


Facebook activism and socio-political change: The perception of BlackLivesMatter and Catalan independence movement participants

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Abstract

This article presents a comparative analysis of participants' perceptions of digital activism within two distinct social movements. Each movement has distinct goals and participants, and operates in a different geographical location. Specifically, this research compares the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and the Catalan independence movement. It aims to determine whether participants in the BLM and Catalan independence movements perceived digital activism as effective and to understand the reasons behind their participation. A survey was administered to 200 participants of each movement on their respective Facebook activism in 2020. The findings suggest that digital activism is considered a legitimate and effective means of promoting change in the public sphere. Regarding digital engagement, the research indicates that the most effective way to increase participation is demonstrating to participants that the movement's goals would benefit them personally and would improve their lives. This perception is analysed contextually in order to quantify results through a historical perspective.

Keywords: Facebook; Digital Activism; Social Movements; Black Lives Matter; Catalan Independence Movement; Social Change perception

Resum. *Activisme a Facebook i canvi sociopolític: la percepció dels participants a Black Lives Matter i al moviment independentista de Catalunya*

Aquest article presenta una anàlisi comparativa de l'activisme digital en dos moviments socials diferents, cadascun amb els seus propis objectius i participants, que operen en geografies diferents. Es tracta del moviment Black Lives Matter (BLM) i del moviment per la independència de Catalunya (CIM en anglès). L'objectiu d'aquesta recerca és determinar si els participants en aquests moviments conceben com a eficaç l'activisme digital, així com obtenir informació sobre les raons de la seva participació. En aquesta recerca s'ha utilitzat l'instrument d'una enquesta administrada a dos-cents participants de cada moviment a Facebook el 2020. Les principals troballes indiquen que l'activisme digital és percebut com una forma genuïna i efectiva d'activisme polític pels qui cerquen aconseguir canvis en l'esfera pública. Quant al compromís digital, la recerca indica que el mètode més eficaç per augmentar la qualitat i la quantitat de la participació és demostrar als participants que els canvis que persegueix el moviment els beneficiaran personalment i milloraran les seves vides. Una certa perspectiva històrica permet matisar aquesta percepció, que cal analitzar en un sentit contextual.

Paraules clau: Facebook; activisme digital; moviments socials; Black Lives Matter; moviment independentista català; percepció de canvi social

Resumen. *Activismo en Facebook y cambio sociopolítico: la percepción de los participantes en Black Lives Matter y en el movimiento independentista de Catalunya*

Este artículo presenta un análisis comparativo del activismo digital en dos movimientos sociales distintos, cada uno con sus propios objetivos y participantes, que operan en geografías diferentes. Se trata del Movimiento Black Lives Matter (BLM) y del movimiento por la independencia de Cataluña (CIM en inglés). El objetivo de esta investigación es determinar si los participantes en estos movimientos conciben como eficaz el activismo digital, así como obtener información sobre las razones de su participación. En esta investigación se ha utilizado el instrumento de una encuesta administrada a doscientos participantes de cada movimiento en Facebook en 2020. Los principales hallazgos indican que el activismo digital es percibido como una forma genuina y efectiva de activismo político por quienes buscan lograr cambios en la esfera pública. En cuanto al compromiso digital, la investigación indica que el método más eficaz para aumentar la calidad y la cantidad de la participación es demostrar a los participantes que los cambios que persigue el movimiento les beneficiarán personalmente y mejorarán sus vidas. Una cierta perspectiva histórica permite matizar esta percepción, que debe analizarse en un sentido contextual.

Palabras clave: Facebook; activismo digital; movimientos sociales; Black Lives Matter; movimiento independentista catalán; percepción de cambio social

1. Introduction

Social movements use social media as a tool to further their mission because it gives them access not only to a large number of users but particularly to those with the power to make change (Wiesslitz, 2023). Social media has empowered protestors in three key areas: public awareness, evading censorship, and coordination or logistics (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012). Although social media is used and will continue to be used by current and future move-

ments, many people remain sceptical of its impact. This is partly because online activism is sometimes seen as *slacktivism* or *flash activism* instead of genuine activism, due to the minimal effort and sacrifice it requires compared to traditional activism. The term *slacktivism* was coined by Dwight Ozard and Fred Clark in 1995, combining the words 'slacker' and 'activism' as a criticism of young people's lack of effort as activists.

Facebook has over three billion active users around the world and is the most popular network worldwide (Statista, 2025), so the level of potential impact it offers is unmatched. As it is used not just as a platform for connection and communication but also as a digital public forum, it has increased its pre-eminence in social and political dialogue and action. With minimal gatekeeping, users can express themselves freely, form collective identities and mobilise (Campos & Da Silva, 2024). While other platforms such as X focus on trends and real-time updates, Facebook has been a space for longer narratives and content, as well as for community mobilisation via groups and events. Thanks to its various functions, Facebook has been an essential tool for social movements such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the Catalan independence movement (CIM), especially for the inclusion of people beyond those movements' immediate networks.

The decision to analyse the Black Lives Matter movement and the Catalan independence movement was a result of both personal experiences and academic motivations. The authors were able to observe the two movements directly, and to apply personal insight into the culture of their contexts. The most significant rationale, however, is that both movements, while different, showcase digital activism that had a global impact. Despite being very different both in terms of location and objectives, they were quite similar in their use of Facebook to coordinate members and communicate their message. Even though there is a plethora of scholarship relating to the movements (e.g., Ince, Rojas & Davis, 2017; Gagnon, Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2019), there is a comparative research gap, and not much has been written on participants' perceptions of their impact on their respective movements. By evaluating participants' perceptions of their impact, this study addresses the gap.

The Black Lives Matter movement is active globally but originated in 2013, by the activists Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Ayo Tometi. They diffused the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter after the person who killed Trayvon Martin was found not guilty of murder, ending their emotional post with '*Black Lives Matter*'. "The post and correspondingly the hashtag spread virally across social media platforms and crystallized in an on- and offline social movement that brought conversations on race into mainstream discourse, particularly shootings of African-American men by police officers" (Arif, Stewart & Starbird, 2018: 20). The purpose of BLM is to obtain justice for and fair treatment of Black people in the United States and around the world, especially from law enforcement. It has become an umbrella for activism against the countless injustices, killings and unfair treatment of Black people in every geographical region on Earth. The movement has been

a significant advocate for reform, proposing numerous new legislative measures through its Campaign Zero initiative to safeguard the rights of African Americans. Campaign Zero comprises ten proposals, all of which are designed to reduce police violence (Library of Congress, 2019). These measures have subsequently been enacted in the majority of US states.

The Catalan independence movement has been active for several years within the Catalan community, a cultural group of 8.4 million people native to or living in Catalonia (Cole, 2011). Some Catalan people continue to demand independence from Spain and have participated in activism after repeatedly failing to secure independence for Catalonia. In 2006, the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia was approved by Catalan referendum but rejected by the Spanish Constitutional Court, which led to the beginning of a protest movement (Marcet, 2019). In 2010, the first big protest was held. The persistence of the Catalan people led to their petition for a referendum on independence in 2014, which the Spanish government rejected. A few years later, Carles Puigdemont, the then President of Catalunya, announced an independence referendum for 1 October 2017, without permission from the Spanish government. In response, police forces were deployed to disrupt the voting process, resulting in injuries to individuals and the imprisonment and exile of both organisers and government officials. Beyond public discussion about the political conflict, the Catalan independence movement also acted as a “catalyst of organizational communication of popular demonstrations and protests, bringing special attention to the role of social networks and apps as mobilization tools” (Gagnon et al., 2019: 165).

The major differences between BLM and the Catalan independence movement are the circumstances surrounding the movements and their objectives. Even though the history, context, politics and cultures are vastly different, both movements use Facebook to mobilise participants and make an impact. In order to ensure that social media activism reaches its full potential to be impactful, it is imperative to understand the motives and actions of participants in different movements. This will be achieved through an analysis of the survey responses of 200 participants from each movement, which will investigate the nature of their participation.

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Digital activism and social change*

There has been a significant increase in research on social media and social movements (Ferré-Pavia & Perales Garcia, 2015; Balcells & Padró-Solanet, 2016; Cohen & Jackson, 2016; Hoffman et al., 2016; Micó & Carbone, 2017; Guerrero-Solé, 2017; Taulé et al., 2017; Puig Abril, 2017; Campbell, 2018). Some of these studies have examined the role of digital activism in facilitating social change in multiple contexts (Mindel et al., 2024; Rohm, Valuano & Xavier, 2023; Pérez-Escobar, Tapia & Lozano, 2020; Shi, 2016).

In spite of a lack of consensus among scholars regarding the impact of social movements on social networks and their capacity to drive sociopolitical change, an abundance of literature highlights the potential of digital communication to shift changes (Rohma, 2025; Naithani & Tapha, 2025; Ford & Sinpeng, 2024).

On the subject of the reach and significance of online actions, it is difficult to quantify the impact and meaning of actions on social media such as liking or sharing a post. Even the participants were ambivalent when discussing the implications of their actions and “many Twitter/X users publicly state that a retweet is not equal to endorsement” (Freelon, McIlwain & Clark, 2016). Conversely, some studies do not identify an evident impact, and argue that there is no discernible correlation between use of social media and the materialisation of social transformation (Farooq et al., 2021).

A “social activist” has been defined as an individual or group that engages in collective action with the objective of drawing attention to and resolving social problems (Barton & Hart, 2023). Digital activism is facilitated by digital platforms that provide support and recognition for diverse identities, thereby encouraging the creation of new political and social intervention initiatives (Campos & Da Silva, 2024).

Previous research has identified benefits of social media activism, recognising that it can be valid and impactful but only when combined with traditional activism (Ahmed, Jaidka & Cho, 2017). Some have argued that a movement must exist and thrive first, and only then utilize social media as a supplementary tool to be effective.

Some studies that focused on Facebook categorized it “as a source of information for those who are not otherwise exposed, and those who have little political interest” (Siegel, 2018: 8). Additionally, it connects those who would not normally have access to those in power and to larger groups. Social media provides an opportunity for global audiences to gain insight and knowledge. Activists can gain access through it because “social media helps level a media playing field dominated by pro-corporate, pro-government and (in the USA) anti-Black ideologies” (Freelon et al., 2016: 9). In fact, “social media creates participation opportunities – such as boosting protest turnout or supporting fundraising campaigns – that broaden mobilization, thus helping scale movement endeavours” (Mundt, Ross & Burnett, 2018: 1).

Digital social activism plays a role in raising awareness of the specific issues that arise in different regions. Many activists, influencers and advocates engage with both their local communities and transnational networks, seeking to build support and solidarity (Gajjala, 2023). Focusing on gender communication, Wiesslitz (2023) argues that women are asserting their rights, challenging the prevailing patriarchal norms and asserting their authority through social media. Other studies focusing on gender violence point out that in these instances, the function of transnational social media platforms is to facilitate the formation of alternative arenas for collective action and informal modes of dispute resolution (Kharroub, 2023).

Ghobadi & Sonenshein (2024) argue that social movements employ a combination of content positioning and social networking strategies that lead to achieving agreements, which are facilitated by influencing perceptions and potential strategic collaborations. The digital domain has been designated as a political space (Hofmann & Pawlak, 2023). In this digital environment, social media acts as a conduit for social interaction, communication, dissemination of information and the display of activism, thereby creating avenues for change.

2.2. Digital mobilisation of BLM

The BLM movement has been subjected to extensive analysis, particularly given how long it has been active, which coincides with sustained police violence against Black individuals (Edrington & Lee, 2018; Ince et al., 2017). Awareness and protests around Trayvon Martin (2012), Atiana Jefferson (2019), George Floyd (2020) and Sonya Massey (2024) exemplify the enduring impact of the BLM movement, which has gained significant traction in disparate geographical contexts, reiterating its motto. The Colombian Lives Matter movement (Miller et al., 2020) and the All Lives Matter slogan, which was created as a negative response to combat the BLM movement, show the impact of this phenomenon (Goodman, Tafi & Coyle, 2022).

Regarding the use of social media in the BLM movement, it has been found that there have been action strategies for social change for BLM using Twitter/X (Wilkins, Livingstone & Levine, 2019). Narrey (2023) identifies three discursive strategies of BLM on Twitter/X. First, the movement critiques oppressive institutions and systemic racism. Second, it denounces white supremacy and reframes demeaning racial narratives. Third, it draws attention to racist attitudes and commends individuals who oppose such behaviour. By employing these strategies, the BLM movement amplifies the voices of Black people, so that issues around their development, progress and welfare are shifted from the margins to a more central position.

Digital media has reduced the need for centralised organisational leadership while simultaneously facilitating expeditious activism (Gallicano et al., 2023; Lev-On, 2019). It is important to note, however, that the degree of benefit achieved depends on how the technology in question is used.

At the same time, Mundt et al. (2018) argue that while the benefits of using social media outweigh the negatives, governance of online media platforms is imperative to mitigate the existing risks that social media can pose for activists, as shown in the case of BLM. Furthermore, Facebook has been employed as a means of discrediting BLM activists (Kim & Bas, 2023). It is not uncommon for demonstrators to be subjected to stigmatisation; they are frequently the subject of ad hominem attacks which seek to discredit them (Castillo, Caro & Almansa, 2023). Social media is often used as a platform for disseminating hate speech and fake news.

2.3. Digital mobilisation of the Catalan independence movement

The last big wave of social media activism for the Catalan independence movement between 2016 and 2018 received global attention (Pellistrandi, 2018; Turp et al., 2017; Martí & Cetrà, 2016). Previous research recognized that the Catalan political conflict was also fostered through the media, by organizing demonstrations and other offline and online mobilization actions (Gagnon et al., 2019).

In the context of the Catalan independence movement, several studies have indicated that the various layers of interaction serve distinct functions. Moreover, it appears that parliamentarians have adopted a strategic approach in the media (Esteve del Valle, 2015). The phenomenon has strained communication between party representatives who espouse similar ideologies. Conversely, it has provided a conduit for dialogue between members of parliament from disparate parties and ideologies (Esteve del Valle & Bravo, 2018). Twitter/X appears to possess a dual nature, facilitating both the heterogeneous public sphere and the formation of echo chambers.

Furthermore, this has highlighted the crucial function of social media in the progression of the Catalan independence movement. For Gagnon et al. (2019), social media has become a fundamental pillar of the independence movement, helping to overcome state-imposed institutional obstacles and the internationalisation of the issue across transnational networks. This study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. Was digital activism perceived as effective by participants in the BLM and Catalan independence movements?

RQ2. What are the reasons behind participants' participation?

3. Method

The aims of this study are to determine whether social media activism was perceived as effective by participants in the BLM and Catalan independence movements, as well as to gather information about how and why they participated in these movements. By comparing the data gathered from both movements, the authors hope to establish what inspires people, and how to inspire them to participate consistently and effectively in social media movements.

3.1. Tools and coding

The questions administered to the total sample relate to their self-perceptions and to their activism, particularly on Facebook, as well as their views of the success of the movement they participated in. The questions were as follows:

1. Name, age and gender
2. Opinion about involvement in the movement
3. Opinion about their own activism on Facebook

4. Explanation of their participation offline
5. Reasons, in their own words, to participate in the movement
6. Opinion about what contributes to decreased online participation
7. Their self-identification as activists based on their online participation
8. Opinion about whether the movement achieved its goals
9. Opinion about the movement's effectiveness in achieving social change
10. Opinion about the movement's effectiveness in achieving legal change
11. Whether online participation contributed to the movement's success

3.2. *Sample*

The research tool was an online survey administered to 200 participants in the BLM movement and 201 participants in the Catalan independence movement on Facebook in 2020. Recruitment for participants was done via social media, namely Facebook and WhatsApp groups for the movements. Participation was voluntary, without any compensation, and was anonymous for ethical reasons.

The gender distribution of BLM participants was 48.5% female and 51.5% male, obtained randomly, which is almost equal and avoids gender bias. This was similar for the Catalan independence movement, with participants being 50% male, 49% female and the remaining 1% declining to state. There was a diverse age range for both movements, from 16 to 85 years old.

One research limitation was the sample size, although a sample of 401 participants permits statistical interpretation in social sciences.

4. Results

The results data will be presented in this chapter and interpreted in the following chapter. The survey results were coded in Excel and interpreted.

4.1. *Online involvement and types of participation*

When asked about their online involvement in BLM, 46.5% said they were moderately involved, 20.5% replied they were very involved and 33% said they were uninvolved (resulting in 67% total positive involvement – for this study, “positive involvement” refers to involvement by those who disclosed they were moderately or very involved in online activism). For the Catalan independence movement, 35% said they were very involved, 35.5% said they were moderately involved (70.5% positive involvement) and 29.5% said they were uninvolved. It is important to note that perception is relative, and these responses did not coincide fully with other responses which indicated that participants were more involved than they said they were.

Regarding types of personal online participation in the movement, for BLM, 68.5% liked other people's posts, 54.5% changed their profile pictures, 51% shared other people's posts, 48% made personal posts, 32% joined a group relating to the cause, 17.5% live-streamed events, 14% created events and 11% fundraised. For the same question regarding the Catalan independence movement, 64.2% changed their profile picture, 62.2% liked other people's posts, 52.7% made personal posts, 52.5% shared other people's posts, 35% joined a group relating to the cause, 21.4% live-streamed events, 18.4% created events and 14.9% fundraised.

We can see that posting, liking and sharing represent an important part of participation; more than live events or fundraising in both movements.

4.2. *Offline participation and motivations*

Regarding offline participation in the movements, 58.5% of BLM participants participated offline through protests or events, while 41.5% did not participate offline. For the Catalan independence movement, however, the vast majority, 74%, participated offline, through protests, fundraisers, meetings and programs, while 26% did not. It can be argued that the Catalan independence movement represents a significant mobilising force, albeit one that is more offline than online. This conclusion came through the survey data, which showed that 74% of Catalan independence movement participants took part in offline activities while 70.5% took part in online activities. This data was self-reported and shows that participants perceived themselves as slightly more active offline than online, which highlights the movement's foundation in traditional activism.

With regards to participants' motivations, in BLM, 52.5% agreed with the statement *'You are passionate about the issue'*, 50.5% agreed that *'You are concerned about the future'*, 48% agreed that *'Your friends/co-workers are affected by the issue'*, 48% chose *'You want to help'* which shows the importance of altruism, 47% chose *'You and/or your family members are affected by the issue'*, 39% chose *'It's just the right thing to do'*, 19.5% chose *'Other people's passion about the issue inspires you'*, and 2.5% said they were *'Not sure'*.

For the Catalan independence movement, 63.7% chose *'Your friends/co-workers are affected by the issue'*, 62.2% said *'You and/or your family members are affected by the issue'*, 54.2% selected *'You are passionate about the issue'*, 49.3% said *'You are concerned about the future'*, 35.3% marked *'You want to help'*, 17.9% said *'Other people's passion about the issue inspires you'*, 35.8% selected *'It is just the right thing to do'*, 0.5% said *'Not sure'*. In both cases, being personally affected by the issue or knowing someone who is affected by the issue are the most powerful reasons for action and participation.

4.3. *Reasons for decrease in participation*

On the other hand, the main reasons for decreased participation in the movements were, in the cases of BLM, that participants were busy, believed issues

had been resolved and were not as popular, and that they forgot. At the same time, 22.5% said there had been no decrease in their participation. Being busy was not an excuse for participants in the Catalan independence movement, however; the majority attributed their decrease in participation to the issues being resolved. Approximately 20% explained it was because problems were not as popular and because their actions would not change the outcome. Around 20% also said that they had not decreased participation.

In such instances, the perception of the positive effects resulting from mobilisation differed between the two cases. In the case of BLM, a decline in engagement may be attributed to a sense of busyness or lack of interest. In the context of the Catalan independence movement, disengagement may be driven by a sense of disappointment or a perceived lack of community action, potentially leading to a perception of reduced popularity.

4.4. Self-perception of activism and movement effectiveness

A majority (63%) of BLM participants self-identify as activists based on their online activities, while an additional 45.5% indicated they would consider themselves to be activists if they were not already. For the Catalan independence movement, 54.5% of the participants in the survey would consider themselves activists.

In terms of participants' perceptions of whether BLM was effective, 69% said 'yes' while 31% chose 'no'. For the Catalan independence movement, 57.1% said it was effective while 42.9% said it was not.

Concerning success in bringing about changes in legislation, in the BLM survey 67.5% thought it was effective while 32.5% thought it was not. For the Catalan independence movement, the results were 50-50. Regarding whether BLM was successful in achieving its goals, 47.2% of participants said it was, 39.2% said 'to some extent' and 13.6% said 'no'. For the Catalan independence movement, 17.9% said 'yes', 51.2% said 'to some extent', and 30.8% said 'no'. These results show that participants' perceptions of the Catalan independence movement are very different to those of BLM.

Responses to the question about how they thought the movement could be more effective also varied between the BLM and Catalan independence movements; 51% and 43% respectively advocated '*more physical/in-person participation*', 27% and 44.55% suggested '*more celebrity participation*', 39% and 23% respectively suggested '*better organization*', and 34% and 41% respectively selected '*more direct contact with those who can make the changes*.'

Regarding whether their participation contributed to the success of the BLM movement, 68.5% said that it did contribute but 31.5% said that it did not. Similarly, for the Catalan independence movement, 68% said it did and 32% said it did not. In both groups, participants felt that their contributions had made a real impact on the success of the movement despite the different contexts in which they occurred.

5. Discussion and conclusions

One of the limitations of a survey is that responses are contingent upon individual perceptions, which are inherently subjective and may not align with objective reality. It was therefore reassuring to see that responses and results for both movements were very similar. The only questions where there was a significant discrepancy in responses were those pertaining to offline participation, for which the results indicated that over 25% more individuals in the Catalan independence movement than in BLM participated offline; the question concerning motives for participation, in which a larger proportion of participants in the Catalan independence movement selected responses for all options except *'others' passion inspired them* and *'they wanted to help'*; and the perception of effectiveness, for which a greater proportion of BLM participants than those in the Catalan independence movement perceived the movement as effective.

For both movements, the majority of participants believed they were at least moderately involved, but results from other questions suggested that more people than stated were very involved. Subsequent research would be to ascertain the nature of that involvement. The majority of participants in both groups engaged with the Facebook platform in ways that required minimal effort, such as changing profile pictures and liking other users' statuses. However, approximately half of participants created personal posts, which requires more effort and demonstrates their personal commitment to the goals. This is also reflected in the numbers for offline participation, with the majority also participating offline through protests, events and fundraisers. This proves that those who participate online are not necessarily uncommitted and unwilling to make the sacrifices required by traditional activism.

This raises the question of what motivates individuals to become involved in these movements. The findings indicate that personal experience is a significant factor in determining levels of commitment to the causes. This is evident from the responses provided for both movements, which revealed that people participate when they are passionate about the issue; when they themselves, their family, friends and/or co-workers are affected; and/or when they are concerned about the future. This indicates that in order to achieve participation, it is crucial for movements to demonstrate and emphasise the direct impact of the changes they are seeking on participants.

The rationale behind the actions of participants was further elucidated when most respondents indicated that they perceived the social movements to have been effective and to have attained their objectives, at least to some degree. This indicates that participants believe the movements are effective and that they have made a difference, which provides an incentive to participate. Additionally, from a personal standpoint, the majority also stated that they not only considered themselves activists based on their social media activism (63% for BLM and 54.5% for the Catalan independence movement) but they also believed their individual participation helped the movement to be

successful. Additionally, the results show that most participants did not have the majority of their friends participating, which suggests that the desire for change is driven by a genuine need for change, rather than by the influence of trends (Chon, 2023).

After analysing and comparing the responses from participants in the BLM and Catalan independence movements, the three most significant conclusions that can be drawn from coinciding results are as follows:

1. Social media activism can be defined as a form of activism, as it is perceived by those who engage in it as a means of effecting tangible change, rather than merely seeking to align themselves with a popular movement or trend. These individuals hold the view that this kind of activism is effective.
2. The optimal method for increasing the quality and level of participation is to demonstrate to participants that the changes sought by the movement would be personally advantageous to them and would enhance the future for them and those they care about. It is essential to establish a personal connection. It is also recommended that participants be reminded regularly that issues have not yet been resolved. It is also important to maintain consistency in movement activity and popularity, and to keep a sense of hope alive.
3. The majority of those involved in social media activism (at least in these two particular instances) simultaneously engaged in conventional forms of activism. Participants believe that such participation is indispensable for the establishment of a successful movement.

Awareness of these three principal aspects will facilitate the empowerment of both current and future social movements, enabling them to optimise the involvement of participants, devise strategies to enhance their efficacy, and ultimately contribute to social or political change.

The findings of this study align with and show a continuation of previous studies. In agreement with Mundt et al. (2018) and Ahmed et al. (2017), this study affirms that online activism does not replace offline activism, but rather works in tandem with it. Instead of focusing on other platforms such as Twitter/X, as Freelon et al. do (2016), this study focuses on Facebook and its continued role in maintaining participation in movements with diverse objectives. This study is a continuation and further contribution to research by Chon (2023) and by Ghobadi & Sonenshein (2024), as it focuses on participants' perceptions and shows how these influence the motivation to continue participation in digital movements.

This study is open to further research, particularly to compare the state of legal and social changes with the participants' perceptions of those aspects, and to ascertain the accuracy of those perceptions.

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