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Contentious Politics on Twitter: A Multi-Method Digital Inquiry of 21st Century Social

Movements

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

Alex Thomas Gray Espinoza-Kulick

Committee in charge:

Professor Verta Taylor, Chair

Assistant Professor Zakiya Luna

Professor Nella Van Dyke, University of California, Merced

Professor John Mohr, in memoriam

June 2020

The dissertation of Alex Thomas Gray Espinoza-Kulick is approved.

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Nella Van Dyke

_____

Zakiya Luna

_____

Verta Taylor, Committee Chair

May 2020

DEDICATION

To my family and ancestors, for lifting up education

and

To my husband, for mobilizing knowledge in action

Contentious Politics on Twitter: A Multi-Method Digital Inquiry of 21st Century Social

Movements

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Associate for the Sociology Department at University of California, Santa Barbara, as well as Lecturer of Women's and Gender Studies at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo. During my sixth year, I also joined the faculty at Cuesta College as an Instructor of Sociology and Human Development / Human Services. Additional periodic financial support was provided by a Dean's Grant for Summer Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research Training and Graduate Student Association Travel Grants.

Earlier versions of portions of this project have been presented at professional conferences and with my colleagues and students. In May 2017, I presented a preliminary conceptual framework for understanding emotions in movements at the *Mobilization* Conference on Social Movements and Protest. I also articulated portions of this framework in iterations of "Introduction to Sociology.". Similarly, the methodological framework was grounded by my interactions with students in research methods courses who have hands-on investments in solving sociological problems. Two undergraduate students assisted with a pilot study on the Alt-Right for a summer Network Science IGERT research internship. As well, I received feedback on the presented analysis at the Pacific Sociological Association conference in March 2019. My understanding of the Women's Marches was shaped deeply by the Mobilizing Millions project, including participating in fieldwork in Philadelphia and discussing with other researchers on the team.

During my dissertation work, I had the privilege of working with John Mohr, as well as the misfortune of mourning his passing. As an advisor, he was always supportive of my capacity to take on challenges and quick to identify a new direction to explore. I consider myself lucky to have been one of his students, with an overlapping vision for sociological research methods.

Alex Espinoza-Kulick, MA, PhD Candidate
Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Expected 2020	PhD, Sociology, University of California Santa Barbara
2016	MA, Sociology, University of California Santa Barbara
2013	BA with Distinction, Women's Studies, University of Michigan 　　　　Minors: Mathematics, Community Action & Social Change

Areas of Specialization

- ❖ Multi-Methods Research
- ❖ Social Network Analysis
- ❖ Survey Research
- ❖ Community-Based & Participatory Action Research
- ❖ Grounded Theory Coding and Cultural Analysis
- ❖ Software: R, Stata, SPSS, Atlas.ti, nVivo
- ❖ Social Movements
- ❖ Gender & Sexuality
- ❖ Intersectionality
- ❖ Research Methods
- ❖ Inequality and Health
- ❖ Politics and Law
- ❖ Technology and Digital Communication
- ❖ Distance Education (AP4105 Certified)
- ❖ Education in Prison

College Teaching Experience

Instructor of Human Development / Human Services, Cuesta College, San Luis Obispo

2020	"Human Sexuality: Experience and Expression"
2019	"Introduction to Queer Studies" using Canvas for Distance Education
2019	"Life Management" at California Men's Colony

Instructor of Sociology, Cuesta College, San Luis Obispo

2020	"Introduction to Sociology" at California Men's Colony
2020	"Introduction to Sociology"
2020	"Introduction to Criminology"
2019	"Social Problems" at North County Campus, Paso Robles

Instructor of Record, Department of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara

2019	"Women in American Society"
2019	"Methods of Sociological Research"

Lecturer of Women's and Gender Studies, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

2018	"Introduction to Women's and Gender Studies in the United States"

Teaching Assistant, Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara

2020	"Methods of Sociology Research", Instructor of Record: C. Taylor
2019	"Organizations", Instructor of Record: Sutton
2019	"Methods of Sociological Research", Instructor of Record: Charles
2018	"Women and Work", Instructor of Record: Tabag
2017	"Introduction to Sociology", Instructor of Record: McCumber
	Guest Lectures: Social Movements; Intersectionality
2016	"Special Topics in Social Theory: Race and Culture", Instructor of Record: Carney
	Guest Lectures: #Lemonade and Cultural Theory; Research Papers and Analytic Writing

Course Facilitator, University of Michigan

2011	"Intergroup Dialogue: Socio-Economic Status", Program on Intergroup Relations
2010	"Gender and Women's Lives in U.S. Society", Women's Studies

Funding and Awards

University of California Santa Barbara

2014 - 2019	Chancellor's Fellowship: $139,352 over three years (2014-15, 2016-17, 2018-19)
	Network Science IGERT (Interdisciplinary Graduate Education and Research Traineeship), National Science Foundation: $91,500 over two years (2015-16, 2017-18)
2018	Flacks Fund for the Study of Democratic Possibilities: $750
2015 - 2018	Conference Travel Grants, Graduate Student Association: $800 over four awards (2015, 2016, 2016, 2018)
2015	Dean's Grant for Summer ICPSR (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research) Training, Broom Center: $2,000 for two week-long courses

University of Michigan

2013	Central Campus MLK Spirit Award
2013	Cornerstone Award, Spectrum Center
2013	Commitment to Service Award (Michigan Campus Compact)
2012	Rosalie Ginsberg Scholarship for Community Service and Social Action, Ginsberg Center
2012	Heart and Soul Award (Michigan Campus Compact)

Publications

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex. 2020. "A Multi-Method Approach to Framing Disputes and Opposing Movements: Same-Sex Marriage on Trial in *Obergefell v. Hodges*." *Mobilization* 25(1):45–70. https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-25-1-45

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex, and Mario Alberto V. Espinoza-Kulick. Forthcoming. "Drug Policy Alliance" in *Marijuana in America: Cultural, Political, and Medical Controversies,* edited by James Hawdon, Bryan Miller, and Matthew Costello. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Espinoza-Kulick, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Espinoza-Kulick. Forthcoming. "Marijuana and the Hippies" in *Marijuana in America: Cultural, Political, and Medical Controversies,* edited by James Hawdon, Bryan Miller, and Matthew Costello. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Espinoza-Kulick, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Espinoza-Kulick. Forthcoming. "Marijuana Policy Project" in *Marijuana in America: Cultural, Political, and Medical Controversies,* edited by James Hawdon, Bryan Miller, and Matthew Costello. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, Kimberly Grocher, and Theresa S. Betancourt. Forthcoming. "Physical and Sexual Violence Experienced by Male War-Affected Youth: Implications for Post-Conflict Functioning and Intimate Relationships." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. http://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518792963

Kulick, Alex, Laura J. Wernick, Mario Alberto V. Espinoza, Tarkington J. Newman, and Adrienne B. Dessel. 2019. "Three Strikes and You're 'Out': Culture, Facilities, and Participation among LGBTQ Youth in Sports." *Sport Education and Society* 24(9): 939–53. http://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2018.1532406

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, Allison Treviño Hartman, Kendra DeLoach McCutcheon, and Theresa S. Bentacourt. 2019. "The Impact of War Violence Exposure and Psychological Distress on Parenting Practices among a Sample of Young Adults Affected by War Post Conflict Sierra Leone." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 25(4): 325–34.

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, and Kendra P. DeLoach McCutcheon. 2019. "Parenting Satisfaction among Homeless Caregivers." *Journal of Family Issues* 40(1):33–47. http://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18806331

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, Sara Matsuzaka, and Theresa S. Betancourt. 2018. "War Violence Exposure, Reintegration Experiences and Intimate Partner Violence among a Sample of War-Affected Females in Sierra Leone." *Global Social Welfare* 6: 97–106. http://doi.org/10.1007/s40609-018-0125-9

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, Hadiza L. Osuji, Nisha N. Beharie, and Yvette Sealy. 2018. "The Impact of Shelter Environment, Parental Communication and Supervision on Depression Outcomes among an Urban Sample of Adolescent First Time Shelter Users in New York City." *Journal of Family Issues* 38(11):3075–95. http://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18770224

Woodford, Michael R., Alex Kulick, Jason C. Garvey, Brandy R. Sinco, and Jun Sung Hong. 2018. "LGBTQ Policies and Resources on Campus and the Experiences and Psychological Wellbeing of Sexual Minority College Students: Advancing Research on Structural Inclusion." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 5(4):445–56. http://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000289

Woodford, Michael R., Genevieve Weber, Z Nicolazzo, Renee Hunt, Alex Kulick, Todd Coleman, Simon Coulombe, and Kristen A. Renn. 2018. "Depression and Attempted Suicide among LGBTQ College Students: Fostering Resilience to the Effects of Heterosexism and Cisgenderism on Campus." *Journal of College Student Development* 59(4):421–38. http://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2018.0040

Kulick, Alex, Laura J. Wernick, Michael R. Woodford, and Kristen Renn. 2017. "Heterosexism, Depression, and Campus Engagement among LGBTQ College Students: Intersectional Differences and Opportunities for Healing." *Journal of Homosexuality* 64(8):1125–41. http://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1242333

Dessel, Adrienne B., Alex Kulick, Laura J. Wernick, and Daniel Sullivan. 2017. "The Importance of Teacher Support: Differential Impacts by Gender and Sexuality." *Journal of Adolescence* 56:136–44. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2017.02.002

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, and Matthew Chin. 2017. "Gender Identity Disparities in Bathroom Safety and Wellbeing among High School Students." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 46(5):917–30. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-017-0652-1

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, Adrienne B. Dessel, and Louis F. Graham. 2016. "Theater and Dialogue to Increase Youth's Intentions to Advocate for LGBTQQ People." *Research on Social Work Practice* 26(2):189–202. http://doi.org/10.1177/1049731514539417

Woodford, Michael R., Jill M. Chonody, Alex Kulick, David J. Brennan, and Kristen Renn. 2015. "The LGBQ Microaggressions on Campus Scale: A Scale Development and Validation Study." *Journal of Homosexuality* 62(12):1660–87. http://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1078205

Woodford, Michael R., and Alex Kulick. 2015. "Academic and Social Integration on Campus among Sexual Minority Students: The Impacts of Psychological and Experiential Campus Climate." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 55(1-2):13–24. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9683-x

Woodford, Michael R., Alex Kulick, and Brittanie Atteberry. 2015. "Protective Factors, Campus Climate, and Health Outcomes among Sexual Minority College Students." *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 8(2):73–87. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0038552

Woodford, Michael R., Megan S. Paceley, Alex Kulick, and Jun Sung Hong. 2015. "The LGBQ Social Climate Matters: Policies, Protests, and Placards and Psychological Wellbeing among LGBQ Youth." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Social Services* 27(1):116–41. http://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2015.990334

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, and M. H. Inglehart. 2014. "Influences of Peers, Teachers, and Climate on Students' Willingness to Intervene when Witnessing Anti-Transgender Harassment." *Journal of Adolescence* 37(6):927–35. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2014.06.008

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, and Michael R. Woodford. 2014. "How Theater within a Transformative Organizing Framework Cultivates Individual and Collective Empowerment among LGBTQQ Youth." *Journal of Community Psychology* 42(7):838–53. http://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21656

Wernick, Laura J., Michael R. Woodford, and Alex Kulick. 2014. "LGBTQQ Youth Using Participatory Action Research and Theater to Effect Change: Moving Adult Decision-Makers to Create Youth-Centered Change." *Journal of Community Practice* 22(1-2):47–66. http://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2014.901996

Woodford, Michael R., Alex Kulick, Brandy R. Sinco, and Jun Sung Hong. 2014. "Contemporary Heterosexism on Campus and Psychological Distress among LGBQ Students: The Mediating Role of Self-Acceptance." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 84(5):519–29. http://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000015

Wernick, Laura J., Adrienne B. Dessel, Alex Kulick, and Louis F. Graham. 2013. "LGBTQQ Youth Creating Change: Developing Allies against Bullying through Performance and Dialogue." *Children and Youth Services Review* 35(9):1576–86. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.06.005

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, and M. H. Inglehart. 2013. "Factors Predicting Student Intervention when Witnessing Anti-LGBTQ Harassment: The Influence of Peers, Teachers, and Climate." *Children and Youth Services Review* 35(2):296–301. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.11.003

Woodford, Michael R., Michael L. Howell, Alex Kulick, and Perry Silverschanz. 2013. "'That's so Gay' Heterosexual Male Undergraduates and the Perpetuation of Sexual Orientation Microaggressions on Campus." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 28(2):416–35. http://doi.org/10.1177/0886260512454719

Woodford, Michael R., Jill Chonody, Kristin Scherrer, Perry Silverschanz, and Alex Kulick. 2012. "The 'Persuadable Middle' on Same-Sex Marriage: Formative Research to Build Support among Heterosexual College Students." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 9(1):1–14. http://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-011-0073-y

Manuscripts under Review

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, Milo Inglehart, and Adrienne Dessel. In Review. "Influence of Curriculum and Role Models on High School Students' Willingness to Intervene When Witnessing Anti-LGBTQ Harassment." *Equity & Excellence in Education* (Major Revisions submitted February 2020).

Manuscripts in Progress

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex, and Mario Alberto V. Espinoza-Kulick. "Cruel and Unusual Punishment: Differential Racialized Framing Strategies in Advocacy against the Shackling of Inmates and Immigrants during Pregnancy and Childbirth."

Espinoza-Kulick, Mario, and Alex Espinoza-Kulick. "Graphing a Culture of Fear: Broadcast and Social Media and the Reproduction of Anti-Immigrant Political Discourse."

Additional Publications

Luna, Zakiya, Alex Kulick, and Anna Chatillon. 2017. "Why Did Millions March? A View from the Many Women's Marches." *Sociological Images.* Available at https://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2017/02/15/why-did-millions-march-a-view-from-the-many-womens-marches/

Carney, Nikita, and Alex Kulick. 2016. "Rethinking Academia and Social Justice: Reflections from Emerging Scholars." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. Available at http://berkeleyjournal.org/2016/04/rethinking-academia-and-social-justice-reflections-from-emerging-scholars/

Kulick, Alex, and Laura J. Wernick. 2016. "Participatory Action Research to Change School Climate." Pp. 359–60 in *Just Practice: A Social Justice Approach to Social Work* (3rd edition), Janet L. Finn. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Wernick, Laura J., Adrienne B. Dessel, Alex Kulick, and Louis F. Graham. 2014. "Evaluating an LGBTQQ-Youth Led Intervention that Uses Theater and Dialogue." Pp. 219–21 in *Community Art: Creative Approaches to Practice*, edited by Jill M. Chonody. Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing.

Wernick, Laura J., and Alex Kulick. 2013. "What is RG's Impact?" *Resource Generation Blog*. Available at http://www.resourcegeneration.org/blog/2013/08/13/what-is-rgs-impact-survey-results-from-laura-wernick-phd/

Halpern, Noah, Alex Kulick, and Cassie Stanzler. 2012. "Viewpoint: Ban the Box."
Michigan Daily. Available at http://michigandaily.com/opinion/viewpoint-ban-box/

Kulick, Alex. 2011. "Engaging in Academic Communities." *University of Michigan Arts of Citizenship Blog.* Available at http://artsofcitizenship.umich.edu/2011/04/engaging-in-academic-communities/

Barnard, Abigail, Alex Kulick, Holly Stehlin, and Chloe Zhang. 2009. "Viewpoint: Stereotypes of Sexual Violence." *Michigan Daily.* Available at http://michigandaily.com/content/viewpoint-sexual-harassment/

Presentations

Peer-Reviewed Conference Presentations

Espinoza-Kulick, Mario, and Alex Espinoza-Kulick. "Expanding the Sociological Imagination: Translating Queer Ethnic Studies for Teaching Sociology." (Accepted)
Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting (Aug '20); San Francisco, CA.

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex, Laura Wernick, Mario Espinoza-Kulick, Tarkington Newman, and Adrienne Dessel. "Three Strikes and You're Out: Culture, Facilities, and Participation among LGBTQ Youth in Sports."
Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work Research (Jan '20); Washington, DC.

Kulick, Alex. "The Rise and File of Milo Yiannopoulos on Twitter: #GamerGate, #FeminismIsCancer, and #FreeMilo."
Kulick, Alex, and Mario Alberto V. Espinoza. "Cruel and Unusual Punishment: The Shackling of Inmates and Immigrants during Pregnancy and Childbirth."
Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting/Conference (Mar '19); Oakland, CA.

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, Hadiza Osuji, Allison L. Treviño Hartman, and Theresa Betancourt. "Sexual Health Knowledge and Behaviors among War-Affected Youth in Sierra Leone Post Conflict."
Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work and Research (Jan '19); San Francisco, CA.

Kulick, Alex. "Framing Processes in *Obergefell v. Hodges*: Using Computational Text Analysis to Analyze Networked Meanings."
American Sociological Association Annual Meeting (Aug '18); Philadelphia, PA.

Kulick, Alex. "Learning from Campaigns to End the Practice of Shackling Incarcerated Individuals During Pregnancy and Childbirth: Vulnerability, Dignity, and Health as Resistance to Mass Incarceration."
Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting (Aug '18); Philadelphia, PA.

Alleyne-Green, Binta, Alex Kulick, and Theresa Betancourt. "War Violence Exposure, Reintegration Experiences and Intimate Partner Violence Victimization among a Sample of War-Affected Females in Sierra Leone."

Hong, Jun Sung, Michael R. Woodford, Alex Kulick, and Malinda Matney. "Understanding Discrimination on Campus: Social Identities and Incivility and Victimization."

Woodford, Michael R., Jill Chonody, Erich Pitcher, Z Nicolazzo, T.J. Jourian, Alex Kulick, and Kristen Renn. "Development and Testing of the Trans Microaggressions on Campus Scale."

Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work Research (Jan '18); Washington, DC.

Carney, Nikita, and Alex Kulick. "Interactive Pedagogies on Race through Culture." (Critical Dialogue)

Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting (Aug '17); Montreal, QC.

Kulick, Alex. "Emotions in Social Movement Studies: Trends, Definitions, and New Directions."

Mobilization *Conference on Social Movements and Protest* (May '17); San Diego, CA.

Chin, Matthew, Milo Inglehart, Alex Kulick, Jama Shelton, Leo S. Thornton, Phoebe VanCleefe, and Laura J. Wernick. "Research Capacity Building With Transgender and Gender Expansive Youth."

Dessel, Adrienne, Alex Kulick, and Laura Wernick. "Teacher Support as an Influence on Sexual and Gender Minority Youth Success."

Wernick, Laura, Alex Kulick, Adrienne Dessel, and Milo Inglehart. "Influence of Curriculum and Role Models on High School Students Willingness to Intervene When Witnessing Anti-LGBTQ Harassment."

Woodford, Michael R., Genevieve Weber, Z Nicolazzo, Renee Hunt, Alex Kulick, and Kristen Renn. "Depression and Attempted Suicide among LGBTQ College Students: Fostering Resilience to the Effects of Heterosexism and Cisgenderism on Campus."

Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work Research (Jan '17); New Orleans, LA.

Graham, Louis F., Alex Kulick, William Lopez, Jordan Bosse, and Alexandra M. Stern. "Minority Stress Model Factors Influencing Anxiety and Depression among Black Gender and Sexually Marginalized Young Adults Transacting Sex."

Sinco, Brandy, Michael R. Woodford, Alex Kulick, Jun Sung Hong, and Jay Garvey. "Effect of College LGBTQ Policies and Resources on the Psychological Well-being of LGBQ College Students."

American Public Health Association Annual Meeting (Nov '16); Denver, CO.

Kulick, Alex. "Narrative Counter-Mobilization in U.S. Same-Sex Marriage Struggle: Anchors and Influence in *Obergefell v Hodges*."

After Marriage: The Future of LGBTQ Politics and Scholarship, CLAGS: The Center for LGBTQ Studies (Oct '16); New York, NY.

Kulick, Alex. "Narrative (Counter-)Mobilizations in U.S. Same-Sex Marriage Struggle."

LGBT Research Symposium (May '16); Champaign, IL.

Kulick, Alex, and Laura J. Wernick. "LGBTQQ Youth Organizing: Targeting Systems, Engaging Intersectionality, and Producing Knowledge."
  Society for the Study of Social Problems Annual Meeting (Aug '15); Chicago, IL.

Wernick, Laura J., and Alex Kulick. "LGBTQQ Youth's Innovative Use of PAR in Direct Action and Evaluation of Organizing Model."
Woodford, Michael R., Brandy Sinco, Alex Kulick, J. Garvey, and Jun Sung Hong. "Assessing the Effects of Objective LGBQ-Inclusive State and College Structural Factors on the Experiences and Psychological Well-Being of LGBQ College Students."
  Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work Research (Jan '15); New Orleans, LA.

Woodford, Michael R., Brandy Sinco, Alex Kulick, and Jun Sung Hong. "Using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to Explain the Mediating Effect of Self-Acceptance on Psychological Distress Due to Heterosexist Discrimination among LGBQ College Students."
  American Public Health Association Annual Meeting (Nov '14); New Orleans, LA.

Kulick, Alex, Ira Bohm-Sanchez, M. A. Wagaman, Laura J. Wernick, and Louis F. Graham. "Youth Voices and Social Change in LGBTQ Research: Reflecting On and Learning From Participatory Research Approaches."
Graham, Louis F., William D. Lopez, J. Peterson, and Alex Kulick. "Detroit Youth Passages: Addressing Economic Crises, Residential Instability, and Sexual Vulnerability among African-American and Latino/a Gender and Sexually Marginalized Communities."
  LGBT Research Symposium (May '14); Champaign, IL.

Wernick, Laura J., Adrienne B. Dessel, Alex Kulick, and Louis F. Graham. "LGBTQQ Youth Creating Change: Developing Allies Against Bullying through Performance and Dialogue."
Woodford, Michael R., and Alex Kulick. "Academic Wellbeing among Sexual Minority College Students: The Role of Behavioral and Psychological Campus Climate."
  Annual Conference of the Society for Social Work Research (Jan '14); San Antonio, TX.

Kulick, Alex. "Intersectionality, Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Lives of College-Aged White Gay Men."
  Queer Studies Graduate Student Conference, Ohio University (Apr '13); Athens, OH.

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, and M. Inglehart. "Factors Predicting Student Intervention when Witnessing Anti-LGBTQ Bullying."
  Annual Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education (Nov '12); Washington, DC.

Wernick, Laura J., Michael R. Woodford, and Alex Kulick. "LGBTQQA Creative Performance to Create School Change: An Innovative Organizing Model."
  Society for Community Research and Action (Jun '11); Chicago, IL.

Wernick, Laura J., and Alex Kulick. "Transforming a Community Organizing Model for Leveraging Privilege to Social Justice: Theory and Practice."

Wernick, Laura J., Alex Kulick, Ashley Burnside, Leo Thornton, and Emma Upham. "LGBTQQA Youth Organizing to Create School Change: An Innovative Organizing Model."
  Unsettling Feminisms (May '11); Chicago, IL.

Workshops, Community Presentations, Guest Lectures, and Invited Talks

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex (Panelist). "Identity, Education and Pathways to College Success."
  College Success (Feb '20); College Success Studies, Cuesta College, San Luis Obispo.

Espinoza-Kulick, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Espinoza-Kulick. "Teaching Queer Ethnic Studies."
  Change the Status Quo (Feb '20); California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo.

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex. "Stress, Coping, and Active Listening: LARA (Listen, Affirm, Respond, Add)"
  Group Process and Practice (Oct '19); Human Development / Human Services, Cuesta College at California Men's Colony: East.

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex. "Quantitative Research Methods for Social Justice Advocacy through LGBTQ Youth Participatory Action Research"
  Research Methods in Comparative Ethnic Studies (Oct '19); Ethnic Studies, California Polytechnic State University.

Espinoza-Kulick, Alex (Panelist). "Identity, Education and Pathways to College Success."
  College Success (Aug '19); College Success Studies, Cuesta College, San Luis Obispo.

Espinoza, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Kulick. "Advancing Youth-Centered Approaches to Social Justice and Equity"
  2nd Annual Social Justice Education Conference (May '19); Santa Maria Joint Unified High School District, Central Coast Coalition for Undocumented Student Success, and California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo.

Kulick, Alex. "The IUD as Reproductive Technology & Women of Color Organizing for Reproductive Justice."
  Gender, Race, Culture, Science, and Technology (Feb '19); Ethnic Studies, California Polytechnic State University.

Kulick, Alex. "Central Campus MLK Spirit Awards Alumx Stories"
  MLK Day Symposium (Jan '19); University of Michigan.

Espinoza, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Kulick. "Love as Discursive FORMATION: Uncovering Forgiveness with and through Beyoncé's Lemonade by Examining Race, Gender, and Sexuality."
  Beyoncé: Feminism, Race, & Politics (May '18); Ethnic Studies, California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo.

Espinoza, Mario Alberto V., and Alex Kulick. "Love as Discursive FORMATION: Uncovering Forgiveness with and through Beyoncé's Lemonade by Examining Race, Gender, and Sexuality."
    Beyoncé: Feminism, Race, & Politics (May '17); Ethnic Studies, California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo.

Kulick, Alex, and Nikita Carney. "Encoding and Decoding Beyoncé's #Lemonade in Legacies of Black Feminist Labor and Intellectual Production."
    LGBT Research Showcase (Jun '16); Recourse Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity & Graduate Division, University of California Santa Barbara.

Kulick, Alex. "Navigating Graduate School for Marginalized Students."
    University of California Santa Barbara Spring Pride (Apr '16); Isla Vista, CA.

Kulick, Alex. "Beyond Self-Care: Strategies for Collective Healing in Times of Distress."
    Women Gender and Sexual Equity Departmental Training (Jan '16); University of California Santa Barbara.

Kulick, Alex. "Strategies for Collective Healing: Becoming Mindful of Queer History and Legacies."
    Rick Berry Emerging Leaders Institute (Nov '15); University of California Santa Barbara.

Kulick, Alex. "Applying to and Succeeding in Graduate School for Marginalized Students."
    Women Gender and Sexual Equity Departmental Training (Apr '15); University of California Santa Barbara.

Graham, Louis F., Alex Kulick, William Lopez, and Curtis Collins. "Economic Crises, Residential Instability, and Sexual Vulnerability among Black and Latina/o Transgender Women and Gay Men."
    Hotter Than July Annual Gathering (Jul '14); Detroit, MI.

Kulick, Alex. "How Gay Stayed White: Millennial White Gay Men and the Production of and Resistance to Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism."
    Women's Studies Honors Colloquium (Apr '13); University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Kulick, Alex. "Detroit Youth Passages: Economic Crisis, Residential Instability, and Changing Sexual Geographies of Detroit Youth."
    Connect2Protect Linkage to Care & HIV Education Subcommittees (Oct '13); Detroit, MI.

Kulick, Alex, and Laura J. Wernick. "Using Participatory Action Research as LGBTQQA Youth: The Riot Youth Climate Survey Project."
    Southeast Michigan Gay Straight Alliance Summit & Gayrilla Toolkit Training (Feb '13); Neutral Zone, Ann Arbor, MI.

Kulick, Alex. "Creative Storytelling Projects & Social Change." (Poster)
   Connecting the Dots: Creating Lasting Social Change through Research (Oct '11);
   Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Woodford, Michael R., Michael Howell, L. Yu, and Alex Kulick. "'That's So Gay!':
Heterosexist Language on Campus."
   Division of Student Affairs Research Symposium (May '11); University of Michigan,
   Ann Arbor.

Woodford, Michael R., Laura J. Wernick, Alex Kulick, and Lori Roddy. "LGBTQ Youth
Creative Performances to Promote Youth Empowerment and Create Institutional Change."
   Arts of Citizenship Colloquium (Dec '10); University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Service

Cuesta College

2020	Scholarship Reviewer
2020	Participant, Faculty Equity Institute
2019	Contributor, Student Learning Outcomes for "Introduction to Criminology"

University of California Santa Barbara

2014 - 2020	Advisor, Undergraduate Honors students
2014 - 2019	Participant, Social Movements Workshop (Department of Sociology)
2019	Course Assistant, Social Movements Seminar
2016 - 2017	Advisor, Queers Against Fascism
2015 - 2016	Organizer, Sociology Graduate Student Association
2015 - 2016	Graduate Assistant, Resource Center for Sexual and Gender Diversity
2014 - 2015	Organizer, UCSB Grads Mobilize

University of Michigan

2012 - 2014	Member, raceXsexuality Research Collective
2011 - 2013	Lead Team, Students Organizing Against the Prison Industrial Complex
2012 - 2013	Hot Committee, Color of Change Queer and Trans* People of Color and Allies Community Summit
2011 - 2013	Member, Vice President for Student Affairs Student Advisory Board
2012 - 2013	Co-Chair, Spectrum Center Student Advocacy Board
2013	Participant, Social Movements Workshop (Department of Sociology)
2009 - 2012	Member, Spectrum Center Student Advisory Board
2010 - 2012	Workshop Facilitator, Program on Intergroup Relations
2011 - 2012	Member, Ally & Bystander Intervention Programming Evaluation Committee (Division of Student Affairs)
2009 - 2011	Retreat and Workshop Facilitator, Growing Allies (Office of Multi-Ethnic Student Affairs & Program on Intergroup Relations)
2011	Program Coordinator, Growing Allies (Office of Multi-Ethnic Student Affairs)

Review Work

2019 -	*Mobilization*
2018 -	*Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*
2018 -	*Journal of Homosexuality*
2018 -	*Journal of LGBT Youth*
2018 -	*Social Work in Mental Health*
2017 -	*Qualitative Research in Psychology*
2017 -	*Children and Youth Services Review*
2017	ASCEND Center for Biomedical Research at Morgan State University
2008 -	Colleagues and friends

Professional Memberships

2019 -	Pacific Sociological Association
2015 -	American Sociological Association
2015 -	Society for the Study of Social Problems
2014	Society for Social Work Research
2012 - 2013	Council on Social Work Education

Research Experience

2019 -   **Survey and Writing Consultant**, Mario Espinoza-Kulick, MA, PhD Candidate (Sociology, University of California Santa Barbara)
❖ La Gente Unida (The People United): Decolonizing Immigrant Health Advocacy and Movements along California's Central Coast

2019   **Statistical Consultant,** Erica Ponteen, LMSW, PhD Candidate (Graduate School of Social Service, Fordham University)
❖ United States Air Force Mothers' Trauma History and Child Maltreatment

2016 - 2019 **Statistical Consultant**, Dr. Binta Alleyne-Green (Graduate School of Social Service, Fordham University)
❖ Gender, War, and Violence: Experiences of Conflict-Affected Youth in Sierra Leone
❖ Investigating Dynamics and Outcomes of Family Homelessness in New York City

2018   **Network Science Fellowship**, Visible Network Labs
❖ PARTNER Tool on Inter-Organizational Public Health Networks (PI: Stephanie Bultema, MA)

2017 - 2018 **Statistical Consultant**, Diaon Clarke, LCSW, Phd Candidate (Graduate School of Social Service, Fordham University)
❖ Exploring Childhood Trauma and Teen Dating Violence Experiences

2017   **Principal Investigator and Graduate Advisor**, Summer Research Internship (Network Science IGERT, University of California Santa Barbara)
❖ Emotions, Twitter, and Social Movements: Studying the Alt-Right Online

2017   **Statistical Consultant**, Dr. Eileen Boris (Feminist Studies, University of California Santa Barbara)
❖ Working Conditions and Organizing among In-Home Support Services Employees

2016 - 2017 **Social Media Data Coordinator and Site Lead**, Mobilizing Millions
❖ Engendering Protest Across the Globe (PI: Dr. Zakiya Luna)

2015 - 2017   **Research Assistant**, Dr. Zakiya Luna (Sociology, University of California Santa Barbara)
❖ Race and Social Movements
❖ The Role of Youth Engagement Programs in Addressing Political Inequality
2014-2015   **Research Assistant**, WhatEvery1Says (English, University of California Santa Barbara)
❖ Topic Modeling Public Discourse on the Humanities (PI: Dr. Alan Liu)
2013 - 2018   **Co-Principal Investigator & Consultant**, Riot Youth at Neutral Zone
❖ School Climate Action Project (Co-PI: Dr. Laura Wernick)
2013 - 2017   **Statistical Consultant**, Program on Intergroup Relations (University of Michigan)
❖ Evaluating Student Learning in Intergroup Dialogue Facilitation Courses (PIs: Dr. Adrienne Dessel, Monita Thompson, Dr. Patricia Gurin)
2013 - 2014   **Project Manager**, Detroit Youth Passages (School of Public Health, University of Michigan & Ruth Ellis Center & Alternatives For Girls & Detroit Hispanic Development Corporation)
❖ Economic Crisis, Residential Instability and Changing Sexual Geographies of Detroit Youth (PIs: Drs. Louis F. Graham, Rachel Snow, Mark Padilla)
2012 - 2016   **Research Assistant**, Dr. Laura Wernick (Graduate School of Social Service, Fordham University)
❖ Transformative LGBTQI Youth Leadership & Organizing
❖ Organizing Young People with Wealth to Support Social Justice
2012 - 2013   **Data Management Intern**, Jim Toy Community Center
❖ Get Out the Vote for Equality
2012 - 2013   **Research Assistant**, Matthew Schottland, PsyD Candidate
❖ Unrequited Love between Gay and Straight Adolescent Boys
2012   **Voting Rights Intern**, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
❖ Election Protection and 866-OUR-VOTE
2011   **Community-Based Research Fellow**, Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (University of Michigan) & Riot Youth at Neutral Zone
❖ LGBTQ Youth Storytelling (PI: Laura Wernick, LMSW, PhD Candidate)
2010 - 2012   **Research Assistant**, Laura Wernick, LMSW, PhD Candidate (School of Social Work, University of Michigan)
❖ Facilitating Institutional Change and Youth Empowerment through Creative Performance
❖ Social Justice Philanthropy and Young Donor Organizing
2009 - 2014   **Research Assistant & Project Coordinator**, Dr. Michael Woodford (School of Social Work, University of Michigan)
❖ LGBTQ Discrimination on College Campuses: Experiences, Resilience, and Outcomes
❖ National Study of LGBTQ Student Success
2008 - 2009   **Participatory Action Research Team,** Riot Youth at Neutral Zone
❖ Institutional Change and LGBTQQ Youth Empowerment

ABSTRACT

Contentious Politics on Twitter: A Multi-Method Digital Inquiry of 21st Century Social
Movements

by

Alex Thomas Gray Espinoza-Kulick

Social movements can be understood through their use of collective action frames, construction of collective identities, and deployment of emotions. To operationalize this theory, abduction is a framework that is suited for multi-method investigations in order to respond to research questions that include elements of both quantitative and qualitative sensibilities. In this dissertation, I focus on the implications of sampling itself, bridging abduction and grounded theory to offer the notion of computationally assisted theoretical sampling, consisting of: (1) familiarization, (2) categorization, (3) comparison, and (4) refinement. Two discrete case studies using this framework were completed to demonstrate the utility of this approach. The first examines the ways in which a conservative countermovement formed a public identity against feminism centering Alt-Right leader, Milo Yiannopoulos. Within the balance of emotionally polarized content, negative claims of identity (i.e., hatred) consolidated the self-presentation of supporters. The second case study investigated how the 2017 Women's Marches launched a platform of resistance under the Trump administration. As an initiator movement, the frames used to articulate the Women's Marches emphasized recruitment, including (1) amplifying tensions in response to emergent

threats, (2) sustaining action through an enduring opposition, and (3) launching activists into new types of action. The findings from this project can inform future research in the realm of social movements, social media studies, and methodology.

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Chapter 1. Transformations in Social Movement Studies through the Lens of Digital Sociology

The wide uptake of digital communication technologies has prompted major advancements in high-power computing, communicative automation, and the algorithmic organization of content. These technological changes are profoundly social, as they reflect and refract transforming economic arrangements, norms of political communication, and media landscapes. In this context, activists, advocates, and social movement organizations use digital communication technologies, like social media, to start, revive, and grow campaigns for social change. These dynamics create exciting opportunities for scholars of social movements and contentious politics, while simultaneously creating new theoretical and methodological needs in advancing rigorous, critical analysis. Digital sociology means rethinking both theory and method when it comes to current-day social phenomenon, as well as providing new strategies for addressing historical and comparative questions (Lupton 2015).

In this dissertation, I take seriously these wide-scale shifts in sociological possibility by charting concrete contributions to this emergent field of analysis. This first chapter begins with the theoretical framework by showing how concepts located at interdisciplinary margins within the "cultural turn" in social movement studies are well-suited for digital analysis. The second chapter advances an abductive, multi-method strategy that harmonizes with this theoretical framework and sets up the analytical cases and comparisons under study: the emergent Alt-Right movement that contributed to the election of the 45th President, as well as the channeling of women's mobilization through the Women's Marches. Key findings from these studies make up the third and fourth chapters. The final

chapter draws these multiple threads together to situate the specific contributions of this study within the larger field of digital sociology, multi-methods research, and social movements research on conservative and women's movements.

Introduction

A cultural approach to contentious politics fixes a broad scope on the dynamics of power, social change, and resistance across social, political, and economic domains (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Tarrow 2013). Using a cultural approach to examine social movements centers processes of meaning-making in order to identify the dynamic patterns of cohesion and dissent that drive social change. While this approach avoids the trappings of grand theory that hindered preceding theoretical perspectives (most notably, collective behavior, resource mobilization, and political opportunity theories), it has been driven by three major, often overlapping, perspectives: framing, emotions, and collective identity (Einwohner, Reger, and Myers 2008; Gamson 1995; Ghaziani 2011; Ghaziani, Taylor, and Stone 2016; Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Gould 2004; Hughey 2015; Luna 2010, 2017, 2019; McCammon 2012; Polletta and Amenta 2001; Snow et al. 2014; Tarrow 2013; Taylor 1995, 2013; Taylor and Leitz 2010; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Van Dyke and Taylor 2017).

To analyze contemporary dynamics of political contention, especially those mobilized on and through digital platforms, these concepts draw explanatory power when used in conjunction with interdisciplinary concepts that operate on the edges of social movement studies. For inquiries into digital communication platforms, such as Twitter and other social media sites, theories that productively handle multiplicity are useful for understanding the networked, multi-layered meanings that circulate through discourse. First, framing can be understood more fully by understanding the role of

frames within the context of dynamic narratives that are characterized by
conversation, rather than broadcast (Combs et al. 2016; Díaz McConnell 2019; Polletta
1998; Powell 2011). Further, emotions operate not only as categories of meaning but
also index the rules and norms of institutional and social spaces through emotion
cultures and affective structures (Feigenbaum, McCurdy, and Frenzel 2013; Friedland
2018; Friedland et al. 2014; Gould 2004, 2009; Seyfert 2012; Taylor and Rupp
2002:2002) Finally, collective identities can be understood in the multiple through
intersectionality, which demonstrates how power relations are negotiated at the
interstices of social categories, like race, gender, and sexuality (Choo and Ferree 2010;
Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013; Cohen 1997; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Hill Collins 1990;
Rupp and Taylor 1999).

Researchers have built a conceptual foundation to examine the dynamics of stories, feelings, and multiple identities in the context of online contentious politics (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Feigenbaum et al. 2013; Gerbaudo 2016; Hamdy and Gomaa 2012; Lupton 2015; Monterde et al. 2015; Vromen and Coleman 2011, 2013). This literature can be further developed by establishing strategies for multi-method inquiry that is suited to the analysis of Big Data generated through social media discourse (Adams and Brückner 2015; DiMaggio 2015; Halford and Savage 2017; Hanna 2013; Hannigan 2015; Karpf 2012; Mohr, Wagner-Pacifici, and Breiger 2015; Wang and Soule 2012; Zappavigna 2012). The goals of this study are to: (1) contribute to the rigorous analysis of mobilization in online spaces, by grounding empirical inquiry in a cultural approach to contentious politics; and (2), develop an abductive, multi-method approach to collecting, parsing, and analyzing Twitter data related to protest events, campaigns, and movements. These goals are motivated by the following overarching research questions:

How do emotional discourses online mobilize ordinary people through cycles of protest and movement mobilization? Specifically, what types of emotional claims are narrated by ideologically opposed movements working toward progressive and conservative goals? And, how do emotions serve to frame short- and long-term successes/failures in terms of participation and continuity?

Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and the Cultural Turn

The study of social movements has encompassed wide-ranging perspectives on protest events, organizations, institutions, and power. Scholarly accounts have worked to document and explain when, how, and why individuals and communities band together to take collective action to modify, upend, and/or sustain social arrangements. Studying social movements emphasizes dynamics of change; however, this depends on an underlying theory of stability, the status quo, and extant power structures in order to evaluate the degree and direction of changes (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). As well, scholars of social movements have increasingly focused on understanding how conservative activists and organizations mobilize against the dynamics of change in order to maintain and consolidate structures of power (Blee 2002; Blee and Creasap 2010; Boutcher, Jenkins, and Van Dyke 2017; Luke 2017; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Staggenborg 2010; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016; Van Dyke and Soule 2002).

To account for these expansive dynamics and contexts, scholars have posited considering social movements within the wider range of multiple forms of contentious politics (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Bennett and Segerberg 2014; Tarrow 2013). The notion of contentious politics depends on understanding social movements as enmeshed within power dynamics that flow within and across institutional sites, as well as social, economic, political, and cultural domains (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). One major benefit of such an approach is that it allows analysts to learn from and deploy a range of

theories and ideas, rather than attempting to defend or discover an absolute theory of social change (Jasper 1998a).

Social Movements as Breakdown

Early sociological approaches to the study of protests and social change efforts focused on the dynamics of collective behavior (Morris and Herring 1984). These accounts share three major underlying assumptions: first, protest events occur through noninstitutionalized means; second, collective action occurs in response to social, cultural, or political distress; and third, shared values and beliefs bring together individuals to engage in collective action (Staggenborg 2010:13). In many situations, these assumptions are useful to focus on how societies adopt and adapt new norms when major shifts occur, such as technological advances and environmental disasters. However, they cannot fully explain situations where new movements mobilize around persistent inequalities (e.g., related to race, ethnicity, gender, and class), or instances where movements strategically develop alliances across diverse social positions (Jasper 1998a; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010).

Normalizing Movements: Protest within the Boundaries of Politics and Business as Usual

To help account for the incomplete aspects of collective behavior theory, especially in explaining the rise of labor and ethnic civil rights movements in the United States during the mid-20th century, social movement scholars developed resource mobilization and political process theories (Staggenborg 2010:17). Both of these theories draw analytic attention to how movements are embedded within the status quo, even when they attempt to disrupt existing power relationships. Rather than seeing protestors' grievances as emerging from immediate stressors, these approaches posit that social problems are ever-present in complex societies.

The degree of mobilization, and its potential for success, then, depends on how well movements can garner support and influence those who currently hold power. Resource mobilization emphasizes a bottom-up approach to understanding how individuals form organizations and garner material, symbolic, and collective resources to pressure stakeholders to change (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1977). By contrast, political process theory (McAdam 1999) emphasizes how powerful institutions, especially the state, create opportunities and incentives for certain types of mobilization. Both of these approaches have done a great deal to legitimize the strategic decision-making processes deployed by activists, but they are also limited to the degree that they attempt to discover singular or formulaic models of movement activity and possibility (Goodwin and Jasper 1999). Such a focus occludes some of the primary value of earlier work on collective behavior, especially the emphasis on emergence as well as the messy dynamics of emotion, values, and beliefs (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Piven and Cloward 1992, 1995).

A Cultural Approach to Contentious Politics

Building from the work of collective behavior, resource mobilization, and political process approaches, scholars in recent years have extended, revised, and complicated these perspectives using varying types of cultural theories. There are many definitions of the term culture, ranging from individual beliefs to symbolic communication to shared worldviews (Earl 2004). To encompass these multiple definitions, I use culture here to signify processes of meaning-making that coordinate across multiple levels of social life. In general, cultural approaches to movements have worked to account for both distance and proximity between movements and institutionalized arrangements of power. These bridge notions of collective behavior with resources and organizations, as well as political processes and opportunities, by focusing on dynamics such as framing, emotions, and collective identity (Taylor 2010).

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Framing and Conversations

The framing perspective has gained wide utility in understanding the dynamics of collective meaning-making among social movement organizations and in the context of socio-political contention (Snow et al. 2014). The framing perspective builds from an analysis of individually-held cognitive frameworks that help consolidate discordant and chaotic meanings to sustain cohesion and motivation over time (Snow et al. 1986). Within the study of movements, framing has been used to analyze how organizations and collective actors, rather than individuals, deploy speech acts (Snow 2004; Snow et al. 2014). One of the major strengths of the framing perspective is that it helps to elucidate the relationship between individual social movement participants' consciousness and the processes of collective action, specifically through frame bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation (Snow et al. 2014). Groups working to advance social change goals use frames to package messages in a way that diagnoses problems arising from extant social structures and prescribe emergent solutions related to multiple types of action (Benford 1993). In straddling these binaries, advocates draw from a range of potential meanings, including "master frames" that help bind together cycles of protest (D. A. Snow and Benford 1992) as well as "cultural repertoires" that draw from both dominant and sub-cultural symbolic resources (Rupp and Taylor 2002; Taylor et al. 2009).

 Thus, movements' framing work helps to transform social arrangements of power by illuminating the contrasts between the world as it is and how it could be, while extending strategic possibilities that bridge historical solutions to contemporary problems and amplifying local campaigns to wide-scale implementation. While studies of movement frames are fruitful for better understanding a range of movement dynamics, the theory has its own limitations (Benford 1997; Snow et al. 2014). Rather than advocating a major

critique to the structural accounts of social change posited by resource mobilization and political process theories, framing can reduce culture to one variable amidst organizational, institutional, and political dynamics (Benford and Snow 2000; Goodwin and Jasper 1999) . In this sense, the framing perspective does not embrace the full power of culture as a construct that represents social processes as fluid and dynamic (Benford 1997; Goodwin and Jasper 1999).

The study of frames falls short when constricted to the matter of rendering frames into coherent, singular categories. A focus on analyzing frames in a way that closely aligns with organizations' self-identity can occlude meaningful aspects of interaction and underlying dynamics of power. For instance, Matthew Hughey (2015) shows how focusing on the frames used by white nationalist and white anti-racist groups leads to an analysis of their differences, effacing the important similarities in identity processes that are shared between them. The dynamic notion of conversation, within larger stories, can help expand the strengths of existing work on framing, as it fits within a larger cultural approach to movements that draws on both sociological and interdisciplinary understandings of political meaning-making (Cohen and Jackson 2016; Polletta 1998). Centering conversations invokes multiple actors in dynamics that shift over time through dialogue, development, and change, rather than the one-way broadcasting of frames to an audience (Tilly 2002).

The introduction of spontaneity through dynamic conversations depends on an effective deployment of ambiguity. The uptake of certain intended (or unintended) meanings over others depends on the context and the audience. For instance, this is reflected in political "dog whistles" in which coded language resonates with constituents but is not broadly apparent to bystanders (Albertson 2015). Conversations in public discourse include narrative shifts between multiple speakers, thus creating a greater opportunity for a listener to imagine

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themselves in the position of at least one of these speakers. This open space is vital to inviting agentic participation necessary for social movement mobilization (Blee 2014; Polletta 1998, 2009).

Understanding activist conversations and public discourse as an extension of framing processes enables a wider and more holistic approach to social movement meaning-making. The idea of *conversation* is especially apparent in terms of social media discourse. Through dialogue and interaction, conversations sediment the notion that speech itself is an act. While it being an action does not make it equivalent to other forms of action (like movement, force, or pressure), it shows that communication is itself not simply a transfer of knowledge from one party to another. Within the minute details of conversations, individuals utilize language to create and resolve ambiguities, just as larger processes of narrative can do. The important role of conversation to constructing narratives and scripts, highlights the role of interactions that emphasize the role of choice in sedimenting attachments and relationships through discourse. These dynamics point to the importance of deploying framing/narrative analyses with a sensibility for emotional claims as well as collective identity processes.

Emotions and Affect

The sociological study of emotions is a rich and diverse area of inquiry. However, social movement studies have had a historically unstable relationship with the role of emotion in political dynamics (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2000; Jasper 2011). As noted earlier, the role of emotions was key to early accounts of collective behavior (Goodwin et al. 2000; Jasper 1998a; Staggenborg 2010; Taylor 1995). Then, resource mobilization and political process theory largely disavowed emotions due to the dominant assumption that they stood in opposition with rational, strategic decision-making processes. However, since the 1990s,

scholars have increasingly argued that emotions are distinct from cognitive processes, but not in a simple binary opposition (Friedland 2018; Friedland et al. 2014; Gould 2002; Taylor and Rupp 2002).

Emotions coordinate and communicate knowledge within and across bodies to motivate, legitimate, and interpret social acts in ways that adhere to shared meanings across multiple levels of social life (Gould 2004; Melucci 1996; Robnett 1997; Seyfert 2012; Thoits 1989) While emotions can variously facilitate and/or impede collective action, their crucial role in mobilization cannot be ignored (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Taylor 1995; Taylor and Leitz 2010; Whittier 2011).

Emotions help to constitute the moral and cognitive aspects of collective action (Jasper 1998b), contributing to the movement actors' strategic decision-making, but they exceed the limits of individuals' instrumental self-interest. For instance, the overflow of collective emotions, such as moral shocks, often produce the conditions under which social movements emerge to contest new and longstanding dynamics of social organization (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001). Further, emotional attachments, including those that grow out of social networks and membership in one or more identity groups and social positions, can influence the likelihood of recruitment and participation in protest events (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001). Given the multiple roles that emotion plays in movement processes, Deborah Gould (2009) argues for analyzing the *affective dimension* of all political activity.

This expansive consideration of the role of emotion in social movements depends on the articulation of emotions in the context of social, cultural, and institutional dynamics. Contrary to conventional wisdom, emotions extend far beyond the individual experiences of feelings (Seyfert 2012). Emotions, especially multifaceted emotions such as grief, love, fulfillment, and inspiration, are learned through processes of socialization and are thus

attached to institutional arenas, cultural norms, and community values (Friedland 2018; Friedland et al. 2014).

The concept of "emotion cultures" signifies the ways that emotions reflect these dynamics of social organization, as well as reproducing themselves in continuous and innovative logics (Taylor 1995; Taylor and Rupp 2002). From an interdisciplinary standpoint, "emotion cultures" are largely concordant with the notion of affective structures (Seyfert 2012). This takes a constructionist, rather than biological focus in the analysis of emotions (Clarke, Marks, and Lykins 2015; Kemper 1981). That is, emotions are analyzed from the standpoint of social interactions, identities, and structures, rather than personality dimensions or biogenetic expressions.

Emotion cultures, or affective structures, can be identified based on the presence and strength of various emotion norms and feeling rules (Hochschild 2012; Taylor 1996; Taylor and Leitz 2010; Taylor and Rupp 2002). At the individual level, this is evident through Hochschild's (1979) theory of "emotion management," which refers to the ongoing labor needed to bring emotional experiences in line with the norms for the extent, direction, and duration of emotional expression in a given context (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001). Similarly, the concept of "emotional opportunity structures" builds from political process theory to center how the legibility of emotional claims is contingent on aspects of context and social categorization (Guenther 2009; Whittier 2011). For instance, social movement groups cultivate appeals for public audiences that play on how they expect to be perceived, and these claims function distinctly from emotion rules develop in internal movement cultures. The emotional opportunities available to specific movements are contingent on the geographic, social, and political context of their constituents and targets. Further, these

opportunities can change over time, as the direct result of advocacy (Taylor 1996; Whittier 2011).

Movements develop emotion cultures that are, with varying degrees of intent and success, used to critique and supplant the emotion norms of dominant society. For instance, social and cultural expectations direct new mothers to feel unbridled love and joy, despite the conditions of isolation and intense biological changes that can accompany the process of childbirth and new motherhood (Taylor 1996). These expectations became the target for collective action and political advocacy to provide support for mothers whose experience failed to match the *extent* of positive emotions associated with mothering or whose emotions were inappropriately *directed* toward negativity through feelings of grief, loss, anxiety, and depression (Taylor 1996; Taylor and Leitz 2010). Further, the importance of emotion extends beyond movements specifically focused on contesting norms of emotion management. International women's movements developed and deployed practices of *loving* across national boundaries in order to contest the hegemonic power of political and military decision-makers (Taylor and Rupp 2002). These performances challenged the *durability* of nationalistic animosities by positing the *extent* of gender solidarity.

The emotional strength of gendered camaraderie does not traverse all contexts, though. Racial divisions among women have long challenged the sustained capacity of broad-based feminist movements (Lorde 2007; Luna 2010; Taylor and Rupp 2002). Audre Lorde (2007) described how disputes over the multi-directionality of anger divides women in their responses to racism. She recounts the pattern of white feminists dismissing anger (over racism) as simply negative, leading to destructive hatred. However, Lorde analyzes anger from the position of Black women as negative in the short-term, but potentially oriented toward change in the form of righteous indignation. Emotions play an important role in

identity formation and deployment. In particular, the experience and expression of feelings can affirm or challenge one's attachment to abstract identity categories in real time (Robnett 1997; Smith-Lovin 1995; Taylor and Leitz 2010).

Collective Identity and Intersectionality

Narratives bring together questions of how collective entities speak, and emotions can show how these narratives flow and move. Relatedly, theories of collective identity help to illuminate how collective actors form, sustain, and change over time. Negotiations over collective identity demonstrate the management of similarities and differences that hold and mobilize tension in service of social, political, and cultural change (Cohen 1997; Ghaziani et al. 2016; Taylor 2013; Valocchi 2009). Analysts of collective identity have demonstrated how leaders and organizers strategically cultivate movement claims and priorities by engaging in various forms of meaning work to introduce and sustain new forms of social organization (Dorf and Tarrow 2014; C. F. Fominaya 2010; C. Fominaya 2010; Luna 2017; Melucci 1996; Oliver 2017; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Robnett 1997; Snow 2013; D. Snow and Benford 1992). Taylor and Whittier (1992) define collective identity through three dynamic, inter-related processes: "(1) the creation of boundaries that insulate and differentiate a category of persons from the dominant society; (2) the development of consciousness that presumes the existence of socially constituted criteria that accounts for a group's structural position; and (3) the valorization of a group's 'essential differences' through the politicization of everyday life" (Taylor and Whittier 1992:122). Collective identities are particularly salient for social movements focusing on minority groups, who must leverage their status to access majoritarian and democratic institutions (Luna 2017; Taylor and Whittier 1992), but these dynamics are present and important throughout all movements (C. Fominaya 2010; Oliver 2017).

First, the boundaries of collective identity are produced through social, psychic, and material structures that distinguish movement actors from their opponents (Taylor and Whittier 1992). These boundaries are formed in opposition to "the dominant society," including elite targets, as well as counter-movement forces (Luna 2017; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Stein 2002). The definition of outside opponents as necessarily distinct from the movement produces a shared sense of "we" that organizes the movements' internal logics of participation and leadership (Robnett 1997; Stein 2002; Taylor and Whittier 1992). Second, the oppositional, political, and/or cultural consciousness associated with movement identities refers to the struggle to recognize the categories and norms that structure existing social roles/positions, as well as the potential to recombine and transform these roles/positions. Relative to social identity categories such as race, gender, sexuality, and class, political consciousness aligns individual narratives with one or more systems of power such as white supremacy, patriarchy, cis-heteronormativity, and capitalism (Klandermans 2014). Third, individuals place positive value on their sense of self as both opposed and different through ongoing negotiation over power dynamics in everyday life. These processes can be indexed, in part, through the competing emotion cultures that emerge in interactions.

Collective identities are based on common ground, but that does not preclude diversity and tension among activists and organizations who share a collective identity (Reger 2002; Stone 2009). Social movements groups often take action by banding together with others, even across ideological lines, based on emergent opportunities and short-term campaigns (Dorf and Tarrow 2014; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). Collective identity is necessary for social movement participants to recognize themselves (or those who they work to support) as a coherent group facing one or more oppressive forces. However, the categories

themselves are often critiqued for contributing to the stability and continuity of that oppression (Gamson 1995; McCall 2005). Movements thus challenge some aspects of identity, such as the fixity of monoracial identities in favor of more complex multiracial identities (Bernstein and De la Cruz 2009), or the limited binary of sexual and gender identities (Ghaziani 2011). While groups work to explode categories of identification that are associated with persistent inequalities, they can still utilize productive aspects of identity, including by cohering social bonds that have the flexibility to accommodate new and more equitable forms of social organization (Cohen 1997; Gamson 1995). This points to the need for an intersectional vision of collective identity (Einwohner et al. 2008).

Intersectional analyses argue that multiple salient social identity categories fluctuate relative to the structural and interactive dynamics at play in different contexts, as well as the lived experience of identity categories that are mutually constitutive (Choo and Ferree 2010; Cohen 1997; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Hill Collins 1990; McCall 2005). In addition, intersectionality holds firm that identity categories do not just exist as a form of organization, but are also invoked in order to make, remake, and contest structures of inequality. This means centrally addressing questions of power, both within and through the research process. For instance, women of color have transformed political discourse around race and gender by challenging power structures in terms that have been previously overlooked or made invisible (Chun et al. 2013). In addition to positing the unique situation of multiple overlapping situations of marginalization, intersectional analyses can also foreground the contradictions, complexity, and opportunities that are clearer when viewed in terms of an individual's or organization's multiple social locations. By taking an intersectional view of collective identity, we can see that contests over identity implicate

distinctions not only between "we" and "they", but also the complex differences among all of us.

Synthesis

Together, sociological discourses on collective identity, emotions, and framing have demonstrated the productive aspects of a broader "cultural turn" in social movement studies, predicated on the embrace of an underlying theory of power and knowledge as multi-sited (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008). In developing a theoretical tradition organized around a cultural approach to contentious politics, social movement scholars have gained directly and indirectly from concepts developed in other sociological sub-fields (e.g., sociology of emotions), as well as interdisciplinary spaces (e.g., cultural studies and Black Feminist Theory). As outlined above, narratives help frames to move, embracing the multiplicity of actors and interactions relevant to any type of political claim; formulations of affect as emotion management, emotion cultures, and emotion opportunities break the structure/agency bind that categorizes emotions as rational/irrational and individual/collective; and multiple (intersecting) collective identities reflect and refract the collective identity in the singular.

This widespread rupturing of binaries has enabled continual theoretical innovation by maintaining relevance to contemporary realities of social life. This is reflected in the field of sociology more broadly, which has shown a turn away from a fixation on a coherent theoretical canon and toward research oriented to grounded social problems (Moody and Light 2006). The maintenance of an open field operating in multidisciplinary spaces has also allowed for sociologists to develop methods beyond the limitations of modernist social science (Breiger, Wagner-Pacifici, and Mohr 2018; Friedland et al. 2014; Mohr et al. 2013). The next section further motivates an analysis of online spaces using such methods with a

cultural approach to contentious politics by reviewing the development of social movement literature in the context of social media.

Digitally Enabled Contentious Politics: Social Movements and Social Media

Communication technologies are not new. Within the realm of social movements, activists and community members have long used tools such as specialized language norms, music, newsletters, broadcast news media, and telephones to communicate with constituents, supporters, and opponents. However, a diverse set of digital communication technologies, including social media, have augmented and replaced past technologies by bringing together the interactive aspects of textual and spoken interaction (e.g., mail, phones) with the audio-visual technologies of mass communication (e.g., television, radio) through the Internet. This has changed the game for many types of interactions, community norms, and institutional arrangements, as "digital devices and their associated software and platforms have become incorporated into the ontology and practices of embodiment and selfhood" (Lupton 2015). These new realities compel social researchers to take account of both the continuities and disruptions brought on by new media technologies, ushering in what Deborah Lupton (2015) dubs "digital sociology." For social movements, one of the most important aspects of these new technologies is the ability for direct communication over a wide geographic scale that circumvents the traditional gatekeeping mechanisms of broadcast media, including early forms of Internet-enabled communication (i.e., "Web 1.0") (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Papacharissi 2016). In some accounts, the convenience of such communication works to deteriorate individuals' health and social connections by negating embodied experiences, threatening norms of face-to-face interaction, and encouraging narcissistic habits that weaken shared social fabric. However, new media also brings about

new forms of engagement and interaction which can usher in different types of voices and create new opportunities for mobilization, organization, and social change.

Social media has had multiple effects on movement activity, and its overall influence is best described as ambivalent. The influence of social media cross-cuts the range of movements encompassed within a broad definition of contentious politics, including political revolutions, law, electoral politics, education, media, journalism, labor, finance, the environment, Indigenous resistance, racial politics, and feminism (Bastos, Raimundo, and Travitzki 2013; Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Carney 2016; Carty 2012; Castells 2015; Çoban 2017; Crossley 2015; DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun 2012; Gainous and Wagner 2013; Hamdy and Gomaa 2012; Loader, Vromen, and Xenos 2014; Polletta et al. 2013; Rahimi 2011; Tremayne 2014). New technologies have decreased the financial and time costs for many forms of activism by encouraging users to gather information about current events, express opinions, and identify opportunities for further action online (Milan 2015; Valenzuela 2013).

The internet also creates new sets of concerns and issues related to aspects of digital governance (Polletta et al. 2013), such as regulating modes of access the Internet, as seen in recent contentions over net neutrality (Dunham 2016), as well as campaigns to address the "Digital Divide", which stratifies access to the Internet across racial, economic, and gendered lines. Although access to the Internet, including civic engagement through digital means, is unequally afforded (Loader et al. 2014; Van Laer and Van Aelst 2010), it also creates opportunities by ushering in new sets of political sensibilities and networks of affiliation (Zappavigna 2012). This builds from new tools and channels for mobilization, such as online petitions, that have been created to expand the tactical repertoires of social movements (Castells 2015; Crossley 2015; Earl et al. 2010; Earl and Kimport 2009; Van Laer and Van Aelst 2010). While the decreased costs to mobilization can foster widespread

feelings of engagement, the presence of connections does not necessarily lead to collective

action (Bennett and Segerberg 2012, 2014; Papacharissi 2016). As well, the feeling of

constant engagement in political contention can lead to burnout and protest fatigue,

especially as some individuals "troll" other users online, seeking to agitate for the sake of

agitation.

Beyond the individual level, social media can catalyze movement diffusion, in tandem

with offline social relationships and geographic proximity, as seen in the widespread

Occupy Wall Street demonstrations, #BlackLivesMatter movement, and 2017 Women's

Marches (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Carney 2016; Luna 2019; Vasi and Suh 2016). Publicly

available messaging, transferred through content such as hashtags, newsletters, reports,

memes, images, and videos, provides ready-made templates for others to adopt and adapt

locally-oriented actions to new contexts. However, social media platforms also open space

for opposing movement mobilization as well as surveillance and infiltration by the state and

other elite actors (Carney 2016; Fuchs et al. 2012; Rahimi 2011). Just as social movement

organizers gain access to a wider suite of tools to mobilize and recruit constituents, powerful

institutions and activists with opposing ideas can utilize these same technologies to stymie

actions for social change. These factors point to the always-already partial nature of

discourse on social media, as well as warding against a naively optimistic view of such

discourse's potential (Van Laer and Van Aelst 2010). However, they do not undercut its

importance as a site of collective meaning-making (Tremayne 2014). To carve out a tangible

space of inquiry within this wide field, I focus specifically on Twitter. In the next section, I

review how this platform is used generally, as well as some of the major trends among

research social movements research on Twitter. I then turn to the dynamics of Twitter with

respect to the major perspectives in the cultural approach to contentious politics: framing/narrative, emotions/affect, and collective identity/intersectionality.

Twitter

Twitter is a micro-blogging platform that allows users to post short messages of text, links, and attached media, which are shared to their followers. Users access content through their timeline of selected followers and can search or browse public posts using phrases and hashtags (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo). Individual tweets posted by users are communicated to a network of followers, in which users can amplify content by re-tweeting another's post, sharing it to their own followers, as well as by responding to others through at-mentions (Cha et al. 2010; Lerman, Ghosh, and Surachawala 2012). Retweets signal flows of agreement that demonstrate shared beliefs within larger conversations on Twitter. At-mentions notify users of the post and can be extended into threads of conversation. Unlike retweets, at-mentions signal flows of ambivalent engagement that can include agreement as well as contradiction, extension, qualification, and questioning. These conversational dynamics show how individual tweets and collections of tweets can be measured as instances of rhetoric. Further, the circulation of tweets through networks of users can bring together multiple narratives and audiences.

A great deal of content on Twitter is publicly available, within constraints set by Twitter, Inc. through their public application program interface (API) and paid subscriptions, although individual users can make their posts private and allow only their approved followers to view posted content. The large range of interactions and content on Twitter between everyday people, organizations, corporations, government offices, and elected officials allows for many opportunities to analyze dynamics of contentious politics (Gainous and Wagner 2013; Polletta et al. 2013). Specifically, due to the communicative character of

Twitter, it is a prime source of data for analyzing social movements as "discursive communities" (Taylor 2013). In the digital realm, interactions are limited to digital correspondence, allowing for wide-ranging and provisional ties between social actors. In this light, examining Twitter can help shed important insights onto how new political arrangements are influenced by and created through digital communication (Tremayne 2014; Zappavigna 2012). The existing social movements research on Twitter has largely focused on the examples of Occupy Wall Street and political unrest in the Middle East, two cases that focus primarily on political and economic logics (Castells 2015; Çoban 2017; DeLuca et al. 2012; Feigenbaum et al. 2013; Gerbaudo 2016; Loader et al. 2014; Polletta et al. 2013; Rahimi 2011). However, additional movements and campaigns such as #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, and #WaterIsLife have mobilized around axes of identity and culture through social media (www.blacklivesmatter.com, www.metoomvmt.org, www.waterislifemovement.com). As these and additional movements emerge online, it is crucial for social movements scholars to attenuate to questions related to cultural practices of collective meaning-making in online spaces, including framing/narratives, emotion/affect, and collective identity/intersectionality.

Twitter and Framing

Framing dynamics on Twitter are closely related to the use of hashtags. Hashtags are words or phrases preceded by a #, which on Twitter are strung together without spaces, and generally ambivalent to the use of capitalization: #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, #LoveWins, etc. Hashtags frame issues, events, and movements around condensed units of meaning, utilizing implication and context to unify disparate communication under a single banner. Digital communication has the capacity to extend and amplify frames beyond individual protest events to support wide-ranging and enduring discourse around social problems

(Tremayne 2014). For instance, #Ferguson became a powerful rallying cry for the #BlackLivesMatter movement. This tag highlighted issues of racialized police brutality for a general audience, while also holding attention on a specific content (i.e., Ferguson, Missouri) and the murder of Michael Brown and subsequent proceedings. By bridging local and global contexts, hashtags allow activists and movement organizations to frame their issues in ways that can encourage others to deploy related frames adapted to their own context (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Carney 2016; Tremayne 2014). While hashtags are useful to index various framing processes, they also represent dynamics that go beyond what is typically considered by the framing perspective.

Digital communication norms, including those on Twitter, have the capacity to allow for substantial discord between actors, as well as shifting the timescale in which emerging events and social movement protests are discussed (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012). First, hashtags allow for widespread communication that circumvents the typical framing processes associated with mainstream media as well as social movement organizations (Bastos et al. 2013; Bennett and Segerberg 2012; Hamdy and Gomaa 2012). While these utilize existing social networks, they are not necessarily limited by the implicit gatekeeping associated with network formation. For instance, Marco Bastos and colleagues (2013) found that the spread of #FreeIran, #FreeVenezuela, and #Jan25 was more strongly associated with high volumes of activity and at-mention engagement than follower/followee networks. Thus, frames on Twitter can spread by the dedicated action of a small group of users who are distributed throughout the population of users (Bastos et al. 2013). By utilizing Twitter data, we can analyze not only how collective actors speak, but also include processes of deliberation and the potential for infiltration by emergent values, beliefs, and actions.

Further, networks of discourse may be more illuminating, in some respects, than networks of actors.

Framing processes online may also demonstrate a greater degree of conflict than is typically gained by analyzing organizationally sponsored frames (Hughey 2015). Hashtags index not only varying forms of support, demonstration, and solidarity, but also efforts by opposing groups to discredit, deride, and distract. While representatives of powerful institutions use Twitter, those tags which achieve viral status as trending topics tend to frame issues around human interest, revolution or resistance, and emerging issues (Hamdy and Gomaa 2012; Vromen and Coleman 2013). For instance, Hamdy and Gomaa (2012) analyzed activity on Twitter related to the January 2011 uprising in Egypt. They found that social media outlets tended to use frames that focused on freedom, justice, and revolution. These frames worked to influence the larger media landscape by appearing first, so that later coverage by state-sponsored and independent news sources were compelled to respond within the terms of conversation set by activists.

In analyzing the spread and circulation of content on Twitter, the notion of conversation helps to provide a more holistic understanding of how multiple actors frame social and political action simultaneously (Polletta 1998, 2009). Due to the type of loose affiliations between users on Twitter, the relationships between frames and the collective identities of protestors and the social movement organizations that may or may not represent them can be much more highly contested. Supporters and opponents of the movement alike can utilize hashtags to extend, critique, and disrupt the intent of their originators. Within the realm of some policies set by the platform itself, a wide range of claims and statements, as well as content are allowed. While frames can spur action and increase the influence of demonstration effects, they can also rise and fall with the fleeting attention of any number of

"trending topics" on social media (Gerbaudo 2016). Thus, the meanings available to protestors online are more effectively understood as a repertoire of conversations than as a set of frames (Taylor 2013; Taylor et al. 2009; Tilly 2002).

On social media platforms, these types of contentious conversations allow individuals to not only join in to the movement as it is, but also create spaces for spontaneous innovation that can spark greater mobilization (Blee 2014; Polletta 1998, 2009). Understanding the deployment of collective conversation online requires putting frames in conversation with the processes of identification and affective deployments. For instance, Ariadne Vromen and William Coleman (2013) analyzed the successful storytelling strategies used by the multi-issue movement organization GetUp!, and they found that these stories were most effective when they sparked emotional resonance between social issues and the everyday sensibilities of grassroots activists.

Twitter and Emotions/Affect

Emotion plays a crucial role in motivating and explaining the flow of activity and content on Twitter. Relative to online social movements, some of the early research on emotions has shown that the primary protest-related emotions discussed in the literature on offline movements, such as attachment, anger, indignation, fear, and anxiety, can be mapped from offline to digital spaces (Ahmed, Jaidka, and Cho 2017; Jasper 1998a, 2011). One of the primary critiques of social media is that it creates feedback loops and echo chambers, in which networks biased toward homophily and algorithmic content filters encourage users to seek out and reaffirm their existing beliefs, values, and perspectives (Boutyline and Willer 2017; Flaxman, Goel, and Rao 2016; Garrett 2009; Goldie et al. 2014; O'Hara and Stevens 2015). Social media platforms allow users to curate their intake of media from various sources, so that they only receive information from sources they're already likely to agree

with. This allows for a continuous flow of positive affect, where incidences of negative feedback are modulated by their context within a larger stream of agreement. That is, negative reactions like anger, sympathy, and anxiety are understood to be shared by others viewing the content and reacting similarly. This shared sense of agreement, even over negative emotion, can be further solidified through reactions, at-mentions, and re-tweets.

This has some interesting and important consequences from a general standpoint, including both beneficial and difficult implications for movement and protest activity online. For instance, just as content filters and networks formed on social media can isolate individuals from opposing viewpoints that might help them grow, individuals can also curate their interactions in a way that circumvents symbolic violence and harmful emotional triggers. This type of insulation is crucial for the development and affirmation of collective identities through emotion-laden attachments to others and larger causes. The flow of emotional resonance is central to processes of shared identities, as feelings indicate affirmation of one's sense of self with movement activities in real time (Robnett 1997; Smith-Lovin 1995; Taylor and Leitz 2010). Related, beyond the individual level, just as social movements depend on collective effervescence to break individuals and groups out of the routinized habits of business as usual, social media platforms thrive off "moments of digital enthusiasm" (Gerbaudo 2016) that garner widespread identification and action by ordinary people. Social media, though, can contribute to collective identification and deeply felt ideological commitments for various progressive and conservative forces, opening opportunities for greater polarization and counter-movement dynamics.

The shared consciousness developed through online communities takes on an instructional aspect when movement leaders align supporters to collective emotional responses through strategically cultivating the flow of content shared online (Ahmed et al.

2017; Rohlinger and Klein 2014). Movement constituents and leaders, as well as organizations' spokespeople, instigate and continue conversations online using original content and through commentary on others' content (Bennett and Segerberg 2012, 2014). In order to sustain action beyond individual viral events or instances of protest, movement actors must link individual pieces of content (e.g., news events, videos and images, etc.) to campaigns for social change. This requires developing an emotional relationship between movement leadership and constituents that balances both positive and negative attachments (Gerbaudo 2016; Rohlinger and Klein 2014). For instance, movement leaders can use content designed to elicit fear in order to reaffirm their constituents' sense of urgency in pursuing action, especially after a period of complacency and agreement. Similarly, Saifuddin Ahmed and colleagues (2017) identify two additional negative emotions, anger and anxiety, that can move the collective consciousness in online spaces such as Twitter. Online spaces are notorious for fostering heated disagreements that can spur emotion such as anger, anxiety, and fear. Thus, movement leaders and constituents also consistently deploy positive emotions that sustain collective identity attachments in order to avoid issues such as burnout and protest fatigue (Ahmed et al. 2017). Affective processes in online spaces can mirror the logics of emotion management present in the offline world, while also redefining boundaries between private and public spheres (Milan 2015). These emotional dynamics have been similarly documented in the offline movement literature (Taylor 1995, 1996), underscoring the continued importance of generalizing between "real world," digital, and hybrid spaces.

   This balancing act points to the role of emotions online far beyond the deployment of certain emotional categories in line with mobilization processes. Feigenbaum and colleagues (2013) outline three ways in which affect operates in social movements, including through

digital strategies: it encompasses situations that fall outside of existing structures of language, refers to the movement and circulation of sensation, and inflects interactions with the desire for change. Considering affect in digital spaces queries the logics and rules of emotion management, expression, and culture online. This orients analysis to not only the ways in which emotions are present online, but also the ways that they could be. As is apparent from the emergent literature on the topic of protest and movement-related emotions online, emotions do not simply flow through digital spaces. Rather, they are intentionally structured run by social media platforms, who seek user-generated activity and the continual flow of content, as well as movement actors who work to harness this flow toward social change campaigns.

Twitter and Collective Identity/Intersectionality

Twitter allows for multiple forms of identification that can complicate and extend notions of collective identity developed to interpret offline movements. While Twitter itself is not necessarily a champion of intersectional sensibilities, it cultivates a focus on individual experience that can be used to fortify the development and expression of multiple simultaneous identities. To access more than a cursory level of content on Twitter, an individual must create an account that is associated with a username and optionally, a public profile with one to two images, a short personal description, location, and contact information. Twitter does not verify the information for most of its users and does not require the use of real names or identifying images that link a user with a real-life persona. For high-profile users who are also public figures, Twitter, Inc. does extensive verification that can result in receiving a blue check-mark next to the user's handle. However, for most users on Twitter, the process of self-identification is minimal and optional, and for those seek and gain more extensive verification do so because their identity is already self-evident

through status derived from other platforms. This distances online spaces from traditional markers of identity, such as physical appearance, bodily comportment, tone and cadence of voice, and status accessories. Rather, identities are forged through interaction, in conjunction with sensibilities developed in the context of inequality and difference (Hughey 2015). However, the focus on individuality in online spaces allows for fluid, partial, semi-anonymous and ephemeral attachments to self and others.

Despite the relative lack of formal gatekeepers online, user-generated content is still bound within self-presentation norms that are policed and sanctioned by social and cultural structures (Bastos et al. 2013; Gal, Shifman, and Kampf 2016; Vivienne 2016). Narratives of self are externally rewarded by social networks that are typically biased toward existing shared affiliation and agreements (Papacharissi 2016). A digital presentation of self, whether by an individual or collective actor, is always strategically curated. But, stories tend to be most successful in circulating widely based on their apparent presentation of authenticity, vulnerability, and privacy (Gal et al. 2016; Vivienne 2016; Vromen and Coleman 2013). While these dynamics can be used to expose individuals to different standpoints, they also rely on the continued support of like-minded individuals to continue and spread these narratives (Vromen and Coleman 2013). This type of sharing based on everyday experience comprises what Bennett and Segerberg (2012) describe as connective action among self-organizing networks. This is similar to connective action among organizationally enabled networks, in which collective actors create spaces for connection, but sparsely moderate these interactions. Both of these contrast with *collective action*, which occurs on social media sites among organizationally brokered networks, in which social movement leaders deploy and create spaces within the social media landscape to organize and encourage participation (Bennett and Segerberg 2012:756).

The heightened role of individuality online may increase the responsiveness of movements to the emotional lives and needs of activists (Vromen and Coleman 2013), rather than subsuming diverse experiences and critique under calls for unified collective identity (Robnett 1997). In this way, social media creates new opportunities for mobilizing multiple, intersecting collective identities catering to individual experience (King 2004). For instance, Arnau Monterde and colleagues (2015) analyzed the 15M movement in Spain to show how engagement over social media enables collective identities characterized by diversity and fluidity that is linked to strategic distribution of leadership practices. Individuals engaging online are able to access a wide range of opportunities for political participation, including across multiple sites and issues, based on a fluid and ephemeral but engaged sense of self. Niche spaces created by social movement leaders can create opportunities for dissent to the dominant society as well as existing social movement forces. Importantly, this includes public dissent that can be used to help movements deliberate and accommodate a diverse range of participants in their campaigns, as well as private dissent used by individuals and groups with identity conflict compared to the large, established movements. Private messaging functions on services such as Twitter can allow individuals to share their discomfort or critique with a larger movement activity, without airing these critiques to opposed audiences, who can co-opt the rhetoric of internal dissent to discredit the shared goals of the movement (Treré 2015). This allows for the development of subnetworks of supporters who not only accommodate but also grow the mutual identification between multiply situated actors, who have allegiances to varying and sometimes competing movement groups.

Conclusion

Social movements continually innovate strategies for communication and collective organization in the digital and physical worlds. In this chapter, I reviewed the development of social movement studies in conversation with cultural approaches to contentious politics, as well as the emergent dynamics of online protest activity, especially on Twitter. Cultural approaches to social movement studies are particularly well-suited for understanding the dynamic interactions between extant structures and spontaneous opportunities for emergent action. The cultural approach to movement politics has been characterized by three main perspectives: framing, emotions, and collective identity. Each of these gesture to theoretical concepts that reflect similar dynamics while also prioritizing multiplicity and ambiguity: narrative, affect/emotion cultures, and intersectionality (respectively). In applying these approaches to digital mobilization on Twitter, I have shown that the emergent research in these areas demonstrates the utility of narrative to understand the complex framing dynamics deployed through hashtags, the importance of emotion cultures/affective structures in understanding how emotions operate for online movements over time, and the potential for multiple identity deployment in the context of high levels of personalization in online spaces.

The ongoing challenge for analysts of political contention online is not to discover the absolute truth of meanings, emotions, and identities in such a way that negates the explosive, dynamic, and innovative power of collective communication. Rather, we can seek greater understanding of the possibilities of online mobilization by examining these complex dynamics in their relationship to power, inequality, and opportunity. Such a strategy can have wide-ranging implications for sociologists interested in working with online communication tools to address contemporary social problems.

Chapter 2. Multi-Method Approaches to Computation and Interpretation

Introduction

This dissertation project uses an abductive, multi-method strategy (Tavory and Timmermans 2014; Timmermans and Tavory 2012) to analyze Big Data generated by Twitter users to identify how emotional claims and group identities are deployed in combinations that reveal patterned narrative forms. Abduction is used to combine the procedures and strategies put forward by grounded theory and computational text analysis, specifically sentiment analysis (Charmaz 2014; DiMaggio 2015; Liu 2015; Mohr et al. 2015; Montoyo, Martínez-Barco, and Balahur 2012; Timmermans and Tavory 2012). These strategies both develop and address specific theoretical and empirical research questions through a process-based approach that can be both circular and non-linear. In the following chapters, I demonstrate this process through case studies on (1) discourse about the contention raised Milo Yiannopoulos's Alt-Right speaking tour; and (2) the initiation of a cycle of protest through the 2017 Women's Marches and 2019 anniversary Women's Marches. In the remainder of this chapter, I first motivate and explain the theory of method being used here, with a focus on the concept of *computationally assisted theoretical sampling*, and then discuss the major considerations for operationalizing such a method with social media data, specifically on Twitter.

Abduction, Grounded Theory, and the Need for Theory in Sampling

A range of contemporary work utilizes the increased magnitude and speed of recorded communication in digitally enabled discourse systems to model non-linear flows of

communication and fluxes in discursive power (Brown et al. 2017; Lupton 2015; Pond and Lewis 2019; Stevens, Aarts, and Dewulf 2020; Williams 2015; Zappavigna 2012). By identifying regularities of content created within the context of social media, researchers can *deductively* categorize the structural aspects of social phenomenon (Hannigan 2015). However, automated procedures tend to efface implied meanings that are unearthed through a high degree of interaction between researcher and data (Bartl, Kannan, and Stockinger 2016; Branthwaite and Patterson 2011). The discerning knowledge researchers develop through immersive analysis allows for the *inductive* detection of subtle norms embedded in social speech, such as implication, irony, and sarcasm. New methods are emerging that can bring together the computational power needed to process and manage Big Data with the subjective complexities necessary for thick readings (Breiger et al. 2018; Mohr et al. 2015). To wield the multiple methodological tools necessary to engage both *inductive* and *deductive* approaches, *abduction* provides a theoretical basis for quantitative, computational procedures, and qualitative interpretation (Tavory and Timmermans 2014; Timmermans and Tavory 2012).

Abduction

Abduction enables the refinement of domain-specific heuristics for analyzing relevant emotional deployments, as well as their relationships to the processes of collective identities and movements' use of collective action frames. Abduction bridges the inductive logic of emergence with the deductive logic of structure (Tavory and Timmermans 2014; Timmermans and Tavory 2012). This highlights the conversational configuration of theory and data, which is common among qualitative and mixed-methods approaches. For instance, grounded theory research demonstrates that theoretical contributions can be constructed through the process of data collection and analysis itself (Charmaz 2014). The danger of

building theory from the raw material of data is that it lacks the structural insight available in general ideas, shaped by longer lineages of thought and scrutiny. This can lead to reports that describe, rather than explain, the formation of meanings shared by social actors. By contrast, static adherence to institutionally fortified theoretical canons can overstate the importance of ideological beliefs when they are proven by research designs that have built in biases (Burawoy 1998). The necessary limitations of any single theoretical framework used to explain social phenomenon can filter the interpretation of findings in a way that erases potentially surprising or disruptive results (Hughey 2015). This same limitation is also characteristic of many quantitative studies.

Abduction corrects for the bias of self-fulfilling prophecies common in the formal approach to social research as well as the potential aimlessness of grounded theory coding. Specifically, the process of *defamiliarization* instructs researchers to test *alternative casings* of the data in order to assess the validity of multiple potential explanatory theories (Timmermans and Tavory 2012). Analysis then requires the use of *multiple methods* to meaningfully engage with complex research questions informed by theoretical propositions as well as the realities of data collection (Tavory and Timmermans 2014). Because testing multiple methods is a key directive in this approach, models are usually refined and compared in order to address evolving research aims (Luker 2010). Thus, in the abductive approach, the research process is iteratively refined as a dynamic conversation between theory, data, and method.

For the analysis of Big Data, including social media discourse, an abductive approach is especially useful for the purposes of sampling. Classically, quantitative approaches utilize notions derived from random sampling in order to estimate information about a population, which can be useful for identifying trends (Cokley and Awad 2013; Covarrubias 2011).

Within the analysis of Big Data, the notion of extracting samples and identifying trends is useful, but typically not the sum-total of methods necessary to answer a specific, relevant research question (Gandomi and Haider 2015; Nelson 2015; Wagner-Pacifici, Mohr, and Breiger 2015). For instance, given the proprietary constraints implicit to accessing any type of Twitter data, it is difficult to convincingly argue for its representativeness under the terms of random sampling (Ghosh et al. 2013; Lewis 2015). Further, it is unclear if generalizing to the complete population of Twitter is useful for many researchers interested in this type of data. Unless one is interested in understanding how a typical Twitter user behaves, then this generalization is not necessary. By contrast, theoretically informed sampling procedures can illuminate the relational dynamics of meaning-making processes online within specific contexts.

In the upcoming section, I propose the notion of *Computationally Assisted Theoretical Sampling* for the purposes of social and cultural analysis of Big Data, bridging qualitative notions of theoretical sampling with the procedures involved in computational text analysis. This has the potential to inform scholars of social movements, sociologists, and other researchers investigating social media data, as well as those invoking an abductive approach.

Theoretical Sampling

Drawing from grounded theory contributes to this larger abductive methodological strategy, specifically the concept of theoretical sampling as it relates to constant comparative analysis (Charmaz 2006, 2014; Dye et al. 2000; Holton and Walsh 2016). The notion of theoretical sampling guides the collection and reduction of data by using early data analysis to identify observations that are likely to affirm or disrupt existing categories (Charmaz 2014). This is especially useful for Big Data situations, in which decisions in sampling and processing data are likely to affect the presence of patterns and relationships (Diesner 2015;

McFarland and McFarland 2015). Relatedly, constant comparative analysis refers to the

dynamic relationship between theory, the existing literature, research questions, and data

(Dye et al. 2000; Holton and Walsh 2016). In grounded theory, each observation can be

scrutinized for its relationship to other observations, themes (categories of meaning) used

across observations, and theoretical models. These comparisons are tested, considered, and

rearranged through the practice of memo writing, which is used to describe, relate, and

organize units of meaning (codes, quotations) and observations into legible categories

(Charmaz 2006). For the sake of sampling, the constant comparative approach means that a

sampling frame is not necessarily statically defined against a specific population, as would

be configured for studies like random surveys of public opinion and controlled medical

experiments.

Computational Text Analysis

Recent work has brought the computational tools available for large-scale analysis of

Big Data into the realm of the social sciences, creating a slew of opportunities and

challenges for researchers (Adams and Brückner 2015; Davidson et al. 2019; DiMaggio

2015; Halford and Savage 2017; Hanna 2013; Hannigan 2015; Karpf 2012; Mohr et al.

2015; Mützel 2015; Zappavigna 2012). In the world of Big Data, the existence of linear

trends or unusual patterns are not necessarily indicators of importance. These metrics have

been developed and privileged in a methodological thinking that is based on that of scarcity

– i.e., the desire to estimate information about a pattern in a population when you can only

access a sample of that population. Rather, computational approaches utilize both general

and focused modes of counting in order to determine relevant and meaningful trends (Díaz

McConnell 2019; López-Sanders and Brown 2019). For instance, a building block for

analyzing large textual data is the creation of term-frequency distributions, sometimes called

"dictionaries", which catalogue the terminology used within a certain data set. For instance, term-frequencies can be used to identify the most common words, phrases, and hashtags used in samples of tweets.

Computationally Assisted Theoretical Sampling

As part of an abductive framework, computationally-assisted theoretical sampling uses both induction and deduction at various moments, as well as the process of internal repetition, in order to create opportunities for multiple explanations and theoretical casings (Tavory and Timmermans 2014). Specifically, this sampling method includes four discrete stages: (1) *familiarization*, in which the researcher collects data on relevant vocabularies related to a research question; (2) *categorization*, in which relevant units of meaning are defined; (3) *comparison*, in which the distribution of words and themes are evaluated relative to their qualitative importance and relationships; and (4) *refinement*, in which the data set is expanded or contracted to reflect trends identified in the previous stages, and therefore answer subsequent research aims, as well as a larger research question.

In this first stage of familiarization, the primary tasks of data collection are to count and define the relevant phenomenon under study. This includes establishing the preliminary boundaries over what is under study and what is not, as well as the aspects that can be measured or observed (Diesner 2015; McFarland and McFarland 2015). By counting the size of these things, familiarity also establishes the scope of study. For instance, in considering social movements utilizing Twitter, this stage may include identifying general patterns the top hashtags used over a certain set of time related to protest events (e.g., #WomensMarch, #KimDavis), campaigns (e.g., #NoDAPL, #FeminismIsCancer), and movement banners (e.g., #Occupy, #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo). Naming this stage of the

research process also for some accountability and transparency to something that is often taken for granted or subsumed under the existence of one's research interests. In such a situation where researchers have theoretically informed inquiries about a social phenomenon, this approach is appropriate for cultivating such knowledge without extracting time and energy from research participants. Taking an open-ended approach is likely to yield multiple forms of data and awareness (Charmaz 2014), which may not be easily consolidated into simple binaries of quantitative and qualitative. Thus, the next stage of the computationally assisted theoretical sampling process is categorization.

In the second stage of sampling, *categorization*, relevant units of meaning are defined in a way that can structure internal and external comparisons (Luker 2010). Data points must be defined in terms of a unit analysis, or a general category over which multiple observations can occur, such as documents, individuals, and so on. For the purposes of theoretical sampling, there is no specific assumption that observations are independent, although they must be discrete and therefore mutually exclusive. Further, data itself may be layered, such that it can be rendered through different units of analysis, depending on the research question. The New York Times, for instance, may be rendered as an index of social movement events on one hand, or also track mainstream political discourse on another. But, under this approach, a singular data set is not simply assembled, but rather, the collection of data is the starting point for a set of comparisons and analysis. For textual data, the tool of dictionaries is key here in establishing the existence and prevalence of certain thematic units over a corpus of documents.

As put forth by grounded theory, constant comparative analysis refers to a dynamic relationship between theory, existing research findings, research questions, and data (Dye et al. 2000; Holton and Walsh 2016). In this third stage of *comparison*, data points are ordered

to establish their validity and importance. At this stage, computational procedures take on an important role in allowing the researcher to test for the presence of internal differences within the collected data, including both patterns and irregularities. Statistical significance may not have the same utility here as it does for survey researchers, but the presence of specific tests can provide an indication of the relative size and direction of relationships. As well, relatively straightforward descriptive tools like central tendency and distributions can take on poignant explanatory power within the boundaries of a well-defined distribution of text or documents (Diesner 2015; Huc-Hepher 2015). In these ways, detecting relationships in the data is useful to guide understanding and further sampling, data collection, and analysis. As well, external comparisons are necessary in order to render data useful and legible, such that research findings are not solely relevant to the sample of data collected. By defining these external comparisons, generalizability then operates in the multiple, with the potential to strategically generalize data to overlapping audiences.

The final stage of computationally assisted theoretical sampling is that of refinement. This includes the iterative continuation of the first three stages: *familiarization*, *categorization*, and *comparison*. As relevant points of inquiry emerge from comparison with internal and external data sources, new types of familiarity will need to be addressed, and existing knowledge then re-cased through new and alternate categories of analysis. Such an iterative approach aligns with grounded theory and the idea of constant comparisons (Dye et al. 2000; Holton and Walsh 2016). Rather than the *defamiliarization* put forth by abduction in general, with respect to sampling, it is more appropriate to consider the idea of *refamiliarization* to refer to the iterative process of a researcher expanding and deepening their knowledge of a dataset.

This proposed approach to sampling, with a focus on dynamics of Big Data and multi-method analysis builds from a range of existing research on the role of online media in social and cultural discourse (Adams and Brückner 2015; Davidson et al. 2019; Díaz McConnell 2019; DiMaggio 2015; Halford and Savage 2017; Hanna 2013; Hannigan 2015; Karpf 2012; López-Sanders and Brown 2019; Mohr et al. 2015; Mützel 2015; Zappavigna 2012). The explanation thus far has remained general for the purposes of offering a theoretical approach to this methodological process, but the *idea* of research methods can only go so far. Both case studies in this dissertation project use Twitter data, and thus, the remaining portion of this chapter is defining the specific parameters of these studies, as relevant examples to test and understand the general approach of *computationally assisted theoretical sampling*.

Operationalizing Abduction: Computationally Assisted Theoretical Sampling on Twitter

Twitter is a micro-blogging platform that allows users to post short messages of text, links, and attached media. Users access content through their timeline of selected followers and can search or browse public posts using phrases and hashtags (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter). Individual tweets are communicated to a network of followers, in which users can amplify content by re-tweeting another's post, sharing it to their own followers, as well as by responding to others through at-mention (Cha et al. 2010; Etter, Ravasi, and Colleoni 2019; Lerman et al. 2012). Tweets then can be considered as rhetorical acts, while their circulation through networks of users formulates multiple conversations between speakers and audiences.

Twitter data may be especially useful for analyzing emotional deployments and multiple identity claims in the context of contentious politics, as the content posted to Twitter reflects

social interaction without the prompting of researchers (Polletta and Amenta 2001). Emotions can be particularly difficult to remember, especially when primed by the emotional expectations of an interviewer or survey researcher. Unlike these other approaches, such as in-depth interviewing, which rely on the filtered memories of respondents, tweets record social communication in real time. This does not mean that Twitter data should be rendered as pure or true, however. Certainly, tweets are mediated by the context of the Twitter platform and must be analyzed within these distinct boundaries (Lewis 2015), acknowledging how the way that the data is accessed can have meaningful effects on the way we can interpret findings generated from that data.

Twitter data is available through the public application program interface (API) and paid-subscription "firehose" access (Morstatter et al. 2013). For this project, I used data sources from both types of access points for each study. This allows for a preliminary comparison between the two methods and a basis for future investigation of the quality and significance of how Twitter data is collected. To collect retrospective data, specifically on Milo Yiannopolous, I sampled data using Crimson Hexagon through the UCSB Library's institutional subscription. Crimson Hexagon is a useful tool because it provides access to historical Twitter logged from the "firehose," which is the most complete data source available from Twitter, Inc (Hitlin 2015). However, the "bulk export" feature allows for only 10,000 tweets to be sampled from any given search and excludes any posts that have been deleted prior to the time of the search being run. Thus, I used multiple search queries for each site (described in further detail in the later sections), to collect a sample of tweets that used a given hashtag or engaged with a particular account.

For the study on the Women's March, I attempted to collect data using both Crimson Hexagon and a program called twarc, which collects real-time data using the API.

Ultimately, my analysis focused on the data I collected using twarc, which I began only after the original Marches themselves. The original tool I had attempted to use to log real-time data was completely crashed by the millions of tweets that flooded in during the Marches themselves. Certainly, many scholars of social movements can resonate with the reality that when we study phenomenon that disrupt that status quo, that filters into the some of the direct aspects of the work. Trying to collect retrospective data on the Women's Marches proved too large a challenge, as among the millions of tweets that were posted with the tag #WomensMarch, Crimson Hexagon can only export up to 10,000 randomly selected tweets at a time. However, during the 2019 Marches, twarc was able to access and collect nearly every single tweets that was tagged with the relevant tags. Utilizing such methods requires maintaining active relevancy and thrives with a research agenda focused on contemporary dynamics.

Chapter 3: Producing Oppositional Identities: The Rise and Fall of Milo Yiannopoulos

Introduction

The Alt-Right is an important group to understand within the larger project of "digital sociology" (Lupton 2015), because it is a social movement that is characterized by an important role placed on digital platforms. Like "Facebook Feminism" or "Hashtag Activism", the Alt-Right is defined, in part, by its relationships to online conversations (Crossley 2015; Khoja-Moolji 2015; Williams 2015). Importantly, the Alt-Right is not simply online activism, but also aligns with a specific conservative ideology that embraces white supremacy, patriarchy, and a fascist organization of governance (Garpvall 2017; Hawley 2017; Nagle 2017). Although activism, feminism, and being Right-wing are not new with the Internet, these new groups represent fundamental changes to the norms of political communication previously based on face-to-face interaction and broadcast technology (Futrell and Simi 2004, 2017; Futrelle 2017; Simi 2010; Simi and Futrell 2006, 2015; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016). As well, by reveling in the anonymity available online and the relative freedom afforded by reduced government regulation and policing in online spaces, this movement aligns itself with the libertarian, anti-establishment threads of conservative movements in the United States. While there is certainly some continuity with existing movements and historical politics of counter-mobilization, it also shows the ways that digital platforms create new, and complicated, opportunities for different types of political mobilization (Schradie 2019).

Relative to other types of contemporary mobilization, such as protests, sit-ins, and marches, the strategy of the Alt-Right places digital communication as the primary site of

meaning-making, supplemented and sustained by offline activity. Thus, by studying this group, we can get at the notion of how well our theories of emotion cultures and collective identities in social movements based in offline campaigns hold up in terms of those aspects of mobilization that center virtual communication. The growing body of research that has investigated these topics thus far would suggest that there are many similarities, but also distinct layers of social norms that operate in online spaces beyond what we expect from studying the offline mobilization literature (Ackland and O'neil 2011; Ahmed et al. 2017; Coretti and Pica 2015; Earl and Kimport 2009; Jasper 1998b, 2011; Milan 2015; Monterde et al. 2015; Soon and Kluver 2014; Yang 2008). With respect to the Alt-Right, at this moment in time, the Alt-Right crystallized a deployment of hatred and anger to advance the ideological project of white supremacy in a mainstream, palatable form (Blee and Creasap 2010; Dorf and Tarrow 2014; Garpvall 2017; Simi and Futrell 2006; Tarrow 2011, 2013). This project contributes in a discrete way to the understanding of this deployment of emotions and its relationship to movement discourse, including hashtags that reflect framing processes, such as #FeminismIsCancer, which in turn sustain anti-feminist collective identities. No singular movement or ideology has an absolute claim to a particular type of identity deployment or emotional strategy, of course. There are Lefist movements that regularly engage with hatred, anger, and distance from Others in order to advance their aims, as well as Right-wing movements that deploy significant and positive attachments, such as those to dominant cultural forms and hierarchy (Benford and Hunt 1992; C. F. Fominaya 2010; C. Fominaya 2010; Jasper 1998b, 2011; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Simi and Futrell 2015). In this study, we can see a poignant example of how the Alt-Right navigated a range of emotional claims in order to meaningfully link negative affective ties with movement targets, in a way that allowed for positive underlying ties that sustain collective identity.

To contribute to a more general understanding, this case also seeks to test and expand the notion of collective identities in terms of conservative movements, specifically, those "counter-movements" that form their identities around opposition (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996), such as is the case with this particular vector of the Alt-Right, which investigates Mio Yiannopolous's so-called "Feminism is Cancer" tour. While social movement scholars have more often investigated movements that reflect marginalized identities that are facing off against systems of inequality (Einwohner et al. 2008; Gamson 1995; Luna 2010, 2017; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow et al. 2014; Taylor 1995, 2013; Taylor and Leitz 2010; Taylor and Rupp 2002; Van Dyke and Taylor 2017), the dynamics of collective identities among conservative social movements face an additional constitutive tension: How do those who defend and expand the status quo mobilize outside of and opposed to the institutions that hold power? Collective identity processes are alive and well among conservative movements (Futrell and Simi 2004; Garpvall 2017; Gray 2018; Stein 2002; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016), and these can further inform broad understandings of collective identity processes themselves, as well as the multiple ways in which movements can affect political opportunities and discursive structures.

Conceptual Framework

Theories of collective identity and collective identities have typically been based on the experiences of marginalized communities, as these are the people who are compelled to explain themselves, their bodies, and their communities to dominant groups. Those social forms that are primarily made up of dominant group members are typically explained as institutions, organizations, politics, or the economy. Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier (1992) put forth one of the most widely adopted definitions of collective identity, based on lesbian feminist mobilization, a position of multiple marginalization. This conceptualization has

widespread utility (Benford and Snow 2000; Cerulo 1997; Lamont and Molnár 2002; Melucci 1996; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2003), because it makes clear how social movement identities are formed through asserting in action and word the positive value of a group ("us") that has traditionally been excluded ("by them"), justifying systemic change in behaviors and institutions.

Intersectional analyses have foregrounded the ways in which the "them" that collective identities are formed against often include not only the dominant society, but also the social movements which reflect only a small, privileged portion of a larger marginalized group (Chun et al. 2013; Roberts and Jesudason 2013; Terriquez 2015; Verloo 2013). As social movement boundaries are contested by various actors, it is vital for researchers to incorporate an understanding of multiple identities that are each embedded in larger systems of power. This includes also critically interrogating the intersections of privileged identities, such as whiteness and masculinity (Carbado 2013). Further, while movements of varying ideologies may adopt a stance against dominant institutions and invoke accordant collective action strategies, the ways that identities are formed within these movements also depends on whether these movements form in opposition to other movements (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996). Many, but not all, conservative movements are counter-movements (e.g., Pro-Life / Anti-Choice movements, #BlueLivesMatter).

When it comes to conservative and counter movements, the question of how groups sustain their collective identities takes up specific layers and circuits. To make this more concrete, let's take the three-part definition operationalized by Taylor and Whittier (1992) in turn. First, when it comes to boundaries, conservative movements negotiate the distinctions between "us" and "them" in order to determine who is a part of their movement, and who they represent. Like other movements, conservative movements position themselves in

opposition to emergent threats (whether internal or external) that demand the need for extra-institutional force (Blee and Creasap 2010; Blee and Yates 2015; Dorf and Tarrow 2014; Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Whittier 2014). Second, in order to maintain a boundary with the institutions who also support the goals of conservative movements, the identities of these groups must also be flexible enough to produce such distance. For example, this can be seen in the tactic of "lone-wolf" gunmen who publish their manifestos online. Although they support the same racist and misogynistic violence that is sponsored by political elites and formal white nationalist / patriarchal groups, the appearance of randomness contributes to the terroristic strategy of inciting fear while also avoiding widescale policing and regulation (Berntzen and Sandberg 2014; Phillips 2011; Spaaij 2010; Spaaij and Hamm 2015; Weimann 2012). When using these distributed collective activities, everyday action is likely to be cohesive, rather than disruptive. And, third, while groups acting from a social position of marginalization frame their collective identities through routine practices of pride and fights for justice (Antony 2017; Bernstein 1997; Britt and Heise 2000; Bruce 2016), counter-movements are coordinated through a balance of positive and negative emotional claims. For instance, advocates for conservative groups must continually balance between affirming their position within the past and present status quo, while also asserting the existence of concerted threat to that status in the present and future (Parker and Barreto 2014; Rasmussen and Schoen 2010; Rohlinger and Klein 2014; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016). In terms of emotions, this can be seen in the cycle of building a positive in-group identity, while also consistently raising the threat of violence (Rohlinger and Klein 2014).

Thus, building from this past research and theorizing, I posit that the notion of collective identities be understood by the ideological and political position of the communities supported by movements. For conservative movements, collective

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identities are formed by affirming distinctions between "us" and "them" that are both within and beyond the status quo, thus justifying actions that exceed the rules and norms of powerful institutions in ways that tend to be dramatic, time-limited, and balanced by a larger cycle of positive in-group affirmation. With these concepts firm in hand, we can move now to the specific case under study with this analytic project: Alt-Right leader, Milo Yiannopoulos.

Background

Milo Yiannopoulos first garnered a following on Twitter through the "#GamerGate" controversy (Jilani 2014). This was a vanguard campaign to publicly critique feminism and harass feminists using online platforms for political and social activism (Lees 2016), efforts which gained political momentum through the development of an "Alt-Right" movement (Futrell and Simi 2017; Gray 2018). For Yiannopoulos, in particular, he used the platform garnered in #GamerGate, as well as his position as an editor for far-right Breitbart news (Grove 2017) to launch a national speaking tour organized under the banner, "Feminism is Cancer." Dubbing himself a "Dangerous Faggot", he claimed a status as a token gay voice for contemporary conservative movements. This worked to legitimate his critiques of "PC" (politically correct) culture. The tour not only critiqued PC culture, but further, sought to force institutional supporters of diversity and inclusion to contradict their commitment to openness by hosting Yiannopoulos's talks that sow division and encourage hate speech against marginalized groups at college campuses like UC Berkeley. By baiting student organizations and university administrators to cancel his talks, they organized support for Yiannopoulos under the liberal value of "free speech." Simultaneously, in the digital world, Yiannopoulos openly organized campaigns to harass prominent women, including attacks on Leslie Jones around her role as a Black woman comedian in the Ghostbusters remake

starring women leads. This resulted in his permanent suspension from Twitter, spawning greater support for those who framed this as an attack on "free speech." Notably, Yionnaopoulos lost his book deal with Simon and Schuster – the basis for the original tour – and was publicly denounced by the publisher after he made comments that endorsed pedophilia.

Yiannopoulos is a useful case to study because he reflects two key dynamics. First, his rise through #GamerGate and Breitbart solidifies his position within the institutional and cultural currents that define the Alt-Right, including the use of social media tactics, anti-establishment tone, and secular distinctions from a moral or religious conservatism. Yiannopoulos himself has contributed to popularizing the term and maintaining its legitimacy as a political distinction. And second, the utilization of counter-movement tactics like attacking PC culture and creating situations of public victimization situate him within a much longer tradition of American conservatives. For many who have enjoyed ongoing social advantage based on their gender (cisgender men), race (white), religion (Christian, especially Protestants), and sexuality (heterosexual), the gains of marginalized groups appear to threaten their own standing and stability (Futrelle 2017; Hochschild 2018; Matthews 2016; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016; Wilkinson 2016). These feelings of anger and resentment are exacerbated among communities that are exploited by the changing dynamics of the capitalist economy (Hochschild 2018; Van Dyke and Meyer 2016). The reality of Yiannopoulos's gay identity is especially germane to this second point. As a member of a marginalized group who potentially stands to benefit from so-called PC culture, Yiannopoulos's commitment to conservative ideology affirms the ethical and ideological bases of his political positions, just as other tokens for marginalized groups have done within conservative movements and the Republican party.

Research Questions

The advent of new technological forms has transformed the way contentious politics happen, as well as the modalities we have for studying them. This project helps contribute to understanding these larger transformations by zooming in on the case of a conservative movement that centralizes online tactics: Milo Yiannopolous and the Alt-Right. Specifically, the data collection and analysis is guided by the following questions:

1. Among the Twitter discourse of Milo Yiannopoulos and his Alt-Right supporters, what is the relative distribution and strength of positive and negative emotional claims?

2. Which types of emotional claims dominate in each of the following collective identity process areas: Internal Boundary-Making External, Boundary-Making, and Group-Valorization?

3. What specific content and hashtags drive and contradict the emotional polarity of these collective identity processes?

Methods

I analyzed a purposive sample of Twitter posts from 2014-2017 that were either authored by Yiannopoulos (@Nero), retweeting @Nero, or mentioning the account. Based on the most commonly used hashtags among these tweets, I further sampled posts including #GamerGate, #FeminismIsCancer, and #FreeMilo. For a general visualization of these tweets, see Figure 1. The sampling frame begins in 2014, as a rise in users mentioning @Nero on Twitter follows the spike in content about #GamerGate beginning around August 2014 (Jilani 2014). As well, although @Nero was permanently suspended (banned) from Twitter in July 2016, there were, on average, 6,522 posts mentioning the account each month from September-November 2016. Thus, the sampling frame continued into 2017.

Further, this shows the significance of Yiannopoulos to the Alt-Right Twitter users who were galvanized around his campaigns, especially relative to the process of forming and negotiating collective identification. Categorizing and comparing these tweets in terms of their emotional activity helps shed a deeper light into how these dynamics work together relationally.

Data

The sampling strategy was based on the trends of content flowing through Twitter over this time. Six separate searches were run to collect tweets that either (1) were authored by @Nero, (2) mentioned or retweeted @Nero, or used the hashtags (3) #GamerGate, (4) #FeminismIsCancer, or (5) #FreeMilo. Because these searches were run separately, there is potential for duplication across samples. Thus, each search was combined only across timeframes and are analyzed distinctly throughout. Prior to September 2014, engagement with @Nero on Twitter was relatively low, with less than 10,000 tweets mentioning his account each month. The rise of users mentioning @Nero on Twitter follows the large spike in content about #GamerGate that began in August 2014. Prior to this, in 2014, only 21 tweets had been posted on Twitter with the tag #GamerGate. Thus, my sampling frame begins in September 2014. The sample concludes in February 2017, as this is when the protests at Berkeley escalated this conversation further into the national media, and Yiannopoulos lost his book deal. As well, because my study is focused on the collective identities centering @Nero / Yiannopoulos, and not #GamerGate, I more closely examine the timeframe between December 2015 to February 2017. I sampled the 15-month timeframe from September 2014 to November 2015 as a whole. I then sampled between December 2015 to February 2017 in 3-month segments. Focused searches were conducted for the tags #FeminismIsCancer and #FreeMilo in specific timeframes when they were most

prominent. I sampled posts tagged #FIC starting in December 2015. There were only 53 posts tagged #FIC in the 15-month period from September 2014 through November 2015. As well, #FreeMilo was added in the June 2016 – August 2016 segment, as it was scantly used beforehand. These posts largely respond to @Nero's permanent suspension, so any prior tweets are not directly relevant, as it would be in reference to some different freedom or a different Milo. Tweets and relevant meta-data were exported into a CSV file from Crimson Hexagon. All data were processed and analyzed using R (Version 3.3.1), with the wrapper R Studio (Version 1.0.136).

Theoretical Sampling

In terms of analysis, the sample of tweets authored by and mentioning @Nero provides a baseline for understanding the content and emotional tone that characterizes this particular figure and leader within the Alt-Right movement. Because this is a study of collective identifications centered around his celebrity position, his individual rhetoric and comments are included as a point of comparison. Relatedly, the content mentioning @Nero includes people speaking both to and about Yiannopoulos and is included to reflect the general state of conversation around this public figure at the time. The use of these as baselines is meant for the purposes of internal comparisons only.

Initial exploration of this content also revealed three relevant, commonly used hashtags that demonstrate the larger conversation reflecting public movement of the Alt-Right during this time window: #GamerGate, #FeminismIsCancer (FIC), and #FreeMilo. Broadly, #GamerGate is a media scandal that helped bring Yiannoplouos into prominence, showcasing his emergence into the public scene as a champion for a loosely organized, web-based "Alt-Right". Tweets sampled from this tag are used to reflect the *internal affirmation of "us"* within the broader notion of collective identity. Specifically, although Gamer Gate

was a public phenomenon, it was couched in esoteric terms, to the point that most of the mainstream conversation about this topic was only confusing explanations and distorted reporting on the topic. Within a broader public discourse, then, jargon, particularity, and confusion are used to fortify the dynamics of internal conversations across social platforms. For other similar examples, we can consider the tactics of so-called political "dog whistles" (Albertson 2015; López 2015), or the use of ambiguous language around sexuality/gender, such as rainbows, spectrums, and "affirmation" (Ghaziani 2011).

By clear contrast, #FeminismIsCancer was a rallying cry supported by @Nero through his speaking tour. This tag shows the *external contradiction against "them"* that identifies the antagonist of Alt-Right identities: feminism. Lastly, #FreeMilo demonstrates how Yiannopoulos's supporters understand their identification with his public leadership in terms of a concrete action – unsuspending his Twitter account. This emphasis on "free speech" reflects the overall value strategy that the Alt-Right used throughout this campaign, and the underlying valorization of their own position (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

Measures

The first measurement used to examine these tweets was the content, as indicated by user-assigned hashtags. This follows along with the inductive logic of a naturalist tradition: examining language in the terms used by those who are engaged in that discourse (Charmaz 2006, 2014). In this case, I coded each tweet based on whether or not they included any of the most commonly present hashtags within each of the five distinct sampling groups: (1) Content by @Nero (Reference 1), (2) Content Mentioning @Nero (Reference 2), (3) Content Tagged #GamerGate (Internal Identity), (4) Content Tagged #FeminismIsCancer (External Opposition), and (5) Content Tagged #FreeMilo (Valorization of Identity in Practice). Most commonly used hashtags were determined by first examining the full

distribution of all hashtags present within each of the five groups, and then selecting tags that occurred above the 99.5th percentile, not including the hashtag by which the tweets were sampled. These hashtags are summarized in Table 2.

In addition to content, tweets were also measured in terms of sentiment. Specifically, I utilized dictionary-based sentiment analysis, which is a method that uses a pre-established list of terms, called a "dictionary" to determine which individual tweets contain positive and negative content. With the tidytext package of R, I utilized the "bing" dictionary (Liu 2012, 2015). This is a widely tested and used method that is well-suited for sentiment analysis with Internet data (Cambria et al. 2013; Feldman 2013; Gandomi and Haider 2015; Neuendorf 2016). The procedure takes this dictionary of positive and negative terms, and then counts the times these words that indicate of positive and negative content appear in each tweet. Tweets that contain positive terms are coded as such. If both positive and negative content is included, the procedure assigns a value based on the polarity with more words. This means that it assigns an overall score of "positive" or "negative" to each tweet. Further, an emotional strength score is also assigned, based on the number of positive or negative words that appear, based on the designation already made. This indicates that more positive terms are used within a positive tweet, or more negative terms within a negative tweet. Importantly, these measures are used only to indicate the relative prevalence of certain emotional categories, and is the opening point, not the closing point of analysis of the emotional deployments therein.

Analysis and Interpretation

Three rounds of analysis and interpretation were utilized to render this data in a meaningful way. First, the overall distribution of emotional polarity was investigated using the proportion and emotional strength of polarized content, across the full sample and within

specific content groups reflecting different collective identity processes. To assess for differences across groups, a chi-squared test of significance was used, as well as a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). Emotional strength scores were examined both among the full sample and further by sub-dividing tweets based on whether they were more positive or more negative. This allows for testing whether emotional strength plays distinctive roles depending on polarity. Independent samples t-tests are used to estimate if differences between mean scores reflect a statistically significant difference unlikely to be due to chance. As this study includes a large number of observations, as well as a large number of statistical tests, the more conservative cut-off of $p < .001$ was used. Second, I used binary logistic regression and linear regression models to test if there were differences in emotional polarity and strength, first comparing against the content by @Nero himself, and then comparing against the content mentioning @Nero. Emotional strength was also compared within the sub-groups of positive and negative tweets for each model. Third, to ground and interpret these statistical comparisons and findings, the final round of analysis included examining the constitutive hashtags that help explain and contradict these larger trends.

Results

Of the tweets sampled across of all the content groups, a total of 152,685 contained enough content words to be assigned an emotional sentiment score and strength of sentiment score. A slight majority of these tweets were negative (54.7%) compared to positive (45.3%). This suggests that the tone of content tends to be somewhat negative, in general, which is consistent with expectations for online discourse and conservative talk around this topic. However, the slight majority also suggests the overall role of balance, and the prominent if secondary role of positive emotional content throughout these conversations. Relatedly, when polarity and strength were taken into account, the average emotional score

for tweets across the full data set was negative (M = -0.21, SD = 1.54). This overall context

of negativity sets the stage for the content and comparisons between the sampled groups, as

well as the collective identity processes that they reflect. Using a chi-squared test, the

observed data provides evidence for significant variation in emotional polarity across the

five sampled content groups, χ^2 = 979.02, p < .001. Specifically, the content by @Nero

himself (52.6%) was rated to have a higher average proportion of positive content than the

full sample (45.3%). By contrast, content tagged #FeminismIsCancer included less positive

content (40.4%). These trends by group are summarized in Table 3.

In addition to variation in the rate of polarized content across groups, there is also

evidence for significant differences in the strength of emotional content among discourse

reflecting tags associated with different collective identity processes. Using a one-way

analysis of variance (ANOVA) test, there is a significant main effect relationship for the

content group factor on the average strength of sentiment, F =85.56, p < .001. This

relationship was significant without taking into account the polarity of emotional content.

However, the effect size was substantially larger for the difference on average sentiment,

when negative tweets were coded as such, F = 311.79, p < .001. Although post-hoc tests can

provide evidence for the existence of pair-wise differences between all study variables, these

models were tested using structured linear and logistic regression models in order to focus

on the role that collective identity processes play in relationship to the content sponsored by

and about a central movement figure.

The combination of emotional polarity and strength help provide a deeper insight into

the relational differences between movement content and the negotiation of collective

identities. In addition to being more common, negative emotional content tended to be

expressed more strongly. An independent samples t-test provides evidence for a significant

difference between positive and negative content, $t = 44.14$, $p < .001$. Specifically, negative content across the full sample had an average emotional intensity score of 1.46 ($SD = 0.74$), and positive tweets had an average score of 1.31 ($SD = 0.61$). As well, negative emotional tweets ranged from 1-11, while positive tweets ranged only from 1-9.

In terms of the two comparison groups, content authored by Milo Yiannopoulos (@Nero) was, on average, significantly more positive than content mentioning @Nero, $t = 19.17$, $p < .001$. This distinction is relative, as the mean emotional score (weighted) for tweets by @Nero was 0.02 ($SD = 1.50$) on a scale from -11 to 9, whereas content about @Nero skewed on the negative side, $M = -0.23$, $SD = 1.58$. In addition to being more negative, content about @Nero also tended to be more emotional, in general ($M = 1.43$, $SD = 0.70$), compared to Yiannopoulos's own Twitter feed ($M = 1.35$, $SD = 0.67$). This difference was significant, as tested by an independent samples t-test, $t = -15.21$, $p < .001$. Both of these comparison groups are valid and relevant, but this reflects an important distinction between the more publicly sponsored and celebrity-tinged content of a movement figure, as compared to the more general conversation about him. Recall as well that content about @Nero also includes individuals re-tweeting his account and reflect his self-defined "provocateur" role to incite negative and inflammatory rhetoric and by extension, action.

A binary logistic OLS regression was also used to test whether tweets were more likely to be positive or negative, compared to content by Yiannopoulos, excluding the content group of content mentioning @Nero ($n = 115{,}531$). All three tags associated with collective identity processes—the internally oriented #GamerGate, externally framed #FeminismIsCancer, and valorizing #FreeMilo—were less likely to be positive compared to content by Yiannopoulos, $\beta = .69$, $.61$, $.89$ (respectively), $p < .001$, all.

Table 1. @Nero on Twitter: Populations and Sample Sizes for Content Groups

Timeframe		Comparison Groups		Collective Identity Processes		
				Internal	External	Valorization
		By @Nero	At @Nero	#GamerGate	#FeminismIsCancer	#FreeMilo
Sep '14 – Nov '15	N	49,162	1,763,123	13,554,972	53	394
	n	9,511	7,555	10,000	--	--
	(%)	(19%)	(0.4%)	(0.1%)	--	--
Dec '15 – Feb '16	N	11,310	890,978	575,571	41,970	1,449
	n	8,976	7,704	8,001	7,901	--
	(%)	(79%)	(1%)	(1%)	(19%)	--
Mar '16 – May '16	N	8,143	875,393	412,489	31,035	37
	n	7,006	7,798	8,572	8,047	--
	(%)	(86%)	(0.9%)	(2%)	(26%)	--
Jun '16 – Aug '16	N	4,894	1,471,840	314,799	26,449	79,175
	n	4,210	7,748	8,718	10,000	6,778
	(%)	(86%)	(0.5%)	(3%)	(38%)	(0.9%)
Sep '16 – Nov '16	N	0	19,656	223,649	13,592	42,853
	n	--	5,928	8,732	8,241	7,077
	(%)	--	(30%)	(4%)	(61%)	(17%)
Dec '16 – Feb '17	N	0	12,130	151,153	11,822	18,650
	n	--	8,156	8,937	8,479	8,366
	(%)	--	(67%)	(6%)	(72%)	(45%)
Total (Sampled Timeframes)	N	73,509	5,033,120	15,232,633	124,868	140,678
	n	29,703	44,889	52,960	42,668	22,221
	(%)	(40.4%)	(0.9%)	(0.3%)	(34%)	(16%)

Table 2. Top-Hashtags within Content Groups, including Number of Tweets in which Hashtag Occurs

By @Nero		#GamerGate		#FeminismIsCancer		#FreeMilo	
Tag	*n*	Tag	*n*	Tag	*n*	Tag	*n*
#gamergate	320	#notyourshield	1,342	#womenagainstfeminism	6,340	#milo	3,254
#jesuismilo	293	#opskynet	806	#feminist	6,301	#maga	1,255
#milo	173	#sjw	796	#feminists	3,050	#trump	1,213
#feminism	107	#gamedev	715	#trump	2,759	#freerick	1,111
Mentioning @Nero		#games	439	#antifeminist	2,473	#freericky	1,104
Tag	*n*	#gamers	411	#feminismisawful	2,001	#miloyiannopoulos	883
#free	4,618	#conleak	408	#gamer	1,804	#freenero	771
#freejared	2,485	#gaming	386	#gamergate	1,792	#miloatcal	738
#freemilo	1,671	#feminism	357	#fake	1,173	#ucb	732
#gamergate	1,058	#daylightsaving	339	#everydaysexism	1,137	#berkeley	635
#milo	541			#feminazi	828	#ucberkley	612
#trump	509			#rape	819	#tcot	591
#maga	296			#men	810	#freespeech	578
#basketofdeplorables	291					#dnc	511
#trump2016	241						
#jesuismilo	206						
#feminism	174						

Note. Top hashtags were determined by examining the total distribution of all hashtags within each content group. Hashtags occurring above the 99.5th percentile within the content group. Hashtags that were part of the sampling frame were removed from their respective content group.

Table 3. Summary of Emotional Polarity and Intensity of Content Groups (n = 152,685)

Variables	Overall Sample n	$\%$	By @Nero n (%)	Mentioning @Nero n (%)	#GamerGate n (%)	#FeminismIsCancer n (%)	#FreeMilo n (%)
Emotional Polarity							
Negative	83559	54.7%	9958 (47%)	20327 (55%)	24518 (57%)	19131 (60%)	9625 (50%)
Positive	69126	45.3%	11052 (53%)	16827 (45%)	18766 (43%)	12969 (40%)	9512 (50%)
	M	SD	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Sentiment Strength	1.39	0.69	1.35 (0.67)	1.43 (0.70)	1.39 (0.70)	1.39 (0.70)	1.34 (0.66)
Sentiment Score with Polarity	-0.21	1.54	0.02 (1.50)	-0.23 (1.58)	-0.28 (1.53)	-0.36 (1.51)	0.00 (1.50)

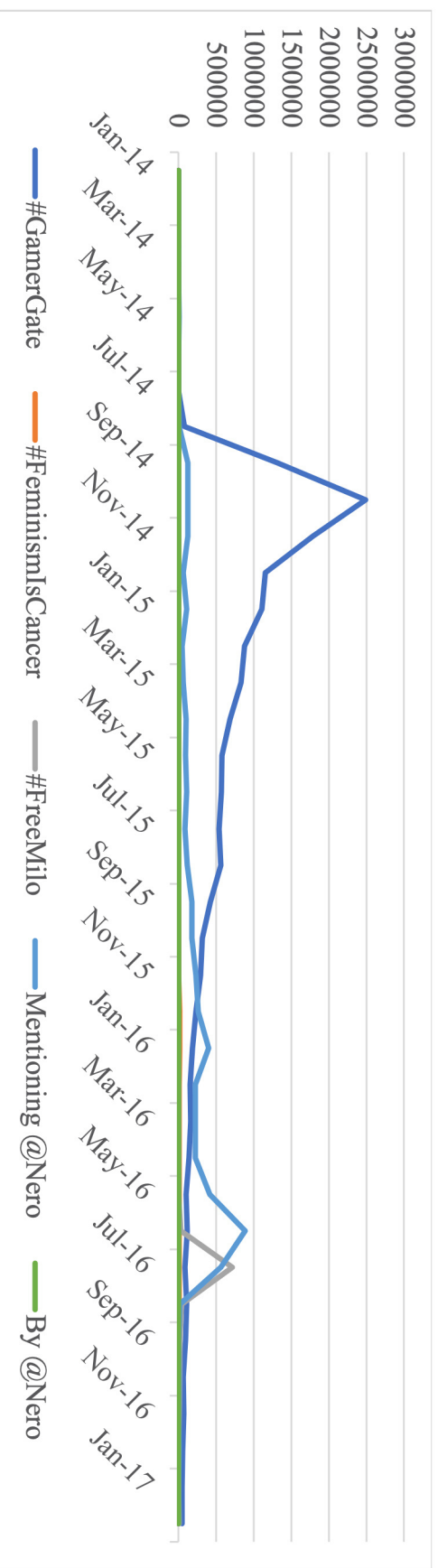**Figure 1. The Rise and Fall of @Nero on Twitter**

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Table 4. Hashtags that Drive Trends in Emotional Polarity within Content Groups

Hashtags by Content Group	Negative tweets		Positive tweets		χ^2
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	
Internal Identity #GamerGate	24518	57	18766	43	
#conleak	**205**	**67.7**	98	32.3	15.07***
External Targets #FeminismIsCancer	19131	60	12969	40	
#womenagainstfeminism	**1801**	**74.1**	630	25.9	229.24***
#feminist	**1338**	**69.2**	595	30.8	79.07***
#feminists	**800**	**71.2**	324	28.8	64.83***
#sjw	743	52.2	**681**	**47.8**	34.08***
#feminismisawful	437	52.5	**396**	**47.5**	18.09***
#gamer	379	41.1	**544**	**58.9**	135.61***
#gamergate	378	41.0	**543**	**59.0**	135.59***
#fake	**401**	**86.8**	61	13.2	144.01***
#everydaysexism	**240**	**82.5**	51	17.5	63.82***
#men	**327**	**68.7**	149	31.3	16.61***
Valorization #FreeMilo	9625	50	9512	50	
#milo	682	31.3	**1494**	**68.7**	352.80***
#trump	468	40.0	**702**	**60.0**	52.84***
#miloyiannopoulos	95	12.2	**684**	**87.8**	471.54***
#berkeley	31	4.2	**714**	**95.8**	659.97***
#ucb	76	10.5	**651**	**89.5**	479.84***
#miloatcal	91	11.9	**671**	**88.1**	466.96***
#ucberkley	22	3.6	**597**	**96.4**	559.04***
#dnc	131	39.3	**202**	**60.7**	16.27***

Note. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 2. Emotional Intensity by Content Group and Polarity
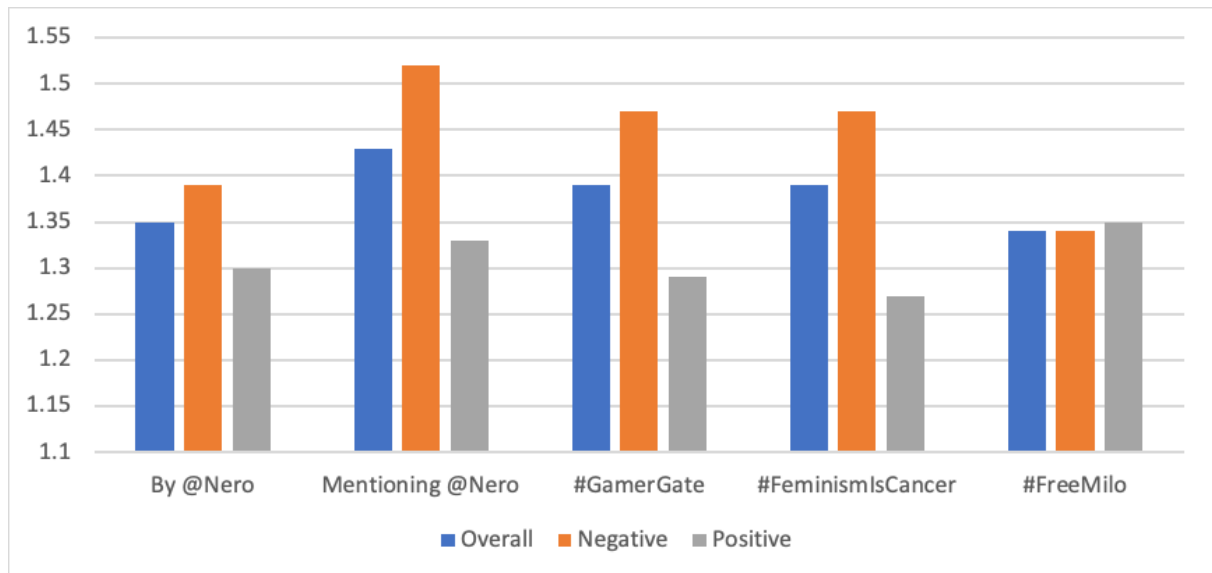
When compared in terms of emotional strength, without regard to polarity, both of these hashtags (#FeminismIsCancer, #GamerGate) were significantly more emotional than Yiannopoulos's feed, but the strength of relationship was reversed. Content tagged #GamerGate tended to be more emotional, $\beta = .04$, $p < .001$, and the difference was significant but somewhat less pronounced for content tagged #FeminismIsCancer. In terms of overall sentiment, including both score and polarity, when compared to content authored by @Nero, both the tags #GamerGate and #FeminismIsCancer were significantly more negative. These were tested using an OLS linear regression model. Based on standardized beta scores, the difference in emotional claims were strongest for content tagged #FeminismIsCancer, $\beta = -.11$, $p < .001$, but also strong and significantly negative for content tagged #GamerGate, $\beta = -.10$, $p < .001$.

Collective Identity Processes Content Compared to Yiannopoulos Content

It is useful to recognize the relative importance of positivity, negativity, and emotional strength across these groups of content. Even among content that tends positive or negative, the opposite emotional valance plays an important complementary role. For instance, among the negative tweets, content tagged #GamerGate and #FeminismIsCancer tended to be more emotional, $\beta = .05$, $p < .001$, both. However, content tagged #FreeMilo was, on average, less emotional, $\beta = -.03$, $p < .001$. By contrast, among the positive tweets, content tagged #FeminismIsCancer was typically less emotional, $\beta = -.02$, $p < .001$, and the content tagged #FreeMilo was more emotional, $\beta = .03$, $p < .001$.

Collective Identity Processes Content Compared to @Nero Discourse

Overall, the comparisons with the emotional tone and intensity of tweets mentioning @Nero (Milo Yiannopoulos) were more consistently split between the internal/external identity processes and the aspect of valorization. This portion of analyses excluded those

tweets by @Nero himself, and includes the other four content groups in the sample ($n =$ 131,675). In terms of general polarity, binary logistic regression showed disparate odds for the content groups compared to content about @Nero. Both the group of tweets tagged #GamerGate and #FeminismIsCancer were significantly less likely to be positive in emotional tone, compared to tweets mentioning Yiannopoulos, $\beta = .93, .82, p < .001$, both. By contrast tweets including the tag #FreeMilo were more likely to be positive than those about Milo, $\beta = 1.19, p < .001$. Although the content groups were divided in terms of polarity, they were all consistent in terms of intensity. Tweets from all three groups, on average, utilized less emotional language compared to those in the comparison group, $p < .001$ (all). In this case, the comparison group is content about Yiannopoulos, and each showed a similar standardized effect size: $\beta = -.03$ (#GamerGate), $-.03$ (#FeminismIsCancer), $-.05$ (#FreeMilo). When both intensity and polarity were taken into account, the strongest effect was for the group of content tagged #FreeMilo, $\beta = .05, p < .001$, followed by #FeminismIsCancer, $\beta = -.04, p < .001$, and #GamerGate, $\beta = -.01, p < .001$.

These statistics provide some insight into the overall patterns of difference among this content. An additional interesting trend is reflected when we examine the content, separated by positive and negative codes. Among the sample of tweets coded as negative, all three content groups associated with collective identity negotiation were less emotional than the comparison group, $\beta = -.03$ (#GamerGate), $-.03$ (#FeminismIsCancer), $-.08$ (#FreeMilo), $p < .001$ (all). By contrast, among the groups of tweets that were coded positive, both of the internal/external identity processes (#GamerGate and #FeminismIsCancer) were significantly less emotional than content mentioning @Nero, $\beta = -.03, -.04$ (respectively for each tag), $p < .001$ (both).

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Together, these findings affirm some general trends about the content in this sample. Within the broader context of promoting provocative and sometimes violent strategies, the discourse circulating around this figure, Milo Yiannopoulos, showed a trend toward negativity. The tweets by Yiannopoulos himself show a relative emphasis in the realm of emotionally positive claims, but the larger conversation around him is more negative. Further, this negativity is cycled through related hashtags reflecting collective identity processes among the Alt-Right, including #GamerGate, #FeminismIsCancer, and #FreeMilo. The tag #GamerGate, and especially #FeminismIsCancer demonstrated evidence of a more intense and negative tone, while #FreeMilo appears to play a more muted role balancing different types of emotional polarity, as well as linking with the positivity associated with the shared identification in a movement celebrity and figure. The next section builds from this computational measurement and statistical inquiry to more closely examine relevant hashtags that illustrate how these emotional claims function in a substantive way.

Interpretation of Relevant Hashtags and Tweets

Within the three content groups reflecting collective identity processes, I tested each of the most common hashtags to see if tweets included that hashtag had a significantly different proportion of emotional polarity than other tweets in that same group. This provides an indication of what domains of conversation were driving the emotional polarity trends observed thus far. All of the hashtags that were significantly associated with emotional polarity are summarized in Table 4.

With respect to internal identity processes, the tweets tagged #GamerGate were distinguished in terms of negativity by the secondary hashtag, #conleak. Among the larger discourse about #GamerGate, discourse in tweets tagged #conleak refer to a specific

contention over leaked emails from the "Crash Override Network", a group led by Zoe
Quinn, who was targeted by #GamerGate from the beginning. Thus, this particular
conversation centralizes the questions of harassment and the mutual opposition between the
movement, #GamerGate, and those that they identify as their opponents, which are groups
and individuals advocating for feminism and against harassment within the broader world of
online video games. Thus, we see here that the internal identity of a conservative movement
is based directly in countering another movement (Futrell and Simi 2004; Garpvall 2017;
Gray 2018; Simi and Futrell 2006).

   Among the tweets tagged #FeminismIsCancer, a collection of hashtags were
significantly associated with negative polarity, as well as positive polarity. The overall tone
of this discourse is negative, which is driven by the tags: #womenagainstfeminism,
#feminist, #feminists, #fake, #everydaysexism, and #men. These tweets often conveyed
adversarial messages about feminism. For instance, one popular tweet that was re-tweeted
numerous times included the text "#feminism @UN_Women LIES #FeminismIsCancer
#WomenAgainstFeminism #feminist #feminists #DomesticViolence #everydaysexism
#orangetheworld" and attached a photo of a bloodied, beaten white male, superimposed with
the words "End Violence Against Women. And Solve Only Half the Problem." Together,
these tweets conveyed a negative relationship toward women and feminism in order to
position men as the neglected victims of modern discourse (Boehme and Isom Scott 2020;
Futrelle 2017; Gray 2018; Higgins 2018; Lyons et al. 2017; Michael 2017; Stern 2019). In
addition to these tags that supported the negativity of this trend, there were four hashtags
that were more likely to drive the positive content of this content group: #sjw,
#feminismisawful, #gamer, and #gamergate. The positivity here was usually an attempt to
make humor out of otherwise negative claims. For instance, this commonly re-tweeted

message from @christfeminism "#Suicidal? #Homeless? Good #God laughs at you #ShameOnMaritalRapeBill #gamergate #antifeminism #feminismiscancer" with a link to a website calling to Cast Down the World Religion of Feminism. Importantly, #gamergate re-emerges here as a positive anchor, but within the broader context of open contention.

Finally, in the content tagged #FreeMilo that placed a positive value on supporters' collective identification with Milo Yiannopoulos, there was an apparent balance between positive and negative content. When examining specific, popular hashtags, the most prominent hashtags drove the positive polarity within this. This makes sense given the larger context of negativity that has already been established. And some of these are unsurprisingly positive, such as #milo #trump #miloyiannopoulos and #miloatcal. Others though, reflected the negative targets of these groups, but were significantly associated with positive polarity: #berkeley, #ucb, #ucberkeley, and #dnc. The reason why these tweets included positivity can be well seen in one popularly re-tweeted message from @ScottPressler, "Dear protesters, Keep it up. You're making Milo famous #Berkeley #MiloatCal #FreeMilo #UCBerkley #Berkeley #MiloYiannopoulos". The sentiments expressed by these tweets communicate that the Alt-Right supporters in this conversation feel that the reactions by UC Berkeley administrators and students play directly into the hands of Milo Yiannopoulos and his team. Restricting "free speech" supports their underlying sense of victimization and therefore fuels a motivating anger (Boehme and Isom Scott 2020; Einwohner 2002; Hochschild 2018).

Conclusion

As the vast majority of existing research on collective identities is based on the study of movements supporting social justice and marginalized groups, especially in the ways that they operate offline, it is crucial to understand how conservative groups and online

movements transform and utilize collective identity processes in their advocacy and campaigns. This study explored the Alt-Right and Milo Yiannopoulos in order to examine internal, external, and practical aspects of collective identity formation and deployment. While there are certainly shared aspects of identity development and boundary negotiation, the findings of this study suggest that negativity plays a uniquely constitutive role among counter-movements, which form in opposition to other social movement aims. For instance, among the tweets sampled, negativity was dominant throughout, and with respect to internal identity processes in particular. This was revealed around the role of perceived victimization in the form of being accused of harassment that motivated individuals' shared identification with #GamerGate and the figure Milo Yiannopoulos.

This logic of victimization comes full circle in the external contestation and political claims-making made by movement adherents online. By aligning their rhetoric against feminism, this group attempts to position men as a social category disadvantaged by social change. In particular, the hashtag #womenagainstfeminism was invoked, often by men or within a larger critique of feminism, in order to falsely equivocate the rates of violence against women and men with the rates of women and men in the population. This both appropriates and opposes feminism simultaneously, as the legible cultural notion of systemic gender inequality is an accomplishment of feminist movement. This logic reflects the spectacle strategy of Yiannopoulos himself, such as making his celebrity out of baiting liberal institutions to restrict his access to public speech.

Utilizing a multi-method strategy, this study rendered data collected from Twitter in terms of theoretical questions germane to understanding social movement studies. In addition to the many strengths of utilizing large-scale datasets and computational measurement, there are some necessary limitations at play. For instance, qualitative analysis

of a sub-sample of these tweets, or the full dictionary of hashtags, may provide even further insight into the multiplicity of collective identity processes at play, as well as the potential of more complex emotional claims than positive and negative. As well, relying on Crimson Hexagon for data collection means that there are potential aspects of sampling bias outside of my control. The ideal situation for collecting data using Twitter is to collect data within real-time in order to gain a fuller sample of available data. Relative to understanding conservatives online, in particular, there are tweets which have been later deleted by users that could reveal important emotional dynamics.

Chapter 4. The Women's Marches and A Cycle of Contention: Sustaining Resistance through Emotions and Framing

Introduction

One of the constitutive questions facing social movements is how to transform grievances into sustained campaigns for social change. In the digital age, it is increasingly easy to access information and raise awareness about issues that face individuals and groups; however, this does not universally lead to collective action (Bennett and Segerberg 2014). At a broader level, cycles of contention help to describe those periods of time in society where the political opportunities are conducive to multiple types of movement mobilization, as well as sharing symbolic and practical resources across movement lines (Carroll 2017; Ghaziani et al. 2016; Langman 2012; Meyer and Whittier 1994; Tarrow 2011, 2013; Van Dyke 2003). Within these cycles, the concept of social movement abeyance explains how social movements, especially those contesting enduring vectors of social inequality like gender, tend to move in and out of the public arena, but are not necessarily "born" and rarely "die" off completely (Rupp and Taylor 1987; Taylor 1989). Within cycles of contention, initiator movements work to develop a logic of resistance that coalesces around so-called master frames, which are appropriated and translated for multiple movement contexts (Fadaee 2018; Mooney and Hunt 1996; D. A. Snow and Benford 1992). These cyclical dynamics operate in historical time. For instance, the cycle of contention characterized by global and domestic liberation movements heightened during the 1960s, including struggles for racial, ethnic, sexual, gender, and environmental justice, as well as against Imperialism and settler colonialism. Moving beyond the consideration of movements targeting the state and using large, public campaigns (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008), it is also critical to

consider how movements initiate, sustain, and transfer campaigns between multiple institutional targets, responding to the needs of multiple constituencies (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013).

The 2017 Women's Marches are a useful case study for understanding continuity and change within movements. At a practical and organizational level, the protest event that originally targeted Washington, DC spawned sister demonstrations throughout the country, which have continued to grow into new locales each year, while other locales have not continued their participation after the first year, or two. As well, over time, the protest event initiated itself as a platform, including Anniversary Marches and continual organizing year-round. And further, the Women's March influenced additional demonstration and the use of public marches (e.g., The Scientists March). The Marchers who took to the streets immediately following the inauguration of the 45th President entered an already active field of contention, especially the #BlackLivesMatter and immigrant rights movements, who had already been continuing to innovate traditions of resistance against state repression.

Conceptual Framework

Through historical time, movements move in and out of abeyance to contest various common grievances in society (Taylor 1989). At the more immediate levels of human interaction and organizational actions, we can also understand the circuits of movement through the regulation of emotional ties and deployment of specific framing strategies (Robnett 1997). For instance, the use of anger plays an important role in various types of mobilization (Blee 2002; Blee and Creasap 2010; Hochschild 2018; Jasper 2014), including for women's and feminist movements (Hercus 1999; Lorde 2007; Taylor 2000). In order to take up action against existing patterns of social organization and in service of change, anger is a common predisposition that attunes to injustice, exploitation, and unfairness. The

racialized and gendered positions of women to dominant constructions of femininity can produce multiple interpretations of the relationship between the emotional polarity (i.e., positive/negative) of anger and social action. For women operating within and benefiting from the terms of white supremacy, with anger, especially anger over racial and other types of injustice, the presupposed endpoint is hatred, which produces only destructive action and/or despair (Blee 2002). By contrast, when interpreted through the lens of righteous indignation, anger at injustices, including patriarchy and misogyny, can produce corrective action and valorization of a formerly degraded group (Gould 2002, 2004; Hercus 1999; Lorde 2007; Taylor 1995; Taylor and Whittier 1992). While the importance of emotional polarity is tantamount, the meaning of these emotions can only be understood through the actual content of collective action itself, for which we can utilize the notion of collective action frames.

For social movements, framing refers to the ways in which information is organized for collective understanding to both interpret and communicate social action (Snow et al. 2014). Collective action frames respond to patterns of grievances that allow for a shared interpretation of social context and a need for change. One key function is to recruit new participants into collective efforts (Snow et al. 1986), but frames that initiate new types of movement must also re-engage individuals who have lapsed from social activism in new ways (Taylor et al. 2009). Taking into account the importance of emotional polarity in inciting and circulating movement action, I propose a three-part rendering of framing processes with respect to initiator movements (Valocchi 2005): tension frames, which identify negative content with a managed ambiguity; sustaining frames, which contextualize injustice in struggle; and, launching frames, which move toward relevant action. This

conceptual framework emerges in conversation with the case study of the 2017 and 2019 Women's Marches, detailed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

For initiator movements, framing takes on a particularly important role, as emotional claims are key to disrupting a sense of complacency and the status quo (Blee 2014; Polletta 1998; Polletta and Amenta 2001). In the first stage, *tension* frames do the primary work of identifying grievances (Polletta 1998), but doing so with enough openness to translate tensions to a range of actors and locations (Gould 2001, 2002). Tension frames identify and amplify issues in society and elevate them to the level of a public problem (Hughey 2012; McCammon 2012; McCammon and McGrath 2015; Oliver and Johnston 2000). While tension can raise grievances, *sustaining frames* that logically follow from presented tension frames are necessary to renew commitments to collective action. Similar to frame alignment and other framing processes, sustaining frames must be renewable and transferrable to be successful over time and space (Allen 2000; Benford and Snow 2000; Powell 2011; Snow et al. 1986, 2014). Lastly, *launching frames* operate in contrast to sustaining frames by inciting specific actions, which can both disrupt the status quo and pre-existing patterns of collective action. Like motivational framing, this framing dynamic is centered on inspiring action (Benford 1993; Einwohner 2002; Rohlinger and Klein 2014), but it specifically refers to the deployment of such frames within the context of initiator movements.

Background

The Women's Marches held in January 2017 deployed a gendered lens to inspire oppositional protest to the Trump administration. This election was a major political victory for the Alt-Right and allied movements, who gained the electoral support of large swaths of the population, especially white men and women. Early leaders of the Washington, DC and "sister" marches the world over privileged individual participation over organizational

affiliations as a way of motivating participation. However, over time, organizational support and institutional knowledge was necessary, and other activists with greater connections to feminist and anti-racist organizing gained positions within the organizing network for the Women's Marches. This builds from the origin story of the Marches, that the protests grew out of a single social media post calling for action. Similar to other movements in the 21st century, social media plays an important role in the story and function of the Women's Marches, including being a key site for coordination and the deployment of claims and solidarities. But, by centering the act of marching itself, the Women's Marches centers a material act of protest, placing digital communication in a secondary but necessary role. The March notably opposed, but did not disrupt the inauguration of Donald Trump, keeping in line with a "peaceful transition of power" that maintains the stable authority of the police and other state officials (Conley 2017; McCausl 2017; Richardson 2017)

In doing so, the Women's March sought to initiate a cycle of resistance under the Trump administration, managing the feeling needed to recruit and mobilize those not already engaged with organizational structures of existing movements (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter and #NoDAPL) and longstanding movements (e.g., established feminist and women's organizations, official partisan endorsements). The spokespeople for the March opted for a broad-based, inclusive, and diverse set of concerns responding to social justice platforms, rather than a unified, urgent policy demand (i.e., the dismissal of a Trump presidency). However, the protest event did not emerge out of a de-politicized vacuum; the Women's March builds on a long history of feminist movements and women's mobilization (Cole and Luna 2010; Gallo-Cruz 2018; Kretschmer 2018; Luna 2010). The focus on recruitment and mobilization may have stymied the Marches' efficacy in demanding immediate policy changes, but this also allows for the adaptability that has allowed the March to continue as a

platform, as well as utilizing the energy it cultivated toward multiple feminist aims and women's mobilization (Whittier 2018; Wright 2017). The renewed energy of women's political mobilization has helped to revive and sustain other movements, such as the #MeToo campaigns against sexual violence (Whittier 2018), originally launched in 1997 by Tarana Burke (Garcia 2017).

For the Women's Marches, while intersectionality was front and center in the conversation of interests and in some spaces, the practice of solidarity and accountability with marginalized groups was still lacking for many (Brewer and Dundes 2018; Fisher, Dow, and Ray 2017; Luna 2019; Moni 2019; Moss and Maddrell 2017; Rose-Redwood and Rose-Redwood 2017). The state officials to which liberals peacefully ceded power have brought about waves of punitive, fear-based, racist, and xenophobic policies. The mobilization of electoral politics in 2019 utilized the framing of a #WomensWave to inspire voting for women and feminists, and the Democratic gains in women's representation have sustained dissent. At the same time, the establishment has consistently failed to yield even a symbolic decisive action against white supremacy or fascism in the political arena. However, against this unyielding political opportunity structure, the Women's Marches have continued to celebrate resistance and valorize the local, organizational, and state policies that work against these hegemonic systems of domination.

Research Questions

Twitter data is useful for understanding the Women's Marches, as online discourse exceeds the physical and temporal constraints of the protest event. Utilizing such data, this study investigates the following specific research questions:

1. What are the general trends in emotional polarity among tweets about the #WomensMarches, specifically following the original Marches in 2017, and before, during, and after the 2nd anniversary Marches in 2019?

2. Among the most frequently used hashtags within this sample of tweets, what, if any, patterns exist in terms of emotional polarity of tweets?

3. Further, among these same hashtags, how is emotional polarity distributed across time groups (after the 2017 Marches, before the 2019 Marches, during the 2019 Marches, and after the 2019 Marches)? How can these trends in emotional polarity be used to identify specific tension frames, sustaining frames, and launching frames?

Methods

Given the analytic focus of this inquiry on how the movement transformed from protest event to organizing platform, the Twitter data used focuses on the time period following the Women's Marches of 2017, as well as the anniversary Marches held in 2019. The sample of relevant tweets was collected through engagement with the phrase "WomensMarch", inclusive of the tag #WomensMarch and the account @WomensMarch, and similarly the secondary phrase "WhyIMarch." These tweets were further measured to utilize hashtags in order to indicate the presence of discursive tools, including framing processes, as well as emotional polarity. By way of an abductive method, this approach utilizes multiple casings of the data in order to compare and evaluate reasonable and likely explanations.

Data

Data for this chapter were collected as part of the Mobilizing Millions project (PI: Dr. Zakiya Luna, see www.mobilizingmillions.org). I sampled tweets from February 1-21, 2017 using twarc (https://github.com/DocNow/twarc). This tool interfaces with the API, which provides data for 7-10 days before the time of the search. To sample tweets from the three-

week period, I ran searches: (1) on February 10 for February 1-10; (2) on February 17 for Feb 8-17; and (3), on Feb 21 for Feb 12-21. I removed tweets duplicated across searches (e.g., those occurring on February 8-10 and 12-17) by using the unique identifiers attached to each Twitter post. The final analytic sample includes tweets from February 1- 21, 2017 (n = 404,062).

Data for December 14, 2018 through February 23, 2019 were also sampled using twarc. This time period includes just over a month prior to the Marches (12/14/2018-1/17/2019, n = 100,161), which was selected to indicate the presence of content among those discussing the Marches online during the days leading up to the event. These are likely to be especially interested parties, including main constituencies and organizers, as well as their allies, and primary opponents. A much more concentrated sample of content was present on the three weekend days that Women's Marches events were primarily held on, January 18, 2019, January 19, 2019, and January 20, 2019 (n = 128,334). More content was present on these days than in the preceding month. This lively online discourse includes momentary supporters and commentators, as well as the groups preparing for and executing the Marches itself, as mentioned above. Finally, in order to identify the content which followed the 2019 anniversary Marches, as well as create a more direct comparison group for the tweets following the 2017 Marches, I sampled January 21, 2019 through February 23, 2019 (n = 76,684).

Theoretical Sampling and Measures

Tweets were searched based on their engagement with the accounts/hashtags "WomensMarch" and "WhyIMarch" (this includes all posts using the tags #WomensMarch or #WhyIMarch as well as those posted by and at-mentioning @WomensMarch and @WhyIMarch. While other terms were used to signify Twitter discourse about the Marches,

these terms provide the two primary modes of collective engagement over the platform, the Women's March(es), and the attachment of activists to a collective identity as marchers. All searches were combined, and individual tweets were coded into groups based on the date on which they were posted.

In terms of content, the deployment of hashtags was used to measure the existence of various frames and other discursive tools among the Twitter conversation about the Women's Marches. To determine the most commonly deployed hashtags across timeframes, all tweets were aggregated and the hashtags extracted from this text, by searching for strings beginning with a #. The list was then transformed into a dictionary, enabling an examination of the distribution of hashtags over time. The 16 most-commonly used hashtags were used in over 7,500 tweets. These tweets were selected for further analysis in terms of time and sentiment.

To measure sentiment, tweets were processed using dictionary-based sentiment analysis. This method utilizes a previously validated list of terms to determine which individual tweets contain positively and negatively charged content. By comparing the sampled text with the existing dictionary, this procedure counts the number of positive and negative words in each tweet. Form this count, each tweet is assigned an overall value of "positive" or "negative." Specifically, this analysis used the tidytext package for the program R, with the "bing" dictionary (Liu 2012, 2015). This dictionary is specifically validated and designed for analyzing text of social media data (Cambria et al. 2013; Feldman 2013; Gandomi and Haider 2015; Neuendorf 2016).

Analytic Plan

To assess the role of emotional claims and affective ties in the continuation of Women's March as a platform for digital resistance, this analysis investigated changes and continuities

in Twitter content about the Women's Marches during February 2017, as well as through the rise, action, and follow-up of the 2019 anniversary Marches. The frequencies and distributions of tweets by time, sentiment, and hashtag content were examined use cross-tabulations and chi-squared tests of statistical significance. One advantage of using chi-squared tests with this type of data is that, as a non-parametric test, the statistic is not hampered by the use of theoretical sampling and internal comparisons. However, this test is also sensitive to the number of observations; and with this size of data set, there are many significant findings, which are due to the large possibility for variation across a large number of observations. Thus, the chi-squared statistics are analyzed in order to determine proportional rank of importance in terms of statistical power. As well, the more conservative $\alpha = .001$ was used, so only tests that were significant at the 99.9% level are reported throughout.

I used the body of tweets from these four time periods to shed light on the evolution of a protest event into an organizing platform. Close reading of individual tweets was used to interpret the meaning and organization of statistical trends. A sample of tweets from the full data set was read, as well as the full sub-sample of relevant tweets including specific hashtags. Sub-samples were identified by reading only those tweets which contained a specific hashtag. Interpretive weight was given to tweets that were retweeted frequently and those which included multiple relevant hashtags (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Charmaz 2006; Dye et al. 2000).

In addition to the models presented herein, multiple additional models were tested, including comparisons with a sub-sample of data collected on the 2017 Women's Marches. This sample and measures were not only theoretically relevant, but they were also a more

effective explanation of the data given existing literature and the themes present within the data.

Figure 3. Sample of Tweets about the #WomensMarch and #WhyIMarch, including Most-Used Hashtags
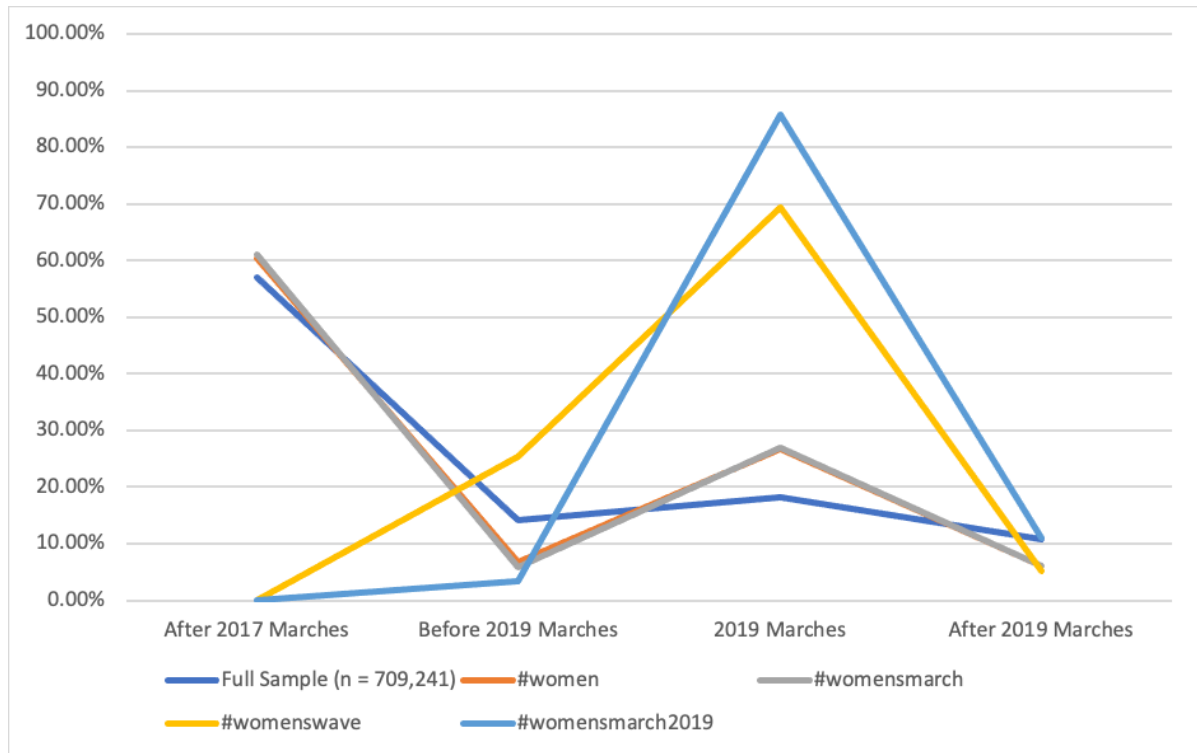

Results

In general, the corpus of collected tweets associated with the Women's Marches ($n = 709,241$) showed a slight majority of being coded as positive (51.6%) compared to negative (48.4%). There was a significant association between date group (i.e., which time frame the tweet fell in) and polarity (i.e., whether the tweet was overall positive, or negative), χ^2 ($df = 3$) = 4424.69, $p < .001$. However, across all time periods sampled, none of them were dominated by greater than a 6.3% majority in either direction (56.3%). Investigating the relative distribution of positive and negative tweets across time periods reveals an oscillating prominence of negative and positive emotional content. The tweets following the 2017

Marches were more positive than the rest of the sample (53.0% positive, compared to 51.6%). Next, the period prior to the 2019 Marches were more negative than the rest of the sample (54.4%, compared to 48.4%). The tweets circulating around the 2019 Marches during the events themselves were more positive than the rest of the sample (56.3% compared to 51.6%). Last, the tweets following the 2019 Marches were proportionately more negative than the remainder of the sample (55.5% compared to 48.4%). These relationships can be seen visually in the graph below.

Figure 4. Frequency Distribution of Polarized Tweets by Women's Marches Time Groups
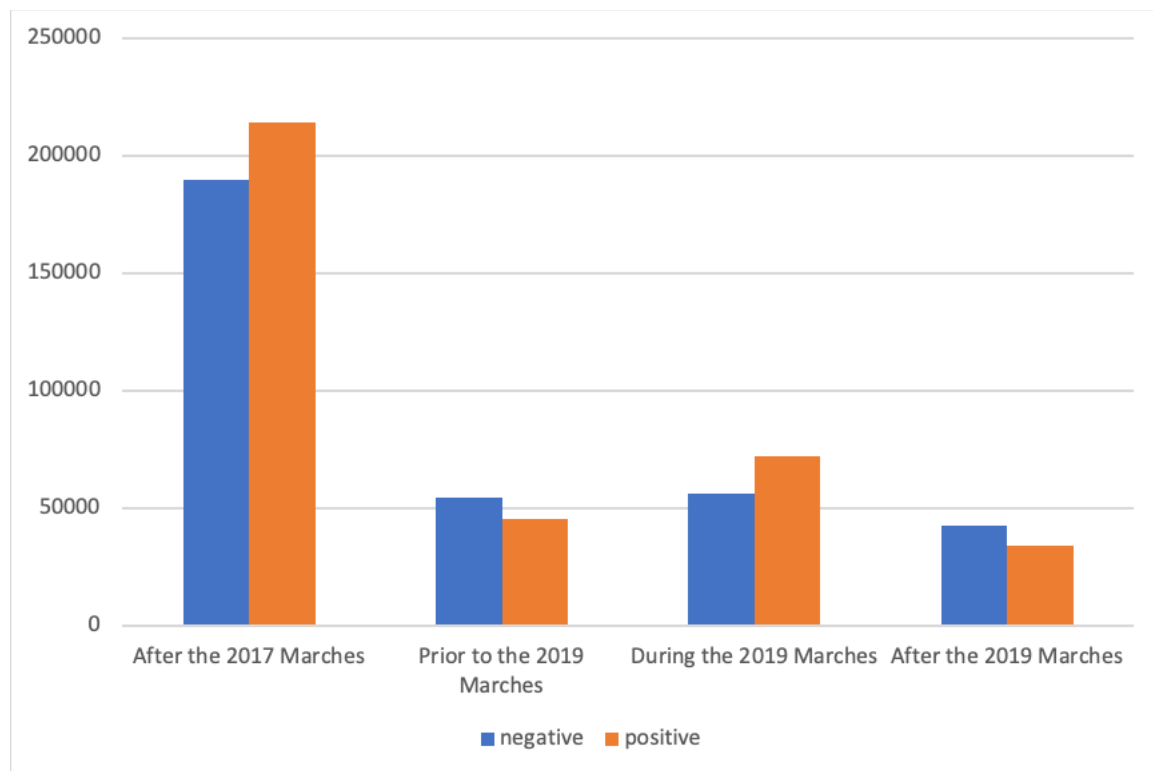
In addition to understanding the emotional content of tweets over time, I also investigated the deployment of positive and negative terms in terms of the most-commonly deployed hashtags circulating after the #WomensMarches and into the 2nd anniversary Marches in 2019. These differences can be seen, summarized in Table 5, below.

Table 5. Comparison of Negative and Positive Tweet Content by Most-Used #WomensMarch Hashtags (*n* = 709,241)

	n	Negative Tweets	Positive Tweets	Polarity	χ^2 ***
Positively Polarized Hashtags					
#womenswave	15,965	15.9%	84.1%	+33.2%	6902.92
#womensmarch2019	13,739	18.2%	81.8%	+30.8%	5096.44
#nobannowall	9,370	25.2%	74.8%	+23.5%	2047.86
#whyiresist	26,435	36.3%	63.7%	+12.5%	1612.60
#women	268,204	46.6%	54.3%	+4.3%	1260.80
#trump	16,089	35.8%	64.2%	+12.9%	1046.06
#whyimarch	24,422	41.4%	58.6%	+7.2%	498.09
#womensmarch	248,181	46.8%	53.2%	+2.4%	360.45
#revolutionarylove	7,900	39.6%	61.4%	+9.9%	306.66
#dem	7,522	39.4%	60.6%	+9.1%	247.79
#theresistance	13,938	42.7%	57.3%	+5.8%	180.24
#resist	25,771	46.1%	53.9%	+2.4%	53.35
Negatively Polarized Hashtags					
#dumpdevos	13,167	82.0%	18.0%	-34.3%	6083.01
#adaywithout immigrants	7,704	85.7%	14.3%	-37.7%	4347.36
#black	9,929	52.2%	47.8%	-3.9%	60.01
#sayhername	17,265	49.6%	50.4%	-1.3%	10.72

*** $p \leq .001$ for all tests

The most positively oriented tweets were those associated with the hashtags celebrating movement victories, including the raised level of women in political office, as well as the maintenance and growth of the Marches over the course of two years. Tweets containing #womenswave were more likely to be positive (84.1%), compared to the rest of the sample (50.9%), χ^2 (*df* = 1) = 6902.92, $p < .001$. Tweets containing #womensmarch2019 were more likely to be positive (81.8%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.0%), χ^2 (*df* = 1) = 5096.44, $p < .001$.

Table 6. Emotional Polarity of Women's Marches Time Periods and Most-Used Hashtags by Hashtag Role

		After 2017 Marches	Before 2019 Marches	2019 Marches	After 2019 Marches	χ^2 ***
Full Sample (*n* = 709,241)	*n*	404,062	100,161	128,334	76,684	
	%	57.0%	14.1%	18.1%	10.8%	
	Polarity	+	-	+	-	4424.69

	Polarity	%	%	%	%	χ^2 ***
Identity/Strategy Hashtags						
#women	+	60.3%	6.8%	26.8%	6.1%	44384.32
#womensmarch	+	61.0%	5.9%	27.0%	6.1%	44208.45
#womenswave	+	0.0%	25.4%	69.4%	5.2%	34963.22
#womensmarch2019	+	0.0%	3.3%	85.8%	10.9%	44626.86
Tension Frame Hashtags						
#black	-	74.8%	6.8%	3.3%	15.1%	2346.65
#dem	+	43.6%	3.7%	44.7%	8.0%	3843.41
Sustaining Frame Hashtags						
#resist	+	91.4%	3.5%	2.4%	2.7%	12992.91
#whyimarch	+	90.4%	3.1%	5.7%	0.8%	11664.99
#theresistance	+	95.9%	1.8%	1.1%	1.2%	8786.81
#trump	+	83.6%	5.5%	6.6%	4.3%	4771.28
Launching Frame Hashtags						
#whyiresist	+	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20727.81
#sayhername	-	99.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.9%	12733.52
#dumpdevos	-	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10132.86
#nobannowall	+	99.8%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	7107.87
#adaywithoutimmigrants	-	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5882.56
#revolutionarylove	+	99.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	5795.33

*** $p \leq .001$ for all tests

A few tags were significantly associated with positive content, each of which reflects

aspects of the Women's Marches organizing logics in turn. Tweets containing #nobannowall

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were more likely to be positive (74.8%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.3%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 2047.86, p < .001. This tag forges a sense of solidarity against closing borders, linking the ban on travel and migration from specific Muslim-majority countries, as well as the discursive and physical #Wall on the border with Mexico. One key strategy of the Marches is to broaden and connect geographically and spatially dispersed groups being structurally disadvantaged by the same xenophobic systems. Tweets containing #whyiresist were more likely to be positive (63.7%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.2%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 1612.60, p < .001. This tag links individual participation in the movement with a shared sense of struggle, especially through culturally legible terms of mobilization. Tweets containing #women were more likely to be positive (54.3%), compared to the rest of the sample (50.0%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 1260.80, p < .001.

Interestingly, tweets associated with a main adversary of the #WomensMarches was also significantly associated with positive content. Tweets containing #trump were more likely to be positive (64.2%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.3%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 1046.06, p < .001. In addition, six additional hashtags were associated with a moderate increase in the odds of being associated with positive sentiment. Tweets containing #whyimarch were more likely to be positive (58.6%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.4%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 498.09, p < .001. Tweets containing #womensmarch were more likely to be positive (53.2%), compared to the rest of the sample (50.8%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 360.45, p < .001. Tweets containing #revolutionarylove were more likely to be positive (61.4%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.5%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 306.66, p < .001. Tweets containing #dem were more likely to be positive (60.6%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.5%), χ^2 (df = 1) = 247.79, p < .001. Tweets containing #theresistance were more likely to be positive (57.3%),

compared to the rest of the sample (51.5%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 180.24, $p < .001$. Tweets containing #resist were more likely to be positive (53.9%), compared to the rest of the sample (51.5%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 53.35, $p < .001$.

The most significant differences in terms of hashtags associated with negative tweets were related to specific political grievances: #dumpdevos and #adaywithoutimmigrants. Tweets containing #dumpdevos were more likely to be negative (82.0%), compared to the rest of the sample (47.7%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 6083.01, $p < .001$. Tweets containing #adaywithoutimmigrants were more likely to be negative (85.7%), compared to the rest of the sample (48.0%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 4347.36, $p < .001$. These claims reflect some of the most immediate acts of defiance to the Trump administration, focused on political outcomes that has sustained resistance from political decision-makers and power.

More minor, but still statistically significant differences were present among the two hashtags related to #blacklivesmatter and intersectional feminism, with the tendency toward being more negative. Tweets containing #black were more likely to be negative (52.2%), compared to the rest of the sample (48.3%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 60.01, $p < .001$. Tweets containing #sayhername were more likely to be negative (49.6%), compared to the rest of the sample (48.3%), χ^2 ($df = 1$) = 10.72, $p = .001$. These tweets reflect the critical contention of how to interpret the meaning of the Marches, as they were most significantly present in the periods following both the 2017 and 2019 Marches.

The overall trend of hashtags is that they trended toward positive content, with a few notable exceptions. To further understand the different roles played by content with various hashtags, the distributions shown in Table 6 demonstrate multiple, distinct discursive processes that linked the 2017 and 2019 Marches, as well as some notable places in which these connections broke down. First, the hashtags #women, #womensmarch, #womenswave,

and #womensmarch2019 all played a significant role in the distribution of content over time. Specifically, #women and #womensmarch were especially prominent after the 2017 Marches and during the 2019 Marches. This underscores the identity framing that characterizes the March's larger project, women's movements. The hashtag #womenswave was more prominent before and during the 2019 Marches, signaling the political victories (new standing) that women's movement claimed during the 2018 U.S. midterm elections. This overlaps with #womensmarch2019, which spiked during and after the 2019 Marches, carrying the momentum through the platform of the March itself, maintaining the stance of resistance to the state.

Four hashtags reflected a distribution that carried the role of a sustaining frame: these tags were especially prominent following the 2017 Marches, and these same hashtags carried forward during all periods of the 2019 Marches: #resist, #whyimarch, #theresistance, and #trump. Together, these show the combination of deploying practical, individual, collective, and adversarial messages in order to sustain movement participation. Each of these four tags connects individual participation #whyimarch with movement activity from multiple standpoints: the purpose of the movement, to #resist, the character of the movement #theresistance, and the main target of the movement #trump. Further, six additional hashtags were prominent, but entirely or nearly exclusively due to their presence in the time frame following the 2017 Marches. These tags reflect frames that were either lost, repositioned, or transformed during the struggle of resistance movements with the U.S. government and Trump administration between 2017 and 2019. These tags are: #whyiresist, #sayhername, #dumpdevos, #nobannowall, #adaywithoutimmigrants, and #revolutionarylove. Both #whyiresist and #revolutionarylove reflected tactical components of the movement that arise from the mass participation in 2017. During the anniversary marches in 2019, the more

general #resist and #whyimarch remain present, but the highly specified #whyiresist loses viability in the larger social media conversation. The remaining tags reflect specific claims in protest of immigration and border policies, as well as against a system of racist police brutality and Secretary of Education Devos. Although immigration, race, and education are policies championed by some Democrats, movements for social justice have made little traction on these issues between 2017 and 2019, at the federal level.

Table 7. Emotional Polarity of Tension and Launching Frames (*n* = 709, 241)

	After 2017 Marches	Before 2019 Marches	2019 Marches	After 2019 Marches
Tension Frame Hashtags				
#black	-3.9%	-9.1%	-17.4%	+19.0%	+24.8%
#dem	+9.1%	-24.0%	//	+40.8%	//
Sustaining Frame Hashtags				
#resist	+2.4%	+1.9%	//	//	-15.2%
#whyimarch	+7.2%	+3.8%	+18.6%	+31.1%	+22.2%
#theresistance	+5.8%	+4.9%	//	//	//
#trump	+12.9%	+15.0%	//	-6.9%	+7.0%

Note. + / - *p* < .001 for chi-squared test, comparing tweets containing hashtag against others present in the same time period; // = *ns*

Two hashtags reflected key points of distinction with the rest of the sample and help to elucidate the discursive relationship between the movement and the institutional logics of the state, as present in tweets related to the Marches. First, the hashtag #black was significantly negative in content compared to the remainder of the sample, and tweets containing this tag were most prominent after the 2017 Marches and after the 2019 Marches. As seen in Table 7, we can also examine the emotional content of tweets by hashtag within time frames. In particular, #black was significantly more negative after the 2017 Marches and before the 2019 Marches, while it was significantly more positive during the 2019 Marches and after the 2019 Marches. Second the hashtag #dem was significantly more

prominent during the 2019 Marches only. This signals the fleeting alliance with the state and women's movement in order to sustain some power through the Democratic party. Notably, while #dem among the #WomensMarch discourse was significantly more negative after the 2019 Marches, and then more positive *during* the 2019 Marches, but not before or after the 2019 Marches.

Discussion

These findings help support the conceptual framework of understanding tension frames, sustaining frames, and launching frames among initiator movements, as a function of emotional polarity. Specifically, by viewing tweets in contexts from these identified hashtags, we can more fully interpret these accordant dynamics. The investigation of emotional polarity in tweets following the 2017 Women's Marches and into the 2019 Marches revealed some important distinctions, but importantly, combinatory strategies of both positive and negative emotional deployments in order to construct meaningful frames. Specifically, as an initiator movement, the emotional content seeks to disrupt and motivate individuals into collective action (Blee 2014; Polletta 1998; Polletta and Amenta 2001). In this section, I present a discussion of relevant hashtags that were associated with framing processes, using specific examples of tweets in order to interpret the formation and deployment of substantial units of meaning.

Tension Frames

Two hashtags were identified as tension frames, which was supported by their unique pattern of emotional polarity over the 2017 and 2019 Marches: #black and #dem. Interestingly, both of these hashtags were shortened versions of longer tags, which means that some variation was captured within these samples. For instance, #Black included some tweets about #BlackLivesMatter as well as other tweets about #BlackHistoryMonth. #Dem

included both #Democrats and #Democrat, as well as other relevant political tags. In addition to their quantitative position, both tags also reflect enduring tensions within the history of women's and feminist mobilization: that over race and racism, as well as over the role of formal political institutions in achieving liberation (Luna 2010, 2017, 2019; McCammon 2012; McCammon et al. 2007; Robnett 1997). Thus, it is fitting that these frames operated to perform a function of creating and maintaining tension that motivates collective action (Hughey 2012; McCammon 2012; McCammon and McGrath 2015; Oliver and Johnston 2000).

There was a statistically significant, slight majority pattern with tweets including hashtags that start with #black to be more likely to be negative, compared to the rest of the sample. Upon close reading of these tweets, a most emphasized theme within tweets with this polarity was that of motivating anger and righteous indignation. For instance, from 2017: one user retweeted a message saying, "#WhyIMarch: To express my support of #BlackLivesMatter, to protest against Trump and discrimination". Another similar message that appeared often, as it was retweeted by many users was,"#RamarleyGraham was killed by #NYPD 5 years ago today & his family still hasn't received justice. #BlackLivesMatter". Negativity was a bridging emotion between the #WomensMarch and the #BlackLivesMatter movement, such as this message from the main March organizers' account that was also retweeted numerous times, "We are outraged by today's Executive Orders, which directly endanger Black Lives. #BlackLivesMatter #WhyIResist". The identification of grievances is a key task for movements, but not all movements are able to translate the identification of grievances into informed political activity (Polletta 1998).

In this manner, within the realm of the #WomensMarch, #Black served as a tension frame because discussion of race and police brutality served to amplify the realities of

hierarchy and social control, prior to the Trump administration. While this tension required a significant deployment of negative emotions, it was importantly balanced by a wide range of positive content. For instance, one tweet that was retweeted frequently was coded as negative, and included a "lesson learned" from Black Lives Matter for the Women's Marches: "RT @womensmarch: What the #WomensMarch can learn from #BlackLivesMatter: 3. Be political, but not partisan." Interestingly, another very similar tweet was also included within the positively coded tweets, "RT @womensmarch: What the #WomensMarch can learn from #BlackLivesMatter: 4. Civil disobedience works." These frames also show the positive affective deployments associated with building connections between groups and movements, even over struggle. For instance, two other positive tweets within this group included the messages "Yes! Was there, was chanting #BlackLivesMatter. Unity in sisterhood.   We're with you." And "@womensmarch: #BlackLivesMatter has been resisting for years. BLM has led the resistance for years." While on the one side, this frame signals the ways that online discourse is contending with the racialized tensions of struggle in the United States, by examining the second relevant tension frame: #Dem, we can see the discursive position of the Marchers relative to the state and hegemonic institutions, namely, electoral politics.

The framing around politics itself was much more prominent within the 2019 Marches, which is unsurprising given the larger context. The motivation for the 2017 Marches was largely due to the failures of the Democratic party, but the discussion took on a more complicated and nuanced tenor in 2019, as the Marchers and online commentators were responding to the recent gains of the Women's Wave, including a range of historic firsts for women in political representation. This led to some positive attachments with electoral politics, such as one tweet that was widely retweeted, including the message"It's lit at the

#WomensMarch2019. The #WomensWave is incredible". However, increasing proximity with political stakeholders did not come without controversy. For instance, tweets from January 15 and 16, 2019 included the messages, "The #DemocraticParty Drops Its Sponsorship of #WomensMarch Amid #Farrakhan Blow-Up" and "Reject racist #DNC, telling us who our leaders should be! Blacks need to severely #disrupt the DEMON-cratic party! #vickidillard #democrats #louisfarrakhan @BrotherJesse @theviewabc #youlie @drboycewatkins1 #yourenotthebossofus @TamikaDMallory @womensmarch". Thus, internal tensions here also helped to constitute the march and motivate interest in and about the issues from multiple standpoints. Importantly, we can view these discursive tensions as spaces with the possibility to both create and foreclose productive discourse moving toward action (Ghaziani and Baldassarri 2011; Ghaziani et al. 2016; Robnett 1997). Thus, successful and relevant tension frames are those which can be substantively linked to additional frames, such as sustaining frames and launching frames.

Sustaining Frames

The role of a sustaining frame is clearly typified within the Women's Marches through the frame of #resist. This helps identify the temporal boundaries of the March, as emerging in an era of Trumpism and against that target. Importantly, while #resist sustains the work of the Marches themselves as a platform, they are not statically defined by the position of resistance. For instance, #Resist was also used to signal alliances to other groups of subordinated peoples, recognizing patriarchy in light of longer structural traditions of oppression. For instance, one Twitter message that was retweeted prominently within the sample of #Resist tweets reads, "A few signs from the LGBT Solidarity Rally outside #Stonewall in NYC. #Resist", and some of the signs in the attached image read "QUEER, NON-BINARY, BROWN & CUTE AF" and "HOPE WILL NEVER BE SILENT –

HARVEY MILK". In addition to the LGBT community, tweets also gestured toward movements for Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, such as the resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline in Standing Rock. One popular message indicating this included, "Come join us this weekend at #StandingRock to Honor Our Grandmothers! #RESIST #RISE #NoDAPL @womensmarch". The content of these tweets with #Resist had a tendency to surge toward positivity, especially following the Marches. Building a productive association with resistance helps advance a broad platform of social justice advocacy in repressive times. (Brewer and Dundes 2018; Luna 2019; McKane and McCammon 2018)

The notion of sustained struggle was poignantly communicated through reference to inter-generational transfers of knowledge among Twitter users discussing the Women's Marches. For instance, one user posted about "3 generations together at the #WomensMarch #resistance #whywemarch #whyimarch" to indicate the embrace of protest throughout families. As well, the position of new and old was also nuanced by efforts attempting to target new activists, whose experiences and consciousness are different from seasoned protestors and accomplices from other movements. One commonly shared message focused on effusively welcoming some newbies into the fold: "For many of us who are new to activism! Love you! #resist #newtothis #whyImarch", and the message also included a link to a "New Activist Guide" (Allen 2000; Benford and Snow 2000; Powell 2011; Snow et al. 1986, 2014). While this sustaining frame had the flexibility to enable a wide range of ideological diversity, they were limited by the driving factor which sustains resistance: Trump himself. A common thread throughout conversations about the Marches and the Women's Wave is summed up well by one Twitter user who said, "Every time he does something awful he brings good people together to #resist".

Surprisingly, a significant majority of tweets with the tag #Trump were emotionally charged with positive language. Upon viewing the content itself, it is important to recognize this positivity in the context of two factors, which further demonstrate the role of sustaining frames relative to the larger political opportunity structure. First, take for example a popularly retweeted message that reads, The best #Trump protest sign! Creative, hilarious and on point!! ???? Thanks to Shannon D., Chicago #whyIMarch @womensmarch #WomenMarch". The attached image is a close-up of needlework on red fabric that reads, "I'M SO ANGRY I STITCHED THIS JUST SO I COULD STAB SOMETHING 3,000 TIMES". Thus, we can see in this ironic deployment of positive tweet and negative attachment, the use of positivity to take ownership over the feeling of resistance, at least at an individual level. As with the many creative protest signs, hand-made shirts, and infamous pink hats, the use of personal, feminized skills helps to create a logic of participation in which many are encouraged to join in. Because #Trump became embedded within the larger conversation of politics, the #WomensMarch thus motivates the need for sustained action around the sustained placement of Donald Trump in the White House.

Two similar examples of tweets show how #Trump is constantly present in the background of motivational action: "14 days into #Trump/my brilliant NYC fam organized 6+ mass mobilizations #WomensMarch #NoBanNoWall #nomuslimban" and "I support @ACLU monthly & urge #TheResistance #DworkinReport #TrumpLeaks #BlackLivesMatter #WomensMarch 2do the same". Although this frame has a high degree of sustaining power in the short-term, it begs the question, what will happen to all of this resistance if and when its primary villain is removed from the political arena? And, by both implicitly and explicitly invoking Trump as the source of hegemonic power, it diminishes and rebuffs the communities that have been working against xenophobia, patriarchy,

fascism, and corruption since long before Trump logged into Twitter. This, perhaps, is a constitutive tension that will always frustrate initiator movements – to balance the need to sustain resistance in conversation with larger movements, while also bringing new constituents into the fold based on emergent interests and threats.

Launching Frames

The core challenge facing initiator movements can be seen in the role of launching frames. Namely, in seeking to incite a pattern of resistance that leads to sustained collective action, movements must create enough discursive and ideological flexibility to meaningfully incorporate the needs and demands of grassroots members (Blee 2014). Without such incorporation, movements are unlikely to represent efforts for change that work with and for communities that are disproportionately affected by existing policies and laws (Robnett 1997). This also means that initiator movements may be less likely to be categorized as politically successful, because they are more focused on impacting a range of movement cultures (Van Dyke and Taylor 2017).

With this in mind, we can consider two relevant examples of launching frames that emerged within the data on the Women's Marches, specifically: #DumpDeVos and #ADayWithoutImmigrants. With respect to the first example, one message that was widely retweeted invites a specific, limited action to oppose Betsy DeVos: "Tell @SenateGOP You Oppose @BetsyDeVos Secy of Education #ScienceMarch #womensmarch #TaketheDeVosPledge #DumpDevos". This launching frame puts people into a direct action, but also completely lands, and leaves individuals to their own devices for if and how to proceed with further action. The other type of launching frame was that which bridged the conversation into other movement spaces. For example, many users re-shared the message from the main Women's March account (@womensmarch): "To all those participating in

tomorrow's #ADayWithoutImmigrants strike in DC, we stand with you", and included an attached image with the Women's March branding and logo along with a message of further support.

Both of these frames indicate how, the work of recruitment and initiation leads to a limited scope of potential actions. However, the success of the launching frames can be viewed both in terms of how well they lead to specific actions, as well as the ways in which they can fortify sustaining frames and other movement dynamics (Benford 1993; Einwohner 2002; Rohlinger and Klein 2014). By adopting the humility of continual recruitment, the sustaining frames discussed above work to maintain avenues for new people and new types of action within a larger movement of political mobilization led through a gendered lens.

Future Directions

This study has many strengths in its methodological execution and conceptual contribution. However, it also includes some necessary limitations. First and foremost, emotional polarity is too simple to render the full force of affective management and coordination in tweets such as these. Future research should consider multi-factor estimations of emotional content. As well, close reading of the tweets exposes further aspects of internal and external contentions, which could be useful in understanding the conversational and micro dynamics that form larger collective action frames. Such an analysis could benefit also from direct comparison with other initiator movements, which enables a more general interpretation and explanation of these framing dynamics.

Conclusion

The activists who took to the streets for the 2017 Women's Marches as well as the activists, commentators, and critics wo took to Twitter to discuss these events helped to shape the way that resistance to Trump was talked about, and they also built a lasting

platform that has sustained different types of collective action over the course of multiple years. This study utilized the range of content posted on Twitter following the Marches, as well as those tweets before, during, and after the 2-year anniversary Marches in 2019, the height of a Women's Wave in U.S. politics. Although social justice movements face new, emergent, and changing threats from counter-movements and hegemonic institutions, they also respond to deep and lasting cleavages in society, as well as sustained political grievances by overlapping and competing groups. A framework for rendering these dynamics from the perspective of framing considers three types of work that collective action frames can do within initiator movements: amplify tension, sustain attachments to activism, and launch interested individuals into concrete actions and allied movements. To the degree that these processes highlight the strengths of initiator movements to bring folks into the fold, they also show the limitations of movements that appeal to individuals who are not already engaged in activism or knowledgeable about social movement strategies and history.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Study Contribution

Social movement scholars have sought to explain the myriad processes that collective actors undertake in order to change society, alter the rules of the game, and counter efforts that oppose a movements' goals. Contemporary scholars using a cultural approach to social movements have articulated conceptual models that build from previous articulations of collective behavior, political process, and resource mobilization: namely, framing, collective identities, and emotions (Einwohner et al. 2008; Gamson 1995; Ghaziani 2011; Ghaziani et al. 2016; Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Gould 2004; Hughey 2015; Luna 2010, 2017, 2019; McCammon 2012; Polletta and Amenta 2001; Snow et al. 2014; Tarrow 2013; Taylor 1995, 2013; Taylor and Leitz 2010; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Van Dyke and Taylor 2017). Identifying this perspective is useful for undertaking a theoretically informed analysis of 21st century movements, including the use of information communication technologies, like social media (Rohlinger and Klein 2014; Taylor 2013; Tremayne 2014). As well, by interrogating these constructs, this theory also illuminates the importance of multiplicity, through the extending concepts of conversations (as compared to frames), intersectionality of multiple identities (as compared to collective identity), and affective structures (as compared to feelings).

Abduction is a corresponding methodological framework that utilizes the notion of multiplicity (Tavory and Timmermans 2014; Timmermans and Tavory 2012) in such a way that is useful for analysis of contemporary social dynamics present in "Big Data" like that available through social media (Adams and Brückner 2015; Davidson et al. 2019; DiMaggio 2015; Halford and Savage 2017; Hanna 2013; Hannigan 2015; Karpf 2012; Mohr et al.

2015; Mützel 2015; Zappavigna 2012). Drawing from this work, I offered a development of this framework with an emphasis on the notion of computationally assisted theoretical sampling, in order to elucidate the analytic potential of sampling itself, especially when considering social media data. By naming and defining iterative stages in the data collection process: (1) familiarization, (2) categorization, (3) comparison, and (4) refinement, we can increase the degree of accountability and replicability for how data is collected and parsed. This approach was relevant in practice for the two case studies at hand: the collective identities deployed around Alt-Right leader Milo Yiannopoulos in a public space, as well as the frames used to continue the 2017 Women's Marches into a platform for resistance.

Both of these studies were developed in response to conceptual research questions and specific social dynamics present among the collected data. Deduction was necessary, in order to discern and determine the relevance of hashtags, as well as the emotional and discursive claims made therein. However, inductive moments were also key in expanding the dataset to include surprising and unusual findings, which ultimately led to more nuanced interpretations. From this point of view, methodological strategies can be evaluated in terms of their capacity to answer one or more inter-related research questions, rather than on their adherence to standards of esoteric sophistication. Even when working with computational approaches to "Big" data, there are still many advantages to straightforward, "low-tech" tactics (Breiger et al. 2018).

Developing Digital Sociology in a Pandemic

At the time of this writing, large portions of the global population are under government-sponsored shelter-in-place orders. Among the many effects of these has been a surge in the use of tele-commuting for work, politics, religion, and other aspects of social life. This has heightened the need to take seriously the use of digital strategies in social movement

organizing. Community-based organizations have developed innovative strategies to replace in-person gatherings with digital advocacy and meetings, while others have cancelled or postponed activities. Existing knowledge of online mobilization techniques is certainly an asset for movements at this time. While the shelter-in-place orders will not last forever, they have only heightened collective awareness of some of the realities facing movements – digital communication is here to stay, and it has created new arenas of social interaction. For movements to have an impact at scale, they must be able to engage with and deploy effective emotional claims and identity constructions in a digital format. These realities bear investigation in their own right, as well as in conversation with the dynamics of offline social phenomena.

Future Directions

This dissertation has built from a cultural approach to contentious politics to advance relevant, conceptual analysis of 21st century social movements. From this, there is much to learn, and from the limitations of this study come opportunities for further inquiry. Crystallizing a cultural approach to contentious politics is a useful means for understanding social movements at a broad level. However, the studies presented herein are of predominantly white movements, and reflect only a small segment of the arena of contentious politics online. Comparison with more examples from different movements, such as immigrant rights movements, Black Lives Matter, anti-prison movements, labor, and environmental rights, would make this a more robust explanation for movements broadly.

As well, the use of additional comparisons would be beneficial for testing and refining the proposed notion of computationally assisted theoretical sampling. From the standpoint of methodology and instruction, this framework has a general utility. Specific articulations in the domains of social media data, textual data, interview data, and survey data, would yield

important distinctions and further development of the approach presented herein. Lastly, the results of this study related to the Alt-Right and Women's Marches may have specific relevance when placed in conversation with activists and researchers working on the ground. As new tweets are posted each moment, the potential for collecting and analyzing such data can be harnessed by researchers, activists, students, and more.

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