

Tweeting in Solidarity: Examining Frame Diffusion and Alignment Processes Among Immigrant-Serving NGOs Before and After Donald Trump’s Travel Ban

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Social media like Twitter have been widely adopted by advocacy organizations to communicate dissent and mobilize consensus during recent bouts of collective action. Viewing organizational discourse on Twitter as a strategic framing process, this study examines whether and how frames may converge among a diverse group of immigrant-serving organizations after a suddenly imposed grievance, Donald Trump’s travel ban, in January 2017. Topic modeling of tweet content identifies shifts in topics and frames in tweets by Asian, Hispanic, Black, and pan immigrant-serving organizations two months before and after the ban. In addition, a quantitative comparison of the number of shared hashtags and retweeted users also indicates a significant increase after the ban among certain, but not all, types of NGOs. We argue the postban Twitter discourse, hashtag use, and retweet behaviors across the immigrant groups suggest a frame alignment process aimed at communicating solidarity and building cross-group alliances that ultimately can help with intersectional mobilization.

Keywords: activism, collective action framing, immigration, NGOs, social media

On January 27, 2017, then-new U.S. President Donald Trump signed an executive order banning the admission of immigrants to the United States from seven Muslim-majority countries (Almasy & Simon, 2017). The so-called Muslim ban provoked widespread condemnation from the immigrant community and beyond. Although the ban specifically targeted individuals from Muslim countries, a diverse array of ethnic and immigrant organizations, including the New York Immigration Coalition, ACLU, and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (Almasy & Simon, 2017), participated in the protests and assisted in providing relief to stranded passengers. Hashtags like #NoBanNoWall and #MuslimBan sprang up as advocacy groups and protesters used Twitter and other online platforms to voice their outrage, mobilize demonstrations, and raise funds for legal services.

Social media not only provide a platform for organizing protests and mobilizing resources, but also “represent crosscutting networking mechanisms in a protest ecology” (Seegerberg & Bennett, 2011, p. 197).

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In other words, social media platforms have the potential to bring together actors from various causes with diverse agendas, which is particularly relevant in the case of the travel ban, as immigrant-advocacy NGOs are known for their disparate issue agendas (Cordero-Guzmán, Martin, Quiroz-Becerra, & Theodore, 2008). For social movement organizations, tweeting represents an active framing process through which groups can voice dissent, communicate solidarity, and prioritize competing issue claims (Bimber, 2017).

It is worth considering, then, whether immigrant-advocacy NGOs used Twitter not just to oppose and express outrage over the ban but also to unite their agendas. Research suggests that a suddenly imposed grievance, coupled with resulting anger and outrage, is at the root of collective action (Klandermans, 1984; Opp, 2009). As Jasper (1997) noted, a “moral shock” is a prerequisite for mobilization, causing “such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action” (p. 106). It is important to study grievances and moral shocks because they can mobilize the public to take action, thereby potentially prompting social change (Opp, 2009).

We argue that the travel ban exemplifies a suddenly imposed grievance and moral shock, thus providing the opportunity for explicating the role of Twitter in immigrant NGOs’ strategic framing processes, and furthering our understanding of how, in this social media era, a suddenly imposed grievance might unify nonprofit organizations serving distinct immigrant communities.

Previous research points to interethnic conflicts fueled by elite rhetoric and the lasting influence of stereotypes and oppression (Omi & Winant, 2014), thereby potentially stifling solidarity between movements, despite shared grievances and goals. Examining the content of tweets and tweeting practices of immigrant-advocacy NGOs in California—a group known for its diversity and advocacy activity (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008)—before and after the travel ban enables us to identify to what extent a suddenly imposed grievance might allow divergent frames to converge, as the different groups coalesce around a shared goal. Such coalescence is important for contributing to an “intersectional mobilization” that by integrating multiple and overlapping identities and experiences with oppression, can prompt “high levels of activism and commitment among movement participants who represent a disadvantaged subgroup within a broader marginalized constituency” (Terriquez, 2015, p. 345). With this in mind, we compare whether different groups’ use of hashtags and retweets showed greater overlap after the ban, thereby reflecting NGOs’ shared strategic goals after a suddenly imposed grievance. We then use topic modeling to explore how Twitter can facilitate “frame alignment” (Snow & Benford, 1988) and thus intersectionality (Chun, Lipsitz, & Shin, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989) among immigrant-advocacy NGOs.

Tweeting as Advocacy Communication

Advocacy organizations’ use of social media for information broadcasting, community building, and action mobilization is well noted in the literature (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Social media enable rapid information diffusion through decentralized networks (Garrett, 2006), and facilitate efficient coordination among like-minded organizations during collective events. During the Occupy Wall Street movement, for example, activists leveraged Twitter and Facebook to broadcast protest updates, negotiate attention through personalized political messages, and ultimately mobilize various resources toward achieving the movement’s goals (Bennett, Segerberg, & Yang, 2018). Bennett and Segerberg (2013) coined the term “connective

action" (p. 4) to underscore the paradigm shift from formally organized collective action to self-organized mobilization, characterized by the use of networked digital media to connect loosely related networks.

Existing literature identifies two ways in which social media can be used to achieve advocacy goals. First, Twitter fosters the emergence of an issue community (Bruns & Burgess, 2011), which is critical for the spread of movement ideas and consensus mobilization (Klandermans, 1984). Advocacy organizations use social media to "interact, share, and converse with stakeholders in a way that ultimately facilitates the creation of an online community with its followers" (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012, p. 343). Papacharissi (2016) contended that the networking function of social media, such as the use of hashtags and retweets, creates mediated feelings of connectedness among a group of otherwise unconnected individuals. In particular, Twitter hashtags can be leveraged as the "attention mobilizer" to increase the virality of movement messages. R. Wang, Liu, and Gao (2016) argued that hashtags promote message virality through Twitter's affordances of visibility and generative role taking. The use of hashtags makes movement messages more searchable and helps bridge diverse social groups with a common interest. Using tactics such as hashtag coordination, movement organizations can construct a discursive sphere around the advocated issue and promote the visibility of the issue (R. Wang et al., 2016).

Second, social media serve as a vital diffusion mechanism for spreading movement frames and tactics. The diffusion of movement tactics via networks has long been documented in social movement studies (Harlow, 2013; Soule & Roggeband, 2012; D. J. Wang & Soule, 2012). Scholars distinguish between the relational and mediated models of diffusion (Soule & Roggeband, 2012). The relational, or direct, diffusion model emphasizes the importance of preexisting social relationships in facilitating the exchange of ideas or behaviors. Through interpersonal or interorganizational relationships, ideologies or framing tactics can "spill over" the boundary of one organization, or even one movement, to influence others. For example, D. J. Wang and Soule (2012) used an organizational learning perspective to examine the diffusion of protest tactics between 1960 and 1995 using network analysis, identifying interorganizational collaboration as an important avenue for learning and exchanging tactical knowledge. Similarly, Harlow (2013) showed how some Mexican activist organizations served as "hothouses," diffusing online tactics that other groups adopted and adapted to fit their particular needs (p. 9).

Meanwhile, the mediated model of diffusion revolves around the role of media in diffusing movement ideas. A growing body of research focuses on the role of digital media, particularly social media, in spreading social movement messages. Retweeting, the act of sharing someone else's original tweets, enables the diffusion of movement messages (Starbird & Palen, 2012). Gleason (2013) found that by tweeting about a social movement, an average citizen could engage in an informal learning process or even get connected with movement organizations, thereby contributing to movement participation. At the organizational level, Rane and Salem (2012) noted a similar learning and diffusion process during the Arab Spring, where Facebook and Twitter became a critical mechanism for activist groups to learn about other organizations' communication strategies. It is important to note that frequently retweeted users may serve as "opinion leaders" to shape the public issue agenda (Zhang, Zhao, & Xu, 2016). Retweeting the same group of users in otherwise less connected communities is therefore a pivotal mechanism to propagate movement messages and identify allies. Such a diffusion process has important implications for building alliances, recruiting participants, and ultimately contributing to the success of a movement.

Considering the role of hashtags and retweeted users in collective action, we first ask the following:

RQ1: How does the use of common hashtags among immigrant NGOs change after the travel ban?

RQ2: How does the retweeting among immigrant NGOs of common users change after the travel ban?

Collective Action Framing

Framing is a key micromobilization process by which social movements “assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists” (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 198). Collective action frames involve “negotiating shared meaning” (Gamson, 1992, p. 55). In other words, a social movement’s ability to legitimize its actions, create a sense of collective identity, and inspire support depends on its framing techniques, or its ability to depict its goals and characterize its messages in a way that resonates with the public (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Snow and Benford (1988) identified three core collective action framing tasks: (1) diagnostic framing, which identifies a problem and assigns blames; (2) prognostic framing, which offers a solution to the problem and specifies strategies, goals, and targets; and (3) motivational framing, which issues a call to arms, encouraging people to take action. Diagnostic and prognostic framing are aimed at prompting “consensus mobilization” (Klandermans, 1984, p. 586), or informing about and convincing the public that a cause is worthy, while mobilization framing is good for “action mobilization” (Klandermans, 1984, p. 586), or persuading people to act. Because framing is key to the public’s perception of a movement, it is worth examining how immigrant-advocacy NGOs employ framing on Twitter, as social media offer a new sphere for raising visibility and thus broadening a movement’s reach.

Scholars have identified numerous collective action frames that serve one of the three framing tasks. Injustice frames, or frames that highlight the victims of injustice, fall within the diagnostic framing task (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1984). Adversarial frames distinguishing between the good guys and the bad guys, or “us” and “them,” also are diagnostic. Prognostic frames often offer counterframes to rebut negative portrayals by authorities (Benford & Snow, 2000). In their review of framing studies, Benford and Snow (2000) noted that prognostic frames are a crucial way that social movement organizations distinguish themselves from each other, as even those groups advocating for the same cause will take different approaches. Motivating frames include those that help construct shared definitions and, ultimately, collective identity, leading to mobilization (Benford, 1993).

Our study builds on those that have focused on how collective action frames are employed via social media. For example, Harlow (2012) found that most of the Facebook posts about a Guatemalan protest movement were motivational and employed an agency frame, using the online platform to mobilize people to take action offline. Goh and Pang (2016) likewise showed that motivational posts were more common than those with a diagnostic or prognostic frame, which they argued may contribute to a protest’s lack of long-term feasibility.

Frame Resonance and Alignment

Benford and Snow's (2000) review of collective action frame research found four main ways in which collective action frames vary: the identification of the problem leading to different frame names, the degree of their inclusivity and flexibility, their scope, and their resonance. More inclusive, flexible frames with broad scopes can be thought of as master frames (as opposed to organizational frames) that can be applied across different movements. Such frames include rights frames, like civil rights (Valocchi, 1996), as well as injustice, oppositional, and hegemonic frames. Master frames that function across movements have been shown to resonate more with the public (Swart, 1995). Resonance is crucial for mobilization, and resonance depends on credibility (consistency, believability, and expertise) and salience (Snow & Benford, 1988).

Much literature examines the strategic processes involved in framing, what Snow and colleagues (1986) referred to as "frame alignment processes" (p. 464). They identified four main processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. For this article, frame bridging and extension are particularly relevant. Frame bridging occurs when two unconnected groups are linked up via shared ideologies. Extension refers to the expansion of a group's main cause to include other issues important to potential supporters. Frame alignment is a necessary component of mobilization (Snow et al., 1986). Though most research considers frame alignment between a movement organization and the public, this study suggests that frame alignment processes also can function across organizations, facilitating frame diffusion and, ultimately, mobilization of supporters.

Frame diffusion, or how collective action frames spread across movements, is also relevant to this present study. Diffusion can occur in two ways: adaptation, whereby the adopters strategically choose which frames to fit to their particular circumstances; and accommodation, in which the transmitter changes the frame to make it more relevant to the adopter (Benford & Snow, 2000). It is worth considering, then, how frame alignment and diffusion play out on Twitter following a suddenly imposed grievance. This study highlights the importance of understanding the discursive strategies organizations employ on social media to mobilize potential supporters.

Diverse Agendas and Intersectionality

The immigrant NGO community is by no means homogenous. Existing literature rejects a monolithic view of immigrant activism, arguing that the community is characterized by diverging migrant histories, population demographics, and issue advocacy agendas (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). The distinction is particularly pronounced between immigrant groups that serve a particular ethnic or national group ("specialists") versus those that target the broad immigrant populations ("generalists"). Because of their heterogeneous client bases, generalist immigrant-serving NGOs strive to appeal to a diverse range of stakeholders (Kirk & Nolan, 2010), engaging in social causes that exhibit universal value claims, such as promoting immigrant rights as human rights (Fujiwara, 2005). In contrast, specialist immigrant-serving NGOs tend to highlight in-group identity and advocate for particularized group interests (Uslaner & Conley, 2003). Rather than bridging different immigrant groups, specialist immigrant-serving NGOs are predisposed to promoting ethnic and cultural identity within the specific community they serve (Pantoja, Menjivar, & Magaña, 2008).

The diverse publics and agendas of immigrant-advocacy NGOs thus limit intersectionality, which can hinder solidarity and collective identity—both prerequisites for mobilization. Ambiguity over the definition and application of intersectionality has resulted in its “underutilized potential” in research (Choo & Ferree, 2010, p. 130). Chun and colleagues (2013) saw intersectionality as “using the particular grievances of one group as a point of entry into a larger struggle” (p. 921). Within social movement scholarship, the concept often has been approached from the nexus of race and gender (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989). Recent research has brought in the shared and overlapping experiences of the LGBTQ+ community situated within other marginalized groups (Terriquez, 2015). We argue that various immigrant communities within the immigrant rights movement should be approached using intersectionality because they experience discrimination differently. Successful collective action requires collective identity (Polletta & Jasper, 2001), which involves building alliances around shared grievances across identity groups (Chun et al., 2013). Though collective identity can erase or marginalize different identities within the salient group identity (Armstrong, 2002), intersectional mobilization is an attempt to recognize and “activate” the interconnected yet diverse identities within a broader movement to encourage participation (Terriquez, 2015).

With this in mind, this study examines how Trump’s Muslim travel ban can be seen as a suddenly imposed grievance, allowing diverse immigrant groups to use Twitter to coalesce around a shared cause, thereby potentially promoting intersectional mobilization. Therefore, our final research questions are as follows:

RQ3: What are the similarities and differences in the framing of tweets from NGOs serving different immigrant populations before the travel ban?

RQ4: What are the similarities and differences in the framing of tweets from NGOs serving different immigrant populations after the travel ban?

Methods

This study relied on a qualitative analysis employing topic modeling and quantitative comparisons of the number of shared hashtags and retweeted users based on tweets from California’s immigrant-serving NGOs. California was chosen as the focus of this analysis because it is considered a “gateway” for immigrants: More than a quarter of the state’s population was born outside the United States, which is about twice the national average (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008). Coinciding with the continuous waves of migration is the rapid growth of immigrant-serving civil society organizations (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008), attributed to three main forces. First, the arrival of newcomer populations prompted governments at various levels to offer support and subsidies to immigrant nonprofits, with the goal to leverage these NGOs as a vehicle for social and political incorporation of immigrants (Moya, 2005). Second, the unique political opportunity structure in California has further fueled the growth of immigrant NGOs community: California has been characterized by its proimmigrant policies over the past two decades (California Immigrant Policy Center, 2015). The third force stems from the cultural and political capital accumulated within the immigrant communities and their coethnic networks (Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008).

No single source provides a full list of NGOs, so a roster was created by taking the following steps. We followed the "name-based technique" used in Gleeson and Bloemraad (2013) by searching the U.S. Internal Revenue Service's (IRS) public database, which is a well-accredited source for NGO identification. The IRS database was searched using the keywords "immigrant(s)," "migrant(s)," and "refugee(s)." Next, the same keywords were used in the following national and state-level databases: the California Registry of Charitable Trust, the national nonprofit database from the National Center for Charitable Statistics, and the California Database of the Institute for Nonprofit Organization Management. Seventy-six organizations were identified.

The final step involved identifying organizations with an active Twitter account that were active before and after the travel ban. This step narrowed the list to 47 organizations. Using Crimson Hexagon, an AI-powered analytics software that provides access to Twitter's entire "fire hose," we collected all tweets from the identified organizations between November 27, 2016, and March 27, 2017. These dates represented the two months before and after the January 27, 2017, executive order. The software retrieved a total of 8,247 tweets from 40 organizations,¹ which formed the text corpus for the subsequent topic modeling and quantitative comparisons of hashtags and RT users.

Variables

Organizational Type

The 40 organizations were classified according to the immigrant populations they serve. Using information from their websites, NGOs were placed into the following categories: (1) Asian ($N = 9$, 22.5%), (2) Iran ($N = 1$, 2.5%), (3) Hispanic ($N = 5$, 12.5%), (4) Black ($N = 1$, 2.5%), (5) Irish ($N = 2$, 5%), and (6) pan for organizations serving multiple or unspecified immigrant groups ($N = 22$, 55%). The Iran group was collapsed with Asian because of its geographic and cultural proximity to other countries in the Asian continent. In addition, because there were too few tweets from Irish immigrant organizations for topic modeling to be performed, the Irish tweets were removed from the analysis.

Analysis Strategies

To answer RQ1 and RQ2, all hashtags and retweeted users from the tweets sent by each group of immigrant-serving organizations were extracted. A total of 879 unique hashtags and 1,187 retweeted users were identified from the preban tweets, and there were 1,326 unique hashtags and 1,983 retweeted users from the postban tweets. A series of two-proportion Z tests were performed to compare whether the percentages of hashtags and retweeted users significantly varied before and after the Muslim ban.

In addition, topic modeling was used to identify frames and analyze the discourse in tweets published by the four types of immigrant-serving NGOs. Topic modeling, premised on the assumption that texts are composed of a certain number of topics that specify how words relate to each other, uses machine learning to mine large volumes of data to discover patterns in the text. Using algorithmic

¹ Because of account setup, Crimson Hexagon was unable to retrieve seven organizations' tweets. These organizations were removed from the sample.

techniques, topic modeling relies on “probabilistic models for uncovering the underlying semantic structure of a document collection” (Blei & Lafferty, 2009, p. 1). Because our sample included more than 8,000 tweets, we believed topic modeling to be the most expedient way to classify the text and reveal patterns in discourse and framing. As Hecking and Leydesdorff (2018) noted, topic modeling is appropriate when samples are so large that “human validation is impossible in practice” (p. 14).

Specifically, we relied on a probabilistic type of topic modeling known as Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA). As Shahin (2019) described, LDA produces topics composed of keywords that statistically are likely to co-occur, thereby yielding a theme linking the words together. LDA also specifies the proportion of how often the topic appears in the entire text. Notably, LDA does not produce a set or “correct” number of topics. Rather, researchers must go through multiple rounds of topic modeling, in each case specifying different numbers of topics to be yielded, and then semantically interpreting each model to determine which model and topics are semantically most appropriate and statistically most probable (Jacobi, van Atteveldt, & Welbers, 2016; Shahin, 2019).

For this study, Provalis WordStat software was employed to conduct the topic modeling. The “before” and “after” tweets for each of the four types of immigrant NGOs were uploaded and analyzed separately. Parameters for analysis included lemmatization, tokenization, and removal of stop words. The first round of topic modeling for each set of tweets yielded the maximum number of topics possible. Subsequent rounds reduced the number of possible topics, producing different models, until a model emerged that was theoretically and statistically appropriate (Blei & Lafferty, 2009), with each topic clearly defined with semantically relevant and consistent keywords, and proportions demonstrating they were most commonly used (see Tables 1 and 2). Four to five main topics emerged in the final models, with most tweets containing multiple topics, although each tweet had a dominant topic. The proportions for topics’ use ranged from 5% (Topic 5, postban Asian tweets) to 46% (Topic 5, preban Asian tweets). Once the topics had been identified for tweets before and after the ban, researchers conducted a thematic analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) to identify collective action frames and framing processes that emerged from within the different topics.

Table 1. Topics Identified Among Immigrant Organizations' Tweets Before the Ban.

	Asian	Hispanic	Black	Pan
	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
Topic 1	valuesact; family; sb; deportation; protect; bill; sign; stand; petition; sairahussain.	rise; rebelcitiesrising; resisttrump; resist; march; join; people; action; we; trump.	fund; defense; support immigrant; givingtuesday; winterchama; black.	deportation; detain dueprocess; face; valueourcommunity; community; detention; representation; protect; we; member; family; immigrant.
Topic 2	parole; grant; survivor; petition; immigrant; share; noun; sign.	donate; family; givingtuesday; support; we.	art; music; winterchama; join; people.	righttoarroof; deserve; humanrightsday; join; rally; refugee; support; home; immigrant.
Topic 3	hashtags; housing; fairhousing; share; housingdiscrimination; community; fight.	immigrant; dueprocess; face deportation; protect; community; legal; million; trump.	bam; mlkinbk; blacklivesmatter; we.	dream; team dreamteam.
Topic 4	fireup; givingtuesday; we; work; civil; make; support; daysofjustice; continue; fight; join.	nuestracasa; casa	justice; racial; movement; celebrate; talk; we.	puede; si; nobannowall; stand; heretostay; refugee; immigrant.
Topic 5	contra; ice; nobannowall; immigrant; refugee; law; stand; rally; muslim; trump; we.	youth; unite.	community; administration; family; fight; state; we; colorofchange; stand.	stopsessions; senatorsessions; session; senator; trump; civil; call; anti; group; vote.

Table 2. Topics Identified Among Immigrant Organizations' Tweets After the Ban.

	Asian	Hispanic	Black	Pan
	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords	Keywords
Topic 1	cavalueact; sb; deportation; state; lead; immigrant; resource; sairahussain; trump; anti; vote; support.	contract; ice; ana; josesolorio; defend; immigrant; support; council.	locate; visit; guide; download; detention; member; family; immigrant.	trump; ban; order; travel; executive; immigration; president; court; judge; muslim; federal.
Topic 2	dinner; anniversary; sponsor; march; support.	rise; detain; release; nomuslimbansfo; people; share; report nobannowall.	hire; job; grow; apply manager; share; we communication; opportunity; program.	cavalueact; sb; safety; deportation; mass; state; sen; resource; public; protect.
Topic 3	fil; filiphino; justice.	daca; panel; dominicancanews; immigration; getthepicture.	african; impact; order window; executive; break; ban; policing; immigrant; muslim; team; american; hall trump; president.	session; stopsessions; senator; vote; general; civil; attorney; call.
Topic 4	muslim; ban; executive; emergency; order; we; community; call; registry; aclu; ordinance; trump; refugee.	community; we caclimateinvestments; calenviroscreen; housing; affordable; family; mass; meeting; join.	entry; deny; detain; line; resources; refugee; airport.	puede; si; refugee; we; transition; reftrans; farmworkers; stand; community; woman; immigrant; solidarity.
Topic 5	file; free; kgdn; save	youth; unite.	webinar; panel; migrants; state; Issue; join; register.	-

Results

Coalescing Hashtags and RT users

To answer RQ 1 and RQ2, this study relied on Z tests to examine differences in the percentage of tweets that contained shared hashtags and retweeted users among the NGOs before and after the ban. We first compared the proportion of tweets containing shared hashtags and RT users among all tweets before and after the ban. Among 3,307 tweets sent before the ban, 173 (5.23%) included hashtags that were commonly used by all four types of NGOs, such as #GivingTuesday, #immigrants, #immigration, #NoDAPL, and #Trump. After the ban, 1,571 of 4,940 tweets (31.8%) contained at least one of the 14 unique common

hashtags, with the majority related to the Muslim ban. Z tests indicated a significant and sharp increase in the proportion of tweets containing shared hashtags ($p < .001$). The most frequently used common hashtags were #MuslimBan, #NoBanNoWall, and #RefugeesWelcome.

In terms of common retweeted users, however, 132 tweets (3.99%) before the ban contained five common retweeted users (@AAAJ_LA, @CALimmigrant, @nytimes, @POTUS, @UNITEDWEDREAM), whereas, after the ban, only 157 tweets (3.18%) were of retweeted users common to all NGOs (@AAAJ_LA, @ACLU, @flySFO, and @NILC_org). Z test results suggested that there was a marginally significant decrease in the proportion of common RT users among all the tweets postban ($p < .05$).

Results further identified significant differences between NGO groups in the tweets with shared hashtags before and after the ban (see Table 3). The percentage of tweets with common hashtags sent by Black NGOs and all other NGOs went from 3.82% before the ban to 8.13% after the ban ($p < .001$). Similarly, the percentage of tweets with shared hashtags by Hispanic NGOs and all others increased from 7.74% before the ban to 11.72% after the ban ($p < .001$).

When it came to whom the different NGOs were retweeting (see Table 3), Hispanic-serving ($p < .01$) and pan immigrant-serving ($p < .01$) NGOs showed substantial increases in common retweeted users after the ban. The Hispanic NGOs went from 7.2% of common RT users to 8.94% after the ban, while the pan immigrant-serving NGOs increased from 12.66% to 19.17%.

Table 3. The Percentage of Tweets with Shared Hashtags and RT Users Among the Four Types of Immigrant NGOs Before and After the Muslim Travel Ban.

	% of tweets with shared hashtags		<i>p</i> value
	Preban	Postban	(Z test, two-tailed)
Shared hashtags			
Asian NGOs vs. All	8.02	7.61	.554
Black NGOs vs. All	3.82	8.13	.000***
Hispanic NGOs vs. All	7.74	11.72	.000***
Pan NGOs vs. All	25.28	23.80	.173
	% of tweets with shared RT users		<i>p</i> value
	Preban	Postban	(Z test, two-tailed)
Shared retweeted users			
Asian NGOs vs. All	5.56	5.58	.981
Black NGOs vs. All	11.64	11.15	.472
Hispanic NGOs vs. All	7.20	8.94	.003**
Pan NGOs vs. All	12.66	19.17	.001**

Figures 1 and 2 present the shared hashtag and retweeted user networks before and after the ban. In both networks, the network ties were based on two organizations sharing the same hashtag or retweeting the same user. With the preban hashtags focused mainly on immigrant rights, the shared hashtags after the ban shifted to those directly about the ban. Across both stages, pan immigrant-serving NGOs used the highest number of shared hashtags. In terms of the frequency of retweeting other users, pan NGOs were

most active compared with other "specialist" NGOs. Hispanic NGOs had the greatest increase in retweeted users after the Muslim ban.

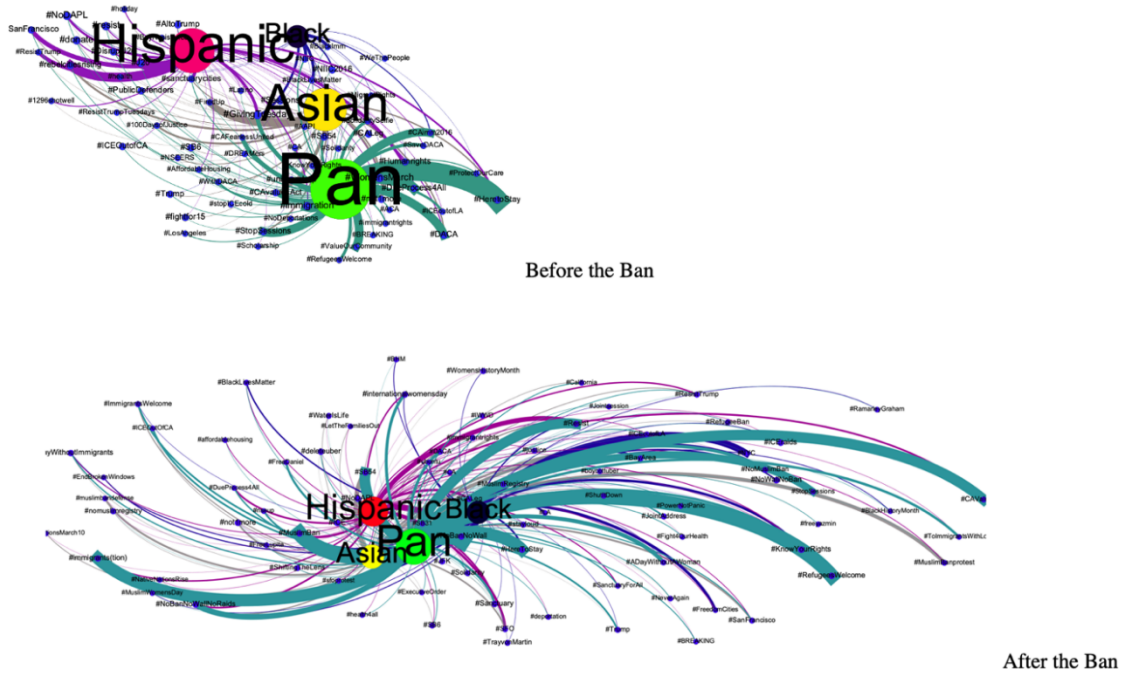
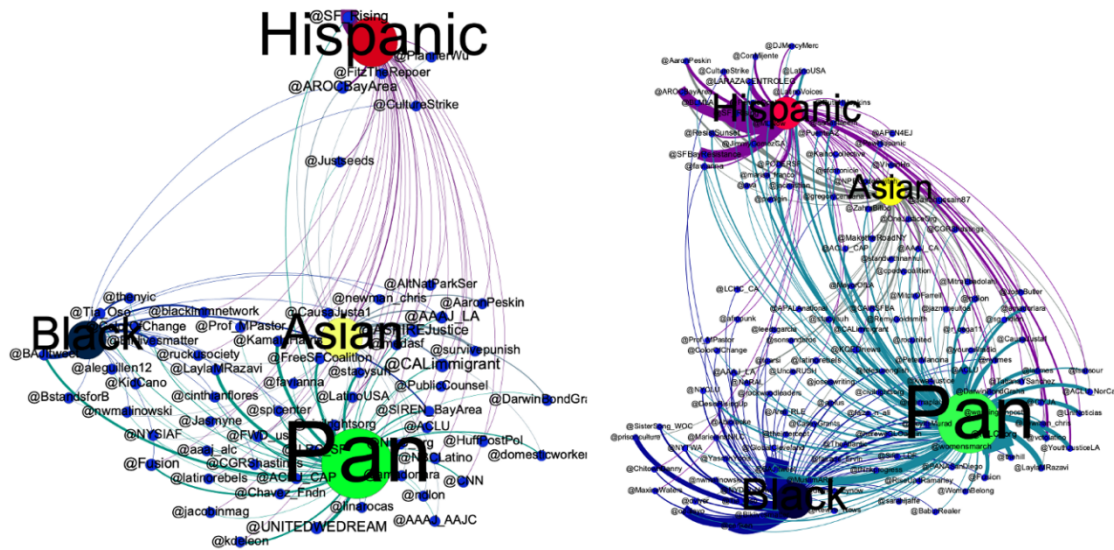


Figure 1. Visualization of shared hashtag networks among the four types of immigrant NGOs before and after the Muslim ban.



Before the Ban After the Ban
Figure 2. Visualization of shared retweeted user networks among the four types of immigrant NGOs before and after the Muslim ban.

Topic Modeling

Before the Ban

Tweets posted by immigration-related NGOs serving Asian populations presented mostly as those contributing to the creation of an issue community (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). Using topic modeling, tweets were categorized into four main topics: (1) protecting immigrant families, (2) justice for Ny Nourn, (3) fair housing, and (4) #GivingTuesday (see Table 2). Protecting immigrant families is a common frame in the immigrants’ rights movement, aimed at humanizing a policy issue. By posting tweets such as “Sign petition asking @JerryBrownGov to stop local resources from being used to separate families. #CAValuesAct,” the organizations made the problem relatable to nonimmigrants.

Similarly, the justice for Ny Nourn topic employed the common “horror story” narrative that created an archetypal victim to provoke emotion and thereby justify support for a movement. For example, one organization tweeted, “Will you help us share this petition to grant Ny, an immigrant DV/SA survivor parole?” Fair housing tweets were presented as a human rights issue, a master frame used not just within the immigrants’ rights movement, but commonly adopted by social movements in general.

The last topic, #GivingTuesday, is a narrative revealed in this study to be common across immigration-related NGOs and was related more to the mediated model of diffusion (Soule & Roggeband, 2012) aimed at building alliances and recruiting participants. In the case of Asian organizations, these tweets employed hashtag activism to encourage monetary contributions. For example, one organization posted,

"Are you #FiredUp to defend civil rights? Make a donation to @aaaj_alc to support our work: <https://t.co/dP0D5cIRc3> #GivingTuesday."

Hispanic-serving immigration NGOs' tweets were categorized into the following topics: (1) resisting Trump, (2) #GivingTuesday, (3) immigrant rights, and (4) environmental justice. The first topic included primarily motivational tweets, employing oppositional and rights frames. The #GivingTuesday topic, similar to that found in the Asian organizations' tweets during the same period, solicited donations, especially as related to undocumented immigrant youth. The third topic, immigrant rights, clearly invoked a rights frame, with tweets such as "ANYONE, including LPRs refugee veterans & those w/DACA can be detained & deported. ALL deserve a lawyer! #DueProcess4All." Lastly, the environmental justice topic included oppositional and rights framing, with most tweets disseminating news about climate change or lead contamination. The first and third topics focused more on building an issue community around immigrant rights and opposed to Trump, whereas the second and fourth topics were more about message diffusion across issues.

Black immigrant NGOs' tweets came together in the categories of (1) #GivingTuesday, (2) Black arts, (3) MLK, and (4) racial justice. The #GivingTuesday tweets mostly called for support of the Black Immigrant Defense Fund. Tweets in the Black arts topic employed an identity frame, emphasizing a local group's Winter Chama fundraiser for the Black Immigrant Defense Fund and promoting Black arts, music, and food. The MLK topic also promoted racial identity and community building using the hero narrative and the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag. One tweet noted, "What we are hearing and seeing is far from normal. #MLK warned us . . . we must emulate him." Tweets in the final topic of racial justice incorporated rights and oppositional frames. Again, the #GivingTuesday topic differed from the others, which were focused on community building around a single issue: Black identity.

Tweets from pan-immigrant organizations that served multiple immigrant groups were placed into four topics: (1) protecting immigrant families, (2) immigrant and refugee rights, (3) immigrants as Americans, and (4) anti-Jeff Sessions. The first topic employed rights and identity framing, with tweets such as "The damage that detention & deportation causes for families & communities is widespread affects everyone." The second topic employed rights and oppositional framing, with tweets like "Join us for a #HumanRightsDay rally tomorrow, supporting refugees & immigrants." Tweets in the third topic made use of identity and motivational frames. For example, the phrase "sí se puede" was common in these tweets. Another said, "Push back against hateful rhetoric & politics of fear. We stand united, protecting our communities." Finally, the anti-Sessions topic included tweets that mostly relied on oppositional framing that identified a problem and a solution: stopping Sessions' nomination as attorney general, via petitions, emails, and calls.

After the Ban

The topics of Asian organizations' tweets shifted following the ban to (1) immigrant rights, (2) fundraising, (3) opposition to the ban, (4) tax day, and (5) solidarity with other immigrant groups (see Table 2). Other than the tax and fundraising topics, the other main topics all related in some way to the ban. The immigrant rights topic included tweets such as "CA leads the way against Trump's racist anti-immigrant agenda," centered on the injustice of deportations and voting restrictions, and the need to help and support

deportees and their families. The solidarity topic is exemplified by the tweet, "If we want justice and we only fight for those who are Southeast Asian bc we're the #SoutheastAsianCoalition, that's not justice." Likewise, the Muslim Ban topic included tweets with frames that emphasized solidarity and opposition, both of which are master frames used across social movements to mobilize supporters. The tweets following the ban called for higher-risk actions than those before the ban, like coming out to the streets in protest. Different than the earlier tweets, the postban tweets emphasized various immigrant groups, thereby creating a pan-immigrant collective identity with the potential for greater mobilization.

Hispanic immigrant organizations' tweets also showed a change following the ban. The most common topics emerging from postban tweets were (1) opposition to ICE, (2) opposition to the Muslim ban, (3) DACA, (4) value of immigrants, and (5) immigrants' rights. Within each of these topics, tweets employed words that created narratives of injustice, human rights, solidarity, and the "American-ness" of accepting immigrants and refugees. Every topic but for DACA included tweets referencing the Muslim ban, illustrating its pervasiveness. The anti-ICE tweets often highlighted the plights of individuals as victims: "Please sign petition and call ICE to tell them: Don't deport Romulo!" Tweets within the antiban topic mostly employed solidarity and rights frames, using the hashtag #NoBanNoWall and relating the Muslim ban with undocumented migrants crossing the US-Mexico border. The DACA topic tweets mostly used rights framing. Tweets about the value of immigrants often employed identity frames to show that immigrants are American, too. One tweet said, "Let's get the word out! Marin schools welcome ALL students and families." Tweets within this topic also used rights and motivational framing, with tweets like "Judge puts New Muslim ban on hold! SF Protest tomorrow to demonstrate mass resistance to the Ban & all racist attacks." Similarly, the last topic specifically highlighted immigrants' rights: "Immigrants&refugees r part of heart&soul of our communities. Resist Trump's anti-immigrant agenda and support #CAValuesAct #DueProcess4All."

Black immigrant groups' tweets revolved around the topics of (1) immigrants as families, (2) organizational needs, (3) African solidarity, and (4) deportation resources. The immigrants as families topic incorporated identity, rights, and mobilization framing aimed at protecting immigrant families. The organizational needs topic included tweets mostly about job opportunities. Tweets within the African solidarity topic included identity, solidarity, rights, and oppositional framing, with most tweets condemning the Muslim ban. The hashtag #BeingBlackandMuslim was common. The deportation resources topic included tweets using a rights frame, informing Arab migrants what to do if they are detained or denied entry to the U.S.

Pan-immigrant organizations' tweets coalesced into the topics of (1) opposition to the ban, (2) protecting immigrants, (3) opposition to Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and (4) solidarity among immigrant groups. All of these topics included tweets opposing the ban. Frames of tweets in opposition to the ban topic were mostly oppositional or motivating, calling for solidarity. The protecting immigrant families topic included tweets with frames identifying deportations as the problem, calling for opposition to Trump and his policies, and solidarity with and protection of immigrants and their rights. Identification of hero narratives also was common in this topic: "Just one example of how #MuslimBan has real-life consequences on families & caregivers. #CaringMajority #NoBanNoWall." Tweets within the opposition to Sessions topic mostly employed the oppositional frame: "Jeff Sessions has been confirmed. Sanctuary cities are now more important than ever. This is why we will continue to resist." Lastly, the solidarity among immigrant groups

topic predominantly included tweets with motivational framing, many invoking the “sí se puede” rallying cry of Hispanic immigrants.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study employed Z tests and topic modeling to understand how a suddenly imposed grievance like the Muslim ban affected the frames used in the tweets of organizations serving different immigrant populations. Such a study is important for understanding the dynamic framing processes in the context of networked social movements, where social media not only serve as the platform for organizational expression but also as a mechanism of frame diffusion (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). The interpersonal and interorganizational connections afforded by social media become the channels through which key issues and claims can spread across the entire movement community, not just through discourse, but also via shared hashtags and retweeting. Ultimately, our study shows that the Muslim ban served as a suddenly imposed grievance that prompted frame alignment and diffusion on Twitter, adding to our understanding of how social media can be used to facilitate intergroup identity and alliances, allowing different immigrant-serving NGOs to coalesce around shared grievances and, potentially, broaden their reach and increase mobilization.

The quantitative analysis showed that while there were no significant differences before and after the ban in terms of how often Asian and pan immigrant NGOs used the same hashtags as the other immigrant groups' NGOs, Hispanic- and Black-serving immigrant NGOs tweeted significantly more with common hashtags after the ban. The increased use of common hashtags, such as #NoBanNoWall, represents a coalescing of agendas that align with what the topic modeling results showed. NGOs' common use of hashtags is noteworthy, since hashtag activism, or the practice of using specific hashtags to express dissent or build a coherent movement identity, has been identified as an effective tactic to scale up a movement (Jackson, 2016).

Results also showed a significant increase after the ban in common hashtags used among all four NGO groups, and common retweeted users among Hispanic- and pan-serving immigrant NGOs. These findings point to an alignment not just of agendas but also of networks, indicating that Twitter can potentially help forge cross-group alliances necessary for solidarity. However, it should be noted that while frame bridging and extension occurred to some extent, such as between Black and Hispanic NGOs and Hispanic and pan NGOs, these groups still did not use Twitter in a way that would lead to full frame alignment and, potentially, intersectional mobilization, indicating that to some extent the political enclaves still existed, even after a suddenly imposed shared grievance. Still, the additional finding that the shared hashtags among all groups increased is a clear indication of the potential for Twitter to allow for diverse agendas to coalesce after a suddenly imposed grievance. It also points to a shared understanding of the importance of hashtags for creating communities (R. Wang et al., 2016) and indicates a willingness on the part of these NGOs to recognize the intersectionality of their fight across different immigrant communities.

Through topic modeling, we found that before the ban, the selected immigrant organizations' tweets were largely focused on issues and causes specific to the populations they served, such as donating to their organizations on Giving Tuesday. After the ban, however, the framing of tweets shifted, with opposition to the ban becoming predominant in tweets from all groups. Such identification of frame

alignment is important for understanding how organizations with seemingly different agendas can use Twitter to coalesce around the fight for a single cause. This finding is especially encouraging, given how "particularized trust" (Uslaner & Conley, 2003, p. 334) has long characterized immigrant civic participation and their organizational alliance building. That is, immigrant organizations are likely to only mobilize around issues affecting their own particular ethnic community, running the risk of creating political enclaves. However, our study suggests that a suddenly imposed grievance like the Muslim ban, even if it does not immediately and directly threaten different immigrant populations, can be used to build cross-group alliances on Twitter.

Before the ban, findings from the topic modeling clearly point to political enclaves: The Asian immigrant organizations' tweets focused mostly on calling for justice for Ny Nourn, a Cambodian immigrant and domestic abuse survivor facing deportation; Hispanic groups' tweets centered on undocumented immigrants' rights, and the Black NGOs focused on Black Lives Matter and racial justice. Rather than seeing the fight for immigrants' rights as a pan-immigrant cause, these groups tweeted as if they were in the fight alone. Even though their tweets shared common themes, such as Giving Tuesday, the object of donations was specific to Asian, Hispanic, or Black immigrant causes. These findings of tweets before the ban illustrate the ongoing struggle for alliance building among diverse immigrant populations. Considering that at the time nearly half of U.S. adults supported Trump's immigration agenda, and more than half had a negative view of Black Lives Matter, it becomes more urgent to understand how organizations serving different immigrant segments can coalesce around a shared grievance.

The findings about tweets after the ban are particularly noteworthy, as they show that a suddenly imposed grievance like the Muslim ban can catalyze to prompt intergroup solidarity, and potentially, intersectional mobilization. Across all groups, opposition to the ban emerged as the main topic for Twitter discussion in postban tweets. These findings point to the critical role Twitter played in spreading cohesive movement messages and affording ways to coordinate communication.

Collective action framing processes are key to creating a collective identity and mobilizing people to act (Harlow, 2012; Snow & Benford, 1988). Combined, our quantitative and qualitative results suggest that the way NGOs used Twitter after the ban contributed to the alignment of collective action frames. Before the travel ban, rights and identity frames were most common across immigrant NGOs, and diagnostic and motivational framing were regularly employed. However, prognostic framing was rare, and the motivational framing was mostly related to encouraging people to give to a specific cause or creating a sense of identity and community around a specific immigrant- or ethnic group. In other words, frames were used for consensus and action mobilization (Klandermans, 1984), but mobilization was limited to a particular immigrant group and did not extend to the mobilization of immigrants more generally.

The Muslim ban changed that, however, serving as a catalyst prompting frame alignment (Snow & Benford, 1988), particularly frame bridging and extension. Frame bridging, or the linking of different groups via a shared ideology, is evident in the way all NGOs in our sample shifted their motivational framing to focus on creating solidarity across immigrant groups to fight the Muslim ban. The message was no longer just about each immigration group, but rather their shared plight as immigrants. Furthermore, frame extension, or expanding a group's main cause to include other issues important to potential supporters, was

demonstrated simply by the shift to tweets focused on the ban. Twitter thus serves as a key mechanism for facilitating frame extension and bridging after a suddenly imposed grievance. Practically, this finding suggests NGOs can use such events to craft messages on Twitter to widen their scope and potentially reach new supporters. Further, using Twitter for frame bridging and extension can be viewed as an opportunity for alliance building, potentially allowing immigrant NGOs to work outside their political enclaves and contribute to intersectional mobilization (Terriquez, 2015).

Importantly, the convergence of topics in postban tweets does not mean the individual organizations abandoned their specific immigrant or ethnic identities. Instead, they found ways to position their opposition to the ban within a framework that would resonate with the particular groups they served. As Snow and Benford (1988) noted, mobilization depends on resonance, and resonance in part depends on salience. Further, achieving intersectional mobilization (Terriquez, 2015), or increased activism and commitment resulting from incorporation and recognition of participants' multiple and overlapping identities and experiences with oppression, means NGOs, to make the ban more salient for non-Muslim groups, tweeted adapted frames to fit a context that different immigrant groups could relate to. For example, the Hispanic groups' tweets about the ban invoked causes important to populations they served, such as opposition to ICE and a border wall, and support for sanctuary cities. They incorporated hashtags like #NoBanNoWallNoRaids, #Sanctuary, and #SiSePuede that brought together their own agenda with that of fighting the ban. The Black immigrant organizations' tweets also employed this tactic, with tweets opposing the ban using identity-specific terms like #BeingBlackandMuslim or framing the ban as a Black Lives Matter issue because many of the banned countries were in Africa.

This blend of racial and immigrant identity illustrates a frame diffusion process where a shared grievance—the Muslim ban—was framed as a threat to the Black identity or Hispanic immigrants. In particular, these groups' tweets exhibit frame adaptation, whereby the adopters strategically transform frames to fit their particular circumstances and make them more relevant for followers (Benford & Snow, 2000). This examination of postban tweets thus elucidates how NGOs can use Twitter for frame diffusion. The most frequent use of hashtags after the ban for Hispanic and Black immigrant groups included those that adapted the message to resonate with the populations they served, indicating that adaption, and not just adoption, is important for message diffusion.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations of this study should be acknowledged. First, the sample may not represent all immigrant groups in the country. Although our decision to focus on California is well justified, many immigrant organizations are left unexamined. Future research could examine immigrant NGOs involved across racial/ethnic, country-of-origin, and religious lines, as it is only through building an all-encompassing alliance that movement goals can best be achieved.

Second, based on a single case, our study inevitably runs the risk of not producing generalizable results for other collective action events. Further, topics are not necessarily reproducible. Future research should extend and replicate our study to other bouts of collective action. It is particularly worth examining

how messages on other social media platforms besides Twitter may exhibit a similar frame alignment process like what we observe here.

Finally, although we draw from social movement scholarship and the concepts of collective action frames, frame alignment, and frame diffusion, we do not measure how a particular frame is diffused from one organization to another. Unanswered questions remain, such as which types of organizations are more likely to become the "leader" in such a diffusion process, and which types of messages diffuse more easily than others.

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