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THE POWER OF ASSOCIATIONS
SOCIAL MEDIA AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:
FACEBOOK IN THE INTERACTIONS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract

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There are many indications that social mobilization and political participation have been transformed by Information Communication Technologies (ICT), and, more recently, by Social Media. In spite of many studies which have attempted to grapple with their interrelationship, we still know little about the degree and complexity of those interactions.

In this study I lay three interactional frameworks against one another to help unlock ICT, social mobilization and political participation in a new way:

New Social Movements Approach;
Actor-Network Theory (ANT); and
Multi-sited ethnography

This research is an exploration of social movements as they interact with Facebook, and an examination of the mediations¹ of Facebook in the information and communication practices, identities, and performativity² with three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) in Washington State: OneAmerica, Latino Civic Alliance and Entre Hermanos. The SMOs are linked with the immigration reform movement across the United States.

The data was collected through (a) participatory observations of face-to-face interactions; (b) in-depth interviews with SMOs staff; (c) online surveys focused on SMOs beneficiaries; and (d) observations of technologically mediated interactions. Content analysis and descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected, as well as to present the results.

The main findings of this study show that Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs' practices and collective actions. However Facebook has helped to enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which in turn shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

¹ In ANT mediators, are actors (human and non-human) that transform and multiply differences during the interactions among these actors, in a sort of 'cooperative' work.

² Based on (Melucci, 1994; Law, 2009) performativity here implicates an understanding of the different actors that encompass the SMOs and their multiple, fluid, and temporary interactions.

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Executive Summary

Many studies analyzing the relationships between Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)³ (including Social Media), and Social Movements, have shown that social mobilization and political participation have been transformed by ICT developments. Fewer studies have also pointed out that the impacts of ICT on the way collective actions are created and developed by Social Movements are challenging the ways to understand both the social movements themselves as well as their collective actions.

However, most research in the field of Social Movements and ICT have tended to omit or not clearly present the theoretical frameworks they are using to understand technologies, social movements, and the relationships between them. Such omissions and lack of clarity have an impact on the methodological decisions that drive these studies, with significant effects on the findings they are presenting: they tend to produce more deterministic and simplistic perspectives on the roles and influence of ICT on social movements, and to obscure their the degree of the ICT impacts on collective actions, and their influence in the broader political process. Moreover, these omissions and lack of clarity have polarized debates between scholars who either highlight the power of technologies to transform social movements and collective actions, or on the other extreme, who highlight the power the power of individuals, collectives and structures, regardless of ICT, in the formation and development of social movements and collective actions.

³ The term ICT here refers here to the integration of information and telecommunication technology sectors including their convergence with the media technology sector based on common digital technology, including all types of telecommunication and broadcasting systems and services (Sallai, 2012).

Though there are many indications that social mobilization and political participation have been transformed by ICT developments, challenging the ways we understand collective action and social movements, we still know little about the degree and complexity of those transformations and how human interactions with Social Media are altering both individual participation in collective action, and the course and outcomes of these efforts. To help illuminate the middle ground in the polarized debate described above, in this research I took three different interactional frameworks and made them work with each other: the New Social Movements Approach, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Multi-sited Ethnography.

Using Melucci's New Social Movements Approach and Latour, Law and Callon's ANT, the objective of this research is to better understand how Facebook *mediates*⁴ the practices of SMOs and how these mediations change not only information and communication processes but also contemporary forms of collective identities and socio-political participation. Inspired by Marcu's Multi-sited Ethnography, this project is focused on three organizations that work with immigration issues in Washington State; it does not build on a series of case studies but uses four complementary data collection procedures that help highlight the interactions between them: (a) participatory observations of face-to-face interactions (34 events); (b) in-depth interviews with SMOs staff (n=22); (c) online surveys focused on SMOs beneficiaries (n=144); and online observations of technologically mediated interactions (100 Facebook posts). Content analysis and descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected as well as to present the results.

⁴ Mediation is an important concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, different than intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply difference during the interactions among humans and non-humans (Bruno Latour, 2007, 2009).

However some key examples of the statistical significance (confidence intervals) of the surveys are provided.

The core of this research is an exploration of the interactions between social media (Facebook in particular) and social movements to explore the information and communication practices, identities, and performativity⁵ with three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) working on immigration issues in Washington State: OneAmerica (OA), Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) and Entre Hermanos (EH). I use ANT to examine the mediations⁶ of Facebook in the practices of the SMO's participants, including staff and beneficiaries, as they interact with one another, both daily and over time.

The main findings of this study show that Facebook, by itself, may have not transformed the SMOs' practices and collective actions. However Facebook appears to have helped enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which in turn shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

⁵ Based on (Melucci, 1994; Law, 2009) performativity here implicates an understanding of the different agents that encompass the SMOs and their multiple, fluid, and temporary interactions.

⁶ Mediation is a central concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, which are to be understood as different from intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply differences during the interactions among these agents. Their outputs cannot be predicted by their inputs. The notion of mediation is a sort of 'cooperative' work between different agents.

I suggest that while Facebook has not transformed the SMOs' practices or the forms of their collective actions, Facebook appears to have enabled three types of mediations in the interactions between SMOs' participants that enhance their relations and their actions:

A legitimization cycle of information: Through Facebook, the SMOs' participants developed an alternative space where information was not only produced and circulated collectively, but where information was discussed and validated collectively. **Storytelling** was the main form in which information was shared among SMOs' participants. This information generated awareness and identity, as well as motivating action among SMO's participants and their networks. Information "legitimized" through Facebook interactions became a currency or capital⁷ that SMOs' participants could transform and exchange in other sociopolitical arenas. The information cycles legitimized through Facebook opened new individual and collective opportunities for the SMOs to interact with key stakeholders, such as immigrant communities, elected officials and mass media, while empowering the SMOs; participants during these interactions.

A liminal scenario for voice-building and shaping of identities: Through Facebook the SMOs' participants have created a liminal scenario, a threshold that provides them with a space or place of transition for building a voice of their own and shaping their identities.

Three components became crucial for expressing and forging SMO's participants voices and identities in the liminal scenario afforded by Facebook: (1) **branding** who they were and what they did; (2) **preserving** their memories through storytelling, and (3) making their networks and **connectedness** visible. The liminal scenario allowed the SMOs' participants to position their voices and to develop an autonomous narrative on

⁷ In Bourdieu and Johnson's perspective, capital is an actor's accumulation and uses of different forms of material and symbolic powers (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993).

immigrants and immigration, which were mainly created and controlled by immigrants themselves.

A social space for youth expression and socio-political participation: Youth participating in the SMOs used Facebook as an alternative space and as a language (a code) to create and share stories about themselves and their social and political activities in a familiar, friendly, and non-threatening platform. This helped SMO's youth position their voices and participation in the SMOs and larger social movements for immigration reform, among others. Facebook in the hands of multicultural youth enabled them to develop new languages and codes, and to become better "cultural translators"⁸ between key stakeholders in different social spaces. The new voices, stories and forms of participation from youth using Facebook reenergized and transformed the SMOs' practices and strategies and contributed to revitalizing the immigration reform movement.

With the evidence collected and presented in this study I suggest that the associations of human and non-human agents --using ANT terminology-- of the SMOs (participants in the SMOs, especially younger participants, and Facebook), are changing the information and communication practices in the SMOs, as well as their interactions with other social and technological agents (e.g. elected officials or communities, and email, texting or Twitter). However, these associations also have the potential to transform the collective identities and performativity of the SMOs, and their interactions with other agents such as authorities, mass media and social movement networks. In this sense, the associations of human and non-human

⁸ In ANT, "translation" is an important concept that refers to a relation that induces two mediators into coexisting. (For Latour the aim of the sociology of associations (ANT) is to show that "*there exist translations between mediators that may generate traceable associations*" (Latour, 2007, p. 108). "Cultural translators" refers here to the capability of people and communities, especially younger generations, to enable communication with other people and institutions that were outside of the SMO's networks.

agents have the potential to transform social movements, and to transform our understanding of those social movements in their becoming.

Skocpol (1979) coined the phrase “*revolutions are not made; they come.*” She offers a framework for analyzing social-revolutionary transformations in modern world history, and uses this phrase to explain regardless of the performance of the rebels, the social and political contexts are the ones that ultimately decide the outcome of the revolutionary movements. In this way, paraphrasing Skocpol (1979), the results of this interactional study on the interactions between three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) in Washington State linked with the immigration reform movement across the United States, on the one hand, and Facebook, on the other, point out that **social movements are enacted into being and Facebook has the potential to enable both peaceful expressions and socio-political mobilizations**, because Facebook in the hands of multicultural people and communities helps to create a familiar, friendly, and non-threatening platform. It is from these conclusion that my next intellectual projects will stem from.

The **intellectual merits** of this research are: (1) expanded understanding of the interactions between social media and social movements, in particular our understanding of the centrality of information in collective action and the ways in which it is produced and processed, the strategic roles of storytelling and the ways it is articulated with collective identities, and the relationships among youth, social media and social movements; (2) contribute to Science and Technology Studies (STS), offering a trajectory that shows the historical and conceptual connections among

ANT and the social construction of technology approach as well as sociomateriality perspectives; (3) operationalize and build up a theoretical/methodological framework that associated ANT, New Social Movements Approach and Multi-sited Ethnography as well as four different data collections procedures to inform *interactional* studies and lay the groundwork for additional generalizable conclusions in the research area of Social Movements and Information Communication Technologies (ICT); (4) development a categorization of studies on ICT and social movements as well as a dialogue among three research fields: Social Movements Studies, Multidisciplinary Studies of ICT and Collective Action, and Studies of Immigration and Information; and (5) integration and documentation of SMOs' interactions with of technologies and SMO innovations in information and communications practices, as well as in organizational and political participation.

The **broader impacts** of the research include that it will: (1) contribute to improving the quality of life within minority communities in Washington State, the US and other parts of the world through enhanced understanding of the interactions and benefits of Social Media; (2) suggest grounded insights and constructive guidelines to service agencies working with immigrants and marginalized communities to strengthen their mission and improve program delivery; and (3) inform the design of programs and services that use Social Media to serve groups and organizations with relevant products and services.

Dedication

For Machi, Juanpa and July.

They inspire my work and they light up my life every day.

They know that I love stories, Football, travel and wine.

They have been companions and accomplices on many journeys, including this one, which we embarked upon together.

They are the first ones I will invite for the journeys to come.

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Introduction:

The mediations of Facebook in Social Movement Organizations

Use of Social Media is transforming communication practices within and among organizations, with important consequences for social movement organizations seeking to benefit underserved communities such as immigrants in the US. This work seeks to illuminate how Facebook has been entangled in the practices of Social Movement Organizations (SMO) that work on immigration issues in Washington State. I focus on three complementary areas of inquiry: (a) the SMO information and communication practices; (b) their processes for expressing and forging collective identities, and (c) their *performativity*, defined as an understanding of the SMO's multiple and fluid interactions with individuals and collectives. Results of this research will expand understanding of the intersection of technology and society, and of social media and social movements in particular, and help social and grassroots organizations improve their actions and services on behalf of immigrants in the US and other parts of the world.

Research Problem

During the last two decades, several studies have shown that Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have changed not only the ways in which activists communicate, collaborate and demonstrate but have also impacted political processes and civic engagement (Bimber, Stohl, & Flanagin, 2009; Castells, 2007; Castells, 2009; Chadwick & Howard, 2009; Earl & Kimport, 2011; Juris, 2008b). Castells (2007), for example, has pointed out that the diffusion of Internet, mobile communication, digital media, and various tools of social software have prompted the development of horizontal networks of interactive communication. These networks

have induced the rise of a new form of communication that allows insurgent politics and social movements to intervene more decisively in that new communication space.

After social mobilizations such as “Soy 132” (Spanish for "I Am 132") in Mexico, “Occupy Wall Street” in the US, or the “Arab Spring” in Tunisia and Egypt, one could easily conclude that Internet-based technologies, especially Social Media (such as Facebook, Twitter or Blogs), have altered both the form and the results of contemporary protests, social movements, and other forms of collective action. The sheer number of Social Media users (as of June 2013, Facebook reported 819 million monthly active users and 699 million daily active users on average), indicates the potential social effect these technologies in myriad aspects of everyday life around the globe.

Furthermore, Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl (2005; 2003) have demonstrated how rapid technological innovation is dramatically broadening and accelerating changes to the terms and structures of collective action, which are increasingly more sensitive to the flow of events and information and less reflective of the traditional organization of interest. Moreover, Bennett, Breunig, and Givens (2008) posit that ICTs may now enable sustainable interpersonal network organization on a large scale that is (to varying degrees) independent of, and in some cases may act upon, conventional institutional organizations. Donk (2004) also asserted that there is still a theoretical disconnection between the studies on social movements, as such, and the ones that analyze the uses of ICTs by social movements and the complex networks that comprise them.

Earl & Kimport (2011) also point out that the impact of ICT on the way collective actions are created and developed is challenging social movements' scholars to create or modify the existing theoretical lens for understanding what collective action means when efforts can be collectivized outside of conventional boundaries. They mentioned three types of changes a) the co-presence in time and space of collective participation; b) the ephemeral, sporadic, episodic or enduring characteristics of contention; and c) the evidence of the existence of challenges and challengers without movements. These arguments show that it is important to explore the ways in which ICT have been integrated in extra-institutional spheres of politics, and if these ways also challenge the same forms in which social movements have been conceptualized. In a complementary vein, Bennett & Segerberg (2012) also maintain that the emergence of a logic of connective action based on personalized content sharing across media networks, that contribute an organizational principle, is different from notions of collective action based on assumptions about the role of resources, networks, and collective identity.

Though there are many indications that social mobilization and political participation have been transformed by ICT developments, challenging the ways we understand collective action and social movements, we still know little about the degree and complexity of those transformations and how human interactions with Social Media are altering both individual participation in collective action, and the course and outcomes of these efforts. To help illuminate these relationships, in this research I lay three interactional frameworks against one another to unlock ICT, social mobilization and political participation in a new way.: the New Social Movements Approach, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Multi-sited Ethnography. Using Melucci's New

Social Movements Approach and Latour, Law and Callon's ANT, the objective of this research is to better understand how Facebook *mediates*⁹ the practices of SMOs and how these mediations change not only information and communication processes but also contemporary forms of collective identities and socio-political participation.

Inspired by Marcu's Multi-sited Ethnography, this project is focused on three organizations that work with immigration issues in Washington State; it does not build on a series of case studies but uses four complementary data collection procedures that help highlight the interactions between them: (a) participatory observations of face-to-face interactions (34 events); (b) in-depth interviews with SMOs staff (n=22); (c) online surveys with SMOs beneficiaries (n=144); and online observations of technologically mediated interactions (100 Facebook posts). Content analysis and descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected as well as to present the results.

Using Kaplan & Haenlein conceptualization, **Social Media** are understood here as the group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0¹⁰, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content. We categorize Social Media in six groups: collaborative projects (e.g. wikis); blogs and micro blogs (e.g. Twitter); content communities (e.g. YouTube); social networking sites (e.g. Facebook); virtual game

⁹ Mediation is an important concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, different than intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply difference during the interactions among humans and non-humans (Bruno Latour, 2007, 2009).

¹⁰ Web 2.0 sites may allow users to interact and collaborate with each other in a [social media](#) dialogue as creators of [user-generated content](#) in contrast to websites where people are mainly limited to the passive viewing of [content](#).

worlds (e.g. World of Warcraft); and virtual social worlds (e.g. Second Life) (A. M. Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

Facebook is the world's biggest social networking website, founded in 2004. Corporation information says “Facebook’s mission is to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected.” According to Facebook,¹¹ this site provides software and technology features for people and groups which create personal and organizational profiles, add other users as friends, exchange messages, and receive automatic notifications when they update their profiles.

Furthermore, I understand **social movements** as complex networks of individual and collective agents (both humans and non-human), which constitute waves of confrontational social engagement at many levels and encompass different forms of performances and associations marked by their oppositional but proactive character (Appadurai, 2006; Escobar, 2008; Melucci, 1994). Accordingly, **SMOs** are defined as all organized components who identify themselves, and are identified by others, as part of a wider social movement network and exchange on that basis (Diani, 2003). (Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2012, p. 290), also point out that social movement organizations are part of Movement organizations (MO), that even though their degree of organizational formality are variable, they share that they are groups of individuals who are acting through and on behalf of the organization. As such, movement organizations are, at least in part, independent of individual movement actors (Kutz-Flamenbaum, 2012, p. 290).

¹¹ See more at: <https://www.facebook.com>

Research Questions

Historically, social movements have represented a very important dynamic of social change, of political innovation, of cultural expression, and of communication and information practices. According to Melucci (1994), social movements are media that speak through action: their primary message is that they exist and act. However, the actions of movements can be seen as symbols and as communication. “This does away with the old distinction between the instrumental and expressive meaning of action, for in contemporary movements the results of action and the individual experience of new codes tend to coincide” (Melucci, 1994, p. 126).

The study of social movements offers a way to better understand the multiple, fluid, and temporary–relationships between social dynamics and technologies. Social movements offer a possibility to explore the intricate interactions between Social Media and individual and collective actions, behaviors, and values. They also have the potential to highlight and transform not only their practices and meanings, but also cultural patterns and sociopolitical institutions. According to Escobar & Osterweil (2010) social movements exist as a potentiality of how politics could be and as a sphere of action in which people can both dream of a better world and contribute to enacting it. Thus the departure point of this research is neither from technologies nor human actors, nor demarcated social fields. The point of departure of this research embraces the interactive character of technological and human agents, as suggested in ANT. Building on this, the following research questions guide this study:

General Research Question: How is Facebook entangled in the practices of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)?

RQ1: How is Facebook *mediating*¹² the interactions and practices

- a) within SMOs?
 - b) between SMOs and other social movement networks
- RQ2: How are those mediations transforming SMOs'

- a) information and communication practices?
- b) expressions of collective identities?
- c) interactions and performativity¹³?

The core of this research is an exploration of the interactions between social media (Facebook in particular) and social movements to explore the information and communication practices, identities, and performativity with three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) working on immigration issues in Washington State: OneAmerica (OA), Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) and Entre Hermanos (EH). I use ANT to examine the mediations¹⁴ of Facebook in the practices of the SMO's participants, including staff and beneficiaries, as they interact with one another, both daily and over time.

¹² In Actor Network Theory (ANT), mediation is a central concept to analyze the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, different than intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply difference during the interactions among these agents. It also implies that different artifacts and technologies can develop diverse forms of mediation which can transform, translate, distort or modify meanings or elements (Bruno Latour, 2007, 2009).

¹³ Performativity here comprises an understanding of the different agents that encompass the social organizations and their multiple, fluid, and temporary interactions (Melucci, 1994; Law, 2009).

¹⁴ Mediation is a central concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, which are to be understood as different from intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply differences during the interactions among these agents. Their outputs cannot be predicted by their inputs. The notion of mediation is a sort of 'cooperative' work between different agents.

The main findings of this study point out that Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs' practices and collective actions. That means Facebook has not produced a revolution among SMOs. However Facebook has enabled three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions that enhance their relations and their actions, which in turn shows (1) a potential to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) a potential to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) a potential to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

Overview of the Theoretical Stances

The intersections between technology and society have been analyzed by various disciplines, including philosophy, history, sociology, organizational management, and anthropology. According to Kaplan (2009), the philosophy of technology suggests four classic theories that take a broad perspective on the nature of technology in relation to society, as follows: (1) The theory of technological neutrality, defines technology in terms of its technical properties: technology itself is simply a tool, and it can be used for a variety of human ends, and good or bad purposes. (2) The theory of technological determinism states that technology drives the course of history, and devices and machines are the primary engines of; technology imposes specific social-political consequences on a society. (3) The theory of autonomous technology states that

humans no longer control technology, instead, it controls humans; technology constitutes an independent cultural system that restructures the social world and overrides all traditional or competing values. (4) The social construction of technology argues that society simultaneously shapes technology as technology shapes society; technologies) are part human, part material and always social.

Particularly, in the field of organizational studies, Orlikowski (2010) has identified four dominant ways management scholars have addressed technology over the past five decades that portrays the recent changes of the scholarship analyzing the interactions between humans and different kinds of artifacts. Her work characterizes the first perspective as absent presence, in which technology is essentially unacknowledged by organizational researchers and thus unaccounted for in their studies. In the second perspective, technology is posited to be an exogenous force—a powerful driver of history having determinate impacts on organizational life. In the third perspective, technology is understood as an emergent process, positioned as a product of ongoing human interpretations and interactions, and thus as contextually and historically contingent. The fourth perspective understands technology as entangled in practice, which entails a commitment to a relational ontology between technology and society that undercuts the dualism that has characterized, but also limited, much of the prior studies in this field.

In order to better observe and analyze the interactions between Facebook and social movements the present study uses the Actor-Network Theory developed by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law. Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a misnomer. It is, rather, a sociological approach,

which focuses on the description and analysis of associations between natural, human and technological entities (Law, 2009). This approach proposes that neither social nor technical positions are privileged; it denies that purely technical or purely social relations are possible (Tatnall, 2012). ANT informs this research with a method to develop the task of tracing associations between human and non-human agents in order to better understand how social dynamics are reassembled in contemporary settings, which are characterized as being more fluid, intricate and accelerated.

ANT is appropriate to analyze the interactions between social media and social movement because it provides a framework which 1) focuses on formation of collectives (groups) as a result of complex, moving and continuously generated associations (webs) that integrate humans and technologies; 2) combines the analysis of symbolic, practical and technological dimensions of human and technological associations, and 3) emphasizes the analyses of *social practices*. The social in ANT also incorporates the natural and the material. Moreover, ANT suggests an approach that explores the active role (the agency) not only of the human components of networks, but also of its technological entities. In this sense, technologies can mediate human and technological interactions.

Overview of the Literature Review

The review includes a trajectory of the studies that analyze the relationships between social movements and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The review initially looks broadly at ICT in general, and progressively focuses on the role of Social Media in social

movements in particular. Results of the literature review point out three major research challenges: 1) the ways in which ICT (in relationship with other forms of information and communication) have been integrated into extra-institutional spheres of politics such as social movements represent, 2) the forms in which ICT are understood as well as integrated in quotidian practices of individuals and collectives that are linked with social movements, and 3) the different ways in which particular ICT (including social media) are transforming social movements, in particular their performance their information and communication practices, and their collective identities. These challenges are also connected to the need to analyze whether these ICT-related practices and transformations implicate changes in the ways that social movements are conceptualized.

Three main types of studies of Social Movements

The literature that informs this project's research questions is organized on different but complementary aspects in three main tracks: 1) Social Movement Studies (SMS) that incorporate analysis of the presence and use of ICT in collective action; 2) multidisciplinary studies of ICT that focus on the ways that social movements and collective action use and integrate these technologies; and 3) Information and Immigration studies that analyze the relationships between ICT and social movements and collective action. Results of the literature review point out three major areas of research: 1) the ways in which ICT (in relationship with other forms of information and communication) have been integrated into extra-institutional spheres of politics such as social movements represent, 2) the forms in which ICT are understood as well as integrated in quotidian practices of individuals and collectives that are linked with social

movements, and 3) the different ways in which particular ICT (including social media) are transforming social movements, in particular their performance their information and communication practices, and their collective identities. These challenges are also connected to the need to analyze whether these ICT-related practices and transformations implicate changes in the-ways that social movements are conceptualized.

The literature review was organized chronologically to trace the trajectories of the studies on social movements and ICT, including social media. These trajectories portray how scholars within this field have gained a more complex understanding of the presence of ICT in social mobilization, making evident the challenges of social scientists dealing with the rapid development of technologies, and the resultant increment of interdisciplinary research initiatives. Moreover, the trajectories of the studies reveal a tendency to be more focused on particular practices and technologies as well as increasing levels of sophistication and specialization in the objects of study and theoretical approaches. Thus, current studies include but are not limited to social media use in online and offline mobilization strategies; uses of mobile technologies; public access computing in post-crisis contexts; surveillance and privacy issues related to social media and political protest; information behavior of immigrants and civic engagement; public policies on technology and their impact on democratic practice; document preservation in post-conflict situations; information and communication rights and cultural preservation; and digital youth and political participation.

Social Movement Studies that emphasize the role of ICT

The study of social movements has a long trajectory, especially in sociology. Social movements cannot be understood in isolation; they are integral to social dynamics and structures. For this reason, theories related to social movements are intimately entwined with theories concerning societal development, conflict and social change (Ruggiero & Montagna, 2008). However, there are relatively few examples that incorporate analyses of the presence and interactions of social movements and Internet-based technologies. However, some recent studies on transnational and/or global mobilizations have paid more attention to the uses of ICT and their relations with networks, the diffusion of mobilization strategies, and with new forms of political participation. Moreover, these dimensions have not been the main focus of the majority of them.

In the nineties, more Social Movement Studies (SMS) started analyzing communication and information phenomena as part of collective action and the actions and processes of social movements. This was due to the changes in the social environment - such as globalization processes and the transnationalization of politics and technological innovations - which widened the space of action of social movements and allowed the possibility for them to adopt a more global perspective. These changes encouraged new studies addressing various aspects of the transnationalization of collective protests and social movements, some incorporating different aspects of the importance of Internet and new information and communication technologies, especially, as part of the new sociopolitical contexts (Castells, 2004, 2007; Cohen & Rai, 2000; Ruggiero & Montagna, 2008; Smith, Chatfield, & Pagnucco, 1997).

Three overlapped tracks appear noteworthy within these transnational studies analyzing the uses and impacts of ICT in social movements: the first one pays attention to the relationships between new communication and information dynamics and the construction of alternative spaces of power as part of globalization processes related to human rights, poverty, gender, equality and the environment (Appadurai, 2000; Castells, 2007; Juris, 2008a, 2008b). The second one emphasizes a new process of diffusion of mobilization repertoires, and the deployment of innovative tactics through the use of Internet, online communications and new ICT (Ayres, 1999; Carty & Onyett, 2006; Della Porta & Tarrow, 2012; Smith, 2008). The third one addresses the transformation and creation of different forms of social interactions and networks as a consequence of unprecedented developments in information and communication technologies (Bennett, 2005; Castells, 2004; Della Porta, 2006; Diani, 2000; Diani & McAdam, 2003; Khagram, Riker, & Sikkink, 2002; Mische, 2003; Montagna, 2008).

The comparison of the three groups– ICT and spaces of power (SP); ICT and resources of diffusion (R&D) and ICT and interactions and networks (I&N) points out the following convergences and differences among them:

1. **Other resources for interacting:** All the three trends agree that ICT have provided individuals and collectives with new tools and structures (systems) to inform, communicate, and interact. The scale, venues, and timing of those interactions also occur at a higher scale, with many more people involved and many more places connected, and information and communications are much faster. R&D in particular highlights the new possibilities ICT have provided to diffuse and exchange mobilization resources and knowledge.

Other forms of organization: All trends also concur that the conditions mentioned above in (a) have positively affected the ability to organize and act collectively. I&N also highlights that ICT have helped to change the forms and structures of those organizations and movements, and the existence and multiplication of new sociotechnical networks are emphasized.

Other identities and organizational involvement: SP and I&N sustain that the presence and access to ICT have helped transform the ways in which individuals, organizations and movements express and forge their individual and collective identities. Additionally I&N sustains that the access to ICT have impacted involvement and participation practices within social movements.

Other actors with other powers: SP underlines the new power, or the potential power, of individuals, organizations and networks and their possibilities to change social structures and systems as well the political process (in local, regional or global levels). Meanwhile R&D and I&N highlight that the organizational changes (mentioned above), have impacted the actions, and in less proportion the outcomes, of those organizations, movements and networks.

Other fields and objects of dispute: Both SP and I&N highlight that ICT (their tools and their sociotechnological networks) have become objects of dispute. ICT have also become targets of the same conflicts in which individuals, organizations and movements are involved with.

Multidisciplinary studies on ICT and social movements

Scholars from a wide range of disciplines, particularly from sociology, political science, and communication studies, have investigated the relationships among ICT collective action and social movements. By the mid-1990s, the topic matured into a stable research area (Garrett, 2006). These studies have also been influenced by different events related to transnational

phenomena, globalization, and changes in the information environment, particularly, the growth of new media (from satellite broadcasting to digitalization of television), and the rapid development and expansion of Internet-based technologies.

These studies find different and innovative uses and roles of ICT such as gathering and diffusing information; blending social networks with protest activities; coordinating campaigns and mobilizations; facilitating communications; and forging international alliances and coalitions that stimulate collective identities and international solidarity (M. I. Garrido, 2006; Gillan, Pickerill, & Webster, 2008; M. Lim, 2012). These studies also show that recent uses of technologies of information and communication challenge some of the main tenets of collective action and social movements theories (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Bimber et al., 2005; Earl & Kimport, 2011).

There are many multidisciplinary studies on relationships between ICT and different forms of collective action (protests, civic engagement, social mobilizations, and social and network movements). Several of these studies emphasize four theoretical frameworks coming from Social Movements Studies - resource mobilization, mobilizing structures, opportunity structures, and framing processes. They apply very diverse research methods without a significant use of mixed methods, and few studies use ethnographic approaches. Sociological and historical case studies on particular movements or events are prevalent, and many of them give priority to 'critical events' and massive protests and uprisings that have been highlighted in the national and international media.

In the late-1990s **transnational phenomena**—such as the Zapatista movement, the widespread unrest that produced President Suharto’s resignation in Indonesia and the first international anti-globalization protests, especially the so-called ‘Battle of Seattle’¹⁵—stimulated new studies examining the connections between Internet-based technologies and new transnational social mobilization (Cleaver, 1998; Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Garrido, 2006; Lim, 2003; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2002).

In late 2002 and early 2003, the “War on Terror” and the subsequent emergence of **global anti-war protests and movements** produced a new wave of studies on the use of the Internet to circulate anti-war information, organize demonstrations, and promote a wide diversity of anti-war activities (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001; Gillan et al., 2008; Kahn & Kellner, 2004). For example, Gillan, Pickerill, & Webster (2008) analyzed the anti-war movement and they argue that while new media enables anti-war information to move across distances with ease, cooperation requires much more substantive connections, from interpersonal ties to ideological agreement. This is because cooperation and coalitions “typically involve the sharing of resources other than information, whether material, such as money or human resources, or less tangible, such as trust or political backing.” (Gillan et al., 2008, p. 101)

In the mid-2000s, **the Color revolutions**¹⁶ also inspired several studies on the possibilities and risks of the Internet-based ICT within contentious political processes as well as on the roles of ICT in facilitating electoral (color) revolutions that produced peaceful transition of power in

¹⁵ Refers to the protests at the Third Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization in November 1999.

¹⁶ This is a term that was widely used by the US media to describe various related movements that developed in several societies in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans.

(semi) authoritarian regimes (Bunce & Wolchik, 2011; Lysenko, 2011; Åslund & McFaul, 2006). Lysenko (2011), for instance, investigated whether the Internet in the not-free societies can fulfill the function of ensuring the flow of information necessary for successful political dissent activity, and how the dissenters can effectively use modern ICTs in this respect.

More recently the **Arab Spring**¹⁷ also triggered an impressive scholarly debate and production in this multidisciplinary area, with special attention on the uses and roles of Social Media during this sociopolitical process, especially Facebook and Twitter. In particular, the this group of studies underline the relationships between Social Media and a) the political engagement of individuals, social groups and networks and their contributions in transforming political processes (e.g. Etling, Kelly, Faris, & Palfrey, 2010; Howard, 2010; Khamis & Vaughn, 2011); b) the instrumental and operational contributions of these media to amplify and accelerate sociopolitical and organizational processes (e.g. Faris, 2010; Joseph, 2012); c) the creation and strengthening of networks and organizations (e.g. Lim, 2012); and d) their relationships with other social dynamics and contexts as part of broader information and communication ecosystems (e.g. Baron, 2012; Papacharissi & De Fatima Oliveira, 2012; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012).

A review of some of the salient literature of multidisciplinary studies on **ICT and collective action and social movements in Latin America and the Caribbean** (LAC) shows the following tendencies: 1) The Internet is considered a new field of expression and struggle within

¹⁷ The Arab Spring, also known as the Arab Revolution, is a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests occurring in the Arab world that began on December 2010.

very complex and restricted contexts (politically, culturally and technologically); 2) Access and use of ICT in different forms of collective action are related to long term trajectories of access, use and social appropriation of *alternative media* such as popular press, community radio, alternative video, local television; and 3) The use, access and social appropriation of ICT in collective actions are part of larger struggles for equalitarian and participatory forms of communication and information, as well as part of larger human rights struggles, including the right to communicate. Information and communication are considered as open and interactive processes that contribute to social dialogue and to build social consensus on local, regional and international levels (Baron, Rodriguez, Wiesner, & Martinez, 2003; Lago, Marotias, Marotias, & Movia, 2007; Leon, Burch, & Tamayo, 2005; Unas, 2010).

The group of studies presented above offer key dimensions to keep in mind when studying and analyzing ICT and social movements. They also provide important insights on the roles of ICT within social movement's related process. Thus the following aspects and dimensions are highlighted in this group:

1. **The Sociopolitical, cultural, and technological contexts** impact the process of access to, use of, and appropriation of ICT. Thus, some studies show that (1) protest, social movements and their uses of ICT are different depending the type of political regime under which they operate (authoritarian, semi-authoritarian or more democratic); (2) other studies point out that both ICT infrastructure as well as access to ICT provides more possibilities for organization, protest and political participation, especially in semi-authoritarian regimes; (3)-other studies underline that ICT helped the formation of new social spaces where people can express, dialogue, organize, protest and engage with political actions

Various social actors are involved within social movements and they make different use of ICT. The actors encompass different types of activists, networks, organizations, allies and supporters, as well as their opponents or target groups (including government institutions, mass media, market institutions and other social movements and organizations). Some studies point out the emergence of new forms of activism that they often characterize as *cyber-activism* or *online-activism*. Other studies highlight the importance of the relationships between youth and ICT, and others underline the use of ICT by actors categorized by gender [or] cultural characteristics (such as religion, or ethnicity).

Several studies posit that **access, use and appropriation of ICT** by many of these actors have impacted: (1) their forms of organization and networking (e.g. more agile, flexible, and loose); (2) their strategies and tactics (especially the facile use of rapid information, communication to coordinate protests); (3) their identities which are now multiple and changeable as well as mobile and related to the same access and use of ICT; (4) their forms of actions (for example, combination of online and offline activities, the permanent occupation of ‘virtual’ and physical spaces, the use of mobile phones to report on and coordinate their activities).

The **access, use and appropriation of ICT are linked to the access, use and appropriation of other information and communication forms** (such as radio and TV shows, flyers, banners, and word of mouth), as well to other cultural and traditional practices (such as chants, jokes, graffiti, and prayers). Some studies show the interactions among different traditional and more contemporary media, as well as the combination of different forms of information and communications in order to amplify, escalate, and accelerate mobilizations and movement building.

Information, Immigration, and Social Movements

Both information and immigration are established phenomena in human history and both have been strongly linked with political, cultural, and sociotechnical dynamics. Information and immigration also represent two richly interdisciplinary fields of study. However, since early 2000 their relations have become an important subject of social and academic analysis. Even though information and communication technologies are central components in the lives of many transnational migrants, it has only recently begun to receive consideration in media and communication studies, as well as in cultural and transnational studies (King & Wood, 2001; Panagakos & Horst, 2006). However, the global dimension of migrations, the rising numbers of both immigrants and countries affected by migration, and the changes in technologies, especially information technologies, called for a reexamination of migration and for an incorporation of new dimensions and academic approaches (Gumpert & Drucker, 1998)

The field of studies analyzing information and immigration relationships also shows very different theoretic and methodological approaches, where case studies are prevalent. Scholars in communications, linguistics, anthropology, sociology and, more recently, information sciences and other integrated and cross-disciplinary programs have contributed widely to this field. Many of the communication studies have a research tradition coming from media studies, emphasizing the effects of media discourses and the roles and uses of media among immigrants. Many of the cultural studies, which have a significant trajectory analyzing issues related to race, gender and power, have made important contributions on issues related to globalization and identities.

In a seminal work that analyzes the relationship between modernity and globalization, Appadurai (1996) studies the relationship between processes of immigration and communication and information dynamics. He pays special attention to the relationship between electronic media and the promotion of global ideals and the contemporary tensions of the *work of the imagination* as constitutive feature of modern subjectivity. He sustains that imagination represents a peculiar force in social life because, like never before, many people in more parts of the world consider a much wider set of possible lives for themselves and others.

The studies analyzing the relationships between information, communication, immigration, and ICT may be organized around the following overlapping topics: a) conditions and factors that influence perceptions, access and uses of ICT, emphasizing studies on digital divide and comparative studies between native and non-native groups (Fairlie, 2007; Ono & Zavodny, 2008; Landry & Kuglitsch, 2009; Garcia 2011) (; b) processes of embeddedness of media and ICT in daily life, emphasizing relationships and networks in local and transnational spaces (e.g. Burrell & Anderson, 2008; Gonzalez, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2009; Panagakos & Horst, 2006); c) uses and appropriation of ICT and immigrants' information behavior (Baron, Neils, & Gomez, 2013a; Fisher, Marcoux, Miller, Sanchez, & Cunningham, 2004; P. Holmes & Janson, 2008; Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007); and d) relationships between ICT and empowerment, social capital and civic engagement (e.g. Costanza-Chock, 2011; Garcia, 2011; Ramirez, 2011; Vårheim, 2011; Yong-Chan & Ball-Rokeach, 2009).

Very little literature has explored the relations among information, immigration and collective action. The study of Ramirez (2011) on Spanish-language radio shows how this media became a

powerful resource for promoting political participation during the massive protest against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437)¹⁸. He also sustains that these radio shows enabled social and political incorporation by Latinos in the US and he presented a case study of Spanish radio in Los Angeles that reveals a growing capacity to mobilize Latinos by appealing to and activating a common ethnic identity in response to external shocks or urgent needs of the community, including aiding those affected by natural disasters, spurring on the immigration protests, and supporting naturalization and voter registration drives. However, Ramirez points out “that media has the power to both mobilize or depress participation, depending on media type, levels of exposure, and content.” (Ramirez, 2011, p. 64)

Other studies on the protests against H.R. 4437 show innovative uses of ICTs for civic engagement and networked activism, as developed by the immigrant rights movement in the United States. For instance (Costanza-Chock, 2008, 2011), points out that the immigrant rights movement has developed a rich repertoire of tactics to use ICTs to engage immigrant communities and their allies, mobilize supporters, generate debate, raise funds and take direct action. His work focused on three experiences: the DREAM activist network, the Basta Dobbs campaign, and VozMob (Mobile Voices).

¹⁸ H.R. 4437 was a bill in the 109th United States Congress. It was passed by the US House of Representatives on December 16, 2005 by a vote of 239 to 182 (with 92% of Republicans supporting, 82% of Democrats opposing), but did not pass the Senate. It was also known as the "Sensenbrenner Bill," for its sponsor in the House of Representatives, Wisconsin Republican Jim Sensenbrenner. The bill triggered the 2006 immigration reform protests and was the first piece of legislation passed by a house of Congress in the US immigration debate.

The information and analyses presented above provide significant evidence on how important ICT are in different life aspects of immigrants. However, one of the most important contributions of this literature is that it shows areas to explore deeper. In this sense, the following contributions of this group of studies are highlighted:

1. The studies brought an **interesting set of theories and concepts** that not just challenge our understandings of the relationships among immigration, information, and social movements, but provide analytical tools for further research. It includes: (1) different approaches to globalization(s) and their links with both the roles of imagination and ICT; (2) the notions of information environment as well as in-betweenness (as a concept related to space; time and perceptions/representations); (3) the idea of co-construction and the notion of public and private intersections in both individual and collective experiences; and (4) the relationships between social networks and both social capital and empowerment.

The impact or potential **impact of ICT in different activities of immigrants** (both as individuals as well as collectives) such as: imagine and represent; inform and get informed; communicate; build and share knowledge; create, strengthen and weaken social networks; forge and express identities and senses of belonging; develop social inclusion/integration/co-production; foster sociopolitical engagement (including protests and other forms of expression and participation).

The immigration process elicits very different (and challenging) **intersections among historical, sociocultural, political, emotional, temporal and geographical dynamics** (at the individual, collective and institutional level). The immigration process also elicits many changes and tensions related to sociotechnical innovations (which are articulated to the aspects mentioned above).

The reviewed studies portray multiple, simultaneous, and in several times complementary, practices and **uses of different forms of information and communication**, which implicates different social spaces, times, and technologies (from interpersonal communication to the use of sophisticated information technologies and platforms).

Gaps in the literature on Social Movements

Even though the literature on ICT and social movements shows extensive production and great diversity of perspectives that provide an abundant repertoire of tools for examining different dynamics of these phenomena (Garrett, 2006), the research community still has neglected the roles of Internet-based technologies in the extra-institutional sphere of politics, in which loosely structured groups and social movements play a prominent role (Donk, 2004). Moreover, following Donk, there is still a theoretical disconnection between the studies on social movements, as such, and the ones that analyze the uses of ICTs by social movements and the complex networks that comprise them.

Earl & Kimport (2011) also point out that the impact of ICT on the way collective actions are created and developed is challenging social movements' scholars to create or modify the existing theoretical lens for understanding what collective action means when efforts can be collectivized outside of conventional boundaries. They mentioned three types of changes a) the co-presence in time and space of collective participation; b) the ephemeral, sporadic, episodic or enduring characteristics of contention; and c) the evidence of the existence of challenges and challengers without movements. These arguments show that it is important to explore the ways in which ICT

have been integrated in extra-institutional spheres of politics, and if these ways also challenge the same forms in which social movements have been conceptualized.

The previous literature review also points out that the roles of ICT within social mobilizations have been extensively studied since the late 1990s in different contexts and from very different perspectives. However, since their early stages these studies revealed a tendency to highlight either an optimistic impact of ICT in social mobilizations, or a pessimistic idea of the presence and roles of ICT in collective actions. Moreover, the concepts of “uses”, “roles” and “appropriations” are not clearly defined and there are still several ambiguities and contradictions when researchers utilize them.

More recently, academic and journalistic discussions on the influence of social media (SM) during recent protests (such as the Egyptian Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street or the Spain movement of “los indignados”), have maintained this dualistic view. The first highlights the intrinsic power of technologies and the potentiality of SM as a democratizing tool for social change (i.e. Castells, 2012; Shirky, 2008). The second challenges the celebratory discourse of SM as a tool for collective action and democratization (i.e. Gerbaudo, 2012) highlighting instead the importance of strong ties among activists and social networks that not only able to risk their life and integrity, but also are the ones who can apply their knowledge and available resources in attempting to generate social changes and political transformations (i.e. Beinin & Vairel, 2011; Morozov, 2011; Tilly, 2003). This approach demands more complex forms of understanding the interactions between social process and the roles of technologies, especially ICT, in in contemporary dynamics, which are characterized as being more fluid, intricate and accelerated.

The study of ICT roles within social movements and protests tends to be mainly influenced by different waves of mobilizations and protests, some of them international, some others nationally-based, but almost all of them have had a remarkable mass media coverage and high levels of attention by international audiences and organizations. During each of those waves different technologies are highlighted, as a result not only of technological advances, but also of cultural and social relevance given to those technologies. In other words, each wave came with the ‘fashionable’ technology, which was at the hand of activists. These tendencies point out the need to better understand the forms in which ICT are understood as well as integrated in the quotidian practices of individuals and collectives that are linked in different capacities with social movements. Particularly, these tendencies show there is a need to better understand different components of social movement networks, such as social movement organizations (SMOs), and their interactions with larger collective actions, protests and social mobilizations.

The majority of studies consulted point out that different uses of ICT, and the communication and information practices they comprise, generate several changes in the ways that people and groups of people get together, and participate, organize and perform in collective actions.

These changes range from the new forms in which people and organizations produce and circulate information, to alternative uses of technologies and communication to coordinate protests or to confront State institutions, mass media, market institutions, and other organizations and networks. These changes comprise not only the symbolic struggles among different forces that participate within different public spheres (struggles for controlling and creating images and narratives), but also the very diverse process of technological “appropriation” and innovation

that organizations and networks have developed within their organizational and political practices. These changes also highlight the formation of new (or at least different) social spaces where people and collectives express, exchange ideas, opinions and feelings as well as debate and fight. The studies also show that ICT have become objects and spaces that people and collectives fight for.

All these organizational, political and technological transformations seem much entangled with each other. However, the forms and extent of those changes still deserve deeper explorations and analyses. In particular it is important to better understand the differential ways in which particular ICT (including social media) are transforming social movements, as concerns their performance, their information and communication practices, and their collective identities. The study of the relationships among ICT and other non-technologically mediated information and communication forms is also needed.

Recent transnational studies on information and immigration have brought challenging theoretical frameworks and significant discussions related to the embeddedness of technologies within the daily lives of immigrants as well as their connections with issues on identity, ethnicity, and power. However, this literature has privileged the access and uses of ICT by individuals, or the tendencies of access and use of information and ICT within some diasporic communities. They have not paid enough attention to the process of integration of information and technologies within the collective actions of these communities (or subgroups within them), nor have they paid enough attention to the importance of information and technologies as part of larger socio-political process of participation or civic engagement.

For these reasons this project suggests a perspective that seeks to understand the extra-institutional sphere of politics that social movements represent, under an understanding that there are five key elements that define social movements: 1) they are challengers to or defenders of existing structures or systems of authority; 2) they are collective rather than individual enterprises; 3) they act, in varying degrees, outside of existing institutional or organizational arrangements; 4) they operate with some degree of organization; and 5) they typically do so with some degree of continuity (Snow & Soule, 2010).

In particular this project operationalizes Alberto Melucci's findings on social movements to better understand the complexity of social movements and social media interactions, as well as to help depolarize the debates around these relationships. This project borrows Melucci's ideas about the symbolic and communicative character of social movements, and the importance that he attributes to information, that, from his perspective, has become a crucial resource for contemporary complex systems, as a terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being (Melucci, 1994, 1996). In this sense he suggests analyzing the relationships among the performances, the identities, and the communication and information practices within social movement networks. His perspective is also consistent with the interactional approach of technology and society this project uses in order to trace the associations of humans and non-human agents in social movement organizations.

Thus, this work seeks to shed light on the discussion and better conceptualize the uses and roles of Social Media within social movements, and also to motivate both a deeper dialogue and the construction of more solid bridges between multidisciplinary studies on ICT and collective

action, Social Movements Studies, and Transnational Studies on Immigration and Information. Within all these fields there are still few studies and many opportunities to explore the mediations of social media within the communication and information practices, collective identities, and performativity of social movement organizations.

Overview of Research Methods: a multi-sited ethnography

In order to better understand interactions between human and non-human agents, as suggested by ANT, this study conducts a **multi-sited ethnography**. This research design provides a framework to analytically trace populations, ideas, and material objects through time and space. Multi-sited ethnography informs this research project allowing me to follow different contemporary collectives (such as SMOs) which are related to transnational dynamics (such as migration that links local and international dynamics); interconnected social spaces and times (offline and online); as well as practices, symbols and technologies (such as social mobilization, stories and social media).

Thus, a mixed method that includes face to face and technologically mediated observations, in-depth interviews, and surveys, was implemented, considering the characteristics of the selected SMOs, as well as the sociopolitical contexts the SMOs faced over the design and implementation of this project's fieldwork.¹⁹ The design also incorporates a revision of secondary sources (press,

¹⁹ The author thanks the members of OneAmerica, Latino Civic Alliance and Entre Hermanos for the trust you gave him, opening their doors to him and letting him to collect some of your stories, learn from your experiences, and be part of some of your daily activities. Particularly the author thanks David Ayala, Nina Martinez and Marcos Martinez for the interest, dedication and support that always expressed to this research project.

mailing lists, SMOs and other social movements' reports) to follow up the sociopolitical contexts of the immigration reform movement.

Content analysis and descriptive statistics were used to report and analyze the data collected. This tiered approach allows me to better demonstrate the complex entanglement of Facebook in the SMOs, and to triangulate findings. The experience and practices of the SMOs provide enough information to make comparisons between them. Moreover, using three complementary data collection methods also allows me to suggest generalizable evidence with a high level of realism (McGrath, 1994).

Research Stance

I am a Colombian researcher who combines rigorous academic work with strong social commitment. I am fluent in Spanish. My research and teaching interest have been shaped by the interactions between communication technologies and social movements, on one hand, and by memories, narratives and identities of diverse social actors within different sociotechnical contexts, on the other. My academic background has linked the following facets: a) interdisciplinary projects and initiatives in the field of information, communication and anthropology b) theoretical work connected to community practices and knowledge, c) use of mixed research methods to respond to the complexity of sociotechnical phenomena, d) work with local and regional issues and actors linked to national and transnational dynamics, and e) combination of research with social activism (working with academy and NGO).

My work is inspired by Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos' *sociology of absences and sociology of emergences*. In de Sousa Santos' approach the goal of the sociology of absences is to identify and assign value to social experiences available in the world — although declared non-existent by hegemonic rationality — the sociology of emergences aims to identify and enlarge the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies, that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge (de Sousa Santos, 2003).

Research Setting

During the past decade, the increased demographic significance of the Hispanic population in the US has impacted the nation socially and politically. The number of eligible Latino voters leapt from 19.5 million in 2008 to an unprecedented 23.7 million in 2012, representing an increase from 9.5% to 11% of total eligible voters.²⁰ In the 2012 Presidential election, Hispanics played an important part in Mr. Obama's winning coalition.²¹ However, the Latino population is among the youngest in US (in 2009 the median age of Latinos was 27 compared with 41 among whites) and Hispanics have the lowest levels of education across racial and ethnic groups, affecting both their access and contribution to our technological and global economy.²²

Data from the Census 2010 shows that the Hispanic population has grown by 34% on the West coast.²³ Washington State is 12th in terms of total immigrant population, with Hispanics

²⁰ Data taken from Pew Hispanic Center's Census Bureau. See more at: <http://dailytrojan.com/2012/10/14/number-of-latino-voters-hits-record-high-study-says/>

²¹ See more at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/07/us/politics/obama-romney-presidential-election-2012.html?pagewanted=3&r=2&hp>

²² See more at: <http://www.prb.org/pdf10/latinos-update2010.pdf>

²³ See more at: <http://2010.census.gov/news/releases/operations/cb11-cn146.html>

constituting the fastest-growing group in Washington over the past decade (11% of the state's 6.7 million residents).^{24,25} However, Hispanics represent 13% of the poor in Seattle. Within Washington State, up to 30% of the Hispanic population is estimated to live below the federal poverty line. Of those Hispanics with incomes below the poverty line, nearly 10% are very poor, more than twice the rate among the state's white population.²⁶

ICT & Social Media use among Hispanics

In the US, penetration and use of ICTs is relatively high. Broadband Internet reached two thirds of the adult population in 2010, and in 2012, 88% of American adults owned cell phones according to the Pew Research Center.^{27,28} In 2007, 23% of Seattle households lacked Internet access at home and only 56% had cellular service, both lower than the national average.²⁹ The Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project (IALP) has found that among Internet users, white adults are less likely than both African Americans and Hispanics to use the Internet wirelessly; 40% of Hispanic adults have used a cell phone to access the Internet compared with just 31% of white adults. Hispanics are less likely to have Internet access at home, and more likely to access the Internet via a cell phone. At the same time, their use of Social Media is growing and Social Media is becoming increasingly embedded within organizations. IALP has also found that Facebook is the most commonly used online social network among adults.

²⁴ This study is based on data collected by the Census Bureau in March 2007. See more at: http://www.cis.org/immigrants_profile_2007

²⁵ See more at: http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2014312959_censusoverview24m.html

²⁶ <http://www.city-data.com/poverty/poverty-Seattle-Washington.html>

²⁷ See more at: <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2010/Home-Broadband-2010.aspx>

²⁸ <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2012/Cell-Internet-Use-2012.aspx>

²⁹ <http://www.seattle.gov/broadband/docs/080422SurveyReport.pdf>

Among adult social media profile owners, 73% have a profile on Facebook. Additionally, 19% of adult internet users use Twitter or similar services to post short status updates and view the updates of others online. Usage of online social networks among adults varies by level of education; 50% of adults with at least some college experience use these sites, compared to 43% of adults with a high school degree or less.³⁰ A September 2009 report of the Pew Research Center showed that 54% of Internet users in the US connect to the Internet wirelessly via a laptop, cell phone, game console, or other mobile device. Of those, 25% use Twitter or another service, up from 14% of wireless users in December 2008. By comparison, only 8% of Internet users who rely exclusively on tethered access used Twitter or another similar service, up from 6% in December of 2008.

The data presented above provides important information on Hispanic demographics and corresponding access to and use of information technologies, as well as insight about their access to and use of Social Media. This data shows the increasing importance of Hispanic communities in the US and the growing value of their organizations, and supports the need to better understand the dynamic ways in which the technologies and social dynamics are constitutively entangled within this population's everyday life.

³⁰http://web.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2010/PIP_Social_Media_and_Young_Adults_Report_Final_with_toplevels.pdf

*Research sites and participants: Social Movement Organizations working with
Hispanic Immigrants*

There are more than 35 organizations working with Hispanic and Latino communities on immigration issues in Seattle. The Community Resources of Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs reports 16 Community Organizations and 24 other organizations currently work on law and immigration issues in the state.³¹ In order to deal with this project's research questions, three SMOs working on immigration issues in Washington State were selected, using a maximum variation sampling rationale (Patton, 2002). The criteria which were used to select the three SMOs to include in the study were: a) different activities with community based groups, linked with larger dynamics related to immigration issues and immigrants' rights, such as movements, campaigns, or regular protests; b) different forms of organizational structure and forms of participation; c) work on different issues, such as education, legal assistance, jobs, health, and advocacy; d) different gender, generations, ethnicities, economic conditions, education levels, English skills, and legal status, as well as different levels of access to and uses of Facebook; and e) different organizational levels of access to and uses of Facebook and other ICT.

The selection process focused on SMOs that included Latino communities among their beneficiaries considering that (1) Hispanic constitute the fastest growing group in Washington

³¹ See more at: <http://www.cha.wa.gov/>

State over the past decade (11% of the state's 6.7 million residents);^{32,33} and (2) 68% of Hispanic internet users in US say they use Facebook, Twitter or other social networking sites.³⁴ (3) Priority was given to organizations that were able to work collaboratively and allow this project researcher to interact with members and supporters of the organization, as well as access public and internal (non-sensitive) information, and to participate in meetings, workshops, Facebook pages, and mobilization activities.

Based on the criteria presented above, the selected SMOs for this study are the following:

- **OneAmerica (OA)**, which advances the fundamental principles of democracy and justice at the local, state and national levels by building power within immigrant communities in collaboration with key allies;
- **Latino Civic Alliance (LAC)**, which promotes civic participation and empowers Latino communities in the State of Washington; and
- **Entre Hermanos (EH)**, which promotes the health and well-being of the Latino Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and encourages the participation of the members of the LGBTQ community in activism and human rights.

Participants: staff and beneficiaries

Understanding the different pathways through which people become involved and engaged with each SMO presents an analytical challenge. Involvement and engagement are complex delimitations due to the flow of people and events within movements, as well as the different

³² This study is based on data collected by the Census Bureau in March 2007. See more at: http://www.cis.org/immigrants_profile_2007

³³ See more at: http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2014312959_censusoverview24m.html

³⁴ See more at: <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/03/07/vi-social-networking/>

forms of participation that technologies, such as Social Media, enable for different people and collectives in different times, geographic spaces, and social contexts.

To provide a clean and systematic research design, this project made an operational distinction between two groups that participate in different capacities within the SMOs: *staff and beneficiaries*. *Staff* refers to people who work officially for the SMO and devote significant labor, time, and expertise on a regular basis. Staff include board members, executive and administrative personnel, staff volunteers, and when applicable, advisors and/or consultants. *Beneficiaries* refer to people who participate in the activities and programs offered by the SMO but do not formally work for the SMO. This category includes users, customers and occasional volunteers of the SMO.

These considerations have the following implications for the research design:

- This design did not include other important voices and perspectives that could be useful to consult in order to better understand the SMOs interactions with other social movements and social actors, such as journalists, mass media, or general public participating in SMOs public events (marches, protests, conference, and meetings, to mention a few).
- People and activities of other social organizations in the Seattle region³⁵, linked in different capabilities with the selected SMOs, were informally interviewed during the observation of face to face events such as rallies, meetings and workshops; they provide

³⁵ Participants from other organizations included Casa Latina, which works to empower Latino immigrants through educational and economic opportunities; Latino Advocacy, which helps organizations to immigrant-run build bases within their communities to work for immigration reform; the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWRP), which promotes justice for low-income immigrants by pursuing and defending their legal status and Columbia Legal Services, which advocates for people who face injustice and poverty, among the most relevant.

valuable insight and feedback for the general analysis I present, but they are not technically part of the sample.

Researching SMOs that work with and for immigrants

Many immigrants participating in SMOs have precarious income streams. Their marginalization is easily exacerbated by a lack of English language, literacy skills, and by uncertain legal status. In order to reduce the perceived risk of participating in this research, the researcher was introduced to SMOs' participants and communities by trusted SMO staff and volunteers who reassure participants that their participation was voluntary. No questions were asked about migratory status, and no personally identifiable information was kept or reported.

Inspired by reflections and practices of multi-sited ethnography, this design uses a combination of three research procedures: in-depth interviews; observations (face to face and technologically mediated), and a survey. The design also incorporates a revision of secondary sources (press, mail lists, SMOs and other social movements' reports) to follow up the sociopolitical contexts of the immigration reform movement. All instruments and data collection procedures of this research project were tested and validated with prospective target groups and within selected scenarios of observation. To accommodate the bilingual characteristic of SMO members, support for native speakers of both English and Spanish was incorporated in the design, testing, and application of procedures and instruments. This support was also considered for translation tasks.

The associations between technologies and societies: Theoretical Stances

“The basic elements in Deleuzian thought are not static but entities in becoming. Consequently, the question to be asked is not what something is, but rather what it is turning into, or might be capable of turning into.” (Jensen & Rödje, 2010)

Chapter overview

This research project explores the interactions between Social Media and Social Movements. In particular this research explores how Facebook and social movement organizations (SMOs) working on immigration issues in Washington State have become mingled, as well as its implications for SMOs’ performances, identities and information and communication practices. In order to better observe and analyze the interactions between Facebook and social movements the present study uses the Actor-Network Theory developed by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law. Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a misnomer. It is, rather, a sociological approach, which focuses on the description and analysis of associations between natural, human and technological entities (Law, 2009). This approach proposes that neither social nor technical positions are privileged; it contradicts that purely technical or purely social relations are possible (Tatnall, 2012). ANT informs this research with a method to develop the task of tracing associations between human and non-human agents in order to better understand how social dynamics are reassembled in contemporary settings, which are characterized as being more fluid, intricate and accelerated.

ANT is appropriate to analyze the interactions between social media and social movement because it provides a framework which 1) focuses on formation of collectives (groups) as a result of complex, moving and continuously generated associations (webs) that integrate humans and technologies; 2) combines the analysis of symbolic, practical and technological dimensions of human and technological associations, and 3) emphasizes the analyses of *social practices*. The social in ANT also incorporates the natural and the material. Moreover, ANT suggests an approach that explores the active role (the agency) not only of the human components of networks, but also of its technological entities. In this sense, technologies can mediate human and technological interactions.

The intersections between technology and society have been analyzed by various disciplines, including philosophy, history, sociology, organizational management, and anthropology. According to Kaplan (2009), the philosophy of technology suggests four classic theories that take a broad perspective on the nature of technology in relation to society, as follows: (1) The theory of technological neutrality, defines technology in terms of its technical properties: technology itself is simply a tool, and it can be used for a variety of human ends, and good or bad purposes. (2) The theory of technological determinism states that technology drives the course of history, and devices and machines are the primary engines of; technology imposes specific social-political consequences on a society. (3) The theory of autonomous technology states that humans no longer control technology, instead, it controls humans; technology constitutes an independent cultural system that restructures the social world and overrides all traditional or competing values. (4) The social construction of technology argues that society simultaneously

shapes technology as technology shapes society; technologies are part human, part material and always social.

Particularly, in the field of organizational studies, Orlikowski (2010) has identified four dominant ways management scholars have addressed technology over the past five decades that portrays the recent changes of the scholarship analyzing the interactions between humans and different kinds of artifacts. Her work characterizes the first perspective as absent presence, in which technology is essentially unacknowledged by organizational researchers and thus unaccounted for in their studies. In the second perspective, technology is posited to be an exogenous force—a powerful driver of history having determinate impacts on organizational life. In the third perspective, technology is understood as an emergent process, positioned as a product of ongoing human interpretations and interactions, and thus as contextually and historically contingent. The fourth perspective understands technology as entangled in practice, which entails a commitment to a relational ontology between technology and society that undercuts the dualism that has characterized, but also limited, much of the prior studies in this field.

ANT is considered to be part of this last fourth perspective, and it informs this study with a theoretical lens that helps not only to better understand the debates on technology and society during the last two decades, but especially to better observe, problematize and analyze contemporary phenomena in which the technological and the social are inevitably entangled. The ANT is a framework which seeks to overcome some of the most basic certainties of modern thought and its postmodern derivatives; distinctions such as nature/society, subject/object,

individual/structure, core/context, local/global; and so on. ANT studies abandon these distinctions because they consider these dualistic paradigms as ineffective in explaining social phenomena (Aibar, 2006). For ANT there has never been such a thing as humanity without technology nor technology without humanity (Kaplan, 2009).

ANT has its roots in the social construction of technology approach, one of the most notable developments in Science and Technology Studies (STS) in mid-1980s, which represented “the turn to technology”, referring to the social shaping and the social construction of technology and technological systems (Jasanoff, Markle, Petersen, & Pinch, 1995) – that corresponds to Kaplan’s fourth group and to Orlikowski’s third perspective. However, in the 1990s, ANT took distance from social constructivism and became an independent framework, extensively used by social scientists from very different disciplines: political and information sciences, anthropology, philosophy and communication, and cultural studies as well. More recently, ANT is considered to be part of one of the most important groups of approaches that Orlikowski (2010) characterizes with the label ‘entanglement in practice’, that rejects the notion that the world is composed of individuals and objects with separately attributable properties that ‘exist in and of themselves’.

In order to better understand the utility of ANT and its contributions for this research, this chapter includes a trajectory of ANT that shows its links, both with the social constructivism approach and with the entanglement accounts. Thus, the chapter will present:

- primary characteristics of the social constructivism approach, and the place ANT had as part of this perspective;
- the origins and goals of ANT as well as the main criteria that distanced it from social constructivism;
- the most important perspectives within ANT, including Latour's perspective that emphasizes ANT contributions towards a sociology of associations; and Law's perspective that pays more attention to the tools of ANT and its own shifts; and
- the main characteristics of the entanglement approach, with a focus on sociomaterial accounts that sustain the social and the material are inextricably linked and cannot be separated.
- Finally the strengths and limitations of ANT are discussed as well as the way in which this research project is positioned in relation to ANT.

Social Constructivism: history, structures and human agency

“the social construction of technology (SCOT) needs to return to the examination of the mundane embeddedness of technologies in everyday life (T. Pinch, 2010, p. 77)

Social constructivism refers to a set of related, predominantly sociological approaches in science and technology studies. The roots of many of these studies lie in the combination of three distinct bodies of work: the empirical program of relativism; the sociology of scientific and technological knowledge and innovation in which ANT was first developed; and the study of the social construction of technological artifacts (Bijker, 2010; Pinch & Bijker, 1984). Representing a nondeterministic model of technological change, these studies emerged in the mid-eighties, with many of them claiming that an integrated social constructivist approach towards the study of

science and technology was needed to understand both scientific facts and technological artifacts as social constructs (Pinch & Bijker, 1984).

The first studies of this approach advocated for an understanding of technology that comprises, first, artifacts and technical systems; second, the knowledge about these systems; and, third, the practices of handling these artifacts and systems (MacKenzie & Wajcman, 1985). This approach defines technology as a social construction that interacts with other social forces, rather than as an autonomous entity with its own rationality. Technology and society form an inseparable pair. Neither is intelligible without reference to the other (Kaplan, 2009). For Bijker (2010), constructivist studies of technology do not focus on the question: “What is technology?” Instead they trace the process of how to make technology. These studies mainly pointed to how technology is made and used, rather than what it essentially is.

Social constructivism studies typically employ a principle of *methodological symmetry* or *methodological relativism*. This implies that the analyst remains partial as to the real properties of the objects of analysis.³⁶ These studies also work through socio-historical case studies of technological innovation and technological change.

Among the most important concepts developed by this approach are *interpretative flexibility*, *the closure mechanism*, and *the notion of social group* (Pinch & Bijker, 1984). Technology is

³⁶ Bijker (2010) asserts that *methodological relativism* is the key characteristic of the social construction of technology. This implies, from Bijker perspective, a specific form of being relativistic that is similar to how the workings of a machine are explained. Thus this author sustains that “when explaining the development of technology no special status is awarded to power (of social groups), success (of projects), truth (of propositions) or working (of machines). The associated research heuristics advises the researcher not to use the working of a machine as an explanation of its success, but to trace this success as resulting from social processes.” (Bijker, 2010, pp. 73-74).

claimed to have *interpretative flexibility*, meaning that technology has no objective or fixed properties but allows for different interpretations. These interpretations can be in regards not only to its functional and social-cultural properties, but also its technical content. The *closure mechanism* refers to the stabilization process of a technology, which includes both the rhetorical process of agreement of the nature of a technology, and the way that technology functions in society. Hence, technology is socially constructed; its properties are largely if not exclusively determined by the interpretive frameworks and negotiation of *relevant social groups*. These groups are formed by the users and producers of the technological artifacts based on their shared or diverging interpretations of the technology in question (Brey, 2004).

Tendencies within social constructivism

The constructivist proponents do not necessarily constitute a homogeneous group. For Bijker (2010), for example, ‘social construction of technology’ (or SCOT), when broadly used, encompasses both the actor-network approach (by Callon, Latour and Law during the 1980s), and the technological systems approach by Hughes. Used more narrowly, it refers primarily to the program set out by Pinch and Bijker (1984).

Brey (2004), uses a taxonomy of three broad approaches based on various attempts to classify the tendencies that converge within social constructivism. Brey’s typology appears more in line with the academic use of these studies, and the results lend themselves to easier identification of tendencies and authors within this approach. His typology also allows for a better understanding of the trajectories and shifts of ANT as part of the social constructivism perspective.

The three approaches Brey identifies are: strong social constructivism, mid-social constructivism, and ANT. Strong social constructivism aligns most closely with the sociology of scientific knowledge, and includes the so-called Social Construction of Technology approach (SCOT). This approach vigorously upholds the principle of methodological symmetry; and hence, technological change is a process of interpretation, negotiation, and closure, by different actors and social groups (Brey, 2004).

The authors and studies of this approach were focused on moving away from the individual inventor as the central explanatory concept, from technological determinism, and from making distinctions among technical, social, economic and political aspects of technological development (Bijker, Hughes, & Pinch, 1987, 1989; Collins, 1985; Woolgar, 1991).

Mid-social constructivism, also called 'social shaping', includes studies that retain the conventional distinctions between the social and the natural, and between the social and the technical. They study the way in which social factors shape technology. They are also willing to attribute properties and effects to technology and are related to a particular context. The authors and studies of this approach refuse to separate the technological and the social or to draw an absolute distinction between micro and macro. They also reject the rigid boundaries between system builders and their environments (Mackenzie, 1990; MacKenzie & Wajcman, 1985, 1999).

The third perspective is the Actor-Network Theory (ANT), which Brey characterizes as studies on stabilization processes of technical and scientific objects. These processes resulted from the

building of networks of human actors and natural and technical phenomena. ANT studies employ a principle of generalized symmetry according to which any element (social, natural or technical) in a heterogeneous network of technology-stabilizing entities has a similar explanatory role. This approach includes the works of Latour, Callon and Law between the mid-1980's and early 1990's (Callon, 1987; Callon & Latour, 1992; Law, 1989).

During the 1990s, as it is explained below, ANT scholars took a step back from social constructivism's main premises. This was the result of ANT explorations on the properties of actor-networks, which triggered the need for new ontologies and sociologies, not only to better understand the associations between humans and non-humans, but also to develop more appropriate notions of networks and actors that correspond with a descriptive theory studying the deployment of networks (Latour, 1993; Latour, 1996; Law, 1991). As Latour expressed it later: no matter how enlightening the Social Shaping of Technology has been for all of us, it would not be part of the ANT corpus "since the social is kept stable all along and accounts for the shape of technological change" (Latour, 2007, p. 10).

Recent developments of social constructivism

During the 2000's, social constructivism had several shifts, including some produced by the discussions encouraged by ANT. More recently Bijker (2010) discusses the developments of the units of analysis in this approach, and he suggests three of them. The first unit of analysis he identifies is the "singular artifact" (technical system), where the artifact was used to represent the "hardest possible case". The second unit of analysis is the "sociotechnical ensemble". That is, the

relations that play a role in the development of a technology are neither purely social nor purely technical; they are sociotechnical. The final unit of analysis he discusses is “technological culture”. He affirms that technologies do not merely assist in everyday lives, but they are also powerful forces acting to reshape human activities and their meanings.

Even though social constructivist studies provide a viewpoint of sociotechnical relations, they still assume either that the social and the technological belong to different ontological stances, or they are agnostic with respect to the ontological status of technology and the natural world. As Bijker states: “you need not take any ontological position as a researcher to use SCOT for studying technology, nor does SCOT have any bearings on the ontological status of technology”. (Bijker, 2010, p. 72).

At the opening quote of this section, Pinch suggests the challenges and shifts the strong program of social constructivism is facing now. In recent reflections on SCOT, Pinch has asserted that there is no ontology without epistemology, or rather where there appears to be so, it is humans who have achieved the split. Intentionality can only be determined in context. The job of the sociologist of technology is to try and recover that intentionality, and in a non-human, saturated world we need some sort of methodological guidance as to which non-humans to focus upon (Pinch, 2009; Pinch, 2010). Moreover, a deeper consideration of certain properties of materiality is necessary for Pinch, if SCOT wishes to refine its ideas and simultaneously to defend itself from critics (Pinch, 2009).

Actor-Network Theory: interactions, mediations and associations

“Society and technology are not two ontologically distinct entities but more like phases of the same essential action” (Bruno Latour, 1991: 129).

The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is not a theory according to Law (2009). He contends that theories explain why something happens, but ANT is descriptive rather than explanatory. It is a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located.

ANT maps associations that are simultaneously material and semiotic, and how material-semiotic networks come together to act as a whole; understanding that networks are potentially transient, existing in a constant, making and re-making. For Latour (2007), there are three characteristics which identify ANT studies: one, the precise role granted to non-humans; two, the direction in which the explanation is going, the idea of social which they adopt; and, three, if the study aims at reassembling the social.

ANT's origins and goals

ANT was first developed by the Paris group of Science and Technology Studies at the Centre de Sociologie de l'Innovation with the purpose of exploring the properties of actor-networks since early 1980s (Latour, 1996). The origins of this approach stem from the need for a new social concept adjusted to science and technology studies. For Latour this was the first time for him “that the objects of science and technology had become, so to speak, social-compatible” (Latour, 2007, p. 10).

The term Actor-Network Theory, devised by Michel Callon, appeared in 1982, but the approach is itself a network that extends out in time and place. Law defines the 1990's as the period when ANT achieved its recognizable form as a distinctive approach to social theory. This is a moment when an agenda, a vocabulary, and a set of ambitions became current, a theory grounded in empirical case studies that tell stories about how relations assemble or don't. "More profoundly, it is a sensibility to the messy practices of relationality and materiality of the world" (Law, 2009).

Latour's approach deeply criticizes the sociology of the social which tends to assign ontological priority to the social as cause and effect of social orders. Against this sociology of the social, Latour suggests a sociology of associations in which the social refers to a movement of connections of human and nonhuman elements. Latour defines the social not as a special domain, a specific realm, or a particular sort of thing, but as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling: "social for ANT is the name of a type of momentary association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes" (Bruno Latour, 2007, p. 65). Social and society are not the cause of the associations but their consequence. In addition, Law points out that while sociology is concerned with the whys of the social, ANT explores the hows. ANT is a non-foundational perspective in which nothing is sacred and nothing is necessarily fixed (Law, 1991, 2009).

ANT distances itself from social constructivism

In mid-1990's, the scholars of ANT more clearly distanced themselves from social-constructivism approach. In 1996 Latour wrote a paper that listed some of the interesting properties of networks and explained some of the misunderstandings that had arisen on ANT at that time. Even that is not its purpose; this paper helps to understand some of the foremost aspects that distanced ANT from the main premises of social constructivism.

Within his paper Latour reaffirmed that ANT did not limit itself to human individual actors but extends the word actor -or actant- to non-human, non-individual entities.³⁷ Moreover he explains the implications of exploring the properties of actor-networks of humans and non-humans. From his perspective, a network notion implies a deeply different social theory: it has no a priori order relation.³⁸ "ANT is thus the claim that the only way to achieve this reinjection of the things into our understanding of the social fabrics is through a network-like ontology and social theory... an irreductionist and relationist ontology." (Latour, 1996, p. 370)

Latour shows, furthermore, that ANT is a method that has built on the semiotic turn, extending semiotics to things instead of limiting it to meaning. In this sense he shows that ANT has translated semiotic to describe the deployment of associations. This is to describe the path-

³⁷ Latour shows that, in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, 'actor' is always a human intentional individual and is most often contrasted with 'behavior'. "An 'actor' in ANT is a semiotic definition -an actant-, that is something that acts or to which activity is granted by others. It implies no special motivation of human individual actors, nor of humans in general. An actant can literally be anything provided it is granted to be the source of an action." (Latour, 1996, p. 373)

³⁸ Using Diderot's notion of network , which describes matter and bodies in order to avoid the Cartesian divide between matter and spirit, Latour shows that that network is a fitting term to use, because "it has no a priori order relation; it is not tied to the axiological myth of a top and of a bottom of society; it makes absolutely no assumption whether a specific locus is macro- or micro- and does not modify the tools to study the element 'a' or the element 'b' ..."(B. Latour, 1996, p. 371)

building, the order-making, the creation of directions of both languages and objects, symbols and matters.

This move can be said either to elevate things to the dignity of texts or to elevate texts to the ontological status of things. What really matters is that it is an elevation instead of a reduction and that the new hybrid status give to all entities both the action, variety and circulating existence recognized in the study of textual characters and also the reality, solidity, externality that was recognized in things 'out of' our representations.” (B. Latour, 1996, p. 375)

In conclusion, Latour shows that one of the big difficulties of grasping ANT is that it has been made by the fusion of three unrelated strands of preoccupations: “a semiotic definition of entity building; a methodological framework to record the heterogeneity of such a building; and an ontological claim on the 'networky' character of actants themselves.” (Latour, 1996, p. 373)

ANT's main trends: Latour and Law, side by side

Because ANT is considered by its proponents as a network, some of its more important advocates treat this approach in very particular ways and tell different stories about this framework. Latour (2007) and Law (2009), for example, both have produced their own particular versions recently. While Latour (2007) is more interested in a theoretical discussion with social sciences, in particular with sociology, Law (2009) is more concerned with better understanding the characteristics of its tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis.

Latour (2007) offers a systematic exploration to use ANT for reassembling social connections. He suggests taking up three different duties in succession: deployment, stabilization and composition. The first shows how the annalists should not limit in advance the sort of beings populating the social world (providing some uncertainties to the basic assumptions of social

theory).³⁹ The second shows how it is possible to render social connections traceable, trying to render the social world as flat as possible, shows how to assemble the collective but only after the shortcut of society and “social explanation” has been abandoned.

Law, on the other hand, pays more attention to the ingredients of ANT and its own shifts. His approach emphasizes the following components: 1) the semiotic relationality, 2) the heterogeneity of actors, 3) the materiality of the social, 4) the space and scale, and 5) the realm of performativity. Lay and Law’s theories are presented side by side in what follows to demonstrate their key concepts and procedures, as well as to show some ways they are related.

ANT Introduces uncertainties into social theory

Latour suggests departing, not from a closed set of a priori social constructions, but from the processes of formation of groups that always precede them. ANT does not ground its explanations in stable agents or frameworks. The groups from the ANT do not represent any kind of social inertia. They must be constantly maintained, renovated or rebuilt, otherwise they cease to exist. Latour suggests a first uncertainty toward social theory, emphasizing the need to explore the actors’ agencies within a collective. The second uncertainty is related to the understanding of actors’ actions. In ANT an actor is what is made to act by many others; an actor “is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it.” (Latour, 2007, p. 46). Latour points out, however, that the actions of actors are neither transparent nor are they absolutely certain; the action is always somewhat dislocated, influenced,

³⁹ For this first duty, Latour suggests the following stages: 1) departing from processes of formation of groups, 2) identifying the multiple agencies of actors, 3) recognizing the agencies of non-human actants, 4) defining the matters of concern and the matters of facts and 5) drawing networks.

betrayed or distributed, and the actors never have absolute control over them. It is for this reason that he suggests sociologists of associations should begin from the under-determination of action, from the uncertainties and controversies about whom and what is acting when they act (Latour, 2007).

The third uncertainty Latour introduces is that sociologists of associations should be ready to inquire about the agency of objects. On ANT, actants denote human and non-human actors that take shape in networks that they do by virtue of their relations with one another. However, this does not mean that ANT is the establishment of some absurd symmetry between humans and nonhumans. “To be symmetric for us, simply means not to impose a priori some spurious asymmetry among human intentional action and a material world of causal relations”(Bruno Latour, 2007: 76).

In ANT the non-human elements can be agents – actants – because action is not necessarily intentional, and it is verified for its effects on other actors. The basic difference is that non-humans, thanks to the phenomenal expansion of technological devices and scientific facts in collective life, can no longer be considered neutral intermediaries but must be understood as mediators, often silent, which modify the relationship among other agents (Latour, 2007).

Heterogeneity of actors and Mediations in ANT

For Law (2009), the existence of different kinds of actors, human and otherwise, is an expression of its *heterogeneity*, and the recognition that “stuff is there aplenty, not just ‘the social’”. It is evidence of the *materiality* within networks. With different empirical studies, Law demonstrates

that relations between humans and nonhumans are *precarious* and all elements play their part moment by moment, relationally. He also explains how the agents define and shape one another in a network where the elements, people or objects, are subordinate to the logic of the architecture, created or reshaped in that system. Law describes *semiotic relationality* as a network whose elements define and shape one another, and it challenges dualism such as, meaning and materiality, macro and micro, social and technical, nature and culture.

Latour describes human and nonhuman relations in terms of various forms of mediation. And the stability of those mediations produces/maintains certain durability in social interactions (Bruno Latour, 2009). However, with his fourth uncertainty, he advises that the agencies, and the associations they produce, should never be presented simply as matters of fact but always as matters of concern, with their mode of fabrication and their stabilizing mechanism clearly visible. This warning is very important for Latour because the aim of sociology of associations is to trace mediations and the translations between different mediators (Latour, 2007).

Mediation is an important concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, which are to be understood as different from intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply differences during the interactions among these agents. Their outputs cannot be predicted by their inputs. The notion of mediation is a sort of ‘cooperative’ work between different ‘actants,’⁴⁰ and implies that non-humans can develop mediations and can

⁴⁰ Latour uses the technical word *actant* that comes from the study of literature, especially from Algirdas Julien Greimas, who developed the actantial model of semiotic analysis of narratives. This model reveals the structural *roles* typically performed in a story or narrative (hero, villain, object of quest, helper of hero, and sender), which are integral components of the story. Thus, an *actant* is not simply a character in a story, but an integral structural element upon which the narrative revolves. See more at (Latour, 2007, p. 54)

produce different assemblages, actions and effects. It also implies that different artifacts and technologies can develop diverse forms of mediation which can transform, translate, distort or modify meanings or elements (Bruno Latour, 2007, 2009).

Tracing associations and rendering stabilization with ANT

The aim of the sociology of associations is a *network-tracing* activity. For Latour (1996), ANT is not about *traced* networks, but about the activity of network *tracing*, because a network cannot exist independently of the act of tracing it (Tatnall, 2012). For Callon (1987) a network becomes stable partly due to the durability of the bonds that hold it together, but also because it is itself composed of a number of durable and simplified networks.

ANT responds to the challenge of tracing networks in the only non-foundational way it can: by exploring the logics of different networks' architecture, and looking for configurations that might lead to relative stability (Law, 2009). By tracing networks of heterogeneous elements, ANT tries to render the social world as flat as possible in order to ensure that the establishment of any new link is clearly visible. Network is a concept for ANT, however, 'not a thing out there'. "It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described..." (Latour, 2007, p. 131). Within a network, this sociology of associations looks for the new institutions, procedures, and concepts able to collect and reconnect the social.

On ANT perspective, after tracing networks the social scientist has to grant the actors the ability to make up their own theories of what the social is made of. From ANT,

“you have ‘to follow the actors themselves’, that is try to catch up with their often wild innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts could best define the new associations [...].”(Latour, 2007, p. 12)

In this sense the notions of *power* or *scale*, instead of being predefined characteristics of a field or an area, are functions of a network’s configuration. So nation-state and patriarchy, or micro/macro, global/local and individual/structure become effects rather than explanatory foundations. “This is not to say that they are not real – they may indeed be made real in practice – but they offer no framework for explanation” (Law, 2009: 147).

According to Law, the current challenges of ANT are related to the notion of *performativity*. This implies that entities are not *real* until they are *enacted into being*. He sustains that a vital metaphorical and explanatory shift is taking place: “We are no longer dealing with *construction*, social or otherwise: there is no stable prime mover, social or individual, to construct anything, no builder, no puppeteer...Rather we are dealing with *enactment* or *performance*. The metaphor of construction – and social construction – will no longer serve” (Law, 2009: 151). For Law this implicates an understanding that each practice generates its own material realities, and they are temporal and are enacted differently in different places. In this sense, one of the important challenges for ANT is to understand how these realities are related. However, for Law, the description of the real “is always an ethically charged act.” (Law, 2009, p. 155)

The entanglements in practice

“We are the beings that we are through our entanglements with things, we are thoroughly hybrid beings, cyborgs through and through – we have never been otherwise” (Introna, 2009: 1).

In her extensive literature review, Orlikowski (2010) shows that a group of scholars have been working within a *relational ontology*, which rejects the notion that the world is composed of individuals and objects with separately attributable properties. Such ontology privileges neither humans nor technologies nor does it treat them as separate and distinct entities. This perspective challenges the ontology of separateness, that understands technology and society as different and independent entities, and Orlikowski characterizes these new studies with the label ‘entanglement in practice’ (Orlikowski, 2010, p. 135).

In particular, Orlikowski shows that one influential example of an entanglement perspective is Actor Network Theory (ANT). She highlights that entities acquire their form and attributes from ANT only through their relations with others; there are no separate social or technological elements that might shape, or be shaped by each other. Further, ANT entails a specific methodology for studying the co-evolution of the assembles and associations between humans and non-humans as equivalent participants in a network. She also shows that other scholars working within a relational ontology have proposed additional conceptualizations, such as the notion of *sociomateriality*, which focuses on how meanings and materialities are enacted together in everyday practices, because technologies are bound up with the specific material-discursive practices that constitute certain phenomena (Barad, 2003; Barad, 2007; Introna, 2009; Suchman, 2007, 2009).

Alam & Brooks (2013) identify two major streams of sociomateriality in Information Systems (IS) literature research. The first stream focuses on sociomaterial constitutive entanglement and it uses the concept of diffraction, a ceaseless process between the social and the material, and

both are constitutively entangled and belong in the same world. The second stream focuses on sociomaterial assemblage and sociomaterial practices and it applies ‘imbrication’ as a core concept to understand the sociomaterial assemblage and sociomaterial practices.

In what follows some of the most important reflections and findings of the first stream of sociomateriality accounts are presented while some of the core premises of ANT are amplified. The intersections and tensions between sociomateriality and ANT inform this research project with key concepts such as entanglement, performativity, agency, and reality, to mention a few.

Sociomaterial accounts that dialogue and challenge ANT

Sociomaterial accounts share significant theoretical analyses and methodological practices with post structural and post-colonial theories that focus on social and material aspects with equal importance including feminist theory, complexity theory, and work systems theory. During the 1980s, the emergence of the feminist perspective of technology nurtured STS with very important insights and criticisms that also provided significant grounds for further discussion of sociomateriality approach. These first contributions not only insisted that technology was the product of social relations, but they also pointed out that there were other powerful forces shaping technology such as militarism, capitalist profitability, racism and the structure of gender relations (Wajcman, 1995).

More recently, feminist theorists such as Suchman (2007) sustains that feminist scholars have embraced the inseparability of subjects and objects. In particular she points out that studies of this approach have added crucial sensibilities to the reconceptions of *agency* under development

in science and technology studies (STS). She also points out three important contributions feminist research has made to STS. First, Feminist research favors particular and specifically situated practices of knowing in action. Second, feminism directs attention to the labors that are an essential and ongoing aspect of sociotechnical assemblages and the capacities for action that they enable. Third, “feminist research orients us not only to relations and symmetries among persons and things, but also to the politics of difference. The boundaries that constitute things as separate and different are treated not as pregiven, but as enacted, and practices of boundary-making and the enactment of difference are inevitably political.” (Suchman, 2007, p. 5).

Suchman (2007) also sustains that both reconceptualizations of the human/machine interactions as well the practices of their realization are inflected by, and consequential for, gendered relations within techno-science and beyond. Using Butler’s (1993) argument that sexed and gendered bodies are materialized over time through the reiteration of norms, she suggests a view of technology construction as a process of materialization through a reiteration of forms. “Butler argues that ‘sex’ is a dynamic materialization of always contested gender norms: similarly, we might understand ‘things’ or objects as materializations of more and less contested, normative identifications of matter.” (Suchman, 2007, p. 4)

In another vein, more concerned with the ethical and moral implications of technology for society, Introna points out that our existence has become so entangled with the things surrounding us “that it is no longer possible to say, in any definitive way, where we end and they begin, and vice versa”. (Introna, 2009, p. 26). Moreover, based on Latour’s reflections on the

intimate (and ontological) connection between technology and morality⁴¹, Introna asserts that technology, like morality, is not simply a matter of our choosing, which not only represents a deep critique into the anthropocentric idea of agency and ethics, but also disturbs “the categories of freedom, autonomy and responsibility at the heart of the liberal ethical project – which is based on the metaphysics of the autonomous subject.” (Introna, 2009, p. 29).

Barad’s sociomateriality framework represents a significant landmark for the nascent field of sociomaterial accounts. More interested in scientific practice as a critical site for the emergence of new subjects and objects, Barad (2003) developed a relational ontology that she calls *agential realist ontology*. Barad takes Niels Bohr’s post-Newtonian framework based on “quantum wholeness” or inseparability, which understands there is not an inherent distinction between the ‘observed object’ and ‘agencies of observation’⁴². On an agential realism, Barad proposes a contribution to understand the relationship between discursive practices and material phenomena, “an accounting of ‘nonhuman’ as well as ‘human’ forms of agency, and an understanding of the precise causal nature of productive practices that takes account of the fullness of matter’s implication in its ongoing historicity.” (Barad, 2003, p. 810)

Barad (K. Barad, 2003; 2007) also proposes a *posthumanist materialist* framework of performativity that suggest a rethinking of the notions of material phenomena and discursive practices, and the relationship between them. Thus the performativity approach challenges the

⁴¹ He is referring to Latour article: ‘Morality and Technology: The End of the Means’ (Bruno Latour, 2002)

⁴² Niels Bohr (1885–1962), a contemporary of Einstein, was one of the founders of quantum physics and also the most widely accepted interpretation of the quantum theory. On Barad reading of Bohr’s philosophy-physics, Bohr can be understood as proposing a protoperformative account of scientific practices.

representationalist belief in the power of words to represent preexisting things. It is a contest over the excessive power granted to language to determine what is real. It also challenges the positioning of materiality as either a given or a mere effect of human agency. For Barad, matter is not a fixed essence; rather, matter is substance in its intra-active becoming, not a thing but a doing. Moreover discursive practices “are not human based activities but rather specific material (re)configurings of the world through which local determinations of boundaries, properties, and meanings are differentially enacted”(Barad, 2003, p. 821)

As discussed by Vannini (2009), the material objects cannot be reduced to mere signs (and social and cultural life cannot be defined as simply communication); they need to be considered as part of a complex system of actions, as linked to human bodies in movement and then to objects.

The sociomaterial framework of Barad implies also a notion of *agency* . She understands it as a matter of intra-acting; it is an enactment, not something that someone or something has. Agency is a matter of making iterative changes to particular practices through the dynamics of intra-activity, and it is about the possibilities and accountability⁴³ entailed in reconfiguring material-discursive apparatuses of bodily production, including the boundary articulations and exclusions that are marked by those practices. For Barad, agency “cannot be designated as an attribute of subjects or objects (as they do not preexist as such)”. (K. M. Barad, 2007, p. 214)

Orlikowski (2010) asserts that the contemporary forms of technology and organizations are increasingly understood to be multiple, fluid, temporary, interconnected and dispersed. This

⁴³ On Barad’s perspective the accountability is a matter of understanding the effects of particular assemblages, and assessing the distributions that they engender. See more in Barad(2007) and Suchman (2007).

means that a perspective which emphasizes the dynamic interactions and *entanglements* between agents and technologies is more likely to offer a useful conceptual and methodological lens with which to think about the emergent interactions between technologies and social dynamics that form and perform contemporary organizations, including the new forms and expressions of social movements.

Toward complex and mobile theories of technology and society

The characterizations provided on social constructivism, ANT, and sociomateriality show distinct intersections and divergences among them. Social constructivism and ANT approaches are historically and conceptually connected, as has been shown already. Something similar happens between ANT and current sociomaterial convergences. All these approaches present strengths and limitations that are worth pointing out in order to select the one that best responds to the questions in this research. The following figure presents the main **strengths** of each approach for this project:

Figure 1: Strengths of social constructivism, Actor-Network Theory and Sociomateriality

Social constructivism	Actor-Network Theory	Sociomateriality
Introduces new ways to think about and research the relationships between technology and society.	Stresses the relational character of technology and society under an analytical understanding of the ontological equivalence between humans and non-humans.	Digs deeper on a relational ontology, which implicates epistemological and ethical shifts.
Provides analytical and empirical tools to understand technology and society as culturally and historically embedded.	Points out that the relations between humans and non-humans are entangled in very complex and self-enacted webs, in which technologies also play a role as interactional mediators.	Leads to better understanding of performativity between material and social entities.
Recognizes the role and agency of individuals, groups and institutions that develop technologies.	Understands that “the social” also incorporates the natural and the material.	Elaborates on agency and power as the result of situated practices in which different agents

participate/dispute with different material and discursive possibilities.

Each of these three approaches has **limitations** that are important to keep in mind as well. The following figure **Error! Reference source not found.** presents the main limitations underlined for this project:

Figure 2: Limitations of social constructivism, Actor-Network Theory and Sociomateriality

Social constructivism	Actor-Network Theory	Sociomateriality
Persists in failing to achieve general claims and guidelines, which contradict its particular character and its case study-based emphasis.	Its analytical focus tends to omit the histories and trajectories of both humans and non-humans when they are interacting and developing different networks.	Shows more difficulties to operationalize their premises and empirical findings. ⁴⁴
Seems attached to an ontology of separateness ⁴⁵ between humans and non-humans, which privileges humans' agency in social and technological interactions.	In spite of its analytical purposes ANT tends to dismiss the structure, context and frameworks in which networks are entangled.	Many of these studies and analyses tend to neglect the specificity of the technological systems involved in the interactions between social and material worlds and some of them have shown a lack of attention to deal with the broader contexts of practice and social structures (Mutch, 2013).
	Overlooks the same material (physical) conditions/features of humans and non-humans, which are part of particular sets of interactions within these networks.	

Contributions of ANT to this research

Having outlined some of ANT's strengths and weaknesses, four main ANT concepts which help to better investigate and analyze the interactions between social media and social movements are explored now:

⁴⁴ This is probably due to the variety of approaches that these studies cover, many of them dealing with philosophical questions and frameworks.

⁴⁵ Orlikowski uses this term to refer to the approaches that assume that technology and humans are essentially different and separate realities (Orlikowski, 2010).

1. that human and non-humans associations are enacted in practice;

that ‘following the actors’ associations helps better understand the social (which in ANT implicitly includes the material, the natural), as a ‘movement of re-association and reassembling’;

that material conditions matter and nonhuman elements can be agents (actants) that come to existence in associations with other human and non-human agents, and

that non-humans mediate human and non-human interactions.

Relationality and association

ANT has *assembled* a framework which gathers agents (human and nonhumans actants) and their links in a dynamic and a complex form. The results of the actants’ associations are webs that produce and reproduce their own forms, actions, materials, technologies, meanings, identities, powers, etc. Coming from different theoretical and disciplinary fields, the more active and visible advocates of ANT, Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law, have positioned a non-foundational perspective on multiple associations between different entities which make it possible to trace and explain.

Within this approach, *the social* is a result of the movement of associations of these entities. The social is not a special domain or a thing, it is not the result of preexisting structures that models and determines agents’ actions and networks. The associations between natural, technical and human worlds not only untie convincing discussions within human and social sciences, but they also propose bridges between social science and natural and applied sciences. The notion of association, indeed, suggests an alternative rationality founded on interactions, flows, change and

movement. All of them are important characteristics in the task of tracing associations within Social Movement Organizations.

Following the actors

ANT has an underlying method in which sociologists participate, and ‘follow the actors’. This method is based upon three subsequent phases: deployment, stabilization and composition. Thus the first phase encompasses different tasks related to the group formation process such as the identification of (a) the heterogeneity of actors –actants – of a group, (b) the heterogeneity of their actions and interactions, and (c) the agents’ mediations within those interactions, especially the non-human mediations. After this, ANT proposes to trace networks as well as to detect *stabilization* mechanisms during certain moments of those networks’ interactions.⁴⁶ Then ANT recommends going back to the agents and letting them speak about those stabilization moments in order “to grant them back the ability to make up their own theories of what the social is made.” (Bruno Latour, 2007, p. 11)

Just after each of these actions, the sociologist of the social attempts to register both the novelty of associations and the stabilization mechanisms in a comprehensible form. Thus, the composition task (this is the creation of explanations), implicates a work between the networks’ participants and the sociologists of the social, which should be open for public scrutiny as well. In this sense, to study is always to do politics, because it collects or composes what the world is

⁴⁶ On ANT the *laws* of the social are after the action, below the participants, and “they circulate, they format, they standardize, they coordinate, they have to be explained”. (Bruno Latour, 2007, p. 246)

made of. “The delicate question is to decide what sort of collection and what sort of composition is needed.” (Bruno Latour, 2007, p. 256)

Materiality

Scholars from both social constructivism and sociomateriality have both pointed out that one of the most challenging contributions of ANT is related to the agency of non-humans and their interactions with humans. The idea that “reality” is a result of the interactions of heterogeneous social, technical and textual materials, has generated several ontological discussions, and an ontological change with repercussions for epistemological approaches. These shifts expand our ideas around relational ontologies and equip us to understand better the levels at which contemporary existence is entangled with technological entities. They also allow us to see the theoretical and methodological challenges that these contexts suggest. Furthermore, the shifts confront our theoretical and methodological assumptions, and force us to question materiality, infrastructure and ‘stuff’; questions that I and many other human and social scientists have avoided. Among the three approaches, ANT is the only one that yields insights into some crucial aspects of the material, including the physical characteristics and capabilities entailed in other technological objects which will be examined below (Mutch, 2013; Orlikowski, 2010).

Mediations

Mediation has been shown to relate to the concept of association. The notion of mediation as a sort of “cooperative” work between different actors also offers an interesting ground of theoretical and methodological exploration; for it shows that non-humans can develop

mediations and produce different forms of assemblages, actions and effects. The explanation that different artifacts and technologies can develop diverse forms of mediation is strong, mainly because mediation implies transformation, translation, distortion and modification of meanings or elements. These ideas resonate well with significant shifts in communication and information approaches in Latin America that, since late 1980s, have sustained the mediation character of mass media as part of social dynamics and movements that have transformed not only the social, but also the political and cultural (Martín B, 1993).

It is important to take into account that ANT recognizes nonhuman mediations, this is the agency attributes of nonhumans, but it does not implicate the recognition of intentionality at all. Attributing causal agency to objects represents a technical determinism that ANT rejects (Latour 2007).⁴⁷

Limitations of ANT for this research

Despite these four contributions, there are at least three major limitations that are brought by the choice of ANT to guide this research:

1. The role of histories, memories and trajectories

Actants are not equal

Body and embodiment

⁴⁷ See more on the differences on agency and intentionality as well as on intermediaries and mediators at (Diaz Andrade, 2012).

Histories, memories and trajectories

According to ANT, the social is a result of multiple and dynamic associations among different kinds of entities. This performing nature of the social suggests an analytical emphasis on entities association while they are in action. However, it also suggests some lack of attention to issues of history, memory and trajectory of those entities, and the effect that the entities' histories, trajectories and memories could have in their actions and associations. Without adopting a foundational perspective, in this research it is suggested that entities' histories, memories and trajectories play a part in the process of entities' actions and associations, which are also revitalized and transformed in action and in association. That is, histories, memories or trajectories also mediate the process of associations when *they are enacted into being*.

Non-foundational and dynamic studies on these aspects just referred to could enrich the task of tracing and explaining associations. In particular, interdisciplinary works such as Ricoeur's (2004) studies on the relationships between remembering and forgetting and their connections with the perceptions of historical experiences and the production of historical narratives; or Sarlo's (2005) discussions and critics of the contemporary emphasis on personal testimonies and memoirs; or Sontag's (2003) investigations on the role of information and imagery in contemporary culture, can shed light to this research. These approaches not only underlined the performance and interactional character of memories and histories, as relational and dialogical process connected with sociotechnical and cultural representations and actions, but those approaches also sustain the need of developing more appropriate intellectual tools to better grasp and understand those relationships.

Actors are not equal

In the same vein as the previous argument, ANT focuses on agents' actions and associations, and this could obscure the role that some 'structural' conditions can have on agents' performances and networks' functions. The actants attributes and their positions within a network, and the power they get, can also affect the forms and patterns of associations that the agents develop in practice. As Suchman (Suchman, 2007, 2009) and Barad (2007) assert, agency is always inextricably tied to the specific sociomaterial arrangements of which it is a part, and it is the result of particular practices that implicates possibilities and boundaries.

For tracing and mapping networks, the dynamic and changing positions, capabilities and conditions of actants could be considered. Bourdieu theory on cultural fields provides an alternative to complement ANT in this aspect, without competing with it. P. Bourdieu suggests an analytical method that includes the definition of fields of studies; the identification of actors within the fields; the description of actors' roles and positions within the fields; and the actor's accumulation and uses of different forms of material and symbolic powers that this author mainly characterized as capitals. Bourdieu made a significant contribution to the analysis between cultural practices and broader social process, in which symbolic aspects of social life are inseparably intertwined with the material conditions of existence. In an attempt to transcend this dichotomy, Bourdieu's approach "sought to develop a concept of agent free from the voluntarism and idealism of subjectivist accounts and a concept of social space free from the deterministic and mechanistic causality inherent in many objectivist approaches." (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993, p. 4)

Body and embodiment

Even though ANT has developed an important guide that recognizes the importance of materiality, it lacks a deep analysis of the ‘bodies’ and processes of ‘embodiment’ within networks. These include a reflection on both human and non-human bodies. The presence of bodies, and process of embodiment represent immense challenges not only for ANT studies, but also for other sociotechnical analysis of networks and organizations. Bodies and embodiment also point out a significant challenge in the studies on communication and information processes that are part of networks and organizations. Sociomaterial studies have developed extensive analyses and discussions on bodies and embodiment (e.g. K. M. Barad, 2007; Butler, 1993; Suchman, 2007) that could offer an important contribution for the analyses of contemporary social movements and the ways they have integrated different kind of technologies. However, these aspects represent intricate topics which are beyond the scope of this project.

How my research is positioned in relation to ANT

ANT proposes a shift for understanding relations between technologies, individuals and collectives in deep and complex forms. It implies a relational ontology that is appropriate to this project’s research questions. Furthermore, ANT moves towards *performativity*, in which matters of practices/doings/actions are central, fits very well with this project’s focus on social movements practices, where silent and non-evident actions and mediations of technologies are decisive. A *performativity* approach also looks coherent to deal with very dynamic and changing sociotechnical expressions such as social media and social movements.

The relational ontology also comprises other kinds of epistemologies that challenge the notions about the relations between the knowers/researchers/observers and the known/researched/observed. These epistemological approaches recognize that there is not a radical outside from which to conduct a completely detached observation. In other words, they recognize that researchers are not outside observers of the world, nor are we simply located at particular places in the world. Rather, we are part of the world in its ongoing activity (Barad, 2003; Escobar, 2008).

This epistemological focus not only offers insights for this research design and implementation, but it also provides guides for the ethical commitments with people and organizations which have been involved in the research activities. This implicates, for instance, the recognition and value of exchanging different types of knowledge between the researchers and the project participants. These also include the consideration of the multiple practices, voices and interpretations of all agents under consideration, which implies a complementation as well as competition of different narratives and practices.

Thus, ANT provides this research with a framework which 1) focuses on formation process of collective action as a result of complex, moving and continuously generated associations (webs) that integrate humans and technologies; 2) combines the analysis of symbolic, practical and technological dimensions of human and technological associations, and 3) emphasizes the analyses of *social practices*. The social in ANT also incorporates the natural and the material. Moreover, ANT suggests an approach that explores the active role (the agency) not only of the

human components of networks, but also of its technological entities. In this sense, technologies can mediate human and technological interactions.

ANT has limitations in dealing with this project research questions. To compensate for that, historical and contextual accounts on human and non-human agents will be incorporated within this research to better explain the agents' trajectories and their agencies within different networks. These additions also point toward richer frameworks for researching how different kinds of information and communication technologies are entangled in particular socio-political circumstances in which social movements organizations navigate regularly.

The research questions of this project deal with a particular form of *collective action*: social movements, in which social movements organizations are integrated. The social movements are understood here as intricate associations of individual and collective agents (humans and nonhumans) that are neither homogeneous, nor definitive. Thus, the departure point of this research is neither from technologies nor human actors, nor demarcated social fields. Therefore, the point of departure of this research embraces the interactive character of technological and human agents.

The departure point of this project assumes an interactional perspective, which emphasizes human and non-human practices that are not static but entities in becoming, as Jensen & Rødje might say, paraphrasing Deleuze. ANT offers a good ground to describe and analyze the ongoing associations of social media and social movements in their multiplicity, flow and temporality. Thus ANT provides an alternative to better understand how Facebook and social movement

organizations have become mingled, as well as its implications for SMOs' performances, identities and information and communication practices.

ICT and Social Movements: Main discussions in the literature

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents a review of the literature addressing the myriad relationships between social movements and diverse forms of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The review includes a trajectory of the studies in this field that initially looks broadly at ICT in general, and progressively focuses on the role of Social Media in social movements in particular. Results of the literature review point out three major research challenges: 1) the ways in which ICT (in relationship with other forms of information and communication) have been integrated into extra-institutional spheres of politics such as social movements represent, 2) the forms in which ICT are understood as well as integrated in quotidian practices of individuals and collectives that are linked with social movements, and 3) the different ways in which particular ICT (including social media) are transforming social movements, in particular their performance their information and communication practices, and their collective identities. These challenges are also connected to the need to analyze whether these ICT-related practices and transformations implicate changes in the ways that social movements are conceptualized.

The literature review was organized chronologically to trace the trajectories of the studies on social movements and ICT, including social media. These trajectories portray how scholars within this field have gained a more complex understanding of the presence of ICT in social mobilization, evidencing the challenges of social scientists dealing with the rapid development of technologies, and the increment of interdisciplinary research initiatives. Moreover, the

trajectories of the studies reveal a tendency to be more focused on particular practices and technologies, as well as increasing levels of sophistication and specialization in their objects of study and their theoretical approaches. Thus, current studies include but are not limited to social media use in online and offline mobilization strategies; uses of mobile technologies; public access computing in post-crisis contexts; surveillance and privacy issues related to social media and political protest; information behavior of immigrants and civic engagement; public policies on technology and their impact on democratic practice; document preservation in post-conflict situations; information and communication rights and cultural preservation; and digital youth and political participation.

The term ICT here refers here to the integration of information and telecommunication technology sectors including their convergence with the media technology sector based on common digital technology, including all types of telecommunication and broadcasting systems and services (Sallai, 2012).⁴⁸ The use of this broad notion of ICT seeks to respond to the variety of uses that can be found in the literature, even though very often the consulted studies tend to present this term without providing neither particular explanations about their understanding of it, nor establishing the scope and limits of ICT. The literature review also includes more recent studies on social media, social protests, and social movements, as well as a few studies which are part of a nascent field of information and immigration studies that focus specifically on the immigration movement and ICT.

⁴⁸ According to Sallai ICT includes wireline, wireless, mobile, satellite systems; computer hardware, software, networks and services; content producing and managing multimedia systems, Internet technologies, services and applications, machine-to-machine applications.

The literature that informs this project's research questions is organized on different but complementary aspects in three main tracks: 1) Social Movement Studies (SMS) that incorporate analysis of the presence and use of ICT in collective action; 2) multidisciplinary studies of ICT that focus on the ways that social movements and collective action use and integrate these technologies; and 3) Information and Immigration studies that analyze the relationships between ICT and social movements and collective action.

This literature review provides a deeper understanding of the trajectories followed by these studies, their theoretical frameworks and methods, and their main findings and contributions, while considering both the focus of this project's research questions as well as its theoretical and methodological approaches.

The review of these three tracks points out four major conclusions:

1. Within the field of Social Movement Studies there are relatively few examples that incorporate analyses of the presence and interactions of social movements and Internet-based technologies. However, some recent studies on transnational and/or global mobilizations have paid more attention to the uses of ICT and their relations with networks, the diffusion of mobilization strategies, and with new forms of political participation.

There are many multidisciplinary studies on relationships between ICT and different forms of collective action (protests, civic engagement, social mobilizations, and social and network movements). Several of these studies emphasize four theoretical frameworks that come from Social Movements Studies - resource mobilization, mobilizing structures, opportunity structures, and framing processes. The studies apply very

diverse research methods without a significant use of mixed methods, and few studies use ethnographic approaches. Sociological and historical case studies on particular movements or events are prevalent, and many of the studies give priority to ‘critical events’ as well as massive protests and uprisings that have been highlighted in the national and international media.

Despite the social and academic relevance of transnational immigration issues, and the number of people and grassroots organizations mobilizing for immigration rights on different levels, there are still very few studies that analyze the relationships among information, immigration, and collective action, and even fewer studies on Internet-based technologies and Social Movements.

Most research in the field of Social Movements and ICT have tended to omit or not clearly present the theoretical frameworks they are using to understand technologies, social movements, and the relationships between them. Such omissions and lack of clarity have an impact on the methodological decisions that drive these studies, with significant effects on the findings they are presenting: they tend to produce more deterministic and simplistic perspectives on the roles and influence of ICT on social movements, and to obscure their the degree of the ICT impacts on collective actions, and their influence in the broader political process.. Several of the consulted studies adopt an understanding of technologies that is closer to a perspective of technological determinism, thus interpreting technology itself as a driving force of social change. Many others express a comprehension of technologies closer to that of social constructivism; these authors appear more interested in the uses and appropriations of technologies by particular social agents within different contexts. Very few of these studies incorporate explanations that consider technology as entangled in practice and therefore adopt a relational ontology, which rejects the notion that the world is composed of individuals and objects with separately attributable properties.

This chapter as follows presents a detailed description of each track, including (a) a brief explanation of its origins and trajectories; (b) some of the most relevant studies of each one, identifying their main questions and findings; and (c) some of the most significant contributions of each track, taking into account the goals and research questions of this project. Finally, the chapter closes with a discussion on the gaps identified in the literature.

Social Movement Studies that emphasize the role of ICT

Origins and trajectories of this group of studies

The study of social movements has a long trajectory, especially in sociology. The term "social movements" was introduced in 1848 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution (1848)* in which he depicted political movements fighting for social rights (Stein & Mengelberg, 1964). It is very difficult to understand social movements in isolation, because they are not only integral to social dynamics and structures, but they also comprise different social agents. For these reasons, theories related to social movements are intimately entwined with theories concerning societal development, conflict and social change. Thus “any analysis of the major body of work on social movements take us thorough a taxonomy from collective behaviour theory, probably the more orthodox explanation; through resource mobilization theory; to new social movements interpretations to the most contemporary and innovative contribution of the action-identity approach.” (Ruggiero & Montagna, 2008)

According to Della Porta & Diani (2006), there are four sets of questions that have played a significant role in shaping the discussions and debates on collective action and social movements over the previous decades. They also identified some of the most influential approaches that have characterized this field. Thus, the first set of questions refers to the relationship between structural change and transformations in patterns of social conflict, which has been especially analyzed by *collective behavior theories*. In particular, these studies ask how changes in the social structure, especially in Western countries, might affect the forms of collective action.

The second set of questions has to do with the role of cultural representations in social conflict, which has been especially studied by *new social movements approach*. In particular, these studies are interested in how cultural and symbolic production by social actors enables the identification of social problems as worthy objects of collective action and the construction of collective identity, that provides a shared sense of purpose and unifies a group of individuals in ways that make action possible (Gamson, 1991).

The third set addresses the process through which values, interests and ideas get turned into collective action, which has been especially examined by *resource mobilizations theories*. The research investigates how organizational and individual resources make collective action not only possible but also successful, at least potentially.

The fourth set of questions concerns the relationship between certain social, political and/or cultural context, and social movement's chances of success, and the forms these social movements take. This set of questions has been especially analyzed by the *political process*

approach. In particular, these studies ask about how the forms of action adopted by social movements, their developments over time, and their clustering in broader waves of contention, are all affected by the traits of the political and social systems in which social movements operate.

The research questions of this endeavor are primarily related to the new social movement approach. However they are also related to the third and fourth set of questions presented above. According to Melucci (1994), one of the most important advocates of the *new social movement approach*, social movements are media that speak through action: their primary message is that they exist and act. However, the actions of movements can be seen as symbols and as communication. “This does away with the old distinction between the instrumental and expressive meaning of action, for in contemporary movements the results of action and the individual experience of new codes tend to coincide.” (Melucci, 1994, p. 126). He also showed that information becomes a crucial resource for contemporary complex systems, and the control over the production, accumulation, and circulation of information is a terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being (Melucci, 1994, 1996). But information also represents a process where solidarities, identities, and consensus come into being.

Based on Melucci’s approach, here the collective identity is understood as an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. By *interactive and shared* he means a definition that must be conceived as a process, because it is constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the

relationships that link individuals or groups. Collective identity as a process involves at least three fundamental dimensions: (1) formulating cognitive frameworks concerning the ends, means, and field of action; (2) activating relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate, and make decisions; (3) making emotional investments, which enable individuals to recognize themselves as part of a common unity (Melucci, 1995).

In North America many studies that incorporate the examination of social movements and ICT came from analysis of the civil rights and labor movements (Ramirez, 2011). These social movement studies, including cultural, African-American, and communication studies, use and combine the four approaches presented above, but with a tendency to focus on collective behavior and resource mobilization theories. The studies deal with questions on how media, and the systems in which media are embedded, can enable or constrain collective struggle, and how cultural practices and structures favor the use of media for mobilization. These studies often relate the use of media to other communication and cultural traditions and practices, or highlight the links that mass media have with innovative uses of more traditional and alternative media. Interracial and other social interactions among different social groups and social sectors are emphasized.

Citing Garland (1982) and Rojas (1975), Ramirez argues that alternative media, such as newsletters and newspapers, helped mobilize supporters during the black and Chicano civil rights movements by providing relevant information and serving as facilitators of communication for civil rights leaders and organizations. Furthermore, in a study which analyzes

how group identity is manifested and experienced and how perceptions of political opportunity are altered, Roscigno & Danaher (2001) posit that mainstream radio stations were used effectively by labor during the southern textile strike campaigns of 1929 to 1934. The authors show that the geographic proximity of radio stations to the "textile belt" and the messages aired shaped workers' sense of collective experience and political opportunity. Ward (2004) also points out that radio played a significant role in the Civil Rights movement in the South, suggesting that the presence of radio stations in daily life contributed to change of racial consciousness and transforming southern racial practices while simultaneously entertained, informed, educated, and mobilized black and white southerners.

Additionally, using classical collective behavior theory and resource mobilization theory, Morris (1984) also demonstrates that the African-American Civil Rights movement spread through sophisticated, preexisting formal and informal communication networks, in which churches, colleges and movement organizations provided the essential resources to develop the movement. Moreover, Morris asserts that indigenous black institutions, organizations and leaders energized the movement with music, trenchant sermons, and challenging oratory. Such cultural factors, although refocused by activists, were important to the development of the movement as well.

In a different vein, studies coming from the new social movements approach, reveal mixed views on the potential advantages of information communication technologies (Carty & Onyett, 2006). On the one hand, many scholars point to some utopian aspects of ICT such as that they allow unprecedented opportunities for the exchange of information outside the control of the dominant media corporations, or they contribute to the emerging virtual community and social relations

which are more decentralized, democratic, diverse, heterogeneous, fluid, open, informal and in many ways self-governed. On the other hand, many authors acknowledge a more critical analysis of ICT that reveals a number of limitations as well. For instance, many of the advocates of the utopian perspective hold that although “computer networks create new social spaces in which individuals meet and interact in virtual landscapes, many argue that they are not a substitute for more traditional forms of community, protest and collective identity.” (Carty & Onyett, 2006, p. 239)

However, in the nineties, further Social Movement Studies (SMS) started analyzing communication and information phenomena as part of collective action and the actions and processes of social movements. This was due, in part to changes in the social environment - such as globalization processes and the transnationalization of politics and technological innovations – both of which widened the space of action of social movements and allowed the possibility for them to adopt a more global perspective. These changes encouraged new studies addressing various aspects of the transnationalization of collective protests and social movements, some incorporating different aspects of the importance of the Internet and new information and communication technologies, especially, as part of new sociopolitical contexts (Castells, 2004, 2007; Cohen & Rai, 2000; Ruggiero & Montagna, 2008; Smith et al., 1997).

Three overlapping tracks appear noteworthy within these transnational studies that analyze the uses and impacts of ICT in social movements: the first pays attention to the relationships between new communication and information dynamics and the construction of alternative spaces of power as part of globalization processes related to human rights, poverty, gender,

equality and the environment (Appadurai, 2000; Castells, 2007; Juris, 2008a, 2008b). The second emphasizes a new process of diffusion of mobilization repertoires, and the deployment of innovative tactics through the use of Internet, online communications and new ICT (Ayres, 1999; Carty & Onyett, 2006; Della Porta & Tarrow, 2012; Smith, 2008). The third addresses the transformation and creation of different forms of social interactions and networks as a consequence of unprecedented developments in information and communication technologies (Bennett, 2005; Castells, 2004; Della Porta, 2006; Diani, 2000; Diani & McAdam, 2003; Khagram et al., 2002; Mische, 2003; Montagna, 2008).

Main trends and findings of this group of studies

ICT and spaces of power

The first track within the transnational studies pays attention to the relationships between contemporary advances of ICT and the construction of alternative spaces of power. On one hand, there are studies which examine the role of social movements and social movement Organizations (SMOs) that promote ‘grassroots globalization’, this is the process of globalization concerned with issues such as human rights, gender, equality and the environment (Appadurai, 2000, 2006; Juris, 2008a, 2008b). On the other hand, some studies investigate the rise of new forms of communication over the Internet and wireless communication networks, in which insurgent politics and social movements are able to intervene more decisively in the new communication space (Castells, 2007; Castells, 2009).

As part of a long-term study focusing on a particular movement, the Shack/ Slumdweller International (SDI), Appadurai (2006) analyzes the forms and activities of transnational activist networks involved in major debates about globalization (such as human rights, poverty, indigenous rights, emergency aid, ecological justice and gender equality). Appadurai also shows that these movements work through the *cellular principle*, coordinating without massive centralization, reproducing without a clear-cut central mandate, working occasionally in the larger public eye but often outside it, leveraging resources from state and market to their own ends, and pursuing visions of equity and access that do not fit many twentieth century models either of development or of democracy.

Particularly, Appadurai points out that these movements have often succeeded in slowing down major official moves to set global policies on trade, environment or debt, usually by forcing transparency, by putting pressure on specific states, and by circulating information about forthcoming policy decisions rapidly across state boundaries by electronic means so as to mobilize protest (Appadurai, 2006). Moreover, he insists on the impact of electronic media in the flow of images of well-being and discourses of human rights across national boundaries as well as the impact of these technologies on imagination. He asserts that imagination is a faculty that “allows people to consider migration, resist state violence, seek social redress, and design new forms of civic association and collaboration, often across national boundaries.” (Appadurai, 2000, p. 6)

Furthermore, in working with anti-corporate globalization movements, Juris (2008a) developed an ethnography on networking practices and cultural logics shaped by ongoing interactions with

new digital technologies. He holds that anti-corporate globalization movements involve an increasing confluence among network technologies, organizational forms, and political norms, mediated by concrete networking practices and micropolitical struggles. He shows that activists have not only responded to growing poverty, inequality, and environmental devastation, they have also generated social laboratories for the production of alternative democratic values, discourses, and practices. Moreover, he posits that the notion of the network has also emerged as a widespread cultural ideal, a model of, and model for, new forms of radical and directly democratic politics.

Juris also argues that the search for new organizational forms, in an area of rapid technological change, represents one of the most important contributions of anti-corporate globalization movements. To assess this technological impact, he proposes two distinct yet mutually reinforcing modes of activist networking: tactical and strategic. “The former [tactical] involves the construction of short-term networks to facilitate interventions within dominant public spheres; the latter [strategic] entails the creation of autonomous, self-managed networks. Whereas tactical networking aims to achieve political change, strategic networking is oriented toward long-term social transformation.” (Juris, 2008a, p. 290)

On the other hand, Castells (2007) holds that the rise of insurgent politics cannot be separated from the emergence of a new kind of media space: the space created around the process of *mass self-communication*. This space offers an extraordinary medium for social movements and rebellious individuals to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society on their own terms and around their own projects. However, according to Castells, the space of social

movements of the digital age is not a virtual space; it is a composite of the space of flows and of the space of places. “Social movements escaped their confinement in the fragmented space of places and seized the global space of flows, while not virtualizing themselves to death, keeping their local experience and the landing sites of their struggle as the material foundation of their ultimate goal: the restoration of meaning in the new space/time of our existence, made of both flows, places and their interaction.”(Castells, 2007, p. 250)

ICT, repertoires and diffusion

The second noteworthy track within the transnational studies emphasizes a new process of diffusion of mobilization repertoires and the deployment of innovative tactics through the use of Internet, online communications and new ICT. For instance, Carty & Onyett (2006) demonstrate the importance of cyberactivism as a new repertoire at the disposal of activists in contemporary social justice campaigns. They also puts forth the idea that the virtual public spheres and the new technological environments have contributed greatly to contentious politics, because they facilitate “inter-networked movements organized as flows and created ways for participants in the struggle to cooperate at the grassroots level.” (Carty & Onyett, 2006, p. 245). The Internet and advanced communication technologies have also resulted in a fundamental shift in the mechanics of protests because mobilization can emerge from amorphous groups rather than top-down hierarchical ones.

Carty & Onyett focus on how the Internet serves as a central means of communicating grievances, sharing and expanding communication across various transnational constituencies,

and ultimately increases the interconnectedness and consciousness of groups and individuals on a global scale. They show that social movements use advanced forms of technology and mass communication as a mobilizing tool and conduit to alternative forms of media. Technology and mass communication serve as both a means and target of protest action, and play a crucial role in the organization and success of international political mobilizing. The authors also posit that diverse actors have taken advantage of the interconnectedness associated with globalization and new communication technologies to forge a global collective identity, framed under global standards of justice and a shared oppositional consciousness in accordance with international norms (Carty & Onyett, 2006).

In a different vein, della Porta & Tarrow (2012) studied the interaction between the transnational diffusion of new forms of protest behavior and police practices in response to them. They show that, in a general sense, such transnational diffusion can be seen as the result of the globalization of the communications media; but, more concretely, it is evidence of the growth of transnational ties, both among governing elites and among transnational activists. They also point out that recent events in the Middle East and North Africa show how fast emerging movement tactics can diffuse across boundaries. And they posit that activists came into contact with each other, connecting the squares where they protested, through the use of new technologies and similar symbols. Because Tahir Square “not only was an important step in the wave of protests demanding freedom in the Middle East and North Africa but also introduced a new form of action—the long-term occupation of an important square, linked to the creation of a free space

where citizens could express themselves and form networks” (della Porta & Tarrow, 2012, p. 145).

Moreover, Della Porta & Tarrow (2012) point out the importance of technical innovation and the influence of advanced surveillance, information processing, and communication technologies on the organization of policing. These forms of action also imply approaches for targeting suspect populations and individuals in a highly systematic way, which are part of parallel and interactive sequence of “public order” reactions from the state.

ICT, networks and interactions

The third important track within the transnational studies addresses the transformation and creation of different forms of social interactions and networks as a consequence of unprecedented developments in information and communication technologies. Diani (2001), for instance, studied how “computer mediated communication” (CMC) could impact social movement activity. For him CMC represents an unusual form of communication that does not fit both conventional distinctions between public and private, and direct and mediated communication. He also predicts that CMC may be expected to affect collective action in both instrumental and symbolic terms, by improving the effectiveness of communication and facilitating collective identity and solidarity.

In particular, Diani asserts that by lowering costs and increasing opportunities for communication, CMC provides the largely passive support base with a low-intensity forum for issue-based communication, potentially strengthening their identification with the movement. He

also posits that CMC could support a variety of mechanisms for interaction, potentially strengthening existing relationships and expanding the ways in which they are employed. He argues that transnational organizations could not exist without the communicative efficiencies afforded by ICTs, claiming that costs and delays associated with prior communication technologies made coordinating transnational advocacy too cumbersome to be effective.

In an analysis of two eras of transnational activism, Bennett (2005) researches three convergent issues: (1) how traditional NGO advocacy networks are embedded with, and related to networks of direct activists; (2) how social technologies may create new organizational dynamics in coordinating and expanding protests; and (3) whether these mutually embedded networks can use their technological resources effectively to extend their political capabilities to communicate with larger publics and develop accountability relations with corporations and transnational policy agencies. Thus he highlights three properties of emerging transnational protests: “*inclusive organizational models* that favor diversity and issue-linking through distributed network designs; *social technologies* that facilitate these relatively decentralized, “leaderless” networks and help explain shifts in the scale of coordinated transnational activism; and the *political capacities* of members of these technology-rich networks to communicate their issues and form effective political relationships with targets of protest.” (Bennett. 2005 p. 203)

Particularly, Bennett asserts that communication technologies, in and of themselves, do not organize movements. However, the scale and diversity of transnational global justice networks were not likely to be maintained without the integration of on- and offline interaction facilitated by innovative ICT. For those reasons, he suggests a theoretical move that implies going beyond

the distinction between on- and offline relationships, which could be useful for national movements as well. He points out that a key issue of social technology is the synergy “between the organizational code of inclusive diversity and the technology codes that link and structure networks interactions” (Bennett, 2005, p. 217).

Main contributions of this group of studies

The comparison of the three groups presented above – ICT and spaces of power (SP); ICT and resources of diffusion (R&D) and ICT and interactions and networks (I&N) allows pointing out the following similarities and differences among them:

1. **Other resources for interacting:** All the three trends agree that ICT have provided individuals and collectives with new tools and structures (systems) to inform, communicate, and interact. The scale, venues, and timing of those interactions also occur at a higher scale, with many more people involved and many more places connected, and information and communications are much faster. R&D in particular highlights the new possibilities ICT have provided to diffuse and exchange mobilization resources and knowledge.

Other forms of organization: All trends also concur that the conditions mentioned above in (a) have positively affected the ability to organize and act collectively. I&N also highlights that ICT have helped to change the forms and structures of those organizations and movements, and the existence and multiplication of new sociotechnical networks are emphasized.

Other identities and organizational involvement: SP and I&N assert that the presence and access to ICT have helped transform the ways in which individuals, organizations and movements express and forge their individual and collective identities.

Additionally I&N points out that the access to ICT have impacted involvement and participation practices within social movements.

Other actors with other powers: SP underlines the new power, or the potential power, of individuals, organizations and networks and their possibilities to change social structures and systems as well the political process (in local, regional or global levels). Meanwhile R&D and I&N highlight that the organizational changes (mentioned above), have impacted the actions, and in less proportion the outcomes, of those organizations, movements and networks.

Other fields and objects of dispute: Both SP and I&N highlight that ICT (their tools and their sociotechnological networks) have become targets of the social movements struggles. ICT have also become targets of the same conflicts in which individuals, organizations and movements are involved.

Multidisciplinary studies on ICT and social movements

The last section presented some of the main discussions and contributions of different approaches of SMS which have examined the relationships between social movements and ICT. Now another area of literature that has several relations and numerous overlaps with SMS will be presented. However, this represents a different area because either the focus of the studies included here is not related to the main questions and discussions of SMS- they are not part of the main programs, journals or conference which help to define this field- or because these analyses do not identify themselves as part of the social movements studies.

Origins and trajectories of this group of studies

Scholars from a wide range of disciplines, particularly from sociology, political science, and communication studies, have investigated the relationships among ICT collective action and social movements. By the mid-1990s, the topic matured into a stable research area (Garrett, 2006). These studies have also been influenced by different events related to transnational phenomena, globalization, and changes in the information environment, particularly, the growth of new media (from satellite broadcasting to digitalization of television), and the rapid development and expansion of Internet-based technologies.

These studies find different and innovative uses and roles of ICT such as gathering and diffusing information; blending social networks with protest activities; coordinating campaigns and mobilizations; facilitating communications; and forging international alliances and coalitions that stimulate collective identities and international solidarity (M. I. Garrido, 2006; Gillan et al., 2008; M. Lim, 2012). These studies also show that recent uses of technologies of information and communication challenge some of the main tenets of collective action and social movements theories (B. Bimber et al., 2005; Earl & Kimport, 2011).

Furthermore, Bimber, Flanagin, & Stohl (2005; 2003) have demonstrated how rapid technological innovations are dramatically broadening and accelerating changes to the terms and structures of collective action, which are increasingly more sensitive to the flow of events and information and are less reflective of the traditional organization of interest. Moreover, Bennett, Breunig, and Givens (2008) posit that communication technologies may now enable sustainable

interpersonal network organization on a large scale that is (to varying degrees) independent of and, in some cases, may act upon conventional institutional organizations. Additionally (Bennett & Segerberg 2012 p. 744). hold that communication technologies have enabled the growth and stabilization of network structures across these networks, and “networks and communication become something more than mere preconditions and information” (Bennett & Segerberg 2012 p. 760). In this sense these authors suggest the emergence of a logic of connective action based on personalized content sharing across media networks, that contribute an organizational principle, that is different from notions of collective action based on assumptions about the role of resources, networks, and collective identity.

Earl & Kimport (2011) suggest a distinction between the Web and the Internet. They use the term Web to refer to content located on the World Wide Web, and the Internet to refer to the underlying protocols and processes that connect computers to one another globally. Furthermore, they identify two major schools of thought that have emerged from research on ICTs and social movements. The first found that ICT use for some kinds of activism (particularly Web usage) primarily increases the size, speed, and reach of activism, but has not had any definitive effect on the processes of activism. The second school of thought found that ICT (primarily Web usage as well) may change the actual process of organizing and/or participating in activism, resulting in model changes to existing theories of activism. Both models of organization and participation are

impacted by ICT usage and these findings suggest that the use of Internet-enabled technologies does not just supersize activism; it can change how it takes place.⁴⁹

As part of the second school of thought, Earl & Kimport demonstrate how the affordances of the Web contributed to reduce cost for participation and for organization of Web activism. These affordances also reduced the need for both collectivity and physical togetherness in organizations. They assert that low-cost participation makes it easier to participate and drives surges of participation that they referred to as flash activism, and also that e-tactics varied in the extent to which they employ tools that help movement causes and groups to drive down the costs of participation. They also claim that “for low cost-participation, things like collective identity are probably less influential in determining participation” (Earl & Kimport, 2011, p. 178). Moreover, they show that low cost, low levels of socialization and low pressure for new organizers meant that their behavior as organizers differed from what social movements scholars previously observed.

Main trends and findings of this group of studies

First global protests and mobilizations

In the late-1990s transnational phenomena—such as the Zapatista movement, the widespread unrest that produced President Suharto’s resignation in Indonesia and the first international anti-globalization protests, especially the so-called ‘Battle of Seattle’⁵⁰—stimulated new studies

⁴⁹ Earl & Kimport define affordances as “*the actions and uses that technology makes qualitatively easier or possible when compared to prior like technologies.*”(Earl & Kimport, 2011, p. 32).

⁵⁰ Refers to the protests at the Third Ministerial Meeting of the World Trade Organization in November 1999.

examining the connections between Internet-based technologies and new transnational social mobilization (Cleaver, 1998; Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Garrido, 2006; Merlyna Lim, 2003; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2002).

For instance, Garrido & Halavais (2003) show how the Web facilitated the diffusion of messages in hostile climates and how activist groups used the Web to facilitate the communication across borders and the formation of alliances (Garrido & Halavais, 2003). In particular, Garrido (2006) asserts that social movements' networks challenge discourses of power by providing spaces for marginalized voices to be heard while transforming these voices into a call for social change that transcends borders and resonates in different cultures. "Furthermore, these spaces are placing groups of people historically exploited, oppressed, and marginalized at the center of building an alternative development process." (Garrido, 2006, p. 125)

The war and anti-war protests and mobilizations

In late 2002 and early 2003, the "War on Terror" and the subsequent emergence of global anti-war protests and movements produced a new wave of studies on the use of the Internet to circulate anti-war information, organize demonstrations, and promote a wide diversity of anti-war activities (Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 2001; Gillan et al., 2008; Kahn & Kellner, 2004). For example, Gillan, Pickerill, & Webster (2008) analyzed the anti-war movement and their research questions revolve around how the anti-war movement used ICT to coordinate campaigns and how they adopted new media in their mobilization of supporters and coordination of actions. Thus, this study not only examined how new technologies were used in the symbolic struggles

between pro and anti-war forces, but also how they were integrated into anti-war organizations and campaigns. They argue that while new media enables anti-war information to move across distances with ease, cooperation requires much more substantive connections, from interpersonal ties to ideological agreement. This is because cooperation and coalitions “typically involve the sharing of resources other than information, whether material, such as money or human resources, or less tangible, such as trust or political backing.” (Gillan et al., 2008, p. 101)

Gillan, Pickerill, & Webster found a heavy use of ICT, especially among the most involved, but they observed that this tended to be restricted to the conventional capabilities of ICT, what they call their manifest functionality (e.g. to cheapen cost, to distribute information) as opposed to their latent functionality (e.g. to increase interactivity, to adopt wiki practices in creating information). They also noted that the features of these technologies can change the character of activism, which they typify as mundane and deep changes. There are more relatively mundane changes such as “more time spent at the computer screen, more flexibility when protesting on the streets, less need for time-consuming and expensive circular letters and the like. There also appear to be some deeper changes. Social movement organizations lose some control of information as their potential audience finds many more outlets catering to their informational needs and individual activist no longer depend on membership newsletters.” (Gillan et al., 2008, p. 180)

The color revolutions

In the mid-2000s, the Color revolutions⁵¹ also inspired several studies on the possibilities and risks of the Internet-based ICT within contentious political processes as well as on the roles of ICT in facilitating electoral (color) revolutions that produced peaceful transition of power in (semi)authoritarian regimes (Bunce & Wolchik, 2011; Lysenko, 2011; Åslund & McFaul, 2006). Lysenko (2011), for instance, investigated whether the Internet in the not-free societies can fulfill the function of ensuring the flow of information necessary for successful political dissent activity, and how the dissenters can effectively use modern ICTs in this respect. Based on a comparative study between Moldova and Belarus, he holds that ICT are especially crucial for the successful insurgent political struggle in (semi) authoritarian regimes. Particularly, he asserts that ICT are important to improving organizational robustness and accelerating mobilization speed; reducing transaction costs and facilitating the possibility to alter information transparency, and improving fundraising, while they help to protect the physical security of dissenters.

However, Lysenko also argues that there are potential risks associated with ICT: threats to the anonymity of the dissenters and confidentiality of the information they communicate, and the possibility of powerful cyberattacks on their resources. These risks are surrounded by a constant race in the use of the rival Internet-based tools between the dissenters and the authorities. In a similar vein, Lysenko & Desouza (2012) explore how technologies were used during various phases of Moldova's Revolution of April 2009. They point out that the protesters organized their

⁵¹ This is a term that was widely used by the US media to describe various related movements that developed in several societies in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans.

initial mobilization through social network services and short message services, and Twitter was mostly used during later phases of the revolution (the active street protests and the subsequent information war) for communication about the conflict both locally and globally. They also posit that through skillful use of ICT, it is possible to conduct a successful revolution without noticeable prior offline organization.

The Arab Spring

More recently the Arab Spring⁵² also triggered an impressive scholarly debate and production in this multidisciplinary area, with special attention on the uses and roles of Social Media during this sociopolitical process, especially Facebook and Twitter. In particular, this group of studies underline the relationships between Social Media and a) the political engagement of individuals, social groups and networks and their contributions in transforming political processes (e.g. Etling et al., 2010; Howard, 2010; Khamis & Vaughn, 2011); b) the instrumental and operational contributions of these media to amplify and accelerate sociopolitical and organizational processes (e.g. Faris, 2010; Joseph, 2012); c) the creation and strengthening of networks and organizations (e.g. M. Lim, 2012); and d) their relationships with other social dynamics and contexts as part of broader information and communication ecosystems (e.g. Baron, 2012; Papacharissi & De Fatima Oliveira, 2012; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012).

Khamis & Vaughn (2011), for instance, focused on how ICT acted as a tool for promoting civic engagement during the Egyptian revolution. Additionally, they explored how these new media

⁵² The Arab Spring, also known as the Arab Revolution, is a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests occurring in the Arab world that began on December 2010.

avenues enabled citizen journalism. They sustain that the instrumental use of Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and text messaging) were very effective before, during, and after this revolution as a tool for protesters to enhance their agency and capabilities. These Social Media outlets were effective tools for promoting civic engagement, allowing forums for free speech and political networking opportunities; providing a virtual space for assembly; and supporting the capability of the protestors to plan, organize, and execute peaceful protests. For the authors these tools were important in three intertwined ways: “enabling cyberactivism, which was a major trigger for street activism; encouraging civic engagement, through aiding the mobilization and organization of protests and other forms of political expression; and promoting a new form of citizen journalism, which provides a platform for ordinary citizens to express themselves and document their own versions of reality.” (Khamis & Vaughn, 2011, p. 6)

As part of a larger study on the changing roles of Social Media in pro-democracy movements in Egypt, Baron (2012) puts forth the idea that the roles of Social Media should not be disconnected from regional and international sociopolitical contexts as well as the history of social movements in Egypt and the role of youth networks. After following the trajectory of April 6th Youth Movement (A6YM), a decisive actor of the Egyptian protests, he suggests three major findings: (1) Social Media did not just provide alternative mechanisms to spread messages and join people in a repressive climate; they also increased the size, speed, and reach of activism (local and internationally); (2) Social Media not only had an impressive impact on the creation, development, and consolidation of A6YM, but they also became a symbol of the A6YM process of building its own identity. The use of Social Media also became a sign of identification for

youth movements and organizations in Egypt; and (3) the combination of ‘bits and streets’ (online and offline activities, online and offline communications forms), supersized not just the mobilizations but also the size of the threats that Mubarak’s regime perceived during the revolutionary dynamic.

On the other hand, based on a survey of 1200 participants in Egypt's Tahrir Square protests, Tufekci & Wilson show several differences of access and use of different Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Blogs), traditional media (radio, phone, print and TV) and face-to-face communications. They show that nearly 50% of their sample reported that they had first heard about the Tahrir Square demonstrations through face-to-face communication. Moreover, they report that Facebook represented 28.3% and telephone was the first alternative for 13.1% of the interviewees. Satellite TV was the initial source of information for only a 4.0% of interviewees. Tufekci & Wilson highlight the importance of a communication and information system which involves three broad, interrelated components: first, satellite TV channels such as Al-Jazeera that contributed to the formation of a new kind of public sphere in the Arab world. Second, the rapid diffusion of the Internet and the rise of dedicated platforms such as Facebook and Twitter dramatically changed the infrastructure of social connectivity. Third, the falling costs and expanding capabilities of mobile phones have enriched dispersed communication with picture and video capabilities (Tufekci & Wilson, 2012, p. 364).

Main contributions of this group of studies

The group of studies presented above offer key dimensions to keep in mind when studying and analyzing ICT and social movements. They also provide important insights on the roles of ICT within social movement's related process. Thus the following aspects and dimensions are highlighted in this group:

1. **The Sociopolitical, cultural, and technological contexts** impact the process of access to, use of, and appropriation of ICT. Thus, some studies show that (1) protest, social movements and their uses of ICT are different depending the type of political regime under which they operate (authoritarian, semi-authoritarian or more democratic); (2) other studies point out that both ICT infrastructure as well as access to ICT provides more possibilities for organization, protest and political participation, especially in semi-authoritarian regimes; (3)–other studies underline that ICT helped the formation of new social spaces where people can express, dialogue, organize, protest and engage with political actions.
2. **Various social actors** are involved within social movements and they make different use of ICT. The actors encompass different types of activists, networks, organizations, allies and supporters, as well as their opponents or target groups (including government institutions, mass media, market institutions and other social movements and organizations). Some studies point out the emergence of new forms of activism that they often characterize as *cyber-activism* or *online-activism*. Other studies highlight the importance of the relationships between youth and ICT, and others underline the use of ICT by actors categorized by gender [or] cultural characteristics (such as religion, or ethnicity).
3. Several studies posit that **access, use and appropriation of ICT** by many of these actors have impacted: (1) their forms of organization and networking (e.g. more agile, flexible,

and loose); (2) their strategies and tactics (especially the facile use of rapid information, communication to coordinate protests); (3) their identities which are now multiple and changeable as well as mobile and related to the same access and use of ICT; (4) their forms of actions (for example, combination of online and offline activities, the permanent occupation of 'virtual' and physical spaces, the use of mobile phones to report on and coordinate their activities).

4. The **access, use and appropriation of ICT are linked to the access, use and appropriation of other information and communication forms** (such as radio and TV shows, flyers, banners, and word of mouth), as well to other cultural and traditional practices (such as chants, jokes, graffiti, and prayers). Some studies show the interactions among different traditional and more contemporary media, as well as the combination of different forms of information and communications in order to amplify, escalate, and accelerate mobilizations and movement building.

This group of studies also includes a collection of studies from Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Even though the LCA studies share some of the tendencies highlighted before; they present some particularities that will be explained below.

The Latin American Approach

A review of some of the salient literature of multidisciplinary studies on ICT and collective action and social movements in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) shows the following tendencies: 1) The Internet is considered a new field of expression and struggle within very complex and restricted contexts (politically, culturally and technologically); 2) access and use of ICT in different forms of collective action are related to long term trajectories of access, use and social appropriation of *alternative media* such as popular press, community radio, alternative

video, local television; and 3) the use, access and social appropriation of ICT in collective actions are part of larger struggles for equalitarian and participatory forms of communication and information, as well as part of larger human rights struggles, including the right to communicate. Information and communication are considered as open and interactive processes that contribute to social dialogue and to build social consensus on local, regional and international levels.

Thus, in a study on the forms in which social organizations have incorporated the Internet in LAC, Leon, Burch, & Tamayo (2001) point out that the overwhelming promotional discourse on ICT and its focus on the contributions to development that have influenced social movement adoption of these technologies and opened up the possibilities for social appropriation. From their perspective, the social appropriation of ICT includes an understanding of their logic in order to take advantage of these resources according to organizational ends and aspirations. In particular, they investigate the ways in which some members of the CWMS network in Latin America, (*Comunidad Web de Movimientos Sociales*, ‘Social Movements Web Community’, in English) take advantage of ICT, their perceptions and motivations of ICTs, and the socio-organizational and communicational implications of their incorporation.

This study also shows that for these organizations the most important motivation to connect to the Internet, as well as to access and use ICT, was their interest to better communicate with other social groups, especially to participate in social networks and regional chapters that incorporated the use of email as one of their main interactional resources. However, the precarious infrastructure in many countries in LCA represents one the most significant barriers for these organizations. Leon, Burch, & Tamayo (2001) also report a significant convergence between

social organizations and communication initiatives that opened new windows not only to advance the struggle for the democratization of communication but also to defend the right of communication. This convergence also contributed to formulate a communication social agenda, as part of the World Social Forum (WSF)⁵³.

In a second phase of this research project, Leon, Burch, & Tamayo (2005) show that internet-based communications helped the CWMS to consolidate and build ties with regional networks and social movement chapters in LAC. These technologies also facilitated the coordination of common campaigns such as the continental campaigns against free trade agreements or “El grito de los Excluidos” (The cry of the excluded), an international campaign to make visible different forms of exclusion in LAC. This process of consolidation was conducive to a new way of understanding and valuing communication practices inside social organizations. The authors also posit that these practices are reshaping social movements’ political strategies. For instance, many organizations changed their organizational structures, giving higher importance to the information and communication teams. Several organizations also adopted new languages and tactics such as ‘counter-informative projects’, ‘communicative guerrillas’ or ‘media-activism’. In sum, the authors argue that “the emergence of new technologies opened a new type of political participation for many activists and collective action in a globalized world.” (Leon et al., 2005, p. 26)

⁵³ The WSF is an annual meeting of civil society organizations, first held in Brazil in 2001, which offers a self-conscious effort to develop an alternative future through the championing of counter-hegemonic globalization.

In a different vein, as part of a research project analysing how human rights and peace building organizations used their websites within the peace and war dynamics in Colombia, Baron et al., (2003) found that these social organizations, as well as the state institutions and the armed actors (guerrilla and paramilitary groups), have transformed Internet as another field of struggle. According to the research team, this new field of struggle provides these social actors a new political arena to confront other ideas and narratives on the origins and current events of the armed conflict in Colombia. This field also offers them a new public sphere to position their information and analyses in an attempt to get the public opinion favour. The authors also hold that this new confrontational field (for the actors involved), was characterized by new forms of struggle, which used words, symbols and stories—instead of bullets. Throughout their websites these social actors were fighting “identity battles”, in which, curiously, they were not expressing or framing their own identities but they were framing and confronting their opponent’s identities.

More recently, Unas (2010) analyzed the use of a website by the Association of Indigenous Townships of Northern Cauca in Colombia (ACIN in Spanish) to expand their repertoires of actions, their objectives for struggle, and the number of stakeholders who join their initiatives. She explores how the Internet is used as a scenario on which social struggles are fought out and political alliances are formed, which would ultimately reshape the ideas of collective action and social movement. Unas shows that the use of Internet by social movements, such as the indigenous movement in the northern Cauca, has turned the efforts to establish links and a connectionist attitude into core resources of the militant practice.

Lago, Marotias, Marotias, & Movia (2007) studied a group of organizations in Argentina and analyzed their links with international networks and with the global justice movement. They assert that the Internet constitutes a new field of battle for social movement organizations and an alternative process to create a counter-hegemonic space. Email and list serves were the most used tools for internal communication as well as for interacting with mass media and the general public nationally. These tools also favored information diffusion among social organizations in easy and cheap ways. Their study also shows that the lack of knowledge represents one of the most significant barriers the movements faced when using ICT. However, cooperative activities and programs created by social movement networks through ICT helped in overtaking these barriers.

Information, Immigration and Social Movements

Origins and trajectories of this group of studies

Both information and immigration are established phenomena in human history and both have been strongly linked with political, cultural, and sociotechnical dynamics. Information and immigration also represent two richly interdisciplinary fields of study. However, since early 2000 their relations have become an important subject of social and academic analysis. Even though information and communication technologies are central components in the lives of many transnational migrants, it has only recently begun to receive consideration in media and communication studies, as well as in cultural and transnational studies (King & Wood, 2001; Panagakos & Horst, 2006). However, the global dimension of migrations, the rising numbers of both immigrants and countries affected by migration, and the changes in technologies, especially

information technologies, called for a reexamination of migration and for an incorporation of new dimensions and academic approaches (Gumpert & Drucker, 1998).

The field of studies analyzing information and immigration relationships also shows very different theoretic and methodological approaches, where case studies are prevalent. Scholars in communications, linguistics, anthropology, sociology and, more recently, information sciences and other integrated and cross-disciplinary programs have contributed widely to this field. Many of the communication studies have a research tradition coming from media studies, emphasizing the effects of media discourses and the roles and uses of media among immigrants. Many of the cultural studies, which have a significant trajectory analyzing issues related to race, gender and power, have made important contributions on issues related to globalization and identities.

In a seminal work that analyzes the relationship between modernity and globalization, Appadurai (1996) studies the relationship between processes of immigration and communication and information dynamics. He pays special attention to the relationship between electronic media and the promotion of global ideals and the contemporary tensions of the *work of the imagination* as constitutive feature of modern subjectivity. He asserts that imagination represents a peculiar force in social life because, like never before, many people in more parts of the world consider a much wider set of possible lives for themselves and others.

Appadurai also holds that electronic media changed the wider field of mass media and other traditional media and forms of communication, because they offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds. Electronic media

contributed to the change in daily lives of immigrants due to the easy access to these technologies, the possibilities of information and communication in real time that these technologies afford, and the transformation of the limits between public and private life (Appadurai, 1996).

In a complementary vein other authors sustain that both the development of different types of media and the global distribution of technologies transformed the migration process. King & Wood (2001), for instance, suggest that these dynamics may intervene in the individual and collective experience of immigrants in three main ways. (1) The images transmitted from the destination countries or by the global media may be an important source of information for potential migrants. (2) Host-countries media constructions of immigrants will be critical in influencing the type of reception they are accorded, and hence will condition immigrants' experience of inclusion or exclusion. (3) Media originating from the migration sending countries, such as films, videos and satellite television as well as global distribution technologies, such as the World Wide Web, are playing a dynamic role in the cultural identity and politics of diasporic communities.

Following Appadurai (1996), Srinivasan & Pyati (2007) point out that most immigrant-focused information-science research has focused on distinctly local, place-based scenarios, while diasporic research on information behavior, in contrast, has focused mainly on issues of transnational identity online. They draw from Appadurai's discussion of the increasingly role of ICT in the process of maintaining and creating diaspora to reconcile these two research trajectories that fail to account for each other, and bring the discourse of globalization and

diaspora into immigrant information-behavior research. Thus, they suggest the use of the concept *information environment* to express the context in which information research must be situated, understanding that this perspective requires reexamination in the culturally globalized setting that defines modernity. This perspective emphasizes the role of globalization studies, which are concerned with “the increasing interconnectedness of social, political, economic, and cultural relations in the world”(Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007, p. 1734).

More recently United Nations posits that even though information and communication technologies (ICT) have not replaced older forms of communication, they have greatly increased the range of available options for immigrants to inform and communicate. Immigrants use ICT for maintaining family relationships, sustaining cultural identities, and supporting their families from abroad (Hamel, 2009). Major challenges confront immigrants and their communities as they integrate into, and participate in new societies, as they face many obstacles in pursuit of educational, economic, legal, health and information opportunities. Recent studies show that social media are transforming immigrants’ networks and their ties with people and institutions of home and host countries. These studies further suggest that social media use by immigrants is changing their process of integration, along with their opportunities to inform and become informed, and to engage in knowledge sharing (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). Moreover, the availability and use of new media not only contributes to the construction of different forms of social capital, but also helps to transform the perceptions of physical distance, social isolation, and increases the sense of belonging (Fortunati, Pertierra, & Vincent, 2012; Komito, 2011).

This richness of studies analyzing the relationships among information, communication, immigration and ICT could be organized around the following overlapping topics: a) conditions and factors that influence perceptions, access and uses of ICT, emphasizing studies on digital divide and comparative studies between native and non-native groups (Fairlie, 2007; Ono & Zavodny, 2008; Landry & Kuglitsch, 2009; Garcia 2011); b) processes of embeddedness of media and ICT in daily life, emphasizing relationships and networks in local and transnational spaces (e.g. Burrell & Anderson, 2008; Gonzalez et al., 2009; Panagakos & Horst, 2006); c) uses and appropriation of ICT and immigrants' information behavior (Baron et al., 2013a; Fisher et al., 2004; P. Holmes & Janson, 2008; Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007); and d) relationships between ICT and empowerment, social capital and civic engagement (e.g. Costanza-Chock, 2011; Garcia, 2011; Ramirez, 2011; Vårheim, 2011; Yong-Chan & Ball-Rokeach, 2009).

Main trends and findings of this group of studies

Factors influencing access to ICT

Several studies of this group have been frequently associated with the “digital divide,” “digital inclusion” or Information and Communication Technologies for Development “ICTD or ICT4D.” In a recent examination tracing the evolution of the literature on digital divide, Nemer (2012) remarks that the amelioration of the digital divide will mean much more than just providing neutral access to technology; he also asserts that digital inclusion concerns the concept of an “equal access to public space” and is, therefore, an “essential condition for citizenship.”

Thus, several scholars have studied the transnational dimensions of the digital divide. Ono & Zavodny (2008), for instance, studied the extent and causes of inequalities in information technology ownership and use between natives and immigrants in the United States. They show that assessing digital inequality between immigrants and natives is important not only because of the significant influence of ICT access and skills on employment, educational opportunities and civic engagement, but also because many immigrants— particularly those from Latin America— are disadvantaged relative to natives of the United States. They also point out that ICT skills are crucial to success in the workplace and at school, and they play a vital role in civic and political engagement.

Furthermore, using data from the Computer and Internet Use Supplement to the October 2003 Current Population Survey (CPS), Fairlie (2007) found that large disparities in home computer and Internet access exist across major racial groups, and found that Spanish-speaking Latinos have strikingly low rates of computer ownership and home Internet access.

Additionally, Garcia's (2011) study on gender digital divide in the use of mobile phones by Latino farm workers in Southeast Ohio, suggests that mobile phones are not inherently empowering to women, and under specific circumstances such as undocumented migration, they can serve as a device that strengthens hierarchical power relations between women and men. However, Landry & Kuglitsch (2009) found that a community center that provided ICT access and education to women in Yakima, WA was immensely empowering for the women and their families and sometimes just “breaking the fear” of turning on a computer is a huge step, not to be underestimated.

Embeddedness of media and ICT

Some other studies of this group explore the use of ICT as a contextualizing tool for societal integration and inclusion amongst migrant populations, either in conjunction with ICT use for homeland connection, or as a distinct phenomenon. An examination of the literature suggests that the information behavior of immigrants has to take both of these perspectives in hand because: “migrants therefore exist in a world of ‘in-betweenness,’ negotiating cultural forms and identities at the crossroads of the nation-state and global diasporas” (Srinivasan & Pyati, 2007). Burell & Anderson (2008) explored ICT use among Ghanaians abroad and found their use cultivated a connection to the homeland as well as a window into the society they navigated on a daily basis, and to the currents of a wider world. While studying new migrants to New Zealand, researchers found that access to email and the Internet “enabled migrants to make sense of their immigration/adaptation experience, as well as manage daily living” (Holmes & Janson, 2008; 51).

Vertovec (2004) posits that transnational connectivity through cheap telephone calls is at the heart of migrant lives. He examined the use of both mobile phones and international calling cards and the impact they have on immigrants and their families. He holds that even though a telephone call can’t do everything, it can intensify and ease communication over long distances and has benefits for those on either end of the line. Moreover Leonard (2003) found that Latinos in the US prefer cell phones to the Internet for interpersonal contact. Participants in his study “did not view computers and the Internet as technologies that helped keep people connected.” In the 10 years since his study, however, Facebook has become a dominant platform in social

technology (it became available to everyone in 2006 and overtook MySpace in popularity in 2008) and now has nearly a billion active users worldwide. In a later study focused on Salvadoran immigrants in Washington DC and their use of the Internet, Benitez found that though the community had limited access, they perceived the Internet as a useful tool for family communication (Benitez, 2006).

ICT use and immigrant's information behavior

Fisher et al., (2004) point out that Immigrants generally face major challenges with finding and using everyday information. In a study exploring the everyday information behavior and information grounds of migrant Hispanic farm workers in Yakima Valley, these authors found that personal networks were used more readily than any other type of information source. Given the language, cultural, and economic barriers, immigrants rely heavily upon interpersonal information sources, especially close families and friends or people like themselves, finding credibility in the similarity of these populations. Credibility and use of various sources seemed to relate to personal status as well as interest in information. Moreover they explored the role that immigrant children could have as information mediators, once they are more comfortable speaking English and have a good grasp of the language, they may become an important source of information for their families.

In a recent study with day laborers in Seattle, Baron, Neils & Gomez (2013b), found that computers and phones help them to maintain links with their past and their roots, they offer tools to navigate their present needs, and they help build future plans and aspirations. They point out

that older members of the group use internet on cell phones for maps, weather, email and info searches/browsing while younger people use email, Facebook, and Youtube. Younger members of this group, especially men, were more familiar with phones than computers and they considered them easier to operate and more useful for social interaction. More workers use shared computers than owned one. The majority use the computer to look for information (news) on the international issues and the economic and political situation in their countries of origin, as well as for searching on topics related both to their jobs and to personal interests, which help them to learn new things. People of the group that owns computers mainly use them to stay in regular communication with family and friends in their countries of origin—especially through Skype and Facebook. They also show that amongst interviewees, English was as important a technology as mobile phones and computers for communication, and the intersections between English proficiency and ICT use also becomes an important facet of the picture.

ICT, immigration and sociopolitical engagement

Alternative media (e.g. radio and cartoons), and emerging Internet-based technologies, including Social Media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter or YouTube), have played significant roles in not only facilitating immigrants' navigation of and integration into society, but have also enabled social and political participation of immigrants in different countries, helping them to become actors of the co-constructions of their new communities and cultures⁵⁴. However, there is still little scholarship analyzing the relationships among Internet-based technologies and empowerment,

⁵⁴ Fortunati, Pertierra, & Vincent suggest the concept of co-construction, which assumes that each society is a dynamic system which meets and maybe clashes with other cultures, but in so doing enriches itself and consequently changes (Fortunati et al., 2012).

social capital and civic engagement. The majority of studies focus on empowerment and deal with issues such as how these technologies enable (or not) processes of adaptation, intercultural communication and cultural inclusion (Prue Holmes & Janson), or how technologies, especially mobile phones, are not inherently empowering to women and how these technologies (as well as communication and information practices) could be a base for building other roads to empowerment (Garcia, 2011; Jain, 2002; Spence, 2010).

In a different vein, some studies investigated the potential for libraries to generate social capital, particularly public library programs directed towards immigrants (Vårheim, 2011; Vårheim, Steinmo, & Ide, 2008), and another study of Yong-Chan & Ball-Rokeach (2009) explored different roles of the Internet in the new immigrant identity negotiation process and its implications for civic engagement and for connecting immigrants with both their home and host societies.

Very little literature has explored the relations among information, immigration and collective action. The study of Ramirez (2011) on Spanish-language radio shows how this media became a powerful resource for promoting political participation during the massive protest against The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437)⁵⁵. He also asserts that these radio shows enabled social and political incorporation by Latinos in the

⁵⁵ H.R. 4437 was a bill in the 109th United States Congress. It was passed by the US House of Representatives on December 16, 2005 by a vote of 239 to 182 (with 92% of Republicans supporting, 82% of Democrats opposing), but did not pass the Senate. It was also known as the "Sensenbrenner Bill," for its sponsor in the House of Representatives, Wisconsin Republican Jim Sensenbrenner. The bill triggered the 2006 immigration reform protests and was the first piece of legislation passed by a house of Congress in the US immigration debate.

US and he presented a case study of Spanish radio in Los Angeles that reveals a growing capacity to mobilize Latinos by appealing to and activating a common ethnic identity in response to external shocks or urgent needs of the community, including aiding those affected by natural disasters, spurring on the immigration protests, and supporting naturalization and voter registration drives. However, Ramirez points out “that media has the power to both mobilize or depress participation, depending on media type, levels of exposure, and content.” (Ramirez, 2011, p. 64)

Other studies on the protests against H.R. 4437 show innovative uses of ICTs for civic engagement and networked activism, as developed by the immigrant rights movement in the United States. For instance (Costanza-Chock, 2008, 2011), points out that the immigrant rights movement has developed a rich repertoire of tactics to use ICTs to engage immigrant communities and their allies, mobilize supporters, generate debate, raise funds and take direct action. His work focused on three experiences: the DREAM activist network, the Basta Dobbs campaign, and VozMob (Mobile Voices).

The *DREAM Act* is a network that has appropriated Social Media and other networked communication tools to build their movement, gain greater visibility, and push for the passage of the act and the ratification of state-level legislation across the country. DREAM Act organizers are nearly all students: immigrants to the United States, but digital natives. They make extensive use of dedicated sites, blogs, social networking sites (initially MySpace and later Facebook),

YouTube, Twitter, and text messaging.⁵⁶ The *Basta Dobbs* is a national campaign formed in 2009 to remove anti-immigrant commentator Lou Dobbs from CNN. It is comprised of immigrant rights groups, Latino civil rights organizations, celebrities, and local community based groups across the country. The *Basta Dobbs* campaign deployed a sophisticated transmedia strategy across the Web, mobile phones, and broadcast radio, and rapidly built a database of tens of thousands of e-mail addresses and phone numbers. Participants were encouraged to write and call network executives, and they did so by the thousands. And *VozMob* (short for *Voces Moviles/Mobile Voices*) is a community-based digital media project based in Los Angeles. *Mobile Voices (VozMob)*⁵⁷ is a platform for immigrant and/or low-wage workers in Los Angeles to create stories about their lives and communities directly from cell phones. (Costanza-Chock, 2011, pp. 31-33)

Costanza-Chock emphasizes the lessons these experiences provide for the broader use of ICT to strengthen civic engagement and democracy. Those lessons include that a) innovative ICT use for civic engagement can emerge organically from the context of community organizing; b) the most successful use of ICTs for civic engagement takes place across multiple platforms; c) new tools can be built and codesigned together with the communities that will be using them to organize, develop local leadership, and strengthen civic engagement; and d) it is important to emphasize that privacy and security concerns about digital media and ICT that apply to everyone are especially salient for immigrant communities.

⁵⁶ See more at: <http://www.dreamactivist.org>

⁵⁷ More information on *VozMob* project (VozMob, 2011)

Main contributions of this group of studies

The information and analyses presented above provide significant evidence on how important ICT are in different life aspects of immigrants. However, one of the most important contributions of this literature is that it shows areas to explore deeper. In this sense, the following contributions of this group of studies are highlighted:

1. The studies brought an **interesting set of theories and concepts** that challenge not just our understandings of the relationships among immigration, information, and social movements, but also provide analytical tools for further research. They include: (1) different approaches to globalization(s) and their links with both the roles of imagination and ICT; (2) the notions of information environment as well as in-betweenness (as a concept related to space; time and perceptions/representations); (3) the idea of co-construction and the notion of public and private intersections in both individual and collective experiences; and (4) the relationships between social networks and both social capital and empowerment.
2. The impact or potential **impact of ICT in different activities of immigrants** (both as individuals as well as collectives) such as: the ways they imagine and represent reality; inform and get informed; communicate; build and share knowledge; create, strengthen and weaken social networks; forge and express identities and senses of belonging; develop social inclusion/integration/co-production; foster sociopolitical engagement (including protests and other forms of expression and participation).
3. The immigration process elicits very different (and challenging) **intersections among historical, sociocultural, political, emotional, temporal and geographical dynamics** (at the individual, collective and institutional level). The immigration process also elicits many changes and tensions related to sociotechnical innovations (which are connected to the aspects mentioned above).

4. The reviewed studies portray multiple, simultaneous, and in several ways complementary, practices and **uses of different forms of information and communication**, which implicates different social spaces, times, and technologies (from interpersonal communication to the use of sophisticated information technologies and platforms).

Gaps in the literature

Even though the literature on ICT and social movements shows extensive production and great diversity of perspectives that provide an abundant repertoire of tools for examining different dynamics of these phenomena (Garrett, 2006), the research community still has neglected the roles of Internet-based technologies in the extra-institutional sphere of politics, in which loosely structured groups and social movements play a prominent role (Donk, 2004). Moreover, following Donk, there is still a theoretical disconnection between the studies on social movements, as such, and the ones that analyze the uses of ICTs by social movements and the complex networks that comprise them.

Earl & Kimport (2011) also point out that the impact of ICT on the way collective actions are created and developed is challenging social movements' scholars to create or modify the existing theoretical lens for understanding what collective action means when efforts can be collectivized outside of conventional boundaries. They mentioned three types of changes a) the co-presence in time and space of collective participation; b) the ephemeral, sporadic, episodic or enduring characteristics of contention; and c) the evidence of the existence of challenges and challengers without movements. These arguments show that it is important to explore the ways in which ICT

have been integrated in extra-institutional spheres of politics, and if these ways also challenge the same forms in which social movements have been conceptualized.

The previous literature review also points out that the roles of ICT within social mobilizations have been extensively studied since the late 1990s in different contexts and from very different perspectives. However, since their early stages these studies revealed a tendency to highlight either an optimistic impact of ICT in social mobilizations, or a pessimistic idea of the presence and roles of ICT in collective actions. Moreover, the concepts of “uses”, “roles” and “appropriations” are not clearly defined and there are still several ambiguities and contradictions when researchers utilize them.

More recently, academic and journalistic discussions on the influence of social media (SM) during recent protests (such as the Egyptian Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street or the Spain movement of “los indignados”), have maintained this dualistic view. The first highlights the intrinsic power of technologies and the potentiality of SM as a democratizing tool for social change (i.e. Castells, 2012; Shirky, 2008). The second challenges the celebratory discourse of SM as a tool for collective action and democratization (i.e. Gerbaudo, 2012) highlighting instead the importance of strong ties among activists and social networks that not only able to risk their life and integrity, but also are the ones who can apply their knowledge and available resources in attempting to generate social changes and political transformations (i.e. Beinin & Vairel, 2011; Morozov, 2011; Tilly, 2003). The second perspective suggests more complex forms of understanding the interactions between social process and the roles of technologies, especially

ICT, in contemporary dynamics, which are characterized as being more fluid, intricate and accelerated.

The study of ICT roles within social movements and protests tends to be influenced by different waves of mobilizations and protests, some of them international, some others nationally-based, but almost all of them have had a remarkable mass media coverage and high levels of attention by international audiences and organizations. During each of those waves different technologies are highlighted, as a result not only of technological advances, but also of cultural and social relevance given to those technologies. In other words, each wave came with the ‘fashionable’ technology, which was at the hand of activists. These tendencies point out the need to better understand the forms in which ICT are understood as well as integrated in daily life practices of individuals and collectives that are linked in different capacities with social movements. Particularly, these tendencies show there is a need to better understand different components of social movement networks, such as social movement organizations (SMOs), and their interactions with larger collective actions, protests and social mobilizations.

The majority of studies consulted point out that different uses of ICT, and the communication and information practices they comprise, generate several changes in the ways that people and groups of people get together, and participate, organize and perform in collective actions. These changes range from the new forms in which people and organizations produce and circulate information, to alternative uses of technologies and communication to coordinate protests or to confront State institutions, mass media, market institutions, and other organizations and networks. These changes comprise not only the symbolic struggles among different forces that

participate within different public spheres (struggles for controlling and creating images and narratives), but also the very diverse process of technological “appropriation” and innovation that organizations and networks have developed within their organizational and political practices. These changes also highlight the formation of new (or at least different) social spaces where people and collectives express, exchange ideas, opinions and feelings as well as debate and fight. The studies also show that ICT have become objects and spaces that people and collectives fight for.

All these organizational, political and technological transformations seem much entangled with each other. However, the forms and extent of those changes still deserve deeper explorations and analyses. In particular it is important to better understand the differential ways in which particular ICT (including social media) are transforming social movements, as concerns their performance, their information and communication practices, and their collective identities. The study of the relationships among ICT and other non-technologically mediated information and communication forms is also needed.

Recent transnational studies on information and immigration have brought challenging theoretical frameworks and significant discussions related to the embeddedness of technologies within the daily lives of immigrants as well as their connections with issues on identity, ethnicity, and power. However, this literature has privileged the access and uses of ICT by individuals, or the tendencies of access and use of information and ICT within some diasporic communities. They have not paid enough attention to the process of integration of information and technologies within the collective actions of these communities (or subgroups within them),

nor have they paid enough attention to the importance of information and technologies as part of larger socio-political process of participation or civic engagement.

For these reasons this project suggests a perspective that seeks to understand the extra-institutional sphere of politics that social movements represent, an understanding that there are five key elements that define social movements: 1) they are challengers to or defenders of existing structures or systems of authority; 2) they are collective rather than individual enterprises; 3) they act, in varying degrees, outside of existing institutional or organizational arrangements; 4) they operate with some degree of organization; and 5) they typically do so with some degree of continuity (Snow & Soule, 2010).

In particular, this research operationalizes Alberto Melucci's findings on social movements to better understand the complexity of social movements and social media interactions, as well as to help depolarize the debates around these relationships. This project borrows Melucci's ideas about the symbolic and communicative character of social movements, and the importance that he attributes to information, that, from his perspective, has become a crucial resource for contemporary complex systems, as a terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being (Melucci, 1994, 1996). In this sense he suggests analyzing the relationships among the performances, the identities, and the communication and information practices within social movement networks. His perspective is also consistent with the interactional approach of technology and society this project uses in order to trace the associations of humans and non-human agents in social movement organizations.

Thus, this work seeks to shed light on the discussion and better conceptualize the uses and roles of Social Media within social movements, and also to motivate both a deeper dialogue and the construction of more solid bridges between multidisciplinary studies on ICT and collective action, Social Movements Studies, and Transnational Studies on Immigration and Information. Within all these fields there are still few studies and many opportunities to explore the mediations of social media within the communication and information practices, collective identities, and performativity of social movement organizations.

Research methods:

A multi-sited ethnography

Chapter Overview

My methodological choices are guided by the research questions, the theoretical framework offered by Actor-Network Theory (ANT), and by the challenges uncovered in the literature review. I use ANT in order to better observe and analyze how Facebook and SMOs working on immigration issues in Washington State have become entangled. ANT provides a framework to better understand the formation and characteristics of social collectives (that includes technologies as agents), the interactions and networks that are continuously generated by human and non-human agents, and the mediations produced by technologies, when those networks are in action.

The literature review of ICT and social movements shows, moreover, that the studies analyzing these relationships have focused on particular cases, during particular periods of times that emphasized ‘critical events’ and massive protests and uprisings that have been made highly visible by national and international media. These studies have often focused either on one single media (newspapers, radio, TV), or on one particular Internet based technology (including social media), without enough attention of their information and communication environments and ICTs’ social contexts. The literature review also posits that there are not a significant use of mixed methods and few studies use ethnographic approaches.

A review of studies in the field of ICT and social movements also reveal that the research community has neglected the roles of Internet based technologies in the extra-institutional sphere of politics, in which loosely structured groups and social movements play a prominent role (Donk, 2004). Moreover, following Donk, there is a theoretical disconnect between the studies on social movements, as such, and the ones that analyze the uses of ICTs by social movements and the complex networks that comprise them. These studies also have a tendency to focus on two visions: the first highlights the intrinsic power of technologies and the potentiality of SM as a democratizing tool for social change, and the second challenges the celebratory discourse of SM as a tool for collective action and democratization.

In order to better understand interactions between human and non-human agents, as suggested by ANT, this study conducts a **Multi-sited ethnography**. This research design provides a framework to analytically trace populations, ideas, and material objects through time and space. Multi-sited ethnography informs this research project allowing me to follow different contemporary collectives (such as SMOs) which are related to transnational dynamics (such as migration that links local and international dynamics); interconnected social spaces and times (offline and online); as well as practices, symbols and technologies (such as social mobilization, stories and social media).

Multi-sited ethnography is a method of data collection developed by Marcus (1995) to examine transnational dynamics and the increasing interconnectedness processes of globalization. This approach is concerned with the adaptation of longstanding modes of ethnographic practices to more complex objects of study. These practices move from conventional, single-site locations,

contextualized by macro-constructions of a larger social order, to multiple sites of observation and participation. It favors new alternatives of interdisciplinary work and diverse options of collaborative ethnographies (Marcus, 1995). Differing from traditional ethnography, multi-sited ethnography follows a research topic across numerous social spaces (including Internet-mediated spaces) for shorter periods of time. It offers unique possibilities for researching multiple and dynamic phenomena (Falzon, 2009).

Thus, a mixed method that includes face to face and technologically mediated observations, in-depth interviews, and surveys, was implemented, considering the characteristics of the selected SMOs, as well as the sociopolitical contexts the SMOs faced over the design and implementation of this project's fieldwork. The design also incorporates a review of secondary sources (press, mailing lists, SMOs and other social movements' reports) to follow up the sociopolitical contexts of the immigration reform movement.

Research Sites: SMOs working with immigration in Washington State

The **units of analysis** of this research project were the three SMOs retained in the study, and all the research design focused on them. However, this is not a collection of three case studies, because this is an interactional study. Moreover, it is important to take into account that SMOs interactions with larger movement networks, as well as its interactions with its participants, are constitutive of these kinds of organizations, of the approach favored by ANT, and of the multi-sited ethnographic design.

There are more than 35 organizations working with Hispanic and Latino communities on immigration issues in Seattle. The Community Resources of Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs reports 16 Community Organizations and 24 other organizations currently work on law and immigration issues in the state.⁵⁸ In order to deal with this project's research questions, three SMOs working on immigration issues in Washington State were selected, using a maximum variation sampling rationale (Patton, 2002). With this sampling strategy, researchers purposefully pick a wide range of cases grasp variations which help to document unique or diverse fluctuations that emerge, and also help identify common patterns that cut across the variations. The selection process of SMOs encompassed more than 6 months of work, which entailed (1) identification of SMOs working on immigration issues in Washington State, particularly those based in Seattle; (2) approaching some of the key SMOs based in Seattle through researcher's participation, and volunteering in their activities; (3) a process to get know key members of those organizations and to build trust with them; (4) pre-selection of eight SMOs; (5) conversation with SMOs' members on the research project's characteristics; and (6) negotiation on the researcher activities within SMOs in order to accomplish the research's goals.

The criteria which were used to select the three SMOs to include in the study were: a) different activities with community based groups, linked with larger dynamics related to immigration issues and immigrants' rights, such as movements, campaigns, or regular protests; b) different forms of organizational structure and forms of participation; c) work on different issues, such as education, legal assistance, jobs, health, and advocacy; d) different gender, generations,

⁵⁸ See more at: <http://www.cha.wa.gov/>

ethnicities, economic conditions, education levels, English skills, and legal status; (e) different levels of access to and uses of Facebook; and f) different organizational levels of access to and uses of Facebook and other ICT.

The selection process focused on SMOs that included Latino communities among their beneficiaries considering that (1) Hispanics constitute the fastest growing group in Washington State over the past decade (11% of the state's 6.7 million residents);^{59,60} and (2) 68% of Hispanic internet users in US say they use Facebook, Twitter or other social networking sites.⁶¹ Furthermore, priority was given to organizations that were able to work collaboratively and facilitate the researcher's interacting with members and supporters of the organization, as well as access public and internal (non-sensitive) information, and to participate in meetings, workshops, Facebook pages, and mobilization activities.

Based on the criteria presented above, the selected SMOs for this study are the following:

- **OneAmerica (OA)**, which advances the fundamental principles of democracy and justice at the local, state and national levels by building power within immigrant communities in collaboration with key allies;
- **Latino Civic Alliance (LAC)**, which promotes civic participation and empowers Latino communities in the State of Washington; and

⁵⁹ This study is based on data collected by the Census Bureau in March 2007. See more at: http://www.cis.org/immigrants_profile_2007

⁶⁰ See more at: http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2014312959_censusoverview24m.html

⁶¹ See more at: <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/03/07/vi-social-networking/>

- **Entre Hermanos (EH)**, which promotes the health and well-being of the Latino Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and encourages the participation of the members of the LGBTQ community in activism and human rights.

Appendix 1 presents how the criteria suggested work with each SMO and how as a group they conform to the maximum variation sample of this study.

Research Participants: SMOs' staff and beneficiaries

Understanding the different pathways through which people become involved and engaged with each SMO presents an analytical challenge. Involvement and engagement are complex delimitations due to the flow of people and events within movements, as well as the different forms of participation that technologies, such as Social Media, enable for different people and collectives in different times, geographic spaces, and social contexts.

To provide a clean and systematic research design, this project made an operational distinction between two groups that participate in different capacities within the SMOs: *staff and beneficiaries*. *Staff* refers to people who work officially for the SMO and devote significant labor, time, and expertise on a regular basis. Staff include board members, executive and administrative personnel, staff volunteers⁶², and when applicable, advisors and/or consultants. *Beneficiaries* refer to people who participate in the activities and programs offered by the SMO but do not formally work for the SMO. This category includes users, customers and occasional volunteers of the SMO.

⁶² I use the label “staff volunteers” to describe the unpaid staff that work in the SMOs on a regular basis and taking on strategic initiatives, and to differentiate them from “occasional volunteers,” SMOs’ beneficiaries who occasionally help out in the organization with specific tasks.

These considerations have the following implications for the research design:

- This design did not include other important voices and perspectives that could be useful to consult in order to better understand the SMOs interactions with other social movements and social actors, such as journalists, mass media, or general public participating in SMOs public events (marches, protests, conference, and meetings, to mention a few).
- People and activities of other social organizations in the Seattle region⁶³, linked in different capabilities with the selected SMOs, were informally interviewed during the observation of face to face events such as rallies, meetings and workshops; they provide valuable insight and feedback for the general analysis I present, but they are not technically part of the sample.

At this point, I want to point out some ethical considerations I faced while conducting research with SMOs that work with and for immigrants. Many immigrants participating in SMOs have precarious income streams. Their marginalization is easily exacerbated by a lack of English language, literacy skills, and by uncertain legal status. In order to reduce the perceived risk of participating in this research, the researcher was introduced to SMOs' participants and communities by trusted SMO staff and volunteers who reassure participants that their participation was voluntary. No questions were asked about migratory status, and no personally identifiable information was kept or reported.

⁶³ Participants from other organizations included Casa Latina, which works to empower Latino immigrants through educational and economic opportunities; Latino Advocacy, which helps organizations to immigrant-run build bases within their communities to work for immigration reform; the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWRP), which promotes justice for low-income immigrants by pursuing and defending their legal status and Columbia Legal Services, which advocates for people who face injustice and poverty, among the most relevant.

Research procedures

Inspired by reflections and practices of multi-sited ethnography, this research design uses a combination of four research procedures⁶⁴: (a) participatory observations of face-to-face interactions (34 events); (b) in-depth interviews with SMOs staff (n=22); (c) online surveys focused on SMOs beneficiaries (n=144); and online observations of technologically mediated interactions (100 Facebook posts). Content analysis and descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected as well as to present the results. However some key examples of the statistical significance (confidence intervals) of the surveys are provided.

The implementation order of the data collection procedures were as follows: (1) the in-depth interviews with different members SMOs staff, (2) observations (face to face and technologically mediated) of key events of each SMO, and (3) online survey with SMOs beneficiaries. All of the four data collection procedures included staff members and the in-depth interviews and observations assured the inclusion of different voices and experiences among staff members.

All instruments and data collection procedures of this research project were tested and validated with prospective target groups and within selected scenarios of observation. To accommodate the bilingual characteristic of SMO members, support for native speakers of both English and Spanish was incorporated in the design, piloting, and application of procedures and instruments. This support was also considered for translation tasks. The four procedures (in-depth interviews, observations and surveys) will be described in detail below, including how this project

⁶⁴ In McGrath's (1994) perspective, that I embrace here, the research methods are tools (instruments, techniques and procedures) by which a science gathers and analyzes information.

understands the nature, purpose, piloting, sequencing, and deployment of each data collection strategy. Research procedures and their focus are summarized in the following figure:

Figure 3: Overview of Research Procedures

	Number	Objective	Main Informants	Dimensions emphasized	Data Collection
In-depth Interviews	OA: 11 LCA: 6 EH: 5 Total: 22	To map the SMO's networks in order to identify the mediations of Facebook	Staff	Motivations and circumstances of staff involvement SMOs mission, goals and values SMOs' main interactions and the roles of Facebook within those interactions. SMO's information and communication strategies and the roles of Facebook within those strategies	Face-to-face interviews
Face to Face Observations (events and activities)	OA: 32 LCA: 24 EH: 13 Multiple: 67 ⁶⁵ Total: 34	To understand SMOs in action and interaction	Staff Beneficiaries	Characteristics and meaning of the activities in which the SMOs are involved. Messages/stories that each SMO are positioning in public spaces.	SMOs' meetings, workshops, mobilizations
Technologically-mediated observations (Facebook and others)	Facebook posts OA: 39 LCA: 36 EH: 25 Total: 100	To understand the roles of Facebook while the SMO are in action.	Facebook, email	Roles of Facebook in SMOs' day-to-day activities. Relationship between Facebook and SMOs' goals and values Messages/stories that each SMO are positioning in public spaces.	SMOs' Facebook Pages, selected emails from distribution lists from SMOs

⁶⁵ Some of the SMO activities observed face to face were organized by multiple organizations including OA, LCA, EH; I group them as "multiple" rather than counting them once for any single organization.

Survey	OA: 83 LCA: 18 EH: 43 Total 144	To understand individual involvement in the SMO and the mediations of Facebook	Beneficiaries	Interactions between SMOs and their beneficiaries, and the role of Facebook within those interactions. Demographics and engagement of SMOs members. Civic engagement and sociopolitical participation of SMOs members. Routine access and uses of ICT by SMOs members.	On-line (Self-reported)
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Face-to-Face Participant Observations (SMOs in Action)

Drawing from (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), participant observation is understood here as a method to collect data in naturalistic settings in which the ethnographers observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people and collectives being studied. Participant observation allows ethnographers to gather data of some social event/events which precede and follow it/them, as well as explanations of it/their meanings given by participants and spectators who attend them (Becker and Geer, 1970 in Patton, 2002, pp. 21-22). Direct, personal contact with and observations of a setting have, for Patton (2002), several advantages including: (a) the inquirer is better able to understand and capture the context within which people interact; (b) allows the inquirer to be open, discovery oriented and inductive; (c) the inquirer has the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape awareness among people in the setting; (d) the inquirer has the chance to learn things that people would be unwilling to talk about in an interview; and (e) the inquirer has the opportunity to move beyond the selective perceptions of others.

Purposes of the face-to-face observations

The following objectives guided the participant observations:

1. To better understand the characteristics and meaning of the activities in which the SMOs are involved in their daily life, and the ways in which SMOs' members interact with other social actors, particularly with their beneficiaries and other people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the messages/stories that each SMO are/is positioning in public spaces and the interactions those messages/stories are/is motivating from different social actors, especially from its users and other people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the roles, if any, that Facebook has in some SMOs' day-to-day activities and within the SMOs' communication and information ecosystems.

To better understand the relationships between the uses of Facebook and the promotion of SMOs' goals and values.

Piloting of the face-to-face observations

Two different paths to pilot the observations guides were taken. First, two ethnographers with experience in ICT studies were asked for feedback. Second, I attended two events promoted by the selected SMOs. Taking into account the research questions, as well as the participant observation goals, these tests focused on the following aspects: (a) **relevance** of the issues included within the guides, (b) **appropriateness** of the instruments, considering that some of the observations were deployed while the events were going on, (c) **simplicity** of the instruments as

well as the issues that were included within these guides, and (d) **complementarity** of these guides with other instruments which were part of this research design.

I also tested my abilities to conduct and handle the development of these observations and how much time it took to cover the issues included within the guides. Results of these pilots also helped to better understand the character of the data gathered and to plan and adjust the forms in which data was planned to be collected, coded and analyzed.

Deployment of face-to-face observations

Using both the information provided by the interviewees and the information promoted through each organization media (Facebook pages, websites, and email lists), key activities in which each SMO was involved were selected to observe.

Between March and June 2013, the researcher participated and made observations in 34 events and activities in which the selected SMOs played an organizing or participatory role. More than 30 informal interviews and conversations were developed during observations that included lobby days, planning meetings, congressional hearings, workshops, conferences, annual dinners, movie nights, parties and rallies. During observations, special attention was paid to the ways in which SMOs staff and beneficiaries were incorporating different kind of technologies, especially Facebook, during these events, and to the relative importance of these technologies in relation to the goals of these activities. The figure below shows the activities that were observed and the SMOs involved with them.

Figure 4: Activities observed (and SMOs involved)

Main Activity	SMOs involved	Number
Rallies and marches	OA; LCA; EH	6
Internal discussions (planning strategies and activities)	LCA;OA	6
Public events to inform and discuss on immigration issues (e.g. panels, forums)	OA;LCA; others	6
Workshops (e.g. leadership and advocacy, sharing stories)	OA; others	4
Lobby days in Olympia	OA; LCA; EH; Others	4
Participation in local or national campaigns and initiatives (Keeping Families Together Bus Tour / Caring Across Generations)	OA; others	3
Cultural activities (e.g. movies, Latino night) 2	EH	2
Fundraising activities (dinners)	OA; others	2
Legal support and advice	Others; LCA	2
Senate hearing	OA	1
Total	8	34

During each event the observations were focused on the following dimensions. **Appendix 2** presents the face-to-face observation guide.

- Key moments within each event.
- Activities developed.
- Actors participating.
- Interactions among actors.
- Issues involved.
- Uses of ICT.

During observations, I developed informal interviews and conversations (30) with participants of the selected events. Approximately 60% of the people that participated in informal conversation with the researcher were youth and young adults. These groups represented the majority of people attending the selected events. These conversations focused on changes in SMOs’

functions motivated by uses of FB and other social media, if any; primary interactions between participants and the SMOs; access and uses of Facebook, and the main purposes of those uses, and people's participation and identification with the SMOs. These conversations were oriented only by the guidelines included for these observations, as well as by the ones used for the in-depth interviews. Verbal consent was used for these informal conversations. The observations also considered the particular conditions and activities of the SMO during that time, as well as the socio-political contexts of the immigration reform movement.

Data collection instruments are in the Appendices.

In-depth interviews (Staff Perspectives)

Drawing from Fontana & Frey (1994) and Patton (2002), this study understands the in-depth interview as a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant's perspective on the research questions. We cannot directly observe a vivid picture of participants' memories and opinions. This technique is used in an attempt to understand the complex behavior and perceptions of members of communities or organizations trying to avoid any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry. However, as pointed out by (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002), even though interviews are well suited to understand the social actor's experience and perspective; people are not neutral or mistake-free reporters of their own experience.

Following Spradley (1979), the in-depth interviews in this project seek to establish a human-to-human relation with the respondents and the desire to understand rather than to explain. According to Fontana & Frey (1994) in-depth interviews are very suitable for: (a) eliciting

individual experiences, opinions and feelings; (b) addressing sensitive topics; (c) eliciting in-depth responses, with nuances and contradictions; and (d) gathering an interpretive perspective, i.e., the connections a person sees between particular events, phenomena, and beliefs. An interview guide that lists the questions or issues is often used to explore, probe and ask questions that elucidate and illuminate particular topics without losing the possibility of building a free and spontaneous conversation.

In order to investigate this project's research questions, the data collection procedures of this project developed an understanding of the complexity of each SMO emphasizing the social and political conditions in which each of them were developing their actions. According to the framework adopted (ANT), this understanding also implies that technologies such as Facebook are components of the same SMOs.

For these reasons this methodological design started the fieldwork doing in-depth interviews with members of each SMO who had their own versions about the SMO's history and trajectories, which were aware of the ends, the means and the fields of action of the organization, and which had a permanent involvement with the day-to-day activities of each organization.

The in-depth interviews helped the researcher collect different people's versions, memories and experiences on the SMOs' practices. The project included interviews with members from the boards and directors corps, program officers (or people in charge of particular activities or strategies in the SMOs), communication personnel, and volunteers within each organization, in

order to incorporate different viewpoints, as well as to take advantage of the different expertise and location of the staff members.

Purposes of in-depth interviews

The following objectives guided the in-depth interviews:

1. To identify and better understand motivations and circumstances of staff involvement with the SMO.
2. To better understand the mission, goals and values of each SMO and the main socio-political events affecting/challenging the SMOs' activities.
3. To identify and comprehend the main forms in which the SMOs interact with their participants, as well as with other social movements and organizations.
4. To identify and understand the role of Facebook within the interactions that each SMO sustains with its participants, as well as with other social movements and organizations.
5. To identify and to comprehend the main information and communication strategies of each SMO, and the forms (if any) in which Facebook has been entangled as part of them.

Piloting of in-depth interviews

Two different paths to pilot the in-depth interview guide were adopted. First, feedback was asked from a group of at least four people from academia who have been involved with issues related to technology, social movements and immigration, especially, but not exclusively, with Hispanic communities. Second, interviews were conducted with at least four people working in nonprofit and social organizations in Seattle and Washington State who deal with immigration issues and

Hispanic communities. For both groups of scholars and activists, the piloting process included one person for each of the four subgroups I have defined (boards and directors corps, program officers, ICT personnel, and volunteers in each organization). Spanish speakers, as well as English speakers, were included as part of the activist testers.

The following aspects were emphasized during piloting: a) the consistency and relevance of the interview guide taking into account my research questions, the research settings and contexts and the respondents characteristics; b) the clarity, accuracy and the cultural relevance⁶⁶ of the questions; c) the logic of the question's sequence; and d) the pertinence of the questions sets that were defined in accordance to the subgroups. The researcher also tested his abilities to conduct and handle the development of these interviews as well as how much time it would take to cover each set of questions with each interviewee. Results of these pilot also helped to better understand the character of the data gathered, and to plan and adjust the forms in which the data was planned to be collected, coded and analyzed. Thus the sequence of questions was adjusted, questions were rephrased, and several of the original questions were taken out in order to get a more focused and simple interview guide.

Deployment of in-depth interviews

A total of 22 interviews were conducted in person, with an average of 80 minutes each. Very few people were interviewed twice and, some interviewees were later consulted to clarify or extend some of their answers by mail and phone. After a first round of interviews some questions

⁶⁶ Cultural relevance here refers to the capacity of questions to inform effectively to people of different cultures.

exploring common patterns and emergent topics were included (such as youth participation in SMOs and their use of Facebook or the use of storytelling in different SMOs communication practices).

All interviewees were eager to participate in the study. Generally speaking, they were spontaneous and honest, and almost none of them rejected any question. They were also curious and interested about the research topic, which they considered central for SMOs' missions and goals.

Approximately 45% of the interviewees were female, 30% were male and 25% LGTB. The majority of the interviewees were bilingual or were able to interact in or speak a second language. Eleven interviews were conducted in English and 11 in Spanish. For bilingual participants (English and Spanish) the researcher let the participant choose the language they feel more comfortable with answering the questions.

Three of the 30 staff members of OneAmerica are in charge of the communication activities; I interviewed a total of 11 respondents from this SMO, including all three in charge of communication. All ten staff members of Latino Civic Alliance are volunteers, and one of them is in charge of communication activities; I interviewed 6 of the ten, including the one in charge of communication. Two of the five staff of Entre Hermanos are in charge of communication and information activities, including the use of their Facebook page, and two of the all interviewed volunteers (one of OA and one of LCA) occupied leader positions in other social organizations

and networks. The following figure shows the numbers of participants (staff and beneficiaries) who were interviewed and surveyed during fieldwork (survey details will be described later):

Figure 5: Numbers of Interviews and Surveys

	In-depth Interviews with staff	Total staff in SMO	Surveys with beneficiaries	Estimated beneficiaries of SMO ⁶⁷
OneAmerica (comm team)	11 (3)	30 (3)	83	2,000-3,000
Latino Civic Alliance (comm team)	6 (1)	10 (1)	18	500-1,000
Entre Hermanos (comm team)	5 (2)	5 (2)	43	400-500

All the interviews took place in offices or nearby cafes that were part of the day-to-day activities of SMO staff, and where respondents felt relaxed and therefore open and willing to respond my interview questions.

After providing information and getting oral consent from interviewees, the interviews were audio-recorded. The interviews were transcribed and codified later. Every interview included information on the particular conditions and activities of the SMO during that time, as well as the socio-political contexts of the social movement networks with which they were linked at that time.

⁶⁷ Estimates for beneficiaries of OneAmerica and Latino Civic Alliance vary greatly; I use a range between a very conservative estimate of active members reported to me by staff, and a high estimate of all beneficiaries publicly reported by the SMOs.

Different interview guides were designed and applied in order to benefit from the experience and expertise of different subgroups of staff participants: Board members and directors; Program officers; Communication personnel; and staff volunteers. The guides included both specific and general questions for each subgroup. This way particular information was gathered from each group that allows the researcher to compare data among subgroups, as well as information that allowed researcher to compare information provided by all members of SMOs.

In order to benefit from the same process of data collection (which informed the researcher sequentially), the interviews were planned to follow this sequence: 1) board members and directors, 2) program officers, 3) Communication personnel and 4) volunteers. The interviews often started with the people occupying board and directive positions. The subsequent interviews were randomly conducted according to the time and availability of other staff members. All board members and directors that were interviewed had several years linked with the SMO, with high levels of commitment and participation within them. Their trajectory favored the acquisition of a general landscape of SMOs mission, goals, actions and values when the fieldwork started.

The figures below present the aspects that were covered with the in-depth interviews and the specific subgroups they were designated for. Data collection instruments are in the Appendices.

Legend:

- Board members and directors (D)
- Program officers (PO)

- Communication personnel (CP)
- Volunteers (V)
- Facebook (FB)

Figure 6: Goals, Activities and Contexts, in in-depth interviews

Topics	D	PO	CP	V
SMO mission	X			
SMO goals	X			X
Programs/Projects goals		X		X
Relationships between SMO activities and SMO goals	X	X	X	X
Relationships between SMO's messages/stories/information and SMO goals			X	
Sociopolitical contexts affecting/challenging the SMO activities	X	X	X	X

Figure 7: Members, networks and values, in in-depth interviews

Topics	D	PO	CP	V
Motivations and circumstances of their involvement with the SMO	X	X	X	X
Most important types of members or participants in the SMO (criterion of membership).	X	X		X
Most important users or target groups of SMO's Programs/Projects		X		X
Most important publics of the SMO.			X	
Most important social movements and campaigns in which the SMO is currently involved.	X	X	X	
Most important values of the SMO	X	X	X	X
Relationships between SMO activities and SMO values	X	X	X	X
Relationships between SMO's messages/stories/information and SMO values			X	
Most important interactions with				
Participants and other social movements	X			
Beneficiaries or target groups		X		X
Publics			X	
Main purposes of different forms of interaction that the SMO uses	X	X	X	X

Figure 8: Information and communication practices, in in-depth interviews

Topics	D	PO	CP	V
Existence of any communication or information department/team.	X	X	X	
Responsibilities and budget of the communication or information department/team	X	X	X	
Most important means (resources, media, and technological devices) that the SMO has to interact with its publics			X	
SMO most important activities to interact with its publics			X	
SMO most salient information and communication activities			X	
Most important messages/stories/information streams that this SMO attempts to communicate to its publics			X	

Figure 9: Entanglement of Facebook, in in-depth interviews

Topics	D	PO	CP	V
SMO main activities with FB	X	X	X	X
Factors motivating, if so, the use of FB	X	X	X	X
Benefits and obstacles in using FB	X	X	X	X
Undesirable effects and risks when using FB	X	X	X	X
Explicit security measures of Facebook use	X		X	
Use of other Social Media	X	X	X	X
SMO evaluation of their social media efforts	X	X	X	X
Has Facebook changed the SMO functions? If so how?	X	X	X	X

Surveys (focused on beneficiaries Perspectives)

In order to design and implement the surveys I followed the “survey plan guide” developed by Krathwohl (2009, p. 568-570). Standardized surveys ensure that each informant is asked the same questions in the same way and in the same order. This type of data collection instrument provides precision and reliability, and as Lindlof & Taylor (2002) have pointed out, this method is best suited for engaging in respondent studies in which it would be beneficial to compare/contrast participant responses in order to answer a research question. These authors show that surveys can offer a comprehensive look at an entire social unit, due to their ability to capture demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal attributes, and they “can also track opinion, technology use, or a host of other social indicators over time.” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 119). Moreover, they suggest that surveys can be integrated in mixed methods approaches and can offer value contributions as qualitative sources when they are used or reaching specific respondents for more intense study. In collaborative studies, inexperienced and non-researcher interviewers may be involved in the process, so standardized questions can compensate for variability in skills (Patton, 2002).

The online survey complemented the in-depth interviews and observations. While the in-depth interviews with staff members helped to get a better picture of the complexity of each SMO (from the staff's perspective), and the observations helped to get a better picture of SMOs interactions in practice, with the survey, the researcher sought to better understand the interactions between beneficiaries and each SMO from the beneficiaries' perspective, and the role that Facebook has within those interactions, as part of both other social interactions and other communication and information ecosystems. The survey also inquired about beneficiaries' involvement with each SMO, and explored beneficiaries' participation in other social movements and social organizations. In this sense, the researcher looked for expedited forms and key scenarios to capture a significant number of opinions and experiences of the different kinds of beneficiaries that were engaged with each SMO.

Due to the composition and size of the three participating SMOs, a representative sample from each was sought. Thus, an SMO serving between 500 and 1000 beneficiaries (such as Entre Hermanos and Latino Civic Alliance) required at least 50 surveys, and at least 100 from those serving between 1,500 and 3,000 users (such as OneAmerica). This response rate was adequate to achieve a reasonable confidence interval, to make comparisons between the three SMOs, and to develop subgroup analysis. Information from each SMO (directories and databases) was used to define the beneficiaries' population and to identify the best means of reaching informants.

Purposes of the Survey

The following objectives guided the survey:

1. To comprehend the demographics of staff and beneficiaries and the forms they participate in and engage with each SMO.
2. To explore civic engagement activities of SMOs participants, and their involvement with other social movements and organizations.
3. To understand routine access and uses of ICT by SMOs participants.
4. To understand different forms of interactions between SMOs and their beneficiaries, and the place and importance that Facebook has within those interactions.

Piloting of the Survey

As with the observations and interviews, two different paths were adopted to pilot the survey questionnaire. First, feedback was asked from four researchers working in the information and immigration fields, with expertise in surveying, including people with experience dealing with bilingual inquires. Second, the questionnaire was tested individually with a group of four beneficiaries of the selected SMOs, including people of different ages and genders, as well as different employment situations. With both groups, the pilot emphasized the following aspects: a) the consistency and relevance of the questions, taking into account the research questions, the research settings and contexts and the respondent's characteristics; b) the clarity, accuracy and the cultural pertinence of the questions; and c) the logic of the question sequence.

Additionally, the preliminary results of the in-depth interviews helped the researcher to refine and adjust some of the questions included here (i.e. questions related to the SMO's activities and goals, the main forms and purposes of the interactions between SMOs and their beneficiaries, or beneficiaries' genders and ethnicities).

Cognitive and field validations of the questionnaire were conducted, borrowing from the validation process of the Global Impact Study developed by Technology & Social Change Group (TASCHA), University of Washington, Information School.⁶⁸ The cognitive validation helped identify semantic or comprehension problems that could result in the misunderstanding of survey questions. The validation also helped unearth instances in which language translations had not adequately captured the meaning of terms or questions (i.e. different meanings of engagement and participation in English and Spanish). The field validation focused on general flow of the questionnaires, whether the skip patterns functioned as intended, the ability of respondents to answer questions (particularly multiple choice), and the accuracy and quality of responses (i.e. different scales to evaluate engagement or identification with SMOs were tested).

Deployment of the Survey

To enhance data reliability and protect the anonymity of informants, the survey was completed online with assistance from the researcher to answer questions and address technical problems as needed. A total of **144 responses** were collected, from more than 30 cities in Washington State. **One-hundred-eleven responses** were collected in residential meetings and events organized by SMOs, and the remaining ones were responded to in other settings, after invitation coming from SMOs.

A mobile kit of computers from the Information School (UW) with wireless Internet access was deployed to locations frequented by SMO beneficiaries (e.g. workshops, assemblies and forums)

⁶⁸ See more at: <http://www.globalimpactstudy.org/>

to provide access to the survey. These locations were also part of the observations events in which the researcher participated. Invitations, endorsed and promoted by the SMOs, were extended to beneficiaries that could not be reached in these locations, and online assistance (by phone and email) was provided for these respondents to answer questions and address technical problems as needed. The invitations mainly circulated through SMOs' Facebook pages and email lists, as well as by word of mouth.

The survey was conducted simultaneously at the three SMOs during a brief period of time taking into account the volatile and intense political contexts that SMOs navigate in the course of their activities, particularly within the socio-political contexts created by the possibility of a comprehensive immigration reform. Considering contextual settings, the survey was released on April 17 2013, after a bipartisan Senate group presented an immigration proposal. Special attention was paid to socio-political contexts during the survey period to account for the influence of contextual factors on survey responses. The researcher also considered a second survey if something extraordinary happened during survey deployment (historical effect). However it was not needed here.

Staff members, including the ones that participated in the in-depth interviews, were asked to respond to the online survey. This data enriched the design with interesting information by comparing staff and users perceptions, but also offering the in-depth interviewees the possibility to answer some questions this research project deals with in an anonymous way. Data collection instruments are in the Appendices.

Online Observations (Technology perspectives)

The face-to-face observations were complemented with an **online or technologically-mediated** component, which enabled me to follow and analyze Facebook articulation with the events mentioned above before, during and after these events. This component provided the design with information about the messages/stories promoted by the SMOs through Facebook and the interactions that those messages/stories trigger during those events, if any. The online component comprised the collection of a **sample of 100 Facebook posts**, taking into account their routine organization cycles. This data helped the research design to better portray the roles of Facebook within each organization and its articulation with the SMOs performativity and identity, as well as its articulation with the SMOs communication and information ecosystems.

Technologically-mediated observations assisted me to better understand both the complexities of Facebook integration in the SMOs' interactions, and the communication and information ecosystems in which FB has been integrated. These observations were also a complementary source of collecting data that helped the design not only to gather a better picture of the phenomena under analyzes, but also to compare the information collected with the in-depth interviews and the survey.

Purposes of Online Observations

The following objectives guided the online observations:

1. To better understand the interactions among SMOs' participants and their interactions with other social actors, particularly with people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the messages/stories that each SMO are/is positioning in online spaces and the interactions those messages/stories are/is motivating from different social actors, especially from its beneficiaries and other people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the roles, if any, that Facebook has in some SMOs' day-to-day activities and within the SMOs' communication and information ecosystems.

To better understand the relationships between the uses of Facebook and the promotion of SMOs' goals and values.

Piloting of Online Observations

Two different paths to pilot the online observations guides were taken. First, two ethnographers with experience in ICT studies were asked for feedback (the same ones that help the researcher with face-to-face observations). Second, the researcher followed the SMOs' Facebook pages for two weeks. Taking into account the research questions, as well as the participant observation goals, these tests focused on the following aspects: (a) **relevance** of the issues included within the guides, (b) **appropriateness** of the instruments, considering that some of the observations were deployed while the events were going on, (c) **simplicity** of the instruments as well as the issues that were included within these guides, and (d) **complementarity** of these guides with other instruments which were part of this research design.

I also tested my abilities to conduct and handle the development of these observations and how much time it took to cover the issues included within the guides. Results of these pilots also helped to better understand the character of the data gathered and to plan and adjust the forms in which data was planned to be collected, coded and analyzed.

Deployment of Online Observations

Before, during, and after each event the researcher observed the Facebook Pages activity. A group of **100 post total** from the SMOs' Facebook pages was collected, including a set of posts that were posted before and after the fieldwork in order to compare and contrast the ones that were collected during fieldwork.⁶⁹ The data was mainly collected during fieldwork, when SMOs activities were going on, and the collection was complemented with Facebook Timeline, taking into account that this resource only shows a selection of the posts but not all them. In order to collect the Facebook data, the possibility of using the Facebook Graph Application Programming Interface (API) was considered. However, I finally used Timeline, considering that it was far simpler and offered a complementary activity to obtain additional posts.

A collection of approximately **60 emails** circulated by the SMOs during the fieldwork were also collected in order to compare the information collected from the Facebook pages. For this purpose the researcher subscribed the mail lists of the SMOs under the SMOs authorization.

The online observations focused on the following information:

⁶⁹ 39 Facebook postings of OneAmerica; 36 postings of Latino Civic Alliance, and 25 postings of Entre Hermanos were collected and analyzed.

- The banner of the Facebook page, including its pictures, logos and photo captions and its current information on ‘likes’ and ‘people talking about this’.
- The statistical information on (1) Most Popular Week, (2) Most Popular City, and (3) Most Popular Age Group (this information is provided by the Facebook platform).
- The organization posts and events, including the ‘likes’, comments and shares that these posts triggered during the analyzed event.
- Facebook resources and applications that were used.

Although the SMOs’ Facebook Pages were publicly available, the researcher ensured that these organizations were aware of the procedures and data collection strategies that he implemented for this research project. Data collection instruments are in the Appendices.

Data Analysis

The data collected from each SMO were coded and analyzed independently for each organization, drawing from each research method and for each data collection procedure, and then all in combination with one another. Data analysis included content analysis and descriptive statistics, as follows.

Content analysis included the following steps: a) transcription of material collected from audio and visual sources; b) unitization, dividing textual material into units for further analysis; c) categorization, in which categories relevant to the research questions were developed and revised through an iterative process of analysis; and d) coding, in which the units were assigned to categories related to research questions (Nastase, Koeszegi, & Szpakowicz, 2007). In addition,

following Barad (2003), the content analysis combined the particular findings of each report with the narratives that SMOs emphasized during the research process. In this way the content analysis also reflects an understanding of the nature of the relationship between discursive practices and material phenomena; an understanding of the relational nature of practices that take into account the contexts and histories of those relationships.

This kind of coding helped the researcher to identify the saturation point in the interviews, the observations, and later, in the surveys. Saturation here refers to the point in time when few, if any, new ideas, topics or issues came up from the interviewees and observations. In Krathwohl's (2009), saturation implies an analytical process related to the coding process in which the researcher defines concepts, dimensions of those concepts and indicators associated with the research problem and questions. For the process of coding, analyzing and reporting results, the researcher developed a "validation and writing network" with more than 25 peers that included members of his academic networks, participants of the SMOs, and other social organizations.

The data analysis included: a) the associations among individuals, SMOs, and wider social movements, and identify the mediations of Facebook in these associations; and b) the associations among performances, communication and information activities and identities, and identify the mediations of Facebook in these associations. Each data collection procedure (in-depth interviews, participatory observations and surveys) illuminated a particular view of each SMO as well as compared perspective among the SMOs. Thus, a report with the main findings of each strategy was developed. The reports emphasized common patterns among the three SMOs, but they pointed out relevant particularities of each SMO when they were identified. The reports

provided the means for developing a cross-analysis, which included a triangulation process to support the accuracy and reliability of the overall findings (Patton, 2002).

In order to better grasp the information coming from the interviews and the participatory observations, these data were coded and analyzed manually using Word and Excel. A content analysis approach was used *to weave* together the stories that each data collection method captured. For Weber (1990), content analysis uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from texts, and may be applied to substantive problems at the intersection of culture, social structure, and social interaction, as well as to study small groups as microcosms of society. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze and present surveys data. However some key examples of the statistical significance (confidence intervals) of the surveys are provided.

Research Findings: The SMOs' agents in interaction

Chapter Overview

The findings emerged from the data collected from three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) working on immigration issues in Washington State: OneAmerica, Entre Hermanos and Latino Civic Alliance. The data were collected using four complementary research methods inspired by multi-sited ethnographies between February and June 2013: (a) participant observations (34 events); (b) online observations (100 Facebook posts); (c) in-depth interviews (22), and (d) online surveys (144 responses), which are described in Chapter 4, Research Methods. The collection process also included presentation and discussion of the findings with staff from the SMOs, for additional validation and feedback.

The presentation of the findings is presented following the logic of my research questions. They revolve around the entanglement of Facebook, and the mediations of Facebook in the communication and information practices, collective identities and performativity of SMOs (see Introduction section 1). The data collected from each SMO were coded manually and analyzed independently for each organization, drawing from each research method and data collection activity alone, and then in combination with one another. Even though in the research design of this study I sought to explore and identify the particularities of the Facebook mediations in each SMO thinking that there would be salient differences given the SMOs' different size, age, mission and organizational structure, I found there were more similarities in the information and communications strategies, practices and interactions across the three organizations than there

were particularities. Common patterns of the Facebook mediations among the three SMOs were prevalent when the data was coded and analyzed, with few unique characteristics or traits for one organization over any of the others.

On the other hand, I found a strong convergence of the findings revealed through each data collection activity, although some unique insight is derived from observations in ways that are not evident in the interviews or the surveys. For this reason the presentation of findings is structured by data collection activity, and focused on common trends in all three SMOs. Unique characteristics of each SMO are reported only when relevant for the research questions of this study. To assist the reading, I start with a short organizational profile for each participating SMO and a quick reference chart of the participating SMOs. Then, based on ANT's approach that deals with the interactions among different human and non-human agents, I offer a description of the findings of (1) face to face observations (SMOs in Action), (2) in-depth interviews (Staff Perspectives), (3) surveys (focused on beneficiaries Perspectives), and (4) online observations (Technology Perspectives).

The **face-to-face observations** show that despite the variety of activities, all tended to follow common patterns that included (but were not limited to) the following components: (a) Providing a quick overview of the activity and the people involved; (b) Background information on the activity and its importance; (c) Opportunity for participants to express, share stories and do things together; (d) Opportunity to take action; and (e) Wrap-up and getting ready for next steps. ICT, in general, helped participants to make transitions as well as connect their daily life activities and the events they participated in. Facebook, in particular, helped the staff promote

and invite their networks before the events, as well as report on people that participated, activities developed and achievements gained, after the events. Moreover Facebook helped beneficiaries, especially youths, not only to inform (tell stories) their friends and families about where they were and what they were doing, but also to help their friends and families attend the events from other places and times. Sometimes these interactions encouraged friends and family to join current and future events.

According to the **in-depth interviews** with staff, Facebook is considered to be part of the multiple tools and spaces that are available to SMOs in order to achieve their main organizational goals. Facebook's utility is directly related to the SMOs visions and strategies. However, Facebook is understood as an important social space where immigrant communities get together, especially youth and their networks. Interviewees also report that they understand Facebook as a social space, which is suitable for individual and collective expression, for production and circulation of information, for their network's discussions, for expansion and creation of networks, and for expressing and forging identities that encourage collective action. The major risks of Facebook (as well as other social media) are contributing to information overload, as well as helping to spread false and harmful information rapidly that can affect the SMOs' activities and prestige as well as the immigration reform movement as a whole.

The findings of the **surveys**, which include a wide range of beneficiaries (though some survey respondents also identified themselves as staff members of an SMO), shows that interpersonally and technologically mediated forms of interactions between participants and their SMOs are complementary. Interpersonal forms of interactions are more important than tech-mediated ones

for survey respondents of OneAmerica and Entre Hermanos. However among the tech-mediated, Facebook represents an important form of interaction in all three SMOs. In particular, quantitative and qualitative data collected thorough the surveys show that Facebook has provided SMOs participants with (1) new possibilities to create and diffuse self-managed information, (2) to communicate constantly among them when events are relevant in the public opinion, but especially to communicate with other social organizations including the mass media, and (3) to connect people and build identity with the SMOs' goals and values. Moreover the quantitative and qualitative data collected thorough the surveys suggest that Facebook is particularly important for immigrant youth and young adults to become involved in socio-political activities.

The **online observations** show SMOs mainly used Facebook to permanently share and circulate information to motivate conversations about immigrants' issues among participants and their networks to encourage them to take action. Through Facebook, the SMOs also develop and reinforce their local agendas on immigration, utilizing Facebook's capabilities for storytelling, such as the possibilities to combine pictures, video, data, and texts, which are collectively produced, circulated, and discussed. Although the SMOs' members' interactions through their Facebook pages do not seem to be very active considering the regular data of Facebook likes, comments, and shares, the data suggests that there is an important number of members who are constantly informed of SMOs' activities, and who are willing to participate when events fit with their interests and capabilities.

Three main **unexpected findings** emerged from the data collected: (1) the centrality of storytelling as a mobilization strategy⁷⁰ for the SMOs and the particular capabilities that the uses of storytelling through Facebook have offered to the SMOs' participants such as communicating directly with elected officials or mass media; (2) the uses of Facebook as part of fluid and complex interactions among SMOs' participants that consider themselves multicultural, multilingual, multi-gender, multi-generational and multi-technological; people who are generally aware that they are participating in the public debates for the definition and implementation of public policies that help produce social change, and (3) the emotional dimensions related to the use of Facebook as social space where immigrants, participating in the immigration reform movement in the US, can express their feelings, dreams and fears.

Three main **areas** emerged that went beyond the scope of this study, that provides me with information for further investigations: (1) the relationships among the SMOs and larger social movements and campaigns; (2) the roles of communication and information personnel within the SMOs, and (3) the technological practices and innovations developed by the SMOs' members that involved Facebook and other forms of social media.

This chapter includes field notes, testimonials, survey responses and Facebook posts drawn from the data collected. The names as well as some identifiable details of participants' answers were changed or omitted in order to protect their identities.

⁷⁰ Borrowing from (Maney et al., 2012), for the purpose of this research a mobilization strategy is understood here as a plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context. The authors also understand the strategy as an inherently symbolic, relational, interactive and multilevel process.

Organizational Profiles: The Three SMOs in this study

This section offers a brief organizational profile of each of the three SMOs included in the study, and a quick-reference chart that compares and contrasts their mission, staff, participants, and use of ICT. Following these, I chose to present the detailed findings not by SMO (as would be appropriate in a case study design) but by the narratives elicited from the actors through the different data collection methods, i.e., face-to-face observations, in-depth interviews, surveys, and online observations. The organizational profiles and comparative chart, however, help to better understand the details of the interactions in context.

OneAmerica

OneAmerica (OA) advances the fundamental principles of democracy and justice at the local, State and national levels by building power within immigrant communities in collaboration with key allies. OA emphasizes community building and grassroots leadership on issues related to government accountability, educational opportunities for all students, English Language support, and citizenship promotion. Approximately 30 permanent staff work in OA, with staff leading strategic programs of community organization, advocacy and communication, supported by volunteers. Two of them have permanent position in OA's communication team. During fieldwork a third staff member was hired to work as online organizer in the communication team (all three were interviewed in this study). OA has between 2,000 and 3,000 members in Washington State⁷¹, and approximately 10 active chapters in this state. OA It has national

⁷¹I use a range between a very conservative estimate of active members reported to me by staff, and a high estimate of all beneficiaries publicly reported by the organization.

affiliations with ‘Fair Immigration Reform Movement’; ‘Reform Immigration for America’, and ‘Rights Working Group’. OA has a Facebook page, a Facebook group (youth), a Twitter account, a website, and seven blogs. Its activities often combine different interpersonal activities with the use ICT. Their activities also include training and access to computers and mobile phones. They have phone databases that they often use to invite people to events and to keep in touch with community leaders and activists. OA Facebook page extensively used testimonies and pictures of their members, especially youth. The narratives of the Facebook page show the relationships between immigrants and refugees’ communities of Washington State, other ‘people of color,’ and other collectives such as workers, LGBTQ and farmers.

Figure 10: Facebook page of OneAmerica

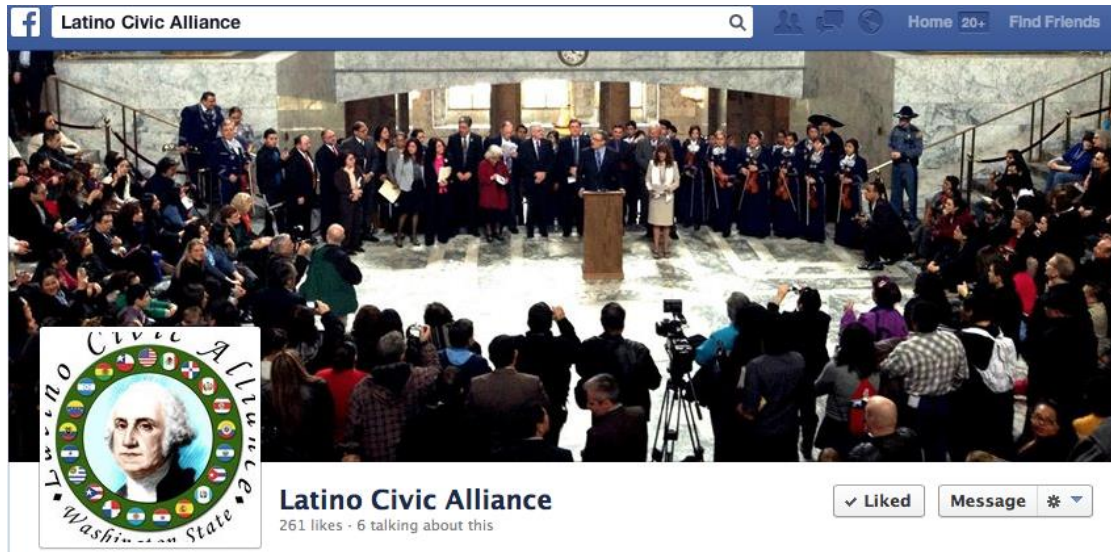


Latino Civic Alliance

Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) is a platform of very diverse organizations and networks that promotes civic participation and empowers Latino communities in Washington State. It is led by a group of about 10 volunteers from different regions in the State, and they have no paid staff. They work on consented agendas on issues affecting Hispanic communities such as: civic engagement education, health, economic development, workers' rights and, juvenile justice and immigration reform. LCA provides a platform for more than 30 organizations working with Hispanic communities and leaders in Washington State; given the nature of the platform, they tend to rely more on technologically-mediated forms of interaction than the other two SMOs in this study. One of the most important events is the Latino Legislative Day in which they gather between 500 and 1,000⁷² people from different parts of Washington State. LCA has a website and a Facebook page both in English and in Spanish. LCA extensively uses audio conferences for their organizing and coordination work. During fieldwork they created a Twitter account. The style and language of the LCA Facebook page were the most formal among the three SMOs. The narratives of the Facebook page present common issues affecting Latino immigrants communities in Washington State as well as the achievements of members of these communities.

⁷² I use a range between a very conservative estimate of active members reported to me by staff, and a high estimate of all beneficiaries publicly reported by the organization.

Figure 11: Facebook page of Latino Civic Alliance



Entre Hermanos

Entre Hermanos (EH) promotes the health and well-being of the Latino Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Latino community in Seattle, Washington, and encourages the participation of the members of the LGBTQ community in political activism and human rights. EH emphasizes health prevention but it is also part of education and advocacy campaigns such as marriage equality, human rights, and immigration reform. EH promotes activities with between 400 and 500⁷³ regular members of the Latino LGBTQ community, particularly in Seattle. EH has a website, a Facebook page and a Twitter account. EH also makes an extensive use of cultural and social events. The Latino Night is probably one of EH most popular event, which they run weekly since 1991. The EH Facebook page recurrently uses humor, cartoons,

⁷³ I use a range between a very conservative estimate of active members reported to me by staff, and a high estimate of all beneficiaries publicly reported by the organization.

artistic images, and pictures. The narratives of the Facebook page build connections between health and cultural issues of the LGBTQ Latino community in Seattle and their relationships with human rights and the immigration issues of this community.

Figure 12: Facebook page of Entre Hermanos



Quick-reference chart of the participating SMOs

Figure 13: Comparative Chart of the SMOs included in the study

SMO Name	Mission	Staff	Participants	Access to and uses of Social Media and other ICT
OneAmerica http://weareoneamerica.org	Advances the principles of democracy and justice at the local, state and national levels by building power within immigrant communities in collaboration with key allies.	Approx. 30 permanent staff with people leading strategic programs supported by volunteers.	Approx. 2,000-3,000 subscribed members in WA. More than 10 active chapters in WA.	Facebook page Facebook Group (youth) Twitter Website & Blogs Use of multimedia activities, which incorporate training and access to computers and mobile phones.
Latino Civic Alliance http://www.latinocivicalliance.org	Promotes civic participation and empowers Latino	Platform of organizations and networks,	Representatives of more than 30 organizations	Facebook page. No Twitter. Website

	communities in the State of Washington.	leads by a group of about 10 volunteers.	working with Hispanics in WA. Gathers 500 to 1.000 participants during its Legislative Days.	Extensive use of audio conference and phone calls.
Entre Hermanos http://www.entrehermanos.org	Promotes the health and well being of the Latino LGTB, and encourages the participation of the members of the LGBTQ community in activism and human rights.	Approx. 5 permanent staff that work with people leading particular projects and supported by volunteers.	Provides services and promotes activities with about 400 regular members of the LGTB community in Seattle.	Facebook page Twitter Website Extensive use of cultural and social events.

SMOs in Action: Findings of the observation of Face-to-Face Interactions

The face-to-face observations were carried out between February and May 2013. During this time, I participated in 34 events and activities organized or promoted by the SMOs. The observations focused on, but were not limited to, the interactions among SMO’s staff members and beneficiaries.⁷⁴ The observations also included the SMOs’ interactions with other social movements and organizations.

Face-to-face observations had the following purposes:

1. To better understand the characteristics and meaning of the activities in which the SMOs were involved in their daily life, and the ways in which SMOs’ members interacted with other social actors, particularly with their beneficiaries and other people from other social movements and organizations.

⁷⁴ For the purpose of this research, Staff refers to people who work officially for the SMOs and devote significant labor, time, and expertise on a regular basis. *Moreover*, beneficiaries refer to people who participate in the activities and programs offered by the SMO but do not formally work for the SMO.

2. To better understand the messages that each SMO was positioning in public spaces, and the interactions those stories were eliciting from different social actors, especially from its users and other people from other social movements and organizations.
3. To better understand the roles, if any, that Facebook had in some SMOs' day to day activities, and within the SMOs' communication and information ecosystems.
4. To better understand the relationships between the uses of Facebook and the promotion of SMOs' goals and values.

I observed different activities such as planning meetings, congressional hearings, workshops, conferences, annual dinners, movie nights, parties and rallies. One of the events I observed epitomizes the social movements in action: the Lobby Day organized every year by OneAmerica, as illustrated in the following Facebook invitation and testimonial:

Figure 14: Facebook Invitation to OneAmerica Lobby Day

The screenshot shows a Facebook event page titled "Immigrants Day at the Capitol" created by OneAmerica. The event is scheduled for Wednesday, February 6, 2013, from 9:00am to 4:00pm at the Washington State Capitol Campus. The page includes a "Going (46)" list, a "Maybe (13)" list, and an "Invited (304)" list. The event description states: "On Wednesday, February 6th, join hundreds of immigrants, refugees, and advocates from every corner of Washington State to speak up for our communities. Meet with your legislators, attend trainings and workshops, find out which bills and funding decisions will affect you, your family and your community! For more information contact OneAmerica at lobbyday@weareoneamerica.org or 206-452-8408." A post from OneAmerica is visible, stating: "Just edited a quick video of the day. Take a look: http://youtu.be/6JYQ1W25RkE".

Early this morning I got one of the school buses that the SMO arranged for people participating in the Lobby day. It rained almost the whole day, as usual during this time of the year. During the ride, the bus stopped twice to pick up/drop off high school teachers and students attending the activity. When they got in the bus, students went directly to the back, where they hang out with their friends. Almost all of them had mobile phones that they were checking constantly, texting, listening to music or playing games, without stopping chatting and joking with their friends. I was seated in the front of the bus with a mature man who was volunteering for the first time to this SMO. He is a former professor of a local university. He was very eloquent and talked properly about political issues as well as about immigration policies at the state and federal level. He seemed to be very well informed about politics and social issues. He was very critical, sometimes upset, with the state and federal decisions on U.S. immigration system. He had an old mobile phone. When I asked, in the context of discussion of revolution in Middle East, if social media had changed the development of revolutions and protests, he look at me skeptically and said something like “Do I think social media produce revolution? Not really. Can you have a serious discussion in 144 characters?” We met again several weeks later and the same subject came up. “You know, I did not say it clearly enough. One of the problems of Occupy and the instability after Mubarak’s fall and now in Libya

is that people think you can tell one another quickly, by mobile phone, where to assemble for the next protest, you have changed the face of revolution. Revolution happens over months and years in the minds of men like Chairman Mao and Che Guevara and the people who huddle with them. Mobs in the street who can be relocated by mobile phones are not where revolution is made.” Field notes, February 6 and March 22, 2013

The activities organized or promoted by the SMOs were mostly routinized and well planned. However, the activities of the SMOs always provided opportunities for spontaneous contributions of individuals and collectives as well as individual and collective creation and innovation. Taking into account that the SMOs work in unpredictable scenarios and with different stakeholders, they showed high level of capability to improvise and to respond to the course of events. The majority of activities had an atmosphere of festivity, excitement and optimism. Many of those activities included music, songs, dances, performances and food related to immigrants’ customs and traditions.

Through organized activities such as lobby days, planning meetings, congressional hearings, workshops, conferences, annual dinners, movie nights, parties and rallies, SMOs make it easy for people to get together and take collective or individual actions that corresponded with the SMOs’ goals and missions. The activities tended to involve five population segments: (1) the people in charge of the activity; (2) community leaders and activists working with other social movements and organizations; (3) participants, (4) people who spontaneously decided to join it at last minute, and (5) observers, including passersby, journalists, or security forces in plain clothes who were at the activity in different capacities. Appendix 9 shows the activities’ components; the main ICT involved and their principal uses, and the uses of Facebook.

Surprisingly, despite the variety of activities I observed, all followed common patterns that included (but were not limited to) the following components: (a) Providing a quick overview of the activity and the people involved; (b) Background information on the activity and its importance; (c) Opportunity for participants to express, share stories and do things together; (d) Opportunity to take action; and (e) Wrap-up and getting ready for next steps. Each of these is described in more detail below.

Events provide a quick overview of the activity and the people involved

SMOs' organizers usually provided participants with informal or transitional spaces and times to let them invest time together and get familiar with the activities they were attending. Thus, participants had the opportunity to better know the characteristics of these activities and who were organizing and participating in them. These activities happened in diverse spaces such as a hall or a conference room, in a park or on a street, or during a bus ride.

The uses of ICT in this component mainly helped participants make a transition between their previous activities and event they will participate in. Participants also used their mobile phones to make calls, review their emails and play games. Organizers used computers and video projectors to provide and get information to and from participants.

The organizers used the Facebook pages before the event to invite people to come. The participants, especially youth, used Facebook to inform their friends and families about where they were, what they were doing and their first impressions of the activities through their mobile devices. They also encouraged people they were in contact with to attend, using Facebook chats

or text messages. Some of the communications by youth did draw people to attend the events; especially those who thought they could obtain something such as legal advice or training for themselves and their family members. The following field notes describe my observations on how participants experienced the events they participated in, both before and after the event, and how they used ICT, particularly Facebook.

“This afternoon I attended the senate hearing on the DREAM Act in Washington State. I still remember the noisy hall which was full of people waiting to go in. I also remember the guard’s words: “This is the first time that many people are attending a hearing on education issues.” Staff members of the SMOs were talking with members who were confirmed to intervene later, the majority of them young leaders from communities, universities and social organizations. They were also giving them some final instructions, and saying words to make them feel confident and relaxed such as “you are going to be great” “those are your stories and you know them better than many other people”. All of them were very well dressed for the occasion. The young guys talked with their friends, made jokes with them and used their tablets and mobile phones to take pictures and post on their Facebook and Instagram accounts. They also exchanged Facebook invitations that others responded to immediately. They posted pictures and comments about the hearing that was coming in few minutes... During the hearing a young UW student, said something like “When my friends asked me where I am from I have to say I was produced in Mexico but I was assembled in America”. Another young and spontaneous guy said “I used to pick the cherries and peaches that you really love, but now I am working on technology with two grants I got from Amazon and Microsoft.” When the event finished, members from different SMO and participants hugged and expressed too much satisfaction on the hearing results. SMOs’ members reported on the events to their colleagues, calling them by phone. Some of them also sent emails and others used their Twitter accounts. Participants again took pictures, recorded videos and posted them on Facebook or their Instagram accounts. Most of the participants celebrated what they considered an important victory for the immigration reform policies in Washington State.

Field notes, Senate Hearing, March 28, 2013

Events inform participants of the activity and its importance

SMOs’ organizers also reserved some time to provide concise information that helped participants to better understand the characteristics of the event and how it was integrated with

SMO's goals. With this component organizers also attempted to motivate people and let them know the interests and ties of the people who were there. These information components usually included:

- An **introduction** that included key data about the SMOs' trajectory goals, and values.
- A **description of the socio-political contexts** to which activities were connected, inside or outside of the SMOs.
- A recount of the **SMOs' main actions** in relation to the contexts mentioned, and the SMOs' organizational goals. These mentions tended to highlight the SMOs' contributions and achievements within the current socio-political contexts.
- A presentation of the **purpose and importance of the activities**, including key indications about how to participate in them, considering their characteristics and risks. Organizers also provided key information on how to interact with other stakeholders and target groups that were involved in their activities, such as elected officials, journalists, policemen or other activists and protestors.
- Brief **introductions of other people or groups** participating in the event, sometimes passing a microphone, sometimes cheering for the people or the groups who were there, sometimes doing a collective activity.

The uses of ICT in this component mainly assisted organizers to provide and collect information about the activity and the people and organizations involved. Organizers mainly used mobile phones to follow the notes they had for their speeches. When resources allowed them, organizers also provided translation services. ICT also provided participants with the possibility attending without becoming disconnected from their daily activities and networks, which they mainly

checked using their mobile phones, and occasionally using tablets or laptops. Observers such as journalists used cameras and audio recorders to register for the event.

Participants, especially youth and women, used Facebook to tell others what they were doing or to share with them specific aspects of the event. The majority of them used pictures either of themselves or of the activities for this purpose. The following field notes show how participants participated within the events and how they used ICT, particularly Facebook, to create and share stories.

The leadership workshop started around 8 a.m. Participants took a break to drink coffee around 10 a.m. I went close to the coffee station and I spoke in English with a young woman. She told me she has participated in several activities of different SMOs during the last year, including the bus tour “Keeping Washington Families Together”. She also told me studied communications; she was there because many of her friends could not attend the workshop. “I am here to represent them and I am sharing with them what it is going on. Many of my friends are working or cannot afford to come here.” Then she took her phone and showed me pictures and comments she posted on her Facebook account. They were good pictures of people participating in the morning activities. Their posts were short. The posts were informal and funny. She also mentioned that during the bus tour that they received training about how to talk with mass media and how to use social media for socio-political purposes. Then she said something like “This was the first time I was able to share some of my stories as a young immigrant with my family and friends through Facebook. I also could express some of my ideas, my fears and emotions about what is going on. It was so releasing.” Field notes, Leadership Workshop, May 30, 2013.

Events allow participants to express, share stories and do things together

SMOs’ organizers usually reserved significant time and space to let participants ask questions and express their interests, emotions and concerns collectively or individually. They also provided opportunities for them to talk about themselves, as well as to promote themselves,

either as individuals or as members of other organizations. Very often SMOs' organizers encouraged people to share their experiences and stories using predesign templates and timing participants' interventions in order to make efficient use of time and resources, and to allow the majority of the attendees to participate. Organizers, particularly from OA and LCA, usually used these sessions to coach participants on how to communicate better with target groups and how to tell better and effective stories. Regularly they organized group activities that involved the majority of participants, such as workshops, games or trainings sections that included drawings, pictures, contests or videos. Some of these activities were integrated with coffee breaks, lunches or dinners, as well as to cultural or artistic events that were included as part of the activities. These spaces were suitable to forge and strengthen affinities and identities as well as to build trust.

The uses of ICT in this component mainly helped participants to communicate better and interact with other people attending the activities, while they had the possibility to register and record fragments of the events. Moreover the uses of ICT assisted them to develop a better sense of their common interests, dreams, technologies, origins, ages, and the like. ICT also helped them to be connected with their daily activities and networks as well as to share information and stories about the activities they were participating in. ICT helped organizers to report on the activities. They mainly used their laptops and tablets to take notes, while participants used their mobile phones to check their mails and for texting. Few participants take notes on notebooks. When resources allowed them, organizers also provided translation services.

Some participants, especially youth and women, used Facebook to tell others what they were doing or to share with them particular aspects of the event. The majority of them used pictures either of themselves or of the activities for this purpose. Very few times organizers used Facebook to report what was going on during the activities. The following field notes illustrate how participants participated during the events, how they used ICT to register and record the events, the affordances they recognized in Facebook to help share their experiences, and how they can create memories about these experiences using Facebook.

The rally finished in front of the House of Representatives. We waited in the long line to get a warm Tamal [typical Hispanic food made of corn]. I was behind a day laborer in his fifties who was with a group of other workers participating in the mobilization. Using his phone, he recorded a video showing the House and the marchers. While he was recording he said something like this in Spanish: "It is February 14, 2013. This is an important day to me. I am in Olympia participating in this historical event for immigrants like me. Here it is my friend Jose, and she is Leticia from Guatemala. There are many people from different countries talking in different languages. This is one of the beauties of this country." When he finished, I asked what he was doing. He told me he has a collection of short videos about his experiences in U.S. that he first started recording with a video camera, but now he was using a mobile phone that he recently got. He added he was collecting the videos with the hope that one day he will share them with his grandkids who live in Mexico whom he has not known in person yet. He also told me he was making time to attend computer classes in a local nonprofit organization, because he wants to know how to use Skype to talk with his family, and Facebook to post some of his videos.

Field notes, Legislation Day, March 15, 2013

Events help participants take actions

This time was usually the most important moment of the activities organized and promoted by the SMOs. During this time the SMOs showed their major capabilities and experiences and they tested the strategies they previously defined in order to accomplish the activities' goals. These strategies were often aligned with the SMO's goals and missions, and they responded to their

main target groups. This is also the time in which participants could deploy their own experiences and capabilities, as well as the lessons they learned during the previous components of the event, and during previous activities with the SMOs.

The uses of ICT in this component mainly helped organizers to coordinate the activities, and assist both organizers and participants better inform and communicate with their target groups. ICT also helped organizers and participants register and report on the events and people and organizations involved. During this time, organizers mainly used their mobile phones to text and make phone calls, while participants used their mobile phones to take pictures and record videos in order to capture memories of the event. A few organizers used their Twitter accounts to share information about the event with their networks.

When conditions favored it, participants, especially youth, reported through Facebook what was going on during this component of the activities.⁷⁵ The majority of them used pictures and videos that included themselves for this purpose. The following field notes show how attendees participated and used ICT during the events, particularly to collect information and to coordinate activities as the events unfolded.

A few minutes ago people marched to the rotunda holding banners, with traditional chants of the immigration reform movement such as “Si se puede. Yes we can.” and other chants designed by the SMOs such as “We are immigrants. We are Washington. Immigration reform now.” During the march most of them took pictures and recorded videos with their mobile phones. Journalists from traditional and local media were reporting on the rally and they interviewed organizers and participants. Some local radio stations were also broadcasting in real time to report on the event. From the street I

⁷⁵ I obtained this kind of information by asking people later what they were doing with their mobile phones during the events.

could hear the Mariachi that was playing in the rotunda where organizers and participants joined a group of legislators and officials that support immigration reform. I could also see the organizers going around walking from one place to another, texting and calling with their mobile phones. When I asked later what they were doing with their phones, one of them told me she was exchanging texts with the assistant of a legislator to confirm an appointment they had this afternoon with people attending the mobilization. Another one told me he was talking with some participants who got lost and he was giving them instruction to get the rotunda. Field notes, Lobby Day, February 6, 2013

Events end with a wrap-up and indication of next steps

The organizers often assigned some time and space to join the people and highlight specific parts of the event, especially those they considered successful. They also evaluated the process and the results. They usually used this moment to thank organizers and participants and to celebrate the activities' achievements, and to define or inform about future actions.

At the end of the events, often there was a jumble of haphazard activity. The organizers, having helped participants recap the day, left them to their own pursuits. After the events participants chatted and informally exchanged views about the day or activity with one another face to face. Some used Facebook in a similar way, many sharing pictures of themselves or events to highlight their messages. Organizers used ICT to transition between the SMO's events and their day to day activities. Some of them, especially members related to the communication teams, used Facebook and their Twitter accounts to report on the activities' results. The following field note describes how participants used ICT after the events, and the importance Facebook for their daily and socio-political life.

Going back to Seattle I was seated close to a woman in her thirties who was constantly using her mobile phone to check her email and to post on her Facebook account. I had a good conversation with her in Spanish. She told me she was a Lawyer from Mexico and

she has volunteered several times for this SMO. She also told me she was a “mobile-addict”: her phone, her email and Facebook were the most important tools for their personal and professional life. She also said something like: “I am a Facebook person, and it not only helps me to be connected with my family, friends and colleagues here and in Mexico, but it also helps me to be informed about what is going on here and there.”
Field notes, Lobby Day, February 6, 2013

Staff Perspectives: Findings of the in-depth interviews

“Facebook is good at fueling a fire which was already there, rather than starting a fire.”
Interview with a SMO member (Male 46-60)

Twenty-two interviews were conducted with staff members of the three SMOs. Staff here refers to people who work officially for the SMOs and devote significant labor, time, and expertise on a regular basis, including board members, executive and administrative personnel, staff volunteers, and when applicable, advisors and/or consultants.

In-depth interviews had the following purposes:

1. To identify and better understand motivations and circumstances of staff involvement with the SMO.
2. To better understand the mission, goals and values of each SMO and the main socio-political events affecting/challenging the SMOs’ activities.
3. To identify and comprehend the main forms in which the SMOs interact with their participants, as well as with other social movements and organizations.
4. To identify and understand the role of Facebook within the interactions that each SMO sustains with its participants, as well as with other social movements and organizations.
5. To identify and to comprehend the main information and communication strategies of each SMO, and the forms (if any) in which Facebook has been entangled as part of them.

Motivations and circumstances of staff involvement with the SMO

“I am an immigrant. I have low income, and I have been always connected with immigrants and low-income people. Some of them are recently here and I socialize with them. Whatever it happens, the immigration reform is going to affect me as well. I started doing this job because of my daughter. I struggle because I wanted her and kids like her to be treated as US citizens (...) I was scared for long time, but I don’t have fear anymore.” Interview with a SMO member (Male 36-45)

The majority of interviewees have significant practice toward working for social justice, human dignity, and social change. Most of them started doing social and political work when they were teenagers and were involved with political, antiracism, LGTBQ, antiviolence, ethnic or cultural organizations. All of them are educated and informed people, and they expressed they are very open to other cultures; they value diversity. Most of them are professionals coming from diverse disciplines such as political sciences, sociology, arts, psychology, communications, and information sciences.

Most of the interviewees (90%) are members of immigrant families and more than half of them are immigrants themselves (55%). Some of them were political or social activists in their home countries and two of them were threatened, persecuted, or tortured in their countries before coming to US. All of them (100%) are very committed to their organizations’ activities, as well as to immigrants’ rights; most of them (90%) invest more than 40 hours per week to work with and for their SMO (including family and free time). Many of them work in order to make structural changes, including changes in public policies, which could not only solve the situation of many undocumented immigrants, but also help improve democracy, freedom, and justice in US.

Mission, goals, and values of SMOs in particular socio-political contexts

“The community did this, they are the ones who force this conversation (...) the tone of talking about immigration reform changed dramatically overnight...” Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-35)

Even though the three SMOs have different goals as well as different organizational structures and strategies, the staff interviews point out the following common characteristics:

- **The SMO as informational mediators:** The SMO are mainly mediators between immigrant communities and federal, state, county and city authorities, but also interact with other social movements and networks including other SMOs; and have sustained interactions with mass media, private institutions, communities and other social sectors not already referred.
- **The SMO working in a democratic system:** all three SMOs operate under an understanding of being part of a fairly democratic regime in which people’s rights and duties are equally granted. Most of the interviewees (90%) share the conviction that social change is mainly produced as part of the institutional political process. Their convictions and practices show that social change, particularly a comprehensive immigration reform, will be the result of political and pacific negotiations with different representatives of the institutional authorities, especially with, but not limited to, federal and state congresses.
- **The SMO working for community empowerment:** the SMOs focus their work on community capacity building and empowerment. That way immigrant’s communities can directly participate in, and engage with, political and social issues. One of the most important goals of these three SMOs is to make individual and collective immigrants voices heard by authorities and key social sectors.

- Five external, **socio-political events** were highlighted for SMOs activities and goals during this project's fieldwork: (1) President Obama's reelection, (2) the Same-Sex Marriage Referendum in Washington State, (3) the 2013 Washington State legislative session, (4) the bipartisan immigration proposal, and (5) the May Day marches of 2013. However, several interviewees insisted that the socio-political contexts were characterized a public narrative on immigration and immigrants in the U.S. that was created and managed mainly by immigrants, not by "white people helping immigrant communities," as has frequently been the case in the past.

For example, the following words of a SMO staff member show the background of SMOs members, their commitment with SMOs as well as with democracy and freedom.

"I was a leader in XXX, working for peace and democracy. I'm a refugee and I am committed with social justice. I was undocumented I had the experience of millions of immigrants of this country. I have the capabilities and the motivation to work with people and organize people... Long time ago I realized that almost all revolutions finished in democratic process. So why not starting and playing within the institutional agreements." Interview with a SMO member (Male 46-60)

Main forms of interactions within SMOs and other social movements and organizations

"Facebook and Twitter work well for young people. However, many people of our communities don't have computers, nor text messages. Many of them they don't know how to use them. Besides you always need the personal contact, the personal conversation." Interview with a SMO member (Male 46-60)

All the interviewees highlighted the importance of face-to-face interactions with the communities of immigrants and refugees they are working with and for. They consistently reaffirmed the significance of human agency for setting and promoting interpersonal interactions. From this perspective, technologies such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter are mainly tools that play a role according to the intentional and strategic decisions made by activists. For instance, the following testimonial shows not only the strategic uses of ICT as part of other activities and

strategies of the SMOs, but also the importance of human actions for their organizing and advocacy work.

“You need to have an organized strategic vision on how to use Social Media to be effective. In that context can be incredible helpful. People will continue organizing and advocating across time and in different cultures. Tools as telephones or social media change some aspects of the job but they are fundamentally instruments.” Interview with SMO member (Female 26-35)

Three explanations were emphasized when interviewees talked about the importance of face-to-face interactions:

1. high percentages of the people of those communities don't have the access and knowledge to use Internet-related technologies, especially adults and elderly
2. the central role and the significant value that oral traditions have to exchange information, to share knowledge, and to strengthen community ties and identities among these communities
3. the fact that they are dealing with very sensitive, private, and strategic information people don't easily express outside of a conversation or after building trust. In this sense, small meetings with community leaders and SMOs members were portrayed as one of the most important forms to interact with communities. Parties, festivals, workshops, and Town Hall conversations were also depicted among the most important forums to interact with larger groups of those communities.

For instance, the following testimonial shows the importance of interpersonal forms of interactions and the character of the information that staff members deal with in their communities.

“We make phone calls, we use fliers, we knock on doors, and we go to the stores that people usually go to. This is because not all the members of our community use these technologies [ICT] ... Besides nobody is going to talk to you about their situation with the level of intimacy, deepness and trust that you can do in person.” Interview with a SMO member (Female 46-60)

When asked about the main ways of interactions with beneficiaries and other participants of the SMOs, the interviewees said that for daily life activities, the use of **email**, and even more so **phone calls**, represent to the majority of the interviewees the most important forms to share and attain information; discuss current issues and activities; coach people and communities on particular situations; plan meetings and protests, and invite people to join SMOs’ activities and mobilizations. Phone calls are considered one of the most important ways to keep in touch and strengthen the ties between staff and community leaders, as well as between community leaders and their communities.

For Latino Civic Alliance (LCA), **audio-conferences** are important for its organizing work: discussing, planning, and coordinating the Latino Legislative Day, which is possibly the most important activity of this organization. All LCA members are volunteers, located in different parts of Washington State.

Audio and video-conferences are very important resources for OneAmerica to interact with national movements and networks. OneAmerica and Entre Hermanos arrange regular **phone banks** (call centers) to let participants call their networks to promote campaigns or take actions such as voting or calling federal representatives and other authorities to support a bill or to participate in a mobilization.

The uses of **texting and Twitter** are very important for interviewees to coordinate actions during events such as rallies, lobby days, or campaign tours in real-time. In particular, Twitter is seen as a significant tool for leaders, organizers, and activists to interact with other social movements and organizations, locally and nationally. This form of media helped them to build a community of discussion, as well as a space to share key and current information. Twitter also helps them easily and strategically deliberate around central issues related to immigration. It is understood as more rational (not as emotional like Facebook) where more active members and leaders of SMOs can debate and create common ground on the comprehensive immigration reform, while they were also discussing with public celebrities and mass media reporters. Twitter is also important for leaders, organizers, and activists to develop advocacy and lobby work. The interviewees expressed this media is particularly important to effectively communicate with the assistants of elected officials and authorities. For example, the following testimonial shows the importance of Twitter to interact with other members of the immigration movement as well as with other SMOs' stakeholders, such as mass media.

“Twitter is very valuable to share our rallies and events and to bring people in that conversation, so you don't have to be at the events, they ask questions and people responds, it also help to contact reporters and keeping them aware, prioritizing without being so formal...” Interview with a SMO member (Male 36-45)

During particular events, or particular activities, the organizations use **mass media** such as local radio or TV, particularly Univision, for Hispanics. They use these media to promote their programs and actions such as the same-sex marriage, the citizen days, or some health campaigns. However, for the majority of interviewees, mass media represent a key actor they need to interact with constantly. From their perspective, mass media still have a significant influence in

managing the immigration agenda as well as in diffusing and legitimating public narratives on the immigration reform. These actions could affect not only public perceptions, but also the decisions of policy makers on these issues.

Facebook entangled in the SMOs (staff perspectives)

“Our work in Facebook doesn’t resonate at least something important is happening in real life, on the ground... Facebook is a tool, which is also a space. A space is always a tool. When you block a corner downtown you use a space as a tool, for a goal. Interview with a SMO member (Male 26-35)

The interviews show that Facebook is considered as one of the multiple tools and spaces that are available to the SMOs to achieve their main goals. Facebook’s utility is directly related to the SMOs’ vision and strategies. Moreover, Facebook is understood as a very important social space in which immigrant communities get together, particularly for young members of those communities and their networks. Considering that one of the most important actions of SMOs is to reach and to engage immigrant communities, its members go to Facebook to look for key actors of those communities, as they do for stores, churches, and community centers. However, the interviewees considered that Facebook is larger, faster, and it is linked not only with other social networks, but is also integrated with other forms of information and communication.

“Wherever I go, I’m publishing on Facebook where I am going to and what I am doing, to let people know where I am in case they want to talk with me or organize a meeting or a workshop. It is indispensable to let people know what I am doing and what is going on.” Interview with a SMO member (Female 36-45)

The majority of the interviewees (90%) also understand Facebook as a space in which immigrant communities build and maintain community and create new networks. It is a place in which communities build common grounds and strengthen and expand their ties with other people.

Facebook, compared with other networks and social media (particularly Twitter), is seen as a space/community where people are exposed to more publicity and more diversity. The following testimonial shows how members of the staff of an SMO understand the roles of social media in the information flows between participants, and the way they are entangled with other stakeholders.

“Facebook and Twitter have been a way to keep in touch with everybody and keep alive information flow among us...they have provided people another way to engage with their political leaders. Being able to use Facebook to support an online petition allows [participation] in ways they feel comfortable with it. This is really powerful.” Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-35)

Several interviewees (40%) emphasized that Facebook provides communities with alternative possibilities to get attention and visibility from mass media, political leaders, and elected officials. They also underlined that Facebook helps to generate actions, especially when appealing to people through emotion. For example a SMO member said:

“Facebook is a great way to engage youth, and they don’t need an invitation to get involved. The video, the images, the photos, they excite and engage more actively our communities. (...) Facebook has been great to help us being at State level as an organization, because members can see their stories, their pains, their barriers; and these stories have being shared by other youth. This is a tool better than the other ones to storytelling and to creating stronger networks.” Interview with a SMO member (Male 36-45)

Facebook is considered a place especially for youth⁷⁶, who are concurrently connected with their communities (families, friends, and acquaintances) as well as with other social spaces such as their education institutions, their jobs, their neighborhoods, and the streets. Interviewees also

⁷⁶ When interviewees talk about youth they mainly referred to: 1) high school students, 2) early college students, 3) college and university students, and 4) young professionals.

understand that communities of youth are connected with other tools such as texting, Twitter, Flickr, or Tumblr.

“The DREAMers⁷⁷ changed the movement, they gave it a little more publicity, because the media love youth. They learned how to use Facebook to get more attention for the movement (...) they brought more longevity, reenergized people who have been working for long time...” Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-36)

Facebook is also understood as a suitable social space where (1) information is directly produced, circulated, and positioned, (2) stories can be created, shared, discussed, and legitimized within immigrant communities and their networks as well as with authorities, mass media, and other social movements, and (3) collective identifications with immigrants’ sentiments, ideas, and actions can be developed and successive actions can be stimulated. Information is understood here as a collective and ongoing process. The stories are characterized as short, direct, and emotionally compelling, and extensively use pictures and video. Collective identifications are understood as particular, momentary, dynamic, and fragmented, when people share one or more characteristics (age, language, nationality, and ethnicity) or when they share interest on an issue or event. For example an interviewee said:

“The most important way to interact and communicate with people is Facebook, because we are running a youth movement, and all the youth are on Facebook, that is something that I’ve known... They don’t expect a long email, they don’t have the time to read it. Usually we make it very short, attractive for a youth reader... we have more potential because we are youth, we are the youth leaders, talking from a young leader to a young leader and it is that more empowerment happens, because they see something in the same level that they can do” Interview with a SMO member (Male- Queer, 16-25)

⁷⁷ The DREAMers is a term used in the immigration reform movement to refer to young immigrants who might benefit from the Obama administration’s Deferred Action For Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Initiative.

Interviewees highlighted the following **strengths** of Facebook:

- **Facebook is suitable to manage (branding) your private and public profiles** and to have a private and public presence (*“you build your identity by yourself in accordance to your group, and the different groups you interact with”* Interview with a member of a SMO (Male 18-25).
- **Facebook allows for direct voice for information**, while people can manage their sources for information (independently from mass media).
- **Facebook is an easy, fast, and effective way of communication**, which has its own language/template for storytelling (short and emotional messages, uses of pictures, images, and videos).
- Facebook is effective for creating and expanding networks, to get people’s attention, and raising awareness.
- Facebook offers a new opportunity to communicate directly with elected officials and mass media, which also help increase these sectors’ accountability.

The interviewees pointed out that the main **limitations** of Facebook are: 1) its possibilities to provide too much information, to produce too much noise, affecting user’s abilities to process information; 2) its likelihood to create more fragmentation and isolation of people who are part of more closed and specialized communities; and 3) people’s activities on Facebook does not mean commitment to taking action. They also mentioned that they have found some people have resisted the use of Facebook, especially elderly people, while some organizers tending to think that everybody is on Facebook, particularly youth.

Few interviewees mentioned **risks** related to Facebook's use. From their perspective, the major risks of Facebook (as well as other social media) are, on the one hand, a contribution to the information overload, and on the other hand, a rapidly way to spread false and harmful information that can affect the SMOs' activities and prestige. Moreover, they expressed concerns related to the isolation that Facebook communities could experience, and the effect they might have in activists' opportunities to interact with different people and ideas. Interviewees also said that now they have less control on discussions and opinions posted on Facebook, and harmful information and misinformation can either obstruct their work or offend some of their current or potential allies. Almost none of the interviewees have taken consistent measures to protect security and privacy when interacting on Facebook. However, some of them mentioned that the same Facebook communities have defended them when some dissenters attacked them or have tried to disseminate harmful information about the SMOs. They also mentioned that Facebook has simple tools to block or close a friendship when that happens. The following testimonial shows the strengths and limitations of social media, including Facebook, as tools that can help enable positive and negative changes within a social movement such as the immigration reform movement:

"I think social media allow for different ways of organizing... they allow for new ways that you can tell your own story without relying in someone else to tell it for you, or someone else to filter it, but at the same time it makes more people participate in the conversation. There are many more information sources, but also information can spread incredible quickly and there is less of the check in terms of the facts, in terms of validity and accuracy... it [Social Media] is a tool that can be used for better or for worse. It changes the ways we all interact with each other, the ways we all spread information, the ways we watch and experience major events, but it has made it more fragmented, it has made it easier to only hear what we want to hear... now there is an ability with Twitter and with Facebook to only hear what you want to hear, you can choose who you follow,

you can chose who are your friends on Facebook, and Facebook chooses for you who it puts on your News Feed; Google chooses your search results based on what they think you want to hear. So it is possible that Social Media also make it harder, make the division in the movements more entrenched... that's my fear around Social Media. If you experience the world from your Facebook friends or from the people you follow on Twitter, you are getting a very particular view and you are not necessarily been challenged by the people you are not agreeing with." Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-35)

Since the interviewees tended to highlight human agencies, in general they did not consider that Facebook or other forms of social media have significantly **changed the ways in which SMOs develop their work and interact with people**. However, they recognized that Facebook have opened them new avenues to interact with key actors such as legislators, funders and mass media. They also mentioned that Facebook and other forms of social media are now part of their daily routines at work. For this reason, they constantly need to update and feed their Facebook accounts. They are also more aware of the importance of reporting on their activities, and more willing to consider Facebook when they are planning and strategizing their actions. Moreover, they have implemented formal and informal mechanisms to coach and train their colleagues and other SMOs' participants to better use Facebook.

Generally speaking, they don't have regular **mechanisms to evaluate** the impact of social media, including Facebook. They tend to base their perceptions on some revisions of Facebook's statistics and some informal conversations and comments they get from participants. Entre Hermanos has asked the help of young people who are familiar with Facebook to assist them in evaluating their practices and use of its Facebook Page.

Beneficiaries Perspectives: Findings of the Survey

A random sample was used to collect the information focused on beneficiaries of each Social Movement Organization (SMO). In this sense, 144 responses were collected from people linked with the three SMOs. To enhance data reliability and protect the anonymity of informants, the survey was completed online in locations frequented by SMOs beneficiaries (e.g. workshops, assemblies and forums). Moreover, invitations, endorsed and promoted by the SMOs, were extended to beneficiaries that could not be reached in these locations. Personal and online assistance (by phone and email) was provided for the respondents to answer questions and address technical problems as needed. One-hundred-eleven responses were collected in residential meetings and events organized by SMOs, and the remaining ones were responded to in other settings, after invitation coming from SMOs.

The survey included 30 questions organized in the following sections (1) Participation with the Social Movement Organization (SMO); (2) Participation with other social organizations; (3) Use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), including Facebook; and (4) Demographics. It consisted mostly of multiple-choice questions and some questions asking the respondents to order by rank. The survey also included one open-ended question that required the respondents to compose a brief written answer.

Eighty-three respondents said they were mainly linked to OneAmerica (OA), 18 said they were mainly linked to Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) and 43 said they were mainly linked to Entre Hermanos (EH). Seventy-one percent of the 83 respondents of OA identified themselves as

beneficiaries, 16% of them identified themselves as staff, and the remaining 13% identified themselves as other. Fifty-six percent of the 18 respondents of LCA identified themselves as beneficiaries, 22% of them identified themselves as staff, and the remaining 22% identified themselves as others. Eighty-eighth percent of the 43 respondents of EH identified themselves as beneficiaries, the remaining 12% identified themselves as Staff. The respondents of the three SMOs that identified themselves as others, reported that they were not very active within the SMOs or they were not regular members.

The survey of beneficiaries had the following purposes:

1. To comprehend the demographics of staff and beneficiaries and the forms they participate in and engage with each SMO.
2. To explore civic engagement activities of SMOs participants, and their involvement with other social movements and organizations.
3. To understand routine access and uses of ICT by SMOs participants.
4. To understand different forms of interactions between SMOs and their beneficiaries, and the place and importance that Facebook has within those interactions.

Beneficiaries demographics

Even though the multi-sited ethnography and the way in which the surveys were conducted (by each organization) does not allow generalizations across all SMOs, the use of totals are offered for indicative purposes.

Fifty percent of the 144 respondents answered to the survey in English, 50% in Spanish. Sixty-three percent of the 83 responses of OA were in English and the remaining 37% were in Spanish. Seventy-eight percent of the 18 responses of LCA were in English and the remaining 22% were in Spanish. Eighty-eight percent of the 43 responses of EH were in Spanish and the remaining 12% were in English. The following charts present the numbers of respondents of each SMO according to their gender and age group. As the charts show, most of the respondents of OA were youth (16-25); most of the respondents of LCA were young adults (26- 35) and adults (36-45), and most of the respondents from EH were young adults (26- 35) and adults (36-45). The charts also show that female respondents were slightly predominant in OA and LCA (except for youth in LCA), while male respondents were predominant in EH for all ages except for youth in this SMO. All the graphics include the numbers of responses (n). However they are identified either by each SMO (for instance figure 2 OA=83) or by the totals of the responses collected for the questions I am reporting on (for instance, figure 8 n=144, or).

Figure 15: Gender vs Age in OneAmerica survey responses

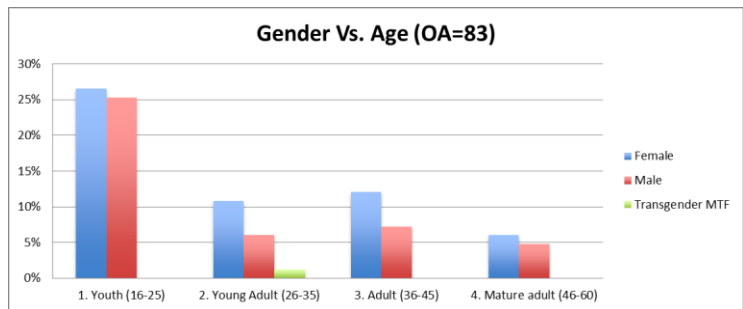


Figure 16: Gender vs Age in Latino Civic Alliance survey responses

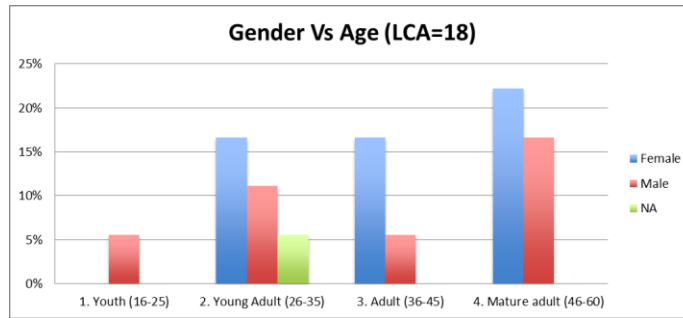
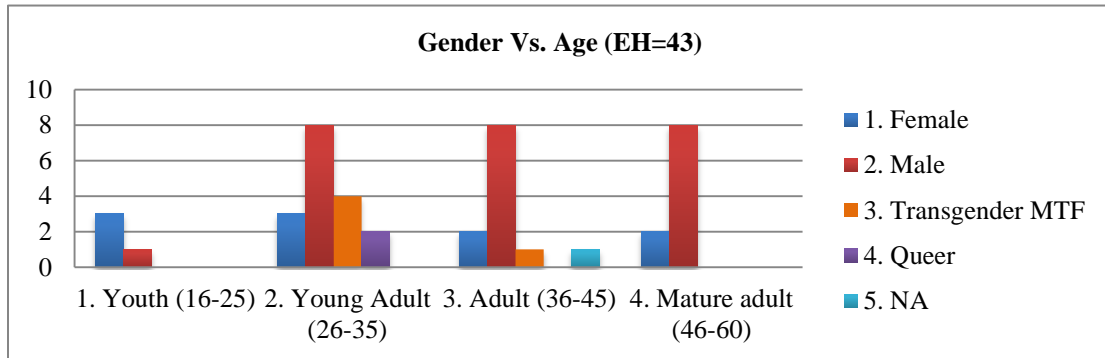


Figure 17: Gender vs Age in Entre Hermanos survey responses



The 144 respondents were from 34 cities of Washington State (WA). Roughly half of the respondents (49%) had their permanent residence in the Seattle metropolitan area⁷⁸, in cities such as Seattle, Renton, Redmond, Lynnwood, and Snohomish. The remaining 51% had their permanent residence in other areas of Washington State, which can be broadly characterized as: eastern and southeastern Washington in cities such as Pasco, Spokane, Yakima and Walla Walla

⁷⁸ The U.S. Census Bureau officially defines the metropolitan area as the Seattle–Tacoma–Bellevue, WA Metropolitan Statistical Area, and it includes the city of Seattle, King County, Snohomish County and Pierce County within the Puget Sound region. See more at: <http://www.census.gov/>

(35%); north-central and north-eastern Washington in cities such as Wenatchee, Mount Vernon and Cashmere (12%), and did not report their permanent residence (4%).

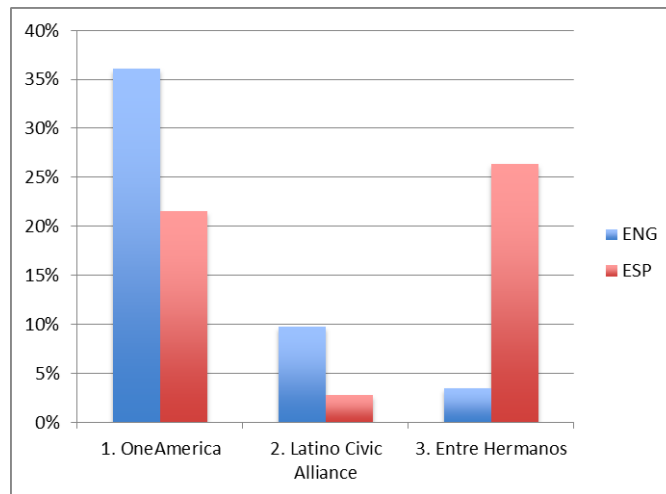
Forty-six percent of the 144 respondents have completed technical or professional studies; 31% have completed secondary studies (middle and high school), and 9% have master and Ph.D. studies. Ten percent reported they have completed primary and other studies, and just 4% reported they have not completed formal schooling. Forty-six percent of the 48 youth respondents (16-25) have completed secondary studies, 34% of them have completed technical or professional studies and 4% have completed Master degree studies. Eight percent of youth have primary and other studies completed, and another 8% have no schooling completed. The figure below presents the level of education reported by the age range.

Figure 18: Education completed and age range (n=144)

	No schooling	Primary	Secondary	Technical/Vocational	Associate or BS/BA degree	Professional	Master	Ph.D	Other	Total
Youth (16-25)	2.7%	1.4%	15.2%	3.5%	7.7%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	1.4%	33.3%
Young Adult (26-35)	0.0%	0.7%	7.0%	3.5%	7.7%	3.5%	2.7%	0.7%	0.7%	26.4%
Adult (36-45)	1.4%	2.7%	4.8%	5.5%	4.2%	1.4%	0.0%	0.7%	1.4%	22.2%
Mature adult (46-60)	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	3.4%	3.3%	2.0%	2.8%	0.6%	1.3%	18.1%
Total	4.1%	4.8%	31.2%	15.9%	22.9%	6.9%	6.9%	2.0%	4.8%	100.0%

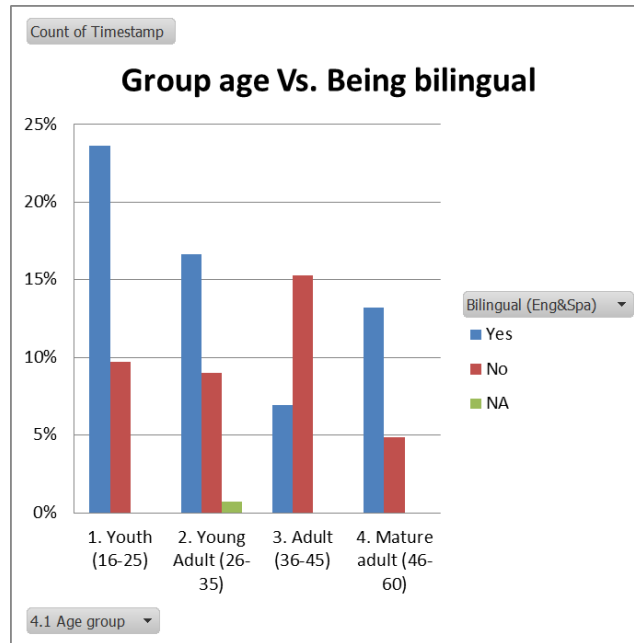
Respondents were predominantly bilingual⁷⁹. Sixty percent of the 144 respondents speak both English and Spanish, and 39% of them mainly speak English or Spanish as mother tongues, even some of them could speak, write, read or understand some English or Spanish as well. One percent of respondent did not answer to this question. Seventy percent of the 48 youth respondents (16-25) said they speak good English and Spanish, and 30% of them mainly speak English or Spanish as mother tongues, even some of them can speak, write, read or understand some English or Spanish as well. The figures below compare the bilingualism reported in each SMO and the age range vs. the level of bilingualism reported by all 144 respondents across the three SMOs.

Figure 19: Bilingualism per SMO studied (OA=83; LCA=18; EH= 43)



⁷⁹ For the purpose of this research, being bilingual here means that respondents said they speak, write, read and understand at least well in English and Spanish.

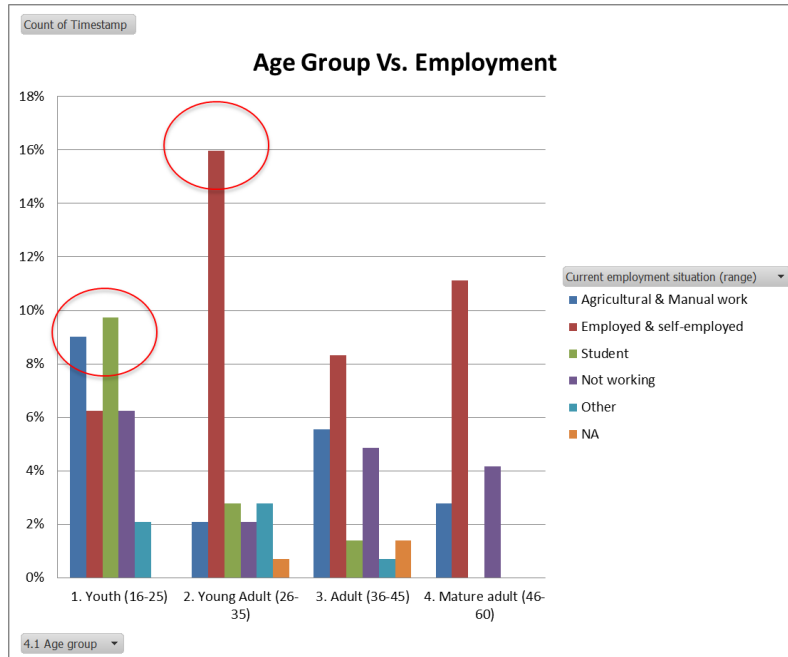
Figure 20: Age and bilingualism across all survey responses n=144



At the time of the survey the majority (81%) of the 144 respondents (across all SMOs studied), said they were working or studying, 17% of them said they were not working, and 2% of did not answer to this question. Fifty-two percent of the respondents who were working or studying (n=116) said they were employed/self-employed, and 24% of them worked in agricultural and manual labor. Seventeen percent of the 116 were students and 7% of them said they were employed in different activities than the ones offered in the survey. Twenty-nine percent of the 48 youth respondents said they were students, 27% of them were working in manual and agricultural labor, 19% said they were employed/self-employed, and 6% said they were employed in different activities than the ones offered in the survey. Nineteen percent of them said they were not working. Sixty-one percent of the young adult’s respondents were employees or were self-employed. The following figure compares the age range vs. the employment

situation reported by 144 respondents, highlighting the high level of employment among young adults, and the high proportion of students and agricultural workers among youth.

Figure 21: Age group and employment among survey responses (n=144)



Most of the 144 respondents reported being born in Mexico (65%), and 22% of them indicated they were born in the US. The majority of the remaining 13% reported being born in Central and South America. On average, the respondents that were not born in the US have been in the country more than 12 years. Eighty-one percent of the 144 respondents considered themselves Hispanics and 9% of them considered themselves as white. Three percent of them identified as Native Hawaiian and 3% of them identified themselves either as Asian, or Chicano or Native American. Two percent identified with none, and 2% did not respond to this question.

Participation in and engagement with the SMO

The majority of the 144 respondents (90%) were active in the SMO in different capacities and 10% said they were not active at all. Thirty-five percent of the 144 respondents were very active in the SMO.⁸⁰ The 144 respondents invested an average of 20.5 hours per month participating in the SMO's activities and, on average they participated in 3 activities during the last 6 months. The most common activities were: (1) Information sessions; (2) Marches, and (3) Communication campaigns.

The levels of identification with the SMO's goals were very high. All of the suggested goals that were included in the survey were considered very meaningful to more than 70% of the 144 respondents. However, the two most meaningful goals were: (1) "To promote immigrants' advocacy and participation in civic life" (very meaningful to 85% of respondents), and (2) "To improve public policies to meet the needs of immigrant communities" (very meaningful to 82% of respondents).

Civic engagement and socio-political participation

The respondents are less active in the institutional political sphere than in the extra-institutional one.⁸¹ For instance, while 57% of the 144 respondents said they have participated in an election campaign during the last year, and 56% of them have notified the court or police about a social issue and 48% of them have voted in the elections during this time; 86% said they have

⁸⁰ This is the result of the sum of very active answers plus leader role.

⁸¹ The extra-institutional political sphere here refers to the activities developed outside or in the borders of existing institutional or organizational arrangements (Snow & Soule, 2010). See more on extra-institutional spheres in (Donk, 2004).

participated in a protest or a mobilization, or have talked about a social issue in their community, and 84% of them have volunteered for a social organization during the last year.

Respondents frequently participate in other social movements and organizations, especially in cultural and religious ones. When asked about their participation in other social movements and campaigns, 42% of the 144 respondents said they were part of larger social movements or campaigns, most of them locally or nationally based. Just two people mentioned they had a connection/interest with international movements. The most frequently mentioned movements and campaigns were: The National and Federal Immigration Reform; MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/Chicano de Aztlan), Community for the Advancement of Family Education; FIRM (Fair Immigration Reform Movement), Dream Act Campaign; Hispanic/Latino vote and inclusiveness, Getting caregivers out of poverty, SEIU (workers' Rights), We belong together, United for Marriage (same-sex marriage).

The levels of participation and activity in other social and political organizations were varied, but show important levels of involvement and action, especially in cultural, religious, youth and sport groups. Fewer numbers of respondents participated in NGO, political and civic organizations. In this sense, more than half of the 144 respondents said they were part of cultural or religious groups (54% and 53% respectively). Fifteen percent of the respondents that participated in cultural associations (n=78) said they occupied leader roles and 26% were very active. The remaining 59% were somewhat active and not very active. Thirteen percent of the respondents that participated in religious groups (n=77) said they occupied leader roles and 18% were very active. The remaining 66% said they were somewhat active and not very active.

Almost half of the 144 respondents said they participated in youth and sports groups (47% and 42% respectively). Around a third of respondents participate in civic groups, political organizations, and NGO (36%, 36% and 35% respectively). The figure below shows the level of activity of the 144 respondents in the most commonly reported social organizations, highlighting those either in a leadership role or as a very active member of the organizations.

Figure 22: Level of activity in other social organizations

(NGO; Political; Civic; Religious; Cultural, Youth, Sports n=144 each)

	NGO	Political	Civic	Religious	Cultural	Youth	Sports
Leader role	10%	6%	8%	7%	8%	8%	1%
Very active	12%	13%	13%	13%	14%	13%	13%
Somewhat active	7%	6%	11%	17%	20%	10%	9%
Not very active	7%	11%	5%	17%	12%	16%	19%
Not a member	53%	58%	58%	38%	41%	47%	50%
NA	11%	6%	6%	9%	5%	7%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Routine access and uses of ICT

Respondents reported very high rates of access to and use of the Internet. When asked about access to the Internet, 95% of the respondents said they have access, and 93% said they own a mobile phone. 44% of them have access to the Internet at home, and another 40% access the Internet using mobile phones and at work (25% and 15% respectively). The other 11% have access at educational institutions and in public access venues (7% and 4% respectively). Bilingual respondents (English and Spanish) reported higher levels of access to the Internet. The figures below show the places where the 144 survey respondents most frequently access the

Internet, and compare internet access with bilingualism, which highlights the predominance of bilingual respondents tend to be heavier internet users than non-bilingual respondents.

Figure 23: Places where respondents access the internet (n=144)

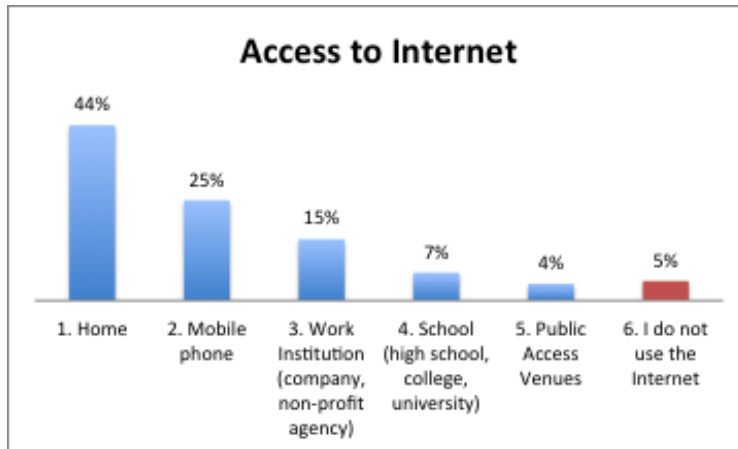
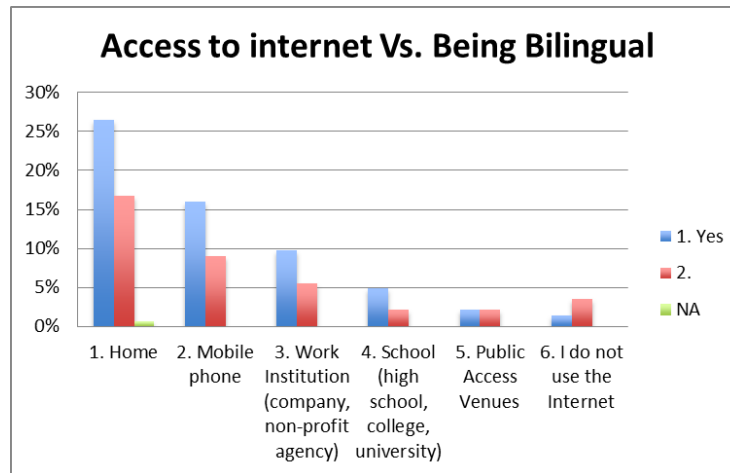


Figure 24: Internet access and bilingualism among survey responses (n=144)



Facebook (64%), email and texting (both with 63%) were the most frequently used ICT every day, followed by online news (57%). The most important purposes of ICT use were: (1) To

communicate with friends and family (25%), (2) Entertainment (21%), and (3) To find and share information (19%). The use of ICT for political and social purposes (7%) was approximately equally important than education and learning (7%) as well as work-related purposes (6%). The most important media for the purpose of “social and political causes” was online news (22%), which was twice as high as the next one, websites/blogs (10%).

Interactions between respondents and the SMO: the place of Facebook in those interactions.

Interpersonal and technologically mediated forms of interactions were complementary when people interact with the SMOs. However, interpersonal forms of interactions turned out to be more important than technologically mediated ones, particularly in OA (n=83) and EH (n=43). Nevertheless, Facebook represents one of the most important tech-mediated forms of interaction between beneficiaries and the SMOs, as summarized in the following figures:

Figure 25: Most important ways of interaction in OneAmerica

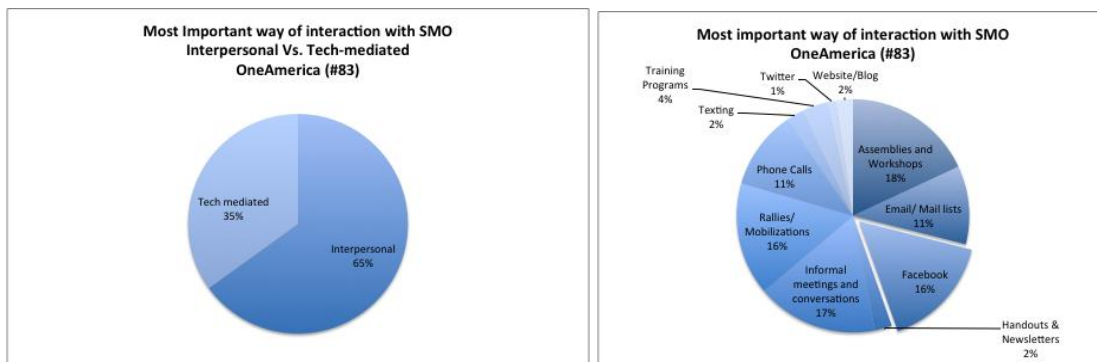


Figure 26: Most important ways of interaction in Latino Civic Alliance

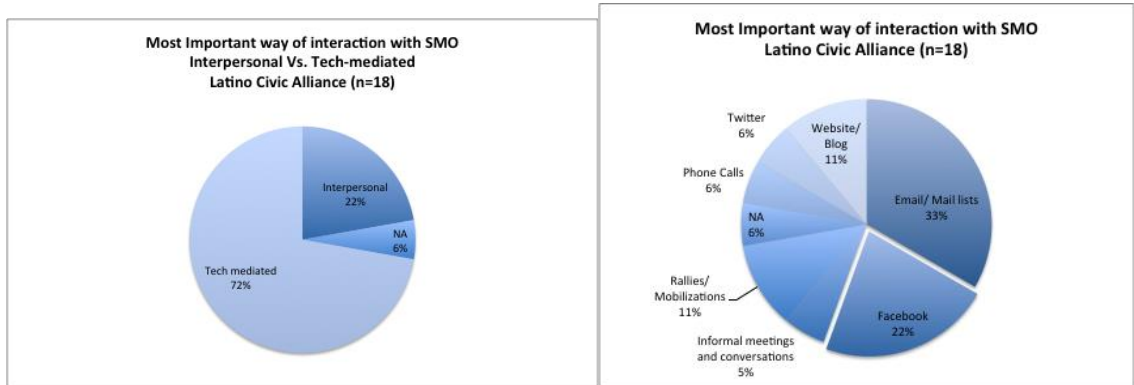
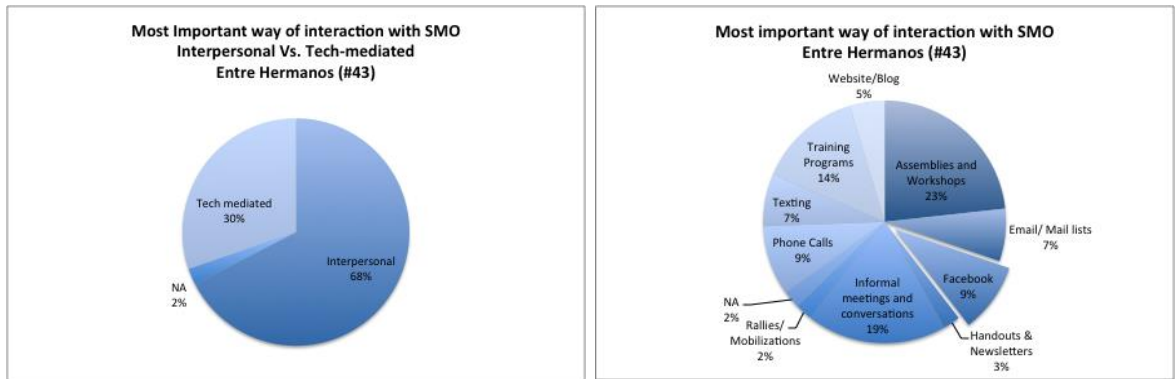


Figure 27: Most important ways of interaction in Entre Hermanos



As described above, among technologically-mediated forms of interactions, Facebook occupies a first place in OA (16%) and in EH (9%), higher than email/mail lists, texting, blogs or Twitter. Only in LCA is there a higher predominance of technologically-mediated interactions, primarily email/mail lists (33%), followed by Facebook (22%). This higher reliance on technologically-mediated interactions is consistent with the platform nature of the SMO: they tend to rely more on technologically-mediated forms of interaction than the other two SMOs in this study.

The respondents of the three SMOs also concur that the most important purpose for interacting with the SMO through Facebook was to learn about the SMOs' activities (OA: 24%; LCA: 50% and EH: 37%). The purpose of communicating with other organizations, including the media was the second most important purpose for respondents of OA (21%) and LCA (22%). However in EH (n=43) respondents said that the second most important purpose for interacting with the SMO was to share with the SMOs' identity and values (21%).

Through the survey, respondents were asked to select the ways in which they interacted with the SMO and to say what was the primary purpose of each of them.⁸² Thus, of the 144 respondents 60 (42%), reported the assemblies & workshops was the most important way to learn about the SMOs' activities followed by training programs (33%). Moreover, of the 144 respondents, 39 (27%) reported the informal meetings and conversations was the most important way to communicate with other members of the SMO, closely followed by phone calls (26%). Of the 144 respondents, 30 (21%) reported that texting was the most important tech-mediated way for communicating with other members of the SMO. For the 144 respondents Facebook was reported as important as YouTube and Twitter to communicate with other members of the SMO (12% each). For the 144 respondents the least used ways of interactions were: Twitter, YouTube and Texting with 35%, 34% and 33% of the responses respectively. The following figure shows the percentages' responses for each of the primary purposes suggested for each way of

⁸² The ways of interaction offered through the survey included 14 options: assemblies & workshops; informal meetings and conversations; training programs; protests & mobilizations; phone calls; audio & video-conferences; handouts & newsletters; email; website & blog; Facebook; Twitter; texting, and YouTube. See more information see the survey questionnaire.

interaction. The table just includes the most relevant, according to the survey purposes, highlighting the place of Facebook in relation to other forms of interactions with the SMOs.

Figure 28: Interaction purpose vs. ways of interaction

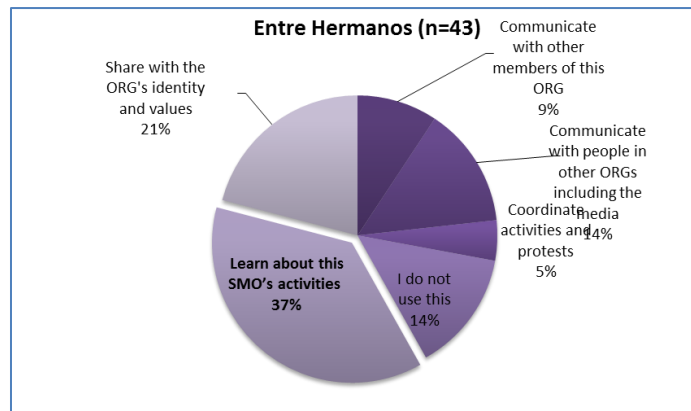
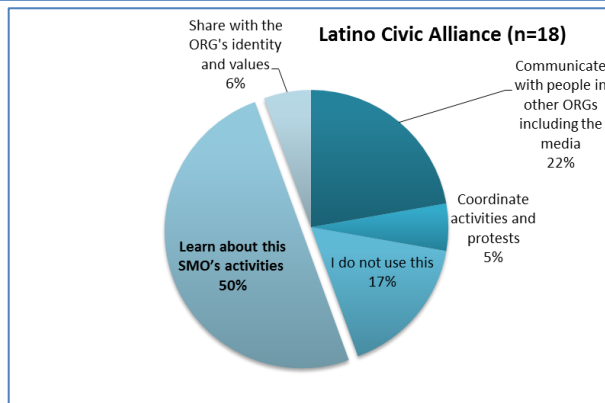
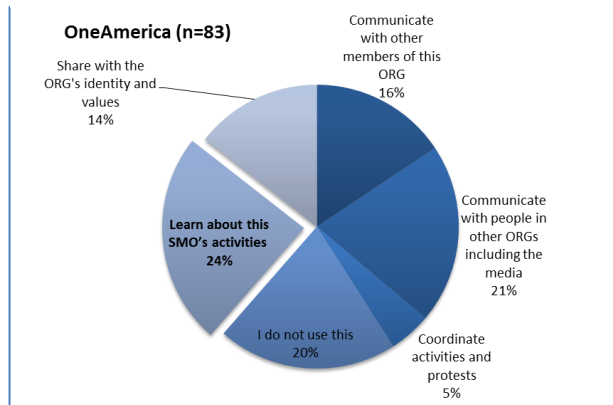
Assemblies & workshops; Informal Meetings; Training Programs; Protests & Mobilizations; Phone Calls; Email; Facebook; Texting; YouTube. (n=144 each)

	Assemblies & workshops	Informal Meetings	Training programs	Protests & Mobilizations	Phone calls	Email	Facebook	Texting	YouTube
Communicate with other members of this SMO	21%	27%	14%	16%	26%	22%	12%	21%	12%
Communicate with other ORGs including the media	7%	15%	13%	24%	15%	15%	19%	10%	16%
Coordinate activities and protests	10%	6%	7%	15%	10%	9%	5%	4%	4%
Learn about this SMO's activities	42%	28%	33%	16%	21%	31%	31%	18%	18%
Share with the SMO's identity and values	8%	15%	13%	13%	12%	8%	15%	14%	16%
Do not use this way	13%	8%	21%	17%	16%	15%	18%	33%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When respondents were asked about the ways in which they interacted with the SMOs and what were the primary purposes of each of them, a total of 1872 responses were collected. Of the 1872 responses the most important purposes of all the ways of interactions between respondents and the SMO were: (1) to learn about the SMO's activities (26%); (2) to communicate with other members of the SMOs (17%); (3) to communicate with other organizations, including the media (15%); (4) to share with the SMO's identity and values (13%) and (5) to coordinate activities and protests (8%). 21% of responses reported that respondents did not use the ways of interaction

that were suggested in the survey. The following figures show the ways in which respondents interacted with each SMO through Facebook and what were the primary purposes of each of them.

Figure 29: Use of Facebook to interact with each SMO



The following figure presents an exercise of the confidence intervals for the following question, which was included in the surveys: “What is the single most important way you use to interact with this SMO?”

Figure 30: Confidence Intervals for question on interaction with SMOs

	Population (N)	Sample size (n)	Positive answers for Tech-mediated as main ways to interact with the SMO	Confidence interval (tech-mediated) aprox. 95%	Positive answers for Facebook as main way to interact with the SMO	Confidence interval (Facebook) aprox. 95%
OneAmerica	2500	83	29	24,6% - 45,2 %	13	7,7% - 23,5%
LCA	750	18	13	50,3% - 94,2%	4	50,3% - 94,2%
Entre Hermanos	450	43	13	16,9% - 43,5%	4	0,7% - 17,8%

Facebook entangled in the SMOs (beneficiaries’ perspectives)

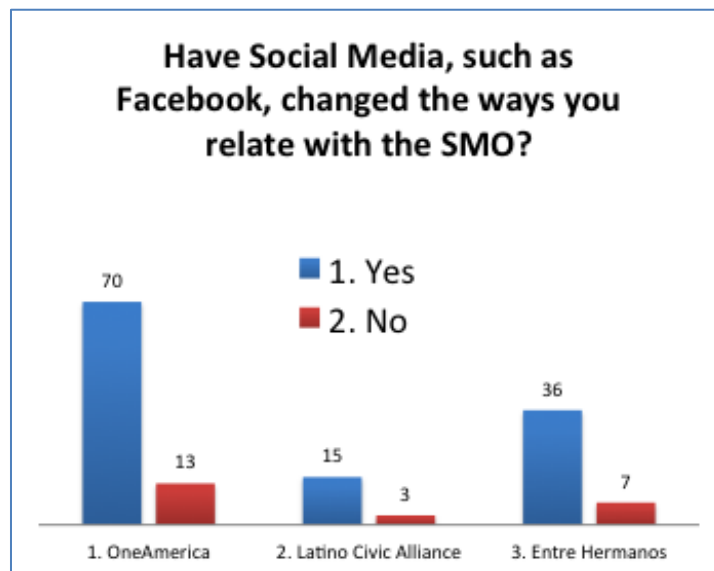
Quantitative and qualitative results of the survey show that Facebook has provided SMOs’ participants with (1) new possibilities to create and diffuse self-managed information, (2) to communicate constantly among them when events are relevant in the public opinion, but especially to communicate with other social organizations including the mass media, and (3) to connect people and build identity with the SMOs’ goals and values. Facebook is particularly important for immigrant youth and young adults to become politically involved in extra-institutional spheres of politics. In the following section these three ideas are expanded.

Facebook is used by most of the 144 respondents very frequently, mainly by phone. When asked about the use of Facebook, 92% of the 144 respondents said they use it. In OA, 60% of the 83 respondents said they use Facebook every day; in LCA 61% of the 18 respondents said they use Facebook every day; and in EH 72% of the 43 respondents said they use Facebook every day.

Moreover in OA 35% of the 83 respondents were youth that use Facebook very day; in EH 35% of the 43 respondents were young adults that use Facebook every day. Forty-nine percent of the 144 respondents use Facebook to communicate with friends and family, 18% of them use FB to find and share information, and 9% use it for entertainment. Six percent of them use FB for political and social causes. Fifty-nine percent of daily users of Facebook (n=92) are between 16 and 35 (youth, 33% and young adults 26%). Forty-one percent of the 144 respondents mainly use their mobile phones to use Facebook, while 23% mainly use computers to access Facebook.

The surveys included a question about the ways Facebook has changed respondents' interactions with the SMO. The majority of respondents answered yes (84% of each SMO), and they described how they perceive such change. The following figure presents the distribution of the answers by SMO.

Figure 31: Social Media changing relation with SMOs (n=144)



After prompting for a yes-no answer, the survey included an open ended question where respondents could elaborate on their answer. The following sections summarize the main ways in which respondents described said change (137 or 95% of the respondents offered comments to the open ended question):

1. Facebook to obtain and disseminate self-managed information

Facebook to communicate and interact permanently

Facebook to connect people and forge collective identities

Facebook to obtain and disseminate self-managed information

“You actively know what is going on now and you are always informed”. Survey response (Female 26-35)

The qualitative data collected with the open-ended question in the survey point out that obtaining and sharing current information about SMOs’ activities was important for the SMOs participants. Most respondents (more than 50%) underlined the possibility provided by Facebook to obtain and share more current and effective information, especially valued because it is information that is directly produced and controlled by participants in the SMOs’ activities, events and services. This information was not only valuable to make decisions and take action, but also to contrast and validate other information sources, especially mass media, which are perceived to be controlled by larger political and economic interests.

In this sense, Facebook provided respondents with a space and a community to get information produced and circulated by organizations and communities participating in SMOs, and to share

that information with their other networks and communities. The results of the open-ended question show that respondents' information practices tend to combine what Castells calls interactive and horizontal communication networks, on one hand, with more traditional mass media, on the other (Castells, 2007).

Facebook to communicate and interact permanently

“It gives a face to the organization. I can communicate with actual people that are part of it and the organizations working alongside them. One big way it helps is also to communicate about events faster.” Survey response (Male 26-35)

The answers of the open-ended question show that Facebook represents another space to expand the opportunities to communicate constantly with other members of the SMO, as well as with other social organizations and other communities. Many respondents (roughly 30%) highlighted the new possibilities that Facebook has offered to them to have direct communication with the SMO's staff, and to get feedback from them in faster and easy ways. They also mentioned the new possibilities that Facebook has opened to interact with reporters and representatives from Congress and other elected officials. Facebook helped the respondents to maintain the communication going on with all these agents on an ongoing, permanent basis, regardless of the time and place the respondents were in. Facebook helped them by providing them with the possibilities to stay in touch with their primary networks and communities as well as with the social organizations and initiatives they were linked with.

Moreover, SMOs beneficiaries, particularly from Entre Hermanos, said that through Facebook they could communicate with this SMO without attending face-to-face meetings, and they had more freedom to express what they wanted to express in their own personal style.

Facebook to connect people and forge collective identities

I feel that Facebook helps people who are interested in the movement to learn and see all the things that they can do to help push it forward. It holds a lot of information and can cause a bigger domino effect of what one person can do to help a cause that they feel strongly about. Female 18-25

The answers of the open-ended question show that Facebook represents a very popular and broad place and community, one that is permanently growing. Participants said that Facebook provided them with the possibility of expressing and sharing their feelings, activities and ideas in a familiar, friendly and non-threatening way; Facebook is seen to be powerful because many people can see and identify with those feelings, activities and ideas. Facebook appears to be an effective alternative to increase awareness and to bring together collective efforts around SMOs' sociopolitical causes. Staff members and more active beneficiaries said that Facebook also allows them to reach out and engage very different people, especially youth. They underlined that Facebook is conducive to reaching those who are already involved with SMO's activities and goals, as well as new people.

Respondents understood Facebook as a space where they meet with their communities as well as a space where they extend and create new communities and networks. They highlighted that Facebook was a special space for young people, because "most of them are there." Facebook

represents a great opportunity to be linked with other people who share who they are, and to do things together in order to have a better life and a better society.

Technology perspectives: Findings of the observations of Online Interactions

A group of 100 posts from the SMOs' Facebook pages was collected, including a set of posts that were posted before and after the fieldwork in order to compare and contrast the ones that were collected during fieldwork.⁸³ The data was mainly collected during fieldwork, when SMOs activities were going on, and the collection was complemented with Facebook Timeline, taking into account that this resource only shows a selection of the posts but not all them.⁸⁴ A collection of approximately 60 emails circulated by the SMOs during the fieldwork were also collected in order to compare the information collected from the Facebook pages. The following is an example of Facebook postings from Entre Hermanos, which show the association between LGTBQ rights and immigration rights among this SMO participants.

⁸³ 39 Facebook post of OneAmerica; 36 posts of Latino Civic Alliance, and 25 posts of Entre Hermanos were collected and analyzed.

⁸⁴ In order to collect the Facebook data, the possibility of using the Facebook Graph Application Programming Interface (API) was considered. However, the researcher finally used Timeline, considering that this was a complementary activity to obtain additional posts.

Figure 32: Facebook postings of Entre Hermanos



“Anabella, Miss Gay Latina, and Isabella, Miss Gay Seattle, were supporting the Dreamers in Olympia”

Online observations had the following purposes:

1. To better understand the interactions among SMOs’ participants and their interactions with other social actors, particularly with people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the messages/stories that each SMO are/is positioning in online spaces and the interactions those messages/stories are/is motivating from different social actors, especially from its beneficiaries and other people from other social movements and organizations.

To better understand the roles, if any, that Facebook has in some SMOs' day-to-day activities and within the SMOs' communication and information ecosystems.

To better understand the relationships between the uses of Facebook and the promotion of SMOs' goals and values

Facebook pages allow organizations as well as businesses, celebrities and brands to communicate with people who like them.⁸⁵ Page information and posts are public and generally available to everyone on Facebook⁸⁶. Anyone can like a page to become connected with it and there is no limit to how many people can like a page. While personal profiles and groups can acquire up to 5,000 friends, a Facebook page can have an unlimited number of likes and subscribers. Page posts appear in the feeds of people who like the page and their friends. Page administrators can share posts under the page's name, and they can also create customized apps for their pages, and check their Insights to track the page's growth and activity. However, through the Timeline, page's friends can access basic statistics of the Facebook pages, such as the most popular week, age, city, or the number of people talking about the information posted on the pages.

Facebook is the world's biggest social networking website, founded in 2004. Corporation information says "Facebook's mission is to give people the power to share and make the world

⁸⁵ Facebook Groups different than pages provide a closed space for groups of people to communicate about shared interests. See more at: <http://mashable.com/2009/05/27/facebook-page-vs-group/>

⁸⁶ According to Howard Greenstein, access to Facebook pages can be restricted by certain ages and locations. Neither Groups nor Pages have great moderation features. They can both be a little granular as to how things get posted, who can post, and what kind of media can be posted. If someone posts spam on your Group or your Page, you have to remove it manually, and you can also remove specific members. See more at: <http://mashable.com/2009/05/27/facebook-page-vs-group/>

more open and connected.”⁸⁷ On June 30, 2013, Facebook reported 819 million monthly active users and 699 million daily active users on average in June 2013. Other statistics⁸⁸ reported that Facebook had 50,000,000 pages at this time.

According to Facebook,⁸⁹ this site provides software and technology features for people and groups which create personal and organizational profiles, add other users as friends, exchange messages, and receive automatic notifications when they update their profiles. Facebook features include but are not limited to the following:

- **News Feed:** a home page in which users saw a constantly updated list of their friends' Facebook activity, such as profile changes, upcoming events, and birthdays.
- **Friend:** users can send another users a friend request on Facebook. People become Facebook's friends once the receiving parties accept the friend requests.
- **Timeline:** is a virtual space in which all the content of Facebook users is organized and shown. In December 2011, Timeline replaced the Wall, which was the original profile space where Facebook users posted contents. In Timeline, user's photos, videos, and posts are categorized according to the period of time in which they were uploaded or created.
- **Like:** this is a way to give positive feedback and connect with things people care about. Users can "like" status updates, comments, photos, and links posted by their friends (individuals, groups, or organizations).

⁸⁷ See more at: <http://newsroom.fb.com/Key-Facts>

⁸⁸ See more at Statistic Brain Research Institute: <http://www.statisticbrain.com/facebook-statistics/>, and at Digital Marketing Rambling at: <http://expandedramblings.com/index.php/by-the-numbers-17-amazing-facebook-stats/>

⁸⁹ See more at: <https://www.facebook.com>

- **Notifications:** this feature informs the users that an addition has been added to their profile page, including messages, comments or pictures.
- **Messages and inbox:** users can send messages to each other as well as messages to any number of his/her friends at a time. Deleting a message from one's inbox does not delete it from the inbox of other users, thus disabling a sender to redo a message sent by him or her. Since November 2010 Facebook messages made available to the website's users, text messaging, instant messaging (a type of online chat), and emails, including privacy settings similar to those of other Facebook services.
- **Comments box:** is a social plugin that enables other users to comment on a user site. Features include moderation tools and distribution.
- **Share dialog:** this feature allows users to share links on their timeline, in groups, or to their friends via a Facebook Message.
- **Events:** users and pages have an event connection where they can post information about an event, including the location, event name, and which invitees plan to attend.

Characteristics and meaning of the Facebook posts

The SMOs' Facebook pages were created two or three years ago and their use has increased progressively to date. Entre Hermanos (EH) page was created in January 2010, and both pages of OneAmerica (OA) and Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) were created in January 2011. Only the EH page was linked to its institutional Twitter account.



Figure 33: Facebook Post from Parliament Demonstration

The posts of the SMOs' pages mainly referred to local activities and progress on immigration reform and immigrant rights, including LGBTQ rights, particularly for EH, that mainly focused on disease prevention for Latino LGBTQ community. Posts' style and language were mainly personal, warm and simple. They usually appealed to members' feelings, ideas, experiences and dreams. OA extensively used testimonies and pictures of their members, especially youth. EH recurrently used humor, cartoons, artistic images and pictures. LCA style and language was the most formal among the sites. English posts were predominant in OA (approximately 80%), while Spanish post were predominant in EH (approximately 70%). The majority of LCA posts were both in English and Spanish. Banners and pictures of the SMO's pages highlighted immigrants in action in proactive and exemplary ways. Banners and pictures mainly present immigrant people getting together, discussing, protesting, working or receiving awards. OA focused its pictures

and images on youth activists. EH focused on LGBTQ’s campaigns, and LCA focused on their interactions with State institutions and other SMOs.

The data collected shows that SMOs often use their Facebook pages to promote and report on the activities they organize, as well as the activities in which their members are involved, including members’ achievements, awards and recognitions. SMOs also used their pages to ask people to take particular actions such as writing or calling elected representatives, or joining rallies, meetings or cultural activities such as movie nights or parties. Very often the SMOs report about the activities’ aftermaths on Facebook. This way they tend to offer more processed and complete information on the activities, which usually includes stories of people participating in the activities, and reflections about the importance and results of them. Very few times the SMOs use Facebook to report in real time. The following figure presents the information that Facebook analytics reported as the most popular week and age for the three SMOs studied during the fieldwork (Seattle was the *Most popular City* for the three SMOs).

Figure 34: Most Popular Week and Age

	OneAmerica	Entre Hermanos	Latino Civic Alliance
Most popular week (According to Facebook this is the week when the most people were talking about this Page)	March 31, 2013. This date corresponds with a failed meeting between DREAMers and a Senate Committee in Olympia. At the last minute, the Senate cancelled the scheduled hearing without proper notice.	Nov 4, 2012. This date corresponds with the approval of same-sex marriage in WA.	March 17, 2013. This date corresponds with the Latino Legislative Day.
Most popular age (According to Facebook this is the largest age group of the people)	25-34 years old	25-34 years old	35-44 years old

talking about this Page)

The invitations and reports the SMOs posted on their Facebook pages were generally short (an average of 45 words) and were generally accompanied by compelling pictures of people in action, and testimonies of participants in those activities. Occasionally posts were linked to other websites, larger documents or other's pictures. A few times their posts were linked to videos.

The SMOs also included posts or links coming from other key actors and allies, particularly from local and mass media, on average one out of 5 posts. Information coming from academic institutions, scholars or larger social movements and campaigns were also posted. These posts provided additional information about the events, campaigns and people that the SMOs were involved with. In general, these posts offered additional information and analysis on the socio-political contexts the SMOs were facing. They also highlighted particular topics related to their ongoing activities, such as an action developed by a particular group of youth, or a story of immigrant farmers.

EH posts usually combined their own activities with information coming from larger campaigns, especially on HIV and LGTB rights. LCA occasionally included information about other movements and organizations, especially to highlight the achievements of community leaders. OA few times included information coming from other social movements and organizations, particularly to promote local and national campaigns and activities.

Likes, comments and shares

On average the number of likes for the total posts of the three pages was only one. This low level of likes is explained by the high numbers of posts that never received a like, and because few posts usually receive high numbers of likes, as well as comments, and shares. The highest numbers were: 117 likes; 10 comments, and 100 shares. The level of comments was lower than the likes. Approximately half of the comments referred directly to the pages' posts, and the other half dialogued among them. The level of shares was lower than the likes and comments. However certain posts triggered high numbers of likes, comments and shares such as what happened with the hearing post of OneAmerica that, according to the information provided by its communication team, by September 2013 it obtained more than 170,000 reaches.

The information collected shows that pages' friends seemed to like more and commented more about (1) individual and collective stories that exalted social and political contributions of immigrants, and their role in this historical moment; (2) personal and collective leadership and solidarity in immigrant communities; (3) pictures, stories and facts that help them to retain a memory of what was going on during certain time; and (4) cultural and artistic expressions of immigrant communities that expressed diversity, especially coming from youth, LGTBQ and women. In general, individual and organizational victories, awards and recognitions triggered likes and comments. Page's friends did not seem to like and comment on information, and reports coming from mass media or other institutional and academic sources. However the offline observations show that pages' friends usually followed and paid attention to this kind of information.

Narratives and contexts depicted by the posts

Four narratives were predominant in the pages' posts during the fieldwork: (1) **the immigration system was broken**, and one of the most powerful facts that the SMOs used to demonstrate this was the number of the 11 million of undocumented in the US; (2) the **immigrant sociopolitical power** gained during the last decade, and particularly the Latino power confirmed in the Obama presidential election, 2012; (3) the **immigrants' value and contributions** to the U.S., which not only included their social service, their cultural and artistic expressions and achievements, their political engagement, but particularly relevant for this research, their contributions related to technological developments and the creation of knowledge, especially by younger generations of immigrants; and (4) the American Dream, that many immigrants came to the U.S. to pursue, it is not an individual dream of workers, farmers, women or youth, but **a family dream** that required to keep the families together, and especially to stop the deportations.

The narratives of OA Facebook page show the relationships between immigrants and refugees' communities of Washington State, other 'people of color,' and other collectives such as workers, LGTBQ and farmers. The narratives of LCA Facebook page present common issues affecting Latino immigrants' communities in Washington State as well as the achievements of members of these communities. The narratives of EH Facebook page build connections between health and cultural issues of the LGTBQ Latino community in Seattle and their relationships with human rights and the immigration issues of this community.

The contexts depicted by the posts concur to the ones highlighted during the in-depth interviews: (1) President Obama's reelection (November 6, 2012), (2) the Same-Sex Marriage Referendum in Washington State (November, 6, 2012), (3) the 2013 Washington State legislative session (January 14-April, 28, 2013), (4) the bipartisan immigration proposal (April, 17, 2013), and (5) the May Day marches of 2013 (May, 1, 2013).

The first two events preceded the fieldwork, but the SMOs consistently referred to them during the fieldwork. The posts pointed out that in the 2012 presidential election, immigrant votes, particularly Latino votes, were essential to **Obama's reelection**. The reelection opened a new political opportunity to achieve a comprehensive immigration reform. This emphasis also implied the recognition and diffusion of the political and social power won by immigrant communities, particularly by Latino communities.

The following fragments of a OneAmerica's post on its Facebook page (November 9, 2012) shows how SMOs working on immigration issues received Obama's reelection and the possibility for an immigration reform:

“The conditions are ripe for the passage of immigration reform during Obama's second term, perhaps as early as 2013. Why? Because the interests of the right and the left, the Democrats and Republicans, small business, corporations, organized labor and agriculture have all converged. Let us not allow this opportunity to pass. (...) Grassroots activism is the art of making the impossible possible. Politics is the art of the possible. It's time for politics. Game on! Let's play ball!”

Secondly, at State context, the election of a Democrat governor, specially the positive results (Yes 53.7% over No 46.3%) of **the Washington Same-Sex Marriage Referendum**, also known as Referendum 74, had special importance for SMOs, particularly for LGTBQ organizations

such as Entre Hermanos, which had an active role during this campaign. The following fragment shows the enthusiasm and happiness triggered by the referendum victory. This post was part of the “Most popular week” at Entre Hermanos Facebook Page.

Figure 35: Facebook post from Entre Hermanos



“The largest rainbow cake of bakery Cupcake Royale in Seattle. Appreciating the support that resulted in the approval of Referendum 74 for marriage equality in Washington.”

Thirdly, the fieldwork also coincided with **the State Legislative session**, which represents one of the most important scenarios for SMOs’ advocacy work. This work encompassed the organization of Legislative Days, in which SMO’s participants have the opportunity to interact and exchange ideas and stories not only with State dignitaries (e.g. Senators, Representatives,

Governor, State Supreme Court Justice, Ambassadors, and Consuls), but also with other SMO members, as well as other people linked with other social organizations and social movements. The advocacy work also encompassed intense schedules, including public hearings, meetings, and private conversations with elected officials, and several discussions and meetings with other SMOs and social movements.

During the 2013 Washington State Legislative session, the SMOs' posts focused on the following issues: (1) State and Federal immigration reform including bills and proposals on Washington Dream Act, Washington Voting Rights Act, and Family Unit; (2) Immigrant's inclusion including bills and proposals on Closing the Achievement Gap for Students of Color, Ensuring the success of English Language Learner (ELLs) students, and Supporting the Washington New Americans (WNA) Programs, and Diverse Leadership in Washington; and (3) Social and economic factors affecting immigrants (including bills and proposals on Addressing Underground Economy Legislation to Protect Workers, human trafficking in Washington State, the Washington Trust Act, and Requiring Background Check for most Firearm Buyers).

The following posts of OneAmerica's and Latino Civic Alliance page show the intense discussion and participation of SMOs during the 2013 Legislative sessions. Both correspond to the "Most popular week" at OneAmerica and Latino Civic Alliance Facebook Pages. OneAmerica's post became viral and received more than 170,000 reaches.



Figure 36: Facebook post from OneAmerica



Figure 37: Facebook post from Latino Civic Alliance

Fourthly, the posts also highlighted the importance of **the bipartisan immigration proposal** introduced on April 17, 2013. A group of U.S. senators, known as the "Gang of Eight"⁹⁰ introduced a comprehensive immigration reform proposal. According to the posts and the institutional information that SMOs circulated by email, this proposal opened the hope of citizenship for 11 million undocumented immigrants. The document of approximately 850 pages was received with moderate optimism by members of the SMOs, and by people of other social organizations in Washington State.

The SMOs reported that they read the proposal closely. They also informed they gathered with other SMOs and social organizations and they expressed their were confident that the bill would provide a pathway to citizenship. They also reported about other parts of the proposal which were to their advantage, too: the need for stronger protections for vulnerable individuals going through the immigration process; its intention to reduce visa backlogs; and its pathways for future immigrants to come to the United States.

However they also reported that they found troubling portions among the proposals: that the citizen path was lengthy and would exclude many people; that the proposed legislation would devote even more resources than before to failed policies like militarization at the borders and elsewhere in the system; and that there is not provision to recognize same-sex couples for immigration purposes.

⁹⁰ The group that crafted the Senate immigration bill were: Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.), Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.), Bob Menendez (D-N.J.), Michael Bennet (D-Colo.), and Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.)

Finally, on May Day, the SMOs' post showed that they joined with many others, and participated in rallies in several cities of Washington State to support the National Day for Immigration Reform on International Workers Day. In Seattle, the march was organized by The May 1st Action Coalition and El Comité Pro-Reforma Migratoria y Justicia Social. The purpose of the rallies was to draw attention to the plight of the immigrant community in the wake of the passage of Congress bill on immigration reform. The following figures illustrate the ways in which each of the SMOs presented their call or participation in the May Day celebrations and rallies:

Figure 38: Facebook Post on May 1 by OneAmerica



Figure 39: Facebook post on May 1, by Latino Civic Alliance

 **Latino Civic Alliance** shared La Aficion Nw's video.
May 2 near Seattle 🌐

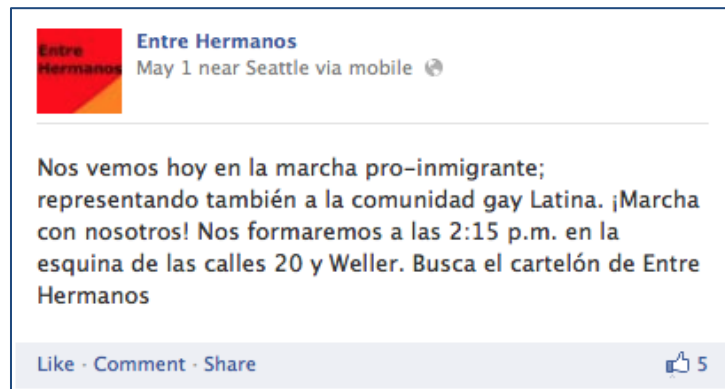
Latino Civic Alliance congratulates El Comit e for their hard work organizing a powerful and peaceful May 1st rally in Seattle recognizing workers and immigration rights. Let us celebrate and remember the solidarity that happen and importance of the event and continue to build strong partnerships supporting one another advocating for fairness to all.
~ LCA Board of Directors

Marcha 1ro de Mayo, Seattle, WA Por Una Reforma Migratoria
"Por una REFORMA MIGRATORIA " fue el lema de la marcha del 1ro de Mayo en Seattle, WA, USA. El Comit e Pro-Reforma Migratoria Y Justicia Social



Like · Comment · Share  5

Figure 40: : Facebook Post on May 1 by Entre Hermanos



“We will see you today in the pro-immigrant march, also representing the gay America. Walk, with us! We will gather at 2:15 pm at the corner of 20th and Weller. Search the banner of Entre Hermanos.”

The SMOs posts also highlighted the success of several marches in Seattle and elsewhere Washington State, where thousands of people gathered peacefully to build support for a path to citizenship for undocumented residents of the United States, and to pressure the Obama administration to stop deportations that separate families. The marches also aimed to build support for the Washington Dream Act⁹¹, passed by the state House of Representatives, blocked with a vote in the Washington State Senate.

In summary, the data collected through the four data collection strategies point out that Facebook is integrated with other individual and collective information and communication practices of SMOs’ participants. Even though Facebook does have an important role in day to day activities of SMOs’ participants as well as in SMOs’ activities and strategies, it is connected

⁹¹ The WA Dream act intended to make state need grant money available to undocumented students who have lived in Washington since they were very young and seeking a college education, and want career in what is for many the only country they have ever known.

to other technologically-mediated and personal ways of interactions within and outside the SMOs. Facebook is also understood and used as a social space where diverse communities and their networks spend significant time in daily bases. However Facebook is considered as special place where the majority of youths are.

Findings also show that Facebook is primarily a source of information collectively produced, discussed and validated. Besides it is considered a suitable space where immigrants, their organizations and their networks, share stories about their daily activities, achievements and dreams. In this sense Facebook has opened new avenues for immigrants' expression, memories and sociopolitical participation as well as for forging collective identities. It also has provided new opportunities for them to interact directly with key social sectors such as elected officials and mass media. Particularly, Facebook is considered as an alternative platform where young participants of the SMOs have found new opportunities to express themselves and participate in sociopolitical activities related to the SMOs and other social movements and organizations. Thus in Chapter 6 the author will discuss if the mediations of Facebook are helping SMOs to (1) develop an alternative space to legitimize immigrant's information; (2) provide a liminal scenario (threshold in Anthropology) where immigrants build voice and identity; and (3) a social space and a language (code) for youth expression and socio-political participation.

Discussion of Findings: Facebook and the immigration movement in Washington State

“Greetings Earthlings... I come in peace. Actually, I am an Earthling too, and I am confident there are no aliens here among us today. We are all Earthlings, a simple truth that does not require a green card, a birth certificate, or any other documentation to prove. (...) There is only one Earth, and one human family, and today we are realizing, more than ever, we have only one world community, one atmosphere, one environment, one economy, and one home, no matter where we come from. And we all share one dream too—the dream to be free and the dream to belong; we dream of being free to participate in all the opportunities and benefits society has to offer.” Fragments of the speech by Rev. Dr. Todd F. Eklof, during an Immigration Reform Rally, Spokane May 1, 2013

Chapter Overview

The core of this research is an exploration of the interactions between social media (Facebook in particular) and social movements to explore the information and communication practices, identities, and performativity⁹² of three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) working on immigration issues in Washington State: OneAmerica (OA), Latino Civic Alliance (LCA) and Entre Hermanos (EH). I use Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to examine the mediations⁹³ of Facebook in the practices of the SMO’s participants, including staff and beneficiaries, as they interact with one another, both daily and over time.

In this study I lay three interactional frameworks against one another to unlock ICT, social mobilization and political participation in a new way: New Social Movements Approach; Actor-

⁹² Based on (Melucci, 1994; Law, 2009) performativity here implicates an understanding of the different agents that encompass the SMOs and their multiple, fluid, and temporary interactions.

⁹³ Mediation is a central concept when ANT analyzes the associations between humans and non-humans agents. Mediators, which are to be understood as different from intermediaries, are entities that transform and multiply differences during the interactions among these agents. Their outputs cannot be predicted by their inputs. The notion of mediation is a sort of ‘cooperative’ work between different agents.

Network Theory (ANT); and Multi-sited ethnography. The association of these three frameworks helped me find that Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs' practices and collective actions. However Facebook has helped to enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which in turn shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

My work is inspired by Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos' *sociology of absences and sociology of emergences*. In de Sousa Santos' approach the goal of the sociology of absences is to identify and assign value to social experiences available in the world — although declared non-existent by hegemonic rationality — the sociology of emergences aims to identify and enlarge the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies, that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge (de Sousa Santos, 2003). My discussion is the result of a cross-analysis of the findings obtained through the combination of three research methods inspired by multi-sited ethnography⁹⁴: in-depth interviews, observations and surveys. The cross-analysis engaged all the data streams devised for this study, and the result became integrated in deliberations with my community of scholars from different disciplines, and members of the SMOs, which participated in the study. The discussion of findings is focused

⁹⁴ Multi-sited ethnography provides a method to analytically trace populations, ideas, and material objects through time and space.

on common tendencies that were present in the three SMOs. Unique characteristics of each SMO are reported when relevant. In this chapter I discuss the significance of my findings, presented in the previous chapter, and relate them back to the main arguments of ANT (Chapter 2) and the key ideas of the literature review (Chapter 3), guided by my research questions (Chapter 1).

Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs' practices

“Facebook and Twitter are tools, like machetes to cut grass. On one hand they change our work, on the other there is always someone behind.” Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-35)

ANT claims that purely technical or purely social relations are not possible. For this reason ANT focuses on the description and analysis of associations between human and non-human agents. The findings of this research show that Facebook is entangled in complex ways in the SMOs' interactions. Even though Facebook is an active agent within SMOs' interactions and the relationships they have with other social movements and organizations, it is neither the only agent of those interactions, nor it is the most important agent for different interactions purposes. Facebook is also entangled with changed forms of information and communication, in which interpersonal interactions are prevalent. Additionally Facebook is understood and used differently in the individual and collective practices of the agents that encompass the SMOs' networks.

For instance, the observations show different spaces and times in which Facebook is entangled in SMOs activities, and the interviews show that Facebook is considered to be part of the multiple tools and spaces that are available to SMOs in order to achieve their organizational goals. The

surveys also show that interpersonal forms of interactions are more important than technologically-mediated ones (including Facebook), while the interviews and observations confirmed the high value placed on face-to-face interactions. The evidence also shows that the SMOs use different ways of interactions to advance diverse purposes, according to their missions and strategies.⁹⁵ For instance, the interviews and the observations show that Twitter and Text Messages were more important to coordinate activities in real time. Twitter also helps participants to easily and strategically discuss central issues related to immigration with other social movements, organizations and journalists. The surveys also show that informal meetings, conversations and phone calls were the most important ways to communicate with other members of the SMOs, and that texting was the most important technologically-mediated way for communicating with other members of the SMOs. My data show that Facebook is more used and central for younger participants of the SMOs, both in their daily life as well as in their interactions with the SMOs.

Critical analysis of ICT and social movements maintain that although computer networks create new social spaces in which individuals meet and interact in virtual landscapes, they are not a substitute for more traditional forms of community, protest and collective identity (Carty & Onyett, 2006). Gillan, Pickerill, & Webster (2008) also pointed out that cooperation requires substantive connections, from interpersonal ties to ideological agreement. This is because cooperation and coalitions “typically involve the sharing of resources other than information,

⁹⁵ Borrowing from Maney et al., 2012 strategy is understood here as a plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context.

whether material, such as money or human resources, or less tangible, such as trust or political backing.” (Gillan et al., 2008, p. 101)

The findings of my study confirm that the spaces and practices created on Facebook **do not substitute** for other forms of interaction but that these spaces and practices **complement** other interpersonally-mediated as well as other technologically-mediated forms of interaction. Thus Facebook is part of a myriad of forms of interactions among the SMOs, their participants, and other stakeholders and social movements and organizations. In this sense Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs’ practices and the forms of their collective actions, but, convergent with ANT, they have helped surface new mediations between SMOs, their participants, and their use of social media. The results of this research concur with the findings of scholars such as Bimber, Flanagin, & Stohl (2005; 2003), who sustain that the rapid technological innovations of different forms of ICT are broadening and accelerating changes to the terms and structures of collective action, which are increasingly more sensitive to the flow of events and information.

ANT suggests ways of tracing networks of heterogeneous elements in order to understand social connections. Thus ANT suggests rendering the social world as flat as possible to ensure that the establishment of any new link is clearly visible. Network is a concept for ANT, however, ‘not a thing out there’. “It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described...” (Latour, 2007, p. 131). Within a network, ANT looks for the new institutions, procedures, and concepts able to collect and reconnect the social. My findings put in action the analytical lens provided by ANT to better understand the mediations of Facebook in the SMOs’ interactions. Thus, these findings are focused on the interactions mediated by Facebook, and consider those interactions as

part of the multiple and complex SMOs' practices associated with particular sociopolitical contexts. Thus, I suggest that Facebook may have not transformed the SMOs' practices or the forms of their collective actions. However Facebook appears to have helped enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

I suggest that while Facebook has not transformed the SMOs' practices or the forms of their collective actions, Facebook has helped to enable three types of mediations in the interactions between SMOs' participants that enhance their relations and their actions:

1. **A legitimization cycle of information:** Through Facebook, the SMOs' participants developed an alternative space where information was not only produced and circulated collectively, but where information was discussed and validated collectively. **Storytelling** was the main form in which information was shared among SMOs' participants. This information generated awareness and identity, as well as motivating action among SMO's participants and their networks. Information "legitimized" through Facebook interactions became a currency or capital⁹⁶ that SMOs' participants could transform and exchange in other sociopolitical arenas. The information cycles legitimized through Facebook opened new individual and collective opportunities for

⁹⁶ In Bourdieu and Johnson's perspective, capital is an actor's accumulation and uses of different forms of material and symbolic powers (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993).

the SMOs to interact with key stakeholders, such as immigrant communities, elected officials and mass media, while empowering the SMOs; participants during these interactions.

A liminal scenario for voice-building and shaping of identities: Through Facebook the SMOs' participants have created a liminal scenario, a threshold that provides them with a space or place of transition for building a voice of their own and shaping their identities.

Three components became crucial for expressing and forging SMO's participants voices and identities in the liminal scenario afforded by Facebook: (1) **branding** who they were and what they did; (2) **preserving** their memories through storytelling, and (3) making their networks and **connectedness** visible. The liminal scenario allowed the SMOs' participants to position their voices and to develop an autonomous narrative on immigrants and immigration, which were mainly created and controlled by immigrants themselves.

A social space for youth expression and socio-political participation: Youth participating in the SMOs used Facebook as an alternative space and as a language (a code) to create and share stories about themselves and their social and political activities in a familiar, friendly, and non-threatening platform. This helped SMO's youth position their voices and participation in the SMOs and larger social movements for immigration reform, among others. Facebook in the hands of multicultural youth enabled them to develop new languages and codes, and to become better "cultural translators"⁹⁷ between key stakeholders in different social spaces. The new voices, stories and forms of participation from youth using Facebook reenergized and

⁹⁷ In ANT, "translation" is an important concept that refers to a relation that induces two mediators into coexisting. (For Latour the aim of the sociology of associations (ANT) is to show that "*there exist translations between mediators that may generate traceable associations*" (Latour, 2007, p. 108). "Cultural translators" refers here to the capability of people and communities, especially younger generations, to enable communication with other people and institutions that were outside of the SMO's networks.

transformed the SMOs' practices and strategies and contributed to revitalizing the immigration reform movement.

The legitimization cycle of information: the mediations of Facebook in the SMOs' communication and information practices.

"I feel that Facebook helps people who are interested in the movement to learn and see all the things that they can do to help push it forward. It holds a lot of information and can cause a bigger domino effect of what one person can do to help a cause that they feel strongly about." Answer to the open-ended question of the Survey (Female 18-25)

As discussed in the literature review, the centrality of information for collective action has been extensively analyzed by social movements studies as well as multidisciplinary studies on ICT and social movements. It is also an important topic for information and immigration studies analyzing immigrants' sociopolitical engagement. For example, early studies of the black and Chicano civil rights movements in the U.S. showed that alternative media such as newsletters and newspapers helped mobilize supporters by providing relevant information and serving as facilitators of communication for civil rights leaders and organizations Garland (1982) and Rojas (1975). In the early 1990's Melucci (1994, 1996) showed that information becomes a crucial resource for contemporary complex systems, and the control over the production, accumulation, and circulation of information is a terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being.

Carty & Onyett's (2006) research on the social justice campaigns showed that many scholars, who highlight the utopian aspects of ICT, sustain that new media allow unprecedented opportunities for the exchange of information outside the control of the dominant media corporations. Additionally, the analysis of Costanza-Chock (2011) on the use of ICT by the

immigrant rights movement in the U.S., presents the experience of *VozMob* (short for *Voces Moviles/Mobile Voices*), a community-based digital media project that provided a platform for immigrant and/or low-wage workers in Los Angeles to create stories about their lives and communities directly from cell phones. (Costanza-Chock, 2011, pp. 31-33).

My research helps extend our understanding of the centrality of information in collective action and the ways in which it is produced and processed by SMOs' participants. Results of my study suggest that SMO participants used Facebook to create a networked source of information in which they not only produce and obtain information (about immigration reform and immigrants' activities, among others), but also a space in which SMOs' participants and their networks discuss and process that information in an informal, familiar, friendly and non-threatening manner. The findings also point out that **storytelling** represents one of the most important forms in which participants produce, circulate and obtain information. This form of information not only fit well with immigrants' capabilities and cultural traditions, but it also resulted in an easy and effective way for them to process and circulate it within their networks as well as in other social spaces.

The evidence also suggests that the discussions on Facebook among SMOs' participants and their networks generate enhanced awareness about the issues discussed, as well as sympathy and self-identification with the people and topics in question. Both the awareness and the identification gained during these interactions are conducive to motivate SMOs' participants and their networks to take action (both online and offline) related to the issues discussed. In turn, these actions (rallies, demonstrations, meetings, etc) are also some of the main sources to

produce and circulate new information, be it through Facebook and other social media, or through other information and communications tools and practices, both technologically and non-technologically mediated, that the SMOs' participants have at hand.

Figure 41 offers a schematic representation of the legitimization cycle of information enhanced by Facebook in the mediation of information and communication practices of SMOs' participants:

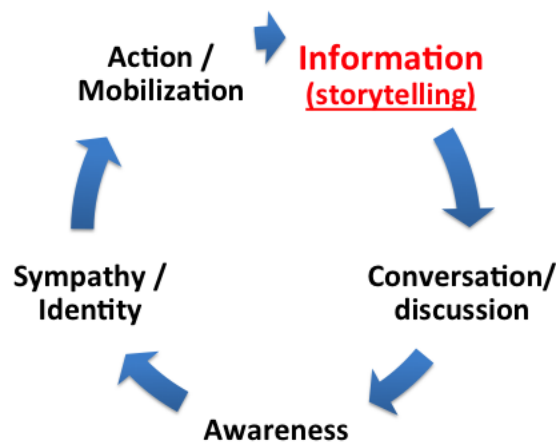


Figure 41: Facebook mediations in the Legitimization Cycle of Information

The data collected for this study shows that the information produced, shared and validated by the SMOs and their networks on Facebook opened new individual and collective opportunities to interact with key stakeholders, such as immigrant communities, elected officials and mass media. As presented in the previous chapter, the information processed through Facebook was perceived to increase in value and power when it was accompanied by high numbers of “likes,” comments, shares or reaches. These numbers represent a measure of validation and legitimation of the

information among the networks that were participating, which in turn contributes to transforming the conditions in which the SMOs interact with the stakeholders and the value and power that stakeholders give to the SMOs and their participants. Convergent with Appadurai and Juris (Appadurai, 2000, 2006; Juris, 2008a, 2008b), the findings of this research show that through Facebook the SMOs constructed an alternative space of power, not only for them, as organized components of larger social movements, but also for their participants, individuals who were part of the SMOs and their networks. I also suggest that through Facebook the SMOs have developed a form of mass self-communication that help them intervene more decisively in the public communication sphere, convergent Castells (Manuel Castells, 2007; Castells, 2009). According to Castells, communication has emerged as the public space of the network society, and media have become the social space where power is decided. Mass self-communication represents a form of counter-power that “is self-generated in content, self-directed in emission, and self-selected in reception by many that communicate with many” (M Castells, 2007, p. 248).

In this research the alternative space of power does not seem to be the result of international or global alliances among networks, organizations or individuals, as described in Appadurai and Juris, but rather the result of the actions of local actors, which are mainly connected with and supported by other local actors: local actors that mostly produced and shared local information related to their local activities in Seattle and Washington State. Contrary to the experiences reported on other social mobilizations and protests with global links such as the Occupy Wall Street anti-corporate globalization movements, the Arab Spring, or even the black and Chicano civil rights movements, the international links I found in my study were not with other

international movements, SMOs or networks, but with personal networks of friends and families, particularly from participants' home countries. Moreover, the findings show that expressions of international solidarity, support, or exchange were barely present in the context I studied. The local and personal nature of the interactions and networks uncovered in this study is surprising given the expectation suggested by other recent social movement mobilizations (i.e., Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring, and the black and Chicano civil rights movements in the US) and relevant literature (Appadurai and Juris in particular), and given the international nature of the immigrants' experiences, and of the cross-border implications of the debate on immigration reform.

The lack of international connections was surprising for the SMO's participants when I presented them with the preliminary findings of my study: they realized the potential networking opportunity they were missing, and started thinking about ways to explore stronger linkages with other movements nationally and internationally.

On the other hand, I suggest that the information produced, shared and validated through Facebook not only helps the SMOs position themselves in the new communication space, as suggested by Castells, but it also helps them gain power and become agents in other social spaces. Information validated or "legitimized" through Facebook interactions works as currency or capital in the sense described by Bourdieu and Johnson, for whom capital is an actor's accumulation and uses of different forms of material and symbolic powers (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993 p.4). In this way, information legitimized through Facebook becomes capital that SMOs can transform and exchange in other sociopolitical arenas. For instance, SMOs used Facebook

stories (especially those with high numbers of “likes,” shares, comments or reaches) to force elected officials’ accountability, to promote and forge collective identities within their communities, and to demonstrate “field power” (people’s support for mobilizations) to government institutions and other social movements and organizations. Thus the information produced through Facebook helped empower the SMOs by opening new avenues and new conditions of interaction with stakeholders. Consequently their interactions with stakeholders became a source of information that the SMOs could transform and circulate within their networks. This process helped the SMOs position themselves to become actors of the co-constructions of their new communities, cultures and sociopolitical spaces, which is convergent with Fortunati, Pertierra, & Vincent concept of co-construction. Co-construction assumes that each society is a dynamic system which meets and maybe clashes with other cultures, but in so doing enriches itself and consequently changes (Fortunati et al., 2012).

The following LCA post illustrates how this SMO used the information they produced as a form of capital, which they then use with on their Facebook networks and in other sociopolitical arenas. The post corresponds to the “Most popular week” at LCA.



Figure 42: Facebook post from Latino Civic Alliance, Most Popular Week

Building on the theoretical foundation of ANT, particularly on the formation of collectives, my findings show that the SMOs were constantly maintaining, renovating and rebuilding their groups; otherwise they would have ceased to exist. On the one hand, the SMOs often made important decisions about new staff members and the best way to organize their current staff and participants around programs, projects or activities. They also invested significant time and resources to be constantly in touch with community leaders, activists, funders, volunteers and participants of their activities. Furthermore the SMOs invest significant time and resources to do

community outreach and to encourage new people and communities to join their activities and their organizations. In this sense, Facebook was used not only as an important social space to reach out to new people and their networks (particularly youth, as we will see in a moment), but also as a tool to keep current members and participants informed, motivated and engaged.

On the other hand, community leaders, activists, funders, volunteers and participants of the SMOs' activities were constantly looking for simple, fast, effective and constant ways to get information from and about the SMOs, its participants, and other social movements and organizations. In this sense, Facebook represented an important source of information about SMO activities for the SMOs' participants; on Facebook they could not only acquire, share and discuss information with their networks of friends and families, but they could also create and share new information about their own activities and experiences, emotions and thoughts, all while interacting with the SMOs and their own networks on the same platform.

The legitimization cycle afforded by Facebook and other social media may be one of the reasons why SMOs are increasingly investing more resources to support their information and communication activities and teams. OneAmerica, for instance, is changing their organizational structures to merge different teams so that staff will work together in interdisciplinary teams that simultaneously focus on community organizing, advocacy and communication. Latino Civic Alliance hired a communication consultant to help them design a communication strategy that includes a more extensive use of social media. Entre Hermanos split the information and communication responsibilities among staff to maintain their organizational use of social media, including Facebook. As showed by Leon et al. (2005), these practices are not only changing the

forms of organizations but also their political strategies. Paraphrasing Melucci (Melucci, 1994, 1996), information is a crucial resource for contemporary socio-technological spaces, and the production, accumulation, and circulation of information are not only a new terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being, but they are also a new space where new forms of solidarities, inclusion, and consensus come into being and are legitimized.

A liminal scenario for voice-building and shaping identities: the mediations of Facebook in the SMOs' collective identity.

Social media provides us with integrity and validity when you use them properly. If people realized that I'm active using Social Media and I have a good range of answers, people notice that... it gives me legitimacy to participate, to be contacted, to be invited to different activities. So there are a lot of people that identify me because of my use of Social Media. For instance, several times when I introduce myself there are people that immediately say so you are XXX, I am your friend on Facebook, I follow you on Facebook and Twitter. Interview with a SMO member (Female 36-45)

Lindlof & Taylor (2002) suggest that the identity involves cultural modes of understanding and performing the self. Identity, from their perspective, represents the intersection of multiple perceptions and actions associated with the relationship between self and other. "These elements include who we think we are, how we wish others to perceive us, how we present ourselves, how others actually perceive us, and how others perform those perceptions" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 256).

The topic of collective identity represents one of the most important issues for Social Movement Studies (SMS), especially for a new social movements approach, which is concerned with the role of cultural representations in social conflict, according to Della Porta & Diani (2006). In particular, this new approach is interested in how cultural and symbolic production by social

actors enables the identification of social problems as worthy objects of collective action and the construction of collective identity. According to Gamson (1991), this approach provides a shared sense of purpose and unifies a group of individuals in ways that make action possible.

Building on Melucci (Melucci, 1994, 1995, 1996) one of the most important advocates of the new social movements approach, I understand collective identity to be an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. By interactive and shared, Melucci means a definition that must be conceived as a process, because it is constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals or groups. Thus, collective identity involves at least three fundamental dimensions: (1) formulating cognitive frameworks concerning the ends, means, and fields of action; (2) activating relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate, and make decisions; (3) making emotional investments, which enable individuals to recognize themselves as part of a common unity (Melucci, 1995).

Collective identity also represents an important topic for studies that analyze the relations between social movements and ICT as well as other forms of communication and information. This topic has triggered challenging questions and significant academic debates. When analyzing the southern textile strike campaigns of 1929 to 1934 in the U.S., Roscigno & Danaher (2001) posit that the messages aired by mainstream radio stations shaped workers' sense of collective experience and political opportunity. Ward (2004) also points out that radio played a role in the Civil Rights movement in the Southern U.S., maintaining that the presence of radio stations in

daily life contributed to changing racial consciousness and transformation of southern racial practices.

Diani's (2001) discussion on the consequences of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) on three different types of movement organizations shows that by lowering costs and increasing opportunities for communication, CMC provides a largely passive support base with a low-intensity forum for issue-based communication, potentially strengthening movement organizations identification with the movement. In a different vein, (Earl & Kimport, 2011, p. 178) argue that the low costs produced by the affordances⁹⁸ of ICT can generate higher levels of collective participation, but they claim that "for low cost-participation, things like collective identity are probably less influential in determining participation" (Earl & Kimport, 2011, p. 178).

In an earlier work, I had found that the use of websites by human rights and peace building organizations in Colombia created an alternative confrontational field characterized by new forms of struggle, which used words, symbols and stories instead of bullets (Baron et al. (2003). The social actors on these websites were fighting "identity battles," in which, curiously, they were not expressing or framing their own collective identities but they were framing and confronting their opponent's identities. In a different vein, Ramirez (2011) studied the role of Spanish-language radio during the massive protests in 2006 against an immigration reform bill,

⁹⁸ Earl & Kimport define affordances as "*the actions and uses that technology makes qualitatively easier or possible when compared to prior like technologies.*"(Earl & Kimport, 2011, p. 32) The term affordance describes the possible types of actions that are enabled by a particular technologies.

H.R. 4437⁹⁹. Ramirez maintained that the radio shows enabled social and political incorporation by Latinos in the U.S., and he presented a case study of Spanish radio in Los Angeles that revealed a growing capacity to mobilize Latinos by appealing to and activating a common ethnic identity in response to external shocks or urgent needs of the community.

My research findings help expand our understandings on the strategic roles of storytelling and the ways it is articulated with collective identities. I suggest that through Facebook, the SMOs' participants have created a liminal scenario that provides them with the possibility to build a voice of their own and shape and reshape their identities. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "liminal" comes from the Latin word *limens*, meaning literally, "threshold." In anthropology this term was traditionally used to describe ritual stages of transition. More recently, use of the term has broadened to describe political and cultural change as well (Thomassen, 2010). According to Szokolczai (2007), liminality helps generate dissolution of order that can create fluid and malleable situations that enable new institutions and customs to become established.

The data collected points out that through Facebook the SMOs have created a liminal scenario, a transitional space for voice-building and shaping identities. Facebook allows other voices previously disenfranchised such as youth, undocumented immigrants or people who want to protect their anonymity, to express an opinion, to gain recognition and to position themselves in

⁹⁹ H.R. 4437 was a bill in the 109th United States Congress. It was passed by the US House of Representatives on December 16, 2005 by a vote of 239 to 182 (with 92% of Republicans supporting, 82% of Democrats opposing), but did not pass the Senate. It was also known as the "Sensenbrenner Bill," for its sponsor in the House of Representatives, Wisconsin Republican Jim Sensenbrenner. The bill triggered the 2006 immigration reform protests and was the first piece of legislation passed by a house of Congress in the US immigration debate.

the broader discourse. Facebook also allows SMOs' participants to make connections and transitions between private and public issues, ritual and ephemeral events, local and international relationships, and online and offline activities. Moreover Facebook activated an interactive and dynamic way to frame the orientations of action.

The evidence presented also shows that through Facebook the SMOs found additional opportunities and support to make their organizational voices heard. As Garrido (2006) asserts, these organizational perspectives challenge discourses of power by providing spaces for marginalized voices to be heard while transforming these voices into a call for social change. Similar to the study of Garrido, Baron, Lysenko, Abokhodair & Maziad (2013), on the use of Facebook by the April 6th Youth Movement (A6YM) in Egypt, the different SMOs participants have also found on Facebook a space where they can express themselves more freely, safely and spontaneously. This is a social space where they can express their emotions, ideas, dreams and fears. In this sense, by establishing and maintaining a presence on Facebook the SMOs have also activated an alternative space for their participants (both staff and beneficiaries), a space where their voices can be heard.

ANT suggests an approach that explores the active role (the agency) not only of the human components of networks, but also of its technological entities. In this sense, technologies can mediate human and technological interactions. Thus, the research findings of my study point out that Facebook affordances-- such as the possibility to link high numbers of people and organizations, to post on current events and activities of Facebook friends, or to show where people are located-- have helped SMOs' participants develop a concurrent social space that

allows them to not only connect their social and political activities, but to connect with other daily life practices and networks as well. Moreover, the features of Facebook, as well as the ways in which users have customized them, provided models and languages that SMOs' participants adopted to frame the information and stories they circulated on Facebook. For instance, they often used short phrases, interrogative or exclamatory sentences, and compelling pictures or graphics to frame their information and stories.

On Facebook, the SMOs' members, participants, and networks create scenarios in which they can connect the following dichotomous parts of their identities:

- *private and public issues*, that combine personal information with their activities in public arenas
 - *for example*, gender statements combined with participation in national mobilization)
- ritual events and ephemeral activities
 - for instance, combining birthdays, commemorations or habitual mobilizations (such as May Day marches, or the Latino Lobby Day) with unexpected situations (such as casual meetings with community members, or the results of a congress hearing)
- local and international relationships
 - such as combining their local and national networks with their networks in their countries of origin, even though this is mostly in the realm of personal and family relations (not SMO or social movement related)

- online and offline actions
 - for example, combining online campaigns (such as signing petitions) with phone banks or rallies.

The following posts of EH Facebook pages, before and after the May First March in Seattle, provide a sense of how the intersections of issues, times, spaces and actions work:

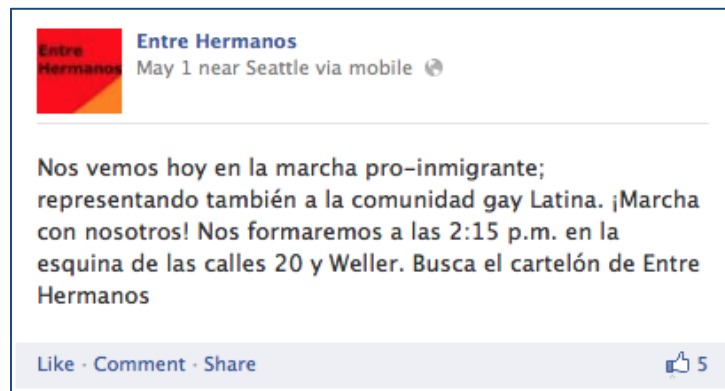


Figure 43: Facebook post from Entre Hermanos: before May First March

“We will see you today in the pro-immigrant march, also representing the gay America. Walk, with us! We will gather at 2:15 pm at the corner of 20th and Weller. Search the banner of Entre Hermanos.”



Figure 44: Facebook post from Entre Hermanos, after May First March

“LGBTQ members of our community at the March for Comprehensive Immigration Reform”

These juxtapositions found in my research help confirm the interconnectedness of social, political, economic, and cultural relations of immigrant communities and their organizations not only in global but also in local dynamics, as Srinivasan & Pyati’s (2007) analyses of global studies on migration show. The liminal scenario created on Facebook also help many participants to connect their local and international experiences, confirming Srinivasan & Pyati’s (2007) assertions that that migrants live in a world of ‘in-betweenness,’ negotiating cultural forms and identities at the crossroads of the nation-state and global diasporas. The SMOs’ practices on Facebook facilitate the connection of their participants with friends and families in their countries of origin. These connections help participants maintain links with their pasts and their

roots, offering them information and tools to navigate their present needs, and helping them to build future plans and aspirations, particularly through their participation in the SMOs. These results are similar to the ones found by Baron, Neils & Gomez (2013b) when we studied the uses of phones and computers by day laborers in Seattle. The following excerpts from my field notes also portray the interconnectedness of issues, times, spaces and actions:

- He [a mature male immigrant] told me he has a collection of short videos about his experiences in U.S. (...) He added he was collecting the videos with the hope that one day he will share them with his grandkids who live in Mexico (...). He also told me he was making time to attend computer classes in a local nonprofit organization, because he wants to know how to use Skype to talk with his family, and Facebook to post some of his videos.”
- She [a woman in her thirties] also said something like: “I am a Facebook person, and it not only helps me to be connected with my family, friends and colleagues here and in Mexico, but it also helps me to be informed about what is going on here and there.”

Earl & Kimport (2011) point out three major changes triggered by the impact of ICT on collective actions: a) the co-presence in time and space of collective participation; b) the ephemeral, sporadic, episodic or enduring characteristics of contention; and c) the evidence of the existence of challenges and challengers without movements. The findings of my research confirm the importance of Facebook’s affordances to facilitate the co-presence in time and space of collective participation. My findings also help us to see the mediations that Facebook produces when contributing to connections of different times and spaces of mobilization, as well as different spheres (private and public) of collective and individual sociopolitical activities.

However, I suggest that scenarios created on Facebook help SMOs and their members and participants connect ephemeral and sporadic activities of contention with other activities that have more ritual and enduring character. Additionally, I contend that the connections supported by the liminal scenarios produced through Facebook contribute to frame and share the SMOs' strategies for communication and action (following Maney et al., (2012), I understand strategy as a plan of collective action intended to accomplish goals within a particular context. Furthermore, as Kutz-Flamenbaum (2012) argues, regardless of whether or not the strategies are detailed and explicit or vague and fluid, social movement actions are frequently the products of strategy.

ANT is a method that has built on the semiotic turn, extending semiotics to things instead of limiting it to meaning. ANT has translated semiotic to describe the deployment of associations. This is to describe the path-bulding, the order-making, the creation of directions of both languages and objects, symbols and matters. In this sense ANT also offers a valuable scaffold to better understand the symbolic struggles of the sociopolitical public sphere in which the SMOs were involved in Seattle and Washington State. SMOs contribute to creation and management of a new collective narrative¹⁰⁰ on immigration reform in the United States. The observations of the SMOs' Facebook pages of this study also contribute to better understand the new collective narratives mediated by Facebook, which includes immigrants' analyses and proposals on the immigration system in the U.S. as well as the stories of immigrants' experiences and contributions in this society. The narratives also encompasses the definition of the sociopolitical context that the SMOs, in particular, and the immigration reform movement, in general, faced

¹⁰⁰ A narrative or a story is understood here, based on the Oxford English Dictionary, as any account of connected events, presented to a reader or listener in a sequence of written or spoken words, or in a sequence of pictures)

during the period in which I was conducting my fieldwork in 2013. During this particular context the different data collection procedures I adopted show that the immigration movement was mainly characterized as facing a window of opportunity, a historical moment which would not be easy to obtain again in the next decade or so.

In this context, the findings show that Facebook was utilized to set the SMOs' sociopolitical agendas as part of their larger media strategies. For example, using Facebook, EH promoted and reported on the Miss Gay Latina Contest during the week of February 18, 2013; LCA was promoted their Latino Lobby Day while positioning the political priorities they wanted to support during 2013 legislation session, during the week of March 4, 2013. Additionally, OA supported national mobilizations for better pay and the right to organize without retaliation of fast food workers, while they promoted a convention with trainings and actions for immigration reform on the week of May 27, 2013. These are a few examples of large-scale political engagements over my research period.

The evidence presented in this study also show that the SMOs' agendas were not only based on the information they obtained and processed as a product of their interactions with authorities, scholars and mass media, but their agendas were also the product of the discussions and interactions they had through social media (such as Facebook and Twitter) and other face-to-face interactions with their participants and with other SMOs. In particular, the participant and the on line observatios suggest that through Facebook, the SMOs' participants had the possibility to post, collect and discuss immigrants' stories about their activities, emotions and dreams, which the SMOs then used in other social scenarios and media such as protests, press conferences or

email lists. These stories and information not only helped the SMOs position themselves in other social scenarios, particularly with elected officials and mass media, but also helped individual participants of the SMOs position themselves both within the SMOs and in other social movements and organizations.

Tilly (Tilly, 2005) holds that identities belong to a potent set of social arrangements in which people construct and share stories about who they are, how they are connected, and what has happened to them. “Whatever their truth or falsehood by the standards of historical research, such stories play an indispensable part in the sealing of agreements and the coordination of social interaction. Stories and identities intersect when people start deploying shared answers to the questions ‘Who are you?’ ‘Who are we?’ and ‘Who are they?’” (Tilly, 2005, p. 209). The data collected with the four data collection procedures suggest that through Facebook the SMOs’ participants and their networks created a set of narratives associated with the SMOs’ activities that provide a framework for the orientation of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. Paraphrasing Melucci (Melucci, 1994, 1996), these narratives were structured through discussion and negotiation among various participants of the SMOs, providing a degree of continuity and stability in the narratives as well as in the collective identities these narratives helped forge. However, the SMOs’ narratives, as well as the collective identities associated with them, were constantly fragmented or deconstructed.

For instance, the analysis of pages’ posts during the fieldwork show that the SMOs’ participants narratives highlighted the breakdown of the immigration system, the sociopolitical power gained by immigrants in the last decade, the value of and contributions made by immigrants to the U.S.,

and the need to keep families together, especially to stop deportations. These narratives also communicate the idea that social change, particularly comprehensive immigration reform, can be the result of political and peaceful negotiations with institutional authorities. The festive, happy and optimistic expressions of the SMOs' participants were present in the narratives as well. The following text of a OA post exemplifies the forms of the narratives of the SMOs:

"¡Ajua and Si Se Puede!" On April 10, OneAmerica member and Wenatchee community leader Jorge Chacón participated in a delegation to D.C. for a massive immigration reform rally. His inspiring report-back connects the current struggle to past moments in movement history." Facebook post OA, April 16, 2013

In this way, my findings show how, when "flattening" the social world surrounding SMOs' mediations (as discussed earlier, flattening is a concept of particular importance in ANT), three components proved to be crucial for the SMOs' participants to build their voices and to shape their identities using the affordances provided by Facebook: (1) branding who they are and what they do; (2) preserving their memories and stories, and (3) making their networks and connectedness visible. These three dimensions of Facebook's mediation with the collective identities of SMOs' participants is illustrated in Figure 45.

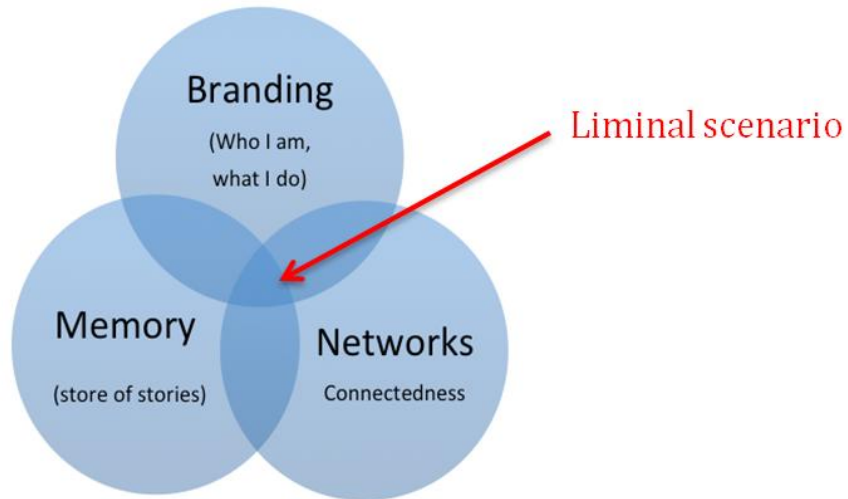


Figure 45: Facebook mediation of the collective identity of SMO's participants

The evidence also suggests that the SMOs' participants were extremely aware of the need to build collective and individual profiles on Facebook that branded who they are and what they were doing. In the same way, SMOs' participants also used Facebook as an individual and collective storage space for memories and stories that they could have on hand to share or use when sociopolitical contexts demanded, for instance when they needed a story to share with mass media. The possibility to go back through Facebook's timeline as well as the possibility to store photo, audio and video files made Facebook a favorite social media tool for the SMOs.

Carty & Onyett show that ICT increase the interconnectedness and consciousness of groups and individuals on a global scale. The authors also posit that diverse actors have taken advantage of the interconnectedness associated with globalization and new communication technologies to forge a global collective identity, framed under global standards of justice and a shared oppositional consciousness in accordance with international norms (Carty & Onyett, 2006). The

interviews and observations of my research show that the perceptions and practices of the SMOs' participants also showed that one of the most important criteria in expressing and building recognition and power within Facebook was the number and quality of their networks. The connectedness factor was determined to express and position their voices and identities on Facebook. SMO's participants also used the connectedness factor in other social spaces, such as protests, and media such as Twitter or Instagram. The multiple layers of networked connections, and the power of validation in the "likes," comments, shares and reaches made the complexity and richness of the network of participants visible, and turned them into a form of capital that the SMOs could use to advance the cause of immigration rights, as discussed earlier.

In a study of large-scale action networks Bennett & Segerberg (2012) point out that structural fragmentation and individualization in many contemporary societies are changing the forms of collective action. Particularly, they maintain that the identity reference is derived more through inclusive and diverse large-scale personal expression rather than through common group or ideological identification. "This shift from group-based to individualized societies is accompanied by the emergence of flexible social 'weak tie' networks (Granovetter 1973) that enable identity expression and the navigation of complex and changing social and political landscapes" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 744). Additionally, they hold that communication technologies have enabled the growth and stabilization of network structures across these networks, and "networks and communication become something more than mere preconditions and information" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 760). In this sense these authors suggest the emergence of a logic of connective action based on personalized content sharing across media

networks, that contribute an organizational principle, that is different from notions of collective action based on assumptions about the role of resources, networks, and collective identity.

Based on my research, I suggest that the practices developed by the SMOs' participants through Facebook linked the personal expression of personal hopes, lifestyles, and grievances with the group discussion of ideas and emotions and the making and legitimation of stories and collective narratives. In this sense the connective action suggested by Bennett & Sergerberg (2012) may be complemented or supported by this technologically-mediated process of shaping collective identities afforded by Facebook. In this sense, collective identity may continue to play an important role in producing and maintaining collective actions and social movements.

Let me now turn to the third and final dimension of the Facebook mediation of SMOs' participants interactions in my study, that of performativity and the role of youth.

A social space and a language for youth expression and socio-political participation: the mediations of Facebook in the SMOs' performativity.

“The most important way to interact and communicate with people is Facebook, because we are running a youth movement, and all the youth are on Facebook, that is something that I've known... They don't expect a long email, they don't have the time to read it. Usually we make it very short, attractive for a youth reader... we have more potential because we are youth, we are the youth leaders, talking from a young leader to a young leader and it is that more empowerment happens, because they see something in the same level that they can do” Interview with a SMO member (Male- Queer, 16-25)

Recent studies hold that young adults (18-29) are the main users of social networking sites (SNS) in the USA. As a result, social media has become an important factor in youth political involvement and mobilization. The studies also show that Facebook is the dominant platform of

social media in the USA, and its users tend to be more politically engaged than other social sectors. According to Pew Research Center (2012), young adult Internet users in the USA are more likely than others to use different forms of social media. This Center also shows that between February 2005 and May 2013, the use of SNS among young adult Internet users jumped from 9% to 89%, almost a tenfold jump. Hispanics are more likely than Caucasian and African American users to use social media¹⁰¹. Young people, African Americans, Hispanics, the highly educated and those with a higher annual household income are more likely to use SNS on their phones than other groups.¹⁰² Pew Research Center also shows that almost three quarters (72%) of online U.S. adults use social networking sites, and two-thirds of online U.S. adults (67%) are Facebook users.¹⁰³ This data shows the importance of social media, particularly Facebook in daily life and sociopolitical practices of younger generations, particularly people of color and immigrants.

The Pew Research Center¹⁰⁴ also shows that social networking sites are increasingly used to keep up with close social ties, and Facebook users have more close relationships and they are more trusting than nonusers. However, the average Facebook user gets more information from their friends on Facebook than they give to their friends. This may be due to the contributions of a segment of ‘power users’ who specialize in different Facebook activities and contribute much more than the typical user does. Moreover, the Pew Center maintains that SNS have become an

¹⁰¹ See more at: <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2013/Coming-and-going-on-facebook.aspx>

¹⁰² See more at: <http://pewinternet.org/Commentary/2012/March/Pew-Internet-Social-Networking-full-detail.aspx>

¹⁰³ See more on the use of Facebook at: <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2013/Coming-and-going-on-facebook.aspx>

¹⁰⁴ See more at: <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2013/Coming-and-going-on-facebook.aspx>

important additional arena for politics, and Facebook users are much more politically engaged than most people.

The multidisciplinary studies on ICT and social movements, as well as immigration and information studies that I reviewed, have paid important attention to the youths' uses of ICT. These include the use of social media, as well as their involvement in social movements. In particular, the studies on the Color Revolutions, the Arab Spring, Los Indignados in Spain, and Occupy Wall Street in the USA, show noteworthy connections between youth activism and their access and use of ICT during protests and social mobilizations. In the case of Ukrainian Orange Revolution, Lysenko & Desouza (2010) researched the role of the Internet-based ICTs in the maintenance of communication systems of the networked youth dissenters' organizations like the Black and Yellow Poras. These authors noticed the advantages this organizational architecture offered to the dissenters in comparison to the authorities' vertical organizational structures and communication modes.

In a different vein, Khamis & Vaughn (2011) studied the use of Social Media as a tool for protesters to enhance their agency during the Arab Spring uprisings in Egypt. Their analyses of the sociotechnical contexts of the Arab Spring of show that a new media revolution erupted in the Arab world after 1990, inspired by the introduction of both satellite television channels and the Internet. The authors point out that use of the Internet rapidly grew and expanded, especially among young people, especially the 20 to 30 year old age group. This group used the net more avidly compared to the rest of the population. Beinin & Vairel (2011) show that the social and political context that led the revolutionary attempts in many countries of the region also had high

youth unemployment (youth under 30 comprises 50-60% of population in Arab countries); low salaries; high inflation; high Gini coefficient; police repressions and tortures; and corruption. This shows that sociopolitical contexts, in general, and the situation of youths, in particular, impacted youths' practices and uses of ICT as well as their opportunities to participate in social change.

My research helps expand existing knowledge on the relationship between youth, social media and social movements. In particular, my work helps to better understand the ways in which the mediations of Facebook have broadened the participation opportunities of youth participants in the SMOs, as well as their position and power within these organizations and in other sociopolitical scenarios and social movements.

For this study I am suggesting that **performativity** comprises an understanding of the different agents that encompass the SMOs and their multiple, fluid, and temporary interactions. These interactions encompass the relationships among symbolic, practical and technological dimensions. This idea recuperates, on the one hand, Melucci's (1994) conception of social movements as media that speak through action: their primary message is that they exist and act. In Melucci's approach the actions of movements can be seen as symbols and as communication. As he writes "... this does away with the old distinction between the instrumental and expressive meaning of action, for in contemporary movements the results of action and the individual experience of new codes tend to coincide." (Melucci, 1994, p. 126). On the other hand, this idea regains Law's (Law, 2009) assertions that networks are enacted when they perform. This implies that entities are not real until they are enacted into being. For Law this

implicates an understanding that each practice generates its own material and symbolic realities, and they are temporal and are enacted differently in different places. In Law's approach the description of the real is "always an ethically charged act." (Law, 2009, p. 155)

I suggest that the interactions that SMOs' youth participants have through Facebook, have contributed to transform the SMOs performativity. SMOs' youth participants found in Facebook a proactive space to tell their stories and to express their emotions, ideas and dreams in a familiar, friendly, non-threatening space. They were using particular codes and languages: memorable titles, short stories of self-introduction, intense use of humor, and compelling pictures showing youths in action (having fun, deliberating, protesting, interacting with different social agents). Data from the online observations as well as from the surveys show that on Facebook, young participants of the SMOs shared their thoughts and aspirations on politics, democracy and immigration more vocally and more frequently than older participants. Their practices on Facebook reflect their ideas and ideals on politics, democracy and immigration, which mainly relate to collectivity and diversity, openness and freedom of participation, and friendly and peaceful scenarios of dispute. The interviews as well as the open-ended question also show that Facebook also fits well with their ideas and ideals because it was understood to be outside of the political institutions and mass media control. Even though the majority of young people recognized Facebook's links with the economic/corporation world, they use and adapted it for their own political and cultural purposes.

The evidence of my study suggest that Facebook not only provided the SMOs' youth participants with alternative vehicles for the expression of personal, ethnic, political and gender ideas and

emotions. Many of the youth also found a suitable space to connect these aspects with each other. They also used Facebook to test and improve their stories and discussion topics. The technological and communicative capabilities acquired through Facebook also facilitated their roles as mediators and translators (of languages, information and cultural worlds) among SMOs' participants, as well as with other stakeholders. These included elected officials, mass media and other social movement and organizations. Youths' technological, multicultural and communication capabilities helped to position their voice and participation in the SMOs, as well as in other social movements and other types of organizations. The majority of the younger participants of the SMOs had high levels of educational attainment, were immigrants to the United States since a very young age, and were digital natives. These capabilities helped younger participants not only to mediate and extend the SMOs' strategies with immigrant communities, but also to mediate and extend the SMOs' interactions with key stakeholders, particularly institutional authorities and mass media.

My findings are convergent with the quantitative results of Cohen et al., (2012) who study youth participatory politics in the U.S. Their survey shows that large proportions of young people across racial and ethnic groups use online social media regularly to stay connected to their family and friends and pursue interests and hobbies. However, they also point out that new media has the potential to facilitate an equitable distribution of political participation among young people of color who "are using their digital acumen to leverage their voices and sometimes influence others through online participatory politics. These practices may provide a valuable access point

for those who are hoping to amplify marginalized voices in our democratic system” (Cohen et al., 2012: 37).

Following the ideas of (Costanza-Chock, 2008, 2011), I also suggest that younger members helped the SMOs to develop a repertoire of tactics to use Facebook to engage immigrant communities and their allies, generate debate, mobilize supporters, and take action. The findings of my research show that youths’ uses of Facebook have reenergized and transformed the SMOs practices and strategies, especially the ways in which the SMOs (1) use storytelling as a mobilization strategy; (2) express and reframe their collective narratives and identities and (3) plan and deploy their activities. The languages (codes), the stories and the ways in which the youth create, share and discuss stories through Facebook have also reenergized and transformed the SMOs’ practices and strategies. These three transformations are related with the symbolic, material and technological practices of the SMOs, which are schematically represented in Figure 46, are described in more detail below.



Figure 46: Facebook mediation on SMOs' performativity: the voices of youth

The evidence presented shows that youths' stories on Facebook have gained legitimacy and their stories had the power of the emotions, spontaneity and entitlement in which many of the immigrant activists were socially characterized during the fieldwork, particularly the DREAMers.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the ways in which youth members of the SMOs built memories and reported on their events through Facebook activated conversations with their local and larger networks of friends and families. Their memories and reports on Facebook also gave the youths' networks the possibility to attend the events from other locations both in real time and deferred. Several times these memories and reports also encouraged many of them to take online and offline actions. For example, during one of my observations in a workshop (February 1, 2013), in which one of the SMOs provided information and training on how to deal with the paperwork for applying to the DREAM Act, a couple of young participants told me they were texting with some of their friends through Facebook. They were saying to them that the event was very useful, and that they still had time to come to event. They also told me they had previously posted on Facebook that they were attending the event.

The observations show that on Facebook younger participants in SMOs recreated and re-signified institutional and cultural symbols, such as the American flag, historical figures as well as English language itself. These recreation and re-signification processes helped the SMOs frame their narratives and identities. For instance on Memorial Day a post of one the SMOs

¹⁰⁵ The DREAMers is a term used in the immigration reform movement to refer to young immigrants who might benefit from the Obama administration's Deferred Action For Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Initiative, targeted to allow legal extension of stay for youth who stayed or were brought to the country illegally while they were minors, and who have served in the military or pursued higher education.

highlighting the contributions of youth immigrants in the military triggered 12 “likes” and 2 shares among Facebook friends.

The evidence of this study also shows that youths’ style also helped the SMOs to make immigrants’ narratives more compelling and socially acceptable. These practices have also helped the SMOs to change their public presence, as well as their interactions with their stakeholders, especially with institutional authorities and mass media. In this sense, youth’s practices on Facebook also helped them to develop new alternatives to resist and subvert the current institutional and cultural arrangements. For many of the young people using Facebook for sociopolitical purposes, the site also represented a way to resist and subvert the current institutional and cultural arrangements. The following fragments of an interview as well as the post which is mentioned during the interview show not only how younger participants in SMOs recreated and re-signified institutional and cultural symbols, but also how they use them to position themselves with other stakeholders and in other sociopolitical arenas. The post in mention became viral and got more than 170.000 reaches. Later on, members of the SMO told me that the Senate committee organized another meeting with the DREAMers. They also told me that the viral post, and the discussion on Facebook on this issue, had an impact in the decision the committee made.

“I think social media compliments and enhances the organizing fieldwork and policy work we do. For example, we brought over 200 students and allies down to Olympia to attend a committee meeting to make a statement about the WA State DREAM Act. The Senate committee meeting was cancelled at the last minute, so we decided to have a “People’s hearing” in the committee room anyway. The attached photo was generated and it went viral on social media (thousands of views). Because of our organizing, policy, and social media work, this event got the attention of earned media and I think helped

bring more attention to the issue. There probably still would have been earned media without the photo, but social media definitely helped raise the awareness and strengthened our advocacy overall.” Interview with a SMO member (Female 26-35)



Figure 47: Facebook post from OneAmerica: Nobody was there

As it was presented in the theoretical chapter, ANT does not ground its explanations in stable agents or frameworks, instead it suggests an understanding of actors’ actions. In ANT an actor is what is made to act by many others; an actor “is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it.” (Latour, 2007, p. 46). Thus, ANT helps to better understand the mediations that Facebook was producing in the practices of SMOs’ participants. My findings show that younger participants of the SMOs were the main users and at the same time the main targets of social media, especially Facebook and Twitter. These conditions have changed SMOs daily communication practices, who have started to embrace social media in new

ways that they did not carry out before. In particular, staff members, community leaders and activists of the SMOs have implemented more routinized practices related to social media use when they plan and deploy their activities. In this sense, they not only adopted regular practices to inform and report before, during and after their activities, but they also incorporated formal and informal spaces to discuss uses and opportunities of social media, as well as the stories and styles they were going to communicate in. In particular they used Facebook to tell their networks where they were, what they were doing, what were the results of their activities, and what they were planning for the future days and weeks. They also used Facebook affordances, such as text messaging and instant messaging (a type of online chat), to inform and interact regularly with key community leaders and activists of the SMOs.

The new routines and practices in the SMOs, described above, also have had organizational implications. The SMOs not only have increased the resources they invest in information and communication activities and teams, as discussed earlier, but also have incorporated training on social media use inside their teams as well as with their members and participants. Moreover, younger participants of the SMOs were frequently leading or coordinating these communication activities and teams.

When analyzing global process of immigration and social mobilization, Appadurai argues that electronic media has had an impact in helping vulnerable and marginalized sectors build new spaces of power. He also shows these media have helped these sectors with their *work of the imagination* which allows people “to resist state violence, seek social redress, and design new forms of civic association and collaboration, often across national boundaries” (Appadurai, 2000,

p. 6). My findings reaffirm Appadurai's arguments and show that Facebook has not only helped younger participants of SMOs to build a space of power inside and outside of their organizations, but also helped them to create common references of their imagined, their dreamed, lives and societies. However, my findings also show that Facebook has helped them create new images of youth immigrant stories and youths' forms of sociopolitical action that have helped them position themselves within the SMOs and have opened new avenues of social, cultural and political participation for youth in the organizations and in society. This shows that youths' interactions with Facebook have the potential to help transform the SMOs' vision and strategies as well as their contributions and performativity in the immigration movement in US.

Conclusions: The Power of Associations

“When I asked, in the context of discussion of revolution in Middle East, if social media had changed the of revolutions and protests, he [a former professor of a local university] look at me skeptically and said something like “Do I think social media produce revolution? Not really. Can you have a serious discussion in 144 characters?” We met again several weeks later and the same subject came up. “You know, I did not say it clearly enough. One of the problems of Occupy and the instability after Mubarak’s fall and now in Libya is that people think you can tell one another quickly, by mobile phone, where to assemble for the next protest, you have changed the face of revolution. Revolution happens over months and years in the minds of men like Chairman Mao and Che Guevara and the people who huddle with them. Mobs in the street who can be relocated by mobile phones are not where revolution is made.”

Field notes, February 6 and March 22, 2013

The literature reviewed for this research show that social mobilization and political participation have been transformed by ICT developments. The literature reviewed also show that fewer studies have also pointed to the fact that the impacts of ICT on the way collective actions are created and developed by Social Movements are challenging the ways in which we understand both the social movements themselves as well as their collective actions. However, most research in the field of Social Movements and ICT have tended to omit or not clearly present the theoretical frameworks they are using to understand technologies, social movements, and the relationships between them. Such omissions and lack of clarity have an impact on the methodological decisions that drive these studies, with significant effects on the findings they are presenting: they tend to produce more deterministic and simplistic perspectives on the roles and influence of ICT on social movements, and to obscure their the degree of the ICT impacts on collective actions, and their influence in the broader political process. Moreover, these omissions and lack of clarity have polarized debates between scholars who either highlight the power of

technologies to transform social movements and collective actions, or on the other extreme, who highlight the power the power of individuals, collectives and structures, regardless of ICT, in the formation and development of social movements and collective actions.

In this study I lay three interactional frameworks against one another to unlock ICT, social mobilization and political participation in a new way: New Social Movements Approach; Actor-Network Theory (ANT); and Multi-sited ethnography. The association of these three frameworks helped me find that Facebook, by itself, has not transformed the SMOs' practices and collective actions. However Facebook may have helped to enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

I suggest that while Facebook has not transformed the SMOs' practices or the forms of their collective actions, Facebook has helped to enable three types of mediations in the interactions between SMOs' participants that enhance their relations and their actions:

1. **A legitimization cycle of information:** Through Facebook, the SMOs' participants developed an alternative space where information was not only produced and circulated collectively, but where information was discussed and validated collectively. **Storytelling** was the main form in which information was shared among SMOs' participants. This information generated awareness and identity, as well as motivating

action among SMO's participants and their networks. Information "legitimized" through Facebook interactions became a currency or capital¹⁰⁶ that SMOs' participants could transform and exchange in other sociopolitical arenas. The information cycles legitimized through Facebook opened new individual and collective opportunities for the SMOs to interact with key stakeholders, such as immigrant communities, elected officials and mass media, while empowering the SMOs; participants during these interactions.

A liminal scenario for voice-building and shaping of identities: Through Facebook the SMOs' participants have created a liminal scenario, a threshold that provides them with a space or place of transition for building a voice of their own and shaping their identities.

Three components became crucial for expressing and forging SMO's participants voices and identities in the liminal scenario afforded by Facebook: (1) **branding** who they were and what they did; (2) **preserving** their memories through storytelling, and (3) making their networks and **connectedness** visible. The liminal scenario allowed the SMOs' participants to position their voices and to develop an autonomous narrative on immigrants and immigration, which were mainly created and controlled by immigrants themselves.

A social space for youth expression and socio-political participation: Youth participating in the SMOs used Facebook as an alternative space and as a language (a code) to create and share stories about themselves and their social and political activities in a familiar, friendly, and non-threatening platform. This helped SMO's youth position their voices and participation in the SMOs and larger social movements for immigration reform, among others. Facebook in the hands of multicultural youth enabled them to develop new languages and codes, and to become better "cultural

¹⁰⁶ In Bourdieu and Johnson's perspective, capital is an actor's accumulation and uses of different forms of material and symbolic powers (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993).

translators¹⁰⁷” between key stakeholders in different social spaces. The new voices, stories and forms of participation from youth using Facebook reenergized and transformed the SMOs’ practices and strategies and contributed to revitalizing the immigration reform movement.

Main contributions of this study

My study suggests five potential contributions to theory, methodology and practice: (1) a nuanced understanding of ANT in Science and Technology Studies (STS); (2) a connectedness among three interactive frameworks; (3) a typology of ICT in Social Movements; (4) integration of Social Media in Social Movements Studies; and (5) a contribution to improve the practice of Social Movement Organizations.

A nuanced understanding of ANT in Science and Technology Studies (STS)

This study suggests a trajectory that shows the historical and conceptual connections between ANT and the social construction of technology approach, as well as with sociomateriality perspectives that emerged later. In particular, my research shows that ANT has its roots in social construction of technology, which offered one of the most notable transformations in the field of STS in the mid-1980s. It represented “the turn to technology,” referring to the social shaping and the social construction of technology and technological systems (Jasanoff et al., 1995). However, during the 1990s, proponents of ANT distanced themselves from social constructivism and presented ANT as a more independent framework, one that has been extensively used by social

¹⁰⁷ In ANT, “translation” is an important concept that refers to a relation that induces two mediators into coexisting. (For Latour the aim of the sociology of associations (ANT) is to show that “*there exist translations between mediators that may generate traceable associations*” (Latour, 2007, p. 108). “Cultural translators” refers here to the capability of people and communities, especially younger generations, to enable communication with other people and institutions that were outside of the SMO’s networks.

scientists from a variety of different disciplines ever since. With the turn of the century, other scholars started to consider ANT to be closer to other sociomateriality studies that include what Orlikowski calls “entanglement in practice” (Orlikowski, 2010). Entanglement perspectives reject the notion that the world is composed of individuals and objects with separately attributable properties that ‘exist in and of themselves.’ Within entanglement perspectives, *sociomateriality* focuses on how meanings and materialities are enacted together in everyday practices (K. Barad, 2003; K. M. Barad, 2007; Introna, 2009; Suchman, 2007, 2009). However, I argue that even though ANT is part of the entanglement approaches, ANT differs from sociomateriality in that they suggest a different notion of power. While ANT expresses power as the result of actors’ associations enacted into being, sociomateriality approaches tend to express power as the result of existing power structures in which agents enact their daily life practices. My research narrative also shows the strengths and limitations of these frameworks and offered alternatives to strengthen ANT centered on the integration of histories, memories and trajectories that mediate the process of association.

A connectedness among three interactive frameworks

My study lays three interactional frameworks against one another to help unlock ICT, social mobilization and political participation in a new way: Actor-Network Theory (Latour, Law and Callon); The New Social Movements approach (Melucci); and Multi-sited ethnography (Marcus).

- ATN provides a framework which 1) focuses on formation of collectives (groups) as a result of complex, moving and continuously generated associations (webs)

that integrate humans and technologies; 2) combines the analysis of symbolic, practical and technological dimensions of human and technological associations, and 3) emphasizes the analyses of *social practices*. The social in ANT also incorporates the natural and the material. Moreover, ANT suggests an approach that explores the active role not only of the human components of networks, but also of its technological entities. In this sense, technologies can mediate human and technological interactions.

- This research operationalizes Alberto Melucci's (1994, 1995, 1996) findings on social movements to better understand the complexity of social movements and social media interactions, as well as to help depolarize the debates around these relationships. This project borrows Melucci's ideas about the symbolic and communicative character of social movements, and the importance that he attributes to information, which has become a crucial resource for contemporary complex systems, as a terrain where new forms of power, discrimination, and conflict come into being (Melucci, 1994, 1996). In this sense he suggests analyzing the relationships among the performances, the identities, and the communication and information practices within social movement networks.

- Multi-sited ethnography is a method of data collection developed by Marcus (1995) to examine transnational dynamics and the increasing interconnectedness processes of globalization. In order to better understand interactions between human and non-human agents, as suggested by ANT, my study conducted a **multi-sited ethnography**. This research design provides a framework to analytically trace populations, ideas, and material objects through time and space. Multi-sited ethnography informed this research project allowing me to follow different contemporary collectives (such as SMOs) which are related to transnational dynamics (such as migration that links local and international dynamics); interconnected social spaces and times (offline and online); as well as

practices, symbols and technologies (such as social mobilization, stories and social media).

A typology of ICT in Social Movements

My research offers a literature review organized into different but complementary aspects in three main tracks: 1) Social Movement Studies (SMS) that incorporate analysis of the presence and use of ICT in collective action; 2) multidisciplinary studies of ICT that focus on the ways that social movements and collective action use and integrate these technologies; and 3) Information and Immigration studies that analyze the relationships between ICT and social movements and collective action. This literature review help us to better understand the trajectories followed by these studies, their theoretical frameworks and methods, and their main findings and contributions. My analysis suggests novel ways to understand the relationships and complementarities between these three different perspectives.

Integration of Social Media in Social Movements Studies

My study suggests Facebook has helped to enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which in turn shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*.

A contribution to improve the practice of Social Movement Organizations

My research can help social and grassroots organizations improve their actions and services on behalf of their staff and beneficiaries. In particular the broader impacts of the research include that it can: (1) contribute to improving the quality of life within minority communities in Washington State, the US and other parts of the world through enhanced understanding of the interactions and benefits of Social Media; (2) suggest grounded insights and constructive guidelines to service agencies working with immigrants and marginalized communities to strengthen their mission and improve program delivery; and (3) inform the design of programs and services that use Social Media to serve groups and organizations with relevant products and services.

Limitations

The performative character of ANT: my study found at least three major limitations that are brought by the choice of ANT to guide my research: (1) the role of histories, memories and trajectories; (2) various actors are not equal, and (3) an emphasis on the body and embodiment. The performative character of ANT suggests an analytical emphasis on entities association while they are engaging in action. However, this also suggests some lack of attention to issues of history, memory and trajectory of those entities, and the effect that the entities' histories, trajectories and memories could have in their actions and associations. In the same vein as the previous argument, ANT focuses on agents' actions and associations, and this has the potential to obscure the role that 'structural' and contextual conditions can have on agents' performances and networks' functions. The various actors' attributes and their positions within a network also

affect the forms and patterns of associations that the agents develop in practice. Even though ANT has developed an important guide that recognizes the importance of materiality, the agency of ‘bodies’ and the processes of ‘embodiment’ within networks are still challenging ANT. These include a reflection on both human and non-human bodies. However, the agency of bodies, and processes of embodiment represent immense challenges not only for ANT studies, but for other sociotechnical analysis of networks and organizations as well.

This study is no longer on the wave of more recent social mobilizations nor with the most fashionable forms of social media: The literature reviewed in this study suggests a trajectory of the studies in the field of ICT and Social Movements. This trajectory initially looks broadly at ICT in collective action, and progressively focuses on the role of Social Media in social movements in particular. These trajectories portray how scholars within this field have gained a more complex understanding of the presence of ICT in social mobilization, evidencing the challenges of social scientists dealing with the rapid development of technologies, and the increment of interdisciplinary research initiatives. Moreover, the trajectories of the studies reveal a tendency to be more focused on particular practices and technologies, as well as increasing levels of sophistication and specialization in their objects of study and their theoretical approaches. However, this study is neither focused on the newer forms of social mobilization, such as online activism or flash activism,¹⁰⁸ nor on newer or growing forms of social media, such as Twitter, Instagram or Pinterest, among others.

¹⁰⁸ Flash activism refers to more ephemeral forms of activism.

The implications of an interactional approach based on three frameworks: This research is based on a multi-sited ethnography of three SMOs, using ANT as framework, and based on the approach of New Social Movements. Such combination of three disparate sources presents an opportunity for novel ideas, but it also presents a risk of oversimplification of any one of them taken independently. It is important to take into account that SMOs interactions with larger movement networks, as well as its interactions with its participants, are constitutive of these kinds of organizations, of the approach favored by ANT, and of the multi-sited ethnographic design. Even though in the research design of this study I sought to explore and identify the particularities of the Facebook mediations in each SMO, thinking that there would be salient differences given the SMOs' different size, age, mission and organizational structure, I found there were more similarities in the information and communications strategies, practices and interactions across the three organizations than there were differences. When coding and analyzing the mediations of Facebook, common patterns among the three SMOs were prevalent, with few unique characteristics or traits for one organization over any of the others. Furthermore, the use of four different data collection procedures, including the surveys --for which I used a random sample of each SMO, limit the possibilities to make generalizations based only on the statistical analysis across the three SMOs. However some key examples of the statistical significance (confidence intervals) of the surveys are provided.

Future research

This research helped uncover the mediations of Facebook in three SMOs linked with the immigration reform movement in Washington State. In this sense I suggest Facebook may have

helped to enable three types of mediations in the SMOs' interactions, which shows a potential (1) to transform and legitimize their ways of producing and sharing information, *to legitimate the cycle of information*; (2) to forge the narratives and collective identities of SMOs' participants, *to access a threshold scenario for voice-building*; and (3) to strengthen the expression and participation of youth as key agents in the performativity of SMOs, *to create a social space for youth expression and socio-political participation*. However, other topics emerged that call for further research and analysis. For instance: The entanglement of social media in youths' daily life and its implication for sociopolitical participation; the relationships among the SMOs and larger social movements and campaigns; the complex interactions between SMOs and mass media; the mediation of social media in the interactions between the immigration reform movement and the LGBTQ movement in the US as well as the interactions between LGBTQ movements and other social movements, especially in Latin America; the roles of information and communication staff within the SMOs; and the technological practices and innovations developed by the SMOs' members that involved Facebook and other forms of social media. These topics suggest a future research agenda on the entanglements of information and communication technologies and practices of social movements.

With the evidence collected and presented in this study I claim that the associations of human and non-human agents --using ANT terminology-- of the SMOs (participants in the SMOs, especially younger participants, and Facebook), are changing the information and communication practices in the SMOs, as well as their interactions with other social and technological actors (e.g. elected officials, organizations or communities, and email, texting or

Twitter). However, these associations also have the potential to transform the collective identities and performativity of the SMOs, and their interactions with other actors such as authorities, mass media and social movement networks. In this sense, the associations of human and non-human actors have the potential to transform social movements, and to transform our understanding of those social movements in their becoming.

Skocpol (1979) coined the phrase “*revolutions are not made; they come.*” She offers a framework for analyzing social-revolutionary transformations in modern world history, and uses this phrase to explain regardless of the performance of the rebels, the social and political contexts are the ones that ultimately decide the outcome of the revolutionary movements. In this way, paraphrasing Skocpol (1979), the results of this interactional study on the interactions between three Social Movement Organizations (SMO) in Washington State linked with the immigration reform movement across the United States, on the one hand, and Facebook, on the other, point out that **social movements are enacted into being and Facebook has the potential to enable both peaceful expressions and socio-political mobilizations**, because Facebook in the hands of multicultural people and communities helps to create a familiar, friendly, and non-threatening platform. It is from these conclusions that my next intellectual projects will stem from.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: How the selection criteria work with each SMO and how they can conform to the maximum variation sample of this study

SMO	Working with grassroots organizations and larger movements	Different organizational forms	Working on multiple issues	Different participants	Access to and uses of Social Media and other ICT
OA	Works with local and WA state community based organizations as well as with national movements on social justice, democracy and immigration rights. It has national affiliations with ‘Fair Immigration Reform Movement’; ‘Reform Immigration for America’, and ‘Rights Working Group’.	Big organization with more than 20 permanent staff members and different areas of intervention. It has a significant number of volunteer working on regular bases.	Emphasizes community building and grassroots leadership on issues related to government accountability, educational opportunities for all students, English Language support, and citizenship promotion.	Approx. 3.000 subscribed members in WA. More than 10 active chapters in WA. Important leadership and participation of youth.	Facebook page Facebook group (youth) Twitter Website 7 Blogs Use of multimedia activities, which incorporate training and access to computers and mobile phones.
LAC	Works with community based organizations and larger movements and organizations in WA that promote Hispanics civic engagement and Latinos’ rights.	Platform of very diverse organizations and networks. It is leading by a group of about 10 volunteers from different parts of WA.	Works on consented agendas on issues affecting Hispanic communities such as: civic engagement education, health, economic development, workers’ rights and, juvenile justice and immigration reform.	Representatives of more than 30 organizations working with Hispanics in WA. Joins 500 to 700 participants during its Legislative Days. Have a database of emails and phone numbers of about 2.000 potential participants.	Facebook page. No Twitter. Website Extensive use of audio conference and phone calls.
EH	Works with Hispanic community leaders and LGTB community in Seattle. It recently decided to join larger initiatives working on human	Approx. 5 permanent staff that work with people leading particular projects and supported by	Emphasizes health prevention but it is also part of several education and advocate campaigns related to the immigration	Provides services and promotes activities with about 400 regular members of the LGTB community.	Facebook page Twitter Website Extensive use of cultural and social events.

rights (including immigration rights). volunteers. reform or marriage equality.

Appendix 2: Face-to-Face Observation guide

Event	Actors involved	Main activities and interactions	Main issues involved	Main uses of ICT		Comments on SMO performativity Identity and Comm. & Info practices
				Device	Uses	

Probing Questions:

How do you know about this event/activity and why you are attending it?

Has Social Media such as FB changed the ways the SMO functions? If so, how? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

What is the most important ways you interact with this organization and what are the primary purposes of your interactions with this SMO?

Do you use Facebook or another Social Media to interact with this organization?

What are the most important values that make this SMO be recognized by its participants as well as by other people, networks and institutions? What are some examples of how these values are expressed in the daily activities of the SMO?

Do you consider yourself a member of this Social Movement Organization? If so why? If not why?

Appendix 3: Interview guide for Board Members and Directors.

1. What motivations and circumstances brought you to this SMO?

In your own words what is the current mission of this Social Movement Organization (SMO)?

In accordance with the organization mission, what are the current goals of this SMO?

What are the most important activities the SMO is developing to accomplish these goals.

What are the most important cycles of this organization?

What are the most important values that make this SMO be recognized by its participants as well as by other people, networks and institutions?

What are some examples of how these values are expressed in the daily activities of the SMO?

How those values make this organization different from other similar ones?

What are the most important events (political, social, economic and technological) affecting/challenging the current activities of this SMO?

Please identify and briefly describe the most important types of members or participants in the SMO (criterion of membership).

Membership or participation	Description
a.	
b.	
c.	
d.	
e.	

What is the most important way that this SMO has to interact with its participants and what it makes this way important?

What are the three most important movements or initiatives in which this SMO is currently involved? Please briefly describe them and point out the most important events or activities this SMO is been involved as part of these movements or initiatives. *If needed ask for a SMO calendar.*

Campaigns or initiatives	Description	Main events
a.		
b.		
c.		

What is the most important way that this SMO has to interact with these movements and initiatives what it makes this way important?

Does the SMO have any communication or information department/team?

If so, what are they mainly responsible for?

Approximately what percentage of the general budget of this SMO is allocated for this department/team?

Use the table below to ask for and to report on questions 10 to 15.

Groups/Sectors	FB activities	Major benefits	Major obstacles
Members or participants			
a.			
b.			
c.			
d.			
e.			
Movements and initiatives			
a.			
b.			

If applicable, please indicate the most important activity in which the SMO is using Facebook (FB) to interact with its members and participants as well as with movements and initiatives the SMO participates.

What factors motivated the SMO to use Facebook?

If the SMO has not used FB, what were the factors that made you decided not to use FB?

If applicable, please indicate the major **benefit** , if any, that the SMO has experienced in using FB to interact with its participants as well as with the movements and initiatives the SMO participates.

If applicable, please indicate the major **obstacle**, if any, that the SMO has experienced in using FB to interact with its participants as well as with the movements and initiatives the SMO participates.

Please identify and describe if the integration of FB has had any **undesirable effects** in the ways the SMO functions (i.e. less face to face communication or more ‘hacktivism’)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Please identify and describe if the integration of FB has created any kind of **risk** either its members and with other people and organizations related with the SMO (i.e. people threatened, jailed or prosecuted)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Has the organization taken any explicit security measures around Facebook use?

Is the SMO using other Social Media such as Twitter or YouTube? If so, how they are using them?

Has Social Media such as Facebook changed the ways the SMO functions? Can you tell me a story about the use of Facebook that impressed you — either positively or negatively?

How this SMO evaluates their Social Media efforts (i.e. what measures or benchmarks are used to analyze your impact with social media)?

Use table below to indicate which of the following ways of interaction the SMO uses, and what their primary purpose are.

Way of interaction	We don't use	Informed on this organization activities	Inform and communicate with other members and participants of	Inform and communicate with other movements and networks	Inform and communicate with media	Coordinate activities and protests	Forge solidarity with other movements and	Express and forge the organization values	Other
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this
organization

organizations

Assemblies, Workshops,
Meetings
Informal meetings and
conversations
Training Programs
Marches/Sit-
ins/Protests/Mobilizations
Phone Calls
Audio and video-
conferences
Handouts & Newsletters
Email/ Mail lists
Website/Blog
Facebook
Twitter
Instant messaging
YouTube
Other
Observations:

—

Probing questions:

Benefits and obstacles of the main ways of interactions with participants as well as with other social movements and initiatives.

Most important partners/allies of this SMO, and hat activities are this SMO doing with them?

Appendix 4: Interview guide for Program Officers (PO)

1. What motivations and circumstances brought you to this SMO?

What are the most important campaigns in which this Program/Project will be involved in the near future? Please briefly identify and describe the three most important, and point out the most important events or activities related to them. *If needed ask for a Program/Project calendar.*

Campaigns or initiatives	Description	Main events or activities
a.		
b.		
c.		

Please identify and briefly describe the most important types of members or participants in the SMO (criterion of membership).

What are the most important cycles of this organization?

What are the three most important events and processes (political, social, economic and technological) affecting/challenging the current activities of this Program/Project?

What are the most important values that make this SMO be recognized by its participants as well as by other people, networks and institutions? What are some examples of how these values are expressed in the daily activities of the SMO?

How those values make this organization different from other similar ones?

Use the table below to ask for and to report on questions 4 to 6

Goal	Main Users or Target Groups	Main activities
a.	a.	a.
	b.	b.

	c.	c.
--	----	----

What is the most important goal of this Program/Project?

Who are the most important users or target groups of this Program/Project?

Which is the most important activity you develop with these users or target groups?

What is the most important way that this Program/Project has to interact with its users or target groups, and what it makes this way important?

Explain how your Program/Project is contributing to express and forge the values that you mentioned in question 3.

Does this Program/Project have any communication or information department/team? If so, what are they mainly responsible for?

Approximately what percentage of the general budget of this SMO is allocated for this department/team?

Use following table to ask for and report on questions 11 to 15.

Groups/Sectors	FB activities	Major benefits	Major obstacles

Users or Target groups

- a.
- b.
- c.

If applicable, please indicate the most important activity in which this Program/Project is using Facebook (FB) to interact with its users or target groups.

What factors motivated this Program/Project to use Facebook?

If the SMO has not used FB, what were the factors that made you decided not to use FB?

If applicable, please indicate the major **benefit** , if any, that this Program/Project has experienced in using FB to interact with its users or target groups.

If applicable, please indicate the major **obstacle**, if any, that thi Program/Project has experienced in using FB to interact with its users or target groups.

Please identify and describe if the use of FB has had any **undesirable effects** in the ways the Program/Project functions (i.e. less face to face communication or more ‘hacktivism’)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Please identify and describe if the use of FB has created any kind of **risk** either for its members or for other people and organizations related with the SMO (i.e. people threatened, jailed or prosecuted)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Is this Program/Project using other Social Media such as Twitter or YouTube? If so, how they are using them?

Has Social Media such as FB changed the ways the SMO functions? If so, how? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

How this Program/Project evaluates their Social Media efforts (i.e. what measures or benchmarks are used to analyze your impact with social media)?

Use table below to indicate which of the following ways of interaction this Program/Project uses, and what their primary purpose are.

Way of interaction	We don't use	Informed on this organization activities	Inform and communicate with other members and participants of this organization	Inform and communicate with other movements and networks	Inform and communicate with media	Coordinate activities and protests	Forge solidarity	Express and forge the organization values	Other
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Assemblies, Workshops,
Meetings
Informal meetings and conversations
Training Programs
Marches/Sit-

ins/Protests/Mobilizations
Phone Calls
Audio and video-
conferences
Handouts & Newsletters
Email/ Mail lists
Website/Blog
Facebook
Twitter
Instant messaging
YouTube
Other

Observations:

Probing questions:

Benefits and obstacles of the main ways of interactions with participants as well as with other social movements and initiatives.

Appendix 5: Interview guide for Information and Communication Personnel

1. What motivations and circumstances brought you to this SMO?

Does the SMO have any communication or information department/team?

If so, what are they mainly responsible for?

Approximately what percentage of the general budget of this SMO is allocated for this department/team? If there is not department/team what percentage of the general budget of this SMO is allocated for information and communication activities?

What are the most important cycles of this organization?

Which are the three most important *publics or audiences* of this Social Movement Organization (SMO) and which are the main activities you have to interact with them?

Publics	Activities
a.	
b.	
c.	

Which are the most important means (resources, media, and technological devices) that the organization has to interact with these *publics or audiences*? Briefly describe them.

What are the three most important events (political, social, economic and technological) affecting/challenging the current SMO's information and communication activities?

Which are the most important messages/stories/information streams that this SMO attempts to communicate to its publics or audiences?

How these messages feed back into supporting the SMO mission and goals?

How do you think these messages/stories/information stream reflect on or portray this organization to its members/audiences? In other words, how are they helping to frame and to forge the identity (identities) of this organization?

Regarding the mission and goals of this organization, in the last six months, please mention the most salient or effective information or communication activity in which this SMO has been involved with? Briefly describe this activity and provide examples on why they were salient or effective.

Communication or Information activity	Description	Examples that made them salient or effective

Use the table below to ask for and to report on questions 9 to 15.

Groups/Sectors	FB activities	Major benefits	Major Obstacles	Undesirable results	Risks

SMO
Public/audiences
s
a.
b.
c.

If applicable, please indicate the most important activity in which the SMO is using Facebook (FB) to interact with the audiences or publics that you mentioned in question 2.

What factors motivated the use Facebook with these audiences and publics?

If the SMO is not using FB, what were the factors that made the SMO decided not to use it?

If applicable, please indicate the most important **benefit** that the SMO has experienced in using FB to interact with its audiences or publics.

If applicable, please indicate the most challenging **obstacle** that the SMO has experienced in using FB to interact with its audiences or publics.

Please identify and describe if the integration of FB has had any **undesirable effects** in the ways the SMO functions (i.e. less face to face communication or more ‘hacktivism’)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Please identify and describe if the integration of FB has created any kind of **risk** either for the SMO participants or for other people and organizations related with the SMO (i.e. people threatened, jailed or prosecuted)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Has the organization taken any explicit security measures around Facebook use?

Is the SMO using other Social Media such as Twitter or YouTube? If so, how they are using them?

Has Social Media such as Facebook changed the ways the SMO functions? Can you tell me a story about the use of Facebook that impressed you — either positively or negatively?

Use table below to indicate which of the following ways of interaction the SMO uses, and what their primary purpose are.

Way of interaction	We don't use	Informed on this organization activities	Inform and communicate with other members and participants of this organization	Inform and communicate with other movements and networks	Inform and communicate with media	Coordinate activities and protests	Forge solidarity with other movements and organizations	Express and forge the organization values	Other
--------------------	--------------	--	---	--	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	---	---	-------

- Assemblies, Workshops, Meetings
- Informal meetings and conversations
- Training Programs
- Marches/Sit-ins/Protests/Mobilizations
- Phone Calls
- Audio and video-conferences
- Handouts & Newsletters
- Email/ Mail lists
- Website/Blog
- Facebook
- Twitter
- Instant messaging
- YouTube

Other

Observations:

Appendix 6: Interview Guide for Staff Volunteers

1. What motivations and circumstances brought you to this SMO?

Do you consider yourself a member of this Social Movement Organization? If so why? If no why?

What are the three most important events and processes (political, social, economic and technological) affecting/challenging the current activities of this SMO?

What are the most important values that make this SMO be recognized by its participants as well as by other people, networks and institutions? What are some examples of how these values are expressed in the daily activities of the SMO?

How those values make this organization different from other similar ones?

What are the current goals of this SMO?

What are the most important activities that this SMO is developing to accomplish these goals?

Use the table below to ask for and to report on questions 7 to 10.

Program	Goal	Main Users or Target Groups	Main activities
	a.	a.	a.
		b.	b.
		c.	c.

What is the Program/Project you are currently volunteering with?

What is the most important goal of the Program/Project you are currently volunteering with?

Who are the most important users or target groups of the Program/Project you are currently volunteering with?

Which is the most important activity that this Program/Project is developing with each of the mentioned users or target groups?

Explain how this Program/Project is contributing to express and forge the value that you mentioned in question 2.

What is the most important way that this Program/Project has to interact with its users or target groups, and what it makes this way important?

Use following table to ask for and report on questions 13 to 15.

Groups/Sectors	FB activities	Major benefits	Major obstacles
----------------	---------------	----------------	-----------------

Users or Target groups

- a.
- b.
- c.

If applicable, please indicate the most important activity in which this Program/Project is using Facebook (FB) to interact with its users or target groups.

If applicable, please indicate the major **benefit** , if any, that this Program/Project has experienced in using FB to interact with its users or target groups.

If applicable, please indicate the major **obstacle**, if any, that this Program/Project has experienced in using FB to interact with its users or target groups.

Is this Program/Project using other Social Media such as Twitter or YouTube? If so, how they are using them?

Please identify and describe if the use of FB has had any **undesirable effects** in the ways the Program/Project functions (i.e. less face to face communication or more ‘hacktivism’)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Please identify and describe if the use of FB has created any kind of **risk** either for its members or for other people and organizations related with the SMO (i.e. people threatened, jailed or prosecuted)? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Has Social Media such as FB changed the ways the SMO functions? If so, how? *Ask the interviewee to indicate one example.*

Use the table below to indicate which of the following ways of interaction this Program/Project uses, and what their primary purpose are.

Way of interaction	We don't use	Informed on this organization activities	Inform and communicate with other members and participants of this organization	Inform and communicate with other movements and networks	Inform and communicate with media	Coordinate activities and protests	Forge solidarity with other movements and organizations	Express and forge the organization values	Other
--------------------	--------------	--	---	--	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	---	---	-------

- Assemblies, Workshops, Meetings
- Informal meetings and conversations
- Training Programs
- Marches/Sit-ins/Protests/Mobilizations
- Phone Calls
- Audio and video-conferences
- Handouts & Newsletters
- Email/ Mail lists
- Website/Blog
- Facebook
- Twitter
- Instant messaging
- YouTube
- Other
- Observations:

Appendix 7: Survey Instrument

This survey is intended for adult members/participants and beneficiaries of these three organizations. Using the options below, please indicate which of the following organizations you are a member or where you use services. If you are a member/participant or a beneficiary of more than one of these organizations please select the one that you consider you have more affinity with. If you are under 18 years old please don't respond to this survey.

OneAmerica

Latino Civic Alliance

Entre Hermanos

Participation with the Social Movement Organization (SMO) indicated above

1. Which of the following roles most accurately describes your current relationship/participation within this organization? *Choose one of the following answers./ ¿Cuál de los siguientes roles describe con mayor precisión su relación actual / participación en esta organización? Elija solo una de las siguientes respuestas.*

Relationship/Participation		Relationship/Participation	
Beneficiary/user (<i>Beneficiario/usuario</i>)		Board Member (<i>Comite Directivo</i>)	
Customer (<i>Cliente</i>)		Managerial-Member (<i>Personal Administrativo</i>)	
Supporter (<i>Colaborador</i>)		Staff Member (<i>Integrante de la organizacion</i>)	
Donor (<i>Donante</i>)		Program Officer/Project Chair (<i>Encargado de programas o proyectos</i>)	
Advisor/Consultant (<i>Asesor/Consultor</i>)		Volunteer (<i>voluntario</i>)	
Other: (<i>otro</i>)			

If you indicate that you are a board, managerial or staff member, or if you are a Program Officer or a volunteer, please indicate if you have been personally interviewed for this research project before. Yes: _____ No: _____

Si usted indicó que usted hace parte de la junta o directivo o del personal, o si usted es un encargado de programa o un voluntario, por favor indique si usted fue entrevistado personalmente para este proyecto antes. Si _____ No _____

Using the options below, indicate how active you are in this organization (*choose one of the following answers*). *Use las opciones de abajo para indicar su nivel de actividad en esta organización (elegir solo una de las siguientes respuestas).*

Leader (<i>Líder</i>)	
Very Active (<i>Muy activo</i>)	
Somewhat active (<i>Medianamente activo</i>)	
Not active (<i>No activo</i>)	
No answer (<i>Sin respuesta</i>)	

Which of the following activities promoted by this organization have you participated with during last six months? *Choose all the activities you have participated with. ¿En cuál de las siguientes actividades promovidas por esta organización ha participado Usted durante los últimos seis meses? Elija todas las actividades en las que han participado.*

Activity		Activity	
Information sessions (<i>Sesiones informativas</i>)		Assemblies and Workshops (<i>Asambleas y Talleres</i>)	
Training Programs (<i>Programas Educativos</i>)		Communication or information campaigns (<i>Campañas de comunicación o información</i>)	
Clinics and Legal Assistance (<i>Clinicas de asistencia legal</i>)		Marches/Sit-ins/Protests (<i>Marchas, plantones, protestas</i>)	
Petition letter (<i>Cartas con peticiones</i>)		Social Events (<i>Eventos sociales</i>)	
Other: _____			

Approximately, how many hours per month you have invested when participating in the activities indicated above? **Number of hours:** _

Aproximadamente, ¿cuántas horas por mes ha invertido participando en las actividades indicadas arriba? **Número de horas:**

Indicate how the following goals of this organization are personally meaningful to you.

Indique cuál de las siguientes metas de esta organización es significativo/relevante para usted.

	This goal is	This goal is	Neither	This goal is	This goal is
--	---------------------	---------------------	----------------	---------------------	---------------------

Goals of this organization	strongly meaningful to me (Esta meta es fuertemente significativa para mi)	meaningful to me (Esta meta es significativa para mi)	(Ninguna)	meaningless to me (Esta meta es irrelevante para mi)	strongly meaningless to me (Esta meta es fuertemente irrelevante para mi)
To promote immigrants' advocacy and participation in civic life. <i>Defender a los inmigrantes y promover la participación cívica.</i>					
To improve public policies to meet the needs of immigrant communities. <i>Mejorar las políticas públicas para atender las necesidades de las comunidades inmigrantes.</i>					
To strengthen the expression of identity , ideals and experiences of immigrant communities. <i>Fortalecer la expresión de la identidad de las comunidades de inmigrantes, así como sus ideales y experiencias.</i>					
To improve the public climate for acceptance and inclusion of immigrant communities. <i>Mejorar el clima de aceptación pública y la inclusión de las comunidades inmigrantes.</i>					
To strengthen the leadership and organizational capacity of immigrant organizations. <i>Fortalecer el liderazgo y la capacidad organizativa de las organizaciones de inmigrantes.</i>					
To offer direct services that promote the wellbeing of immigrant communities (education, health recreation, cultural or social activities). <i>Ofrecer servicios directos que promueven el bienestar de las comunidades de inmigrantes (educación, salud recreación, actividades culturales o sociales).</i>					

What is the **single most important way** you use to interact with this organization?.

¿Cuál es la forma más importante que utiliza para interactuar con esta organización?

Ways of interaction	This is the most important way to interact with this organization <i>Esta es la manera más importante que utilizo para interactuar con esta organización</i>
Assemblies & Workshops <i>Asambleas y talleres</i>	
Informal meetings and conversations <i>Reuniones y conversaciones informales</i>	
Training Programs <i>Programas educativos</i>	
Marches/Sit-ins/ /Protests <i>Marchas/Plantones/Protestas</i>	
Phone Calls <i>llamadas telefónicas</i>	
Audio and video-conferences <i>Audio y video-conferencias</i>	
Handouts & Newsletters <i>Volantes y Boletines</i>	
Email/ Mail lists <i>Correo electrónico/ listas de correo</i>	
Website/Blog Sitio Web/Blog	
Facebook	
Twitter	
Instant messaging <i>Mensajes de texto</i>	
YouTube	

Other / Otro

Which of the following ways do you interact with this organization and what are the primary purposes of each of them?

¿En cuál de las siguientes formas se relaciona Ud. con esta organización, y cuáles son los objetivos principales de esas formas de relación? Para cada forma de relación señalada, elija **máximo tres** propósitos.

Ways of interaction	I don't use this way / <i>No uso esta forma</i>	Get informed about this organization's activities / <i>Informarme sobre las actividades de esta organización</i>	Communicate with members and participants of this organization / <i>Comunicarme con miembros de esta organización</i>	Inform and communicate with other movements and networks <i>Informarme y comunicarme con otros movimientos y redes</i>	Inform and communicate with media / <i>Informarme y comunicarme con medios de comunicación</i>	Coordinate activities and protests/ <i>Coordinar actividades y protestas</i>	Forge solidarity with other movements and organizations/ <i>Promover solidaridad con otros movimientos y organizaciones</i>	Express and forge the organization values <i>Expresar y promover los valores de la organización</i>	Other/ <i>Otro</i>
Assemblies & Workshops <i>Asambleas y talleres</i>									
Informal meetings and conversations <i>Reuniones y conversaciones informales</i>									
Training Programs <i>Programas educativos</i>									
Marches/Sit-ins/ /Protests <i>Marchas/Plantones/Protestas</i>									
Phone Calls <i>Llamadas telefónicas</i>									
Audio and video-conferences <i>Audio y video-conferencias</i>									
Handouts & Newsletters <i>Volantes y Boletines</i>									
Email/ Mail lists <i>Correo electrónico/ listas de correo</i>									

Website/Blog Sitio Web/Blog									
Facebook									
Twitter									
Instant messaging <i>Mensajes de texto</i>									
YouTube									
Other / <i>Otro</i>									

Do you think that Social Media such as Facebook has changed the ways in which people like you relate with this organization or with other social movement organizations? Yes: _____ No: _____

¿Cree usted que Medios Sociales como Facebook ha cambiado la forma en que la gente se relacionan con esta organización o con otras organizaciones sociales? Si _____ No _____

If so how? / Si su respuesta fue positiva explique por qué:

Participation with other social organizations / Participación con otras organizaciones sociales

In the last year (12 months), have you personally done any of the following activities? Please indicate either yes or no.

En el último año (12 meses), ¿ha participado personalmente alguna de las siguientes actividades? Indique sí o no

	Yes / Si	No
Voted in the elections (presidential, senate, governor etc.) <i>Votado en elecciones (presidenciales, senado, gobernador, etc.)</i>		
Made a personal contact with an influential person of local or national authorities (political, cultural, religious) <i>Contactar a una persona influyente en el ámbito local o nacional</i>		
Raised awareness in the media about a social or community issue <i>Llamar la atención de los medios sobre un problema social o comunitario</i>		
Actively participated in an information campaign <i>Participar activamente en una campaña de información</i>		
Actively participated in an election campaign <i>Participar activamente en una campaña política</i>		
Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration <i>Participar en un protesta ,marcha o movilización</i>		
Contacted an elected representative <i>Contactar a un representante político</i>		
Talked with other people in your area about a social or community issue <i>Hablar con otras personas sobre un problema social o comunitario</i>		
Notified the court or police about a social or community issue <i>Reportar un problema social o comunitario a una autoridad legal o policial</i>		
Made a monetary or in-kind donation <i>Hacer una donación en dinero o un aporte de este estilo</i>		
Volunteered for a charitable/non-profit organization <i>Ser voluntario en una organización de caridad o sin ánimo de lucro</i>		

Are you currently a participant or member of a social movement(s)? If so please indicate its/their names /

¿Es usted actualmente participante o miembro de un movimiento social (s)? Si es así, por favor indique los nombres de los movimientos.

Are you currently a participant or member of a Local/National/International campaign(s) or initiative? If so please indicate its/their names /

¿Es usted actualmente un participante o miembro de una campaña local / nacional / internacional (s)? Si es así, por favor indique sus nombres

	No member or participant <i>No soy miembro o participante</i>	Leader <i>Líder</i>	Very active <i>Muy activo</i>	Somewhat active <i>Medianamente activo</i>	Not active <i>No activo</i>
NGO / ONG					
Religious group / <i>Grupo Religioso</i>					
Cultural association / <i>Asociación cultural</i>					
Youth group / <i>Grupo de Jovenes</i>					
Women's group / <i>Grupo de Mujeres</i>					
Parent group / <i>Grupo de Padres/Madres</i>					
School committee / <i>Comité escolar</i>					
Health committee / <i>Comité de salud</i>					
Sports group / <i>Grupo deportivo</i>					
Political group / <i>Grupo político</i>					
Farmers'/fishermen's group / <i>Grupo de campesinos o pescadores</i>					
Cooperative / <i>Cooperativa</i>					
Traders' association/ business group / <i>Asociación Comerciantes o grupo de negocios</i>					
Professional association / <i>Asociación Profesional</i>					

Trade union / <i>Sindicato</i>					
Credit/finance group / <i>Grupo financiero</i>					
Water/waste group / <i>Grupo de agua o de basuras</i>					
Neighborhood/village association / <i>Asociación de barrio</i>					
Civic group / <i>Grupo civil</i>					
Other: _____ / Otro _____					
None/ <i>Ninguno</i>					

Which of the following social organizations you are **currently** a participant or member, and indicate how active are you in them?

*En cuál de las siguientes organizaciones sociales usted participa o es un miembro **actualmente**, e indique su nivel de actividad en ellas?*

Use of ICT / Usos de TIC

Where do you most frequently access the Internet? Choose **one** of the following answers

*¿Dónde accede a Internet frecuentemente? Elija **solo una** de las siguientes respuestas*

Home / <i>Casa</i>	
Work Institution (company, non-profit agency, etc.) <i>Trabajo (empresa, ONG)</i>	
School (high school, college, university) <i>Establecimiento educativo (Escuela, Colegio, Universidad)</i>	
Public venue (library, telecenter, coffee shop, wifi zone). <i>Sitio de acceso público (biblioteca, telecentro, café internet)</i>	
I don't have access to Internet / <i>No tengo acceso a Internet</i>	

Do you own a mobile phone? Yes: ___ No: ___ / *¿Tiene usted un teléfono móvil/celular? Si _____ No_____*

If so, select what features of your phone you have used during the last week.

Si es así, seleccione qué funciones del teléfono ha utilizado durante la última semana.

Phone calls / Llamadas	
Texting / Mensajes de texto	
Internet access / Acceso a Internet	
Other: _____ Otro: _____	

Indicate how often you use these services, and what is the primary device (mobile phone or computer) on which you use them?

*For each service that you use, please **choose only one** answer for both frequency and primary device.*

*Indique la frecuencia de uso de estos servicios, y cuál es el principal dispositivo (teléfono móvil o un ordenador) en el que los utiliza? Para cada servicio que indique, elija **sólo una respuesta** para la frecuencia de uso y para el dispositivo principal.*

	Never <i>Nunca</i>	Everyday <i>Diario</i>	Every two or three days <i>Cada dos o tres días</i>	Once per week <i>Una vez por semana</i>	Every two or three weeks <i>Cada dos o tres semanas</i>	Once per month <i>Una vez al mes</i>	I primarily use a mobile phone <i>Principalmente uso de un teléfono móvil</i>	I primarily use a computer <i>Principalmente uso computador</i>
Email <i>Correo electrónico</i>								
Instant messaging and chats / <i>Mensajes instantáneos y chats</i>								
Web sites/ Blogs Sitios Web/Blogs								
Facebook, Myspace, or other Social Network								

Sites (<i>u otros medios sociales</i>)								
Twitter other micro-blogs (<i>otros micro-blogs</i>)								
Watch movies, videos or TV online / <i>Ver películas, videos o programas de televisión en línea</i>								
Play computer games online or off / <i>Juegos en la computadora o en línea</i>								
Listen or download music / <i>Escuchar o descargar música</i>								
Read current events, news online / <i>Leer noticias en línea</i>								

Indicate which services you use, and what its primary purpose when using them.

Indique que servicios usa y cuáles son sus propósitos principales al usarlos.

	I don't use it <i>No uso</i>	Find and share information <i>Buscar y compartir información</i>	Friends, family <i>Familia y amigos</i>	Work <i>Trabajo</i>	Political engagement and social causes <i>Actividades políticas y causas sociales</i>	Entertainment (games, music, movies) <i>Entretención (juegos, música, películas)</i>	Education and learning <i>Educación y aprendizaje</i>	Online banking, transfers, payments <i>Banca en línea, transferencias, pagos</i>	Shopping, buying & selling things <i>Compras y ventas en línea</i>	Relations with government institutions <i>Relaciones con instituciones del gobierno</i>	Job search/application <i>Buscar trabajo</i>
Email <i>Correo electrónico</i>											
Instant messaging and chats / <i>Mensajes instantáneos y chats</i>											
Browse, Surf Internet <i>Buscadores en Internet</i>											
Web sites/ Blogs Sitios Web/Blogs											
Facebook, Myspace, or other											

Social Network Sites (<i>u otros medios sociales</i>)											
Twitter other micro-blogs (<i>otros micro-blogs</i>)											
YouTube											

Demographics

1. What is your age group? *Choose one of the following answers / ¿Cuál es su edad? Elija una de las siguientes rangos*

- (1) 15-19 (2) 20-25 (3) 26-30 (3) 31-35 (5) 36-40 (6) 41-45 (7) 46-50
 (8) 51-55 (9) 56-60 (10) 61-65 (11) 66-70 (12) 71 years old or older (13) No answer

Are you / Es usted

Female / <i>Mujer</i>	
Male / <i>Hombre</i>	
Other: _____ <i>Otro: _____</i>	
No answer / <i>Sin respuesta</i>	

Do you consider yourself? *Choose one of the following answers / ¿Se considera usted? Elija una de las siguientes respuestas*

White <i>Blanco</i>		American Indian <i>Indígena de USA</i>		Asian <i>Asiático</i>		Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander <i>Nativo de Hawaii y otra de las islas del Pacífico</i>		None <i>Ninguno</i>	
Hispanic/Latino <i>Hispano Latinoamericano</i>		Alaska Native <i>Nativo de Alaska</i>		African American <i>Africano- Americano</i>		Other: _____ <i>Otro: _____</i>			

What is your country of origin? _____ *¿Cuál es su país de origen? _____*

If applicable, for how long have you been in the US? Number of Years: _____ Number of Months: _____

Si aplica, ¿por cuánto tiempo ha estado en los EE.UU.? Número de años: _____ Número de meses: _____

What is your city of residence? _____ *¿Cuál es su ciudad de residencia? _____*

What is your zip code? _____ *¿Cuál es su código postal? _____*

Indicate the highest education level you have completed. *Choose **one** of the following answers.*

*Indique el nivel de educación más alto que ha completado. Elija **una** de las siguientes respuestas.*

No schooling completed / *Sin estudio*
 Primary / *Primaria*
 Secondary / *Secundaria*
 Trade/technical/vocational training / *Estudios vocacionales*
 Associates (2 –year) degree / *Pregrado en universidad*
 Master’s degree / *Maestría*
 Professional degree (MD, JD, etc.) / *Título profesional*
 Doctoral Degree / *Doctorado*
 Other / *Otro*

Which option best describes your current employment situation? Choose **one** of the following answers

*¿Qué opción describe mejor su situación laboral actual? Elija **una** de las siguientes respuestas*

Employed for wages in professional and managerial occupations / *Empleado asalariado en ocupaciones profesionales y gerenciales*
 Employed for wages in clerical, sales, or service occupations / *Empleado asalariado en servicios o asuntos clericales*
 Manual labor (skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled / *Trabajo manual (calificado, semi-calificado o no calificado)*
 Agricultural work / *Trabajo agrario*
 Self-employed / *Trabajador independiente*
 Out of work and looking for work / *Sin trabajo y buscando trabajo*
 Out of work but not currently looking for work / *Sin trabajo pero no en busca de trabajo*
 Homemaker / *Labores de la casa*
 Student / *Estudiante*
 Military / *Militar*
 Retired / *Retirado*
 Unable to work / *Incapacitado para trabajar*
 Other / *Otro*

How do you estimate your language proficiency skills? For each language you indicate, please rank your proficiency level by selecting just one of the levels suggested below for each activity (reading, writing, speaking, and listening).

¿Cómo estima sus competencias lingüísticas? Para cada idioma seleccionado, por favor indique su nivel de competencia para cada actividad (leer, escribir, hablar y escuchar).

English						
		Very good	Good	Intermediate	Not good	Not good at all

		<i>Muy Bueno</i>	<i>Bueno</i>	<i>Intermedio</i>	<i>No es bueno</i>	<i>No es muy bueno del todo</i>
	Reading / Lectura					
	Writing / Escritura					
	Speaking / Habla					
	Listening / Escucha					
Español						
		Very good <i>Muy Bueno</i>	Good <i>Bueno</i>	Intermediate <i>Intermedio</i>	Not good <i>No es bueno</i>	Not good at all <i>No es muy bueno del todo</i>
	Reading / Lectura					
	Writing / Escritura					
	Speaking / Habla					
	Listening / Escucha					
Other primary language <i>Otro idioma</i>						
		Very good <i>Muy Bueno</i>	Good <i>Bueno</i>	Intermediate <i>Intermedio</i>	Not good <i>No es bueno</i>	Not good at all <i>No es muy bueno del todo</i>
	Reading / Lectura					
	Writing / Escritura					
	Speaking / Habla					
	Listening / Escucha					

Thank you very much for your time and answers. Results of this research project will be shared through talks and through brochures available in English and Spanish explaining the main findings of the research. Results will be publicly available through the UW iSchool web site, and, if SMOs desire, on their web sites and institutional Social Media as well.

For online respondents, please provide an email account we can use to provide you with an opportunity to enter a drawing for one of the 10 \$25 Amazon gift cards.

Email / Correo electrónico: _____

Appendix 8: Online Observation Guide

Page Header:

Date: _____

Page likes (#): _____

Most Popular City: _____

Most Popular Week _____

Most Popular Age Group: _____

Posts & Events

Description

Header

Date

Languages

Picture/Image/video (fill additional information below)

Likes (#)

Comments (#)

Comments (main topics)

Links (# and *which ones*)

Type of activity mentioned (use predefined categories for the survey)

Interaction purpose (use predefined categories)

Other forms of interactions

mentioned (*use predefined categories*)

Organization goals promoted (*use predefined categories*)

Organization values promoted

Appendix 9: Activities’ components; the main ICT involved and their principal uses, and the uses of Facebook (face-to-face observation).

Activities’ Components	Main ICT involved	Main uses of ICT	Main uses of Facebook
Introductions and first interactions	Mobile phones (calls, texting, emails, pictures and videos, twitter, Facebook, Instagram, games) Computers, laptops, tablets Cameras (video and pictures) Video projectors Information booths Handouts	Informing on the event and the people and organizations participating. Assisting organizers to collect participants’ information. Offering participants with transitions between daily activities and the events they are participating. Providing participants with opportunities to start a conversation and to interact among them.	Inviting people to join the event. Informing where they were, what they were doing. Killing time.
Information on the event and its importance	Laptops, tablets (text processors and power point) Video projectors Mobile phones (text processors, email, pictures, videos, Twitter, texting, games) Cameras (video and pictures) Translation systems Handouts Maps Banners	Assisting organizers to provide and collect information on the event and the participants. Supporting participants to be connected with their daily activities and networks. Assisting both organizers and participants to register and report on the event and the participants.	Being connected with daily life and networks. Sharing with networks what they were doing.
Groups’ activities and storytelling	Mobile phones (email, cameras for pictures and videos, Twitter, Texting, Facebook, Instagram) Laptops, tablets (text processors and power point) Cameras (video and pictures) Boards Flipcharts Translation systems	Assisting participants to better inform and communicate their experiences and stories. Assisting organizers to coordinate activities and to be in touch with other SMO’s members (following the event in place and in other places). Supporting participants to be connected with their daily activities and networks. Assisting both organizers and participants	Being connected with daily life and networks. Sharing with networks what they were doing. Reporting to colleagues or friends on the event.

Taking actions	<p>Mobile phones (Texting, calls, pictures and videos, Twitter,) Banners Handouts Maps Megaphones Translation systems Envelops</p>	<p>to register and report on the event and the participants. Assisting both organizers and participants to better inform and communicate with the event's target groups. Assisting organizers to coordinate activities and to be in touch with other social movements and organizations as well as with mass media (following the event in place and in other places). Assisting both organizers and participants to register and report on the event and the participants.</p>	<p>Registering and collecting memories on the event. Reporting to friends and family on the event.</p>
Wrapping up	<p>Laptops, tablets (text processors and power point) Video projectors Mobile phones (text processors, email, pictures, videos, Twitter, texting) Cameras (video and pictures)</p>	<p>Assisting organizers to provide information on the event's results and next actions to take. Supporting participants to be connected with their daily activities and networks. Assisting both organizers and participants to register and report on the event and the participants.</p>	<p>Being connected with daily life and networks.</p>
Going back to daily activities	<p>Mobile phones (calls, texting, emails, pictures and videos, twitter, Facebook, Instagram, games) Computers (email, Facebook, websites & blogs</p>	<p>Assisting organizers to report on the event's results to target groups, mass media and other social movement and organizations. Assisting participants to report on the event and the participants. Offering participants with transitions between the events and their daily activities.</p>	<p>Reporting to colleagues and other SMOs and social movements on the event's results. Informing where they were, what they did. Killing time.</p>

