of Human Rights Fact-Finding." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 3:83–136.
- Powers, Matthew. 2014. "The Structural Organization of NGO Publicity Work: Explaining Divergent Publicity Strategies at Humanitarian and Human Rights Organizations." *International Journal of Communication* 8:90–107.
- Prakash, Aseem, and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2010. "Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action: An Introduction." Pp. 1–28 in *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, edited by Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlesinger, Philip. 1990. "Rethinking the Sociology of Journalism: Source Strategies and the Limits of Media-Centrism." Pp. 61–83 in *Public Communication: The New Imperatives*, edited by Marjorie Ferguson. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Schudson, Michael. 2000. "The Sociology of News Production Revisited (Again)." Pp. 175–200 in *Mass Media and Society*, edited by James Curran and Michael Gurevitch. London, UK: Arnold.
- Shapiro, Ivor, Colette Brin, Isabelle Bédard-Brûlé, and Kasia Mychajlowycz. 2013. "Verification as a Strategic Ritual." *Journalism Practice* 7(6):657–73.
- Tapia, Andrea H., Kartikeya Bajpai, Jim Jansen, John Yen, and Lee Giles. 2011. "Seeking the Trustworthy Tweet: Can Microblogged Data Fit the

- Informational Needs of Disaster Response and Humanitarian Relief Organizations.” in *8th International ISCRAM Conference*. Lisbon, Portugal.
- Tapia, Andrea H., Kathleen A. Moore, and Nicholas J. Johnson. 2013. “Beyond the Trustworthy Tweet: A Deeper Understanding of Microblogged Data Use by Disaster Response and Humanitarian Relief Organizations.” in *Proceedings of the 10th International ISCRAM Conference*. Baden-Baden, Germany. Retrieved February 26, 2013 (<http://www.iscramlive.org/ISCRAM2013/files/121.pdf>).
- Thompson, John B. 1990. *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Thompson, John B. 1995. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Treem, Jeffrey W., and Paul M. Leonardi. 2012. “Social Media Use in Organizations: Exploring the Affordances of Visibility, Editability, Persistence, and Association.” *Communication Yearbook* 36:143–89.
- Tsui, Lokman. 2009. “Saving Us from Noise That Kills: NGOs as News Coordinators in a Networked Public Sphere.” *Nieman Journalism Lab*. Retrieved March 31, 2011 (<http://www.niemanlab.org/2009/12/saving-us-from-noise-that-kills-ngos-as-news-coordinators-in-a-networked-public-sphere/>).
- Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Turner, David. 2012. *Inside the BBC’s Verification Hub*. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard. Retrieved March 5, 2014 (<http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/article/102764/Inside-the-BBCs-Verification-Hub.aspx>).
- Twitter Help Center. 2014. “FAQs about Verified Accounts.” *Twitter*. Retrieved March 18, 2014 (<https://support.twitter.com/articles/119135-faqs-about-verified-accounts>).
- Wardle, Claire. 2014. “Verifying User-Generated Content.” Pp. 24–33 in *Verification Handbook: A Definitive Guide to Verifying Digital Content for Emergency Coverage*, edited by Craig Silverman. Maastricht, the Netherlands: European Journalism Centre. Retrieved March 4, 2014 (<http://verificationhandbook.com/downloads/verification.handbook.pdf>).
- Witness. 2013. “Is This For Real? How InformaCam Improves Verification of Mobile Media Files.” *WITNESS Blog*. Retrieved January 14, 2014 (<http://blog.witness.org/2013/01/how-informacam-improves-verification-of-mobile-media-files/>).