Digitally networked grassroots
Social media and the development of the movement for black lives and immigrant rights movement in the United States
van Haperen, S.P.F.

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## List of Acronyms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A4C</td>
<td>Alliance for Citizenship</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACLU</td>
<td>American Civil Liberties Union</td>
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<td>AFB</td>
<td>American Farm Bureau</td>
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<td>American Immigration Council</td>
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<td>AILA</td>
<td>American Immigration Lawyers Association</td>
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<td>AV</td>
<td>America's Voice</td>
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<td>BAJI</td>
<td>Black Alliance for Just Immigration</td>
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<td>BAN</td>
<td>Border Action Network</td>
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<td>BN</td>
<td>Border Network</td>
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<td>BLM</td>
<td>The Black Lives Matter Global Network</td>
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<td>BOLD</td>
<td>Black Organizing for Leadership and Dignity</td>
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<td>BPP</td>
<td>Black Panther Party</td>
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<td>BYP100</td>
<td>Black Youth Project 100</td>
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<td>CAP</td>
<td>Center for American Progress</td>
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<td>Central American Resource Center</td>
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<td>CASA</td>
<td>CASA de Maryland</td>
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<td>CCC</td>
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<td>CCJ</td>
<td>Concerned Citizens for Justice</td>
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<td>CHIRLA</td>
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<td>CIRC</td>
<td>Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSS</td>
<td>Computational Social Science</td>
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<td>DACA</td>
<td>Deferred Action of Childhood Arrivals</td>
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<td>DREAM</td>
<td>cf. Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act</td>
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<td>Fair Immigration Reform Movement</td>
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<td>Florence Immigrant and Refugee Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>Immigrant Organizing Committee</td>
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<td>M4BL</td>
<td>Movement for Black Lives</td>
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<td>NAACP</td>
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<td>National Council of La Raza</td>
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<td>SCLC</td>
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<td>SEIU</td>
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<td>San Luis Valley Immigrant Resource</td>
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<td>UFW</td>
<td>United Farm Workers</td>
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**ACRONYMS**

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<td>UWD</td>
<td>United We Dream</td>
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<td>VdlF</td>
<td>Voces de La Frontera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonatierra</td>
<td>Tonatierra Community Development Institute</td>
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...
Summary

The advent of social media heralded great promises for social movements. First, social movements would be emancipated from the confines of geography. Since disparate activists can now communicate directly, protest can spread and scale quickly. Second, since social media allow activists to build horizontal networks, they would no longer rely on organizations and their leaders to organize mobilizations, opening up the possibility for more egalitarian social movements.

This book develops a unique approach to provide nuanced answers to both these assertions. Using new data sources and computational techniques, it addresses long-standing questions about how movements grow and develop leadership. Central to the approach are movements’ “relational dynamics”: the way relations are structured between activists over time and across space. Using a combination of computational, qualitative, and geographical analyses, the book shows that online activism is still firmly rooted in place and relies on leadership. But it also shows that the role of space and leadership has transformed in important ways, allowing more room for activists who were previously on the margin.

Thus, social media (re)produce inequalities in social movements, while simultaneously providing new means of analyzing relational dynamics. Contrary to popular understanding, these do not inherently produce egalitarian outcomes, and are just as likely to increase rather than decrease tendencies towards inequalities and conflict.
Nederlandse Samenvatting

Wat is de rol van sociale media in de ontwikkeling van sociale bewegingen? Sociale media en protest lijken tegenwoordig onlosmakelijk met elkaar verbonden. De verwachting was dat sociale bewegingen minder beperkt zouden zijn door lokale omstandigheden, omdat activisten verspreid over diverse locaties eenvoudig kunnen mobiliseren via sociale media. Daarnaast bestond de hoop dat sociale bewegingen minder afhankelijk zouden zijn van hierarchische organisatiestructuren en leiderschap, doordat activisten, in theorie, onderling egalitaire horizontale netwerken kunnen vormen via sociale media.

Dit proefschrift ontwikkelt een unieke relationele benadering om die verwachtingen te onderzoeken. Een innovatieve combinatie van kwalitatieve bronnen, geografische analyses, en digitale methoden, maakt het mogelijk om de structuur van netwerken over lange periodes en in diverse locaties in kaart te brengen. Dit geeft aanleiding om bestaande inzichten over de verspreiding van protest en leiderschap te heroverwegen.

Uit dit onderzoek blijkt enerzijds hoe het belang van plaats en leiderschap is veranderd door sociale media. Zo zijn er bijvoorbeeld nieuwe mogelijkheden voor het overdragen van emoties, en zijn activisten die voorheen gemarginaliseerd bleven zichtbaarder geworden. Anderzijds blijkt uit dit onderzoek hoe digitale protestnetwerken geworteld zijn in zogenaamde 'grassroots'. Leiderschap en de verspreiding van protest blijven daarmee afhankelijk van lokale gemeenschappen.

Deze bevindingen benadrukken dat door sociale media zowel overeenkomsten als tegenstellingen in gemeenschappen zichtbaarder worden. Bovendien bieden sociale media veelbelovende mogelijkheden om onderzoek te doen naar sociale bewegingen, maar worden daarmee ook onvermoede nieuwe vormen van analytische onzekerheid geïntroduceerd die nadere aandacht eisen. In tegenstelling tot gangbare verwachtingen moeten we daarom rekening houden met de manieren waarop sociale media bijdraagt aan ongelijkheid en conflict in sociale bewegingen.
The advent of social media heralded great promises for social movements. First, social movements would be emancipated from the confines of geography. Since disparate activists can now communicate directly, protest can spread and scale quickly. Second, since social media allow activists to build horizontal networks, they would no longer rely on organizations and their leaders to organize mobilizations, opening up the possibility for more egalitarian social movements.

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