People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Abbess Laghrour –Khenchela-

Faculty of Letters and Foreign Languages

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The Ballot or the Meme: Propaganda in the Algerian Hirak 2019

A dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Master's Degree in Didactics of Languages and foreign Cultures

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2019/2020

DEDICATION

To my parents, who gave and would give anything for my comfort, this humble work shall

be dedicated to you. My goal is to make you proud before anything else.

To my siblings; Mohammed, Malik, Tita who offered great support and reassurance in

hard times, you made it a lot easier.

To my family, my friends Nour, Aridj (Rish), Mimena, Emy, Jijitte and everyone whoever

I have been close to, this is for you.

To my partner in crime, the one who pushes me to my limits (in both good and bad ways),

my ride or die best friend, thanks for sharing humor and hard work. Shahi, this could not

happen without you.

DEDICATION

To resilience, hard work and drive as objective concepts.

To my family;

My mother, Malika, who did everything she could.

My brother, who also did everything he could.

My beautiful sister whose heart is larger than life. To my beautiful nieces, for whom I have unconditional love.

My aunt who never seizes to repeat:" No matter the inconveniences, you should always move forward"

My other aunt, Nadia, a second mother and my cousins, lifetime companions.

To my lovely cousins Rayene, Rania and Ines

To my friends;Aridj, Djihane, Djihad, Emy whose presence made 5 years better in every possible way.

To God's gift, Manel, who has always been my special someone, my comfort zone and my forever support.

To Mira, a friend of all seasons, all memories and all hardships. This would not have happened without you either.

To every person who contributed to this work with ideas and support. Thank you all.

Abstract

The trinity of public opinion, social networks and propaganda has gained more light recently, especially after playing a major role in the outbreak of the Arab Spring and in a recent case; The Algerian Hirak[1] 2019. The purpose of this study is to analyze the ideology, purpose, objectives and techniques involved in the Algerian movement's memes 2019. Moreover, it seeks to demonstrate the participatory nature of the propaganda shared through social networks and evaluate the audience's reaction to participatory propaganda.

  The qualitative methodology is what this research required and a 10-point framework suggested by Jowett and O'Donnell was used as a tool to examine the aforementioned propaganda using memes from the Algerian movement 2019 as sample material collected from the internet. The memes analyzed were found to play a rather crucial and logical part in recruiting new members to the movement, promoting the peaceful image of the Hirak inside and outside of Algeria, and have succeeded in combining the past, the present and the future to serve the objectives of the propaganda. However, the propaganda's participatory nature prevented the identification of a clear apparent propagandist. This study proves that memes present in the Hirak were, indeed, propaganda. They served the movement's objectives and fit perfectly into the techniques proposed by Jowett and O'Donnell. Further studies are needed to investigate Algerians' awareness of the memes they were exposed to, and to assess the extent of contribution of Algerians into the making of those memes.

Keywords: propaganda, memes, social networks, movement, Algerian Hirak, participatory propaganda, public opinion

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[1]The Algerian protests in 2019

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General Introduction

1. Background for the Study:

Through history, propaganda has played a major role in war breakouts, peace treaties, advertising, winning opinions, and losing others. Historians were able to detect the presence of propaganda through different periods and through different contexts. There are as many definitions of propaganda as there are books about it; from the art of persuasion to thedissemination of information, lies and half-truths and to finally being considered as "Public relations" by Edward Bernays, who claimed propaganda as not inherently bad, but it rather depends on how we use it. Many scholars, such as Noam Chomsky, have criticized the negative and manipulative nature of propaganda, as well as the way it is used by 20% of the elites whose aim is to rule over the people. (Herman and Chomsky) The different use of propaganda techniques depended on the available media of communication. Joseph Goebbels, minister of propaganda of Nazi Germany, emphasized the use of whatever available tools. The power of the word, print media, television, radio have all been channels through which propaganda was disseminated.

The rise of diverse techniques in propaganda was also due to the rise of democratic theories and therefore the larger emphasis on public opinion. (Korzi) After that, the divine right of kings became the divine right of the people. For that reason, propagandists became more diplomats in their approach of propagandistic methods. The new age has introduced a paradigm shift in the scope of propaganda, adding another feature whichis participatory. It is known that propaganda is generated by an institution, an organization or a figure, and the propaganda's color (white, black or gray) depends on how easy it is to identify the propagandist. By being participatory, the role of the audience has shifted from passive to active; people are no longer mere receivers of information, lies, and half-truths, they are rather active participants in the making as well as spreading of this information.

Since one of the most important pillars propaganda's success relies on is public opinion, the latter's importance increased with the increase of notions of democracy and liberalism. Public acceptance being a must, propagandists found a way to shape and mold those opinions into what serves their interests best. In order to do so, they used whatever available techniques in order to pass their desired information. The technological advancement allowed the public to gain momentum. The internet, especially social media, became the sphere where audiences share, like, comment, write posts, livestream, create memes, and write posts on a daily basis. "In this dynamic information environment, audiences are no longer passive consumers of persuasive content. Instead, they are active agents who participate in its creation, spread and amplification" (Wanless and Berk)Such phenomenon increased the circle of effect amongst people. It allowed several theories to be investigated in regard of the effect people have when associated with the virtual world, and how the virtual relationship can affect people to take action.

Such a strong, social, demonstrative and influential platform cannot be utilized for mere communicative purposes. Social networks became platforms to influence the public opinion and exercise its power on social, economic and political matters. One of the objectives social networks served was social movements. Prior to social media, the organization of movements used to take a long time and even longer efforts. However, social networks have reduced the efforts to clicks and made the assembly of people and the unification of opinions an easier process thanks to memes. As defined by Richard Brodie who built his book '*Virus of the Mind: The New Science of the Meme*' on the theories of British Evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins:

> *" Something goes on in the world that infects people with certain **memes**, and those **memes** eventually influence their hosts' behavior in such a way that the something gets repeated and/or spread. That something is a virus of*

the mind. The most interesting thing about memes is not whether they're

true or false; it's that they are the building blocks of your mind."(Brodie)

Due to simplifying political matters and making them understandable to the mediocre intellect, everyone felt entitled to be seen, heard, and included. Contemporary forms of media have facilitated the process of information sharing and the people gathering; what used to take years to happen, now takes hours. After several examples of how social media contributed to the new forms of protest, such as the Arab Spring, more attention was drawn to the effect social networks, especially pictures, memes and posts,have on popular opinion.

2. Statement of the Problem:

Being able to identify propaganda is not an easy task, especially in the digital age where several forms of persuasion, seduction and advertising are competitively present. Hence, the Algerian movement 2019, being a platform holding thousands of memes, which in turn helped in infusing the movement's start as well as its continuity, is a contemporary case of study that would add fruitful insight into the understanding of the new propaganda and its participatory nature. The confusion that may rise from observing contentious propaganda is in regard of the ideology promoted and the possible purposes and drive behind it, this study serves the purpose of clarifying such confusion.

Algerians, in aim of achieving their goals, have used various virtual as well as real life memes which have contributed to the spread of those very same memes, ideologies, and recruitment of members into, not only the movement, but also into the internet sphere of virtual sharing, commenting, liking and posting. Because the memes succeeded in drawing new members to the movement, exposing facts, promoting liberalism and democracy, inciting nationalism and patriotism, they may be considered as propaganda. Therefore, it is proper to engage in a propaganda analysis of the memes that have contributed to the

Algerian social and political change, following the 10-step framework proposed by Jowett and O'Donnell, focusing on ideology, purpose and techniques that qualify those memes to be propaganda.

3. Research Questions and Hypothesis:

The main research questions for this study are:

3.1. How were the shared memes during the Algerian movement 2019 a form of propaganda according to Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework?

3.2. How did participatory propaganda contribute to the Algerian movement 2019?

4. Aims and Objectives:

This study aims at analyzing the ideology, purpose, objectives and techniques involved in the Algerian movement's memes 2019. Moreover, it seeks to demonstrate the participatory nature of the propaganda shared through social networks. The analysis being inclusive of 10 steps, will allow the analysis of the audience's reaction as well as the effect media had to maximize the effects of propaganda. The analysis will be supported by information gathered from different sources surrounding the movement.

5. Methodology:

In order to achieve the aims and objectives previously mentioned, this qualitative study makes use of a 10-point framework for propaganda analysis proposed by Jowett and O'Donnell. The framework consists of 10 steps starting with the ideology and purpose of the propaganda and finishing with effects and evaluation. The conduct of these 10 steps enables us to determine whether the memes shared during the Algerian movement were propaganda, and allows us to analyze the used techniques and the audience's reaction to those techniques.

As a case of study, we have chosen The Algerian movement 2019, also known as The Algerian *Hirak*. The latter was chosen due to its exclusivity, the abundance of meme-

spread it has witnessed and the remarkable use of social networks, especially Facebook and YouTube, to achieve the desired outcomes.

6. Significance of the Study:

Unlike the numerous propaganda analyses that have been conducted before, this analysis is contemporary in terms of the participatory nature of the propaganda it aims to analyze. This thorough analysis of propaganda sheds light on the eminent techniques and tactics used during The Hirak, the ideology behind them, and emphasizes the participatory role it has given to the audience thanks to the virtual world and social networks.

Chapter One: Literature Review

1. Introduction:

Many scholars have studied the shift that swayed 'public opinion', 'Movements', and 'propaganda' as concepts after the emergence of the internet. As powerful individuals no longer monopolize a 'carte blanche' regarding government decisions, the new social networks introduced a new democratic era on how movements are initiated through public opinions with the help of participatory propaganda. Adam Hodges in his article 'A Theory of Propaganda for the Social Media Age' denies the effectiveness of outdated propaganda analysis, and claims that we need a twenty-first century theory of propaganda. Thanks to the type of content that wanders around the web, including memes; the aftermath of such a theory was quick to be noticed. The word 'meme' in the title follows the definition of the term as stated by Richard Brodie in his book 'Virus of the Mind: The New Science of the Meme':" Memes are ideas that replicate themselves easily and acquire the ability to spread rapidly from one mind to another." (Brodie) Social media being the means for public opinion spread, memes being the tools for propagation, and the latter diffusing movements is what this research aims to explore. This paper aims to review public opinions under the manipulation of both old and new propaganda, and analyze participatory propaganda as it features memes as weapons to diffuse movements and achieve a change in their status quo. The review first highlights public opinion before social media and old propaganda, public opinion after social media and new propaganda, and finally the role of participatory propaganda in initiating movements through memes.

1.1. Old Propaganda and Public Opinion

1.1.1. Public Opinion: *Speak When Spoken To*

Centuries ago, until the Middle Ages, authors used to write to inform, record and transmit whatever knowledge and all sorts of information to their readers. Yet, after the

Middle Ages, writers adopted other styles and mainly the art of persuasion; rhetoric, to later on gain the title of propaganda. The medieval society considered propaganda as a way of life. At that time, the only way monarchs communicated with their people and ,different from us today, saw it as a tenacious and consolidating source of bolster and reassurances against vague memories of a pulverized world. The main usage of communication in this period was to communicate Truth to an admiring and receptive audience. (Brown) The rise of the Renaissance and Reformation brought the decline of the religious idiom and the emergence of the movable type. Preachers, who needed the actual presence of their audience for their public speeches, were put in a critical situation in which they are no longer in a position to observe the facial expressions because of the new plot twist; printing. It helped expand the number of audience and gave room to new participators. As a result, people, other than the elites, started to politically and socially think. Due to the communicational expansion, a clash against the Church was furiously launched, which created an atmosphere where propaganda and counterpropaganda took turns in setting fire or turning it off in the heads of faithless and humanists. Communication has shifted in meaning and a new mentality was in the making. (Propaganda and Communication in World History: Emergence of Public Opinion in the West)

Following John Locke, David Hume argued for a notion of governance based on the idea that "the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is, therefore, on opinion only that government is founded." (D. Hume) The emergence of the Enlightenment brought expectations of the people to be heard and consulted by the government; they wanted the rulers to share ideas with them and see whether they agree or disagree in terms of national matters. These sentiments, thereby, linked the notion of public opinion to a rational form of discourse, one that might cause trouble and oppose the already known form of governmental hierarchy. (Peters 1995) Public affairs are no longer

discussed over a luxurious dinner table, gatherings and assembly took place in taverns and coffeehouses. Consequently, the availability of information has increased and ideas were no longer wasted, but rather printed. This created some sort of a "public sphere" as Jürgen Habermas named it "an arena in which rising middle-class prosperity could challenge governmental authority— and, in time, becomes enmeshed within it." (Lewis)

Plato has made a distinction between *doxa*(opinion) and *episteme* (knowledge) as two different practices. Knowledge, or assumption, is verifiable in a way that opinion is not. That is to say, knowledge comes from philosophy and is based on facts and therefore cannot be tampered with. Opinion on the other hand, and mainly attitudes, can be manufactured and easily manipulated. This is to invoke that it is possible to use systems of truth and falsity to classify statements of knowledge. Opinions, in contrast, are generally classified in political or moral terms. As a result, what the masses consider as opinions is, in fact, an amalgamation of assumptions that have been wangled through propaganda to serve a particular institution or ideology. As Justin Lewis cited in his book *Constructing Public Opinion:* "Plato saw the citizenry as wayward and malleable, and his conception of *episteme*—or universal knowledge—was quite separate from mere *doxa*—opinion. The former was the property of philosophers, the latter, the untrained caprice of the populace." This summarized the fact that, back in the days, not everyone had knowledge yet everyone shared an opinion, which is why the majority of the population was excluded from the public matters. However, the elites -who also happen to be the minority- managed to get them all to think as desired. The institutional hierarchies disregarded the notion of citizenry; they treated the people as subjects in religious and public matters, and requisitioned them in public gatherings merely to witness the exercise of legal or religious discipline over passing their right to debate. The ruling class preferred to perceive things the way Plato incited, but the important shift in political power brought about by the

emergence of capitalism required new forms of political legitimacy, the fait accompli was set in stone and public opinion joined the game to change the notions and principles**. (Lewis)

The growth of the popular press in the nineteenth century allowed for a more dispersed public: thus the press not only "made things public," it made publics. Newspapers gave all the citizens access to discourses about public life; publication was more about making a public, being the only source of knowledge, by opening up the state's affaires as clarified in Lewis' statement:

It is notable, first of all, that the development of a modern concept of public opinion has almost inverted classical notions of assembly. It is not just that assembly is more difficult in mass societies, but the notion of public opinion has been used to delegitimate assembly by large groups of citizens in pursuit of a cause—whether to condemn popular protests and riots in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or to marginalize demonstrations or strikes in the late twentieth."(Lewis)

In the days where the rule was in the hand of the one with the crown, propaganda and persuasion were not much needed; as modestly elaborated by Louis XIV:" *L'étatc'estmoi.*" (Bernays) The fall of monarchy and the rise of free competition, that is, the illusion of choice given by faceless men, "The Elite" as labeled by Noam Chomsky, resorted to plan B; manufacturing consent. Edwards Bernays defined propaganda saying: "The mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale is propaganda… We are dominated by the relatively small number of persons… who understand the mental processes and social patterns of the masses. It is they who pull the wires which control the public mind, who harness old social forces and contrive new ways to bind and guide the world."(Bernays)

1.1.2. Old Propaganda: *The End Justifies the Means*

Whatever the preferred definition of propaganda is, it is clear that it cannot exist without information dissemination and what results from it. (Wanless) Right after being appointed as the head of the Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda in Hitler's first government, Joseph Goebbelssaid:"Propaganda is a much maligned and often misunderstood word. The layman uses it to mean something inferior or even despicable. The word propaganda always has a bitter after taste."(Cull, Culbert and Welch)Edward Bernays supported the core of Goebbels ideas and arguments by saying:

" In theory, everybody buys the best and cheapest commodities offered to him on the market. In practice, if every one went around pricing, and chemically testing before purchasing, the dozens of soaps or fabrics or brands of bread which are for sale, economic life would become hopelessly jammed. to avoid such confusion, society consents to have its choice narrowed to ideas and objects brought its attention through propaganda of all kinds. there is consequently a vast and continuous effort going on to capture our minds in the interest of some policy or commodity or idea." (Bernays, Propaganda 11)

There is also Welch who preferred to observe the causes of propaganda more closely; he ended up assuming that propagandists are, with no doubt, men of a great knowledge of souls. He explained that later on with a statement: "I cannot convince a single person of the necessity of something unless I get to know the soul of that person, unless I understand how to pluck the string in the harp of his soul that must be made to sound.*"* He also added, in the book he co-authored with Cull and Culbert, that the word itself implies something sinister; the first words that come to one's mind for propaganda are 'lies', 'tricks', 'deceit' and 'brainwashing', it is like a cancer spread all over our thoughts and behaviors to manipulate them. For some it should be avoided at all costs, for others it has to be stripped of any pejorative connotation so it can be considered useful. (Cull, Culbert and Welch) Although the scale on which propaganda is practiced has increased dramatically in the

twentieth century, the origin of the word can be traced back to the Reformation, when the European spirituality stove and the Roman Catholic Church had no control over the northern countries. Due to the conflict between the Protestants and those against Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church had to keep faith spread and control over the non-Catholic countries. Pope Gregory XIII took the initiative of engaging a commission of cardinals to deal with the ecclesiastical affairs in pagan lands to spread faith, many years later, this commission became permanent under the title of *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) when the war of the 30 years broke out. In 1627, this charge took the form of the College of Propaganda (*Collegium Urbanum*), a school for future priests with the same mission. Therefore, propaganda's first institution was merely for the diffusion of religious dogmas. The word "propaganda" was initially used for any institution that spreads doctrines, soon it shifted to the application of these doctrines, later on it stood for the techniques used in making the dissemination happen. (Cull, Culbert and Welch)

Historically, propaganda was tied up with war, stress and traumas during which the clash of doctrines violently increased by force. (Welch) Between 1914 and 1918 propaganda took another derivation as an organized weapon of warfare and that was the juncture to turn it into something more sinister. Public opinion could no longer be disregarded as a basic factor in formulating government policies, and that was a harsh lesson to be learned the hard way through World War I. This war was in no means similar to any previous ones, this was the first "total war" in which not just troops and armies, but entire nations were trapped in an existential combat. It has pushed the level of popular interest and joined them to the table in state's affairs. It resulted in filling the gap between front line soldiers and civilians at home through mobilizing military, economy and psychology; the full resources of the state. Civilians participated in the war through moral

support that was considered as military effort; propaganda discreetly held the strings, took control over the public opinion and became an essential weapon in the national arsenal. The press, movies, leaflets and posters were used in concordance by strictly censored and controlled propaganda campaigns to scatter officially approved themes. (Cull, Culbert and Welch)

Propaganda had a quite interesting deep effect on the political behavior during the second tremendous war, WWII. The commoners did not accept information the way they used to; the government's attempt to disclose the existence of the Nazis' camps did not succeed at first because it was suspected to be another ''propaganda.'' Hitler noted: "In the year 1915, the enemy started his propaganda among our soldiers. From 1916 it steadily became more intensive, and at the beginning of 1918, it had swollen into a storm cloud. One could now see the effects of this gradual seduction. Our soldiers learned to think the way the enemy wanted them to think." (Cull, Culbert and Welch) He gave up on life knowing that his army, the German army, lost a moral battle of disintegration and was forced to surrender instead of being defeated in the battlefield. From within, when Adolf Hitler took the rule, he provided legitimacy of the ''stab-in-the-back'' theory, just like any right-wing circle would do, making it part of the German history. Despite the antagonist role played by British propaganda (or even Soviet) that helped in bringing Germany down, the infallible blueprint of the British expertise that generally other governments would afterwards mold their own propaganda according to. Hitler also mentioned when writing in Mein Kampf: "Germany had failed to recognize propaganda as a weapon of the first order, whereas the British has [sic] employed it with great skill and ingenious deliberation." He was convinced that propaganda, the political vehicle of salesmanship in a wide market, is the indispensable way for any movement that aims power. Unsurprisingly the first ministry to be established when the Nazis came to power in 1933 was the Ministry of Propaganda.

For him, he claimed, propaganda's main intention was to focus people's attention on certain necessities, facts and processes and to help bring them into their field of vision. Hence, masses' propaganda had to be minimal and in simple terms; only concentrating on few points repeatedly putting the emphasis on emotions such as love and hatred. Through using it for many years and for different occasions, Hitler concluded that propaganda would lead to results ''almost beyond our understanding.'' The Bolsheviks knew exactly what they were dealing with unlike the Nazis who did not distinguish between agitation and propaganda. In Soviet Russia, agitation was responsible of ideas through the masses using slogans, whilst propaganda served to spread the communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The proper distinction between the two dates back to GeorgiPlekhanov's celebrated 1892 definition: "A propagandist presents many ideas to one or a few persons; an agitator presents only one or a few ideas, but presents them to a whole mass of people." However, the Nazis did not see it the same way; they did not use propaganda for the sole purpose of reaching the Germans, but to persuade and indoctrinate them as well. (Cull, Culbert and Welch)

Both world wars were a great definition of propaganda, yet the post war period was a greater example of a total chaos of ''propaganda shows'' at its finest. After 1945, political scientists and sociologists diagnosed the survivors of the trauma as malleable and docile; the modern world brought with it a massive apocalyptic energy of an alienation of work, a disbelief of the believers, a collapse of family ties and a questionable disappearance of moral values. These were not the only aspects changing; meanwhile, propagandists sophisticated their means and extended their horizons, regarding the decadence of the mass' cultural and communal values. It was the perfect setting to use the "magic bullet" or "hypodermic needle" that is called propaganda to shape opinions in the needed form. 'Propaganda' as a term withstood a paradigm shift with new pillars. Lasswell and

Lippmann, American social scientists, assumed that, within this chaotic context,

propaganda was used to engineer the public opinion and consent, hence acted like a social

control. Ellul, a French social scientist, further claimed that people are customized for the

''need of propaganda''. In his opinion, propaganda is not doing much but reinforcing what

has already existed in the minds of those who beseech opinion leaders within their

communities. Huxley observed that "the propagandist is a man [who] canalizes an already

existing stream; in a land where there is no water, he digs in vain" (Harper's 174 [1936]:

39). This paradigm shift allured the misconception concerning that propaganda is taken

merely as an ''attitude changer''. It is almost right since that is one of its aims, but it is

more often rolling around sharpening and emphasizing preexisting beliefs. The second

misconception might be the truth behind propaganda; it is usually defined as a set of lies

and falsehood. In fact it happens within different degrees of truth—from the outright lie to

the half-truth to the truth taken out of context. Many writers perceive it as euphemism

because it relatively tells the appeasing truth following attitudes and behaviors, and the

decisions made based on human instinct, which is half the truth. Ignoring the former point

preoccupies people from realizing that propaganda is neutral, it may be good or bad. Under

any circumstances, all political systems must explain their policy. People must understand

and be convinced of the efficiency of the plan; if they are going to approve certain

governmental decisions they must be persuaded that it is going to work, and discussion is

not always the *linguafranca* to achieve this. (Cull, Culbert and Welch)

Again, as any part of the world at that time, propaganda gained a new face by the

arrival of the Cold War where the weapons are thoughts and the soldiers are propagandists.

The eastern wing, the Soviet Union, mastered this art that it became a part of their lives.

They figured that instead of using propaganda to convince and persuade, it is better to use

it as a system of educa²tion by which people learn doctrines and ideologies. That is exactly

how they pin pointed a middle ground with the masses, somehow convincing them that nothing is occurring while everything is moving around them. (Denny) This has provided them with the luxury of union; the people were patriotic, or ''brainwashed'', to the bone and harmonized one voice "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield. Each of us is a spark, together we are a flame.'' (Soldak) The left wing, on the other hand, America, used radios to diffuse news to the ones behind the Iron Curtain to depict the Soviets as evil and communism as a means to that evil.

1.1.3. Old Propaganda and Public Mobilization: *Lead by Word*

There is a reason for labeling 'propaganda' as the art of persuasion, which is the effect it has on people's behavior. This latter is in constant dynamicity; from a TV watcher and a newspaper reader to a customer and a consumer. However, that is not the mere use of it as previously explained; it can take a step further and have greater effects on laymen to the extent of getting them out on the streets holding posters and claiming different rights. The power of the word has always been a thing, in the past people exerted that power through articles, journals, slogans, posters. The ultimate example is Edward Bernays, father of propaganda, succeeding to get hundreds of women on the street, initially for their rights, smoking rollups after he wrote an article referring to cigarettes as 'torches of freedom'. The torches of freedom were a symbol alongside many others in feminist movements, and that is the art of persuasion. (Hoffman)

1.1.4. Psychological Warfare in Algeria

The battlefield Algeria and France clashed in was not only military but also psychological. Historians did not agree, until present time, on the winner of the Algerian War; some argue that France was stronger regarding its forces, and thus won the military war. On the other hand, some historians claim that Algerians won the war, by chance, despite their unsophisticated *'dienbienphu'*. One thing both sides agree on is the

propaganda used during this war and how it came in hand in bringing the independent Algeria. (Sparks)

France took the initiative to make the first step towards propaganda by hanging posters on walls all over the country; schools, mosques and wherever they can be seen by the populace, claiming: '' *La France veut ton bonheur.*'' They promoted for a French Algeria asking the natives to choose between good and bad, in which France represents the good. Natives were not the only ones to persuade, French propagandists had a mission to convince the French in and outside Algeria to give them support in keeping Algeria as French as possible spreading slogans like: "*Plus d'Algeriefrançaise, plus de France.*" They pushed the mission even further creating the *Union pour le Salutet le renouveau de l'Algériefrançaise*(USRAF) for the same purpose. The cause had a pillar to rely on that was *les Pieds Noirs*, French born in Algeria, who will be lost away from *la métropole*when Algeria will no longer be French. In the middle of the war, they oppressed the Algerians to give up the rebellion and join French troops, brainwashed them to stop funding the "*Fellagha*" and accept the fact that French and Algerians are the same holding the same flag. (Sparks)

On the other side, Algerian propaganda was not as easy to make as the French one; they could not just hang posters on walls since the authorities will take them off and torture the doer. Algerians had to go underground spreading revolutionary energy from hand to hand, by mouth or painted on the streets. They initially targeted the Harkis who joined the French army insisting on reminding them who they, and what their obligations as patriots, are. Leaflets were one of the most popular ways as counterpropaganda showing pictures of massacres and dead bodies killed by the French to enlighten the people and give them a clearer picture of how things truly go under the French rule. (Sparks)

1.2. Modern Propaganda:

1.2.1. Social Media and Public Opinion

The emergence of social media as the new type of media intertwined with public opinion. The setting in which opinions used to be shared as well as the way through which they used to be transmitted have transformed. "The Internet's power as an instant source of mass information can be used to influence opinions, which can have far reaching consequences." (Taylor, Pickering and Grace)Such a technology can, and effectively does, have a drastic influence on public opinion and the way it is shaped.

Opinions, beliefs and values change through time due to several reasons including ambitious efforts by certain individuals, organizations and, nowadays, the internet. In his article "*Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and The How*", Edward Bernays defined public opinion as the power of the group to sway the larger public in its attitude toward ideas. "Public opinion was made or changed formerly by tribal chiefs, by kings, by religious leaders. Today the privilege of attempting to sway public opinion is everyone's." (Bernays) All thanks to the shift in forms of communication from old media (TV, radio, newspapers…) to social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram…) which consequently provided the public with a brand new free virtual platform where they can share their opinions, influence and get influenced with the luxury of remaining anonymous.

Following the prominence of the internet and the new type of media to which the public was introduced, an even more prominent effect was to be observed. "There are two kinds of media, the old media or legacy media and the new media. The old media are traditional means of communication and expression existing before the internet, while the new media are those media appearing after and based on the internet." (Aguilar and Teran) The diversity in forms of communication made people parade their creativity and rebel against inertia. With everyone mastering the art of persuasion, the section of people who get to approve or disapprove on a certain policy or social decision grew bigger. Via media,

news have gained the quality of being "News-per-click", that is to say; on the spot, easily delivered, viral, shared and all that one click away. All of the previously mentioned social media effects led to having empty chairs in both the reporters' room and cafés. People no longer needed to gather in coffee shops for information, and journalists and reporters no longer needed to do surveys in order to analyze the public opinion. "Data from Twitter, Facebook, and so on are genuinely observational and non-reactive rather than manufactured, capturing the shades and flavours of public opinion." (Johns and Sudulich)

The internet allowed the emergence of an innovative democratic transition. The concept of democracy and freedom of expression made everyone eager to join the conversation. "Due to the Internet, optimistic people believed we were on the beginning of a new era of social and political democratization." (Chun and Luna-Reyes) Lawrence K. Grossman predicted the beginning of the alleged "electronic republic" founded on Internet conversations and an unconscious mechanism of public opinion construction, where news, opinions and national or even international matters are no longer discussed in Cafés or street corners, but rather virtually. (Grossman)

Many countries have supported such a notion by bringing an extra seat to the table for the public. The United States, for example, have opted for Opinion Polls, which have increased the chances for political contribution and attitude manifestation. The opinion poll served as the perfect complement to a media system in which information is disseminated through a limited number of channels to mass audiences. (Cook, 2010) "Agenda setting, framing and social desirability (creation) are some well known theories explaining the influence of media on public opinion." (Aguilar and Teran) Agenda setting suggests that world media agenda is under control of major conglomerates, which shape the public opinion as they wish. According to Glasgow Media Group:" it [television news] has a profound effect, because it has the power to tell people the order in which to think about

events and issues. It 'sets the agenda,' and decides what is important and what will be featured." *(qtd.inDimaggio)* Framing is about the way a story is presented in the news and media get to decide what is news and for how long it will remain news. "Framing is the means by which an entire social reality is constructed." (Dimaggio) This denotes the possibility of purposeful public opinion influence and manipulation. For the third element, "social desirability is based on the wish of people to be recognized and become part of the group they identify with" (Aguilar and Teran). In order to avoid being alienated, people will homogenize their opinions and behaviors in conformity to those of the social group they belong to.

1.2.2. Social Media and Modernized Propaganda: *The End Justifies the 'Memes'*
Social media gave space to a new type of propaganda and, along the process, it has introduced new dimensions regarding the "who's", and the "how's". The audience has changed from 'one' to 'many' and Facebook pages, Twitter accounts and Instagram pictures became the new media of information propagation.

With the rise of liberalism and democracy, public opinion did not only gain power but also gave power. The folks now have become voters, consumers and receivers who can provide feedback, criticize a product and elect a politician or a president, all under the name of "democracy". The new way of communication provided the public not only with unlimited access to information, but also unlimited number of available sources and alternatives. " The Internet provides fast and ubiquitous communication that enables all kinds of communities and provides citizens with easy access to vast amounts of information, although the information is not necessarily verified and may present a distorted view of real events or facts." (Taylor, Pickering and Grace 4)

With the public gaining such power, propaganda, as mid-world-war propagandists knew it, took a different turn. Bernays suggests that propaganda is not bad per se, but what

they have done with it through history gave it negative connotations. As the latter states:" whether, in any instance, propaganda is good or bad depends upon the merits of the causes urged, and the correctness of the information published." (qtd. in Dimaggio 23) According to Jowett and O'Donnell, "propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." (Jowett and O'Donnell) Thanks to social media, our modern propagandists are not the "usual suspects". They are people who hit the like button, write posts on Facebook, share tweets, make memes and start hashtags. As Alicia Wanless said:

" You go online, search things that interest you. Soon you find others of like mind that share your beliefs and ideas. The more you read and share, the more content with a similar view begins to appear in your Facebook feed and search returns. Your like-minded friends help, of course, because they too are finding news and memes that resonate with your shared thinking. From time to time, a relative or past acquaintance might challenge your posts, but you quickly engage in a public debate online, attempting to demonstrate the error of this detractor's thinking. Worse comes to worst, you might block people who really don't get it. But it doesn't matter. Your perspective is the correct one, which means you are in the right for trying to show others the light. Yet, have you stopped to think what all of this means? Why do you share ideas? What's your aim in arguing a point online? If any of your answers include wanting to make people feel a certain way, change a particular point of view, or get others behind a cause – you might be a propagandist." (Wanless and Berk) The new form of propaganda platforms gave a megaphone to different individuals and organizations.

The public marginalization in terms of public matters and decision-making for several decades resulted in a blurry vision for laymen when it comes to what is being done and

decided on their behalf. However, the new type of media and the technological development helped to elucidate the structure of the enigma, politics. "Participatory propaganda helps to socialize conflicts and make them part of everyday life." (Taylor, Pickering and Grace) As a result, conflicts became matters discussed anywhere, anytime, by everyone. Social media, a medium that granted the audience an active status, is defined as "forms of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (such as videos)." "Social Media." Merriam-Webster.com. Merriam-Webster, 2004.

Two elements are essential to this definition; Social media platforms as electronic communities, and containing "shared" content. The former makes these platforms places where local, national and international individuals of same, or different, interests merge as an entity. The latter proliferates those interests on a larger scale, a wider horizon.

Participatory propaganda broke the mold traditional propaganda used to follow. Information is no longer limited to elites and know-it-alls, and cities do not entail philosophers as kings to rest from evils, instead, the public is actively participant in the making as well as the spread of information. There was a paradigm shift in the transition of propaganda where the public is intrinsically included in different aspects of social and political matters to the extent of even becoming a propagandist. Asmolov explains this idea in his article "*The Effects of Participatory Propaganda: From Socialization to Internalization of Conflicts*" as follows:" Propaganda is no longer just a tool for changing your opinion. Now, in our digitally mediated world, propaganda is a pathway to instantaneous participation in political conflicts from the safety and comfort of your living room chair." (Asmolov)

Wanless further explains the same idea in her research "*Participatory Propaganda Model*" saying:

"Participatory propaganda moves beyond a traditional, unidirectional "one-to-many" form of communication, to a "one-to-many-to-many more" form where each 'target' of influence (an individual or group which is the object of persuasion) can in theory become the new 'originator' (subject) of content production and distribution, spreading persuasive messaging to others in a 'snowball' effect." (Wanless, 2017)

Social media has invoked the break that occurred in the directional spread of propaganda from subject to object, creating participatory propaganda.

Alicia Wanless, with Jowett and O'Donnell, share the focus on the already established attitudes and their reinforcement. She suggests that propaganda does not only trigger those sentiments, it also recruits the 'sentiment holders' as both virtual, and real life propagandists.

Thus, she further explains the definition regarding the new type of propaganda saying:

"Participatory propaganda is the deliberate, and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, direct behavior, co-opting grassroots movements as well as recruiting audience members to actively engage in the spread of persuasive communications, to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist." (Wanless and Berk)

The recruitment is much easier, less verifiable and more dangerous through social media platforms due to the intense influence and familiarity between users.

**1.2.3. Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Movements in the Digital Age*: Guerilla 'Memefare'*

Public Opinion and propaganda in the digital age are often linked to cyber activism and movements. Many cases feature such phenomena, particularly, the Arab Spring and the Algerian manifestations in 2019.

Although new Social movements may be, and notably are, different from how they used to be in the past, they still essentially entail a crowd, organization and a mutual objective. "Social movements are purposeful, organized groups striving to work toward a common goal. These groups might be attempting to create change (Occupy wall street, Arab Spring), to resist change (anti-globalization movement), or to provide a political voice to those otherwise disenfranchised (civil rights movements)." (Little, MCGIVERN and Keirns 642)

The organization of such groups used to be through traditional methods, but in the digital age; a more inclusive approach was considered. "Web 2.0 itself may not strongly affect citizens' attitudes toward community involvement and participation, but can be used to create conditions for a more involving, inclusive, and transparent democratic culture" (Coban 112)

Today, the people are called users with social media accounts. The objective is no longer space limited, but rather translocal. The organization is leaderless, virtual, transparent, unceremonious and diverse. "Therefore, we would speculate that new social movements are particularly keen to adopt ICTs because these fit their ideological and organizational needs." (Donk, Nixon and Loader 3)

After the emergence of what Rheingold called "The virtual community"; a place where people with shared interests could meet, discuss and, when too ambitious, call for action, some phenomena were to be observed. Most people would follow social media pages or accounts they know to be credible, leading to what is known as confirmation bias. That is to say, people will less likely assess the source of the information they receive if the

information fits within their ideological circle and is transmitted from people they have personal or virtual relationship with. "Online communication also supports homophily in that its users can find online places (e.g. forums, social media pages etc.) that correspond to their beliefs and interact with like-minded people" (Donk, Nixon and Loader 12) As a result, these people will act like 'echo chambers' and reinforce the opinions they already hold and receive.

In striving for initiating movements, people normally, though not exclusively, use the technologies in hand (Mobile phones, the internet, social media, live streaming) to assert the success of their cause. However, it is important to understand that the end is not the means. Relying on the virtual world solely to achieve social change was not feasible. They had to combine two forms of presence; real and virtual. "Contemporary forms of protest seem to combine 'old fashioned' technologies such as 'banners' with high-tech mobile tools of communication." (Donk, Nixon and Loader 1) The idea is more elaborated by Carne Ross, as he states:" Likewise, social media may help organize and inform larger groups in ways that have never been available before, but unless this organization is used for a purpose—to do something—it is worthless." (The Leaderless Revolution 10)

Public, opinions, social media and information dissemination all sound like great pillars for participatory propaganda to take place. In his essay "The Effects of Participatory Propaganda: From Socialization to Internalization of Conflicts, 2019", Gregory Asmolov argues that propaganda has been "rewired" for the digital age. With Propaganda being the new weaponized form of information, its scope of effect grew bigger. Lindsey observes: "The historical use of information as power was primarily limited to nation-states. Today a blogger can impact an election, an Internet posting can recruit a terrorist, and an audiotape can incite fear in the strongest of nation-states, all with little capital investment and certainly without the baggage of bureaucratic rules, national values (truthful

messaging), or oversight." (What the Arab Spring Tells Us About the Future of Social

Media in Revolutionary Movements)

Which means that the internet in general and social media in particular, helped degrading

the practicing of propaganda to simple-minded citizens level, as Richard Lindsey explains

in his article "*What the Arab Spring Tells Us About the Future of Social Media in*

Revolutionary Movements":

"*What social media has done, or at least helped, is to weaponize information down to the*

individual level. Whether social media facilitates information as a weapon in the form of

truth or propaganda for the revolutionary, or terrorist, again is subject to a combination of

perspective and reality. What is not up for debate is the access to the world that social

media has provided to the individual, and vice versa."

Aside from social media being of major effect to revolutionary infuse; several national

and individual factors greatly affect how media influence people. The social background,

religion, economic and technological development are examples that contribute to the

shaping of public opinion and people's reactions to the unlimited amount of information

they are bombarded with. "Catalysts for political change and mobilizers for political action

must be contextualized within the broader political and social structure in each country,

with all their respective complexities and unique qualities." (Khamis, Vaughn and Gold)

1.2.4. Techniques of Propaganda: *Modus Operandi*

Different techniques are adapted to suit different reasons for propaganda. They range

from 'Name-calling (stereotyping) and Glittering Generality, to Band-Wagon, and fear.'

(Shabo) According to the latter, Name-calling is "the use of derogatory or negative words.

It connects a person or a thing to a negative image or symbol." Therefore, the audience

would accept the connection needles of a proof. He further defines Glittering Generality as

"Words we believe in, live by, and are ready to fight for. This is dangerous because these

words mean different things to different people." In other words, they are words we take as sacred and have cultural, social, religious or historical link to. For example, patriotism, belonging, religion…). The Bandwagon technique reflects the idea of joining the cause because those who do not will be alienated. "Everyone is doing it and so should you. No one wants to be left out or ignored so people will join or agree when they believe 'everyone' is doing it." Finally, fear, which has always been the string manipulators play on to get where they want to; "the propagandist warns that something horrible will happen to the group or person if they do not follow a specific course of action. They play on fear and try to get you not to think." (Techniques of Propaganda and Persuasion)

The use of these different techniques depends on the type of culture, society and series of historical events the people of a certain nation went through. For example, opinion polls irrelevant to the protests that have taken place during the Arab Spring; instead, "social media played a major role in the organization of social movements." (Aguilar and Teran) Social media emerged with options that have never been offered before; "the power of real-time online social networks is that they create a continuous expertise, without replace *[sic]* the existing knowledge." (Social Media and free knwledge: Case study- Public Opinion Formation) Aguilar and Teran further explain that such an on-demand access to content at anytime, anywhere, by using any digital device allows interactive feedback and "creative" participation. Furthermore, social media allow prototypes to be quickly formed and disseminated via short messages and get on-spot feedback and reactions. In this sense, social media users help in promoting frames or media prototypes, which generalize decontextualized emotions (Aguilar and Teran).

Memes, nowadays, are used as weapons for creative information propagation. The Oxford biologist Richard Dawkins first coined the term in his 1976 book *The Selfish Gene*, where he compared the proliferation of memes to the spread of genes from one generation

to another; meanwhile, memes are from one individual to another. "The memes that win this competition—those that are successful at penetrating the most minds—are the ones responsible for the activities and creations that constitute present-day culture" (Brodie 5) The word itself takes different definitions depending on the field it is used in. However, Brodie gives a working definition that would help understand the cultural evolution:" A meme is a unit of information in a mind whose existence influences events such that more copies of itself get created in other minds." That is to say, a meme is like a virus. It infects people's minds, shows itself in their behaviors and spreads through their outside connections. He further asserts that memes are internal representations, ideas and software of our internal programming. Memes, in other words, have to work as stimulus for the ordered, or disordered, spread of more copies of information. Considering that, it means that if you hear a song and sing it somewhere else, it is a meme. If you take a quote from a movie and carry it as a banner in manifestations, it is a meme. If you read an idea that your friend has posted, and you re-tell it somewhere else, it is a meme.

Aside from being, in simple terms, anything we generate in our minds and can spread through our behaviors; memes also come in different types, which can be analyzed as active initiators of different protests. An Xiao Mina in her book *'Memes to Movements: How the World's Most Viral Media is Changing Social Protest and Power"* explains the different types of memes that exist in the digital world and their role in changing protests. She explains how, inherently, humans are visual creatures; that is why memes have a boundless ability to affect the public *en masse*. There are different types of memes: image memes (embedding pictures along with online posts), text memes which mainly come in the form of hashtags (#BlackLivesMatter), Video memes (Take most work, get most viral), Performative meme (using one's body to generate a certain meme), and Selfie memes which are a common subgenre of Performative memes. People are all-time learners, which

means they consume information in different ways. The internet power resides in the fact that all type of information is embedded within it ranging from audio to visual to kinesics. (Mina 41-43)

Memes being everywhere and in the hands of everyone, ended up attending to the ambitions of anyone. "They are merely another form of propaganda, albeit one that looks nothing like the propaganda that preceded them." (Olsen)

In places of the world where social networks presence is high above the roof, social media, through its use of different types of memes, succeed in mobilizing the public and getting them out on the streets. During the Arab Spring and The Algerian protests 2019, new media's role took over because of the mass media and broadcast blackout and decontextualization of pictures and videos taken by the people themselves. Thus, they had to resort to real-time platform where they are the ones who broadcast, comment and share. "The public that learns more and more how to express itself will learn more and more how to overthrow tyranny of every sort." (Bernays) Even if there is a media blackout, citizens may take an action toward such disinformation. As Craig Silverman explains in his article: "with first-hand knowledge of the story in question might step forward with photos and videos to contradict the invented details." Similar to the case in Arab spring, "the absence of media freedom and democracy motivated the struggle for genuine public sphere democratization" (Coban 58)

A universal "déjà vu" can be depicted in the Arab Spring; movements in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen shared social media platforms as an arena. Baris links this to a 'Proximity syndrome'; Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Yamen all being relatively close geographically and culturally, going through the same type of tyranny; led to their revolutions being comparatively ditto. As Baris explained:" Moroccan dissidents called for not only bread and butter, but also equal opportunity, wealth redistribution, dignity,

freedom of expression, and more democratization, resembling Tunisian, Egyptian, or Yemeni advocacy in 2011." (Social Media and Social Movements) The Arab Spring movements as well as the Algerian movement had many features in common. The most apparent one was the absenteeism of customary governance. "Protest groups were diverse and led by many, but very few activists could claim leadership or exclusive representation, or assume total responsibility for uprising outcomes. Possibly, the Internet contributed to such leadership profusion—or confusion—due to freedom of online assembly and the abundance of grouping possibilities." (Coban 60) Another feature is the ultimate presence of youth in the protests because of their overuse of different social media platforms especially YouTube and Facebook. Baris reported that Moroccan activism was streamed inside and outside of the country; "Surfers also managed to organize group discussions, make sarcastic Photoshop caricatures, write mocking Facebook statuses and share podcasts."(Coban 65) Despite the strong presence of youth and them addressing the problems, they did not really suggest the solutions. "Youth movements excelled at protests more than at suggesting alternatives."(Coban 61) They came up with broad demands and slogans varied from 'The people want to oust the regime' in Egypt and Tunisia, to 'The people want to overthrow the system' in Algeria; ergo, escalated the roof of demands to 'All must leave'.

In the Arab Spring situation, the media combination helped to both spread advocacy news and isolate state propaganda. Propaganda in the digital age comes in the form of memes, songs and hashtags. Although some people might belittle the effect of social media on people's decisions, they still cannot deny it. "While memes may seem like the silly clutter of Internet culture, studies of advertising and the way we consume information have shown that such images can alter our subconscious, often in ways we do not understand. Or as one Garfield meme put it, "You are not immune to propaganda." (Why propaganda

is more dangerous in the digital age) These new forms of 'storytelling' can bring about several narratives that will eventually lead to disinformation. After the online and offline efforts for a call to action, people would most likely tell their offline stories and experiences online. This will incite more compassion and empathy for the storyteller and the ideology he adheres to. "These are exemplary cases that act as fables to illustrate a point that is consistent with the teller's ideology, and elements of the stories may be exaggerated or cut as necessary to better illustrate the point." (Taylor, Pickering and Grace 11)

An Xiao Mina also finds that:" "silly" stuff of meme culture—the photo remixes, the selfies, the YouTube songs, and the pun-tastic hashtags—are fundamentally intertwined with how we find and affirm one another, direct attention to human rights and social justice issues, build narratives, and make culture." (The internet is as much about affirmation as information)

The Arab Spring and the Algerian movement (El Hirak) are a living example on how memes, as previously defined by Richard Brodie, can indeed manipulate minds and start movements through virtual and real presence.

3. Conclusion:

   Propaganda is a continuum of changes; from traditional to modern, from posters and leaflets to hashtags and social media posts, from the bullet to the meme. This chapter distinguishes propaganda on a time scale and the major changes it has gone through. Memes, easy to spread ideas with the aptitude of self-duplication, are addressed in this section as the media of participatory propaganda with the attempt to make use of past techniques as an analogy to the different ways propaganda is spread. The different given illustrations, from history, the near past and even the present, are provided in order to shed

light on the one case of study this thesis aims to investigate. The aforementioned cases illuminate how propaganda was and is used and for what reasons in different contexts. Despite the fact that the one shared theme between these cases is propaganda, how they differ from one another is what raises the question concerning the Algerian movement in 2019. Thus, this chapter of the research opens the gate for a modern analysis on how social networks provided a platform for memes to become the new form of propaganda starting the Algerian movement.

Chapter Two: Data Collection and Analysis

1. Introduction:

Social media and memes played a crucial part in infusing the Algerian movement 2019 through participatory propaganda. This chapter investigates a qualitative propaganda analysis of memes spread during the Algerian movement, following the 10-step framework proposed by Jowett and O'Donnell. The shift in propaganda from conventional to participatory is related to the shift in media through which information is disseminated, which in turn, has affected social movements and public opinion. In order to comprehend how memes have played the role of participatory propaganda in the Algerian movement, therefore greatly influencing public opinion, we argue to conduct a propaganda analysis on the memes that went viral during the movement. We opt for a qualitative approach due to its flexible nature, which allows us to include different theoretical frameworks. "Qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values." (Paul, Nyamongo and Ryan 1) Such definition of qualitative approach gives room for various researches to be conducted. The qualitative approach is suitable for this study because it grants the ability to analyze aspects that are more thorough and focus in a particular study. Additionally, qualitative research is, by and of itself, exploratory and descriptive.

Through the appliance of propaganda analysis on the memes present in the Algerian movement, we may come to understand the extent to which those memes have functioned as propaganda and how social media contributed to its participatory essence. In their book '*Propaganda and Persuasion'*, Jowett and O'Donnell propose a 10-step framework to analyze propaganda, which aims to study the propaganda's features and observe the qualities of ideology, context, message, channel, medium, audience, reactions and, most importantly, purpose. (Jowett and O'Donnell 6)The analysis includes 10 steps, which are;

1) Ideology and purpose: We look for representations and symbols that represent values and beliefs that exist within the society and how the past, the present and the future affect those beliefs. Jowett and O'Donnell identified different purposes for propaganda, including agitation (excite people to take part in a particular cause), influencing a change in behavior or keep the legitimacy of the institution. 2) The context in which propaganda occurs: It is mainly about the settings and the historical, political and social events that took place around the propaganda proliferation. 3) Identification of the propagandist: Jowett and O'Donnell identify situations where the propagandistis known and when not. For that matter, they classify three types of propaganda; Black (identity concealed or deceptive), white (identity identified and accurate), and gray (uncertain about both; the correctness of the source and the relevance of the information.)   4) The structure of the propaganda: In this step, we mainly analyze the type of leadership or hierarchy as organizations, and try to detect the goals of the propaganda and the media used to accomplish them. 5) The target audience: We analyze why the audience is chosen, how it can achieve the propaganda goals and the approach used to sway the masses. 6) Media Utilization Techniques: In this step, we examine the variety of techniques and media that can be used to transmit propaganda ranging from print media and audio media to visual media, as well as the relationship between the audience and the dominant media. 7) Special Techniques to Maximize Effects: Jowett and O'Donnell emphasize the fact that propaganda is not about its means, but rather its ends. They assert a limitless approach to propaganda techniques going by the principle that 'everything is fair in love, war and propaganda'. Varying between resonance, credibility, vis-à-vis contact, group norms, visual symbols, language, emotions and music, these techniques that advanced propaganda in the Algerian movement were analyzed. 8) Audience Reaction to Various Techniques: Analyzing the actions taken by the audience after being exposed the propaganda. 9) Counterpropaganda: In this step,

we analyze the clash between the propaganda that infused the movement and the propaganda opposing it, which, in other words, is the propaganda that aimed to eradicate the movement. 10) Effects and Evaluation: The last step summarizes the purpose of the analysis, which is concluding whether the goals of the propaganda have been met or not and how did the media selected and the techniques adopted contribute to that achievement.(Jowett and O'Donnell 291-306)

The materials selected for the propaganda analysis are 'memes' from the Algerian movement 2019. Following a definition proposed by Richard Brodie in his book '*Virus of the Mind: The New Science of the Meme'*, " A meme is a unit of information in a mind whose existence influences events such that more copies of itself get created in other minds." We have chosen 15 figures that went most viral during the Algerian movement. These figures surfed the internet for weeks, and were the ones that got most likes, comments and sharesby famous pages on Facebook, YouTube channels, and social networks users.

2. Propaganda Analysis:

2.1. Ideology and Purpose

On February 22, 2019, the Algerian streets became a field for ideological clash and social networks became a platform that served different purposes. For over twenty years, Algeria's political, social, economic and cultural infrastructures have been struggling; the parliaments have been hosting the same deputies and election campaigns have been recycling the same names. With such deeply embedded notions of conservatism, familiarity, dependability and unchangeableness, the president AbdelazizBouteflika running for another mandate was the main trigger that impelled Algerians to protest. Liberalism came in many forms during the Algerian movement, memes surfed both the

virtual and real Algerian streets advocating for freedom of expression, power of the people, and a radical change within the system.

The movement in general called for freedom. That being the norm, every single person who protested in the streets had their own definition of freedom and their own ways of expressing it. A ballerina decided to express it the way she knows best, dancing [Figure 1], a street artist through art [Figure 2], and a movie lover through movie quotes [figure 3] and [Figure 4]. Therefore, all memes mainly present in the movement served either notions of conservatism or notions of liberalism. According to Jowett and O'Donnell, an ideology is a form of approval to a specific kind of social order and conformity to the rules within a specific set of social, economic, and political structures. (Jowett and O'Donnell 291)

The Algerian society is known for being a society that takes pride in its conservatism. That is to say, dancing girls in the streets is no common sight in Algeria. With no intention to break cultural relativism, Algerians have inherited a patriarchal system where men are the ones typically, but not necessarily negatively, in control. They value decency, shyness in women's clothing and behavior, and they glorify those in power, especially those who have served the Algerian revolution in 1954.After the French colonialism, Algerians took everything else as just extra. In other words, they believed that whatever the present circumstances are, they will always be better than colonialism. Due to such mentality, Algerians spent over twenty years idolizing traditions and everything that is ancient and related to the Algerian revolution. Such interconnection to the past is observed in the movement as well through old proverbs and quotes from the revolution[Figure 13]. Built on a mix of religious background and a cultural infrastructure that cherishes dignity, respectability and decorum; a change in such a country would seem outside the realms of possibility.

Come social media and globalization introducing the Algerian millennials to a new wave of civilization. As stated in *BBC NEWS:"*It is the young who are driving this protest movement – on social media and on the streets. About half of Algeria's population is under 30. They want a generational shift." (Guerin)Most memes that spread during the Algerian movement 2019 called for liberalism. As defined in Encyclopedia Britannica, "Liberalism is the political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the individual to be the central problem of politics."(Minogue, Ball and Girvetz)

Thus, betweenJohn Locke developing a theory that asserts the consent of the governed and Adam Smith arguing that societies prosper when individuals are free to pursue their self-interest, Liberalism and democracy found their way into people's minds.[Figure 1], [Figure 2], [Figure 3] and [Figure 8] All challenged the preexisting Algerian notions of how society should be and confronted the entrenched ideas that were passed down through generations. [Figure 5] is a visual representation for 'enough is enough'. The people who were protesting on the street had enough with the monopoly of power, a country pseudo democratic on papers but de facto totalitarian.

Purpose, on the other hand, is a pertinent aspect for propaganda. As a matter of fact, it is the most important one. Joseph Goebbels said that propaganda had no fundamental method, only purpose - The purpose behind the spread of all the figures across the Algerian social network and abroad was the introductionof a new liberal way of expression and way of thinking. The pictures do not only represent the demands but also a glimpse into a future Algeriaonce the demands are met."Protestors vowing to carry on until they get full and transparent democracy." (Cookman) Every Friday Algerians occupy the streets, in full realization that president Bouteflika'sattempt for a 5[th]mandate is just the tip of the iceberg, calling for democracy, freedom of speech, freedom of press and the departure of the regime.

Following a typical behavioristic model, [Figure 1], [Figure 2], [Figure 6], [Figure 7] and [figure 12] as memes, came as reactions to falsify statements and expose facts. Dancing, flowers, art, children and women addressed pacifism and represented a response to the government who accused the protestors of violence. Acts that challenge extremist conservatism would have been met differently, but the pictures show that they were not. Thus, the primary purpose was to break all negative connotations people had with the movement.

Alongside clarifying the notorious reputation the movement had thanks to counterpropaganda, protestors also had to affirm the legitimacy of the protest.According to Jowett and O'Donnell:" Propaganda also has its purpose to maintain the legitimacy of the institution or organization it represents and thereby to ensure the legitimacy of its activities." (Jowett and O'Donnell 291)[Figure 14] supports the legitimacy of the protestors' demands by referring to the Algerian constitution. [Figure 11] represents a historical figure who fought in the Algerian revolution, reassuring conservatives that although the target is the future, we still remember the past. In addition to that, the presence of such an ex Algerian fighter amongst the others has reinforced the revolutionary spirit and gave it the impression of another legitimate revolution.

Persuasion is another purpose that the viral memes serve. Jowett and O'Donnell exemplified the purpose of propaganda by money contribution, group joining, and demonstrations. Joining groups and demonstrations are two targeted goals the shared pictures aimed to achieve. [Figure 9] which represents a famous travelling Algerian couple on their balcony looking over thousands of people with the Algerian flag on the woman's shoulder; serves as a 'call to join' for those who are not taking part in the protest yet. [Figure 7] targets a particular gender, which is women. The picture aims to get them out protesting, wearing traditional Algerian clothes as a symbol to the women who protested in

the past during the Algerian revolution. Jowett and O'Donnell refer to this state as *Agitation*,where propaganda tries to agitate and incite individuals to take part in something. They further explain this idea saying;" *Agitation* propaganda seeks to arouse people to participate in or support a cause. It attempts to arouse people from apathy by giving them feasible actions to carry." (Propaganda and Persuasion 291) In the Algerian movement context, the feasible action is joining the march.

2.2. Context in Which the Propaganda Occurs

The setting in which propaganda occurred is as crucial as the propaganda itself. Therefore, to analyze every aspect of the latter, the former needs to be fully comprehended. (Jowett and O'Donnell) Stuck between the present and the past, Algerian people struggled with an identity crisis and globalization was not helping. The elderly, very attached to the past and also frightened by it, were trapped in a dilemma; to consent to the government or to oppose it, neither ways seemed to be a solution. The youngsters, on the other hand, were fueled by globalization, and that just widened the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Propaganda was just a packet of seeds and the Algerian people were a fertile land ready to grow them. (Jowett and O'Donnell)

After being hospitalized in Switzerland and a long period of silence since 2013, the ex-president Bouteflika announced his candidacy to run the upcoming electoral elections in 2019 and keep the rule for another fifth term. "Bouteflika has done everything possible to pave the way for a life-long presidency."(Duval) The people perceived his move as a mockery that can no longer be overlooked. The next thing they found themselves doing, Friday, 22 February, a series of protests was launched and they preserved to change history on that specific Friday. "A multitude of demonstrations took place everywhere. This was the first major demonstration in the capital, Algiers, where demonstrations have been strictly forbidden since the 14th June 2001 march."(Duval)

In 2019, unemployment, lack of opportunities, economic crisis and political instability were - and still are - all what occupies an Algerian citizen's mind. Propagandists knew what troubled the Algerian society, despite sharing those troubles or not, they knew it was the perfect moment to manipulate these people and stress on their emotions. They were clever enough to not immediately start a movement, they rather 'threw the revolution into the streets, and the people embraced it.' The young generations were passionate about speaking up and expressing themselves, from spreading their thoughts on walls to dancing ballet in the street. The fact that they were born and raised under the same rule did nothing but intensifytheir eagerness for change. Influenced by the rest of the world, and mostly Hollywood movies, they pictured how their country should have been and protested to have it, yet no one really knew how it should be. They, and for the first time, felt the need to fight for this country instead of migrating to another. The old generation did not approve the relentlessness of the new one, their conservatism and fear from the past paralyzed them from joining the team. The dark decade pierced them leaving a deep wound, and they were not ready to relive it again. Only until protestors, clever again, claimed 'only one hero, the people', the oldsters felt targeted and considered it as a 'call of duty'. [Figure 13]

International Women's Day 2019 was not just another day to celebrate women's rights in Algeria, Algerian women that day had more than just one cause to stand for and protest against. [Figure 7]As feminism was making its progress into Algeria, and with women and men united, the strength of the protestors kept rising and a feminine touch was added to the movement. This inclusion did not concern merely women; children too, and that seasoned the protests with a hint of peace. Good intentions were on the form of bringing children to the streets and including them made it a lot easier for those who were afraid to join.

When the ex-president of Algeria, AbdelazizBouteflika, announced his renouncement of the fifth term, the streets were loaded with angry protestors. A young-adult man

expressed his furiousness in the most understandable language: 'YetnahawGaa' 'They All Should Go.' (Pro-poll regime trolls counter Algeria protest activists)The video went viral and, later on, became the most used slogan by the protestors. The simplicity and clarity of the meaning these two words carried made them easy to retain, but most importantly because they were spoken in folk language. A cohesive community was born and a tight fusion was unified in one thought, one power and one voice.

2.3. Identification of the Propagandist

It is typically known that propaganda is intentional; that is to say, there is either a person, an institution or an organization behind its proliferation. However, the new media with its ubiquitous accessibility and availability introduced a paradigm shift. Despite the fact that there are bolded names who promoted liberalism and democracy during the Algerian movement, especially on virtual platforms (such as Facebook and YouTube), the identification of a clearly stated propagandist is not feasible. The purpose of this propaganda is clear by its design, content, and participators. The activeness of these participators shifted propaganda into being participatory. Lee Wing Ki, discussing photographs during the Umbrella Movement in relation to participatory culture and digital humanities, defined participatory propaganda as:

"*Participatory propaganda is a paradigm shift in the making and spreading of political persuasion. It is meant to subvert conventional propaganda in that it serves the political interests of the powerless. How the grassroots receive information is no longer determined by the powerful: rather, information itself is created and then shared by civil participation*" (Lee 42)

The participatory nature of such propaganda made its source quite public and its propagandistsunrecognizable. Almost most of Algeria participated, one way or another, in the spread of those memes and the success of this propaganda. Either through sharing,

commenting, liking, posting, reposting, livestreaming, or photographing, Algerians managed to become propagandists. In addition to that, influencers, youtubers and artists played a major role in achieving the goals of the propaganda as well. Such inability of propagandist denotation gave more power to the people, as it made them untouchable by the opposing views. When the propagandists have a crowd identity instead of a personal identity, they gain immunity from corruption and punishment, which was exactly what protestors needed by refusing to have representatives. The propagandists have definitely served a bigger picture, which is liberalism and democracy.

2.4. The Structure of the Propaganda Organization

As mentioned in the theoretical part, propaganda can be defined as the ideological manipulation in favor of a particular organization. To make well-thought decisions in a strongly organized structure, leadership needs to be strategically put in a form of hierarchy. (Jowett and O'Donnell) In this specific context, the Algerian movement, propaganda was rather a leaderless revolution; 'ordinary men', like Carne Ross referred to, stepped forward and simply asked for change. Since the original problem was in the head of the regime's hierarchy, Algerians perceived that the only way to change it is to go opposite; we all rule or no one does. It was a clever risk to take, since these protestors felt equal amongst one another; no one had to take orders from anyone, but rather consent and approve others' suggestions.

The Hirak was inclusive from many different perspectives: age, gender, social class and political attitudes, yet what mattered were their voices and the formerly mentioned criteria were not of a significant importance. The fact that the movement was not 'deliberately' prepared, had put their goals in a vertex; a list of goals, and eventually objectives, was not properly set which risked the whole movement an inevitable scatter. They wanted to overthrow the regime, all of it, get a new president that actually speaks,

and occasionally listens, and have a democratic Algeria. No specific goals were to be identified; the roof of demands kept getting higher and protestors giving up their weekends asking for numerous rights. They 'knew' what they wanted, but how to get it was the dilemma.

Owning the media will give you the benefice of owning the word-of-mouth; what your media transmits of messages will be under your control. (Jowett and O'Donnell)Since no official organization was to be recognized, no one in the Hirakhad control over any media. According to Statcounter, a global statistics' calculator, the most used social media platform in Algeria during the year of 2019 is no surprisingly Facebook. The general fact that most of this platform's users are of a young age (under 30) made it the wise choice as the means of propaganda; young people mastered all the mechanisms of Facebook and a simple click was the new freedom of speech. This young presence had an underestimated influence and an undeniable talent in quickening paces and making things happen in a short amount of time. It was almost as obvious that the needed media was only a simple, accessible and public platform like Facebook is.

Hitler in *Mein Kampf* made a distinction between a member in an organization and a follower; the former won by an organization and the latter tempted by propaganda, a member fights for the cause while the follower agrees with it. (Jowett and O'Donnell)The duality of these two categories is found in the Algerian movement, but the uniqueness is that an Algerian protestor is both a member and a follower at the same time. The only way in is to go out; meaning, to obtain your membership you just need to participate in the Hirak. Propagandists wanted to attract as much followers as possible, including them as members of the 'invisible' organization was a technique to boost their confidence in being responsible and make it seem less amateur-like.

2.5. Target Audience

The effectiveness of a propaganda requires essentially the exact right choice of audience. Propagandists target a certain, precise most of the times, mass audience to be the tool that broadcasts the hype. (Jowett and O'Donnell) The Algerian 'hidden' propagandist(s) majorly took aim at a larger number of masses, the people. In order to get the ruler(s) off the chair, its devoted crowd need to stop supporting it. The enlightenment brought by the exposed files presented by the propagandists made them gain the people's trust; their bona fides when divulging the hidden dirt brought light to the Algerians minds and mainly the popular class. As it happens, this particular audience has already been accumulating opposition throughout years and this made it the target audience par excellence.

Since the traditional media was completely absent and upbraided for that, social media - a modern appellation for a modern media - was the actual hero to save the day. Videos and all sorts of memes were spinning around every screen in the country, yet the youth under the age of 30 were to be the vast majority to react and respond. (Guerin)This generation is fearless and full of bravery, as the BBC News reporter mentioned, which are the perfect criteria to make major changes in the state, but most importantly to put the propaganda into operation. Because of their innovative ideas about a new Algeria and their persistence to put them into practice and concretize them, they were perfect for the job in the eyes of the propagandist. It took them a picture, a video or a meme to get these young adults out near the Grande Poste.

The elections for a 'new president' were near, and the 'new' candidates represented a decent competition. RachidNekkaz, a businessman who has a large public on social media, ran for elections and was opposing the current (at that time) regime promising significant 'changes' for the country. (Algeria protests: President confirms fresh poll bid despite rallies) Alongside, Ghani Mahdi was as popular as Nekkaz among social media users, what

gave both of them a platform to influence (or to be influenced by) their followers. These opinion leaders 'heroically' articulated what people settled on keeping as thoughts; the attention they devoted to listen to the people accorded to them the luxury of shaping the public opinion in a way or another. (Amir) Opportunity seekers, usually known as propagandists, saw in them a shield for their ideologies and a leading figure to be considered.

Given the benefit of the doubt the Hirak was facing, or profiting from, orators had to cover as much areas as possible for additional backup. Generally protestors engaged in movements share a certain euphoric sympathy due to the support they get from those endorsing the same cause; this usually launches a massive wave of protests. The more masses to join, the more activity these movements will persist. The most extravagant movements, typically, tend to go through a long period of fallow; the number of followers decreasing and the defenders' anxiety increasing. These defenders start redoubling their efforts to be on the show again and attract more attention. After the adrenaline rush at the begging comes a wave of pessimism that might be more influential than the first one can be and, for this specific reason, a backup plan is always needed. This is how the secondary targets get to play a role in the game; feminist activists, that fall short of popular support and struggle their way through a conservative milieu, and Islamist movements, that lack the elites' support being judged too extremist, are to be consulted. These pre-mentioned examples, extreme left and extreme right, serve as a helping plan B; regarding their desperate need for attention to their demands, it is a win-win partnership. (Salhi)

2.6. Media Utilization Techniques

Modern propaganda uses a diverse range of media due to the facility and availability of these resources. The media range from the internet, quotes from movies, slogans,

posters, to music and much more, all depending on what medium the audiences are most exposed to.

Social media networks were the most used media by Algerians, especially Facebook. "According to StatCounter Global Stats, during the period from January 2018 to February 2019, Facebook, amounting to 55.61% of users, is the social network most used by Algerians, closely followed by YouTube with 33.21%." (Bessadi) Thus, Facebook being the platform most used by Algerians of different ages, it contributed to the success and even the start of the movement. "Propaganda may appear in the medium that has a monopoly in a contained area." (Jowett and O'Donnell 298)The internet sphere was the place where protestors shared revolutionary songs, slogans, posts, and stories. Some movie quotes were detached from their original context to fit the Algerian revolutionary spirits and the demands of the protestors [Figure 3] and [Figure 4].

Following anonymous calls on the internet for a march on February 22, the demonstrations began, only to develop later into a Friday-march where people would get on the road every Friday at 02 PM in all 48 states. Famous Facebook pages like '*Femme Algérienne*', '*Dz de Luxe*', '*Si*', '*Derrière Chaque*', with almost 2 million followers each, played a great role in transmitting the voices of the people in favor of the protest.*La Grande Poste*, in Algiers, is a French colonial landmark that Algerians used as a 'history-repeats-itself' statement. The first day people protested was the day a flood of virtual propaganda swamped Facebook. In accordance, singers released their songs on YouTube that were later on shared on Facebook as well; songs like '*LaLiberté*' by Soolking and '*Libérezl'Algérie*' where many actors and singers took part in the clip. The songs were also played and sung on the street during following protests. These two platforms were vessels for the spread of memes (songs, posts, slogans, pictures from the movement, livestreaming) through the virtual world and therefore reinforced the presence in the real one. According to Jowett and

O'Donnell, the purpose of the propaganda can be determined if we compare the different messages coming from the same source via the media. The Algerian scenario portrays a consistent flow in the messages and memes that went around the virtual Algerian presence every week. Everyone posted, shared, liked, commented on and was exposed to the same memes, which all, in turn, served liberalism, democracy and the pursuit of freedom.

Although television, newspapers and radio would seem like effective tools to spread propaganda from the government's side, there was a total media blackout on the movement. Algerian channels broadcasted irrelevant news in an attempt to diminish the public effort and close an eye on their demands. As Gil Scott-Heron said: "The next revolution will not be televised". After the government realized that the main source where Algerian organized themselves was social networks, they decided to slow down the internet in an attempt to make the media unreachable by the audience. Such a reaction from the media, which is supposed to be the echo of people's voice, confirmed the complaints and the rekindled the grudge the people hold against such a corrupted, manipulative government.

Social networks and television were the most used platforms in the clash of propaganda between the people and the government. Facebook and YouTube served the people, the pictures, songs, slogans, and livestreams that took place on both platforms aroused the revolutionary emotions of the Algerians, while the media blackout by the government, ironically, served the same purpose.

2.7. Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

Jowett and O'Donnell assert the irrelevance of limiting propaganda to a list of techniques. Along with Aristotle and Goebbels, they suggest the use of whatever possible means as long as they serve the desired purpose of propaganda and have effects on the audience. As the Algerian movement is considered digital, several techniques used were

media-related. Making use of virtual presence, memes spread reinforced resonance, visual symbols of power and music, along with group norms and face-to-face contact as a reinforcement of the actual presence.

Although the techniques were not on an ad hoc basis, they were still valid and powerful in terms of achieving social change and the goals of the movement. Memes spread were successful enough to achieve the purposes previously mentioned, which are getting Algerians to join the movement, break the wall of fear, and purge the movement's reputation after multiple attempts of distortion by the government. The latter's success is accredited to the impressive linkage between the past, the present and the future; by addressing their conservatism, their current problems especially corruption, and by planting hope for a better future.

Starting with the past, viral memes in the Algerian movement were perfect setting for resonance. "Resonance strategy takes advantage of cultural or group beliefs, values, and so on, in order to evoke "meaning" within people." (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland 4) As already mentioned in the context, Algerians have an identity crisis in which they try to find a middle ground between conservatism; their values, traditions, customs, beliefs, and liberalism. A huge part of Algeria's past is related to its revolution in 1954, and another part is related to its conservative social structure and hierarchy. Memes such as [Figure 7], which depicts Algerian women wearing traditional Algerian costumes protesting on the streets on Women's day, depicts an already existing cultural symbol. The customs represent a symbol of their 'Algerianism' and a revival of the same picture that was once taken during the Algerian revolution 1954. Reviving Algerians memories and playing on the strings of their nationalism and Algerianism, the memes played as an 'anaphora', referring back to the past, acting in the present, aiming for the future.[Figure 11] was also an eminent persona that referred to the past revolution.

Although the past was important, it is the present that fueled the movement. In 2008, Global News Journal wrote a blog titled "*Algerians despair despite country's wealth*", which, considering the unemployment and *The Haragga*[2] rate, is relatively true. It is no news to Algerians that their country is rich while they are poor. However, their traumatic experience with colonialism and the dark period made them accept the status quo. Memes such as [Figure 5] reinforced their desire for change and intensified their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. Algerians were aware of the corruption they were swaddling in, and, despite the wall of fear, they naturally wanted change. Jowett and O'Donnell explain that, "Messages have greater impact when they are in line with existing opinions, beliefs, and dispositions." (Propaganda and Persuasion 299)It is a common and a known phenomenon for people to agree with what they already believe in. According to the limited-effects theory, "people generally choose what to watch or read based on what they already believe, media exerts a negligible influence." (The role and influece of mass media)

Despite the fact that skepticism escalated in the digital age, source credibility combined with Facebook as most used platform of communication by Algerians played a major role in the Algerian movement. As previously mentioned, the platform through which memes were spread was Facebook, especially famous Facebook pages. "Whenever a communication source is a monopoly, such as a single newspaper of television network, and the message is consistent and repetitious, people are unlikely to challenge the message." (Propaganda and Persuasion 302) With Algerians being exposed to Facebook on a daily basis, and with Facebook being flooded with memes and movements; repetition as a propagation technique did wonders. Adolf Hitler in his book *'Mein Kampf''* said:" Slogans should be persistently repeated until the very last individual has come to grasp the

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[2]Border Burners

idea." (Mein Kampf) According to Emily Dreyfuss, this is considered as a successful technique to the way in which people tend to assess truth. She explains," they rely on two things: whether the information jibes with their understanding, and whether it feels familiar." (Dreyfuss)

Due to familiarity, Algerians tend to take those sources as credible. Although these pages' admins were not necessarily leaders - "TheHirak seems to have no leaders" (Guemar, Chiheb and Northey), they were 'influencers'. While national channels broadcasted lies and half-truths, Facebook pages livestreamed the voice of the people and addressed the problems of the street. As a result;the more authority figures and pseudo opinion leaders manipulated the situation, the more Facebook users and admins gained influence power. Jowett and O'Donnell mentioned 'modeling the propagandist behavior", which was exactly the point. [Figure 9], [Figure 10] [Figure 12], [Figure 15] all have been a call to action for the viewers. Being a credible source, those pages used their virtual popularity and credibility to call people into pacific actions likecleaning the street, giving flowers and joining the movement. Another element that contributes to the credibility of the sources is inclusivity. People were used to a dominant minority to represent them and speak on their behalf. Most of the time, they were politicians who did not relate to the actual hardships of those people. However, with Facebook pages, which are ran by people they do not even know in person, they could relate to what they write due to their posts exclusivity. Those people did not wear ties or use fancy terminology to speak of problems Algerians cannot relate to. They rather spoke the people's language, took their pictures and shared their problems, their feelings, their worries and their nationalism. As a matter of fact, the messages were not accepted in regard of leadership, but rather in regard of honesty, credibility, familiarity, and relatability. "When causes are embraced by social media

accounts with many followers, their involvement amplifies the message and boosts the collective action." (Dumitrica, Bakardjieva and Felt)

The success of the movement demanded both virtual and in-person activism. Although social networks were the platforms where the movement started, the streets were where it was legitimized.

"The realities of face-to-face contact and in-person mass protests, the tools of centuries of struggle for full citizenship and rights, have become even more essential to grounding us as we navigate through a new era of humans' relationship with technology. New eras of protest will have to learn how to combine the ease and speed of online connectivity with the long-term face-to-face organizing that gives physical protest its strength and staying power."(Malchik)

The new era of the internet and social media has, indeed, transformed the way movements work. Cyberspace has minimized the steps needed to start a movement and reduced the efforts required to gather people in one setting. However, it has not replaced it. The Algerian movement, though started on social media, made great use of face-to-face contact. [Figure 3] and [Figure 10] depict the massive numbers of Algerians who participated in the movement, and which were also a proof that the movement is not a byproduct of mere 'clicktivism'[3]. In every state, there was a place where they would all meet and march from there. In Algiers, it was 'La Grande Poste' and in Khenchela, it was the municipal. Students have had their own day to protest, Tuesday. Teachers at universities, in the attempt of raising awareness, gave open lectures on politics. The movement being leaderless and peaceful, Algerians being inspired by "preacher's corner' at Hyde Park in London circa the 19th century; aimed for a 'speaker's corner' where people can give proposals and share their views on the status quo. "The red staircase in front of

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[3] Specifically involves the use of the internet to engage in minimal-effort activities, as posting on social media, email campaigns, and online petitions.

Maurice Udan Square drew the attention of the demonstrators as they listened to and interacted with the various views of the popular movement and its demands." (Speakerscorner) The corner was democratic, free, inviting, respectful, genderless and aracial, and had witnessed several discussions. Corners as such took place in different cities around the country and symbolized the democratic Algeria the people are aspiring for.

This dual presence, between virtual and real, has created a sense of group norms. Throughout the movement's slogans, songs, chants; there was a sense of us "the people" versus them *"Le pouvoir"*. The shared history and present helped unifying the beliefs, behaviors, values and demands of Algerians. "Leave means Leave", "*Pouvoir assassin*", "No for the fifth mandate", "Revolution of Smiles", "Free Algeria" are all slogans that were commonly held when protesting. Despite the different orientations, the protestors have claimed these slogans as common goals. While Jowett and O'Donnell speak of how conforming tendencies can create 'herd instinct', Gustave le Bon had his own view on it, "The sentiments and ideas of all the persons in the gathering take one and the same direction, and their conscious personality vanishes." (The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind 2)According to the deindividuation theory, being in a group will result in the loss of personal identity and therefore generate aggressive acts and inappropriate social behaviors. (Chang 2) However, the Algerian movement succeeded in breaking that psychological belief.

In unity lies power, much of it is owed to the shared visual symbols. "Visual imagery has long been used to convey a persuasive message." (Williams) Throughout history, several techniques to transfer a larger-than-life feeling were used. Nevertheless, social networks, being the new media and channels for such propagation, have made power symbols open to interpretation. Keeping in view Algerians' pride as nationalists who take their country as

a divine land, the presence of the Algerian flag had a powerful visual impact. [Figure 1],

[Figure 9], [Figure 10] all feature the Algerian flag. In memes where the flag was absent,

its colors were present [Figure 2] and [Figure 4]. "A symbol is a sign having a particular

meaning for a given reactor. Two or more reactors may of course attach quite different

meanings to the same symbol." (Duignan) The interpretation of the Algerian flag as a

symbol of power depends on the audience and the meme it is present in. In [Figure 1], it

represents the power of Algeria once freed. In [Figure 10] it represents the power of the

crowds and unification.

Other crucial techniques that can be analyzed during the movement are music and

language. Artists and singers took the opportunity to put their art and songs into serving the

movement's cause. Jowett and O'Donnell refer to the effectiveness of music in its

combination of sound and language, alongside the repetitiveness which makes it more

familiar.(Jowett and O'Donnell 304)Songs like "*La liberté*" or "Freedom"by Soolking and

"*Libérezl'Algérie*" or "Free Algeria" had more than 5 million views on YouTube and were

widely shared, liked, and commented on through Facebook.In "Libérezl'Algérie", the

video clip features several Algerian artists holding slogans the people carried during the

movement to express their demands, flowers promoting peace and non-violence, children,

women, men of different regions in Algeria to elucidate diversity and unification. Some

singers had chains locked to their hands and they broke them as they kept singing,

signifying the purpose of the movement. The Algerian flag was also present through most

of the video clip. Thelyrics mainly addressed democracy, peace, change, liberty, freedom

of the people and the press, addressed *El Harraga* and the low quality of healthcare system

in Algeria, the end of the corrupted system, responsibility of the youth and never losing

hope, and assured on the journey of achieving the big dream hand-in-hand. As the sound

was catchy, so was the chorus. Going on the line "Today, the people will liberate Algeria",

Algerians were aquiver with excitement, patriotism and purpose. "*La Liberté*" had the same concepts in common, Soolkingreferred to the unhappiness of the people, freeing the hostages, referring to youth as the golden generation whose fire will not be put off and one that is not scared of liberty. He asserts at the end "this is our message, these are our *ultima verba*." After these songs came out, and with 'freedom' as familiar concept, every Friday felt like a restoration of the people's divine right.

Another way through which language was used as power tool is the nicknames given to us versus them. The people were mainly portrayed as young civilized heroes, while policymakers were portrayed as old corrupted thieves. As a matter of fact, Algerians often referred to them '*El Aissaba'*, which translates to 'The gang'. Many Youtubers took the platform to spread various accusations of the lifestyle of politicians' families, their bank accounts, and properties outside the country. This resulted in Algerians going by the norm "once a thief, always a thief", and even demanded the departure of all [Figure 5]. [Figure 15] also indicates the power of common language since audiences are most likely to be more sympathetic with people with whom they share most similarities.

Music, language and stories do not only stir patriotism, but also emotions. "Music is an effective propaganda technique because it touches the emotions easily, suggests associations and past experiences, invites us to sing along, and embraces ideology in the lyrics." (Jowett and O'Donnell 304)The memes were able to evoke the audience's emotions through reminders of history, patriotism, belonging, connectivity, inclusivity and most importantly, the propagation of the belief that the government should serve the people and not otherwise. [Figure 5], for example, won the people due to the simplicity of the speaker and the familiarity of his situation. It represented a citizen who had had enough of being marginalized in his country, pointing out to the fact that it is not about the departure of one president, it is about the departure of the entire corrupted regime. Words like democracy,

freedom, liberty empower the people with positive energy and excitement. More than that, the sense of responsibility. Carne Ross in his book '*Leaderless Revolution*'emphasizes the importance of giving responsibility in order to receive responsible acts, "if people do not have responsibility, do not expect them to behave responsibly." (Ross) The inclusion of emotions necessarily means an inclusion of subjectivity. Along with the importance of emotions, Jowett and O'Donnell also assert the role of objectivity. "Many agents believe that dispassionate reporting is more effective." Objective and accurate reporting was relatively present in the Algerian movement. After media blackout, the people have taken the responsibility to livestream and photograph the movement, which gave it more legitimacy and accuracy.

2.8. Audience's Reaction to Various Techniques

Memes spread during the Algerian movement 2019, and their consideration as propaganda, relies on the audience's reaction to those memes. Jowett and O'Donnell prioritized the behaviors of audiences once exposed to the propaganda, which is what will be observed in Algerians' reactions.

Propaganda and audience's reaction are linearly related; the wider propaganda spread, the bigger the audience's reaction is. The number of the people who joined the movement escalated after the release of songs and people's testimonies on the internet. After calling for and advancing the notion of democracy, less divisions appeared in the lines of the protestors, as they adapted the identity of the crowd instead of their own personal identities. More corners for speakers appeared and more Facebook posts were shared. Overpromoting peace led to the perception of more peaceful acts; Such as giving flowers to the policemen, cleaning the streets, helping women, and bringing children to the demonstrations. "It continues in multiple forms from cultural activities in main squares, dialogue and debates on the steps of the national theatre, to collective cleaning up of public

spaces. The young people, women, students, workers – all sectors of society – is its lifeblood." (The Algerian Hirak: Young people and the non-violent revolution)Furthermore, the expression "*YetnahawGaa*", which translates into "All must leave", became a slogan that is carried in every protest. The latter summarized the demands of the protestors. After the negative connotations that Algerian politicians were associated with, the word 'gang' entered the register of the protest. The audiences' reaction towards the people who caused the corruption was aggressive, especially after being affected by Opinion formers on YouTube such as "Amir Dz" and "Zitout", who worked on exposing the corrupts and encouraging the people to take the lead. For that reason, the people considered the politicians as *persona non grata* in the movement and they even oust those who tried to join in and called them opportunity seekers and accused them of trying to jump on the bandwagon.

2.9. Counterpropaganda

Counterpropaganda is defined, according to Jowett and O'Donnell, as a comeback to propaganda in a competitive context; media supporting different ideologies starting a clash of advertisement between them. (Jowett and O'Donnell 285)In a context like the Algerian Hirak, in which everyone is a propagandist, underground counterpropaganda is originated from the contestants of the Hirak. As France24 described the situation in an article, with the elections getting close, ''anonymous trolls and automated bots are sowing discord in an apparent bid to discredit the protest movement and revive support for the regime" and that is when the term 'electronic flies' emerged.

Due to the significant absence of media during the protests, "Algerians rely on Facebook to share their ideas in the face of an illegitimate regime." (France24) Right after the presidential elections day was announced, a burst of hashtags opposing the decision were trending on Twitter; mainly #Algeria_vote and #Don't_Speak_In_My_Name.

NetBlocks, an organization that monitors internet freedom, tweeted that the information about the protests was disturbed through a disruption of internet in order to prevent the news from circulating as fast as they did the moment the decision was revealed. CATDM journalist reported the tension as; "Journalists denounced the collusion of the big media with the regime that prevented them from informing about the current uprising, internet connections that had been slowed down or even cut off by the authorities as well as visa refusals to foreign journalists wishing to cover the uprising."(Duval)A considerable attack of trolls from anonymous accounts started cyber warfare alongside a wave of reports shutting down the Facebook pages of activists. They were perceived as; "the troll-like accounts pumping out pro-government or pro-establishment messages." You will identify 'electronic flies' when you see a series of the same repeated comments under activist pages by recently created profiles with a small number of followers, all that to discern chaos and an annoying buzzing. These 'electronic flies' aim at the degradation of the activists and the movement itself; Carolyn Lamboley, a journalist that has been analyzing this phenomenon, identified a type called 'Conspiracy Angle' that consists of labeling the protests as a result of exterior sponsorship. The other type of comments consists of a bunch of supporters of the ex-president and the army, and they are also to be seen everywhere in an autonomous repetitive drill. Not to forget the various hints, derogatory most of the time, about the unease between the diverse ethnic groups in Algeria. (Algeria Protests: How Disinformation Spread on Social Media)

One of the drawbacks of social media may be the way fake news blend within the actual relevant ones. "It became a site of struggle between the protesters and the authorities because a lot of Algerians basically get their information from Facebook," claims Omar Al-Ghazzi. The lack of sources, or the easy access to it, made people perplex concerning a trustworthy source of information. People like Mohamed LarbiZitout and Amir Dz gained

popularity among the masses and were given trust, sometimes too blind. During this uncertain political milieu, Facebook pages were created for this purpose; demystify fake news. Pictures from the past were shared as 'today's protests' and videos from the archive were posted as 'breaking news' to broadcast aggressiveness and deform the peaceful protests. Algerian media, the suspect number one, was charged with being implicated in this counterpropaganda, since the radio silence it has been practicing during the Hirak. (Silva)The total blackout was not enough; some national media even shared videos from social media to end up being another façade of what is already happening on Facebook. The actual counter propagandists were not to be identified and the organization behind this distortion is still anonymous until the present day, yet people being aware of their existence seems to be enough.

2.10. Effects and Evaluation

Despite, or by dint of, the movement being leaderless, the Hirak managed to be well organized. People tend to seek leaders in order to ask for orientation and representation, but also to blame whenever something goes wrong. Algerians did certainly not need that, they took it upon themselves and called everyone a leader. "A leader is best when people barely know he exists. Of a good leader, who talks little, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will say, we did it ourselves." (Tzu)They led as one, protested as one and demonstrated peace as one.

The union in every step Algerians took made it simpler for them to go in one direction; one's goal is everyone's goal. As previously mentioned, in this case of study the protestors are not just a means to make propaganda happen; they created it and made it happen. The ultimate goal was to make 'some' changes and live to see a new Algeria, yet the objectives were several and getting everyone out on the streets was on top of the list, it would not be a case of study today if that did not work.

Peace was the universal language propagandists used, and peace was all over the streets. Notwithstanding the distinctive attempt of counterpropaganda to dissipate order, the people faced every attempt with a determination to keep things calm and as peaceful as possible. The image they were to represent needed to be clean so the message would be clear and, most crucially, those who were observing will not be distracted from the major point. As far as legitimacy goes, reputation mattered; in order to be heard, one has to behave.

It was true that the Hirak was inevitable; the regime Algeria endured had been going for 20 years and yet it was, in no means, for things to happen without propaganda. The despicable meaning the word holds tends to derivate the perception of the effects it might have; in black and white, this time propaganda carried both the good as the bad. Whatever were the intentions at the beginning, one thing we can notice is how social media, in the first place, manipulated and played a crucial role in the predestination of a whole country. What was inevitable might be the fact that this insurrection was initiated by the youth more than any other age category; it proved how this generation Y is ready to make things work for Algeria as a better place. The use of social media as the main means for propaganda is given the lion's part of the win; it is almost impossible to get near 40 million people to approve on one single idea, but it happened. The connection social media provided did not just allow the masses an easy access to information, it also, as smooth as it traveled from one device to another, made it seem almost perfect for propagandists. People thought that, for once, everything was clear and honest and felt the responsibility of taking part of whatever was going on; most of them did not even take a glimpse of time to overanalyze what they were seeing on Facebook. After years of debate about what they knew and what they ignored, 'truth' was delivered to them and they chose to follow their instincts. As one protestor said to BBC in the middle of the Hirak "It's going to be complicated, it's going to

take some time, it's going to take probably a long time but it's going to happen sooner or later - we believe in this." (BBC)

3. Conclusion:

The Algerian Hirak 2019 is considered recent and part of the new era of movements where political-social matters are not treated the old way, propaganda as well. People around the world came to an illumination using social media beyond the traditional way and Algerians are taking part in it too. Social media plays a great role in shaping, disseminating and, sometimes, preventing propaganda, which is one of the multiple reasons why it was used to initiate a new chapter in the history of Algeria. In Merriam-Webster, the definition of the word 'movements' is:"a series of organized activities working toward an objective'' and the key words of this definition were investigated within a 10-point framework. Jowett and O'Donnell, two communication professors, suggested in their book Propaganda and Persuasion a 10-step analysis through which propaganda is observed to the finest detail. In this chapter, the Algerian Hirakis explored from an exclusive angle to offer a new perspective of modern propaganda and how social media was engaged as the main pillar.

Chapter Three: Discussion

1. Summary

The case of study in the present thesis is analyzed through Jowett & O'Donnell's 10-point framework to explore propaganda in the Algerian movement 2019. The purpose of this study is to demystify the role of modern propaganda; especially in initiating the Algerian 'Hirak'. The perceptible shift from old to modern propaganda, from traditional to new media and from ballots, sometimes bullets, to memes is a crucial part in the comparison between the present and the past. The difference in the used tools, the context and the people themselves allows the propaganda to perform differently, and this research aims to clarify this differentiation. This research was founded on two research questions that summarize it all:

1-How were the shared memes during the Algerian movement 2019 a form of propaganda according to Jowett and O'Donnell's 10-point framework?

2- How did participatory propaganda contribute to the Algerian movement 2019?

2. General Conclusion

The second chapter, literature review, sets the difference between old and modern propaganda explaining how the former was defined, implied and perceived differently from the latter. Alongside, it highlighted how the public opinion was shaped and the major events around the world in which old propaganda took part; from the far past to how the Nazis took over more than just Germany, how they were put down, both the world wars (I and II) and the famous Cold War. On the other hand, more recent sources about the 'current' propaganda were denoted; different appellation for modern media, the digitalized new form of public opinion and memes. A distinction between Algerian movements of the past and the present was highlighted to show how propaganda, as much it might seem similar, differs on both scales; appliance and performance.

In order to answer the research questions and get fulfilling responses, an investigation was held. A propaganda analysis, suggested by Jowett & O'Donnell in their '*Propaganda*

and Persuasion', was applied on the memes present in the Algerian movement 2019 as a case of study. A series of 10 questions was answered in order to determine the extent to which those memes have functioned as propaganda and how social media contributed to its participatory essence. The figures used as memes were the tools this research opted for to shed light on how influential pictures, videos, songs, slogans and memes in general can be. This research aims to show how a simple shared meme can start a whole movement.

Social media plays a great role in shaping, disseminating and, sometimes, preventing propaganda, which is one of the multiple reasons why it was used to initiate a new chapter in the history of Algeria. After the analysis, the significance of memes was revealed; it was not a secret that memes participated in formulating propaganda, but the remarkable spread of it is due to memes. They are easy to share, to like and to comment on, they target more than one audience and they are loaded with different ideologies. The smooth way in which they are disseminated accelerates the process of propaganda; the unknown source from which memes are spread gives propaganda the luxury of being almost unstoppable. It also gives a certain freedom to social media users to express their ideas while being protected, and this way their voices are heard without having their faces revealed. This is why it served well in the Algerian Hirak giving it an unconventional form of communication between the masses. The unusual form of propaganda gave an impression that there was no propaganda; despite it being unusual, it is 'normal' for an Algerian to share posts and pictures on her/his page from another Facebook page with a simple click. This normalization of memes covered the threat they represent and gave them even more power in shaping the public opinion, disseminating ideologies and manipulating the masses to start a movement.

After applying Jowett & O'Donnell's 10 points on propaganda in the Algerian movement 2019, the answer for the research question became clear. Memes are to be

considered as part of modern propaganda in which they serve the goal in initiating, persisting or ending propaganda.

3. Limitations

This qualitative research documents some of the Hirak's context and is to be added to the few pre-existing documentations in order to help future researches. Yet, the lack of documentation may have represented an obstacle for this research. The poor number of articles led to confusion and perplexity due to the fresh event and the media's preference in using only Arabic and French to report. In addition to the difficulty in finding the memes due to their publication date, which was in early 2019, and the continuous news being updated on a daily basis.

The sanitary crisis allowed the penetration of disorder and disorganization. This pandemic resulted in many difficulties to conduct this research and consult many sources. It also prevented a survey from happening, but the research is not any less accurate or less relevant.

4. Recommendations for Future Research

A survey is suggested to explore the reaction of Algerians towards propaganda and to what extent it has affected them. This opens the path for further cultural studies on how the Algerian society opted for a modern tool to engage in politics despite its conservatism. After propaganda being analyzed, a sociological theory may be developed based on the results of this study.

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Appendix:

[Figure1] A Ballet dancer in the streets of Algeria during the movement

[Figure 2] A street artist during the Algerian movement

[Figure3] An Algerian woman carrying a sign of a movie title 'No country for old man' to refer to the old people running the country

[Figure 4] a sign of the movie 'Casper the ghost'

[Figure 5] An Algerian carrying a sign 'All must leave'

[Figure 6] A mother and her children carrying the Algerian flag

[Figure 7] Algerian women on Women's day

[Figure 8] Algerian women taking part in the movement

[Figure 9] Two famous Algerian couple on Facebook on top of a crowd of Algerian protestors

[Figure 10] The Algerian protestors

[Figure 11] DjamilaBouhired, an ex-Algerian militant who particiapted in the Algerian revolution 1954

[Figure 12] An Algerian girl giving a flower to a policeman

[Figure 13] A quote from the revolution 1954; 'The only hero is the people'

[Figure 14] Article seven from the Algerian Constitution affirming that the constituent power belongs to the people

[Figure 15] Algerian youth cleaning the streets after The Hirak

[Figure 16] Algerians protesting: Leave Means Leave

ملخص

سلط مؤخرا الضوء على ثلاثية الراي العام وشبكات التواصل الاجتماعي والبروباغندا، وخاصة بعدما لعبت دورا هاما في بداية الربيع العربي وفي الحراك الشعبي الجزائري كحدث حصري. الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو وضع الدعاية التشاركية في قالب الدعاية القديمة وتحديد التقنيات المستعملة والايديولوجيات خلف 'الميمز' الحاضرة في الحراك الشعبي الجزائري 2019 وكذلك تقييم رد فعل الشعب نحو هذه الدعاية التشاركية. استلزم هذا البحث استخدام المنهجية النوعية واستعمل إطار تحليل البروباغندا المكون من 10 مراحل المقترح من طرف "جويت واودينيل" كأداة فحص للبروباغندا المشار اليها مسبقا، وكذا استعملت "ميمز" من الحراك الشعبي كنموذج من الانترنت. وجد ان للميمز التي تم تحليلها دورا هاما ومنطقيا في تجنيد أعضاء جدد للحراك وترويج صورة مسالمة لهذا الحراك داخل وخارج الجزائر وكما انها نجحت في دمج الماضي والحاضر والمستقبل من اجل تحقيق اهداف البروباغندا. ومع ذلك، فإن الطبع التشاركي للدعاية أعاق إمكانية تمييز هوية واضحة ومستقلة للمسؤول عن البروباغندا. تثبت هذه الدراسة ان الميمز المتداولة هي بالفعل دعاية نظرا لخدمتها اهداف الحراك ولكونها ناسبت التقنيات العشر التي اقترحها كلا من "جويت واودينييل". يقترح دراسات مستقبلية من اجل البحث في وعي الجزائريين للميمز التي تم تعرضهم لها وتقييم مدى مساهمتهم في صنعا ونشرها.