

#BlackLivesMatter and #RhodesMustFall Compared

Analyzing Differences regarding the Success in Mobilization of #BlackLivesMatter and #RhodesMustFall

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Abstract

Since the rise of Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall, both had the same goal: putting an end to racism and white supremacy. Although it would be logical that both movements follow a similar path, Black Lives Matter seems to be more popular and Rhodes Must Fall protests seem to be more violent. This research is about analyzing the differences in success between the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and the Rhodes must Fall movement from South Africa. Success can be measured in a way of looking at accomplishments, but this literature study will compare successes in mobilization strategies. Grievances from institutionalized racism created comparable grievances in The United States and South Africa. Other factors that will be analyzed in this study are resource mobilization, mobilization strategies, networking strategies and media representation. This research will argue that the Black Lives Matter movement adapted better mobilization strategies overall.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the Black Lives Matter movement has been very present in the western media. The Black lives Matter movement was founded as response to police brutality against black people in the United States. It started in 2012 with the death of Trayvon Martin, a black man, and the acquittal of the policeman responsible for his death in 2013, a white man. The Rhodes Must Fall movement was created in 2015 among students at Rhodes University to get the statues of the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes removed from campus at the University of Cape Town in South Africa and at Oxford University in the United Kingdom. Cecil Rhodes was known to openly admit believing white people were superior to black people.

In the United States protests are held throughout the country, even when the coronavirus had struck the United States, and police reformations have been made. Although the Rhodes Must Fall movement did get some statues removed from campus, it has generally been among students and did not create such a large platform in South Africa as the Black Lives Matter movement had created in the United States. For example, when looking up 'Rhodes Must Fall' in the Google search engine website, it gets around 30.400.000 results, while 'Black Lives Matter' gets around 1.530.000.000 results. That is more than five times the results Rhodes Must Fall had. This shows great differences in the attention both movements drew across the globe. After analyzing the cultural grievances regarding racism in both countries and proving they are similar, it is still a question of why mobilization had less success in South Africa than it did in the United States.

Next to differences in popularity, the protests in South Africa are more violent in proportion than protests in the United States. According to the ACLED, a database on violent conflict and protest, the Black Lives Matter movement demonstrations surged to new levels in 2020.

There were almost eleven thousand demonstration events across the country, with 95% of them involving peaceful protestors (Figure 1). Over 80% of those protests were about Black Lives Matter or about the COVID-19 pandemic. There was a total increase of 42% from demonstrations in 2019 (Kishi & Jones, 2020). The numbers of protests and demonstrations in South Africa are far less. While the protest numbers in the United States are growing, the protest numbers in South Africa are fluctuating (Figure 2) (ACLED, 2020). The ACLED dataset is usually about Africa, but they made an exception for the United States because of the increasing Black Lives Matter protests. When comparing both figures, it stands out that the number of protests in the United States is much higher than in South Africa.

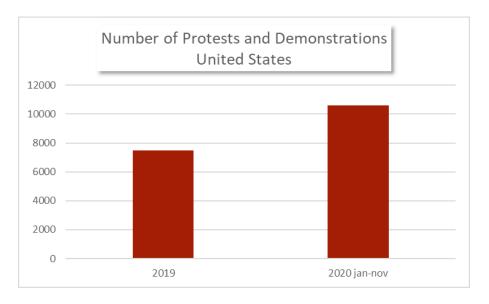


Figure 1.

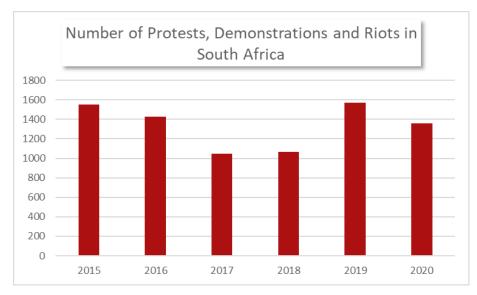


Figure 2.

To present an even better view of the conflict situations in South Africa and the United States, below are two maps and two graphs (Figure 3-6) that give visual representations of conflicts

and protests events. Figure 3 and 5 are about South Africa from the 1st of January 2019 till the 18th of January 2020. Figure 4 and 6 are about the United States from the 14th of June 2020 till the 5th of December 2020. These Figures show that even when the United States' period analyzed was much shorter than South Africa's period, the protests, demonstrations and riots were much more in the United States than the period of South Africa. In addition, figure 5 and 6 state that the level of violence was much higher in South Africa than it was in the United States (Lim & Wolfson, 2020; Lay, 2020).

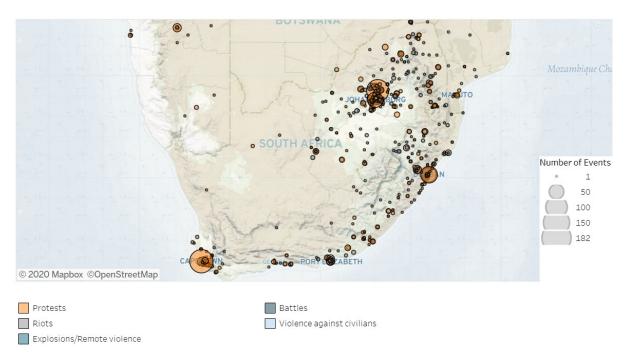


Figure 3. Conflict South Africa (Lay, 2020)

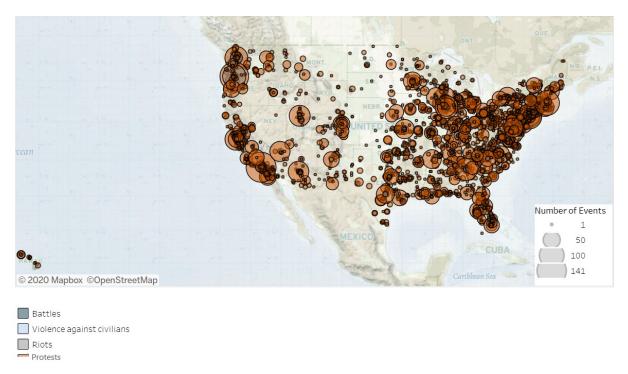
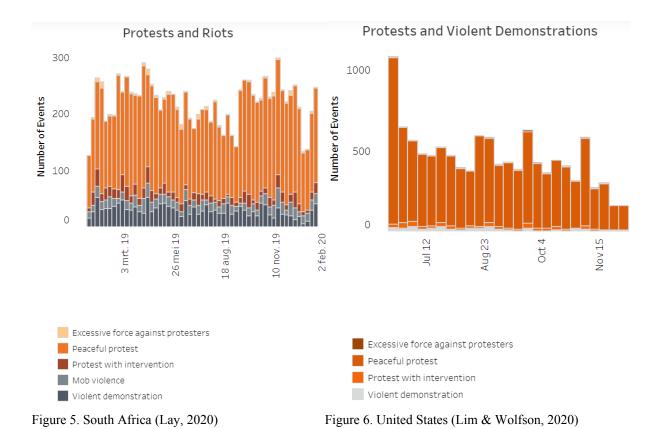


Figure 4. Conflict United States (Lim & Wolfson, 2020)



It is interesting to find out why there is such a difference in popularity between the Black Lives Matter movement and the Rhodes Must Fall movement. This research will argue that the grievances about racism in both countries are comparable and cannot be and argument for explaining why mobilization has been so. The purpose of this research is to find out to what extent the Black Lives Matter movement has been more successful in mobilizing people than the Rhodes Must Fall movement and why. The factors that will be analyzed are the cultural grievances, resource mobilization, networking strategies, messaging strategies and media representation.

2. Theoretical framework

Social movements has been different throughout the years. why do social movements exist? How can they be successful? And, how do they mobilize people?

Staggenborg (2016) provides an overview on developments in social movements theory, she begins by explaining the classical model of social movement theory: collective behavior. All variations of collective behavior theories share several assumptions. First, collective behavior exists outside of institutionalized structures. Second, social movements arise after some sort of structural or cultural breakdown. This can be a natural disaster, rapid social change or dramatic event. Next to that, the shared beliefs of the participants seem to have an important role in social movements (Staggenborg, 2016, pp. 14-15). Shared beliefs may be grievances, which are an important factor in both Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall.

Later, in the 1970's, the focus of social movements research changed from collective behavior to resource mobilization and political process approaches, because the explanations from collective behavior theories were considered wrong or inadequate (Staggenborg, 2016. P. 20). The Resource Mobilization Theory argues that strains or grievances nearly always can be found, and that it then requires resources, organization and opportunities for collective action. Formal and informal networks, cultural groups and other organizational vehicles that movements use to recruit participants and organize campaigns are studied in this approach (Staggenborg, 2016, pp. 20-21). The Political Process Theory tries to combine the Resource Mobilization Theory with corrected earlier approaches. It emphasizes the interactions of social movement actors with the state and the role of political opportunities in the mobilization and outcomes of social movements. Political Process theorists argue that social movements emerge when potential collective actors perceive that conditions are favorable, and political opportunity stands for a political environment that influence movement emergence and success (Staggenborg, 2016, p. 22).

Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) describe the rise of social movements, from the second half of the twentieth century, as seen in a social constructivist way. There was a difference between Europe and the United States in analyzing social movements. In the US more structural aspects like resources and political opportunities were given as an explanation for the rise of social movements, while in Europe it was thought that social movements originated from new constituencies with new needs, values and aspirations. Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) categorize the European contemporary way from a constructivist

perspective: the 'New Social Movements' (NSM) approach. This NSM approach puts groups that turn to social movements in two categories: First, groups of people that had lagged behind due to marginalization processes, especially women and the elderly, that are related to industrial modernization. The second group consists of people with specific vulnerabilities resulting from other modernization processes. For example, the post-war generation would feel the need of social movements because they had different needs that could not be satisfied comparing to people of older generations. After the wars ended, a chiefly materialistic political and social system was left that the second group came in conflict with. The four themes within the NSM are the construction of meaning, identity, emotions, and motivation (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009, p. 34). Staggenborg (2016, p. 24) also describes the New Social Movement theory as emerging in a postindustrial or advanced capitalist society, including the peace, environmental, LGBT, student, and women's movements.

This brings us back to present day social movement theory. According to Fisherman and Everson (2016) social movement scholarship tends to argue that disruption is the primary mechanism through which social movements win major concessions from the holders of power, but that it is not the only way. They got this from Benford and Snow (2000) who argue that discourse and framing are also important in social movement success. Banerjee and Case (2019) came to a similar conclusion when conducting research about social movements and leverage (Banerjee & Case, 2019). A research about union organizing activity by Martin (2008) says that the use of human resources is an important part of creating an effective strategy within a social movement. It is necessary to have less institutionalized people making the strategies for social movements, because these are mostly committed activists who know what is needed on the ground for mobilization.

Gillan (2020) even tried to make a new present day social movement theory based on today's neoliberal society. He uses three factors to explain the rise of social movements. First, countervailing discourses of neoliberalism and of social movements tend to create conflict. On the long term, these will have effect on political, cultural and economic realities of the neoliberal timescape. Second, events may disrupt society in various ways: they redirect, interrupt or impact on the magnitude or salience of vectors. 9/11 would be an example of such disruption. Lastly, existing organizational structures lead people in the same direction where they find support and feel empowered. If someone's perspective of the world is shaped by a critical position in combination with meeting like-minded people, formation of social movements is more likely (Gillan, 2020).

The emphasis of social movement theory was on budget, collective action, grievances or strains and the connections between participants and institutions. This research will therefore include factors like cultural grievances, networking strategy, messaging strategy, media representation and resource mobilization.

3. Research Question and Research Method

This study emphasizes on mobilization strategies, because the greatest differences Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall are participation rates, popularity and violence. Black Lives Matter seems to have more popularity and protests, while Rhodes Must Fall has more violent protests. The goal of this research is to find differences in mobilization strategies that might explain why one has more supporters than the other. The research question will be 'To what extent was the Black Lives Matter movement more successful than the Rhodes Must Fall movement in mobilization strategies?'

The research design of this project will be a comparative case study between the two movements. In movements like these, a great understanding of social constructs and dynamics within and around is necessary for examining why one can be seen as more successful in mobilizing people. The case selection of the Black Lives Matter movement and the Rhodes Must Fall movement originates in the expected mutual grievances from racism and the recency of the arising of these movements, which will be the basis of analyzing the disparate levels of success. If chosen to put more movements in this research, information can be overlooked, and generalizations would be unjustified. To get the best results in this research, the limitation to two cases is necessary. The case selection is based on the recent developments of these movements. The Black Lives Matter movements has been prominently in the news for the past few years, and Rhodes Must Fall started to flow over to the United Kingdom.

To go into depth on these movements, a literature study will be the greater part of this project. At first, it is important that there is a better understanding of the motivation and emotions behind the movements. The historical overview will provide the better understanding of the grievances in the United States and South Africa regarding racism. After checking for similarity in grievances in South Africa and the United States, other explanatory factors will be examined. From the literature review a couple of variables came forward. First, discourse and framing should be examined. How do supporters communicate with each other and what kind of messaging strategies do they use? Second, did the founders of the movements had connections to influential people, people with money or were they influential people themselves? Connections to other movements and people beforehand can be an explanatory factor. The third variable is budget. It is important to know where the money comes from that drives these social movements. Do they receive any funding or donations for their cause?

Lastly, how are both movements presented in the newspapers? Do the supporters seem oppressed or not? These factors will be examined to see which movement has had more success in mobilizing people for their cause.

When analyzing the literature, the method of thick description will be used to go into depth on the social constructs and dynamics within and around those movements. This will make sure that causal connections will be interpreted the right way and thus can be generalized as similarities or differences between the two movements. Theories can be tested via thick description, because it allows room for interpretation of academic and news articles to see if the theories are applicable on the Black Lives Matter movement and the Rhodes Must Fall movement.

4. Background movements

Black Lives Matter

The Black Lives Matter movement was founded as response to police brutality in the United States. It started with the death of Trayvon Martin in 2012 and the acquittal of the policeman responsible for his death in 2013. The movement was founded by Opal Tometi, Patrisse Cullors and Alicia Garza. Three black American women began to bundle their power to fight racism in the United States. The movement quickly became more successful and the official organization got the name Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation. On their website they state:

'For more than 500 years Black people have been fighting for our freedom. We have fought back against slavery, Black codes, Jim Crow laws, policing, incarceration, some of the highest unemployment rates, consistent homelessness, dying while giving birth, being murdered for being trans or non-binary. We have been the consistent moral compass in a country that has thrived on harming the most vulnerable of its population.'

The Black Lives Matter movement has grown so much that it has many celebrities supporting them and they are able to operate globally. Their most recent goal is to change policies regarding the Immigration Customs and Enforcement (ICE) agency, which is responsible for dealing with immigrants in the United States. Patrisse Cullors started the #Free21Savage to draw attention to the need for immigration reform after the detainment of a black woman by ICE (Black Lives Matter Global Network Organization, 2020).

Rhodes Must Fall

Knudsen and Andersen (2018) explain that the Rhodes Must Fall movement started with an incident at the University of Cape Town, where a statue of the British born imperialist and colonial politician Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) was standing on campus. A student activist threw human feces at the statue on the 8th of march in 2015. A video of this act was made and spread on social media which led to mobilizing other students to ignite the Rhodes Must Fall movement. The statue would become a strong political mobilizing tool capable of attracting but also repulsing audiences. The Rhodes Must Fall movement of the University of Cape Town also got audience at Oxford University in England (Knudsen & Andersen, 2018, p.

239). Oxford University and Oxford's Oriel College also had statues of Rhodes standing on their campus. In a news article by the BBC on July 15th, 2020 it was said that a Rhodes statue in Cape Town was decapitated. It additionally states that another statue of Rhodes had already been removed in 2015 after being the focus of protests by the Rhodes Must Fall movement. It lastly mentioned that a college of Oxford University's Oriel College would remove a statue that is standing on campus after years of pressure by campaigners (BBC, 2020).

Cecil John Rhodes is the man that the Rhodes Must Fall movement was named after. Knudsen and Andersen (2018) argue that Rhodes was a British imperialist in the late nineteenth century and that he played a big role in the 'scramble for Africa' (Knudsen & Andersen, 2018, p. 240). The 'scramble for Africa' started when in the Berlin Conference of 1884, European colonists started negotiating about which country could colonize what part of Africa. This would inevitably lead to conflicts in the entire continent, because Africa is rich in natural resources that the imperialist would love to benefit from and thus was willing to fight for those pieces of land. Knudsen and Andersen (2018) argue that Rhodes was after the diamond and gold deposits discovered in the 1870s and 1880s in South Africa. He used his financial capacity to gain high political power in South Africa. When reaching Cape Premier from 1980 until 1996 he would be openly discriminating against black people. He is seen as a precursor of the segregation and apartheid policies that would follow in the 1900s. Rhodes had an obsession with legacy. When he died, he left 3.3 million pounds to a trust that would ensure his imperial ideas in Great Britain and in his African colonies. His followers and admirers would be responsible for the erection of monuments, statues and buildings in his honor in many places in the south of Africa (Knudsen & Andersen, 2018, p. 240). 'Fees Must Fall' is a name that is intertwined with the Rhodes Must Fall movement and has to do with tuition fees and decolonization struggles. Fees Must Fall is about the struggle of poor, and mostly black, South Africans who cannot pay their tuition fees (Frassinelli, 2018). There are more 'Must Fall' movements, but Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall have most in common. To avoid unnecessary overcomplication, Rhodes Must Fall is the name that will mainly be used for these movements throughout this paper.

5. Empirical Research

Cultural Grievances

It is important to check if the level of racism experienced in both countries can be compared in the first place. A brief history about both countries' experiences with racism and an analysis will prove that grievances alone cannot be an argument for the differences in success in mobilization in both movements.

United States

In the United States the Civil Rights movement was a movement created by African Americans who were suppressed by the white population of the country. The Civil Rights movement was founded after the lingering racism that still lived in the United States after slavery was abolished. African Americans who lived in the United States and were survivors and descendants of the slave population were segregated from the white people in daily life. Schools, hospitals, busses etc. all were different for the black and white population. It was not just different; it was also much worse for the black people than for the white people. Care and education had less quality and they experienced less rights and more violence.

Johnson (2016) states in his research about the United States and South Africa voting rights and the history of institutionalized racism that criminal disenfranchisement laws were implemented after the civil war ended and when the black slaves were freed, those laws were used by states as a tool to maintain the white-dominated political status quo (Johnson, 2016, pp. 412-413). This means that the black population, when in trouble with the law, would not have the chance of a fair trial. Newly freed African Americans were poor, marginalized and dislocated. The laws were expected to create discrimination on account of race and were pushed to the most constitutionally permissible limits (Johnson, 2016, p. 417). Because of outside influences like the World War II Holocaust and decolonization made legal racialized segregation an extreme worldwide, giving the Civil Right Movement in the United States the chance to arise and successfully end racism by law in the 1960's (Fredrickson, 2015, p. 3). The current state of racism in the United States is much better than it used to be, although laws like felon disenfranchisement are still allowed, continuing the disproportionate impact on racial minorities in general (Johnson, 2016, p. 418).

South Africa

South Africa was suffering from apartheid implemented by the National Party in 1948. Later, Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress tried to reverse the apartheid. Apartheid was part of official law in South Africa from 1948 to 1990. Black people had to live separate from white people, use different schools or hospitals and were thus second rang citizens by law. Even laws banning all marriage and sexual relations between different races passed and they were also forced to live in separate residential areas (Fredrickson, 2015, p.3). black people were living under physical and psychological torture. Thompson (2016) said. "It was apparent that the ultimate purpose of the apartheid state depriving its political enemies of liberty was to break their morale and to deny them any hope for the future" (Thompson, 2016, p. 802).

Nelson Mandela, who was the first black head of state, and the African National Congress fought for equal rights, and had to pay for that. Mandela ended up in prison on Robben Island but was released after 27 years in 1990. Thompson (2016) explains that in times of apartheid the South African authorities would refuse to distinguish between actual criminals and political prisoners, like detainees from the ANC. In the media, the so-called 'active extremists' would never get permission to put anything in media (Thompson, 2016, p. 814). After Mandela was released negotiations took place between the National Party and the ANC to draft a completely new constitutional document. These constitutional changes led to a breakthrough in 1990 where political prisoners were freed and adverse political parties were allowed. Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990, his presidency would follow in 1994 to 1999 (Johnson, 2016, p. 433). They reached a compromise on the final draft for a new constitution in 1996, with the United States Constitution as prime example. This new constitution laid ground for fundamental human rights, democratic values and social justice in South Africa (Johnson, 2016, p. 434).

In the period after 1994, the black people were asked to forgive the white people and were invited to be more inclusive and sharing, but in return no apology and symbolic or material gesture was asked of the white South Africans, nor were any offered (MISTRA, 2018, p. 10). Paret (2018) talks about concerns scholars have that with democratization more ethnic division will rise. Research has shown that political parties tend to use ethnic identification to win votes. In post-independence Africa ethnic identification increases when party organizations were weak and patronage networks were strong, but voters contradictory also weigh government performance and service delivery alongside ethnic identity (Paret, 2018, p.

474; Cheeseman, 2015, pp. 184-185). With the new constitution racism and ethnic division did not disappear and grievances remained strong.

Are the grievances comparable?

The conclusion can be made that the institutionalized racism in the United States and South Africa have had a great impact on the citizens of both countries. While institutionalized racism has disappeared, racism and grievances remained strongly present. Johnson (2016) concludes similarly that the historical error a difficult issue is to contend with and that citizens and politicians still grapple with the aftereffects (Johnson, 2016, pp. 444-445). He also argues that there is a sufficient similarity between the systems, legacies and racial oppression employed in both the United States and South Africa, and that comparative analysis is useful and instinctive (Johnson, 2016, pp. 445-446). This statement affirms that the grievances are comparable.

Networking strategies

What were the connections of the founders of the movements with other people or organizations and did they receive help? If the answer is yes, it could have made their start much easier and their organization more solid.

Black Lives Matter

In an interview broadcasted by The Daily Show, Alicia Garza told Trevor Noah (the host) that years before she founded the Black Lives Matter movement, she has been active in anti-racist activism. This shows that far before the Black Lives Matter movement came to life, the mentality was living under the African American population for years (Garza, 2020). The death of Trayvon Martin in 2012 inspired multiple groups like the Black Youth Project 100, Million Hoodies, Dream Defenders and the Black Lives Matter Global Network to work together in anti-racism campaigning (Ransby, 2018). In the beginning, the Black Lives Matter founders Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi used their own Facebook for reaching out to other. In an interview with Time for being in the Top 100 Most Influential People of 2020 they stated that Alicia Garza posted on Facebook about the death of Treyvon Martin and about how their lives mattered. Patrisse Cullors added a hashtag to that post which then blew up. The three of them then decided to create an own platform for black people to be

heard. They also said that from then the supporters of Black Lives Matter also took control in organizing protests all over the world (Fulton, 2020). The importance of social media will be further explained at messaging strategies.

Rhodes Must Fall

There has not been evidence of ties to other people or organizations, except for other variations of Must Fall movements. Those movements mostly consist of students and thus have had the same starting capacity from the beginning. Knudsen and Andersen (2018) argue that the Rhodes Must Fall movement originally gained support via Facebook posts and groups. Also Hodes (2016) emphasizes the importance of social media as network throughout the movements history: "the movement is also a product of South African academia in the era of democracy, including through its interpretations of equity and redress and its modes of participation and confrontation." (Hodes, 2016, p. 150). A convergence of circumstances of higher education, experiences of inequality and technology stood on the base of this movements' growing support. Another research supports this conclusion: Dahlum and Wig (2020) found a relationship between universities and protests. This was particularly strong in dictatorships, but can be implemented in regions with universities in general. Institutions of higher education gives population greater motivations to mobilize (Dahlum & Wig, 2020). The university can be seen as some kind of network for the students that made it possible to mobilize.

Networking Strategies Compared

The Black Lives Matter founders used their own network they had from previous anti-racism activism, had a network of multiple anti-racism organizations and used social media as a platform to gain supporters for their cause, who then put organized protests and events. Rhodes Must Fall supporters did not have the organizational network Black Lives Matter had, although they had the university that helped them connect with each other and mobilize. Such a specific place where people found each other like the university did not exist for the Black Lives Matter movement. The use of social media has therefore been more crucial but has also been successful. The networking strategies of Black Lives Matter had a better quality and quantity than Rhodes Must Fall.

Messaging Strategies

The way that Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall use discourse strategies should be analyzed, because they will be able to provide a better understanding on how possible supporters are reached and who would be most likely to support the movements.

Black Lives Matter

It is important to analyze what kind of people are more likely to join the movement, and what the tactics implemented by the movements for mobilization are. In a research by Purdie-Vaughns and Eiback (2008) came forward that intersectional invisibility arises when one person identifies in not one but multiple sub-groups within a society. An example would be a black woman. She would then be a part of an ethnic minority group and in the women group. Evidence from historical narratives and cultural representations would show that people belonging in multiple sub-groups experience invisibility on cultural, political and legal ways. That would mean that African Americans experiencing invisibility are less likely to see the benefits of joining a movement like Black Lives Matter (Purdie-Vaughns & Eiback, 2008).

Bonilla and Tillery (2020) tested Purdie-Vaughns and Eibacks (2008) theory: they did a survey experiment on black nationalist, feminist and LGBTQ+ Rights on the mobilization of African Americans. Their expectation was that exposure to black nationalists would have a positive effect on mobilization attitudes for Black Lives Matter, but instead there was no increase in support for the Black Lives Matter movement after the black nationalist treatment exposure. Secondly, the black feminist frame would sometimes depress mobilization for Black Lives Matter. Lastly, they expected that exposure to the LGBTQ+ frame would demobilize people for the Black Lives Matter movement, but they did not find enough evidence that could confirm that. They concluded that social movement frames based on subgroup identities can generate segmented public support for those movements, and that the leaders of Black Lives Matter adopted their intersectional messaging strategy in part because they believed that it would boost support for the movement in African American communities (Bonilla & Tillery, 2020). This information makes it possible to argue that the leaders of the Black Lives Matter movement actively use different strategies on different groups of people in order to successfully gain more supporters.

Social media usage for mobilization tactics are also broadly implemented. Clark (2019) calls Black Lives Matter a 'social-media-fueled movement' (Clark, 2019, p. 521). He states that the movement had an uprising between 2014 and 2016 via Twitter and hashtags. He concluded

that the role of white people on the internet using #BlackLivesMatter offered a semblance of support that would be lacking in times where internet did not exist (Clark, 2019). Another point of success is the way the #BlackLivesMatter followers stay united when counter movements like #AllLivesMatter try to portray black people as being 'against the law' (Gallagher, Raegan, Danforth & Dodds, 2018). Social media discourse attracts support from groups that would normally not be visible, but also attracts attention from opponents of the movement. The explicit use of hashtags around Black Lives Matter frame the movement with five types of hashtags: support or approval of the movement, refer to police violence, mention mobilization tactics or express counter-movement sentiment (Ince, Rojas & Davis, 2017).

Rhodes Must Fall

How do student supporters of Rhodes Must Fall spread their information without angering the university? Chowdhury (2019) wanted to interview students who were involved in the Rhodes Must Fall movement, but he explains that most students he approached were not interested in meeting with him, because they were afraid the movement would be interpreted the wrong way by outsiders (Chowdhury, 2019, p. 6). It is possible that the students did not want to give an interview because of sanctions the university board could give to the Rhodes Must Fall and other Must Fall protestors if their identities got published. When he did manage to get an interview with a student from the University of Cape Town he told him that the students know very well how to mobilize their movement, but that there is something that holds them back from large and violent protests: "Their anger makes them more conscious of their rights, given that they do not wish to violate other people's rights, which means that black students demand equal rights for all, irrespective of race, religion, and any other identity-based stigmatization" (Chowdhury, 2019, pp. 11-12). The approach students supporting the Rhodes Must Fall movement use is very different from the supporters of Black Lives Matter. The fact that many students did not want to talk to Chowdhury about the movement because the chance of misinterpretation is an indicator that that attitude will not be able to mobilize people.

It could now seem like it was impossible for Rhodes Must Fall supporters to mobilize and communicate, but this is not the case. Facebook, Twitter, and instant messaging services allowed supporters to communicate smoothly and organize meetings and protest marches (Pillay, 2016). Hodes (2016) argues that the social media and hashtags used by the Fees Must

Fall supporters rapidly mobilized followers: "It gave representational force to the group's own collective sense of itself, establishing its principles, consolidating its aims, and asserting these in conversation with an online 'commentariat'" (Hodes, 2016, p. 144). Rhodes Must Fall supporters could easily connect with the movement without having to formally report membership to a politically organized group. Also, supporters used social media communication for self-representation, self-organization and interaction with outside dialogue groups such as mainstream media, university administration, and opponents to the campaign (Bosch, 2016, p. 226).

Theocharis, Lowe and Deth (2014) state that personal and civic attitude and emotion are important to encourage participation through activism on social media. Positive attitudes create a positive and active participation. Negative emotions will do the same, but the active participation is against the specific negatively promoted cause (Theocharis, Lowe & Deth, 2014). With a possible fear of being identified but still wanting to fight for equal rights, social media is an effective solution for mobilizing others.

Messaging Strategies Compared

The leaders of the Black Lives Matter movement message different groups of people in specific ways so they are more likely support the movement (Bonilla & Tillery, 2020), while the supporters of Rhodes Must Fall try to keep distance from the media. The use of social media like Twitter helped the Rhodes Must Fall supporters as well as the Black Lives Matter supporters in connecting with each other to participate in protests and other events. This argues that while they do not rely on media publicity, they do use other platforms to exchange information and mobilize other people. Black Lives Matter uses media publicity as well as social media for exchanging information and mobilization.

Resource mobilization

For a movement to be successful, money is needed. Websites, advertisement and time costs money. All those things are needed to create more support, because you cannot support something you did not know existed.

Black Lives Matter

As described above, the leaders of the Black Lives Matter movement adapt their messages to different groups of people in order to mobilize as many people as possible for their movement (Bonilla & Tillery, 2020). This would automatically increase budget from donations and other events because of the growing number of supporters. After the death of Trayvon Martin a network of anti-racism organizations build a network to bundle power and resources (Ransby, 2018). On many websites it states that a lot of celebrities are openly supporting the black liver matter movement. News websites like Harper's Bazaar Singapore (Levy, 2020), Us Weekly (Nardino, 2020), Fox News (McCarthy, 2020), Washington Post (Rao, 2020), and more write appraisingly about celebrities supporting and donating to the Black Lives Matter movement. In addition, the website of the Black Lives Matter movement sells merchandise. The purpose of selling merchandise is that most of the money goes to the movement itself so that they can use that for the causes they stand for and for more publicity (Black Lives Matter Store, n.d.).

Rhodes Must Fall

According to the article of Chowdhury (2019) the Rhodes Must Fall movement consist mainly of students in South Africa. He had difficulties getting in touch with the students to talk about their movement, as they did not want to create misconceptions about the movement (Chowdhury, 2019, p. 6). This cannot have a positive effect on mobilization and thus on donations. Another argument is that the Rhodes Must Fall movement does not have its own website, while the Black Lives Matter movement does. The Rhodes Must Fall movement does have supporters in the United Kingdom, especially from Oxford University, where they also want statues of Cecil Rhodes removed. Martin (2008) argues that the use of human resources is an important part in effective strategy within a social movement, and that less institutionalized people are better to have within a social movement, because they see the cause of the movement as most important. These are the most committed activists who will lead to more mobilization of others (Martin, 2008). The students supporting Rhodes Must Fall are connected to the university. They could possibly get kicked out of school if they cause too much trouble for the university.

Resource mobilization compared

The Black Lives Matter movement has a clear mobilization technique consisting of personalized messages from the leaders, a website where the motivation and explanation for the movement can be found and where merchandise is sold, and celebrities supporting the movement with money and publicity. The Rhodes Must Fall movement, on the other hand, consists mainly of students who do not wish to speak openly to everyone about what they stand for. Next to that, they do not have their own website where more information can be found that is provided by the founders or leaders which automatically leads to no merchandise being sold. Even if this is a carefully chosen tactic, it would not contribute to gaining more supporters or money. It is possible that the students supporting Rhodes Must Fall are afraid to get kicked out of university for violence or unnecessary protesting.

Media Representation

The way that the movements are presented in the news can be a factor in explaining why one movement is more successful than the other. The status quo that is presented in a news broadcast has influence on viewer identification with the protesters (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). A positive media representation might activate supporters who would normally not be reached by other messaging strategies. Other way around, a negative media representation could demobilize or make people actively express their negative opinion (Theocharis, Lowe & Deth, 2014). Before the news articles are analyzed, it is necessary to know how free the press is in both countries. A country with a more press freedom is more likely to contain criticisms in the news and media. According to Flavin & Montgomery (2019), in countries with more press freedom, illegitimate acts like corruption come sooner to light. Press freedom has a positive effect on educating citizens and potentially allowing them to better hold their elected officials accountable (Flavin & Montgomery, 2019). South Africa is on the 31st place out of 180 countries on a dataset ranking press freedom in 2020 and had the same place last year. The United States are on place 45 and were on 48 in 2019, but both places are in the same category on the press freedom scale from RSF Reporters Without Borders. they claim that Trumps presidency has been responsible for the lowering press freedom in the United States (RSF Reporters Without Borders, 2020). There might be more press freedom in South Africa than there is in the United States, but the difference is not considerable.

When looking up newspapers in the United States and filtering the ones that are business related or tabloids, the first two that came up are the USA Today and the Washington Post. To begin with USA Today, when looking up 'Black Lives Matter', the headlines were solidly in favor of the Black Lives Matter movement. Not all contained the movement directly, but they did all include harm that was done to black people, black people in political functions and of course the recent elections where President Joe Biden was elected with Kamela Harris, a black woman, as the first black vice president in the United States ever. Some headlines were: "BLM activist becomes Missouri's first Black congresswoman", "Poll worker fired after turning away voters in Black Lives Matter shirts, masks" and "Trump claims BLM protests are violent. The majority are peaceful. It is clear that there is a lot of frustration around the subject of protests for Black Lives Matter. In one article a claim about the protests was made: "President Donald Trump and his supporters continue to warn voters that big cities run by Democrats are "going to hell" due to violence associated with Black Lives Matter protests that erupted nationwide this summer in the wake of a series of police killings of Black Americans." (Hauck, Hughes, Abdel-Baqui, Torres, & Gardner, 2020).

When conducting the same method on the Washington Post similar kinds of news articles came forward: "Black Lives Matter flag becomes issue in Florida community", "Supreme Court sides with Black Lives Matter activist in First American case" and "In Gettysburg, Trump supporters clash with Black Lives Matter Protesters as election nears" (Washington Post, 2020). These headlines in the newspapers have a similar type of content. The headlines of both papers suggest that the media supports Black Lives Matter, that they can also out critiques towards government policy, but that they also stay neutral when reporting about conflict and protests.

Rhodes Must Fall

When looking up newspaper in South Africa while using the same tactics as mentioned above, the first one that came up are the Sunday Times and, because the Rhodes Must Fall movement mostly lives under students, also a university publication newspaper is included. This will be the Varsity newspaper, because this newspaper is published by the University of Cape Town, the university where the movement initially began. When looking up 'Rhodes Must Fall' on the Sunday Times website, the first thing that stands out is that the first hit within this newspaper is from ten months ago. The two following are from one year ago and two years

ago. The headlines are: "Rhodes won't fall, says head of Oxford University Scholarship Programme" and "Replace legal processes with TRC equivalent, Fees Must Fall activists tell government", TRC being the Truth and Reconciliation Committee. The headlines in this newspaper are harder than in the American newspapers. Rhodes Must Fall itself is not mentioned in these headlines, but Fees Must Fall is. When looking for 'Fees Must Fall' different and more recent headlines come up: "Is South Africa headed for a protracted, race-based civil war?", "#FeesMustFall: It was emotionally, psychologically and physically draining" and "my parent didn't want me to join, but they were struggling to pay my fees" (Sunday Times, 2020). These headlines directly criticize the current situation in South Africa regarding Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall. The headlines point out that racism and the problems around the movements create an unstable society and has led or will lead to more violence.

On the UCT Varsity 'Rhodes Must Fall' almost had no hits, but 'Fees Must Fall' on the other hand did get a lot of results. The first three were: "The Decolonised Anthem: #DividedWeFall", "Exclusion must fall" and "#HypocrisyMustFall". These headlines do not immediately speak for themselves, but after reading the message became clear. The article about #DividedWeFall is about Fees Must Fall supporters from the University of Cape Town who refuse to sing the official national anthem because they made their own 'decolonized anthem' that is free of English and Afrikaans. The author of the article claims that the official national anthem brings all South Africans together in their love for the country and that the decolonized anthem will divide the students on campus and thus decrease mobilization for Fees Must Fall (Maggott, 2018). The Exclusion Must Fall article talked about protesters and the university coming to an agreement about admission changes (Chigona, 2017). The #HypocrisyMustFall article was about conflict between Zuma Must Fall protestors, Zuma being a member of the ANC, and Fees Must Fall protestors, feeling neglected because of the great turn out of the Zuma Must Fall protests (Heron & Khulu, 2017). These articles show that next to Rhodes Must Fall, there are many other movements amongst students in South Africa that sometimes even collide. Press freedom is visible, because the articles contain criticisms towards Must Fall movements as well towards what they are fighting against.

Media Representation Compared

The Newspaper headlines analyzed from the United States show great support for the causes of Black Lives Matter. Mistakes made by government institutions are reported but the government institutions remain their dignity. Comparing them to the South African articles, it is arguable that the American articles are softer in their critiques towards the government and other institutions that would confirm the theory that there is indeed less press freedom in the United States then there is in South Africa. The Newspapers analyzed from South Africa give other insights. The national newspaper Sunday Times remains quite neutral when reporting on events regarding Rhodes Must Fall, protests and other racism related subjects. The UCT Varsity shows that different kinds of #MustFall movements clash regularly but also can bundle their power. Apart from the colliding, this can be seen as a sign of an unorganized and ineffective movement. There are no signs in both countries that the government has an extreme negative reaction on the movements, except for President Donald Trump who claims that Black Lives Matter protests are mostly violent and member of parliament in South Africa are under a media attack. There are no signs of violent repression towards protestors if they are protesting harmlessly. In the Sunday Times is an article about head of Oxford University Scholarship Programme refusing to remove a statue from campus, what can be seen as a sign of active oppression. Rhodes Must Fall supporters lack publicity and the public authorities in South Africa position the protestors as violent villains to be silenced, obstructing them from voicing political dissent and legal protest (Knudsen & Andersen, 2018). To conclude, in the United States there is an overall positive messaging about Black Lives Matter and other antiracism stories. In South Africa newspaper are not particularly positive about Rhodes Must Fall, Fees Must Fall or other Must Fall's and these movements may be actively oppressed by the government. This argues that the American news representation of Black Lives Matter is able to mobilize more people than Rhodes Must Fall and other Must Fall movements are able via South African newspapers.

6. Conclusion

The first assumption that cultural grievances from racism in the past and present are similar and thus cannot function as an explanation for different mobilization strategy outcomes is proven. When looking at the other mobilization strategies, Black Lives Matter adapted better strategies using personalized messages, websites and publicity from celebrities. The tactics the leaders of the movement have used created a lot of support all over the world. The Rhodes Must Fall movement, consisting of students, cared less for publicity, but used social media as a communication platform for mobilization. Black Lives Matter used a broader range of messaging strategies and resource mobilization as well in networking strategies than Rhodes Must Fall. Rhodes Must Fall supporters had the university as a starting platform to connect with each other, which Black Lives Matter supporters did not have in the beginning. The newspaper analysis shows that the Rhodes Must Fall movement has many other 'Must Fall' movements around them, automatically more unorganized than Black Lives Matter. In addition, the newspaper analysis showed that Black Lives Matter was more positively presented in the American newspapers than Rhodes Must Fall was in South African newspapers. This argues that people in the United States who would normally not be reached by such a movement would sooner be leaning towards participating than South Africans would.

The comparison of the mobilization strategies of both movements can be useful for many actors. The Rhodes Must Fall movement could view the Black Lives Matter movement as an example for better mobilization techniques if they wish to. furthermore, other movements could look at Black Lives Matter and Rhodes Must Fall to see what would fit their own best.

Shortcomings of this research are that more factors could have been included in this research. More depth within the arguments could have made a clearer vision on why the differences occurred. A suggestion for further research could be a broader study or a study that could give a prediction on how these movements will continue and maybe change in the future. Also, it could be interesting to look at more anti-racism movements around the world and compare those. In addition, it could be interesting to analyze the interaction between anti-racism movements and the government in the present day, or do a broader media analysis than has been done in this research because this research has been limited regarding the newspaper analysis.

7. References

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