ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: EMANCIPATORY HOPE: RECLAIMING BLACK SOCIAL MOVEMENT CONTINUITY

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From the Freedom Songs to the Pullman Porters, African Americans have had to find ways to make collective use of the available means of communication for resistance, survival, and political organizing. The Movement for Black Lives carries on this tradition by using social media platforms, specifically Twitter. Accordingly, I asked: How do Black activists use Twitter to communicate ideas of hope and survival? Applying an adaption of Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis, I examined Black activists' constructions and utilization of hope for political action through shared artifacts of engagement across Twitter. By engaging both the interface of Twitter, its uses, and significant cultural practices along with a content analysis of Black activists' online discussion, I identified the techno-political framing of the movement for Black lives. I argued that hope becomes a vehicle by which African Americans pass along strategies and tactics for liberation through technocultural practice. I conceptualized these findings as emancipatory hope, a utopian expectation of the collective capacity for dismantling race, class, and gender dominance. This research has implications for how we understand

social movement theorizing by including a technoculture lens to the abeyance formation of social movement continuity theory.

EMANCIPATORY HOPE:
RECLAIMING BLACK SOCIAL MOVEMENT CONTINUITY

By

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Preface

The basis of the research initially stemmed from my passion for those who put their lives on the line for people like me. As the world moves further into the digital age, generating vast amounts of data, and born-digital content, there will be a greater need to remember the work activists have done. In a world where the record is fleeting, we must walk in step and bear witness.

In truth, I could not have achieved the goals I set for myself without a strong support group. My family's support is unwavering. My work team at African American History Culture and Digital Humanities, Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities -- Catherine, Jovonne, Jessica, Will, Megan, Melissa, Purdom, Ed, and Trevor. The College of Arts and Humanities Dean's Office staff. Finally, to my committee members, each of whom has provided patient advice and guidance throughout the research process. Thank you all for your resolute support.

Dedication

To those who showed me love and care I can never repay you. The best I can do is to reach back to bring the next one with me and so I will.

Acknowledgements

To the activists and organizations who took the time to be in community with me, thank you. You all showed me the love and care that you demonstrate every day. Thank you.

I would like to thank my Dissertation Chair, Jason Farman, for stepping up in my most vulnerable moment for your counsel about the future, the labor you placed on my work, the patience you provided when things did not go as planned. Your coaching throughout helped me to stay focused and I sincerely appreciated your guidance as I crossed each milestone. I would also like to thank my Dissertation Committee members, Dr. Patricia Hill Collins and Dr. Mirabal, for your support from day one. Thank you, Dr. Brown, for being my fiercest champion.

I would also like to thank the Critical Race Initiative and Dr. Rashawn Ray for showing me how to be a professional in this business and being another family. Thank Sun Ah for walking the bulk of this journey with me. To the group of colleagues now known as THE COLLECTIVE, you all are amazing. To Lolita L. Mack, I would not have made it without you.

Last to my family, you have picked me up when I have fallen, wiped my tears, and calmed my fears. I love you.

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God's a-going to trouble the water

~Negro Spiritual

> If you are tired, keep on going; if you are hungry, keep going; if you want to taste freedom, keep going.
>
> ~Harriet Tubman

"Wade in the Water" is one of the foundational sacred songs of African American culture. Sung in various rituals, "Wade in the Water" was first sung as a way to pass along life lessons for the children of the formerly enslaved. In the story of the song, instructions are given to future generations on how to survive the Black experience in America. To wade in the water is baptismal – Do not stay on the shore, for you will be left behind. Do not stand in the water for you can be swept away. God will not part the sea for you but he will give you the strength to get through it. The song acknowledges the

strength of the resistance of the water. The water can be destructive but it can also be soul- cleansing. It's inevitable but it is conquerable. Or as Joseph Brown writes:

> When one has gotten too weary of dealing with life, the prayer is to get "over" the journey, cross the river. When temporary respite sets in, the song will remind one and all that there is always "one more river to cross" before the final passage. This song "Wade in the Water" is an exhortation to the proper attitude; the correct response to confronting "water" (Brown 1983).

Children know what water is and what water does. The song acknowledges the individual as having agency, fully aware of the changing tides of life. "Wade in the Water" channels the framework of hope to pass along strategies and tactics to others while in the public gaze. Yet also, singing the song generates hope within those who perform the song, creating in them a new way of imagining in themselves their wholeness and a picture of a utopia they can achieve.

"Wade in the Water" is an example of *emancipatory hope.* The phrase *Emancipatory Hope* comes out of the field of Black theology where theolgian Evelyn L. Parker writes it is the utopian "[e]xpectation that the forms of hegemonic relations – race, class, and gender dominance – will be toppled and to have emancipatory hope is to acknowledge one's agency in God's vision for human equality" (2003). Exploiting the hyper personalized space of the digital, Black activists use a set of collective action frames I label *emancipatory hope* to pass strategies and tactics across space and time. In centering emancipation, the phrase does the work of locating an utopian outlook on resistance in the face of colorblind neoliberalism's co-opting of critical critique. Emancipatory hope does the work of consensus building and motivating people into action.

Today. The installation of Barack H. Obama as the 44th President of the United States and the country's first African American commander in chief was supposed to be the moment of hope for people who believed previous ideas including racial equity, racial justice, the end of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and closure of the social safety gap were unattainable. The would-be president built his campaign on the promise of hope towards these goals and a message of change with much of the youthful electorate holding out that his hope would result in a pivot away from the H.W. Bush Administration' continuation of neoliberalism and Reaganomics (H. A. Giroux 2009; Porfilio and Carr 2011). However, specifically among Black youth, the Obama Administration violated that hope by doubling down on neoliberalism ideologies specifically among the corporatization of education, the policing of Black and Brown bodies, and its relationship to the news media (Henry A. Giroux 2009; Giroux and Saltman 2010).

As a result, under the "hope administration," the United States endured a heightened awareness of violence against Black bodies at the hands of the state, a rising overt racial tensions, a changing relationship between the public and the fourth estate, and the rise of a new iteration of the continuous movement for Black liberation. Critics of Obama's vision have criticized his policies as being hostile to immigrants, lip service to the poor, and absent of any substantial policy toward Black women (Cisneros 2015; Crenshaw 2014; Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015). Under the Obama Administration, neoliberalism's hijacking of resistance language becomes fully actualized with the co-opting of hope (Coates 2015, 2018).

In the face of Obama's hope, the Movement for Black Lives captured the nation's collective imagination by challenging anti-Blackness in structural, cultural, disciplinary, and interpersonal domains of power. Popular discourse draws a direct lineage from the Black Lives Matter movement to the Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s. However, these discussions leave out critical discussions on what knowledges activists are drawing upon and how those knowledges are disseminated. What do young people do in the absence of a critical language for hope? Particularly, for an African American community, several generations removed from sustained visible social movement activity at the national scale. This research is about how Black activists conceptualize hope as a form of emancipatory knowledge and how it travels both temporally, spatially, and digitally.

Social movement scholarship has often used African American protests and insurgency as sites of study, yet rarely has the field included African American theorists or any sufficient analysis of race (Bracey 2016). Previous scholarship has focused on the psychological, material, and social catalysts outside of a critical race context that explains social movement engagement.

In the following study, I examined the life cycle of the movement for Black Lives to challenge the traditional view of Black resistance movements occurring as isolated disruptions. Specifically, in developing a methodological triangulation for the study of discourse across digital and non-digital life., I examined the continuity of Black resistance movements through the framework of hope. I ask:

(R1): What are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance?

(R2): How does emancipatory hope get operationalized under times of abeyance?

(R3): What is the role of the digital in the continuity of Black social movements, specifically constructing framing tasks and movement identities?

(R4): How does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism?

I present evidence for the framing of "emancipatory hope" through the triangulation of data from online and offline space to understand the framing and utility of hope. Finally, I connect the abeyance formation of the movement for Black lives to the doldrums of past eras of Black mobilization. This work is significant as it demonstrates that analysis of public discourse can no longer examine discourse absent of the digital life.

My work makes contributions to the field of social movements by critically considering the significance of Black theorizing for the field of social movements. It also makes a contribution to the study of social movements by considering the role of emotions, spirituality, and culture blending big data with interviews for understanding activism in the digital age in activism. As a mixed methods study, this research makes a methodological contribution to the approach of Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis by providing a pathway towards bringing small data approaches to big data by methodologically triangulating big data with interviews and field analysis.

Positionality

I come to my work as an African American man and a child of post-civil rights, War on Drugs era while also being old enough to have a perspective on the Rodney King beating, Anita Hill's testimony on Clarence Thomas, and O. J. Simpson's trial, I have

observed the communal and national effects of police brutality, the American outrage over its expectations of the judicial system to bend to the will of white supremacy, and the collective righteous outrage, political thought, and organizing of Black women for change. My initial motivation for this project stemmed from a series of events including: 1) hearing childhood conversations about the lack of an activist will from my generation; 2) partaking in the collective outrage after the deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown, and; 3) observing the struggle to make meaning of the election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States. Whereas I knew that I would pursue a Black social movement-focused research project upon entering graduate school, I did not know it would be focused on modern movement activity until Trayvon's death on February 26, 2012. As I began collecting data, I knew my questions had fundamentally changed in the wake of Trump's election. While the Obama administration acknowledged the social pressure the Movement for Black Lives placed upon his administration. Even going so far as to invite prominent figures of the movement to the White House for conversations resulting in his 21st Century Policing Task Force. The Trump administration outright rejects the premise that policing in Black communities is an issue. Effectively removing Black activist' seat at the negotiating table.

As I delved into more contemporary social movement literature, I found that so much of the literature around Black movements was produced on the backs of Black activism with very few of the authors being Black themselves. I discovered there were scholars excluded from the social movement knowledge project who found intellectual space as scholars of critical race, cultural studies, and sociology of knowledge to explore their theories on mobilization as resistance. I began to see these other areas as a lens to

explore mobilization dynamics and meaning making. Moreover, as I continued to research into Black mobilization and as I took classes on the sociology of knowledge, Critical Race Theory, among others, I came to see the framing process of movements through its role and connection to racial discourse and Black cultural production.

I had no personal connections to Black activists before entering my graduate career. For many of the activists I interviewed, many did not know any either until Trayvon Martin's killing. Through the course of my graduate career, it was not so much that activists were found as much as developed, and I had the responsibility to make note of their formation. Before the death of Trayvon Martin in 2012, I had been an active member of the Black Twitter community. Part of my following included users who would later be known or identify as activists. I would not identify myself as an activist, however. I see the role of the academic, particularly in the fleeting record of the digital age, to first bear witness. Sometimes, I see my role as making sure history remembers this time justly. Others, I see my role using the skills of research for the emancipatory work of justice. Sometimes that is the same product and sometimes not.

The timing of my introduction to this unfolding Black activists community is critical to note for two reasons, First, as the political processes unfolded before me, I was able to approach the interactions, customs, and culture of the emerging Movement for Black Lives with an intellectually informed perspective which meant that I often asked many questions and observed every interaction with heightened meaning; as the movement changed. Second, I had a shared experience on and offline with many of the users, respondents, and organizations when moments of local and national trauma and

resistance occurred. In short, I too felt the collective pain, rage, and the need to act in the immediate aftermath of unnecessary police violence.

In regard to timing, it is important to note the time frame of my social media data span 2017 and 2018 – the first two years of the Trump presidency. Nationally, the United States was bracing itself for shifting of a political era. Occurring during this period were: the dawn of the false propaganda news era, the co-opting of that into the political right-wing's Fake News campaign, and the nation's realization of Russian interference in its national elections. All of these figured prominently in discussions for what it meant to be an online community. Black Twitter in particular, was especially concerned with the growing number and size of white supremacy rallies happening across the country, especially the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017. Black Twitter is a mediated community of Black cultural discourse.

For much of that time, I too voiced my fears, anger, and frustrations as part of online and offline communities. Considering the networked relationship of online communities, it is possible that in the recruitment of participants for interviews or during observation of Twitter discourse, that my subjects were aware of, or assumed, my political leanings. Also, my position as a researcher and observer presented moments of distrust with my activists who may have connections to underground economies.

Finally, I would be derelict if I did not mention the emotional and psychological toll I experienced from my interviews and participant observations. I often found the in-person interviews to be emotionally taxing. Meetings were often in a place of business or at the participant's home and took up to 3 hours. Sometimes interviews would require meeting at odd hours in the day in conflict with my own employment and academic

responsibilities. I found the constant judging of my intentions and concessions to ensure comfort draining.

Within my interviews, respondents would routinely share sensitive details about their own experiences beyond the questions asked of them. Additionally, in answering my questions, respondents often offered their experiences with trauma both from their past and ongoing through extreme emotions. Their willingness to share fosters a level of responsibility in me to represent their stories accurately to protect them from further harm.

Context Movement for Black Lives and Cycles of Protest

Since July 19, 2014, there have been 2,679 protests in the name of the Movement for Black Lives, with the majority (2,000) of those protest happening throughout the first two to three years (Robinson 2019). As the movement transitioned from the age of Obama into the age of Trump, we see a decline in the frequency of protest, a decrease in the frequency of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter used as the political framing used in Twitter discourse, and a decrease in the media attention given to the Movement for Black Lives in national media conversations. These are all signs that the Movement for Black Lives is transitioning into a period of abeyance, namely, a holding process by which movements sustain themselves and provide continuity from one stage of mobilization to another.

This dissertation contends the Movement for Black Lives has transitioned into abeyance in the age of Trump. To understand the changing political opportunities impacting the visibility of social movement activity is to focus on the movement at both the local and national scales. What are the factors contributing to the Movement for

Black Lives' transition into abeyance? How have activists responded to the changing movement landscape? How does emancipatory hope get operationalized under times of low visibility?

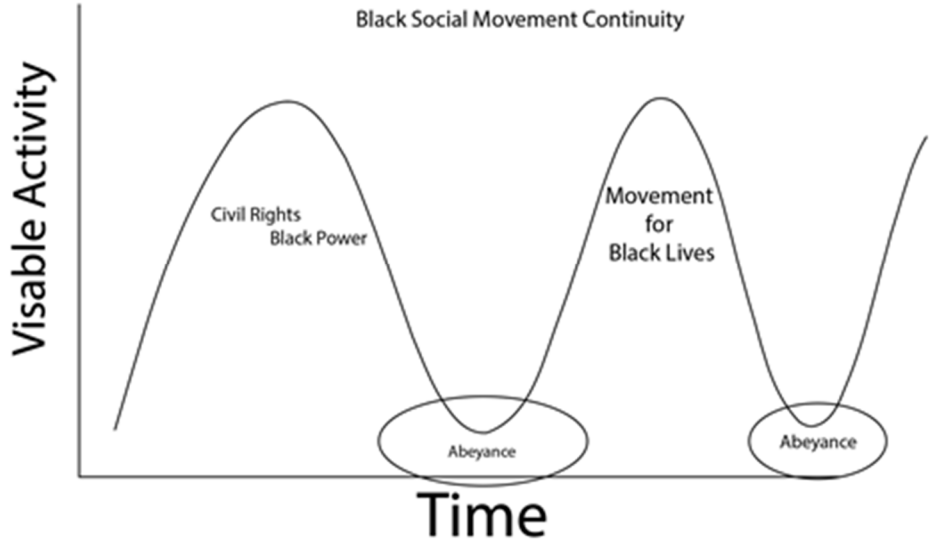
Theoretical Framework

This dissertation asks: What are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance? How does emancipatory hope get operationalized under times of abeyance? What is the role of the digital in the continuity of Black social movements, specifically constructing framing tasks and movement identities? How does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism? To examine my research questions, I draw upon three theoretical frameworks, namely, 1) social movement continuity theory (Taylor 1989) which provides an understanding of the factors that link one era of movement mobilization to the next; 2) process for collective action frames that enable me to discuss movement culture in digital space (Snow et al. 1986); and 3) intersectional frameworks that examine how critical race, class, and gender operate in resistance and social movement theorizing. These frameworks informs my overarching research questions, as well as the secondary questions discussed above. In contrast to research that ignores Black theorizing and critical understandings of race, by using an intersectional frame, I was able to situate Black activists' strategies for discursive interaction to organize and resist, examine what Black collective action frames say as critique to systems of oppression, and how this era of Black mobilization manages the process of abeyance and low visibility.

Abeyance: Social Movement Continuity

The overwhelming majority of scholarship from the field of social movements focuses on movements within the four stages of visibility often called the life cycle of mobilization, which includes emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline. Feminist scholarship has made interventions that include the connectivity from one era of movement mobilization to another by including the wave metaphor into the modeling of mobilization dynamics.

Figure 1. Social Movement Continuity Model



The field of social movements contains several schools for understanding the lifespan of social movements. The first if which is the life-cycle model of social movements, which states there is typically a short life span of activism and engagement and cannot be sustained due to their non-institutionalized nature and high emotional volatility (Tarrow 1994). The second strain is that social movements that achieve a level of success become institutionalized or co-opted. The third supposition states that in the neoliberal era movement mobilization is de-legitimized as cognitive frames have changed

so drastically due to the fragmenting of identity. In its place, individual market choices and cultural consumption remain in conflict with collective values that produce charismatic leadership (Sawer 2006). This loss of faith in collective identities removes the political base for claims-making and enables the dismantling of social movement policy gains and policy structures. Finally, in the last and most prevalent hypothesis, social movements are sustained across periods of mobilization by shared values and commitment of close group ties in abeyance structures (Taylor 1989). In summation, the field of social movements has yet to understand the continuity or abeyance phase of social movements under the hyper-individualized market logic of neoliberalism. I argue this is due to two reasons: 1) the field's grasp in understanding the value of mobilization in a world based in content sharing across media networks (Lance Bennett and Segerberg 2013). 2) The field's lack of engagement with any critical theories of race and resistance (Bracey 2016). This work, in part, aims to address both of these gaps in the literature.

Abeyance

Abeyance depicts a holding process by which movements sustain themselves and provide continuity from one stage of mobilization to another. As a movement loses support, activists who had been most intensely committed to its aims become increasingly marginal and socially isolated. Abeyance structures then emerge to absorb the committed activists remaining while both restraining them from disruptive activities and channeling them into particular forms of activism, and preserving meaning and identity (Rupp and Taylor 1987). These periods of abeyance become the foundational elements of future success (Maddison and Scalmer 2006).

The factors that contribute to abeyance are both external and internal to the movement. External factors include:

1. Changes in opportunities including those connected to allied political elites.

2. Marginalization or diminishing returns to social capital derived from identifying with the movement.

Internal contributing factors include:

1. Temporality, the length of time an organization can hold people. During abeyance periods, value is placed on constant members over quantity.
2. The level of commitment one has to the ideas, beliefs, goals, and tactics.

3. Exclusiveness, organizations that police for high levels of commitment.

4. Centralization refers to the structuring of organizations around the singular administrative direction, often charismatic leaders. Thought to increase productivity as to give a single strategy to be carried out by activists.
5. Culture, defined by Taylor, is embodied in its collective emotions, beliefs, and actions making activism more attractive. Here organizations carry out alternative cultural frameworks to provide meaning to the marginalized.

Culture under Taylor's conceptualization leaves much unspecified for scholarship examining digital movements as communication becomes a prominent part of organizational structure. Nor does it explicitly state any critical cultural theory related to race, which is consistent with much of the field (Bracey 2016). To remedy said problem, I introduce collective action frames and the frame alignment process (Snow et al. 1986).

Framing Processes: Collective Action Frames in the Digital as Connective Action

Social movement actors use the framing process to make sense of their social world (Benford and Snow 2000:613; Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Snow et al. 1986). This

simplification process of the apparent role of an actor functions as a way of announcing and assigning roles and characteristics. Framing concepts inform us how ideology and belief systems become interactional achievements. The frames themselves are cognitive structures shaping processes of future collective action. Identity, on a personal and collective level, is produced as a result of a call-and-response between the cognitive framed structures and the interpretation (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994).

Collective action framing comes out of a symbolic interactionist view of identity construction, which sees personal identity as continuously constructed and reconstructed "interactional accomplishment" (Snow and Machalek 1984). The relationship between the framing process and collective action is accomplished through placing essential sets of actors in time and space and by assigning characteristics to them, which implies a specific correlation and line of action (Hunt et al. 1994:185). This offering and confirming of individual and collective identities are interrelated through collective action and the framing process.

Hunt, Benford, and Snow go on to name three identity fields as socially constructed sets of identities built by the movement actors themselves. The first includes the protagonists or sympathizers. Second, the antagonist who is the target to mobilize against. Finally, the third, the audience, which is seen as neutral despite a few of them having the ability to respond to or report on the events they observe. Often the audience receives the protagonists' claims in a positive spin. Also, the audience provides narratives and cultural symbols as evidence for determining which frames will be useful. Each of the respective identity fields uses a specific combination of three framing tasks: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing

assigns the role of the villain or antagonistic to a social actor. The antagonist's identity field uses diagnostic framing to make claims against hostile institutions and social control agents. Also, collective identity characteristics are assigned to constituents. Motivational framing is used to persuade actors to perform their assigned roles. Motivational framing appropriates vocabularies of motives, which involves the outward projection of the formulated social construction of motives and identities of protagonists (Hunt et al. 1994:192–193; Mills 1940).

The three framing processes are interrelated through the emergence of specific ideologies that move forward public identity claims (Hunt et al. 1994:193). Organizations within the movement make distinctions among each other which create ideological and strategic "turfs"; thus positioning the organization within time and space, creating a form of boundary maintenance (Hunt et al. 1994; Taylor 1989). The antagonist's diagnostic framing also helps to construct the identity of the protagonists by suggesting everything the antagonist is; they are not.

Vocabularies of Motives

As articulated by Benford (1993b:200), vocabularies of motives are socially constructed discourse used to justify and make rational their movement participation. Movement actors, both recruits and core veterans, bring with them vocabularies of motives to any scene of political mobilization. Their temporality can be situated in historical, present, or future framing and provide necessary reasoning for acting outside of broad contextual social norms (Mills 1940; Scott and Lyman 1968). The vocabularies of motives become part of the everyday discourse and movement culture as movement participants embody or express motives within an interplay of actor and audience.

Movement actors use framing activity and the production of vocabularies of motives to galvanize the transition from audience to actors.

Connective Action: How Social Movements Change in Online Space

When it comes to digital culture, it is important understand social media as a unique resource that transforms people's engagement in activism versus simply changing traditional forms of communication, moving from the logic of collective action to connective action (Lance Bennett and Segerberg 2013). Digital culture refers to the rapid pace of communication technologies with the increased popularity of networked computers, personalized technologies, and digital images. The increased consumption of communicative mediums includes mobile, gaming, and technological bodies within and beyond the internet cloud-based computing (Creeber and Martin 2008; Gere 2009; Miller 2011). The types of exchanges permitted on Twitter is limited to the capacity of the interface. As such, Twitter limits cultural production to texts, images, sounds, memes, and interconnected web traffic. The study of digital activism requires a return to the examination of lived experiences and how their identities -- as works in progress -- meld or clash with particular social movements. Particularly, how social movements collectively construct and communicate power through scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting (Hughey 2015).

I read current dynamics within digital culture as connective action because of the increasing influence of communication technology in the organizational structure; particularly, Twitter's capacity for personalized political engagement. Connective action reduces the need for symbolic construction of a collective "we," instead of focusing on a desire to be inclusive and the availability of open technologies. In Bennett and

Segerberg's interpretation of connective action, digital media users contribute to movements through personalized expressions, rather than collective action organized through group identity. However, I disagree with this interpretation as it lacks any critical race perspective, particularly as it relates to race- and gender-centered movements. Black cultural production privileges expression that oscillates between individual and collective expression simultaneously (Brown 1998; Thompson 1973, 2001). Including a critical cultural theory, such as intersectionality, allows understanding of how communities of multiple standpoints contribute to movements.

Intersectionality/Domains of Power/Matrix of Domination

Critical cultural theories that can locate multiple standpoints' resistance efforts are crucial in understanding how social movements of various collective identities respond to power in various ways. It is imperative that the field of social movements treat intersectionality as an interlocutor in theories of social movements.

In response to critical legal studies, Crenshaw coins "intersectionality" in 1989, as a "concept linking contemporary politics with postmodern theory" (1991:1244). However, the concept has its roots in Black feminist scholarship as race, class, and gender studies (Dill 1983; Zinn and Dill 1996). Building upon critical race theory by centering Black women's experiences, a multidimensional analysis can be gleaned to illustrate how the analyses of Black women are distorted through the bodies of knowledge produced through race or feminist critiques (Crenshaw 1989). Within intersectionality, the matrix of domination aims to observe how power serves in organizing the different modes of oppression (Collins 2002:18). I am using intersectionality in two ways. The first as an analytic tool to introduce critical identity

scholarship into how we analyze resistance — the second as a critical inquiry to critique existing bodies of knowledge.

Intersectionality as Analytic Tool: Domains of Power

The field of social movements needs new perspectives on social phenomena that incorporate critical theories of race in the theorizing and modeling of mobilization dynamics. Introducing intersectionality as an analytic strategy has the potential to offer new avenues of theorization for thinking through collective action. Particularly as collectives contain a plurality of identity standpoints and power differently accordingly. The field of intersectionality has been used to address several areas of inquiry, including labor, nation, social problems, and identity (Collins 2015). Each of which is informed by the power relations of racism, sexism, class exploitation. Here, I am introducing the intersectional analytic of the domains of power as a way to understand the organization of power and resistance for Black activists in online and offline spaces (Collins and Bilge 2016). The interconnected domains of power include interpersonal, disciplinary, cultural, and structural. The interpersonal domain of power highlights how individual identity situates people differently based on their demographic. The disciplinary domain of power refers to the differential application of rules, exceptions, and consequences based on biographical location, making some options obtainable and others out of reach. The cultural domain of power applies to the manufacturing of ideas that shape the unequal treatment. The cultural domain is particularly useful in understanding how power operates in digital communicative technologies and resistance functions through connective action. The structural domain of power refers to how the power relations institutionalize and organize the structure. This is particularly useful in thinking through

digital structures, codes, and algorithmic that make up communal spaces in online discourse. The structural domain is also useful in thinking through how Black movements structure themselves and communicate under modern power relations.

Intersectionality as Critical Inquiry: Matrix of Domination

Intersectionality as critical inquiry within the academy becomes useful as a self-reflexive practice to think through the knowledge production within the field of social movements by 1) understanding human life and behavior from the standpoint of disenfranchised; and 2) linking theory with practice. Taken together intersectionality as critical inquiry promotes new interpretations of scholarship and cultivates new questions within the field of social movements.

The matrix of domination centers a both/and conceptualization of oppression, viewing race, class, and gender as a system of interlocking oppression. Collins notes that while intersectionality often marks the space where different forms of oppression converge onto the same body, the matrix of domination aims to observe how power serves in organizing the different modes of oppression (2002:18). The matrix of domination requires us to consider social media engagement as well as the decision to read and reply as action at three levels: the personal, communal/cultural and institutional (Collins 1993; Steele 2011) Furthermore, I add that in the digital age, the matrix of domination requires us to see this activity within the continuity of social movements.

Interpreting the framework of matrix of domination's usefulness to the understanding of mobilization dynamics is helpful in rethinking the modeling of social movement history. For example, in understanding resistance, Rose Weitz argues,

resistant action must include both action and opposition, including "actions that not only reject subordination but do so by challenging the ideologies that support that subordination" (Weitz 2001:670). Consistent with how histories record mobilization, Weitz argues that resistance should be done in public collectively in front of the powerful. However, racism has created distinct power dynamics for African Americans that produce alternative resistive strategies that are unique and distinct from dominant forms of resistance (Collins 2002:226). Collins proposes the matrix of domination in response to Eurocentric, masculinist models of race, class, and gender studies that are rooted in value-added dichotomous thinking. This only accomplishes producing a singular other, thus producing privilege in any singular category of identity (2002:225). As such, the modeling of mobilization has always been two dimensional focusing on the visibility of dominant in group activities and types of activist labor. What has been interpreted as abeyance under these conditions can be interpreted as the scholar's inability to locate different standpoints within the mobilization activity. Using the matrix of domination, we know Black women's resistance sometimes is not done in public because of the very real threats of violence, lack of access, and potential for co-optation.

Intersectional Collective Action frame: Hughey, Bracey, Bell

The study of social movements is dominated by political process theory[1]. Initially articulated by McAdam (1982), the approach views social movements as a "continuous"

[1]Political Process Theory (PPT) is also sometimes referred to as the Political Process Model and the Political Opportunity Model.

political effort that materializes, matures, and declines about the availability of political opportunity. However, social movements are not generated independently of collective recognition and interpretation of the political environment and will to act. Using collective action frames and vocabularies of motives (Snow et al. 1986), movements can galvanize people into action through framing, identifying social problems as unjust (Benford 1993b), and constructing identities relevant to collective mobilization (Hunt et al. 1994). The logic of collective action focuses on the work of strategizing, motivating, and maintaining individuals to collaborate for the achievement of a good or reform (Olson 1965). Collective action frames serve particularly useful in the study of online interaction as it assumes movement actors are signifying agents engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers (Snow and Benford 1988).

While useful, political process theory and collective action framing are developed ironically with a colorblind ideological lens and restricted theory of race. As such, both are insufficient on their own to explain the complexity of racism's effects on antiracist social movements (Bracey 2016). Furthermore, the framing approach to racialized social movements has not adequately specified the process of "when and how a particular racial worldview creates action" (Hughey 2015).

As a remedy, I approached collective action frames through an intersectional paradigm. Intersectionality has been taken up significantly by social movement actors, primarily by women of color. However, as Bracey (2016) notes, social movement theorizing comes short of any significant theorizing of race or its interlocking forms of oppression. Intersectionality has potential as a "reflexive approach for linking social

movement theory and practice" (Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin 2013:920). Specifically, I approach intersectionality as a set of beliefs that precedes my empirical investigation (Hancock 2007a). Intersectionality allows me to engage research by considering the interplay between individuals and institutions; multiple categories of identity and their relationships; and the diversity of beliefs among in-group members. It requires the integration of individual and institutional levels of analysis and that I draw upon multiple methods to achieve analysis (Hancock 2007b).

As such, an intersectional collective action frame requires us to zoom out our focus and look at the repertoire of discourse (Steinberg 1999) or what Hughey calls racialized interactional scripts (2015) to analyze how marginalized actors make use of collective action frames to resist institutionally produced scripts.

Visualizing Intersectional Resistance

The matrix of domination as critical inquiry opens the door to rethink the visual models for how we understand mobilization dynamics. Our modeling of a multitude of standpoints requires thinking through the social locations of activists. For example, how can the wave metaphor/visualization account for the full plurality of the feminist movement when it consists of multiple standpoints?

In thinking through alternative models to the two-dimensional wave metaphor, I offer the jazz metaphor as a model for understanding movements consisting of multiple standpoints. The jazz metaphor is rooted in Clyde Woods' analysis of New Orleans and the tradition of the Blues. Woods cites two philosophies as stemming from New Orleans tradition, Bourbonism and Blues tradition. Bourbonism is framed similarly to

Neoliberalism -- there is an indifference to human suffering by the French regimes of power. This pseudo-liberalism focuses on assimilation and tactical neglect. For the Blues tradition, Woods uses a jazz ensemble metaphor where the "principal concern is not the creation of a new hierarchy, but working class leadership, social vision, sustainable communities, social justice, and the construction of a new commons" (Woods 2009:429). History is not merely dormant in collective memory. However, it is called forth by playing, producing a cultural renewal. Just as a sequence of such renewals have led to the progression of jazz styles from Ragtime to New Orleans, Swing, Be-Bop, Modern, and Free Jazz, social movements renew in similar fashion (Hatch 1999). The jazz metaphor provides a framework for Black social movements' organizational patterns about the configuration of power.

Taken together, intersectionality and the jazz metaphor show possibilities for social movement theorizing when starting from the subject and moving up, centering the most marginal in the movement as well as their organizing patterns. Intersectionality shows how power gets enacted upon marginal subjects. The jazz metaphor provides ways of understanding how marginal subjects resist and organize against oppositional power.

Overview of Research Design

My dissertation addresses the following research questions including, what are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance? How does emancipatory hope get operationalized under times of abeyance? What is the role of the digital in the continuity of Black social movements, specifically constructing framing tasks and movement identities? How does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism?

The basis of this study is centered on the utility and limitations of supervised machine learning of critical technocultural discourse analysis, in-depth interviews, and participant observations (IRB approval March 23, 2018). Supervised machine learning is a process that maps an input to an output based on supplied input-output training examples.

The Movement for Black Lives has given rise to a host of scholarship across cultural studies, communication studies, sociology, libraries, and even data-science management initiatives such as the University of Maryland's iSchool. Topics include education, police violence, inequality, and social media usage, among others (see Documenting the Now, Preserve the Baltimore Uprising 2015 Archive Project, A People's Archive of Police Violence in Cleveland). The responses from the activist community range from being treated as subjects of extraction to those who were eager to have their stories remembered and acknowledged. For most of my interview respondents, our meeting was their first experience participating in activism research. However, 12% (n=3) of my respondents had previously participated in a related study. When asked why they chose to participate in my study, the majority said it was based on the credibility of my informant and to explore conversations that were more than just about protest culture. Even those who did not identify within activist organizations felt it essential to share their perspectives as to give a multitude of experiences represented in my work. This demonstrates the collective nature of Black activists and that their experiences as not a monolith. Indeed, there is much work to be done to adequately represent the activist experience both on and offline and across multiple scales of community.

A supervised learning algorithm analyzes the training data and creates an inferred function, used to map new examples. This allows the algorithm to determine the class labels for unseen instances allowing the learning algorithm to generalize from the training data to unseen situations in a "reasonable" way (Russell et al. 2010). Supervised machine learning has been used in triangulation in the analysis of Twitter sentiment about hashtag activism (Zhang et al. 2019). This research builds upon the triangulation technique by including a methodology useful in moving beyond hashtag analysis. Each method was selected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how activists conceptualize and practice hope. As machine learning and algorithms are inherently unreliable in understanding racialized culture (Noble 2018), I employed a methodological triangulation to validate the findings found in online space were consistent with and informed by findings found in offline encounters which I expound upon in chapter 2.

CTDA, Technological Hardware, Everyday Life

Mobile technologies modify how users embody space removing internet usage from the PC and into everyday environments. Users now locate themselves in digital and material space concurrently, each being shaped by the other, transforming protest and activists' spaces into digital-material hybrids expanding the world of the artifact and the record. What once was lost as unrecorded folklore can now be accounted for if the everyday narratives of activism occurring online, expanding and blurring the line between who and how one is identified as an activist within movement spaces. For mobile technologies, the "sensory-inscribed body" (Farman, 2012: 18) constructs space simultaneously with the sense of embodiment. Space is created through the interaction of the mind and its culturally inscribed local surroundings. However, the user never enacts

full embodiment, instead of constructing space - front staging and back staging different parts of the world (2013:30).

Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis (CTDA) is a methodological approach for the study of digital phenomena such as this. It integrates analysis of the technocultural artifact such as, blogs (Brock, Kvasny, and Hales 2010; Steele 2017), Twitter (Brock 2012; Maragh 2017), Tumblr (Cho 2017), and online communities (Brock 2008; Lawson 2017); with user discourse framed through critical cultural theory such as Critical Race Theory(Brock 2016). CTDA affords the analysis of both the Black activists' content of Twitter through an intersectional collective action frame alignment perspective that provides space for a critical lens on race, class, and social movements; and an analysis of how the structure and services of Twitter contribute to the content generated within its platform.

To date, the most prominent analysis of the interface of Twitter and its symbolic creation of meaning comes from the work of Brock (2012), who reshapes the conversation on digital divide research to focus on the over-representation of African American internet usage through mobile devices. Digital divide research assumes a stratified distribution in the access to, use of, or impact of information and communication technologies based on factors including class and race. Where digital divide research claim poor and working-class African Americans had a lack of access to the internet, Brock's work argues that Black people access and engage in the internet in culturally distinct ways. Notably, the Black working class typically access the internet through mobile devices mediated through social networking applications.

Overall, Twitter's original publishing format was structured similarly to short message service (SMS) text messages, allowing users to share 140-character messages or "Tweets." As of September 2017, Twitter has since modified the interface to allow 280 characters. Twitter's interface is designed differently for various types of clients and PC or mobile hardware. However, across all types, Twitter shares a scaled-back design intended for ease of use. Its application program interface (API) initially was open to third-party integration and partly responsible for its rapid growth (Makice 2009) and its unregulated racism (Noble 2018; Peterson 2014).

As illustrated in Chapter 3, digital activism refocuses attention towards communicative cultural production, the framing process, and the construction of movement identities. Black activists use African American cultural tradition to communicate emancipatory hope to critique structures of power, pass along strategies and tactics for resistance, and to generate hope as a resource by performing play.

Definition of Terms

Neoliberalism

It is hard to discuss the digital's impact on social movements without first discussing neoliberalism's embeddedness in the construction of digital space and engagement. There are four dominant perspectives in the analysis of social movements: collective behavior; resource mobilization; the political process; and new social movements. None of these approaches are homogeneous and thus are not easily distinguishable. These approaches are less like schools of thoughts but rather a shared focus on theoretical questions. The question here -- does the offering on social movement thinking still hold usefulness through a neoliberal political context? -- drives this section

of the essay. To answer, I first offer an understanding of neoliberalism conceptualized primarily through the thinking of David Harvey's economic/political concept (2007), Michel Foucault's concept of Biopolitics (2010), and Randy Martin's, The Financialization of Daily Life (2002).

Neoliberalism as Economic/Political

Harvey's conceptualization of neoliberalism is not hegemonic, but fundamentally leaves people to their own devices through austerity measures (Ritzer 2000). Neoliberalism is a seductive theory, which is enticed further through American ideas of freedom and human dignity. While tempting, Harvey denounces the concept as flawed in theory and destructive in practice. He argues neoliberalism has as its political project the re-establishment of conditions for capital accumulation and restore the power of economic elites that fails to achieve its utopian ideals. It still serves as a justification for the redistribution of wealth towards the elite; what Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession" (2007:19).

Neoliberalism seduces with the all-encompassing ideas of freedom through the tools of free markets, free trade, and minimal government interference -- except to guarantee currency and enforce the right to private property.

Harvey casts the economic elite in opposition to the working class, arguing the elite force economic crises as a way of controlling and restricting the rights and wages of the working class. This, along with the manipulation of the government to restrict public goods and services, forces a surplus of labor therein driving down wages and causes division within the working class. In the digital environment, this is evident in the rise of

freelance labor, including digital content producers that leverage personal popularity for commercial gain.

Neoliberalism as Biopolitical

Michel Foucault's assessment of neoliberalism engages a slowly building process taking place in the post-World War II reconstruction of Germany and the wake of the United States' New Deal. Foucault sees government, in general, operating from a Raison d'Etat, which establishes the state as both the object and the instrument of governmental practice (2010:4). Thus, strengthening the state becomes the guiding principle of government, including the principles of mercantilist economics, police as an unlimited system of internal management, and permanent military-diplomatic apparatus.

Limits to government come from a juridical challenge to Raison d'Etat and the political economy. The juridical challenge proposes the law must set limits to the sovereign power by contract theory or by natural law. The opposition always takes a legal challenge, consequently using juridical reflection, legal rules, and legal authority against it (2010:9).

The second limiting factor of Raison d'Etat, the political economy, emerges not as an external challenge to Raison d'Etat, but rather as a principle of limitation. No longer external to the art of government, the political economy becomes an internal regulation of governmental rationality (2010:10). A political economy does not develop in opposition of Raison d'Etat but within the principle of governmental reason to maximize wealth in the context of competition between states. The political economy is central to liberalism as a new regime of truth alternative to Raison d'Etat. Government is never adequately

aware of the risks of governing too much. Foucault sees this as the logical answer to the limitless nature of internal governing (2010:17). This is particularly evident in the debates around data algorithms in the function of the police state.

This tension between the police state and the political economy manifests itself in the form of freedom versus security. Freedom is the relation between governors and governed, in which the measure of too little existing freedom is given by the "even more" freedom demanded. A liberal government is a consumer of freedom insomuch as it produces particular kinds of freedom, especially market, speech, and possibly expression (2010:63). The companies behind the social media platforms have assisted the state in surveillance and resisted the state on the grounds of freedom within these parameters.

Illustrating the primary difference between liberalism and neoliberalism, as the object of liberalism's work is to set the conditions for a free market within an already established political society; where neoliberalism is focused on how the overall exercise of political power can be modeled on the principles of a market economy producing market logic (2010:131). Market logic has blurred the lines between marketing (the frequency of likes, retweets, and engagement) with political power. Users within social media environments with high follower counts and engagement wield an extraordinary political power of amplification and taste-making.

Neoliberalism as Market Language

Neoliberalism has a distinct impact on everyday life. In Randy Martin's, *The Financialization of Daily Life* (2002), one way neoliberalism advances is through financialization, the economy is connected to everyday life (2002:15). This occurs most

evidently through the vehicle of development. Figured as neutral, malevolent, benevolent, or utopian, financialization represents a colonizing of the daily life of middle-class Americans (2002:37). Financialization entails the proliferation of money talk, financial self-management, from media permeates the home, so economics organizes both labor and its reproduction (2002:194). Materially, familiar economic strategies and practices become muddled under the financial gaze, and the relationship between people and things are broken down and reassembled (2002:11). Taken together, these processes are transforming the home, so what was a source of security is now a source of risk (2002:31)[2]. Within digital engagement, this can look like individuals treating the self as brands focused on personalization and standing out from the crowd.

Taken together, this has led to the foreshortening of utopian space and time. Middle-class utopian projections have combined well with elements of capitalist development, and in some ways, financialization is no exception. Several of the texts Martin explores new economics and internet technologies with a more or less utopian gloss. Just as financial markets displace the old geography of imperialism by colonizing the home, they also dislocate the familiar temporal orientation of the Protestant ethic, which money and possessions are accumulated for a better (and ontologically discrete) future. Thus, capitalism, in general, promises future benefits such as growth and increased satisfaction. Martin concludes that the middle (class) has lost the promise of

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[2] Martin distinguishes opportunities for radical thought and intervention in the spectacle of financialization, not just for prescriptive criticisms of capitalist methods, but for making explicit use of a covertly socializing disruption that "brings people together only to seem to take away what they thought they possessed" (2002:16).

utopia. This relates to marginalized access to middle-class utopian ideas, and the acquisition of respectability -- a sudden disillusion of access of the middle-class promise – by changing the aggrieved group's perception of the social contract with the social norms (2002:170). Emancipatory hope then becomes a critique of the multitude of positions on neoliberalism, resisting the financialization logic, empty promises, and over-policing of the self.

Hope/Joy/Play

Centering emancipation shifts our focus from abstract power to domination (Boltanski 2011). African Americans hold a unique relationship to emancipation in the American project as it has been a collective futurist project since the first Africans were brought in the slave ships. The first afrofuturist project was the dream of freedom, the second was the hope for justice and in times of absolute domination, that call was limited to a prayer. Black theology rejects a god who is not aligned with the goals of the Black community (Cone 2010). African Americans have reclaimed and appropriated physical and metaphysical tools available to them for collective liberation.

Emancipation as an afrofuturist project of hope is found within the text of Frederick Douglass. In his description of his time enslaved, Douglass talks fondly of the risk assumed in teaching his fellow enslaved men and women. He talks the pleasure found in the love the collective found through the practice of liberating the mind and hopes of bodily liberation for some, writing:

> "Every moment they spent in that school, they were liable to be taken up, and given thirty-nine lashes. They came because they wished to learn. Their minds had been starved by their cruel masters. They had been shut up in mental darkness. I taught them, because it was the delight of my soul to be doing

> something that looked like bettering the condition of my race… And I have the happiness to know, that several of those who came to Sabbath school learned how to read; and that one, at least, is now free through my agency" (Douglass 1845).

Within justice and power scholarship, hope is a concept that is often used, and we must go back to the foundational text within theology and philosophy to define it. The discipline of education supplies a strategy for discussing a praxis of hope (hooks, 2003; Van Heertum 2006). Hope is future-oriented, requiring one to "dwell in the region of the not-yet, a place where entrance and, above all, final content are marked by an enduring indeterminacy (Bloch 1959:69)." From a philosophical perspective, hope provides an alternative method for critique as it is a "collective consciousness of front" concerned with dreams of utopia (Bloch 1959:9).

The question addressed here is: 1) how does hope move from theory to praxis; 2) thinking through hope as a resource, how does hope develop? In the face of dominance, a "praxis of justice rooted in a Black cultural experience must also be rooted in a praxis of hope" (Massingale 2010). In times of peak mobilization, hope is often linked to struggle when it is in the act of activism (Ransby 2018). As Anderson writes, "in and through such suffering there is an exchange of powers, capacities of worth and value that issue in faith, hope and love, not because of evil and suffering but as co-present in suffering" (2008:108). The African American cultural tradition is ~~a~~ collectively focused as Blacks sing and dance in hush harbors, churches, or in night clubs not so much to find God, moving from individual psychic strain to a collective where systems of psychological support can form (Brown 1998). In this sense emancipatory hope is collectively framed even as the digital pushes toward hyper specialization and individualization.

However, where does hope to come from in times of abeyance? In examining catharsis and pleasure in video games, David J. Leonard explores the role of critical play in producing hope (Leonard 2019). Play is the act of improvisation in order to strengthen the imagination to break down barriers. Critical play frames the transformative potential of radical play design that promotes critical thought (Flanagan 2009). The linkage of play to hope is consistent with how hope develops within Black cultural production. Everyday hope is produced in mundane sites of play within Black common practices. As Brock notes:

> "Resistance in and of itself does not make a life worth living… While racism and white supremacist ideology defines the milieus in which I move through, they are not the entirety of my existence. Resistance alone is not capable of creating the surplus resources necessary to have a full life. These can only be created in moments where we are allowed to dream to dance to cry or to feel joy" (Brock 2017).

Not to create an intellectual slippage, Brock articulates play as a component of joy, where play serves a limited immediate function that is helpful for neurological, emotional, and social development.[3] Play can work discursively to destabilize meaning and identity to re-center Blackness (Brock 2012; Florini 2013). Play not only originates from but creates surplus resources that may be useful on subsequent occasions (Burghardt 2005).[4]

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[3] Play has been frivolous and light-hearted but can also be dangerous, aggressive, or destabilizing. We look to cyberbullying as an example of play in this context.

[4] Brock argues that the ratchetry and foolishness, sites of play for Black Twitter, are the sources that the organizing body Black Lives Matter originates from (Wilderson 2010).

Whereas the prevalent framework for the study of social movements owes its genealogy to critical political economy, it limits the capacity to understand the value of the structure of feelings in social movements. This is due to preferences towards studying oppression and resistance through labor, state, and the public sphere leaving behind the study of cultural commodities as artifacts and audience commodities as cultural collectivities (Brock 2017; Mosco 2008). Moving away from, or at least offering a theoretical juxtaposition, I offer the libidinal economy as an alternative way of thinking through Black political organizing. The libidinal economy closely links the role of desire, disappointment and regular capitalist reinvention in the economic exchange (Kenway et al. 2013).Shifting to a libidinal economy requires the thinking through of flows of investments of emotional energy powering the machinations of political economy (Goodwin 1997; Lyotard 2004). The centering of Black women's libidinal economy is consistent with Black feminist epistemology, making Black women's desires and bodies as a source of knowledge (Morgan 2015). The libidinal economy of Black digital practice then produces frames and networks useful when it is no longer a game. It is in the practice of play that helps generate joy and frameworks of hope in times of abeyance.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2: Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss the research design, beginning with a review of the research questions followed by the study design. Then I provide context for using Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis (CTDA) in a big data using a methodological triangulation approach. Next, I describe the participants used for the study, data sources,

data collection, and data analysis. Finally, I discuss the relevant ethical considerations and assumptions, delimitation, and limitations.

Chapter 3: Online Digital Media Framing Process & Cultural Production

Using a big data approach to CTDA, I examine Black activists' constructions and utilization of hope for political action through shared artifacts of engagement across Twitter. By engaging both the interface of Twitter, its uses, and significant cultural practices along with a content analysis of Black activists' online discussion, I identified the technocultural political framing of the current Movement for Black lives. I argue that hope becomes a vehicle by which African Americans pass along strategies and tactics for liberation through technocultural practice. I conceptualize these findings as emancipatory hope, a utopian expectation of the collective capacity for dismantling race, class, and gender dominance.

In making this argument, I examined the frame alignment process and social construction of movement identities as a proxy to discuss the way activist culture functions online within the continuity model.

Chapter 4: Offline Interview & Participant Observation Crafting of Hope, Collective Action and Cultural Production

To triangulate the findings of the previous chapter, I explored the backgrounds and lived experiences of activists and campaigns. Within the first section, I conducted in-depth interviews with activists representing both local and national constituencies. I examined their relationship to their commonly held campaign of the development and passing of the Neighborhood Engagement Achieves Results (NEAR) Act. In the second section, I explored findings from participant observations from a local campaign to end

money bail. I unpack the crafting of activists identities, their experiences with success and failures, and future direction of the Movement for Black Lives.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In the closing chapter, I synthesized the findings, analyses, and interpretations of the previous chapters. In particular, I discussed the implications of the research for social movements, framing process, specifically what this research tells us about Black activist cultural production, social movement theorizing, and the relationship between everyday discourses in relationship to political mobilization. I also detailed what this research demonstrates about identity making in regard to movement identities used to galvanize collectives towards particular agendas.

CHAPTER 2

Crafting CTDA for Big Data

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for this mixed method study regarding what are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance. This approach allowed for a deeper understanding of Black activists discourses both on and offline about the collective action framework of emancipatory hope.

Research Questions

This study sought to provide a methodological approach to answer what are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance? How does emancipatory hope get operationalized under times of abeyance? What is the role of the digital in the continuity of Black social movements, specifically constructing framing tasks and movement identities? How does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism?

Methods Triangulation: Problematic Algorithms, Black Digital Discourse, and the Everyday

Methodologically, the core aim of this research aims to understand common conceptualizations and praxis of hope in modern Black-led movements. As Black users over-index on Twitter due to their over-representation compared to other racial groups (Delo 2013), this requires a methodological approach that can take into account both the platform itself, cultural production found within the space, and theoretical accommodations for the ways power manifests within the digital structure and social

interactions online[5]. To achieve such a task, I adopted Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis (CTDA) for a big data approach to analyze both the discourse of Twitter, the platform itself, and the collective repertoire that informs the cultural production. Understanding CTDA was originally conceptualized as a close data qualitative approach and the ethical issues with using algorithms; I used a triangulation of methods to strengthen the analysis derived from online discourse and to provide context to activism that has both an online and offline presence. Employing a constant comparative grounded theory approach, the methodological triangulation includes supervised machine learning discourse analysis of Twitter data, in-depth interviews, and participant observations will utilize (Charmaz 2006; Glaser and Strauss 1967).

The use of methodological triangulation remedies a tension which exists between the need to collect data at a large enough scale to understand the everyday and the understood racial and gender bias found in both the social media platform used (Garcia 2016; Noble 2018) and the software tools used for analysis (Gianfrancesco et al. 2018). Algorithmic bias in the data can occur at multiple layers, including absorbing the racial

[5] Taken from Pew Research: Twenty-six percent of Black internet users surveyed said they used Twitter, compared to 14% of white users and 19% of Hispanics. (In 2010, Pew reported that 13% of black internet users, 5% of white users and 18% of Hispanics were using on Twitter.) Blacks and Latinos also over-index on Instagram with 23% and 18% of black and Latino internet users respectively use Instagram, compared to 11% of whites. Pinterest is the whitest social platform at 18% percent, compared to 8% of Blacks and 10% of Hispanics. Twitter is most popular among urban dwellers with 20% of people living in urban areas use Twitter, compared to 14% in the suburbs and 12% in rural areas. Pinterest is more popular among better-off people with 23% of users with household income between $50,000 and $74,999, as well as 18% of people who make more than that. Just 10% of people who make under $30,000 use it (Delo 2013).

and gender bias of the programmer and their coding or bias embedded in the data processed.

Opponents of big data social media analysis have argued the problem of sampling Twitter data as the group is not a randomly selected reflection of the U.S. population (Tufekci 2014). In the Equity Evaluation Corpus, a collection of sentences collected to evaluate race and gender bias in natural language processing systems' analysis of sentiment, found bias in 75% of the 219 systems used to analyze gender and race with higher bias found in race analysis (Kiritchenko and Mohammad 2018). Recent studies include similar patterns of racial bias in the natural language processing systems trained to analyze human-written texts (Bolukbasi et al. 2016; Caliskan, Bryson, and Narayanan 2017). My work is significant as it attempts to provide a solution to the methodological problem by discursively providing validity checks and training to the algorithms used in natural language processing systems.

With my inability to remedy the bias found within my digital tools for analysis through producing my algorithmic tools, I chose to use a mixed method or methodological triangulation approach to remedying both data collection and analytical bias (Burns and Grove 1997). In the following section, I articulate the research design used for this study. I use a methodological triangulation, including multiple data types and methods for cross-checking for the internal consistency (Denzin 2017; Hussein 2009). Doing so allowed me the ability to use offline data to check for the consistency of analytical tools not designed initially to understand Black discursive practices. I also provide an extensive review of CTDA and my treatment of the methodology, as it is still a relatively new methodology.

I employed and triangulated three methods to examine my research questions -- supervised machine learning, in-depth interviews, and participant observations. Each method selected was utilized concurrently, aiding to build a more accurate understanding of Black discursive practices and training of machine algorithm. Findings from each method informed the questions or insights gathered from another. Through the in-depth interviews, I was able to probe in-depth around themes that emerged from the findings derived from supervised machine-learning of social media data. Participant observation provided an on-the-ground view of how Black social movement actors embody and perform hope as an act.

Research Design: Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis of Twitter

CTDA is a methodological approach for the study of digital phenomena that integrates analysis of the technocultural artifact such as, blogs (Brock, Kvasny, and Hales 2010; Steele 2017), Twitter (Brock 2012; Maragh 2017), Tumblr (Cho 2017), and online communities (Brock 2008; Lawson 2017); with user discourse framed through critical cultural theory such as Critical Race Theory(Brock 2016). CTDA affords the analysis of both the Black activists' content of Twitter through an intersectional collective action frame alignment perspective that provides space for a critical lens on race, class, and social movements; and an analysis of how the structure and services of Twitter contribute to the content generated within its platform.

CTDA and Discourse Versus Content Analysis

As articulated by Brock, CTDA is useful for both discourse and content analysis (2016). However, to date, research done from this methodology weighs heavily in favor of discourse analysis. Consequently, I argue CTDA lends itself at best to a

content/discourse analysis hybrid or mix method approach versus a traditional content analysis. Content analysis is a "systematic reading of texts and symbolic matter not necessarily from an author's or user's perspective" (Krippendorff 2004:25). Content analysis lends itself to large data sets, tracking for themes with prepared codes. Discourse analysis focuses more on the representation of text providing the necessary context for which CTDA is reliant upon (Brock 2016:1016; Krippendorff 2004:16). Within this approach, codes are generated within the process of analysis. The production of context necessary for discourse analysis is something not necessarily represented in content analysis. In short, content analysis discovers what is while discourse explores why an inquiry essential for the application of CTDA.

Traditionally, content analysis is used for large datasets, while discourse analysis gets utilized for more close readings. CTDA requires producing cultural analysis and context that comes from the close reading of the text, which can be difficult when negotiating such large datasets and qualitative analysis software. I propose narrowing discourse methods to web content analysis as articulated by Herring (2010). Within this paradigm, web content analysis (WebCA) produces "language-focused content analysis supplemented by a toolkit of discourse analysis methods adapted from the study of spoken conversation and written text analysis" (2010:5). WebCA was originally designed to aid in the study of blogs, WebCA can extend to Twitter: 1) as a microblogging site, and 2) as a space of spoken conversation.

CTDA Analytic Strategy: Analysis of Twitter

In this research, I used NVivo 12, to do line-by-line coding to pinpoint key phrases and keywords associated with their understandings of hope. Afterward, I

organized the data into emergent themes and identify correlations between them in a manner consistent with a constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz 2011). In other words, I am using grounded theory to learn about participants' views, not to apply a set of rules on them as pure data.

In isolating and publishing specific tweets, I chose to view each tweet as political statements made in the public square. There is no way to guarantee anonymity beyond the platforms structure and user agreement considering that having the body of the tweet alone is enough information to conduct a reverse search on Twitter's platform and locate the username and chosen avatar. In some cases, I, as a user of a given social media platform, may violate the platforms user agreement if I attempt to anonymize an individual post beyond what the platform itself allows. As a result I considered 1) the harm of public discourse to the individual user; 2) the risk of context collapse from the perspective of the reader; 3) the positions aby social media companies; 4) best ethical practices agreed upon adopted amongst the field of internet researchers towards the use of data generated on various networks (Williams et al. 2017, Lannin and Scott 2013).

To examine these questions, I employed content analysis of Twitter data, including sentiment analysis, time series analysis, and network analysis. Assisted by the Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities, I conducted a content analysis of 300,000 Tweets for this study. Data represents 108 user accounts with eight men, 44 women, one self-identified trans woman, and 55 organizational accounts. On average, 2,880 Tweets were collected per user due to the restrictions placed on Twitter's API on data collection. Twitter restricts the number of Tweets that were captured at any one time, depending on network traffic. The dates range from February 2017 to August 2018.

Twitter's standard 140-character input during the first half of the data collection set allows for sentiment analysis. November of 2017, Twitter expanded its character limit to 280 characters. The additional character affordances changed how users communicate within the platform. The expanded limit changed how users abbreviate words and craft sentences. Also, the longer format creates a different micro-blogging experience closer to traditional blogs or Facebook post. The change in a format meant paying particular attention to coding relevant abbreviated content in the first half to match the long form spelling of the words. It should be noted that this step was not new to the process but given more emphasis and that the culture of abbreviating words still exists on the platform after the character expansion.

The scale of the data allowed me to identify attitudes towards the events during Trump's presidency. A time-series analysis allowed insights as to what real-time events triggered specific organizing activities. A network analysis helped to understand the connections between people and digital campaigns better.

It was also important to recognize the digital as an ethnographic site engaged in the routine, movement, and sociality (Beneito-Montagut, Begueria, and Cassián 2017; Postill and Pink 2012). It was important not only to collect data after the phenomenon has passed but to engage the community in "real time" and live with my data to provide context for the nuances of interaction where possible. My approach to digital ethnography centers the five guiding principles of multiplicity, digital de-centeredness, openness, reflexivity, and unorthodoxy as articulated by Pink et al. (2015).

Multiplicity refers to the multiple ways to engage with the digital, meaning we need to take into account the physical infrastructures, digital platforms, and rules of engagement that make sociality possible in online space. In undertaking a digital de-centered approach, I focused on how the platform is inseparable from the broader sense of everyday life for those who engage in the platform. For engaging Black Twitter, it was necessary to note the highly visible yet undervalued relationship between the community and traditional media outlets.

Openness contends that I acknowledge and take into account how my digital ethnography is always a collaborative process. I recognize how the production of knowledge and ways of knowing, occur with others and not as an isolated researcher. I test my findings against the knowledge and perceptions of the people within the community. This speaks to the labor involved in the discursive nature of the methodological approach as the analysis oscillates among each of the methods. Not only were the communities interviewed and observed sources of data, but also provided labor in the field in validating codes discovered in technocultural analysis.

In following a reflexive principle, I, as a digital ethnographer, reflect on my relationship to the production of knowledge in an environment of digital-material-sensory. This principle extends into reflexively referring back to the in-depth interview, participant observation data, and digital ethnography to verify the insights produced through a content analysis of the social media data.

Finally, the principle of unorthodoxy requires digital ethnographers to take a critical epistemological lens of the accepted forms of communicating. For my analysis

within Black Twitter communities, this means acknowledging the importance of visual culture and the duality of meaning and play. For me, as a researcher, that requires including visual data in my analysis but also consider visual examples to invoke the intended context and feeling.

Participant Observation

During participant observation at meetings and conferences, field notes were taken. Following each observation, more detailed after-action notes were formulated. These notes were converted into analytic notes. Similar to the Twitter analysis and interviews, data were mined for themes and associations. Participant observation allowed me to see how concepts manifest in organized events and casual conversation.

Participant Observation Descriptives: The End Money Bail Campaign

From June 2017 through December 2018, approximately 16 months, I conducted participant observation with grassroots organizers running a localized campaign of the National Bail Out, which is a multi-organizational effort from organizations affiliated with the Movement for Black Lives umbrella focused on the abolishment of the money bail system that disproportionately impacts poor Black people. The campaign occurs in three phases: 1) at the policy level, focused on the district attorney and judge elections; 2) with campaigns to bail Black people out of jail including National Bail Out Days, #FreeBlackMamas, and #EndMoneyBail; 3) campaigns to hold corporations accountable. The size of the event varied with the smallest meeting comprised of 40 participants and the largest with an attendance of approximately 300. On average, campaign gatherings occur about once a month. The campaign is relevant for this study as its one of the major

campaigns to maintain its activity from Obama through the Trump era. The campaign also has both a local, state and national focus which allows for analysis at multiple scales.

During the timeframe of my monthly observations, I attended #EndMoneyBail and #FreeBlackMamas events in the U.S. Mid-Atlantic and eastern area. Activities were primarily tabled hors d'oeuvre events; academic and social justice-focused conferences; and community-led political campaign events. Also, some informal gatherings happened before or after the events in the metropolitan space close to the event location. Participants ranged in age from mid-to-late 20s to early 60s with the majority of participants in their late 30s to mid-40s. The majority of the events focused on first-time attendees, which in turn shaped the interaction between participants.

Gatherings were primarily organized by an individual national organization with local organizations working in co-sponsorship. The ages of the organizational members ranged primarily in their late 20s to early 30s. The age of the membership is an important observation, as I was able to associate the variety of marketing strategies to each age demographic.

At academic conferences related to race and social justice, topics focused on raising funds on-site and awareness. At regional political events, the focus was primarily on empathy, community expansion, narrative sharing, and local political candidates and ballot initiatives.

Participant Observation Analytic Strategy

I approached participant observations as a community member and outsider. As a community member, I was welcomed into the activities, treated as a potential recruit, and

able to share in the experiences. As an outsider, I actively observed the structure of the events, conversational themes, interaction patterns, and demographic patterns.

I would take field notes in a notepad when possible. After events, I would type longer descriptive memos describing the type of event, location, the physical layout of the space, the sequence of events, who was there, and their interactions. I would also record voice memos immediately after leaving the scene. After detailing the observations, I would then analyze my notes, including interrogating my observations and logging any observable similarities and differences between messaging between each activity. Finally, I would note any questions or themes that required follow up.

In-Depth Interviews

From September 2018 to February 2019, I conducted 25 interviews with local Washington, D.C. and nationally based activists. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with Black activists affiliated with the Movement for Black Lives in the Mid-Atlantic area in order to understand how social justice activists remain committed to the goals of social justice organizations even in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds, particularly how their conceptualizations of hope may aid them in that commitment. Whereas the supervised machine-learning techniques initially provided insights into these experiences, the in-depth interviews provide more vibrant and more detailed responses. The in-depth interviews also afforded a reflexive process for the participants to think through the activist identity-making process, organizational successes and failures, and views on audience and community. Through the in-depth interviews, I gained a sense of the passive and active processes engaged during the abeyance process, which were not apparent through digital media analysis.

The in-depth interview guide was divided into six sections (see Appendix A). In section 1, *background,* I probed for information regarding their involvement with activism, including organizational affiliations, tenure, and role. I also explored the origin story of their identity as a movement participant.

In Section 2, I examined *personal identity.* I probed for contextual influences on racial, ethnic, and cultural identities. I also explored the distinction between activist and organizer identities. I asked their insights in regard to their relationship to the local, national, international movement for Black Lives. This section addresses the literature on "movement identities" (Snow et al. 2013) as well as how the frame alignment process (Snow et al. 1986).

Section 3 explores *collective identity* and the concept of the real meaning of the movement (Peters 2014). I probed questions related to their views on the Movement for Black Lives' role in American democracy. I ask participants to discuss how their collective identity has changed in the transition from President Obama to Trump. I also asked what the election of Donald Trump meant to the people they organize with. To explore fragmentation and commitment to the ideology of the movement, I asked, in responding to the shifting political landscape under Trump what were the core internal debates within activist communities (Peters 2018; Rupp and Taylor 1987). Finally, I asked participants for their opinion on the similarities and differences of the current Movement for Black Lives from previous eras of Black political organizing.

Section 4 explores the participants' *experience* with political organizing. I probed for experiences of their successes and failures in accomplishing organizational goals.

Further, my follow-up included questions regarding their perseverance in the face of failures and internal frustrations. Related to the next series of questions, I asked about their frustrations with the communities they serve, and the role social media played in resolving or exacerbating tensions. Finally, I asked a series of questions related to their experience with self-care, including what factors prompt them to take a step back; what activities they partake in for self-care; and how do they know when to jump back in.

The final section probes the *influences* of the participants. I examined the people that influence their political thinking and activism. Related to my thinking on abeyance formations and Black feminism as emancipatory knowledge, I asked what readings have influenced their thinking and activist involvement (Collins 2013, 2017).

In-Depth Interview Descriptives

Eighty percent of interviewees identified as women (n=20). The mean age was 32, with a range of 24 to 58. Seventy-two percent (n=18) identified as being actively involved with ongoing movement work. Seventy-six percent (n=19) identified as having a bachelor's degree. Twenty-four percent (n=6) had a graduate or professional degree. Twenty percent (n=5) reported an income of less than $18,000. Sixty-eight percent (n=17) reported income of $18,000-29,999, twelve percent (n=3) reported $30,000-49,999. Respondents had a range of professional experiences including education, law, social work, independent broadcast and print media, and federal employment.

The gender breakdown reflects the overall participation with Mid-Atlantic activists' communities. The gender and age breakdown also reflects the prominence of mid-twenties Black women in physical space and is consistent with the scholarship

claiming an over-indexing of Black women in online space (Olteanu, Weber, and Gatica-Perez 2015).

Sampling Procedure

All interviews were conducted in-person (n=25). Interviewing activists based in various locations within the United States allowed me to secure respondents who may have had different experiences based on local political dynamics. All interviewees were over the age of 21 to ensure respondents could reflect upon their personal and political formation in early life. Recruiting adults increased the probability that respondents had reflected on long-term cultural explorations and collective identity.

Due to the sampling techniques and how interviews were conducted, it is likely that respondents were aware of my status as "activist adjacent." Given the restrictive nature of Black activist groups, my associations with activists aided recruitment. In several cases, respondents explicitly stated that my status as a Black social movement scholar was the reason they agreed to the interview.

There are certain limitations to the sampling procedure and the retrospective nature of the data. First, using Black activists' networking groups for participant recruitment, it is possible that the sample is not reflective of the entire activist community, particularly regarding collective identity exploration and formation. Second, the use of retrospective data calls into question the role of how memory loss, social desirability, and reinterpretation of experiences may impact the given accounts. However, retrospective viewpoints can also provide valuable insight generally not available to activists during the moment. The distance from past events, actions, and feelings can also

provide more comfort for adoptees to disclose sensitive personal information. Finally, my shared racial status as an African American of similar age assisted in the recruitment process; it also had implications in regards to the interview process and analysis. For example, in some cases, respondents' assumptions about our shared cultural discursive style, response to shared experiences to racial trauma, and race relations meant I had to carefully interrogate these areas so the respondent would divulge details and meaning. I remained self-reflexive about my potential biases throughout the data collection, analysis, and the writing process in order to mitigate any effects on this research.

In-Depth Interview Analytic Strategy

Transcripts were coded line by line using a grounded theory approach, where each line was examined inductively for salient themes and frames (Charmaz 2014). Next, the literature on collective action frames and collective identities were used to develop a deductively designed framework. The transcripts were then revisited and re-coded to identify both the deductively and inductively produced frames. Throughout the coding process, analytic memos were writing to expand upon the patterns that emerged (Charmaz 2011).

Coding Scheme

Coding of transcripts was completed in the order of the interviews conducted, allowing the researcher to reflect upon and edit the interview questions as theories began to emerge from the data. Coding was used to aid in interpreting the perspectives of the participants and in analyzing their combined experiences. Codes were created during the research process, based on the data, to analyze the data (Urquhart 2012). Coding was

administered by hand and machine-assisted using NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software.

Coding that was uniform with a grounded theory approach helped focus the interview analysis on the experience of the participants in a structured way. Coding helped to prevent overemphasizing the importance of any one aspect early in the study and helped to ensure a thorough analysis of the entire interview (Charmaz 2011; Stake 2010).

As each phase of coding began, it was essential to continue reviewing the data in prior phases so that connections were continually being made until saturation occurred. Coding in phases occurred consistent with Urquart's open, selective, and theoretical coding phase (2013). I coded line-by-line within the open coding phase of each interview. I am transitioning to selective coding after major themes emerged from the open codes.

The final phase of theoretical coding refers to the return to the open and selective coding phases to discover what theories emerge. Here this becomes an important part of the method triangulation as it also allows for accountability of the algorithms used in machine learning processes on African American discursive practices.

In coding my field notes, I included specifics such as day, date, and time, along with a simple coding system for keeping track of entries. I also included reflections on and about my subjects' moods, personal reactions, and random thoughts to aid in recapturing details of rituals not written down. The goal of the coding here is to construct a model of culture from multiple participants' viewpoints instead of reporting an absolute

truth. I crafted an outline based on the information collected then created narrative briefs based on the event scene (Spradley 2016).

A computer-assisted qualitative software, NVivo 12, was used to aid in data management and analysis process. The software also facilitated query keywords for comparison with manually coded categories and themes. For transcribed data, NVivo 12 was not used as a primary coding source and was only used in the context of solidifying data analysis. For social media analysis, NVivo 12's auto coding function for metadata was used, including geotagging, timestamp, and tweet id.

Findings suggest the collective action frame of emancipatory hope is salient across Twitter and offline observations. Emancipatory hope functions to create framing task and movement identities to create positive moral or to mobilize for action. Findings from both the digital ethnography and offline participant observations showed that as much as hope is a framing vehicle, it is also a concept of praxis and resource. Emancipatory hope maintains an element of critique to oppressive regimes, including the state at both national and local levels.

Ethical Concerns

Ethics remained a core concern throughout this study. Following the methods outlined in this study was crucial to ensuring the validity of the study. The informed consent form, read to each participant before the interview, can be found in the Appendix C. The letter of Informed Consent follows U.S. federal guidelines, as outlined by Frankfort-Nachmias et al. (2008), including an explanation of procedures; a description of risks reasonably expected; a description of benefits that can reasonably be expected; an

offer of inquiry regarding the procedures; and instructions for withdrawal if participants deemed it to be necessary. While the risk to human subjects was minimal, all participants were over 21 and did not display any impaired cognitive capacity. All digitally recorded audio will remain stored with encryption for five years, minimizing any future risk related to confidentiality.

It is important to note that while this project uses supervised machine learning and algorithms to conduct part of the study, algorithms, much like any social construction, influence and are influenced by interlocking systems of oppression. The use of algorithms in the analysis is often situated within a "grand digital utopia" narrative that becomes a weapon of a "subjugation package" in the language of color-blindness (Noble 2018). What we do know is that the gatekeepers to modern algorithms have overwhelmingly been white libertarian men who embedded their racial and gender biases in their algorithms, while holding on to as much personal freedom as permitted (Broussard 2019). Re-address here looks like three options:1) design my own algorithm; 2) find culturally appropriate algorithms 3) design a system of checks in my research designed to mitigate racialized damage done by my use of pre-existing algorithms. The issues stemming from my lack of literacy and pipeline access for other critical race-conscious scholars means option one and two are unattainable even if it is more desirable.

Summary

The intention of this chapter was to outline the research method used to interrogate the research questions. A discussion of the procedures, study participants, data collections, and interview questions outlined the specifics of how the study was conducted and who participated in the study. A constructivist-grounded theory

methodology was used to develop a methodological triangulation of the data. All study participants contributed to the concept of emancipatory hope by sharing their experiences in activist spaces and their perspectives of what helped them stay motivated during times of abeyance. Chapter 3 will explore the findings and demonstrate the methodology described in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3

The Technocultural Discourse of Hope

> Hope is possibility. Hope is confidence and bravery, because to have hope, it's always hope. Being a Black activist, hope is in spite of everything that we've seen and everything that we endure. For me, hope is bravery.
>
> Hope is seeing young people dance at a protest. Hope is singing and catching the beat in the middle of the street where there are police surrounding you.
>
> That is hope, because joy and possibility, in spite of oppression.
>
> -Southeast DC Activist

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is how Black activists use Twitter to carry on Black cultural traditions for the effort of collective action. In particular, I look at how Black activists conceptualize and perform hope in the highly surveilled digital public. Specifically, I ask: 1) how do Black activists conceptualize hope; 2) how do Black activists use Twitter to communicate ideas of hope and survival;3) and how does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism.

Applying an adaption of Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis (CTDA) (Brock 2016), I examine Black activists' constructions and utilization of hope as collective action frames for political action through shared artifacts of engagement across Twitter. CTDA is a methodological approach for the study of digital phenomena that integrates analysis of the technocultural artifact (Social media platform) and user discourse framed through cultural theory such as Critical Race Theory. By engaging both the interface of Twitter, its uses, and significant cultural practices along with a content

analysis of Black activists' online discussion, I identify the technocultural political framing of the current movement for Black lives. I argue that *hope* becomes a vehicle by which African Americans pass along tactics for liberation through technocultural practices. I conceptualize these findings as *emancipatory hope*, a utopian expectation of the collective capacity for dismantling race, class, and gender dominance. This research has implications for how we understand social movement theorizing by including a technoculture lens to the abeyance formation of social movement continuity theory.

Background

Since the first Africans found their way to the United States, Black people have always channeled Black expressive culture and available technologies to develop and maintain methods for political communication in public space. These methods are used during abeyance periods as well as periods of explicit movement activity. As Robert Farris Thompson notes of the West African expression of "the cool," Black cultural expression privileges the capacity to be balanced amid chaos while being able to demonstrate control of political and social pressure (Thompson 1973). Thompson defines the aesthetic of the cool as a "deeply and complexly motivated, consciously artistic, and interweaving of elements serious and pleasurable, responsibility and play" (pg. 16). "The cool" serves as an interactional framework which permits access to Black cultural traditions.

For example, consider the year 1918. The United States at the end of World War I with African-American soldiers returning home to the reality that their country did not grant them the same rights they nearly died to give to others. Some of those who returned home found employment in one of the few jobs deemed respectable, such as railroad

porters who became known as Pullman porters. The Pullman porters were African American men hired to work on the railroad on sleeping cars after the Civil War. In this role, Pullman Porters were uniquely situated as travelers of the railroads and used that opportunity to transmit information for political mobilization secretly (Richardson 2016).

Alternatively, reflect on the Freedom Songs of the 20th century Civil Rights movement that used coded public discourse in the form of the adapted Spirituals of the 18th and 19th centuries. As local mobilizations began to develop, song leaders formed music corps such as the Nashville Quartet of the American Baptist Theological Seminary, which formed during the Nashville sit-ins of the 1960s. Slight changes of religious songs turned “Amen” to “Freedom” and “Old Time Religion" to "We Are Marching on to Victory” (Reagon 1987). African Americans have consistently applied their cultural practices to the available technologies to disseminate information, maintain a high commitment to movement activities, and produce collective emotions, beliefs, and actions.

The movement for Black survival in the era of the Black Lives Matter carries on the cultural practice of “signifyin’,” synonymous with Thompson’s concept of “the cool.” Black Lives Matter is the first political movement to consist of African Americans who were born or grew up in the “digital age”. This new era of activists draws upon the Black cultural tradition of signifyin by drawing upon cultural resources to engage social media platforms, specifically Facebook and Twitter to enact a performance of metaphorical play, vagueness, and duality of meanings produced simultaneously to communicate (Brock 2009; Florini 2013; Gates 1988).

"Black Twitter hashtag domination of the Trending Topics allowed outsiders to view Black discourse that was (and still is) unconcerned with the mainstream gaze" (Brock 2012). Can something that is named and claimed in public go as unbothered? When it comes to Black social movement discourse, I challenged CTDA by taking a more nuanced look at the gaze, specifically, activists' manipulation of the gaze. Referring back to the underpinning of W.E.B. Du Bois' double consciousness, I believe CTDA's usefulness within the study of activism is when we examine "Black identity [as] the intersection between Black communal solidarity and a national White supremacist ideology" (2012:532). Understanding the current Movement for Black Lives as centering a Black Feminist perspective, I argue Black social movement discourse is very much cognizant and mastering of the gaze in the tradition of "the cool." As bell hooks articulated, "Even in the worst circumstances of domination, the ability to manipulate one's gaze in the face of structures of domination that would contain it opens up the possibility of agency" (1992). Black activism on Twitter builds upon everyday use and manipulation of Twitter's discursive style as articulated in Brock's analysis of "Black Twitter" by using Black collective action-frames to capitalize on the political value of the gaze generated from Hashtag and Trending Topics (D. Freelon, McIlwain, and Clark 2016).

Focusing on Twitter, I ask: how do Black activists use social media technology to communicate ideas of hope and survival? In what follows, I apply an adaption of CTDA (Brock 2016) to argue that African American activists have utilized "signifyin'" practices to communicate emancipatory hope. During periods of social movement abeyance, like the one we are currently in, I suggest Black social movement actors use the framework of

emancipatory hope to pass emancipatory knowledge from one period of movement mobilization to the next technocultural practice. I conceptualized emancipatory hope as a utopian expectation of the collective capacity for dismantling race, class and gender dominance. I examined Black activists' constructions and utilization of hope for political action through shared artifacts of engagement across Twitter.

Collective action frames and Twitter

Identifying the ecology and structure of the Movement for Black Lives is particularly tricky due to organizational hybridity, on and offline, and its malleability over time (Chadwick 2017). The Movement for Black Lives mobilization occurs within both on and offline spaces. The utilization of various digital mobile technologies make distinguishing the relevance between on and offline discourse less clear, if relevant at all (Bennett and Segerberg 2012; Bimber, Flanagin, and Stohl 2012; Earl and Kimport 2011; Farman 2013). What is more apparent is that we must understand social media as a unique resource that transforms people's engagement in activism versus simply changing traditional forms of communication, moving from the logic of collective action to connective action (Lance Bennett and Segerberg 2013). I read current organizational dynamics as connective action because of the increasing influence of communication technology in the organizational structure; particularly, Twitter's capacity for personalized political engagement. Connective action reduces the need for symbolic construction of a collective "we," instead of focusing on a desire to be inclusive and the availability of open technologies. In Bennett and Segerberg's interpretation of connective action, digital media users contribute to movements through personalized expressions, rather than collective action organized through group identity. However, I disagree with

this interpretation as it lacks any critical race perspective, particularly as it relates to race- and gender-centered movements.

Research Design CTDA

While examining digital social movements' connective action, it is important not to assume a monolithic view of how Black activist communities access and engage online technologies. Furthermore, it is also essential to acknowledge that the systems of race, class, gender, and sexuality oppression affect people online in interconnected ways as well. Therefore, the study of how people collectively resist the matrix of domination using online spaces must center marginalized communities' engagement of online resources (Collins 1993). Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis offers the capacity for a comprehensive study of technology, collective identity work, and technological practice. CTDA affords the analysis of both the Black activists' content of Twitter through an intersectional collective action frame alignment perspective that provides space for a critical lens on race, class, and social movements; and an analysis of how the structure and services of Twitter contribute to the content generated within its platform (Brock 2016).

Data Collections

Similar studies focus on how Black activists discourses often are organized by either a hashtag (Brown et al. 2017; D. G. Freelon, McIlwain, and Clark 2016; Ray et al. 2017) or periods (De Choudhury et al. 2016). Each comes with its strengths and limitations. Hashtag research is considered able to study discourse in "real-time" and across space (Segerberg and Bennett 2011). "Hashtag studies" is particularly useful in the study of crisis (Mendoza, Poblete, and Castillo 2010; Palen et al. 2010), live event

tweeting (Everett 2015; Walsh 2014), and political controversies (Maireder and Schlögl 2014). However, restrictions placed by Twitter's API makes it challenging to situate findings in a broader ecological context (Burgess and Bruns 2015). This research attempts to understand the everyday nature of the collective action frame of hope. For this research, the assumed centrality of hashtags is insufficient as a core coordinating principle for interaction.

More than 300,000 Tweets were collected for this analysis. Data represent 108 user accounts with eight men, 44 women, one trans woman, and 55 organizational accounts. On average, 2,880 Tweets were collected per user due to the restrictions placed on Twitter's API on data collection. Twitter restricts the number of Tweets that were captured at any one time, depending on network traffic. This means the number of Tweets that were captured varied from page to page. I began with a purposive snowball sampling of known activists and their organizations. I found their members and allied organizations through official websites, and Twitter follows. Some user accounts' biographical statement self-identified their organizational or movement affiliations.

I found that, for understanding discourse that occurs both within and outside of hashtags and event specific occurrences, the best method is to trace activists' user accounts for patterns and context. This method produced challenges in identifying activists who appropriately represented the targeted movement. The Movement for Black Lives' most recognizable name is Black Lives Matter -- however, that naming can represent the movement, the organizational network, or merely be a rallying cry (D. G. Freelon et al. 2016). In certain situations, it is in and of itself a movement frame. For example, activist Deray McKesson has often voluntary gone on the record defining what

Black Lives Matter is while never identifying with or being accepted as a member of Black Lives Matter. The challenge here is attempting to be mindful of two tensions generated from a movement from a decentralized structure: 1) the naming of actors, events and intent; and 2) Protecting the original political messaging against the erasure that occurs when moving from Black political mobilization to multiculturalism (Garza 2014). I chose to focus my snowball sample on the Movement for Black Lives, a network of groups including Black Lives Matter, who initially organized in July 2015 on the campus of Cleveland State University in Ohio.

Data & Analytic Strategy

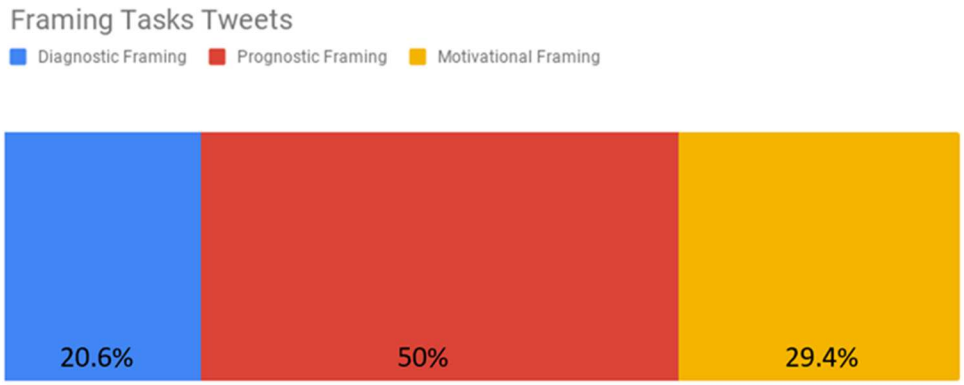
When coding the set of 300,000 Tweets described above, I included retweets and excluded duplicate Tweets. In analyzing the Tweets, I used "hope" and its generalizations to segment the dataset. Codes were generated both deductively and inductively after three rounds. The framing process of collective action served as my a priori coding scheme. The framing process centers on three framing tasks: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing (Benford and Snow 2000). The three interrelated process function to produce two desired outcomes: 1) consensus mobilization to encourage agreement; and 2) action mobilization to promote action. The frame of hope was used within each of the framing tasks.

I deductively coded for intent within the framing process. The resulting scheme used four codes -- explicit, implicit, action, and visual. The codes were co-occurring meaning a single tweet could represent multiple codes. In this context, to address what the frame of hope does, codes were then categorized by how they addressed the interrelated problems of consensus mobilization and action mobilization.

Findings: Frames of Hope

The framing process is a set of rhetorical tactics, in this case, "signifyin'" practices, to affect the alignment of collective and personal identity. Traditionally, research examining collective action frames has used small data qualitative methods to evaluate the communicative practice of activists. This research is significant as it channels digital humanities methods to push the humanistic analysis of everyday communication towards big data and the generalizable. Traditionally, cultural studies examine culture through personal level research. At best, what we can study is the individual's interpretation of macro-level culture. Machine learning analysis allows us to take particular micro-level techniques and apply them to the culture at the macro level. The analysis that follows presents as traditional small data qualitative approaches. However, peek under the hood and the pattern-based machine learning algorithms are used to look for existing coding patterns of previously coded data, resulting in greater assurances for analyzing a collective. Producing this type of work – tensions and all – becomes worth it and necessary to make clear to the field of Digital Humanities why it must pay attention to race. Whereas the theoretical origin of the framing process is rooted in movements at peak mobilization, what follows is significant as we see the framing process utilized in an era of abeyance for the Movement for Black Lives to achieve its social movement goals.

Figure 2. Framing Tasks Tweets



Of the 300,000 tweets, 61,800 tweets (20.6%) diagnosed problems and provided critique to structures of power. 150,000 tweets (50%) are framed with the task of providing solutions to a given problem and 88,200 tweets (29.4%) were framed to motivate and maintain collective moral. In the following we will explore framing task findings.

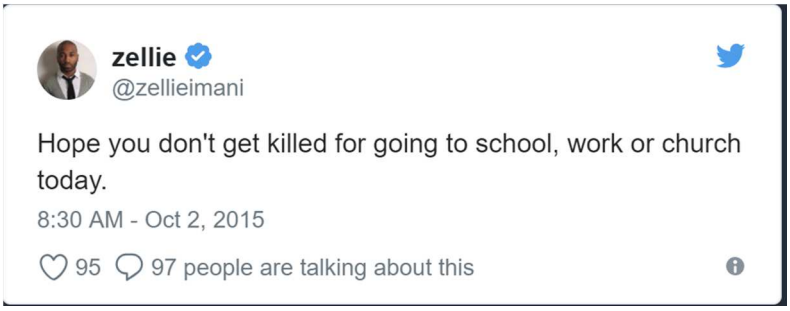
Diagnostic Framing

Previous research conceptualizes diagnostic framing articulates the social problem that needs addressing. Often these claims are made in clear declarative ways without shades of gray. In the example below, the problem of high incarceration rates of Black Americans is articulated plainly with the hopeful hashtag #LetsGetFree. Here, the hashtag #LetsGetFree serves as both messages and as a hashtag locator to a recurring theme throughout the data. It is used as a statement in the act of doing hopeful work or to generate hopeful sentiment.

Figure 3. Screenshot of Diagnostic Framing Tweet

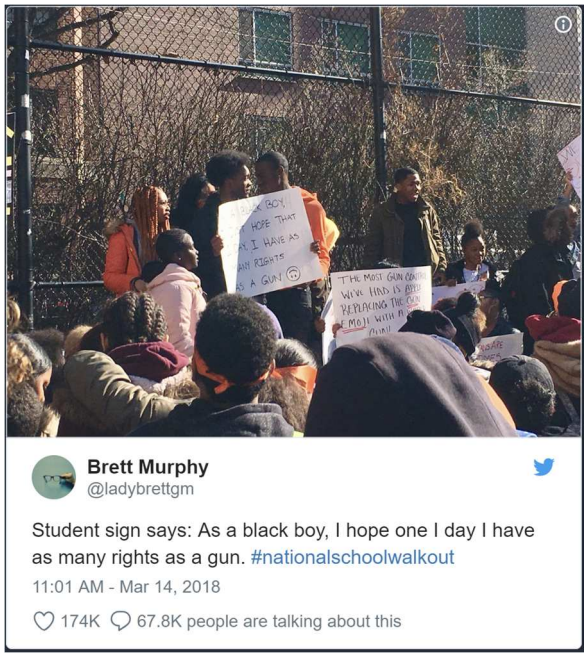
However, the data shows activists within the Movement for Black Lives used Black technocultural practices to articulate the social problems in need of redress. At times, the articulation of the social problem was not direct nor declarative. Instead, Black activists used the framing of hope along with "signifyin'" and affordances within the structure of Twitter to communicate social problems.

Figure 4. Screenshot of Diagnostic Framing Tweet 2



Twitter's incorporation of multimedia in its platform allows for a blurring of off and online communication that can be distinct from traditional media sources. For example, one retweet from an activist who works at the intersection of prison reform and Black life amplified the tweet below from someone else.

Figure 5. Screenshot of Diagnostic Framing Tweet 3



In each of the Tweets, we see the diagnosing of a problem or a prompt to make the audience diagnose the problem for themselves. In this tweet, a young Black boy holds a sign using the framing of hope to critique how American public discourse values the life of Black boys compared to the rights of gun ownership. Hope operates within this framing as a way to generate political consensus and communicate the right for existence.

Prognostic Framing

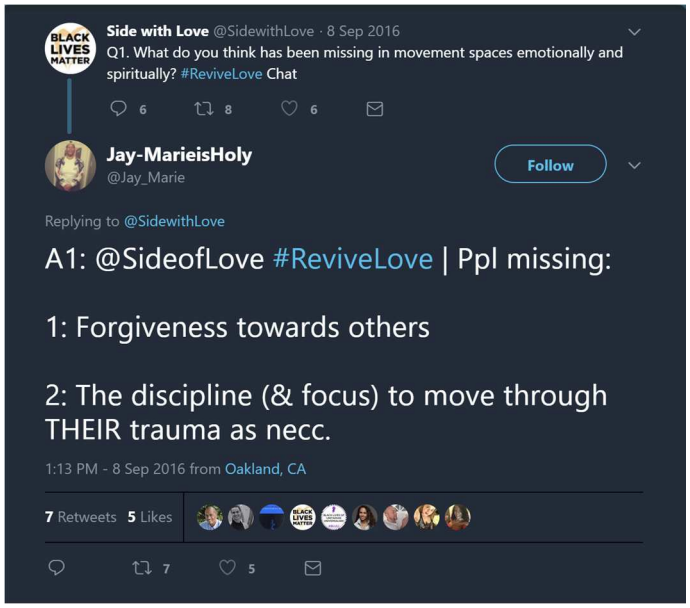
The next framing process states a plan for change and offers a strategy for implementation. It is within the articulation of solutions to the stated problems where ideological movement factions develop. During times of peak mobilization, this can look like different intersections under the same umbrella. For times of abeyance, this can look like ideological tensions. Within the framing of hope, activists would often pair positive information with calls for direction. Again, we see the hashtag #LetsGetFree but for a different conversation. #LetsGetFree becomes a utopian rallying cry galvanizing people towards organized action. Often there is an ongoing conversation between the prognostic

and motivational framing. Here the proposed solution of investing in local Black organizations is sold as contributing to the goal of liberation.

Figure 6. Screenshot of Prognostic Framing Tweet

Previous research on prognostic framing focuses on the communication of tactical strategy (Benford 1993a; Winstead 2017). Strategies and tactics reflect collective identities but also provide opportunities for reaffirming or challenging them. Here, prognostic framing was not only used to promote tactical strategy but also used to explain the emotional capital necessary to maintain movement activity. Under the #ReviveLove hashtag, the public advocacy campaign @SidewithLove hosts a Twitter chat to discuss strategies for maintaining movement activity. What is interesting here is the *who* -- who is included in the conversation and at whom the strategy for change is aimed. Consistent with the focus of connective action, the exchange of ideas occurs more democratically with access being limited only to the technological requirements. The prognostic frame here is being used reflectively to strategies for emotional wellness, protecting one's ability to imagine positively.

Figure 7. Screenshot of Prognostic Framing Tweet 2



Sometimes prognostic framing was also used to do maintenance work on hope itself. In the tweet below, there is an explicit conversation on the necessary preservation of hope as a tangible resource. In both Tweets, hope is referred to as a discipline that must be cultivated and practiced. Hope in this is not something that is just a reaction to a stimulus, but is something that is purposely developed, practiced, and refined. Hope becomes the necessary fuel a person uses to drive one's agency. In affective studies, the circumstances that produce hope are the same that make it possible to despair. In that sense, the present is haunted by the fact that something good has yet to take place (Anderson 2006). Hope then is something that enables a point of view on "the edge of the virtual, where it leaks into the actual" (Massumi 2002:43).

Emancipatory hope here intervenes in affect studies in its difference in how it handles mistrust and pessimistic fatalism. Where affect studies views hope as discontinuous "sparks" or "glimmer," African Americans have used creativity and

imagination at the edge of the virtual to not only find space to create something better but to just exist. Hope then is not just in the improvement of one's condition but in the ability to maintain a status quo of life. Their sustain distrust in government and western imperial knowledge as the source of emancipation has caused Black activists to develop a continuous interconnected practice of producing, cultivating, and protecting emancipatory knowledges, practices, and hope as illustrated in the Tweets below.

Figure 8. Screenshot of Prognostic Framing 3

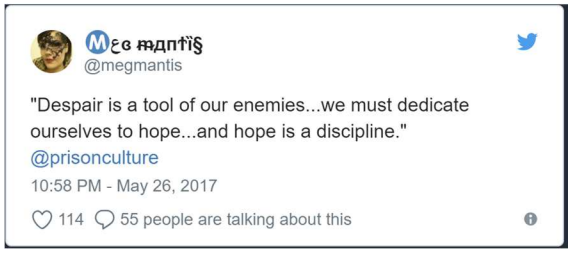


Figure 9: Screenshot of Prognostic Framing 4

Motivational Framing

Motivational framing serves as the call to action, providing the necessary vocabularies of motive. Within this framing process, we see the agency of the movement. Movement actors, both recruits and core veterans, bring with them vocabularies of motives to any scene of political mobilization. Their temporality can be situated in historical, present or future framing and provide necessary reasoning for acting outside of broad contextual social norms (Mills 1940; Scott and Lyman 1968). In this era of Black collective action, hope serves as a motive for action. In the example below, the hashtag #LetsGetFree serves as a call to action on two separate occasions. In @DocMellyMel's tweet, she channels historical Black political figures to call people into action known to have a social cost. Channeling civil rights icon Ella Baker, Black Lives Matter LA uses #LetsGetFree is in the direct face of despair.

Figure 8. Screenshot of Prognostic Framing 3

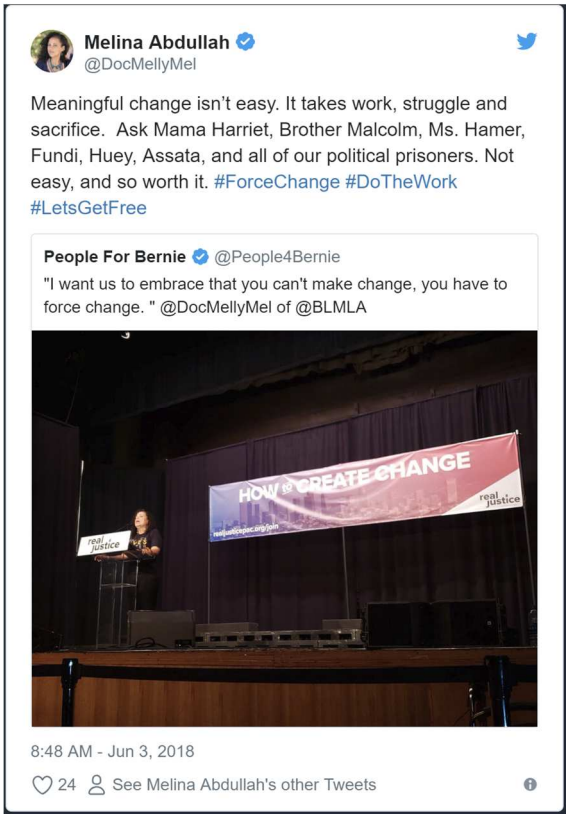
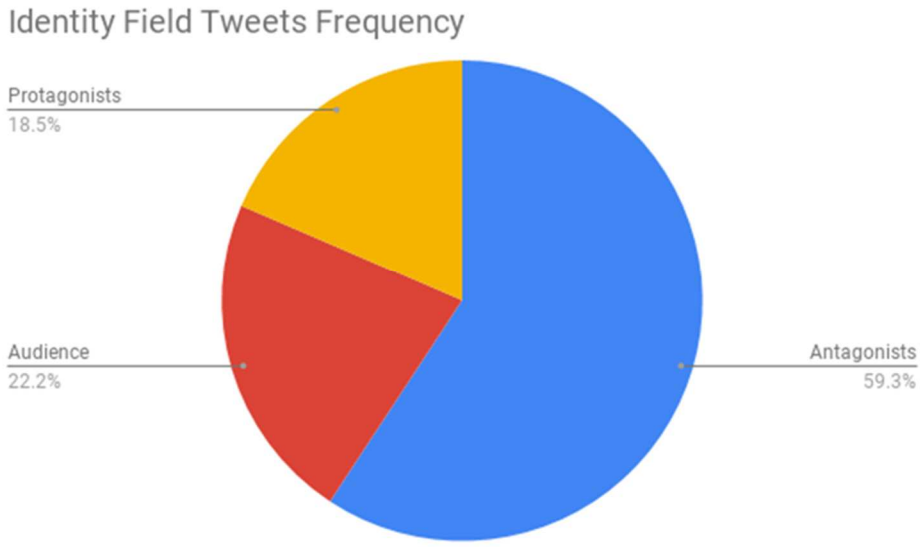


Figure 9: Screenshot of Prognostic Framing 4

The frame alignment process focuses on the interplay between interpretation and cognitive structure. It is used to produce consensus and promote action through the expression and assignment characteristics applicable to a social problem constructing a belief system for relevant actors. For movements that are in low periods of mobilization, hope serves as a maintenance mechanism to sustain movement interrelatedness to previous eras of mobilization. Hope within the process serves as a cognitive structure, which in turns helps to produce identity. In the following, I explore the identity-making process and the framing of hope.

Figure 10 Framing Process: Identity Fields



Identity fields are dialectically interconnected to the framing process. Personal and collective identity develops through the everyday activity of collective action and the framing process. Three classes of identity fields are developed through the drama of activism: protagonists, antagonists and audience fields (Hunt et al. 1994; Snow and Benford 1988). The framework below illustrates how hope has also contributed to the construction of each identity field. Of the 300,000 tweets, 55,500 tweets (18.5%) were linked to the protagonist identity field. 66,600 tweets (22.2%) were linked to a voting public or general audience. 77,900 (59.3%) tweets used an antagonists frame in the discussion of hope.

Protagonists

The protagonist identity field consists of actors perceived as advocates or representative of the movement's purpose. This field also includes collective identity attributions of the movement itself and allied organizations. Consistent with the literature,

the Movement for Black Lives channels historical figures, icons, and celebrity figures as heroes and heroines. In the tweet below, Malcolm X is both celebrated and remembered, due to his positioning as a representative figure for Black militancy.

Figure 11. Screenshot of Protagonists Twee

The movement has also cast contemporary public figures as protagonists. In the Tweets below, Congresswoman Maxine Waters is cast as the influential heroine in the face of President Trump's tenure. In both Tweets, the users name her "Auntie," an endearing term repurposed from slavery subjugation. In the stereotypical sense, "Auntie" is a Black woman who is fulfilling the mammy stereotype of happily nurturing and catering to the needs of white men and their children (Duncan 2001). Black people have reclaimed the word, or even always meant "Auntie" differently. In Black cultural practice, "Aunties" are the respected elders, often revered for how they protect their community (Evans 2017). It is in the act of the "Auntie' protecting family that produces hope.

Figure 12. Screenshot of Protagonist tweet 2

Figure 13 Screenshot of protagonist tweet 3

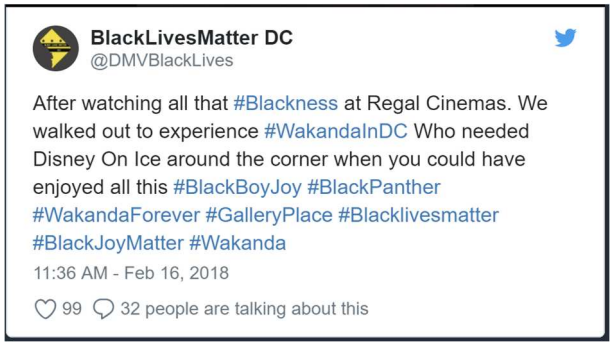
Scholarship on digital networks argues that modern social movements reflect decentered networking logic of informationalism even as they attack the roots of informational capitalism (Castells 2015; Juris 2004; Segerberg and Bennett 2011). During this period of abeyance for the Movement for Black Lives, the framework of hope here focuses less on charismatic leaders and instead functions to highlight model behavior and everyday people. While in a state of uncertainty, the Movement for Black Lives de-centers a singular celebrity hero figure, rather focusing on constituents. As social movements try to sustain themselves during periods of low opportunity, casting many protagonists affords a higher probability of survival. Through the framing of hope, the movement makes protagonists from everyday acts and people. This is exemplified in the Tweets below.

Figure 14. Screenshot of Protagonist tweet 4

Figure 15. Screenshot of Protagonists tweet 5

There are occasions where hope is drawn from and shared through fictional characters such as what was found in activists' celebration of the 2018 film, "Black Panther." Presenting the first Black superhero character to appear in a mainstream comic in 1968, its debut as the first blockbuster film to have majority Black cast, writer, director, and to collect over $1 billion. The movie draws upon a wealth of Africana cultural pride, specifically Black nationalists' debates around liberation, independence, and self-determination.

Figure 16. Screenshot of Protagonists Tweet 6



The protagonist frame serves as a discursive incubator for hope. The protagonist figure becomes the embodiment of people's social construction of hope. In short, people socially construct and deposit hope in the protagonist and then draw from those figures as needed.

Antagonists

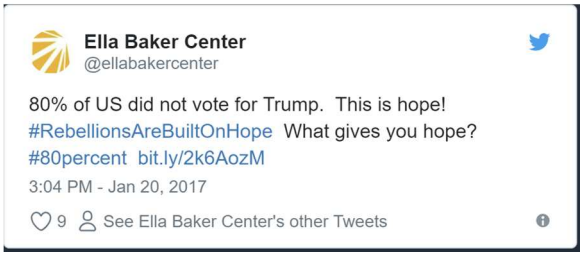
The antagonist field consists of negative attributes about both individuals and collectives who are perceived to be opposition to the movement cause. This field also includes counter-movements such as Blue Lives Matter or #TCOT (Ray et al. 2017), hostile institutions such as media entities, along with government agents and organizations. In these instances, hope can manifest as criticism or in the "signifyin'" practice of "throwing shade," which blossomed within the African American queer community tradition and has saturated mainstream transnational Black culture (Johnson 1995). Consistent with what was identified in the protagonist field, the user below finds hope in everyday Puerto Rican women who are organizing to survive in the aftermath of the U.S. government's failed response to Hurricane Irma in August 2017. Using the diagnostic frame, the user helps to assign blame and cast President Trump as the antagonist's figure. Hope is not an alternative utopian reality but a possibility rooted in the act of resistance.

Figure 17. Screenshot of Antagonist Tweet

Of the Tweets found within the antagonist field, President Trump comprises the largest representation. However, within the framework of hope, the construction of Trump as the antagonist figure is not the concluding point of the tweet but the basis upon which people find hopeful acts. The antagonist becomes a proxy for exploitative power. During times of such great power imbalance, especially under an authoritarian rule, hope focuses on the potential for future action, as much as the action itself.

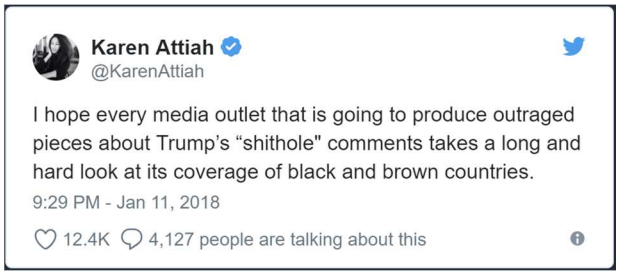
Figure 18. Screenshot of Antagonist Tweet 2

Figure 19. Screenshot of Antagonist Tweet 3



In a further examination of hope and Trump, we see not only an assessment of the strengths and weakness of an opponent but also how other institutions interact with or align themselves with that opponent. Hope then becomes the rhetorical tool to hold and evaluate others by comparing them to the antagonist.

Figure 20. Screenshot of Antagonist Tweet 4



The antagonist field tells us that hope can be used to assign, assess, and hold antagonist figures accountable. It can also be used to discover hope through antagonist failures or limitations. Hope can also be used to celebrate people in the opposition of the protagonist figure.

Audience

The audience field is the collective of identity claims for people cast as neutral or unpledged. Previous scholarship has included media, elites, sympathizers, and the bystander public as audience figures. However, those particular assessments are rooted in research predating the use of the theoretical framework of neoliberalism (Benford 1993a, [b] 1993; Hunt and Benford 1994; Venugopal 2015). This is significant to note in the age of networked publics as audience frames are crafted with an imagined bounded group, who through the logic of neoliberalism feels inculpable for the conditions activists are responding to (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Marwick and Boyd 2011). The activists studied here do not cast the audience as neutral nor unplugged but rather as complicit actors. With the

Movement of Black Lives taking critical race and intersectional perspectives, institutions such as the media, elites, and even sympathizers are not above such intense critique that identifying them as audience or antagonists can be ambiguous if possible, at all. Social media's ability to create their source of news further complicates how media entities are assigned identity frames such as in the example below.

Figure 21. Screenshot of Audience Tweet

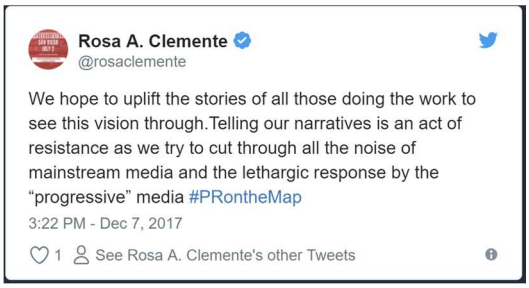


Figure 22. Screenshot of Audience Tweet 2

Furthermore, Twitter's capacity for multiple publics and African American technoculture means Tweets can simultaneously be directed at multiple publics (Bruns and Burgess 2011), and as such, can produce multiple audiences. However, audience field framing still holds importance for determining which frames will resonate.

Figure 23. Screenshot of Audience Tweet 3

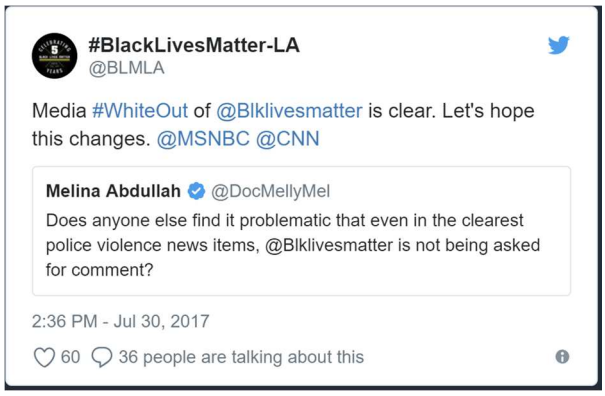


Figure 24. Screenshot of Audience Tweet 4

The audience field also holds significance as it also contains assessments of the social movement actors and organization held by everyday people. Movements must confront and negotiate those assessments producing one of four possible outcomes: 1) the audience's assessment is incorrect; 2) the audience assessment is correct; 3) the audience uses faulty logic, therefore, produces faulty assessments; or 4) the audience's assessment is correct, and the social movement's focus needs adjusting.

Figure 25. Screenshot of Audience Tweet 5

In the example above, hope operates reflectively. The words "woke," "triggered," and "violent" were popular terms in the conversations around movement culture. Their perceived overuse has been a critique for its branding of movement work. The user here

is using hope to force the audience field, including movement actors themselves, to rethink how they frame movement labor, emotions, and its outcomes.

Conclusion

The framing process and identity fields work in tandem to produce consensus mobilization and action mobilization. The framework of hope contributes to that process by providing space to challenge power, celebrating heroic figures and behavior, imagining alternatives, producing emotional capital to persevere, and holding allies accountable. Black activists' mastery of the tools Twitter provides as well as their use of Black cultural practices allows them to communicate with each other and to multiple publics simultaneously.

Moreover, the accountability and reflection shared through online spaces have a tangible impact on the shaping of offline collective action. The decentralized interconnectedness of social media communication models the decentralized nature of the Movement for Black Lives. According to Bennett and Segerberg (2012), there are two logics at play: 1) traditional theorizing of collective action; and 2) the added logic of "connective action" found within personalized content-sharing across social media platforms. Connective action networks are more fluid and individualized; organized through sets of technological processes often absent from the necessity of the organizational resource previously required to respond to political opportunities. Such a lack of reliance on organizational strength and structure creates an even greater emphasis on framed movement discourses. Twitter's transformation of movement discourses into personalized embodiment experiences where sharing, retweets, and positive affirming comments are scaled up through the platform design and can serve similar functions as

collective action without the role for formal organizations (2012:753). In short, people may collectively identify with a hashtag without the need of the organization. In the next chapter, I demonstrate the link between online engagement and organization participation.

Chapter 4

Crafting Hope

> I am hopeful, obviously... Hope is being certain in the unseen. That's kind of biblical, but I think so. I have a shirt that says, "I've been to the future, and we've won." It's having the belief in something that is not here but that you're certain of. I don't know where I get that from. I don't know if it's my family, if it's my faith, if it's my mind, or what I've seen so far. It's like there's something else here, there's something more to this than what I've been told.
>
> I'm interested in the things that are unexplained. I feel like life is one of those things. Just about everybody, there's nothing for certain, so what is allowing there not to be a thing for certain? Does that make sense? How does that happen? Why is it that you can't follow the prescribed steps and get to a particular rhythm? It's life. Life is unexpected. The only thing constant about life in change. What is change? Change is god, according to Octavia Butler. Yeah. That's, yeah, hope is being certain of what you don't see but you know exists or will exist.
>
> Jessica, 32-year-old, DC lawyer and activist

Introduction

This chapter explores the collective identity of activists transitioning into abeyance and triangulates the discursive framework of hope. I looked at how Black activists conceptualize and perform hope in offline spaces during periods of low visibility and opportunity. To explore the research objectives, I unpacked the cultural factors of the social movement continuity process by channeling the framing process and the social construction of movement identities. Mainly, I asked: 1) how do Black activists conceptualize hope in the age of Trump; 2) how do Black activists cultivate hope as a resource; 3) is the framework of emancipatory hope conceptualized online consistent with how it is defined offline; and 4) how do the offline cultural practices of Black activists contribute to the continuity of Black social movements?

I organized this chapter into two methodological sections as part of this research's methodological triangulation. The semi-structured, in-depth interviews focus on how activists conceptualize hope and the status of the movement. The participant observations focus on how activists turn the framework of emancipatory hope into praxis. Using a multi-methodological approach is beneficial in confirming findings, increased comprehensive data, improved validity and heighten understanding of the examined phenomenon (Bekhet and Zauszniewski 2012; Casey and Murphy 2009; Foss and Ellefsen 2002; Halcomb and Andrew 2005; Redferm and Norman 1994; Risjord, Moloney, and Dunbar 2001).

Background

In the long history of Black political organizing, there have been other moments of abeyance within Black social movement continuity. Two moments of significance include the transition from the Black Power era to Reagan's 1980s reclaiming of national white male masculinity; and the late 1870s birth of the Jim Crow era as a response to Black organizing. The period after the Civil War, 1865-1877, called the Reconstruction period, was an U.S. government-led initiative aimed at reforming the South following the Civil War where Union soldiers (a significant number of whom were African American) occupied large areas of the South. Marking the period is the passing of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill on March 3, 1865 (Gates 2019). African Americans used this newly achieved freedom to organize initiatives for civil rights including the Colored Conventions (1830 - 1890s), the National Black Catholic Congress (1889 - 1894), National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (1896 - Present), and the National Equal Rights League (1864 - 1921). Many of these organizations become precursors to organizations we recognize

today, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Moscoso and Hooper 2016). The progress for Blacks during the Reconstruction era was met with retaliation but also with a downturn in the political opportunity structures from allies, the state, and the general public. This is evident in the rise of anti-Black resistance groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the downturn in conveningsand attendance of groups such as the Colored Conventions after the passing of the 13th Amendment of 1865 that outlawed slavery[6,7] (Patterson, Trotter, and Nikolic 2016).

The Jim Crow era's response to the increase in Black rights led to a period of economic plundering, domestic terrorism, and seeming hopelessness. However, it was during that period the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs formed with the motto "Lifting as We Climb" to address both gender and racial equality, supporting gender and racial suffrage, education, and civil rights. Working through the double jeopardy of racial and gender oppression, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs worked to maintain and cultivate hope as a resource. As the club's first President, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell states:

> "And so, lifting as we climb, onward and upward we go, struggling and striving, and hoping that the buds and blossoms of our desires will burst into glorious fruition 'ere long. With courage, born of success achieved in the past, with a keen sense of the responsibility which we shall continue to assume, we look forward to a future large with promise and hope. Seeking no favors because of our color, nor patronage because of our needs, we knock at the bar of justice, asking an equal chance" ([1898] 2016).

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[6] The 13th Amendment (1865) outlawed slavery, and the 14th Amendment (1868) extended citizenship to all persons born in the United States and reaffirmed equal protection of the laws to all citizens, and the 15th Amendment (1870) protected the suffrage of citizens regardless of race (Anon 2018).

[7] See Appendix F for data

By focusing on Black activism in offline space, I asked: how do Black activists construct ideas of hope and survival, and how does that compare to the findings on hope discovered in online space? In what follows, I utilized a *grounded theory* approach to argue that as the Movement for Black Lives transitions into abeyance, activists use the framework of emancipatory hope to carry along tactics and strategies both spatially and temporally through the frame alignment process and the construction of social movement identities.

NEAR Act

The Neighborhood Engagement Achieves Results (NEAR) Act of 2016 is wide-ranging legislation that centers public health approaches to prevent violence and reduce incarceration in Washington, D.C. The effort started as a community-led critique of over-policing and the mayor's proposal to increase spending on police as a way to combat rising crime, which encouraged militarization in local Black neighborhoods. The NEAR Act established several offices and programs within the District's government including 1) the Office of Neighborhood Safety and Engagement (ONSE), which recruits individuals considered to be at risk of participating in or becoming victims of violence for counseling, mentorship, and workforce development; 2) the Office of Violence Prevention and Health in the Department of Health; and 3) the Community Crime Prevention Team Program, which links mental health professionals with D.C. police officers. The NEAR Act also requires city police to collect disaggregated data on stops and frisks, felony crimes, and use of force incidents to bring the department into compliance with the goals of President Obama's Police Data Initiative (Government of the District of Columbia 2016).

The establishment and enforcement of the NEAR Act was a multi-year effort and that required the coordination of several local grassroots organizations, including the Stop Police Terror Project DC, the DC Movement for Black Lives Steering Committee, and non-profits such as the American Civil Liberties Union-DC (ACLU-DC). Other organizations have shown support and solidarity, including DC for Democracy, the DC chapter of Law4BlackLives, Jewish Voice for Peace - DC Metro, and DC for Palestine.

It is of note that after the establishment of the NEAR Act, Stop Police Terror Project DC and Black Lives Matter DC, with the support of the ACLU-DC, sued Mayor Muriel Bowser and the city for failing to implement a key component of the NEAR Act, more than two years after the bill was passed unanimously by the city council. Under the NEAR Act, the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) is required to collect comprehensive data on all police stops that would provide a fuller understanding of the impact of policing in the District (Flack 2018). In June 2019, a judge ruled in favor of the plaintiffs and ordered MPD to begin collecting the stop-and-frisk data within 28 days (Howell 2019).

Hope and African American Cultural Production

Hope tied to the everyday lived experience of African Americans has most notably been explored within the field of Black Religious Studies with the exploration of the relationship between faith and oppression. For Black people of faith, the symbol of God has long served as hope for liberation from racial oppression, and Black liberation theology works to hold the church and greater community accountable to that purpose (Hopkins 1999). While there is a growing increase in Americans unaffiliated with formal religious institutions, it is necessary to locate hope outside of a religious context.

However, the field situates hope in the face of trials and tribulations. Emancipatory Hope then is focused on praxis or as Evelyn L. Parker states:

> The idea of emancipatory hope means the expectation of the transformation of hegemonic relations and to act as God's agent bringing in God's vision of equality for humankind. The spirituality of one who possesses emancipatory hope receives the gift of the African and African American ancestors who lived an intricately woven life of divine and human activity against forms of domination. Emancipatory hope is an intricately woven life of both pious and political existence that focuses on critical consciousness and critical action so that racial, economic, social, and political domination is eradicated (2003:146).

Abeyance

The status of the Movement for Black Lives being in abeyance is a significant assumption grounding this research. Within *social movement continuity theory*, movements mobilize in cyclical patterns characterized by the visible collective action in a maintained challenge to the state (Sawyers and Meyer 1999; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 1978). When movements are less visible, they can survive by taking on an abeyance structure, which may take a less openly political stance during periods of political hostility (Taylor 1989). Visibility of labor demarcates movements, particularly the labor of the dominant group's identity. The work of Black women within the Movement for Black Lives has gone overlooked and not recognized by the witness of history. Within the context of the Movement for Black Lives in the digital age, as Black women produced much of their activism in online space, an early debate by white male social justice thinkers occurred as to whether their labor could be considered activism by white male social justice thinkers (Malchik 2019; Wise 2014). Within the work of abeyance, structures to preserve the intrinsic value and identity in other more sustainable forms, often this work is left to women in the movement.

Abeyance refers to a temporary suspension in movement activity or more accurately, a suspension activity visible to the general public. I made this distinction as we think through how we bear witness to movements of multiple standpoints. The question that must always be asked of abeyance movements is whose labor has gone unrecognized. There are internal and external factors that contribute to the downturn in a movement. External factors include changes in the relationship to the political elite; and absence in the social capital in activist identities. Contributing internal factors include the length of time an organization is able to hold people; the level of commitment members have to the ongoing ideology and strategy of the movement; how such organizations privilege high levels of commitment in exchange for a high volume of membership; strength of charismatic leadership; and strength of movement culture (Taylor 1989).

Of the factors mentioned above, I was able to identify the following factors: 1) changes in opportunity with the power elite, in particular, the changes in a presidential administration had an impact in the movement, especially because of the efforts of President Obama, Attorneys General Eric Holder, and Loretta Lynch, and Assistant Attorney General, United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, Vanita Gupta; 2) absence in status vacancies as seen in the downturn in traditional news media and social media attention (Kilgo, Mourao, and Sylvie 2018; Ray 2016; Summers 2014a, [b] 2014); and 3) commitment fragmentation, as movements achieve parts of their goal it divides across ideological lines.

As further evidence, we have the response when DC ground leader, Sam, was asked what shifts have they seen in movement work? Here we see Sam discuss changing

focus from outwardly focused protest to internally focused ideology and structure. Sam replied:

> When I first joined the movement... it was about risk.. what was I willing to risk, in support of another community... I think that because there were about 2,000 protests in the name of Black Lives Matter, in the span of two, three years…we've had our mass protest moment.
>
> Because of that, I think that my focus has shifted on commitment. It's focused on commitment and build relationships and also about governance. What does that look like? We spent a lot of time moving into making sure we know what we're fighting for, not just what we're fighting against and building that out and having strategies to get there…
>
> Now, my focus is, "Well, how do we even level up?" How do we leverage a new type of power?

Research Design

In examining the framework of emancipatory hope along with the frame alignment process and social construction of movement identities, I utilized two methods of investigation. First, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews to focus on how activists conceptualize hope and their perception of the status of the movement. Then I used grounded theory participant observations to investigate the praxis of emancipatory hope. Each approach was used in conjunction to serve as both a validity check to the discourse discovered in the digital space, using supervised machine learning techniques and to gather specific insights unique to each approach. In the following, I will discuss the particular data used for each.

In-Depth Interviews

I conducted 25 semi-structured in-depth interviews with activists from multiple organizations within the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area that have either a local or

national focus. Of the 25 interviews, 20 were African American women[8], eight were of self-identified as part of the LGBTQ community[9], and nine were Washington, D.C. natives. In total, eight groups were represented with focuses including law, media production, police violence, and housing. Using an informant, I conducted a purposive sampling technique; I overrepresented women in the sample as I found women overwhelmingly were involved in the day to day movement work and leadership.

Participant Observations

Over 16 months, I conducted participant observations with the End Money Bail campaign. From June 2017 through December 2018, I observed campaigns along the Mid-Atlantic and Southern regions of the country. Each campaign event included multiple organizations from the local area and often included a nationally focused Washington, D.C. based organization connecting the local efforts into a coherent national campaign. The End Money Bail campaign is a national effort to end the money bail system, which disproportionately impacts Black people and their families. Specifically, I followed along with the National Bail Out and # FreeBlackMamas campaigns, which aimed to crowdsource funds to bail out mothers from jail. However, the long-term effort is much more policy-oriented.

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[8] One of the women interviewed is of Korean and African American descent. She opted to identify as African American exclusively because she believed her community and the state only read her as African American.

[9] I purposely did not further interrogate participants who identified as "LGBTQ" as to if they identified specifically as Gay, Lesbian, or Bisexual. I also did not interrogate if someone was transgendered. The benefits of asking did not outweigh the risk of access to the community.

#BlackMamasBailOut: Setting the Stage

The Black Mama's Bail Out campaign is an ongoing effort of Black-led collective of regional and national advocacy groups under the umbrella of National Bail Out collective. Contributing organizations include Southerners On New Ground (SONG), Color of Change, Movement for Black Lives Policy Table, Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Texas Organizing Project, Los Angeles Community Action Network, Essie Justice Group, Brooklyn Community Bail Fund, Law4BlackLives, Black Lives Matter, Dream Defenders, St. Louis Action Council, Baltimore Action Legal Team, and National Bail Fund Network, among others. Every year the week before Mother's Day, organizations located across the country bail out as many mothers as possible who could spend Mother's Day in a cell simply because they cannot afford bail. Since May 2017, over 14,000 people have donated to bring nearly 200 people home to their families and communities.

The consortium of organizations each held respective campaigns aimed at bringing awareness or fundraising. Many of the events I attended along the Mid-Atlantic and parts of the South had a high concentration of post-graduate professionals from the age of young 30s to mid-50s. The scale of the events varied in size in relationship to the metropolitan area. For example, the events in between Washington, D.C. and Baltimore were three times the size (125) of the awareness event in Nashville (40). Each event was generally formatted the same with a video testimonial followed by an introduction to new attendees of the mission of the campaign and participating organization. The events had various degrees of catering.

For example, the Prince Georges County #BlackLoveSeries event was held banquet-style in the activity space of a well-trafficked bar with a stage and photo booth. Free wine and hors d'oeuvres were served for the duration of the event. Individuals who were long-standing allies used the platform to announce their candidacy for local elections based on a platform of policing and incarceration reform. There were 11 members, three of whom were men, two of which were in prominent speaking positions, and the third was the photographer. Of the eight Black women, one was in a prominent speaking position; one worked as a hostess and information desk. The other six worked as small group leaders during discussions and offered logistics help when needed.

Findings: The Framing Process & Social Construction of Movement Identities

Within social movement continuity, culture refers to the collective emotions, beliefs, and actions that make activism more attractive. Organizations carry out alternative cultural frameworks to provide meaning to the marginalized. To understand the culture within the context of discourse, I drew upon the frame alignment process and the social construction of movement identities. The frame alignment process is the linkage of individual and collective interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values, beliefs, collective activities, goals, and ideology are harmonious (Snow et al. 1986). The framework is useful in understanding the value of performance and communicative power in social movement analysis, especially useful in the digital age (Benford and Hunt 1992).

Under this framework, the interplay of framing tasks and movement identity come together to accomplish movement goals. Framing tasks work to identify a problem, find solutions to said problem, and galvanize members into action. The framing tasks produce

three broadly organized movement identities, including the heroes, the villains, and a general audience. While framing tasks help to create movement identities, the movement identities, in turn, help to shape the framing tasks discursively. Through the discursive process, the movement goals of consensus mobilization and action mobilization are accomplished. The frame alignment process and the social construction of movement identities as a stand-in for culture in the social movement continuity concept are useful for understanding how emancipatory work operates and operationalize as an activist framework.

Diagnostic

During times of peak mobilization, diagnostic framing describes problems external to the movement. For the Washington, D.C.-area Movement for Black Lives, the problem was finding a single issue that could galvanize socially conservative African American communities and could undercut any critique they would face from white resistance. Tony, a 34-year-old activist with a long family history of activism, described what he saw as an initial problem of the movement. He explained:

> Definitely. I would say the NEAR Act that we got passed in Washington, DC was big. I think that was big for a number of reasons. The number one reason I think vis-a-vis our social group members' perspective is the biggest challenge for the Movement for Black Lives politically is people said, 'You guys don't care about community violence. Why don't you show up when people get killed by other Black people? There's more Black people getting killed by Black people than the police. Blah, blah, blah, blah.' That was being weaponized by the Right wing and by the police. So I identified very early on and started convincing people, like "Look, if we don't address this issue which is not true…" I think on the ground level, anyone with a lot of experience in either space like community violence or Black Lives Matter knows that it's pretty much the same people who are involved in both to some degree even if they are centered in different things.

Tony said there was value in attacking the narrative that Black activists did not care about community violence – one that even permeated within aggrieved Black

communities. The NEAR Act not only acknowledged community violence as an issue but tied it to the socio-economic factors and included solutions to the problem that did not include more policing. While Tony's primary cause was to stop police terror, he was able to generate optimism in their movement by acknowledging a perceived problem and regaining control of the opportunity to offer up alternative solutions adding, "I think that was huge… to help shift the Mayor's framing around policing in a way that wasn't directly antagonistic with the issue of people being killed."

The question here is what does diagnostic framing look like in times of abeyance, and what role does hope play in shaping the framing? After the initial win of organizing to get the NEAR Act passed, many of the policy- and law-focused activists began to identify issues with sustaining the oversight required to get the city, specifically the mayor to fund and enforce the act's mandate. Jessica used hope to refocus the attention around the NEAR Act from public demand to oversight. As 32-year-old D.C. lawyer and activist, Jessica states:

> My first experience with Law for Black Lives was the Mayor wanted to ramp up the police force security with this false argument about public safety advocacy in op-eds. Advocacy in the form of op-eds and counter testimony and social media activism... forced her not to do it. I think that's a win. Because DC police, terrible history of harassing residents, especially Black residents. They're doing these things now that they call saturation efforts. That's how Marqueese Alston got killed up there in Southeast. His mom, now we're working with her to bring her case to court, you know?
>
> Whatever comes of that will hopefully be a win even though the police department [would likely pay a settlement]… If we happen to win it's the citizens that would have to pay for it.

#BlackLoveSeries is an initiative by the national organization, Color of Change, to cultivate Black love and organize Black people and resources to oppose the money bail system that keeps thousands of innocent people caged in jails. Events took place in Prince

George's County, Maryland; Dallas, Texas; and Durham, North Carolina. The gathering spaces provided an opportunity for community members to convene over dinner and workshop local strategies to reduce mass incarceration through bail reform (Anon 2017). The #BlackLoveSeries uses love as an organizing principle and central to how they diagnose social issues. When entering the space, the backdrop behind the stage had images of Kalief Brown and Sandra Bland, two victims of over-policing who died as a result of being jailed. The backdrop read, “Kalief Browder & Sandra Black died because of bail they couldn’t afford,” with “died because of bail” highlighted in red.

Figure 26. Political Hope

In both cases, the impetus for diagnosing the problem was a politics of hope for change. In the case of NEAR Act, the act of hope was generated by regaining control over who gets to dictate the agenda and solutions. This was accomplished by co-opting a conservative talking point and finding a humanistic solution that did not require over-policing. The #BlackLoveSeries drew upon the two nationally known stories of prison neglect and abuse to help articulate the direness of the bail system.

It is important to note the presence of online culture in offline space. The Black Love Series had the hashtags #BlackLoveSeries, #EndMoneyBail, #NationalBailOut, #FreeBlackMamas present on flyers, picture backdrops, and video screens. Where the discourse culture of Twitter involved more poetic play even at times, prompting the user to diagnose the problem for themselves, offline space does not rely upon such play as often.

Prognostics

The prognostic frame offers solutions to the problems described in the diagnostic framing. During periods of abeyance, it is during the prognostic framing task that fragmentation can occur over a difference of opinion in regard to the solutions to the identified problem. As an effort to prevent ideological division, activists center a politics of love, hope, and joy at the beginning of constructing strategy. As a founding member of the Washington, D.C. Black Lives Matter chapter, May articulates:

> Our chapter has… an equation that we believe leads to liberation. That it is like a consistent basis for healing, consistent basis for black joy, and organized resistance equal liberation. So one of the things we were able to infuse all over, including other BLM chapters, was this idea of healing and joy. So every Wednesday, for like two or three years, we had an emotional emancipation circle. Just black folks are coming to press at both the lies we told ourselves, the lies the body have told ourselves.

We see the incorporation of a politics of hope in the planning of policy and planning. D.C. ground leader, Sam discusses the politics of love about the creation of the NEAR Act, stating:

> So the other thing is that's what the NEAR Act is also about – saying we keep us safe. That it's about how we decide to be in community with each other. A radical kind of love that's not individual, except for you love yourself. If we all did, it would make a difference. And so because I've been seeing it little by little, it's just powerful when you see the light change. When I see the light turn on for myself or other people when they're like, damn.

Consistent with the findings in the digital analysis, *hope* is often articulated through conversations of love, play, and self-care. As May articulates in her equation for liberation, healing, joy, in addition to organized resistance are necessary elements for liberation. Activists prepare their emotional selves to explore utopian imaginations of liberation through care, play, and love. This is more pronounced in the National Bail Out

that sees hope both in the long-term goals of the #EndMoneyBail campaign and in short term goals in the #BlackLoveSeries and #FreeBlackMamas.

During the #BlackLoveSeries, at the opening of the program, the master of ceremonies, "Drake," said, "Our specific goal tonight was to center the joy and self-love in achieving justice as we work to end money bail." The series was set up almost like a high-end Hollywood celebration or the "most happening" Washington, D.C. happy hour, where people stood in line for professional pictures before being ushered into the banquet space with cocktails, encouraged to make new connections. Instead of joy and care being describe as something to do after accomplishing the goal, joy and self-love became the necessary prerequisite to the process of emancipatory hope.

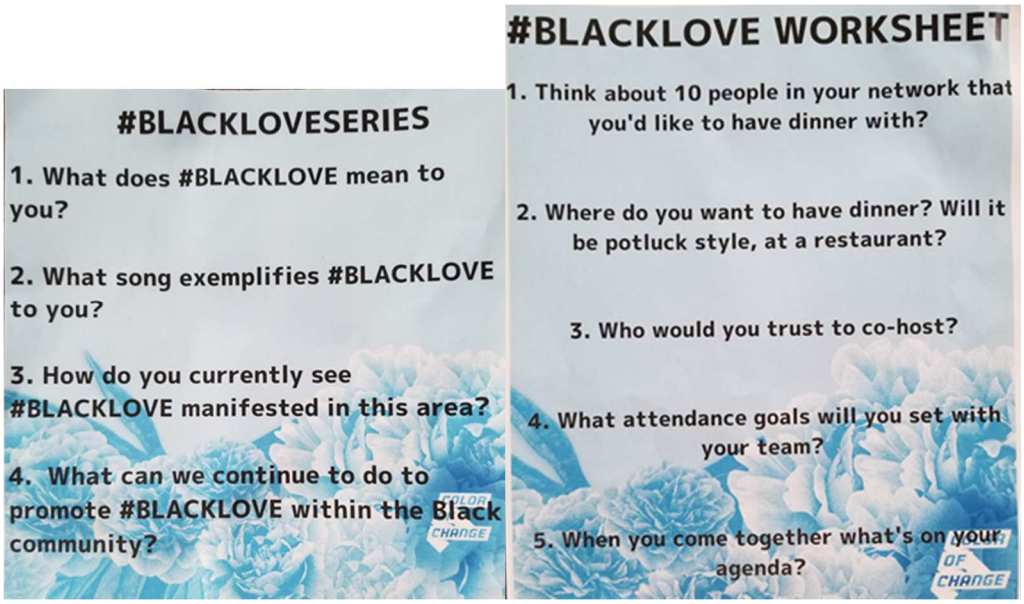
Motivational

Motivational framing works to galvanize people into action. The concepts of love, joy, and self-care are all concepts that play a role in this framing task. In discussing his self-care, Tony associates his labor to the long arc of resistance as a way to put his frustrations in perspective. Here, self-care is used as a personal motivational framing.

> I don't have any one particular way. I mean the way I kind of look at it is like if you're at war, from time to time, they're gonna bring you off the front line to do something. So pretty much for me like quote unquote self-care can be like any range of things. It's really just like being outside of the immediate day to day, right? It can even be like a retreat theorizing about political things, but just being able to step back from the day to day and not only like having less responsibility but just sort of see and think more broadly, for me, is important. To me, the connect to like the long arc is what's important. Because what keeps me hopeful, even beyond winning now, is the idea that yeah, there is a long arc. Even if you don't get everything you want now, you can lay the groundwork for future generations.
>
> So the ability to take a step back always helps me place myself a little bit more and where I am, what I'm doing, where I want to be.

Toward the end of the BlackLoveSeries event, the organizers used a discussion prompt to invoke a shared collective feeling of Black love. Using vocabularies of motives, the organizers used motivational framing to produce an emotional meaning to the concept of Black love. Participants were given four questions to discuss in small groups: 1) what does #BlackLove mean to you? 2) What song exemplifies #BlackLove to you? 3) How do you currently see #Blacklove manifested in this area? 4) What can we continue to do to promote #BlackLove within the Black community? Taken together, these questions aided the group to collectively define Black love as an emotional state that requires action to maintain.

Figure 26. #BLACKLOVE Worksheet



Immediately following the small group prompts, the organizers handed us an action worksheet to help organize our feelings into action. We created a list of 10 people in our network we would invite to dinner; planned how the dinner party would function; and set accountability goals our actionable agenda related to generating awareness around

fundraising and policy for the end money bail campaign. For those who felt comfortable volunteering, the organizers registered participants to follow up with later. Many of the participants who entered curious-but-overwhelmed, left energized, and ready to implement further action. In doing so, the exercise created protagonists out of all of the participants empowering each as agents of change.

Identity Fields

Protagonists

Consistent with how findings in the digital, the protagonist identities channel everyday and iconic figures that are representative of the movement to encourage general members to model their behavior. Often protagonist figures are introduced as a way to call to the past to invoke the possibility of hope towards a future. In the homes of one of the D.C. activists was the symbol of a Sankofa bird, an Asante Adinkra symbol depicted as either a stylized heart shape or a bird with its head turned back while its feet face forward carrying an egg in its mouth. It is associated with a proverb that roughly translates to, "It is necessary to go back for that which you have forgotten, which will be of use in the future." When asked after whom she modelled her activism, Rasheeda, a member of a small organizing group in one of the historic ungentrified areas of D.C., spoke of her protagonists.

> I would definitely say, of course, always my mama. She's a big influence for me to always speak my mind, because she always spoke her mind. She was like, 'You gotta speak your mind.' First and foremost, definitely my mama. I would say, Harriett Tubman, is someone that people, when we're trying to think of an energy and the spirit of people, of someone who, against all odds, leaned into her power, leaned into her premonition power. Whether she couldn't read and living in that, I think she did things that I, when it comes to having hope, she seemed to act on, just like a mustard seed of faith. Harriet Tubman, Assata Shakur, that gives me hope that it can happen, that kind of confidence and bravery.

Antagonists

To organize people towards a common social problem, people, agencies, and even personal characteristics can be cast as antagonistic to the movement cause. Concerning the NEAR Act, the antagonist framing included the police, particularly in unwanted situations; the criminal justice system is taken as a whole; and the city government, which was historically run almost exclusively by Democrats of color.

There is a complicated history between Washington, D.C.'s Black politicians, and the communities they serve that is further complicated by the attraction of and attention paid to new wealthier, usually white, gentrifiers. Native D.C. activists view gentrifiers themselves as antagonists. Brienne, third generation activist, and documentarian described her thoughts on the political changes she saw due to gentrification, stating:

> The council was being gentrified. Oh my god, right? … So we had a progressive, largely Black, city council right, when this was a friggin' Chocolate City. Right, you know, exactly. That's the other thing. The council was being gentrified and they've been. So they're putting more money, socking more money away into their rainy day fund and letting people be, families be homeless and in horrible conditions. Their priorities are screwed up. Their priorities, they have these, they went neo-liberal.

The antagonist field does not always have to be a salient or coherent idea, as I found many logical inconsistencies with the frustrations of gentrification. For example, of the activists interviewed who operate out of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, only one was raised in the area. None were born in Washington, D.C. There were also tensions between activists and native-born D.C. residents over political apathy and the question of who can lead. May, who is a longstanding homeowner, spoke about her frustrations with the labeling of gentrification stating:

> Yes. I have been over here now for what, 12 years? And God, so one of the things here is the native Washingtonian thing. It's deep. I totally respect it, but also it is not consistent. There are no agreed upon times or, did you just go to school here, were you born here? Have you lived here your whole life, or what? So I literally sat back for like six to eight years of just being of service in this community and not leading things, which was really difficult. And people are vicious about it. Terribly vicious about it, personal and all that. To when people now call and invite me to things. And ask can I lead something, can I, you know? It's a huge honor, probably because it took so long.

What mattered more than a clear definition of gentrification was the undesired characteristics the term gentrifier implied -- someone who leverages banking and housing policy to profit from the trend to forcibly displace people from their traditional neighborhoods, leveraging the state to treat natives as hostile, not respecting the native customs.

A significant figure who is cast as an antagonist figure is Mayor Muriel Bowser, who while a native Washingtonian, does not come from a typical working-class African American experience. Mayor Bowser is a mid-40s Black woman who represented Ward 4 of D.C., one of the early areas of gentrification. Mayor Bowser has split support among African Americans as there have been no credible Republican candidates and the only significant political race is in the Democratic primary where she won her first mayoral election overwhelmingly (80%) over two African American men. For example, the mayor has routinely stepped over working-class Black culture, including bad mouthing a D.C. culinary staple, Mumbo Sauce (Carman 2018).

According to activists, the mayor has consistently stalled policy and has aided in the lack of accountability of the police. Members from Stop Police Terror Project DC explain, “Mayor Bowser is pushing for changes that will only make DC's policing problems worse, punishing returning citizens, curtailing the civil rights of Ward 7 and 8

residents, and using the money for more policing where jobs and services are needed most." Brienne discusses her disappointment in in the mayor as responsible for, and symbol of D.C.'s gentrification problem, saying:

> Muriel Bowser. She sold Trump that, our post office, before the man was even in office. And that's so painful. It's like personally painful for me, and for Josh. We used to go down there because it was a historical place, and they would have programs, and programming in there...And then Trump takes over the place. It's horrible. It is so hideous. And Muriel Bowser sold that to ya' know. And this is, back that swath of black folk who have always, they're willing to sell out the whole rest of the community.

Resisting Mayor Bowser and having tangible wins against her administration creates space for possibility rooted in the act of resistance as the movement moves from demonstrable wins to oversight and abeyance. Hope plays a role in imagining their position in what Tony calls, "the long arc of resistance."

Audience

For the organizers behind the #BlackLoveSeries, the audience was not viewed as neutral bystanders but a potential electorate and funding source. According to the workshop and prompt, members within the audience field were the desired attendees to spread awareness. Whereas the scholarship cast the audience field as neutral, the organizers of the #BlackLoveSeries viewed audience members as responsible stakeholders, who have yet to have their empathy connected collectively. This was evident in the format of the event. After the initial greetings from the emcee, we were shown a YouTube video of mothers sharing their stories of arrest, despair, separation, and reunification with their families for Mother's Day. Many of the stories shared how long they were in jail and how much their bail was. In some cases, bail was not much more than $300, and the women were in jail for months at a time. Notably, in Black

communities, the shared experiences of negotiating the state and hardships produced a form of connection that complicates how and whom we see as "neutral" within the original articulation of the identity field.

Conclusion

In offline space, activists use the framework of emancipatory hope to craft framing tasks and movement identities for two primary tasks: consensus and action mobilization. I argue that during, times of abeyance, the framework of emancipatory hope is used to: 1) critique oppressive power structure; 2) provide the framing vehicle by which activists pass along strategies and tactics for liberation; 3) demonstrate that emancipatory hope is useful as a mobilizing principle; and 4) show that *play* can be a beneficial method to generate hope. During times of abeyance, consensus action is privileged over action mobilization as the social conditions for action mobilization is more hostile. Consistent with online findings and traditional understanding of the concept, emancipatory hope sometimes gets articulated through the rhetoric of joy, love, and self-care.

The logic of connective action is also present here as we see online culture manifest itself in offline space. We see a weight placed on discourse so much so that we see hashtags present for offline organizing functions. Also consistent with connective action, we see a shift towards individually focused self-care and self-administered framing tactics.

The notion of "the long arc" and infusing healing and joy into the act of liberation is consistent with how liberation is mentioned with Black religious studies text.

Particularly, Cornel West's conceptualization of "penultimate liberation" and "ultimate salvation." Penultimate liberation is conceptualized as the "developmental betterment of humankind, the furtherance of the uncertain quest for human freedom in history." Penultimate liberation can occur within history. Ultimate salvation "hopes for the transcendence of history, the deliverance of humankind from the treacherous dialectic of human nature and human history" (1982:16). Ultimate salvation is grounded in memory but aims to transcend history.

West's definitions of liberation and salvation are inextricably tied to notions of existential freedom and social freedom. Existential freedom is an effect of divine grace, the promise to sustain and deliver one from the struggles of pain and suffering. Social freedom is the goal of Christian political practice, which manifests itself through the advocacy and attainment of social norms of individuality and democracy. Existential freedom empowers one to fight for social freedom through the promise of ultimate salvation, which is a necessity of the struggle for penultimate liberation (West 1982). Activists use emancipatory hope to both tackle the narrative that history will ultimately assign them and to place their activist labor in the context. This timelessness is most evident in the historical icons used and in Rasheeda's use of the Sankofa symbol.

In both the campaign around the NEAR Act and the #BlackLoveSeries, we see love used as an organizing principle, a tool to generate hope, a recruitment tactic, and a protest strategy. Even as the political opportunities decrease in the movement's transition into an abeyance structure, the framing toolkit of love, joy, and self-care is being carried over into times of lower visible activity. Future research should consider the connection of these concepts to previous historical moments of Black abeyance.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

> Audre Lorde once said "there is no thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives."

During the 2020 U.S. Presidential campaign, the mayor of South Bend, Indiana, and Democratic presidential hopeful Pete Buttigieg was forced to defend his record on systemic race issues within the city's police force, including his administration's refusal to hand over tape recordings of South Bend police officers making racist comments and talking about breaking the law (Blasko 2015; Higgins 2019), failure to hold police with histories of brutality against African Americans accountable (Baird 2019), and resistance to say publicly "Black Lives Matter." The phrase "Black Lives Matter," has become a litmus test for public figures who feared backlash for fully embracing the moniker of the activist organization. Across Twitter, white users subscribed to a colorblind ideology called for the use of "All Lives Matter" or the even more coded phrase "Blue Lives Matter" to test public figures racial alliances (Ray et al. 2017)[10].

While the visibility of the Movement for Black Lives has decreased in the face of the Trump era, the influences of their political platform have reached the highest of the political elite. By the first of the 2020 Democratic Presidential debate in June 2019, many

[10] #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter, #BlueLivesMatter, and #TCOT (Top Conservatives on Twitter) became sign postings for racial affiliations in online space and bled over into national public discourse.

of the top candidates had adopted agenda items central to the concerns of the Movement for Black Lives including policing reform, community health approaches to gun violence, LGBTQ equity, housing, education, and immigration (Anon 2019a, Anon [b] 2019, Anon [c] 2019). The anticipated change in the presidency means the movement or its next iteration must prepare its internal structure and ideology for the next politically receptive opportunity while in this period of abeyance.

The purposive of this mixed method study was to examine the continuity of Black resistance movements through the framework of *emancipatory hope*. This dissertation employed social movement continuity theory, frame alignment process, and social construction of movement identities to examine how activists within the Movement for Black Lives use the framework of emancipatory hope to pass along liberatory knowledge, both intergenerationally and spatially.

What are the factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance?

The findings demonstrate the substance of social movement continuity's controllable (internal) and uncontrollable (external) factors which contribute to a movement's transition into abeyance. The changes in opportunity structure are indirectly related to the change from President Barrack Obama to President Donald Trump. The Movement for Black Lives is a movement born in the neoliberal era of colorblind and financialization rhetoric. If the Ronald Reagan administration marks the beginning of the colorblind neoliberal era, with the introduction of coded language of such as "the welfare queen" and "war on drugs." The Obama administration marked the beginning of the end due to his continuation of neoliberal policies and the openly adverse reactions to him as

the first African American president. I contend the Movement for Black Lives started in the colorblind era, but the era shifted to a more openly hostile racist era, causing a regrouping of strategies and tactics.

In addition to the shifting relationship with the political elite, the movement also negotiated the aftermath of perceived victories derived from activism. Within the Washington DC movement, the movement had to regroup, and shift focus after the passing of the NEAR Act from external protest to policy oversight. After the Near Act's passing, each organization refocused on agenda items aligned with their missions and collective identities, and as a result, fracturing occurred. The perceived goal attainment influenced the commitment of members as the effort shifted to administrative oversight. After the Near Act's passing, each organization refocused on agenda items aligned with their missions and collective identities, and as a result, fracturing occurred. How does emancipatory hope become operationalized under times of abeyance?

I argue that *hope* becomes a vehicle by which African Americans pass along tactics for liberation through technocultural practices. I conceptualize these findings as *emancipatory hope*, a utopian expectation of the collective capacity for dismantling race, class, and gender dominance.

What is the role of the digital in the continuity of Black social movements, explicitly constructing framing tasks and movement identities?

The established culture of the Movement for Black Lives has contributed to the successful continuation of the movement during adverse times. The strength of the culture rest on its ability to interplay local and national conversations through combination of digital and physical engagement. The digital affords the opportunity to

recall particular types of archives while others are fleeting in the digital space. Within African American online cultural practices call the review of someone's evidence, often in the form of screenshots, as pulling receipts. The pulling of the archive also has value in that activists' communities can recall video archives and other visual culture to inform their political thinking in real-time.

The ability to place iconic activists figures in conversation in real-time political debates follows in the Sankofa tradition of channeling the past to see where one is going in the future. The restrictive structure of digital platforms promotes discourse that includes iconic symbols to truncate communicative messaging. In online space, everyday discourse speaks to multiple audiences at the same time and its shared communal practices and use of commonly shared resources contribute to the fleeting nature of the digital record.

How does the practice of conceptualizing and building hope collectively over social media connect to offline activism?

There are similarities and differences between how hope gets framed between online and offline spaces. Due to the confining parameters of social media, hope gets performed more through Black joy and Black play than what we see in offline space. This is partly due to social media's use as a leisurely activity and the technology's affordances for Black cultural play or signifyin' practice.

As the line between online and offline blurs, digital cultural production bleeds into offline world. In the case of #EndMoneyBail, hashtag culture was very prominent in offline campaigns. The nature of digital communication influences how physical space frame and create awareness about campaigns.

Interpretation of the Findings

This work has implications for understanding social movement theorizing by including a technoculture lens to the abeyance formation of social movement continuity theory. This work also contributes to Black cultural studies In taking the issues of racial bias in big data algorithmic analyses seriously and acknowledging Critical Technoculture Discourse Analysis' original design as a small data analytic approach, I designed a method for using CTDA in massive data analysis by triangulating the methods to increase the validity of the analysis (Chapter 2). By focusing on the technocultural artifact of Twitter and user discourse framed through theories of critical race and intersectionality, I built upon social movement continuity by adding a critical lens to the concept of culture as articulated within the theory. Understanding how Black activists pass along emancipatory knowledge in public is vital for understanding the role of African American cultural production and the intersection of race and gender plays in the mobilization process of social movements. Whereas theories of social movements overlook the role of race in social movements partly due to anti-blackness, using an intersectional lens and centering the work of Black women illustrates mobilization dynamics during times of abeyance.

The factors contributing to the Movement for Black Lives' transition into abeyance include goal attainment, changes in political opportunity, division as to next steps. The change in movement dynamics places a strain on the commitment levels of members and potential recruits. Emancipatory hope works as framing vehicle that diagnosis and prognosis issues and motivates members into action through assigning symbolic movement identities to build consensus.

Regarding Black cultural studies, the platform of Twitter shapes the discourse that occurs within its boundaries and bleeds to offline discourse. African American discourse style of the duality of meaning, play, and maintaining "the cool" makes their political-cultural production uniquely compatible for managing social movements in online space under the hyper-gaze of the digital. While training the machine learning software to identify the code "hope" and its derivatives, I quickly learned that the machine was unable to capture African American cultural production by default. As the coding process began, I discovered that codes for "love," "joy," "self-care," and "play" had to be included as well as taking into account explicit use of the terms conversationally and acts representative of the words.

To verify my findings of the discourse practices found online, I set up a method triangulation to see if offline discourse and movement constructions were consistent with the findings on Twitter. This dissertation illustrated how Black activists leverage online resources and their cultural tradition to sustain themselves in time of unfavorable political opportunity. By focusing on the framing process and the concept of culture as an approximation of culture as defined in social movement continuity theory, I demonstrated the framing process and social construction of movement identities framed through the lens of emancipatory hope.

Implications for Theory and Research

Chapter 1 included descriptions of several theoretical concepts used to build my framework for social movement continuity. These concepts included abeyance, social movement framing process, and the social construction of movement identities. How the

framework of emancipatory hope discovered in this study fits with these concepts is discussed in the following sections.

Abeyance

Taylor's theory of abeyance is predicated on the idea that movement activity changes from protest driven to internally focused, conserving ideology and resources. In this study, as the Movement for Black Lives enters into an era of more politically hostile climate, the organizations of the movement in the Mid-Atlantic region began to channel their intentions on ideological maintenance, collective self-care, and programming focused on agenda items less in an external conflict.

Leveraging the resources made available in the digital age, activists in the movement enact the Black cultural tradition of "the cool," playing on a duality of meaning-making to communicate to general members and audience stakeholders. As the movement persists during the Trump-era, the framework of emancipatory hope is channeled to communicate and perform hope, a framing vehicle by which emancipatory knowledge is passed along under the public gaze.

Framing Process

When comparing this study's results with the framing process, similarities, and differences exist. The hyper-personalized and non-physical nature of the digital environment places a greater emphasis on the cultural production of movement work. As such, the work draws upon social movement theories that privilege the communicative nature of movements, the framing alignment process. The process is not only useful for

thinking about the movement mobilizing for action, but also for thinking through the dynamics of movements transitioning out of peaking mobilization.

Consistent with how the theory has articulated, the construction of each of the framing tasks is created relative to the specific issue at hand. In digital space, the affordances for discourse allows room for explicit and implied messaging due to the use of images and hashtags in conversational play. Emancipatory hope plays a role in framing the issues and solutions of the movement in a manner that galvanizes moral and motivates into action.

Movement Identities

Consistent with Hunt et al.'s interpretation of the construction of identity fields (1994), movement identities work discursively with the framing tasks to motivate people into action and corral sentiment. During times of abeyance, a more considerable emphasis is placed on the emotional work to sustain a movement through seemingly less active times. Emancipatory hope is often used here to make a metaphor of iconic activists to model types of behaviors required for insurgency work. Hope is also used to cast a figure as an antagonist, often done through discourse play or "shade."

Neoliberalism's impact on activism has caused a greater emphasis on individualism, personalization, and market-driven language. As such, a significant difference in the findings and the theory of identity fields exist as to how the audience field is conceptualized. With a greater emphasis on voting and the importance of digital traffic to create trending topics, the audience field plays a more active role in the era of digital activism then what is described by Hunt et al.

Social Movement Continuity

The connectivity from one era of movement mobilization to another is connected by successfully designed abeyance structures. The external factors contributing to the conditions for abeyance are those not controlled by activists themselves including changes in the opportunity structures, which can include changes in leadership within the state, attainment in movement objectives, and changes in the relationship with the political elite. Consistent with the theory, the Movement for Black Lives has lived through a shift in U.S. presidents and political parties, the successful obtainment of movement objectives at the local level, and the loss of attention in a fast-paced media environment.

Differences exist between how the internal factors of the movement function in theory compared to the findings. All internal factors are elements that the movement can control including: 1) the length of time an organization can hold membership; 2) the level of commitment one has to the ideas, beliefs, goals, and tactics; 3) an organization's ability to police for high levels of commitment among its membership; 4) the structuring of the organization around a singular administrative direction to increase productivity and give a single strategy to be carried out by activists; and 5) culture as embodied in its collective emotions, beliefs, and actions making activism more attractive. Here organizations carry out alternative cultural frameworks to provide meaning to the marginalized.

In previous eras of mobilization theorizing, the temporality, commitment, and exclusiveness of a movement in abeyance emphasized the dependence on centralization of the movement's administrative direction more than movement culture. The thinking

here has shifted, whereas the digital is infused with the logic of neoliberalism, connective action forms as a byproduct. Connective action places a greater emphasis on individualism and personalization, instead of centralization of administration. As a result, my findings suggested that culture plays a much more significant role in the "survival of the doldrums" (Rupp and Taylor 1987). Within African American political, cultural production in the digital, activists rely on collective action frames to assign tasks through the framework I have named as emancipatory hope.

Reflections on Social Movements Theorizing and Neoliberalism

In the present globalized neoliberal era, distinctly different alignments of social, political, and cultural forces occupy movement spaces. Some movements now exist made up of the politically privileged. These "elite revolts" are social movements primarily comprised of groups who command access to power, resources, and appropriate frames of the disposed of to promote an agenda of exclusion or status quo maintenance (Goldstone 1982). This is evident in the rise of the "New Right" movement, which pushed for freedom imagined differently than the movements of the 1960s and early 20th century (Betz and Immerfall 1998; Kriesi 1999). Instead of equality for African Americans and women, freedom was framed around American businesses interests. Neoliberalism is the prism by which global capitalism has altered the state, sovereignty, citizenship, national identity, the public/private distinction, and the meaning of the political (Roy and Gambetti 2008). In this sense, Neoliberalism creates the intellectual space for the New Right movement.

Simultaneously, contemporary social movements representing the "politics of the dispossessed" have gained a new resolve and prominence (Emadi 2001; Porta and Diani

1999). The neoliberal era has created a different set of opportunity structures and norms for political engagement through new configurations of exclusion and disempowerment. Latin American social movement scholars note movements can provide personable alternatives to the impersonal market logic of neoliberal structure (Eckstein 2001; Foweraker 1995). What seemingly is taking place within contemporary movements is the focus on creating space to exist rather than creating institutions. The interface of social media and the accompanying mistrust of past social movement organizations (which invested heavily in respectability politics to gain political access) have led to different configurations of social movement insurgency -- including the Black Lives Matter movement; Occupy Wall Street; and Arab Spring.

With the inclusion of culture and narrative, social movement studies have become increasingly more multidisciplinary than its original intellectual configuration. However, much of the theorizing is still overwhelmingly disciplined in nature, with the canon of social movement scholarship having not yet expanded to fully embrace theorists of color. This is particularly troubling as we take note of how many theorists were excluded from disciplinary pursuits during the era of canonization of many of these theories.

Furthermore, the field has yet to reassess theories from scholars of color within the field of social movement studies (Bracey 2016). Movement scholarship now has an opportunity to reconsider and analyze thinking that was historically dismissed or ignored. For example, the most popular telling of Black history cast the Civil Rights movement, the Abolitionist movement, and the Harlem Renaissance/Black Arts movement as distinct and separate events. The Abolitionist movement in the U.S. was an effort to end slavery

in a nation that valued personal freedom only for some while living under the creed, "all men are created equal."

From the perspective of African Americans, neoliberalism is not new. What is new about the financialization of everyday life to a slave on the auction block? The phenomenon of the United States claiming values with which its actions do not align is not a new phenomenon as Foucault's concept would lead one to believe, as Black enslavement in the United States fell beyond his scope. I suspect this explains why African American cultural practices play so well in surviving the neoliberal-digital era.

Limitations

Channeling the work of scholars such as Sarah Florini (2017), Catherine Steele (2017), Heidi Campbell and Oren Golan (2011), studies examining the digital life shouldn't talk about any social media platform in isolation as user communities tend to exist across multiple platforms, oscillating among them with the same group of people using the different spaces in different ways. Herein I only examined the discourse practice found on Twitter. This raises questions as to how the framing process of hope and the social construction of movement identities look differently if examined on alternative platforms and oscillating among a collection of platforms including Facebook's family of platforms. What might these other platforms, which have different rules for engagement and discourse affordances, tell us about the framing process and the utilization of hope, particularly during times of low visibility?

Whereas the sampling method facilitated my access to Black activist respondents was necessary for outlining the framing process, it is unclear to what extent my findings

are generalizable to Black activist communities at large. With the majority of my offline respondents affiliated at the chapter level of nationally run institutions, it may be the case that had I been able to capture more respondents outside of the Mid-Atlantic region that I may have had more generalizable findings.

Finally, although I was able to include a sizeable amount of Twitter data, the sheer scale of Tweets online means my sample mean is quite small for any quantitative study. The data collection and analysis tools made available to me as a graduate student was limiting. As the digital humanities continue to increase its research presence at the graduate level, it is imperative the humanities make mixed method software available to students.

Future Research

This research has implications for how we understand social movement theorizing by including a technoculture lens to the abeyance formation of social movement continuity theory. Several key questions, some of which I have mentioned in the previous sections and several that warrant more detailed attention here. First, as alluded to in the Limitations section, future research should consider the generalizability of the findings as a mixed method study. The offline methods need expansion and given more national coverage.

Next, this is a project dependent on the connection of the Movement for Black Lives to past movements. Connecting the current continuity to the previous eras of Black insurgency and abeyance is crucial to understanding both the efforts to mobilize and sustain movements. Including critical race and intersectionality in the analysis of the

historical observations of this project may uncover movement activity once thought invisible to the gaze of history and theorizing.

Finally, as mentioned in the Limitations section, digital life occurs on multiple platforms all at once. Understanding the role of culture in online space requires conducting a digital ethnography that captures the flow of communication across multiple platforms. Whereas this research has an understanding of the discourse practices given the rules of engagement and affordances allowed on Twitter's platform, how do variances in affordances across platforms influence the framing process particularly the role of live stream capabilities found within Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook, and Periscope?

Appendix A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PROJECT TITLE: Emancipatory Hope: Reclaiming Black Social Movement Continuity

---

My name is Kevin Winstead. I am a graduate student in American Studies at the University of Maryland College Park. I am conducting a study of Black political/social justice engagement. I am asking for your participation in an interview. The Informed Consent Form for Participation in Research has been read to you informing you of your rights in this study.

By moving forward, you agree to participate. Your participation is confidential. Your participation is voluntary and if you become uncomfortable with the material, you may discontinue at any time. Your refusal to participate has no penalty. You must be 18 years or older to take part in this research study.

I. Background

- Hi, name, I know you from your involvement with x, tell me more about what you do/did with that organization and how you got involved?
  - ➢ Probes: How long have you been involved? What is your role? What other organizations or activities have you participated in? I often hear a lot of people differentiate between being an activist and a member of a specific group/organization, what do you think?
- How long have you been involved in political organizing?/What was your first experience with political organizing/social justice/community work outreach?
- Thinking about that first experience, what led you to get involved?

II. Personal Identity (The personal motivations and role of the participants?)

- Do you think of yourself as an activist? Why or why not?

- What are the personal motives for your work in these movements and organizations?

- How do you see your work linked to the local, national, international movement for Black Lives?

III. Political Collective Identities (The real meaning *Ina Peters*)

- What is the real meaning of movement for Black Lives?

- How has that meaning changed from Obama to Trump?

  - What does the election of Donald Trump really mean to the people you organize with?

- What have you witnessed as the core internal debates within activist communities in responding to the shifting political landscape under Trump?

- How does the current movement for Black Lives differ/ follow previous era's Black movements?

IV. Experience

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your experience with political organizing.

- What has been some of the memorable successes?

- **Failures -** What are some key challenges or failures you have experienced?

  - Internal Frustrations - What are some internal challenges or frustrations you have experienced?

    a) How did you continue in light of those failures?

  - What are some of the internal challenges/frustrations facing the movement for Black Lives?

    a) How did you address those failures? or how did you continue in light of those failures?

  - **Societal Frustrations -** What about the communities you are trying to protect have frustrated you?

a) How has social media contributed to resolving or exacerbating those frustrations?

- **Community**
  - ➢ How do you see the movement and activist's role in serving our democracy?
  - ➢ What advice would you share for future generations of Black political activists?
- **Self care**
  - ➢ What prompts you to take a step back?
  - ➢ How do you take care of yourself?
  - ➢ How do you know when to jump back in?

V. Influences

- Who are the people that influence your political thinking and activism?
- Are there readings that have influenced your thinking and involvement?
- Are family members, friends, or other folks in your immediate circle involved in political organizing now or were they when you were growing up?
- When we think of the history of Black Lives Matter we think about Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, Opal Tometi how does that translate to what you have seen locally?

VI. Final Thoughts

- Is there anything you have seen or know that makes you hopeful?

Demographic Info:

Age:

Gender:

Education:

Marital status?

Parental status?

Profession:

Income: < $20,000

$20,000-$39,000

$40,000-$59,000

$60,000- $79,000

>$80

Current location:

How would you describe yourself politically?

Political Ideology: How would you describe your political ideology: Slightly Conservative, Conservative, Moderate, Slightly Liberal, Liberal

Does these terms accurately reflect your political outlook?

Appendix B

CLIENT NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT

This CLIENT NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT, effective as of the date last set forth below (this "Agreement"), between the undersigned actual or potential client ("Client") and **Rev.com, Inc.** ("Rev.com") is made to confirm the understanding and agreement of the parties hereto with respect to certain proprietary information being provided to Rev.com for the purpose of performing translation, transcription and other document related services (the "Rev.com Services"). In consideration for the mutual agreements contained herein and the other provisions of this Agreement, the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. Scope of Confidential Information

1.1. "Confidential Information" means, subject to the exceptions set forth in Section 1.2 hereof, any documents or other text supplied by Client to Rev.com for the purpose of performing the Rev.com Services.

1.2. Confidential Information does not include information that: (i) was available to Rev.com prior to disclosure of such information by Client and free of any confidentiality obligation in favor of Client known to Rev.com at the time of disclosure; (ii) is made available to Rev.com from a third party not known by Rev.com at the time of such availability to be subject to a confidentiality obligation in favor of Client; (iii) is made available to third parties by Client without restriction on the disclosure of such information; (iv) is or becomes available to the public other than as a result of disclosure by Rev.com prohibited by this Agreement; or (v) is developed independently by Rev.com or Rev.com's directors, officers, members, partners, employees, consultants, contractors, agents, representatives or affiliated entities (collectively, "Associated Persons").

2. Use and Disclosure of Confidential Information

2.1. Rev.com will keep secret and will not disclose to anyone any of the Confidential Information, other than furnishing the Confidential Information to Associated Persons, directly involved in providing the Rev.com Services, provided that such Associated Persons agree to be bound by this Client Non-Disclosure Agreement. Rev.com will not use any of the Confidential Information for any purpose other than performing the Rev.com Services on Client's behalf. Rev.com will use reasonable care and adequate measures to protect the security of the Confidential Information and to attempt to prevent any Confidential Information from being disclosed or otherwise made available to unauthorized persons or used in violation of the foregoing. Rev.com shall keep all confidential information in a secure place as to prevent unauthorized access to it and will not sell, market, disclose, or otherwise make available any confidential information publicly or to any third party for any purpose. Rev.com shall notify the client of any breach of the terms of this agreement within 72 hours. Rev.com shall restrict access to the confidential information to parties that are necessary to carry out the purpose and shall ensure and guarantee that any parties who may learn of any Confidential Information will comply with the terms of this agreement. Rev.com shall not make any copies or reproductions of the Confidential Information in any medium or format other than for the purpose specified in this agreement.

2.2. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein, Rev.com is free to make, and this Agreement does not restrict, disclosure of any Confidential Information if required in a judicial, legislative or administrative investigation or proceeding or to a government or other regulatory agency; provided that, if permitted by law, Rev.com provides to Client prior notice of the intended disclosure and permits Client to intervene therein to protect its interests in the Confidential Information, and cooperate and assist Client in seeking to obtain such protection.

3. Certain Rights and Limitations

3.1. All Confidential Information will remain the property of Client.

3.2. This Agreement imposes no obligations on either party to purchase, sell, license, transfer or otherwise transact in any products, services or technology.

3.3. No Party shall use the other Party's name, trademarks, or business in whole or in part, including without limitations for advertising or publicity purposes, without the express written consent of the other Party.

4. Termination

4.1. Upon Client's written request, Rev.com agrees to use good faith efforts to return promptly to Client any Confidential Information that is in writing and in the possession of Rev.com and to certify the return or destruction of all Confidential Information; provided that Rev.com may retain a summary description of Confidential Information for archival purposes.

4.2. The rights and obligations of the parties hereto contained in Sections 2 (Use and Disclosure of Confidential Information) (subject to Section 2.1), 3 (Certain Rights and Limitations), 4 (Termination), and 5 (Miscellaneous) will survive the return of any tangible

embodiments of Confidential Information and any termination of this Agreement.

5. Miscellaneous

5.1. Client and Rev.com are independent contractors and will so represent themselves in all regards. Nothing in this Agreement will be construed to make either party the agent or legal representative of the other or to make the parties partners or joint venturers, and neither party may bind the other in any way. This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with the laws of the State of California governing such agreements, without regard to conflicts-of-law principles. Rev.com acknowledge and agree that, without prejudices to any other rights and remedies it may have, Sidra shall be entitled to the granting of inequitable relief (including without limitation injunctive relief) concerning any threatened or actual breach of any of the provisions of this Agreement. This Agreement (together with any agreement for the Rev.com Services) contains the complete and exclusive agreement of the parties with respect to the subject matter hereof and supersedes all prior agreements and understandings with respect thereto, whether written or oral, express or implied. If any provision of this Agreement is held invalid, illegal or unenforceable by a court of competent jurisdiction, such will not affect any other provision of this Agreement, which will remain in full force and effect. No amendment or alteration of the terms of this Agreement will be effective unless made in writing and executed by both parties hereto. A failure or delay in exercising any right in respect to this Agreement will not be presumed to operate as a waiver, and a single or partial exercise of any right will not be presumed to preclude any subsequent or further exercise of that right or the exercise of any other right. Any modification or waiver of any provision of this Agreement will not be effective unless made in writing. Any such waiver will be effective only in the specific instance and for the purpose given.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have caused this Agreement to be executed below by their duly authorized signatories.

CLIENT

By: Kevin C. Winstead

Name: Kevin C. Winstead

Title: Graduate Student

Date May 24, 2019

REV.COM, INC.

By: David Abrameto

Name: David Abrameto

Title: CFO

Date: May 24, 2019

Address for notices to Client:

Suite 1104 Taliaferro Hall
4280 Chapel Lane
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742

Address for notices to Rev.com, Inc.:

222 Kearny Street, Ste 800
San Francisco, CA 94108

LIBC/4524740.1

Appendix C

Institutional Review Board
1204 Marie Mount Hall ● 7814 Regents Drive ● College Park, MD 20742 ● 301-405-4212 ● irb@umd.edu

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Project Title	*Emancipatory Hope: Reclaiming Black Social Movement Continuity*
Purpose of the Study	*This research is being conducted by **Kevin Winstead** at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because of your experience with community activism. The purpose of this research project is to gain better understanding of Black social movement organizing.*
Procedures	*I will begin by discussing the study with you, and you can then decide if you will consent to participate in the study. Then the consent form will be read to you, which gives you details about this study, your rights as a participant, and contact information in case you have questions. You will be asked questions about your experience in activist organizations that will take approximately 60 minutes to complete. Responses will be audio recorded, however, if you do not feel comfortable being audio recorded, type written notes will be taken, and you may still participate in the study.* *Sample Questions:* *I. How do you see your work linked to the local, national, international movement for Black Lives?* *II. Who are the people that influence your political thinking and activism?*
Potential Risks and Discomforts	*There are no anticipated risks, although it is possible you may experience some discomfort while answering questions on topics you may perceive as sensitive. If you choose to participate but at any point become uncomfortable with the material, you are free to cease participation without penalty. You may also skip questions you do not feel comfortable answering.*

Potential Benefits	*There are no direct benefits from participation in this research. However, possible benefits include contributing to an important area of research. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through an improved understanding of Black political engagement.*
Confidentiality	*Only researchers related to this study will have access to data collected from this interview. Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by* ***storing data in a secure, locked facility. Digital materials will be stored in encrypted; password protected personal hard drives.*** ***All identifying organizational information will be censored outside if the city location. All personal information will be censored outside of sex and age.*** *If I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.*
Right to Withdraw and Questions	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.* *If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the investigator:* ***Principal Investigator:*** ***Jan Padios*** ***1328D Tawes Hall*** ***University of Maryland College Park*** ***College Park, MD 20742*** ***jmpadios@umd.edu*** ***Co-Principle Investigator:*** ***Kevin Winstead*** ***1194 Taliaferro Hall*** ***University of Maryland College Park*** ***College Park, MD 20742*** ***KWins@umd.edu***

Participant Rights	*If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:* University of Maryland College Park Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, Maryland, 20742 E-mail: irb@umd.edu Telephone: 301-405-0678 *This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.*	
Statement of Consent	*Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction, and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.* *If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.*	
Signature and Date	**NAME OF PARTICIPANT** **[Please Print]**	
Statement of Consent	**SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT**	
Signature and Date	**DATE**	

Appendix D

Recruitment Materials

Hello

I am conducting a study examining how justice activists remain committed to the goals of social justice organizations in the face of growing resistance. Would you be willing to participate in an interview about your motivation for being involved in social justice activism? For your convenience, the meeting can be conducted in person or through video conference. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Potential participants must be over the age of 18 and members of social justice organizations.

This study has been approved by the Internal Review Board of the University of Maryland.

Thank you

Kevin Winstead
Graduate Researcher
American Studies
University of Maryland College Park

Appendix E

IRB Approval

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742-5125
TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475
irb@umd.edu
www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

DATE:	March 23, 2018
TO:	Kevin Winstead
FROM:	University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB
PROJECT TITLE:	[1127236-1] Emancipatory Hope: Reclaiming Black Social Movement Continuity
REFERENCE #:	
SUBMISSION TYPE:	New Project
ACTION:	APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE:	March 23, 2018
EXPIRATION DATE:	March 22, 2019
REVIEW TYPE:	Expedited Review
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of March 22, 2019.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

Appendix F

Sample Theory-Driven Codes

Table 1. Sample Theory-Driven Codes

Code	Description	Example
Framing Process		
Diagnostic Framing	Describes a social problem related to Movement for Black Lives policy platform	RT @zellieimani: Hope you don't get killed for going to school, work or church today. RT @LeslieMac: A1. We are missing an emotional & spiritual analysis of our strategy & tactics IMO #ReviveLove https://t.co/yas4bprBGX
Motivational Framing	Describes framing doing the emotional work to galvanize people into action	Let's be in this for the work y'all, because it is our sacred duty to fight for freedom, because we owe it to our Ancestors, our people, and the generations to come because Spirit has given us life and gifts for this purpose. #KillTheEgo #DoTheWork #LetsGetFree
Prognostic Framing	Describes solutions to diagnosed problems	RT @LatoyaWright: @BlackWomensBP @FarahTanis1 @womensmarch Empowering our women, helping them be free from slavery is a hope waiting to be free
Identity Fields		

Protagonists	Messaging that cast a figure as model for behavior	Our Beloved Brother el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz/Malcolm X would have been 92 today. Summoning his Spirit. #LetsGetFree #HappyBirthdayMalcolm
Antagonists	Messaging that casts a villain figure	Hope this will bring justice to the families of Rashan Charles, Edson Da Costa and too many more. Time to get killer cops off our streets Hope the changes in IPCC mean that when officers kill people, they dont get away with it. #ZeroConviction
Audience	Messaging used to negotiate will the general public	beating back against those trying to kill you, that's hope, that's prayer. that's believing you will live a long and free life. #underground

Code	Description	Example
Hope	Explicit statements of hope.	RT @El_Jemedari: "Hope is the memory of love" -Pancho Argüelles #RR2016
Hopeful		
Hopelessness	One without hope	
Joy	For me Black joy and Black mourning are inherently tied. There is joy in the mourning just as there is mourning in the joy. Black joy is always intermeshed with the knowledge of survival, but that's exactly what makes it so potent." -Benji Hart •	After watching all that #Blackness at Regal Cinemas. We walked out to experience #WakandaInDC Who needed Disney On Ice around the corner when you could have enjoyed all this #BlackBoyJoy #BlackPanther #WakandaForever #GalleryPlace #Blacklivesmatter

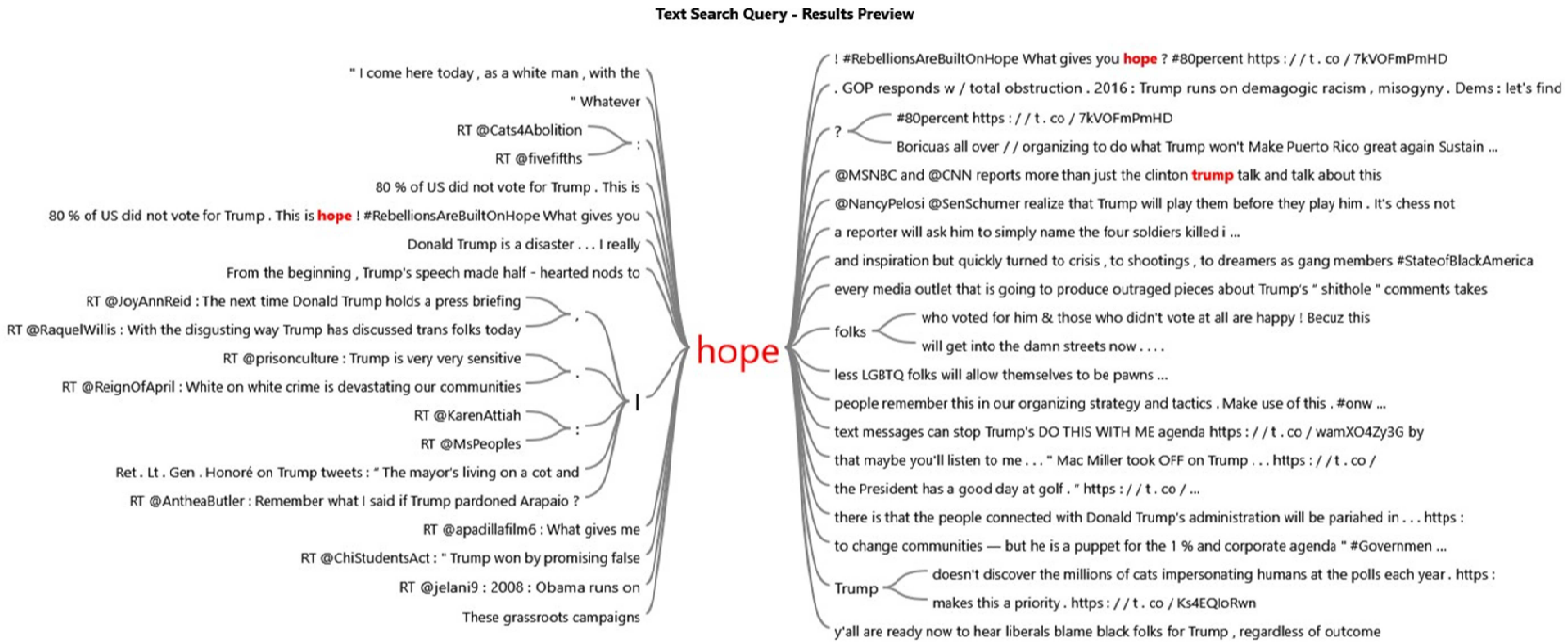
		#BlackJoyMatter #Wakanda
Joyful		
Self-Care	Intentional messaging aimed at emotional maintenance	

Category of Theme	Final Coding Framework	Initial Coding framework
Protagonists	Icons	Fannie Lou Hamer Huey Fundi Mother (personal) Frederick Douglass Puerto Rico
	Everyday hero	The People Incarcerated Mothers Black women
Antagonists	Gentrification	Mayor Bowser City board
	"The Police"	Police Response The Media Washington DC PD Chicago PD Oakland PD Baltimore
	The State	White Supremacy Immigration Police Violence Charlottesville Donald Trump
Audience		Vote

		Yall (general)
	Administrative Resistance	Police presence Departmental lies ACLU Lawsuit
Diagnostic		Near Act The State Police incarceration Education #IfTheyGunMeDown #ColorOfSurvailance
Prognostic		Voting Buy Black Organizing #EndMoneyBail #BlackLoveSeries
Motivational		#LetsGetFree #WeAllWeGot #WeGonBeAight #BLM #BlackLivesMatter Free Freedom Joy #ForceChange #DoTheWork

		#BlackJoy #BlackBoyJoy #BlackGirl #BlackGirlMagic #BlackGirlJoy #RebellionsAreBuiltOnHope

Figure 27. Sample Code Tree



Appendix G

Colored Conventions Data

Figure 28. Attendance Rates of Delegates Representing New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania at National Colored Conventions, 1830-1879

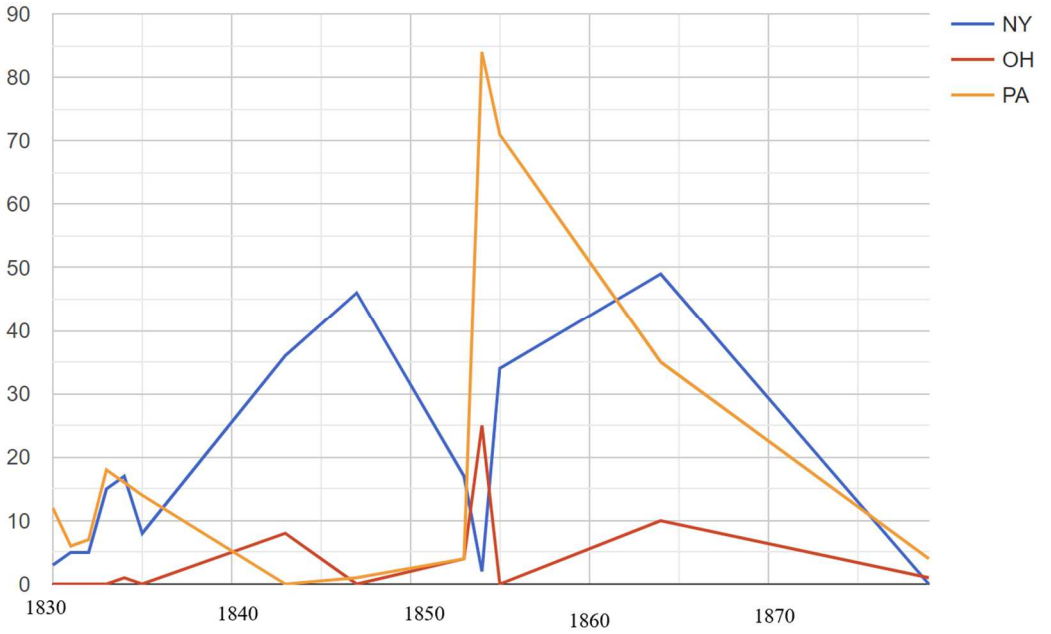


Figure 3. Colored Conventions by Year, 1830-1879

Figure 29. Colored Conventions by Year, 1830-1879.

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