

DISCUSSION PAPER



Which Way is the Bird Flying?

Murat Selvi

TRT WORLD
research
centre

Which Way is the Bird Flying?

Murat Selvi

© TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

WRITTEN BY

Murat Selvi

PUBLISHER

TRT WORLD RESEARCH CENTRE

January 2023

TRT WORLD İSTANBUL

AHMET ADNAN SAYGUN STREET NO:83 34347

ULUS, BEŞİKTAŞ

İSTANBUL / TURKEY

TRT WORLD LONDON

PORTLAND HOUSE

4 GREAT PORTLAND STREET NO:4

LONDON / UNITED KINGDOM

TRT WORLD WASHINGTON D.C.

1819 L STREET NW SUITE 700 20036

WASHINGTON DC

www.trtworld.com

researchcentre.trtworld.com

The opinions expressed in this discussion paper represent the views of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the TRT World Research Centre.

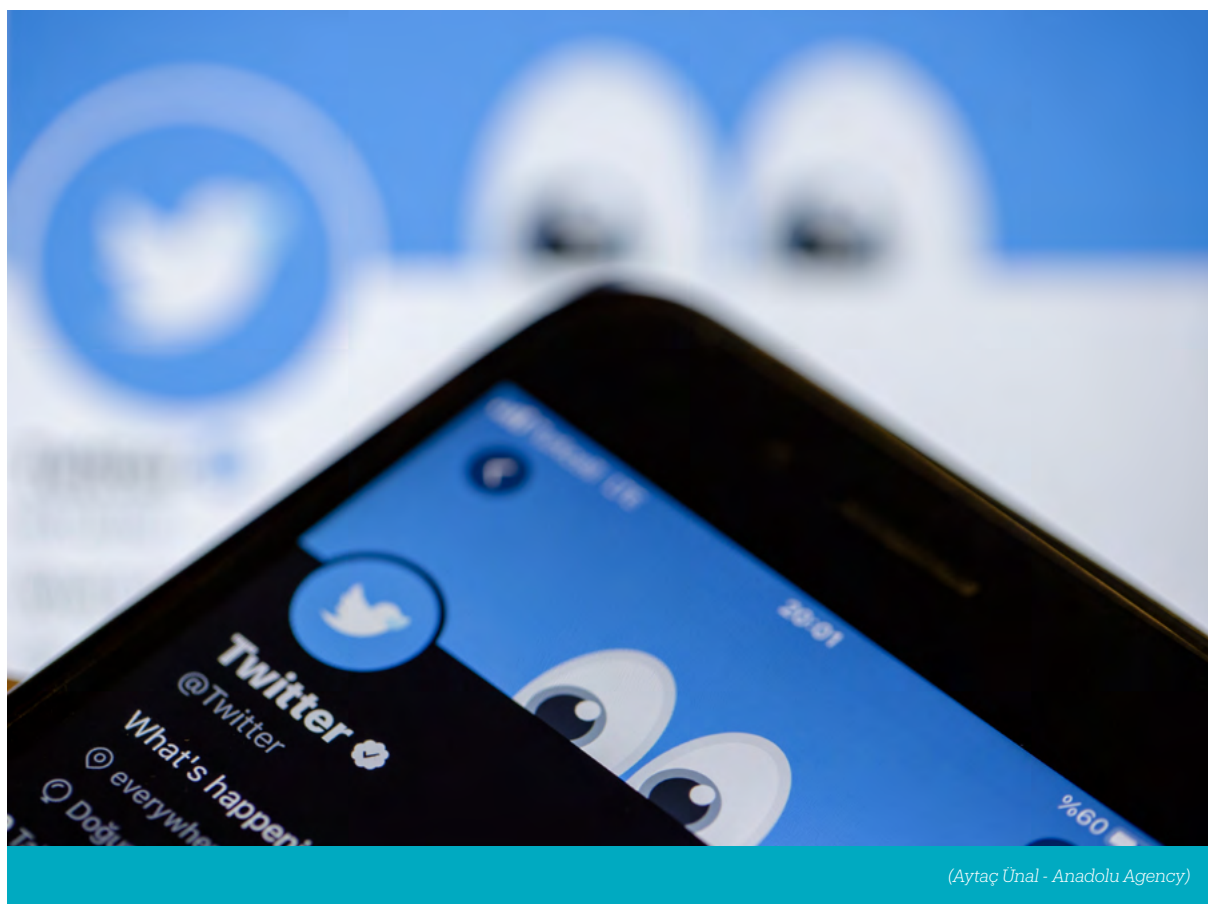
Introduction

Social media platforms have been digital communication tools at the centre of many social, political, and economic developments over the past two decades. Due to their structural features that allow interaction and their potential to build a new public space, social media platforms have caused changes not only in terms of their sociological effects but also on a sectoral basis, from communication to the functioning of domestic and foreign policy, and from advertising to propaganda activities (Lovari & Valentini, 2019). Furthermore, the fact that they can be used almost cost-free has caused them to become widespread very quickly, and their increasing popularity day by day has caused the non-use of social media to be considered strange (Zfat, 2017). These platforms, which are actively used by half of the world's population today, play a large part in daily life, from communication to entertainment, from education to news production and consumption, and have thus reached the capacity to shape society.

These platforms, which are now so intertwined with daily life, have been at the focal point of discussions for every period regarding their effects, and benefits or harms. In addition to being one of the most critical subjects of academic study, social media platforms have also been a subject discussed within traditional media. For a while, the focus of discussion has been the acquisition of Twitter, a platform which has hosted a significant number of social movements and political influence recently, by the wealthiest person in the world (Lessin, 2022). The platform - where politicians, celebrities, and interesting events become trending issues that concern and affect society - has recently been the leading actor on the agenda of its ownership.

Regarding Twitter, which has shown that even the account of an incumbent United States President can be suspended, opinions have been raised that it is the new digital public space. Twitter was considered a tool that provides freedom of expression, where people freely share their thoughts. It has been argued that the platform offers a space for communities at a socio-political disadvantage to have their voices heard and provides a practical and effective method of drawing the attention of lawmakers and the public to critical issues concerning the whole community. Of course, in addition to all these affirmative statements, serious criticisms have been voiced that it is an unequal platform that serves the rapid spread of disinformation, lies, and violent content. Contrary to offering a new and opportune public space, it was stated that no thought or idea had the possibility of being public anymore, causing division and cacophony in echo chambers, while fuelling social disintegration and radicalization (Han, 2022).

Twitter, the new toy of Elon Musk, will become a megaphone in the hands of a tycoon according to some. However, for others, Twitter will finally begin contributing to social interaction in an absolute sense. Although the question of whether the platform will survive in the long run is a serious one, it looks as if for now it is here to stay, with the number of users continuing to increase. In this article, we take a closer look at the now-free Bird, as Musk calls it.



(Aytaç Ünal - Anadolu Agency)

The Role of Twitter in Social Movements

Twitter is a microblogging and social networking service that allows users to post and read text messages known as "tweets". Launched in 2006, the platform quickly gained widespread popularity and had more than 360 million monthly active users as of 2022 (Dixon, 2022). Although it is far behind other giants in terms of the number of users, it can be described as the most effective social media platform when it comes to social, political, and financial matters. Twitter, which reached many users shortly after its establishment, has proven its impact regarding many social events to this day. Although its influence and interaction potential has not always benefited societies, it has led to radical changes in many areas, from politics to commerce, and from journalism to corporate communication.

Twitter has significantly impacted political discourse and how politicians communicate with the public (Jungherr, 2014). The platform allows politicians and governments to communicate directly with their constituents and share their thoughts and actions in real-time. This has led to greater transparency and accountability in the political

process. Twitter has also been used as a tool for political organizing and activism. Mobilizing support for political causes and coordinating political campaigns has become more accessible and affordable than ever. In addition, Twitter has been used to expose corruption and abuse of power and to hold politicians and governments accountable for their actions. However, Twitter has also been criticized for spreading misinformation and reinforcing extremist or taboo viewpoints. It has been suggested that the platform's algorithms may promote sensational or provocative content that could contribute to spreading false or misleading information. Moreover, the fact that people often interact with other users who are close to their own opinions and follow accounts that generally hold similar views, serves to create a vicious cycle that strengthens personal biases rather than creating a public open space for discussion. Despite its potential to spread polyphony and create a public space, the platform instead constructed these echo chambers, leading people to be more confident in their default perspectives, thus paving the way for a practice that powered political radicalization.

Twitter has played an essential role in several important events and has shaped how we communicate and learn about the world. One of the most notable examples of Twitter's influence occurred during the Arab Spring protests in the Middle East and North Africa in 2010 (Alhindi, Talha, & Ghazali, 2012). The Arab Spring was a series of pro-democracy uprisings. The protests, which began in Tunisia in December 2010 and spread to other countries, were fuelled in part by the desire for political reform, increased political freedoms, and improved economic conditions. Twitter played an essential role in the Arab Spring protests, especially in the early stages of the uprisings. The platform provided a way for protesters to communicate with each other and share information about protests with the outside world. It also allowed protesters to bypass traditional media channels and deliver their message directly to the public. In addition, the platform, which has led to a severe transformation of our consumption of news and awareness of current events, allowed the news about the protests to spread among the masses instantly. By allowing users to follow a wide variety of news sources and see updates in real-time, it has become a valuable resource for keeping up to date with the latest developments. Moreover, its ability to facilitate the sharing of information and the creation of connections has made it a valuable tool for individuals, organizations, and governments worldwide.

The use of Twitter and other social media platforms during the Arab Spring was an essential factor in the spread of the uprisings. The ability to quickly disseminate information and mobilize large numbers of people was crucial to organizing and sustaining protests. Nevertheless, Twitter's role in the Arab Spring was not without controversy (Guesmi, 2021). There were also concerns about the spread of misinformation on the platform and the reinforcement of extremist viewpoints. Some governments tried blocking or restricting platform access to disrupt the protests. However, social media platforms, especially Twitter, played a role in the centre of all protests since it is increasingly difficult to restrict access to social media in the internet age.

Another significant movement wherein Twitter played an important role was the Occupy movement. The Occupy Wall Street protests, also known as the "Occupy movement," were a series of protests in New York City and other cities worldwide in 2011 (Berkowitz, 2011). It began with the call of the Canadian activist group Adbusters, urging people to "Occupy Wall Street" to protest economic inequality and corporate greed. Twitter and other social media platforms were essential during the Occupy Wall Street protests. Some critics argued that the platform was used to spread misinformation. There were also concerns about

anonymous or pseudonymous users on the platform who could spread false or misleading information without being held responsible. The Occupy Wall Street protests were another example of the power of social media, particularly Twitter, as a tool to organize and coordinate political action. The platform's ability to facilitate communication and information dissemination was an essential factor in the protesters' ability to make their voices heard.

Former United States President Donald Trump's Twitter account was suspended in January 2021 following a violent attack on the US Capitol by a mob of supporters (BBC, 2021). The attack on January 6, 2021, was widely condemned and led to calls for Trump's impeachment. In the days before the attack, Trump had used his Twitter account to make a series of statements about the outcome of the 2020 presidential election. He also encouraged his supporters to march to the Capitol, stating that the election was "stolen" from him. Following the attack, Twitter determined that Trump's tweets violated the platform's rules against inciting violence and making false or misleading statements about the election. As a result, the company suspended Trump's account and removed some of his tweets. The suspension of Trump's Twitter account was met with mixed reactions. Some lauded the decision as a necessary measure to prevent further violence and preserve the integrity of the electoral process. Others argued that the suspension violates freedom of expression and censorship of political views (Elliott, 2022).

Interestingly, all these important events, in which Twitter and other social media platforms played a critical role as a facilitating factor, turned out to be far from beneficial in societies where deaths occurred, and public order was shaken. Moreover, almost every event took place as a process in which misinformation, deliberate distortion, and manipulation became dominant quickly.

An Interesting Investment for a Tycoon

In late 2021, tech entrepreneur and CEO of SpaceX and Tesla, Elon Musk, announced an interest in acquiring Twitter. Musk has been a prominent user of the platform for years, often using the platform to post updates and make controversial statements about his companies. The acquisition was met with mixed reactions, with some users raising concerns about Musk's potential to have too much influence on the platform. However, others were excited about the possibility of the tech pioneer bringing his innovative vision to the company (Mahdawi, 2022). Despite initial contention, the acquisition took place, and Musk set to work implementing the changes to the platform. One of the first changes implemented was the initiation of a new verification process for accounts to reduce the amount of misinformation and fake news on the site. Several new features designed to improve user experience have also been announced, such as the ability to schedule tweets ahead of time and a "mute" function that allows users to block specific keywords or phrases from their timelines.

Twitter has not been a financially profitable platform since its inception (Goldman, 2016). The most crucial factor in its financial success in exceptional times was its ability to generate advertising revenue. The platform offers a range of advertising products and services, including promoted tweets, trends, and accounts. These enable advertisers to reach target audiences and promote their products and services. According to Twitter's financial reports, ad revenue contributed significantly to the company's overall revenue growth. Except for advertisements, the company generates income from copyrights and contracts, albeit at a much lower level.

In terms of users, Twitter has seen steady growth over the years. As of the last quarter of 2022, the platform had more than 360 million daily active users (Dixon, 2022). Despite its success in user numbers, Twitter has faced many challenges and controversies. The platform has been criticized for its role in spreading misinformation and handling abusive content (Langin, 2018). It also came under scrutiny over its financial performance, with some investors raising concerns about the company's ability to generate profits (BusinessWire, 2022).

Nevertheless, user growth has made Twitter a valuable asset to advertisers and investors, although the company has faced many challenges and controversies. After Elon

Musk's acquisition, the platform reached a record high in terms of active users. Although the increase in the number of users weakened the critical speculation that Twitter would collapse with Musk's purchase, it could not prevent the loss in financial advertising revenues (Tracy, 2022). The problems caused by the application of authentication and the ability to purchase blue ticks for 8 dollars, a feature put into practice immediately after Musk's acquisition of the company, also played an essential role in this loss of income. This feature, which is described as an effort to turn his investment of buying Twitter for 44 billion dollars, into profit by earning a high income in a short time, caused the creation of fake profiles that were authenticated as if they were approved accounts of critical commercial companies and official institutions. The feature was suspended immediately after the situation was noticed, but the commercial losses caused by the experiences in this process led Twitter to lose some of its essential advertisers (Hubbard, 2022).

Twitter has significantly impacted the social media landscape and has played an essential role in shaping public discourse and political events. While each of the other social media platforms offers the possibility of interaction and communication at least as fast as Twitter, they offer usage practices for some specific purposes such as connecting with old and new friends, voice, written, and video communication with contacts, watching videos, or sharing photos. But Twitter became a deeper and more public area of social interaction. Even though it hosts a much lower number of users compared to other platforms (Dixon, 2022), Twitter plays a role in almost every socio-political event that concerns the public. This potential for impact is still an important research topic, and many different views on its causes are presented. However, in general, Twitter is a tool for public relations, especially for official institutions and organizations, politicians, civil and military organizations, news organizations, journalists, public figures, and essential actors. One of the most important reasons that they prefer to use that is that Twitter has significantly impacted national and international politics in some ways. The platform allowed individuals and organizations to communicate directly with policymakers and advocate for specific policies and issues. It has also been used to mobilize support for political causes and to coordinate political campaigns. The platform allows users to share their thoughts and opinions on policy issues in real time, lead-

ing to greater transparency and accountability in the policy-making process. Twitter has also been used to expose corruption and abuse and hold policymakers accountable for their actions. The platform was used to research and report policy decisions and to draw attention to issues that might otherwise be overlooked. Overall, Twitter has significantly impacted national and international politics, providing a platform for individuals and organizations to defend their positions and hold policymakers accountable. It can be said that Twitter has become a platform where vital, severe, and political issues are discussed, while other social media platforms are used more for entertainment.

However, despite its potential, it is undeniable that the reality of the platform tends to confirm the severe criticisms that it often acts as a tool serving the rapid spread of manipulation and disinformation rather than functioning as a kind of public space that offers freedom of expression and equal participation. The functioning of the community rules of the platform has been the subject of severe discussion (Guesmi, 2021). Twitter has come under criticism for its rules and policies, especially regarding moderating content on the platform (Duffy, 2022). Some users accused the company of censoring specific points of view or not adequately addressing issues such as hate speech and harassment. One of the main criticisms of the implementation of Twitter's community guideline policies is that they are inconsistent and arbitrary. The platform has been criticized for enforcing its rules inconsistently, with some users banned or suspended for ostensibly minor offenses, while other users could continue to use the platform despite severe rule violations. Some users demand the company needs to be more transparent about its rules and policies

and about making decisions about content moderation without adequately explaining its reasoning. Another criticism of the Twitter rules is that the regulations are too broad and not specific enough, leading to confusion and uncertainty about what is allowed on the platform. This has made it difficult for users to know what is acceptable and what is not and has led to a lack of trust in the platform's moderation process. As a result, Twitter's rules and policies have been the subject of criticism, with users and analysts accusing the company of inconsistency, lack of transparency, and vague and overly broad rules (Report, 2020).

However, the fact that Elon Musk, who has been labeled as eccentric and unpredictable, is the sole manager and decision-maker at the top of the company has taken all these discussions to a much more profound dimension. In his own words, Musk said, "Please remember that Twitter will do a lot of stupid things in the coming months... We will keep what works and replace what does not." According to Musk's statements, it is possible to prevent the current structure of social media platforms that froth bias and segregation and encourage radicalization. He bought Twitter to make it a digital public space, as it should be. He also stated that it would be the accelerator of platform X, which he described as the application of everything. As it is known, Musk is invested in many different areas and ideas, from electric vehicles and rocket companies to producing brain chip implants and establishing a colony on Mars. The X platform is one of them; in short, it will be sufficient for every transaction that people of the digital age may need in the virtual world.



(Muhammed Selim Korkutata - Anadolu Agency)

\$44 billion for Twitter- is it worth it?

Whether Musk made this purchase for the sake of people or to put a new step of his plans into action, time will show. However, it is clear that he did not make such a purchase purely for financial gain since Twitter is not a profitable investment for Musk. It is highly unlikely that he decided to pour a significant investment of 44 billion dollars into Twitter in hopes only of making a profit through the platform's advertising revenues. At this point, it is helpful to consider that there is a more valuable or critical element in the information society than money—something much more powerful and effective than money in influencing, directing, and even managing people: data.

As a platform that has already proven its impact potential on socio-political issues, Twitter is an essential tool for guiding societies. One of those who know this best is undoubtedly Elon Musk himself. He has personally experienced that some of his previous tweets and statements, for example, could profoundly affect the preferences of stock market investors. From this point of view, it can be concluded that Musk is aware that individuals' consumption habits, purchasing behaviours, and political preferences can be similarly directed through social media platforms. Immediately after the purchase, Musk's effort to reveal Twitter's dark side is an announcement that he is aware of the potential of this platform. Moreover, the dismissal of the entire senior management might be considered an effort to build the perception in people's minds that he stands opposite from this dark side. At this juncture, it is difficult to say whether Musk has a beneficial plan or a hidden agenda for society. However, the upcoming process will certainly lead to severe changes. Whether Twitter will survive is an important question, but more importantly, who will set the agenda and what will trend if this new media tool continues to strengthen with its new emperor?

Elon Musk makes effective use of the Twitter polls feature. He even conducted surveys on business decisions, platform features, banned account activation, and whether to remain a Twitter admin. This attitude of Musk, who abided by all his survey results, excluding the last one, can be described as an example of Twitter's effort to become a democratic public space that supports the voice of the majority. However, at this point, problems arising from the structural features of the platform may invalidate this well-intentioned sampling. Musk's latest poll resulted in a decision to resign as a Twitter executive. We do not know if Musk will take a step in this direction, but with this survey result, the question of the ratio of bot accounts to real peo-

ple on the platform was raised again. Some believe many bot accounts voted for Musk's resignation, and claim if there were no bots, the survey results would be different (Kolodny & Capoot, 2022).

This claim is a simple example showing how effective anonymous accounts on the Twitter platform are in manipulating interaction, setting the agenda, directing trends, etc. Moreover, setting the platform's algorithm biases is also the subject of a long-running discussion. There have been many times before when some accounts were deliberately suppressed, some issues were brought forward, and some were pushed into the background. In addition, it has been experienced many times that some topics or people that receive high interaction and are trending on a national or international scale suddenly drop from the list of trends.

It is also known that the echo chamber situation arises due to the frequent display of accounts and related content that people like and follow. However, there is an effort to create hate motivated interactions based on reactivity by showing opposing views in news sources, even if the clips are not followed by provocative commentary.

Following Musk's acquisition of Twitter, some disclosures known as "Twitter Files" began to be shared by a freelance journalist named Matt Taibbi (Gunerigok, 2023). Although these files, in which the US government, some power groups, and Twitter allegedly carried out illegal collaborations, were a surprise to some, they explained the obvious to many people. It is seen that many purposeful actions, such as suspending or suppressing certain accounts and censoring tweets on related issues so that some issues that concern society do not reach people, are used for manipulation (Malik, 2023). Thus, the use of Twitter as a tool, especially in matters that may have political consequences, is now expressed more loudly and from inside Twitter. Musk has given some journalists access to the "Twitter Files", and in the coming days, we will see what other documents might come to light.

Conclusion

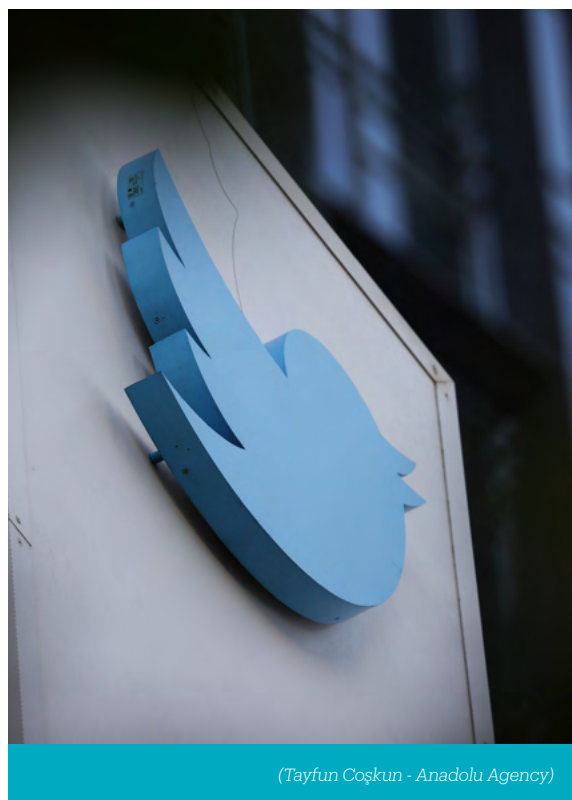
We are in a period where it is effortless to access information but finding the truth in the stack of information is challenging. We may not have been able to adapt to this situation yet, as we have never been faced with so much information in any period of history. Today, we prefer social media platforms for information, news, sharing, entertainment, learning, and many other daily activities. However, every day we experience events indicating that our optimistic predictions for the internet and social media platforms are only partially accurate. The anticipation of the emergence of a democratically direct structure, thanks to the freedom of expression, interaction, and sharing of opinions that societies have access to through social media, has not yet been realized. On the contrary, we are experiencing a process in which bias and extremism become widespread, disinformation and manipulation gain momentum, and the fabrications replace the truth.

Thanks to a new feature that Twitter added recently, the number of views of the messages can now be seen. The number of views shows that the engagement rate on Twitter is around 10 percent. The number of views on almost all social media platforms reveals the prevalence of audience culture rather than interaction on social media platforms. In other words, most people remain mere spectators and avoid any interaction on these platforms that offer engagement opportunities. They generally do not report their opinions about the relevant content, either positively or negatively. There was already a structure where people with a high number of followers could make their voices heard, set the agenda, and determine the direction. From now on, we will also see if and how an application where paying users can garner more traffic through the use of blue ticks, will also benefit democratic participation. All this may mean that the problems based on one-way message flow generally attributed to traditional media apply to new media as well.

Chronic problems such as ownership, monopoly, gate-keeping, and ideological and biased broadcasting in traditional media tools threaten the people of the digital age, with some minor differences but in a much stronger way than before. The dominance of a few big tech companies has thwarted the internet's expectations of providing a decentralized and equitable public space. The fact that Elon Musk bought Twitter, the most effective platform on socio-political issues, is close to these discussions. Essentially, Twitter, which has never truly been an egalitarian space that allows ordinary people to make their voices heard, is

now owned by a high-profile capital owner who is one of its most influential users and has investments in many other sectors. The disclosure of the files about how Twitter has been used for manipulation in many different events to date does not guarantee that it will not be misused again in the future in similar or different ways. It is currently impossible to give a clear and precise answer to the question of which direction the bird will fly. However, regardless of their owner or their name, we must be aware of the apparent role and influence that these platforms have in our daily lives.

At the same time, we cannot ignore the presence of social media as a previously non-existent tool that can assist us in reaching the truth. Being a conscious consumer is one of the most critical competencies of the information age. The necessity of this skill should not apply only to our economic situation but all aspects of our lives, including our virtual activities. Fortunately, the conversation has recently expanded to focus on the apparent realities of these platforms. However, it is paramount to reassess the discussion to prevent the main focus from becoming Elon Musk himself in order for us to gain a clearer view of the big picture.



(Tayfun Coşkun - Anadolu Agency)

Bibliography

- Alhindi, W. A., Talha, M., & Ghazali, B. S. (2012). The Role of Modern Technology in Arab Spring. *Archives Des Sciences*, 65(8), 101-112.
- BBC. (2021, Jan 09). Twitter 'permanently suspends' Trump's account. BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-cana-da-55597840> adresinden alındı
- Berkowitz, B. (2011, Oct 18). *From a single hashtag, a protest circled the world*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-wallstreet-protests-social-idUSTRE79G6E42011018>
- BusinessWire. (2022, May 13). *The Law Offices of Frank R. Cruz Announces Investigation of Twitter, Inc. (TWTR) on Behalf of Investors*. Retrieved from The Globe and Mail: <https://www.the-globeandmail.com/investing/markets/stocks/TWTR-N/pressreleases/8358407/the-law-offices-of-frank-r-cruz-announces-investigation-of-twitter-inc-twtr-on-behalf-of-investors/>
- Dixon, S. (2022, Jul 26). *Most popular social networks worldwide as of January 2022, ranked by number of monthly active users*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>
- Dixon, S. (2022, Dec 14). *Number of Twitter users worldwide from 2019 to 2024*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/303681/twitter-users-worldwide/>
- Duffy, C. (2022, Dec 8). *The mass unbanning of suspended Twitter users is underway*. Retrieved from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/12/08/tech/twitter-unbanned-users-returning/index.html>
- Elliott, V. (2022, Dec 16). *Trump's Twitter Ban Was Unfair, but Not for the Reason You Think*. Retrieved from Wired: <https://www.wired.com/story/twitter-trump-world-leaders-ban/>
- Goldman, D. (2016, March 21). *10 years later, Twitter still isn't close to making money*. Retrieved from CNN BUSINESS: <https://money.cnn.com/2016/03/21/technology/twitter-10th-anniversary/index.html>
- Guesmi, H. (2021, Jan 27). *The social media myth about the Arab Spring*. Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/1/27/the-social-media-myth-about-the-arab-spring>
- Gunerigok, S. (2023, Jan 04). *Twitter Files: US agency demanded suspension of 250,000 accounts*. Retrieved from AA: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/twitter-files-us-agency-demanded-suspension-of-250-000-accounts/2779178>
- Han, B.-C. (2022). *Infocracy: Digitization and the Crisis of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hubbard, H. (2022, Nov 25). *Twitter has lost 50 of its top 100 advertisers since Elon Musk took over, report says*. Retrieved from Npr: <https://www.npr.org/2022/11/25/1139180002/twitter-loses-50-top-advertisers-elon-musk>
- Hutchinson, S. (2013, June 4). *Social media plays major role in Turkey protests*. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22772352>
- Jungherr, A. (2014). *Twitter in Politics: A Comprehensive Literature Review*. SSRN, 2402443.
- Kolodny, L., & Capoot, A. (2022, Dec 19). *Elon Musk polled Twitter on whether he should step down as CEO. Most voters said yes*. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/12/19/elon-musk-in-twitter-poll-asks-if-he-should-step-down-as-twitter-ceo.html>
- Langin, K. (2018, March 08). *Fake news spreads faster than true news on Twitter—thanks to people, not bots*. Retrieved from Science: <https://www.science.org/content/article/fake-news-spreads-faster-true-news-twitter-thanks-people-not-bots>
- Lessin, J. E. (2022, April 29). *Why Twitter Is More Powerful Than the Printing Press*. Retrieved from The Information: <https://www.theinformation.com/articles/why-twitter-is-more-powerful-than-the-printing-press>
- Lovari, A., & Valentini, C. (2019). *Public sector communication and social media : Opportunities and limits of current policies, activities, and practices in digital governments*. In V. Luoma-aho, & M.-J. Canel, *Handbook of Public Sector Communication*. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell.
- Mahdawi, A. (2022, Oct 29). *How bad will Elon Musk's Twitter takeover be? My guess is he'll get bored of it*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/oct/29/how-bad-will-elon-musks-twitter-takeover-be-my-guess-is-hell-get-bored-of-it>
- Malik, K. (2023, Jan 01). *The Twitter Files should disturb liberal critics of Elon Musk – and here's why*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jan/01/the-twitter-files-should-disturb-liberal-critics-of-elon-musk-and-heres-why>
- Report. (2020, Oct 14). *Twitter Investigation Report*. Retrieved from Department of Financial Services: https://www.dfs.ny.gov/Twitter_Report
- Sabah, D. (2019, Jun 25). *Key suspects of Gezi Park riots appear before court*. Retrieved from Daily Sabah: <https://www.dailysabah.com/investigations/2019/06/25/key-suspects-of-gezi-park-riots-appear-before-court>
- Tracy, M. (2022, Nov 07). *Analysis: Twitter's 'massive' revenue drop adds to heavy debt burden*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/markets/deals/twitters-massive-revenue-drop-adds-heavy-debt-burden-2022-11-07/>
- Zfat, N. (2017, Apr 17). *An Open Letter to People Who Don't Use Social Media*. Retrieved from Forbes: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/nataliezfat/2017/04/17/an-open-letter-to-people-who-dont-use-social-media/?sh=3ce96af852f4>

