Connective Networks and the New Sanctuary Movement: Solidarity with Edith Espinal

Thesis

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By

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Abstract

Protest participation is changing with the advent of new digital media platforms and the use of the internet. This change in participation means that the choreography of a protest is not limited by hierarchical boundaries: participants on digital media platforms can become choreographers. This new group of choreographers, the multitude, can cast protest subjects in roles created horizontally in connective networks, by contrast to the vertical relationships created by collective networks and mainstream media. This study examines how Edith Espinal’s role as a New Sanctuary Movement activist was created by Facebook and Twitter through a connective network. I argue that the activist role in which Edith Espinal is cast is ratified by connective networks and is veiled by collective networks in the mainstream media. Espinal’s protest and the roles in which she is cast are essential to study today as the New Sanctuary Movement continues to grow and digital media platforms evolve, creating new avenues for participation in connective networks.
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Introduction: The New Town Square

“The Internet is becoming the town square for the global village of tomorrow”

Bill Gates stated in his book *Business @ the Speed of Thought* (Gates, 1999). The local town square serves as a location for different types of gatherings for a community, but today the town square can also be found online with digital media platforms. The “internet of things” has opened the doors for global human connection (Morgan, 2014). Finding love, ordering groceries, and participating in a protest can all be done from home as long as there is an internet connection. There has been new research from varying fields about the impact of the internet and digital media platforms on protests and activism. This internet of things has allowed people to reach a larger audience than those who attend in-person protests and vigils. This change in how people are able to connect with one another has affected many different aspects of day-to-day life; one of these aspects is participation in protest. Although, many people have been involved in this change this study will focus on one individual, Edith Espinal. Espinal’s experience with the internet and protest serves to exemplify her desire to become a United States citizen. In this study, the Facebook page, *Solidarity with Edith Espinal*, will be examined. It is the central page for Edith Espinal’s New Sanctuary Movement protest.

To further understand this change, the work of W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012) creates a foundation from which this impact of
the internet can be examined. This foundation is developed by categorizing action and participation into two different categories, Connective Action Networks and Collective Action Networks. Paolo Gerbaudo (2014) continues the theory of Bennett and Segerberg through the incorporation of micro-operations, which can briefly be explained as actions made on the internet, specifically digital media platforms. This study intends to use the works of Bennett and Segerberg, as well as Gerbaudo, to show how Edith Espinal has been cast in an activist role on two digital media platforms, Facebook and Twitter.

During Espinal’s sanctuary journey, she has been cast in different roles, such as a mother and a victim, in the mainstream media. Mainstream media is defined and will be used in this study as “forms of mass communication, such as newspapers, television, and radio (as opposed to the internet)” (Oxford English Dictionary). On two digital media platforms, Espinal is cast in a role that is different from the ones in mainstream media: she is primarily an activist.

Action, participation and casting in roles, all work together to answer the question: How does digital media platform protest cast people in different roles from those shown in mainstream media? This thesis examines this question through a case study of the New Sanctuary Movement and Edith Espinal. In particular, this thesis examines how the use of the different types of actions and participation as presented by Bennett and Segerberg can be used in conjunction with micro-operations identified by Gerbaudo to explain how Edith Espinal’s role as an activist was created. In examining this use of different actions, participation and micro-operations, this study will draw from other scholars as well, such as Delueze and Guattari (1988), and Michael Hardt and
Antonio Negri (2004). In addition, as this thesis draws its examples from both the mainstream media and the internet, different local news stations will be used for sources and two digital media platforms will be examined, Facebook and Twitter. This analysis will show how actions and participation in the digital media examples create a network, in which micro-operations can cast subjects of a protest in roles that are different from the mainstream media roles. These roles are different because they are selected by a multitude of participants instead of just a select few, by contrast to how mainstream media functions. To better understand how this will be accomplished, the following will provide definitions of key terms relating to the internet and digital media platforms, and a brief summary of the chapters to come.

Defining Terms

Instead of the face-to-face talk of town squares, digital media platforms have their own sets of micro-operations for communication. This study heavily relies on sources from Facebook and Twitter. Each of these platforms has its own set of micro-operations that will be defined here to prevent confusion in the later chapters. The Facebook terms will be defined first followed by the Twitter terms. It should become apparent that the terminology for both of these digital media platforms often denotes similar micro-operations; they just use different terminology to describe the same actions.

First, Facebook consists of billions of different users who all have individual Facebook pages. Each individual page can be controlled by the person who created it, or by anyone who is an administrator of the page (Abram, 2013). A page can “belong to” an individual, a corporation, a cause, an event, a film, or essentially anyone or anything. The
administrator has the ability to set profile, cover, and introductory photographs on every page. The administrator also has the ability to post, make comments, like, follow, and perform a wide variety of actions on the page (Abram, 2013). Other Facebook users can interact with each page by performing all the actions listed above and more. However, since there are numerous options for actions, this study will focus on two that are most relevant to the protest. The first action is a “like” for a page. A like for a page is an action taken when a person clicks the like button on the page. This typically means that a person approves of the page and does not mind, or wants other Facebook users to know that they like the page. Once a user likes a page, it will be shown on that user’s personal page under their lists of likes (Abram, 2013). The second action that can be taken is the option to “follow” a page. Following a page is another button that a person can select and typically signifies that a person wants to be kept up to date as to the actions on the page. This update takes place on the person’s personal newsfeed, which is their homepage for Facebook. A person may receive notifications of changes in their personal notifications section. A follow is different from a like, as it will not appear on a person’s personal page. In addition, these actions are not mutually exclusive. A Facebook user has the option to like and/or follow any page (Abram, 2013).

The next key micro-operations of Facebook is the “posts” and its respective interactions. A Facebook post is simply a text, a photo, video, or other form of multimedia that is shared on a page. Posts can be published on a person’s personal page, or the page of another. When creating the post, there are varieties of techniques that can be used to attract attention to the post. The one that will be focused on in this study is the
ability to “tag” something in the post. Tagging a page in a post means that an additional page is linked in the text (Abram, 2013). This link then if clicked would open the tagged page.

Another user may interact with a post that has been created in many ways, however, this study will only examine three. The first action another user can make is to like, or react with an emoji to a post. An emoji is “any of various small images, symbols, or icons used in text fields in electronic communication (as in text messages, e-mail, and social media) to express the emotional attitude of the writer” (Merriam Webster, 2018). The two emojis that are seen in this study are the like reaction which is shown with a symbol of a thumbs up and the love emoji reaction which is shown as a heart symbol.

Second, a user may interact with a post by “sharing” the post. Sharing a post is when a person decides that they would also like this post shown on their page. By sharing a post they are essentially copying the post to their own page (Abram, 2013). When a post is shared there is the option to add additional text, or tags to the post. The last interaction that takes place is a “comment” on a post. A person may leave a comment on a post for all the other Facebook users to see. These comments can take various forms. They can appear as text, emojis, videos, or various other multimedia formats.

The second digital media platform that will be studied is Twitter. The first micro-operation in Twitter is the “tweet”. This is similar to idea of post on a Facebook page, however, on Twitter there is a word limit for tweets, so they often will be shorter than a Facebook post. A tweet is a short written message, photograph, video, or other multimedia message that is tweeted (shared) on a person’s Twitter page (Twitter). Tweet,
as seen previously, is both a noun and a verb; the message is a tweet and the action of sharing the tweet is tweeting (Twitter). A Twitter page is also closely related to a Facebook page as it highlights a person’s individual tweets and retweets. A retweet is essentially the same micro-operation as sharing a post on Facebook. When a tweet is retweeted by person they are copying that tweet onto their page and they have ability to add an additional comment. The next important micro-operation on Twitter, for this study, is the hashtag which is represented with the “#” symbol (Twitter). A hashtag is defined by Twitter as, “any word or phrase immediately preceded by the # symbol. When you click or tap on a hashtag, you'll see other Tweets containing the same keyword or topic” (Twitter). This symbol acts as a way to link and connect a tweet to a cause or trend. The goal of hashtags is to increase awareness of a subject or a cause. Hashtags are referred to as being trending when they are successful, which is calculated using multiple factors in an algorithm on the Twitter platform (Twitter). Trending hashtags have been known to be referenced in the mainstream media as well. Finally, the last important micro-operation on Twitter, for this study, is the ability to “mention” someone in a tweet. Twitter defines mentioning thusly, “other accounts in your Tweet by including the @ sign followed directly by their username is called a ‘mention’: also refers to Tweets in which your @username was included” (Twitter). This essentially is the same concept as tagging someone in a post that was seen with Facebook. A mention in a tweet calls attention to a twitter page or person.

The knowledge of these micro-operations and how they function will be essential to understand the significance of the Facebook and Twitter examples from Edith
Espinal’s protest. As with any developing field, this definition list is not exhaustive as these digital media platforms are constantly updating, however, for this study the definitions given should prove to be sufficient.

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter, “Setting the Stage 1980-Present,” will provide a brief historical context for events from 1980 to the present day regarding immigration, protest, policy, and the Mennonite Church as they relate to the Sanctuary Movement and New Sanctuary Movement. The texts used in this chapter will be taken from a mixture of fields. Texts included will be from policy analysis, historical accounts, legislation, and academic journal articles. The various types of texts used bring different perspectives to understanding the New Sanctuary Movement.

Chapter Two, “Choreographing Protest with Participation,” begins examining ideas of how participation functions. This examination is done through a comparison of participation qualities in collective networks and connective networks. There are different relationships to be explored between collective network theory and connective participation theory that can apply to protests and campaigns as well. These theories will be applied to the examples from historical cases in immigration protest and to the digital media platforms Facebook and Twitter. First, this is done to clarify the relationship between the theories and their application to the New Sanctuary Movement. Secondly, these examples are used because Facebook and Twitter will be examined throughout the study. Using them here as an example will help the terms and the digital media platform
be more easily understood later. These published articles and passages provide a solid theoretical framework to guide the rest of the study.

Finally, Chapter Three, “Who is Edith Espinal?” will apply the theories explained in chapters One and Two to the case of Edith Espinal and her time in sanctuary in Columbus, Ohio. Her case will be investigated first through the impacts of collective media participation and the roles in which she is cast. Secondly, her case will be examined on two digital media platforms, Facebook and Twitter, with a focus on connective protest participation and the roles into which she is cast. Since a large part of this chapter focuses on digital media platforms and mainstream media sources, many of the sources will come from non-academic areas. This includes video clips, news articles, Facebook pages, and tweets from Twitter. Academic sources, such as journal articles will also be used when required, especially in reference to the theories of the earlier chapters.

The culmination of this chapter is where this study hopes to exemplify the contrast between the two forms of network participation and the roles in which they are able to cast Edith Espinal.
Chapter 1: Setting the Stage 1980-Present

“Give me your tired, your poor / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free...” is a fragment of *The New Colossus*, the poem that is on a plaque at the Statue of Liberty on Liberty Island, New York (National Park Service, 2018). Immigrants have been immigrating to the United States for centuries, but the promise of Lady Liberty has not awaited them all. Immigrants coming to the United States have seen many changes in sentiments towards immigrants and immigration policy. One of these changes was the creation of the Sanctuary Movement. To better understand the New Sanctuary Movement, it is necessary to first understand the origin of the movement in the United States. This chapter will briefly examine the following events from 1980 to the present, immigration news stories, immigration policy, protests on immigration, and major dates in the New Sanctuary Movement. The New Sanctuary Movement in the United States has been influenced by a broader migrant rights movement that has had three different phases from 1980 until today. The beginning, which took place from 1980-1993, NAFTA and Globalization which took place from 1993-2011, and the Dreamers era, which began in 2012 and extend to the present. Therefore, the following chapter will be divided into three different sections 1980 to 1993, 1994 to 2011, and 2012 to present day. Each of these periods relates to the creation of the New Sanctuary Movement and the high stakes for Edith Espinal and her protest today.
The Beginning: 1980-1993

In July of 1980, thirteen Salvadorian refugees were found dead in the Sonoran Desert, in Arizona, of apparent heat exhaustion (Cabrera). This event was widely publicized on mainstream media and some religious organizations began to question immigration policy and their roles. While deaths at the border were not unheard of, what made these religious organizations begin to take action was the fact that the deaths were increasing and the refugees seeking asylum from political violence (Lorber, 2013). At the same time this story was spreading, the administration of President Ronald Reagan began to implement a tougher interpretation of who was considered a refugee. This meant that Latino immigrants seeking refuge from the violence in Guatemala and El Salvador were declared illegal and were often deported (Gzesh, 2006). To avoid deportation, many of these refugees began to seek help in places not connected with the United States government, such as volunteer groups and concerned religious organizations.

Jim Corbett, someone who had taken notice of the deaths on mainstream media, met refugees who needed help and felt compelled to act. Corbett, a rancher, teacher and writer in Arizona, felt as if he had to do something: "I probably never would have become involved if I had not met refugees who really needed my help" (Mathews, 1986). Corbett contacted Rev. John M. Fife of the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona with his concern and Fife agreed that this should be a cause for the church. On March 24, 1981, Southside Presbyterian Church was the first church to declare itself a sanctuary for Central Americans seeking asylum (Davidson, 2001).
After a couple years, the idea began to catch on across the United States; at its peak there were about one hundred and fifty congregations that had declared themselves sanctuaries (Gzesh, 2006). The idea behind this was these churches would defy the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) and create sanctuaries for people in need (Gzesh, 2006). These sanctuaries provided people with a place to stay, basic living necessities, and legal representation (Gonzalez, 2011). The Sanctuary Movement did face legal repercussions. In 1985, eleven Sanctuary Movement activists, including Corbett and Fife, were tried for criminal conspiracy in Arizona (Pirie, 1990). All eleven were convicted, but none of them had to serve jail time (Pirie, 1990). This trial brought increased interest to the Sanctuary Movement nationwide and additional congregations began to join and become sanctuaries (Gzesh, 2006). The Columbus Mennonite Church was one of several congregations around the country inspired to take action. The church officially joined the Sanctuary Movement by advocating for a local asylum seeker and assisting them in their legal battle with immigration authorities. (PeaceLab Podcasts, 2017).

In addition, in 1986 Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) (NEA Human and Civil Rights, 2011). IRCA created an amnesty program for current undocumented immigrants and made it illegal for employers to hire illegal immigrants (Southern Poverty Law Center). One benefit of this program was the ability for certain undocumented people to apply for legal status, but it was mainly focused on the agricultural sector. Additionally, this program was not entirely successful because the stiff fines that were supposed to be imposed on employers were largely ignored.
Reform was attempted in 1990 with the Immigration Act supported by President George H.W. Bush. This act produced an unintended consequence: a slight increase in the total number of immigrants allowed into the United States. The increased border enforcement made crossing the border more difficult, so instead of traveling back and forth many immigrants chose to stay in the United States and bring their families to join them. This act also led to the creation of the visa lottery that had the goal of diversifying the immigrants coming to the United States (Becker). The visa lottery was a strategy devised in an attempt to control which country immigrants were coming from when they entered the United States (Becker). This diversification was carried out in this policy through the implantation of regional immigration caps. According to the 1990 Immigration Act the world was divided into six regions and limits were placed on the amount of immigrants that could be selected from each region for a lottery visa (American Immigration Council, 2017).


While the congregations supporting sanctuary were growing and immigration policy was not producing the desired results, two new approaches were taken. In January of 1994, the trade agreement with the United States, Mexico and Canada, The North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect (NAFTA). While the plan was for NAFTA to benefit all three countries, this was not necessarily the outcome. For instance, corn was a subsidized staple good in Mexico yet with NAFTA the subsidies on corn were lifted, which created a challenge for Mexicans, “Sin maíz, no hay país”, it was said: without corn there is no country (Pena, 2013). Not only a slogan that was said Mexico,
but this phrase also was used on signs in protests following the introduction of NAFTA (Olson, 2008). This lack of a staple food and job provider led to many Mexican agricultural workers to seek new jobs in Mexico and in the United States, which in turn was met with more militarization on the border. In February of 1994, in response to this increase in immigration, President Bill Clinton proposed a new immigration law enforcement plan, Operation Gatekeeper, which added more patrols with the goal of pushing migrants into “more remote and difficult locations to dissuade them from crossing” (Becker).

Later in 1994, the second legislative attack on migrants took place at the state level. California passed Proposition 187, a bill that denied undocumented immigrants, “Medicaid, welfare, immunization programs, food stamps, and other public programs. It would also deny their children U.S. citizenship, even if they were born on U.S. soil” (NEA Human and Civil Rights, 2011). The passage of this proposition sparked one of the largest protests in Los Angeles history (McDonnell & Lopez, 1994). Between 70,000 and 100,000 people marched in protest and the President of Mexico at the time, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, declared the bill xenophobic and harmful to human rights of the migrant workers (Martin, 1995). Thanks to several different agencies and legal challenges, Proposition 187 was declared unconstitutional in 1997. A consequence of this bill was that it served as a wakeup call for many Latino college students in California and spurred them to see the need to continue to protect immigrant rights (NEA Human and Civil Rights, 2011).
The early 2000s were rocked by the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 as well as by more protest against anti-migrant policies and legislation. With the terrorist attack there was a rapid change in many policies and perspectives. It was reported after the terrorist attacks that, “Latino immigrants face a surge in discrimination and bias” (Southern Poverty Law Center). This surge of discrimination was felt in 2003 as the Department of Homeland Security was created and the number of border patrol agents on the Mexican – United States Border almost doubled through the authorization of 10,000 new agents (Becker). Meanwhile, in 2001, the Mennonite Church USA was formed by combining the General Conference Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Church (Mennonite USA). This merger led to unified perspectives and material on immigration and sanctuary. One of the seven priorities established for the church is the, “Undoing racism and advancing intercultural transformation”, which directly relates to aiding immigrants in need (Mennonite USA). The Mennonite church as seen in the 1980s was already taking a stance on helping immigrants, but the merger allowed for a more formal vocalization of this type of policy.

During this increase in border protection, there were hundreds of immigrants dying while crossing the border, sanctuaries attempting to provide support, and additional volunteer organizations, like No More Deaths, in Tucson actively patrolling areas to help immigrants in need (Cabrera). In December of 2005, the situation reached a boiling point with the passage of the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437), also known as the Sensenbrenner bill after one of its sponsors.
Representative Jim Sensenbrenner (Gonzalez, 2011). This bill sought to criminalize undocumented immigrants (Gonzalez, 2011).

Through the end of March to the beginning of May in 2006, there were large protests nationwide in response to the Sensenbrenner bill (Gonzalez, 2011). In Los Angeles, there was a march of at least 200,000 protestors; it was one of the largest in Los Angeles history (Ferre, et al., 2006). This large turnout was credited to the local disc jockeys (DJs) in the area that had publicized the march on their radio shows. One DJ in particular, DJ Eddie Sotelo, was the principal influencer in bringing the other local DJs together to broadcast the message of the march (Watanabe & Becerra, 2006). Columbus, Ohio also saw a march of 7,000 people protesting the Sensenbrenner bill (Gonzalez, 2011). One of the most notable protests was the May 1st protest, “A Day without Immigrants,” which attracted hundreds of thousands of protestors nationwide (Archibald, 2006). While this protest was shared on radio and television stations originally in Los Angeles, this message traveled nationwide. In Chicago, for example, during this protest there were over 400,000 marchers. There were similar protests nationwide in major cities like, Miami, New York, Seattle, Dallas, and Charleston (Gonzalez, 2011). All of these protests were focused on stopping the passage of this proposed bill and did not go unnoticed by the federal government: it did not pass the Senate (Gonzalez, 2011).

While the Senate rejected the Sensenbrenner bill, there still needed to be some sort of decision on immigration policy from the perspective of anti-migrant legislators, so in 2006 the Secured Fence Act was passed (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). This act created an additional seven hundred miles of double-reinforced fence, lighting, and
security measures along the United States – Mexico border (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). When this bill was signed President George W. Bush stated that this bill was, “an important step in our nation's efforts to secure our border and reform our immigration system” (Office of the Press Secretary, 2006). This effort to add additional security measures along the border was meant to protect the United States, provide opportunity for safer and more controlled immigration.

The Dreamers: 2012 - Present

After President Barack Obama took office in 2009, new policy began to be discussed for Latino immigrants and Dreamers in the United States. However, before President Obama came to office there had been an attempt to pass the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act or the DREAM Act (Gonzalez, 2011). This act popularized the term Dreamers for Latino immigrant children and young adults. The DREAM act had seen multiple versions since its conception in 2001, by Republican Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah and Senator Maria Cantwell (Gonzalez, 2011). This act was continually revised in Congress until 2007 when it became known as the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 (Valverde, 2018). In 2007, the act was introduced to the 110th Congress but was shut down (Valverde, 2018).

In 2012, President Obama announced Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which was an act similar to the DREAM act, but with one key difference, it was passed into law (Valverde, 2018). DACA would allow for children, who meet certain criteria, to have their deportation deferred on a two-year basis (Kopan, 2018). President Obama said, "This is a temporary stopgap measure that lets us focus our resources wisely
while giving a degree of relief and hope to talented, driven, patriotic young people” (Valverde, 2018). DACA was not necessarily intended to be the end all, cure all for Latino immigrants, but it was a measure that was supposed to ease the pressure and political tension until the administration could design a better plan (Kopan, 2018).

In addition to DACA, President Obama introduced the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) in 2014 (Gonzalez, 2011). This proposal was meant to allow more immigrants to come to and stay in the United States. This would include people who have lived in the United States since 2010, have a child who is a United States citizen or documented resident, do not have a felony conviction and do not “otherwise pose a threat to national security or be an enforcement priority for removal” (Chishti & Hipsman, 2016). This was stopped with an injunction placed by Judge Andrew Hanen of the Southern District of Texas (Chishti & Hipsman, 2016).

In 2017, the Trump administration entered into office. During his campaign, President Trump had promised to build a wall on the border between Mexico and the United States (Liptak, Merica, & Kopan, 2018). More recently, President Trump has rallied support by stating that the wall is going to be built to “stop dangerous drugs and criminals from pouring into our country” (Liptak, Merica, & Kopan, 2018). The concept of the wall on the Mexican-United States border is an inflammatory subject for many: it has been opposed on many picket signs in protests; it has been supported by some mainstream media.
An additional issue that involves the Trump administration is the state of the DACA and DAPA policies from President Obama. On June 15, 2017 DAPA was rescinded by U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security John Kelly, which made the policy officially moot and a precursor for what would take place in September (Bendix, 2017). On September 5, 2017 President Trump attempted to rescind DACA by naming March 5, 2018 as the ending date (Valverde, 2018). This action led to widespread protests across the United States in most of the major cities and universities. Universities became heavily involved in the DACA protests because many of the DACA recipients were attending college at the time (Kopan, 2018). These university resistance and off-campus protest was featured on mainstream media, but were also organized both by leaders and more organically on digital media platforms (Rhodan, 2017). On January 9, 2018 San Francisco-based U.S. District Court Judge William Alsup ruled that the “U.S. government keep DACA on the same terms and conditions that were in effect before the September rescission” (Valverde, 2018). With this ruling, the policy battle of DACA ending on March 5, 2018 was avoided, but what should replace DACA for the Dreamers is still being debated today. This study, however, will only examine President Trump’s decision and the events on and leading up to January 9, 2018. The DACA program is relevant to the many sentiments today regarding what has been called the New Sanctuary Movement.

The New Sanctuary Movement that Edith Espinal later join in Ohio began when Elvira Arellano sought sanctuary in Chicago in 2006 (Yukich, 2013). The New Sanctuary Movement has continued to build from the legacy of the 1980s Sanctuary Movement as it
offers more than just shelter. In the New Sanctuary Movement it is common for the sanctuary seekers to receive legal, financial, and spiritual support during their time in sanctuary (Yukich, 2013). As of January 2018 there were thirty-six people in sanctuary in twenty-six different cities in the United States (Orozco & Andersen, 2018). One year after the inauguration of President Trump the amount of Sanctuary Coalitions rose over 135%, from twelve Sanctuary Coalitions to forty (Orozco & Andersen, 2018). While Espinal was the first person in Ohio to seek sanctuary she is not alone in her protest: there is a growing Sanctuary Coalition and others seeking sanctuary nationwide.

Espinal is able to stay in sanctuary at the Columbus Mennonite Church for three different policy reasons. First, the Columbus Mennonite Church decided that with their history in aiding immigrants, in Columbus, they would support and provide sanctuary for Espinal. Second, a piece of federal legislation, policy 10029.2 of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement department (ICE), allows Espinal to stay in the Columbus Mennonite Church. This policy states that “enforcement actions do not occur at nor are focused on sensitive locations such as schools and churches unless (a) exigent circumstances exist” (U.S. Department of Homeland Security). Essentially, this means that ICE will not enter into a church to deport someone unless there is a threat. Third, the City of Columbus’ Ordinance 1304-2017, which will be further explained in Chapter 4, makes Columbus, Ohio a de facto Sanctuary City.

The United States has seen that the promise of an open, golden gate to immigrants is not always a reality. For centuries policy decisions have been evolving regarding immigration and immigrants have been stopped and pushed back through that gate.
Recent history of immigration protest, immigration policy, and the involvement of the Mennonite Church in immigration protest, provides evidence of an evolving national struggle. What the future holds in the policies of the administrations to come is difficult to predict, but it is important to understand why policy dictates that Edith Espinal has to be in sanctuary and how protest of such policies functions.
Chapter 2: Choreographing Protest with Participation

As of February 2018, Facebook had over two billion users and Twitter had approximately 330 million users (Chaffey, 2018). This is roughly eight social media accounts per internet user globally (Statista). With this volume of users and social media accounts, it should come as no surprise that there is protest participation taking place on these digital media platforms. Protest participation creates the roles in which Edith Espinal is cast.

Participation, for this study, is how many people are involved in something and in this case, that something is taking part in a protest campaign (Merriam Webster, 2018). Participation in protest can happen with the assistance of two different networks identified by Bennett and Segerberg, Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks and Collective Action Organizationally Brokered Networks (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). In this study, each type of network will be examined as to how it relate to Edith Espinal and the New Sanctuary Movement. The Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks use micro-operations as identified by Paolo Gerbaudo, political sociologist and author of Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism, to create the participation actions of the protest group. Micro-operations “are the many small contributions of the crowd” which in this case will be examined through digital media, specifically on two different platforms, Twitter and
Facebook (Boyle & Schmierbach, 2009). These micro-operations create the roles Espinal is cast in, which will be exemplified in Chapter Three. How does this participation on the digital media platforms differ from the mainstream media and allows Espinal to be cast differently? To answer this question, this chapter will examine three qualities of participation in Collective Action Organizationally Brokered Networks, three qualities of participation in Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks, and lastly, the results when the two forms interact and take advantage of both mainstream media and digital media platforms. This examination will illuminate how digital media platforms are able to use elements of Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks framework to cast Espinal in an activist role.

Collective Networks

Collective Action Organizationally Brokered Networks as seen in this study will use the framework set by Bennett and Segerberg, but take it a step further with the addition of a concept from Deleuze and Guatarri. Therefore in this study the term collective networks will simply be used. Collective networks, in this study, is a term that combines three different concepts, collective action, collective leadership, and striated spaces. Collective action and leadership are two key elements of the Collective Action Organizationally Brokered Network proposed by Bennett and Segerberg. The concept of striated spaces is borrowed from Delueze and Guattari. These three concepts create the idea of collective networks that can be used to understand mainstream media and how it is able to cast protest subjects in roles. This section will examine these three concepts tha
I combine to create the term “collective networks” and the two measurements used to measure the collective action participation in these networks.

Collective action and collective leadership are diverse from the ideas of Bennett and Segerberg’s work on connective action. First they vary because collective action has a “strong organizational coordination of action”, unified identities, and consolidation of resources (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Collective action seeks to create tangible, unified action with a formally established group (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). A collective action is typically led by a collective leader, who can use mass media to become a “celebrity” for the cause and formalizes the leadership of the group (Poell, Abdulla, Rieder, Woltering, & Zack, 2016). An example of a collective leader could be the organizers of one of the 1994 protest marches against California Proposition 187, like the National Coordinating Committee for Citizenship and Civic Participation (McDonnell & Lopez, 1994). This group as the collective leader for the march in Los Angeles established a time and place to protest, and in doing so established a hierarchy for the protest group. This collective leader also would be thought of as a celebrity within the group since they would be at the top of the hierarchy and well known to all the members. This was later proven true when in local newspapers the National Coordinating Committee for Citizenship and Civic Participation was given the credit for organizing the protest (McDonnell & Lopez, 1994).

Collective action and leadership define rules and boundaries for the organization, which creates a striated space. A striated space is a Deleuzian concept for a space that is, “structured and organised, creating fixed points and limits between what movements can
be undertaken” (Parr, 2010). Essentially, collective networks are created with the use of collective action and leadership, which maintains structure and striations in the organization.

With collective networks there are some simple ways to measure the collective action participation of those involved. The principal ways to measure this participation are by counting the number of people or votes for an event or election, examining level of participation intensity, and the hierarchy of the stakeholders participating in a protest.

The first way to measure participation, by counting attendance and votes, has been taking place for many years. Anthropologists have historically used attendance in town meetings to gauge citizen participation (Boyle & Schmierbach, 2009). This type of physical presence measurement was to give proof to whether there was a high, or a low interest in the meetings and the topics being discussed (Boyle & Schmierbach, 2009). Counting the votes for an election, gauges a similar metric. Measuring votes is supposed to show the support, or interest in a particular issue or topic (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). The concept of voting is a collective action that has been prevalent for centuries and is still preserved by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights today. This is seen in Article 21§23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights where it states: “The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures” (United Nations, 1948). As a universal right and a measurement of collective action participation votes and attendance, are frequently used by the mainstream media to gauge participation. An
example of this measurement can be seen in the 1994 protests in California against Proposition 187, where mainstream media sources cited the total attendance to march in Los Angeles to be between 70,000 and 100,000 people (Martin, 1995). This measurement of attendance showed a high interest from the opposition for Proposition 187. This becomes even more evident when the attendance is compared to previous marches and protests and said to be one of the largest marches in Los Angeles history (Martin, 1995).

The second measurement of collective action participation is mapping the hierarchical structure of the collective network. To create a map of the hierarchical structure of a collective network, stakeholders must be first identified. Stakeholders are anyone who has “interest or concern in an organization” (Business Dictionary). A hierarchy of stakeholders can be seen through the collective leaders as they have the ability to make decisions in the protest group, or organization. The stakeholder hierarchy that is produced can be imagined in the spirit of Deleuze and Guattari as an arborescent structure with the stakeholders at the top who have the ability to make the most decisions for the protest group (Sutton & Martin-Jones, 2008). This idea of an arborescent structure comes from the treelike shape to genealogy maps that show one individual at the top that then has many others connected to and below them (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). One change at the top of this structure would affect all of the individuals below. Those at the top of the stakeholder hierarchy are able to choreograph the protest group and its actions. The “choreography of protest” is a term that was conceived by Susan Leigh Foster and does not strictly refer to the movement of people, but to the scene setting and scripting of protest as well (Foster, 2011). This concept of protest choreography helps produce the
image of protests as performance and aids in the understanding of the protest participation forms. In addition, the existence of a choreographer of protest creates the striations in the collective network. These striations are the rules and order placed on the collective network. An example of this hierarchical structure that created striations with top stakeholders choreographing the protest is the 2006 protests in California against the Sensenbrenner bill. One of the collective leaders for this protest was disc jockey, DJ Eddie Sotelo. He used radio as his form of mainstream media to choreograph the protest. As a radio disc jockey, DJ Sotelo had the ability to script the words of the protest, set a place and time, and create the image of the protest. This enabled him to be the choreographer of the protest. He created striations, the order and identity, for the protest.

Collective networks have influential collective leaders that choreograph collective action, and create the striation. With the right tools to measure this collective action participation the collective networks can be better understood and compared to the connective networks.

Connective Networks

Following the same framework of Bennett and Segerberg, the next type of participation to be examined is in Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks. For this study, the term Connective Action Organizationally Enabled Networks will be taken a step further to include concepts from Nishant Shah. Therefore in this study the term connective networks will simply be used. “Connective networks” in this study, is a term that I use to combine the concepts of connective action, connective leadership, and a smoothing, or flattened space. These three concepts create the idea of
connective networks that can be used to understand digital media platforms and how they are able to cast protest subjects in roles. This section will examine these three concepts that create connective networks, the measurement of connective action with micro-operations, and how they all contribute to casting Edith Espinal in the role of an activist on digital media platforms.

The first of these concepts is connective action; Bennett and Segerberg suggest that connective action can be recognized as action made using digital media as its “core” for engagement (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This connective action is self-motivated because it depends on the co-production and co-distribution of the information (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). As a self-motivated action, the participation is a vehicle for personal expression (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This type of co-productive, co-distributive, and self-motivated connective action is seen in the micro-operations on digital media platforms (Gerbaudo, 2012)

Micro-operations on digital media platforms can take place without formal committee meetings, or the set hours of operation that may be present in collective networks. For example, a micro-operation on a digital media platform could be a tweet written by a member of the campaign that is then retweeted by another member twelve hours later. This type of micro-operation would align directly with the self-motivated, co-distribution of the connective action. A retweet could easily lead to many additional micro-operations on Twitter that spread, react to, and comment on the original tweet. These tweets and the other micro-operations with Twitter all in turn choreograph the online protest. While Foster’s concept of choreographies of protest is used to analyze in-
person, physical action during protest, this study will apply the concept to the online space. This connective action on digital media platforms allows for each individual that performs a micro-operation to be a connective leader.

The second quality to a connective network is a connective leader. Connective leadership is defined as anonymous leadership that has the role of “inviting, connecting, steering, and stimulating” the organization (Poell, Abdulla, Rieder, Woltering, & Zack, 2016). If a connective leader is anonymous and only there to invite, connect, and stimulate micro-operations, then the stakeholder hierarchy seen in collective leadership is nonexistent. The stakeholders are not in an arborescent form like collective leadership; in connective leadership they form a multitude. A multitude is defined by Hardt and Negri as “groups that are not unified under any single authority but rather relate to each other in a network structure” (Hardt & Negri, 2004).

With the collective leader hierarchy there is the image of a tree, but with the multitude or connective leaders the hierarchical structure can be thought as a rhizomatic structure, shaped like a potato structure with many eyes and spuds. The connective leaders are all the eyes and spuds that continue to appear on the potato as it grows. Like potato eyes growing to spuds sporadically across a potato, connective leaders and connective action can take place, appear, and progress in connective networks at varying rates and directions. Connective leaders do not have a sense of restriction on time or place like that seen in collective leaders.

An example of a multitude and connective leadership in action could take place on a digital media platform like Facebook, where a page administrator would create a
post on their page. This post essentially would be anonymous to other Facebook users because it would be posted under the name of the page and not the administrator. The page administrator would be the first connective leader in this example, as their post would invite co-production on the page through connective actions of the other Facebook users. Additional Facebook users, who interacted with this post through micro-operations such as sharing the post, would then join the administrator as connective leaders. Each of these new micro-operations and connective leaders would be adding to the choreography of the protest on the page. These connective actions could also vary greatly as there many different micro-options that take place on digital media platforms; there is not one single direct path to becoming a connective leader or to choreographing the protest.

The third concept of a smoother, or flattening space that is a quality of a connective network is related to this multitude of connective leaders, which can be compared to that of Deleuze’s “War Machine”. The War Machine “is the power of the individuals who can act together as one without having a concrete place” (Gerbaudo, 2014). The space of a true War Machine is a smooth space and not a striated one; it is fluid and continues in various directions without a determined destination, or origin (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). This space that the connective leaders occupy on digital media platforms is one that is “flattening” because it is becoming accessible to more people through its use of shared languages, the continual expansion of its network, and its lack of a direct destination (Shah, 2013). The digital media platforms create this flattened space through their generally understood vocabulary, language, and terms of use. The micro-operations from each connective leader and participant construct the scenes, write
the scripts and choreograph the protest without the rules and hierarchy that imposed striations in the collective network. By using a common form of communication, the entire multitude can interact with each other using micro-operations. Digital media platforms create a space that is flattening and not a purely smooth space like that which is occupied by the nomads of Deleuze’s War Machine. A smooth space in the mind of Deleuze and Guattari is a space of freedom, where there is no specific point of reference or control (Parr, 2010). The digital media platforms are flattening through their ability to create a freer space with fewer controls, but as it is still organized in some fashion they do not achieve a purely smooth space. To categorize and calculate the micro-operations on the digital media platforms, this study of the New Sanctuary Movement and Edith Espinal will examine a set group of micro-operations from Facebook and Twitter.

The connective networks that will be examined are on the digital media platforms Twitter and Facebook, which serve as examples of a smoother space. The connective actions that will be examined in this study on Twitter are the micro-operations of retweets, hashtags, and likes. For Facebook, the micro-operations that will be examined are the comments, shares, and likes. On each of these digital media platforms the connective leaders for Edith Espinal’s campaigns will be examined. The term campaign here is being used as an, “organized and sustained public effort that addresses collective claims to certain authorities” (Stoiciu, 2015). The authorities being targeted in this case are all those who are against the New Sanctuary Movement and Espinal staying in Columbus. For instance, on Facebook a participant can make a post to an individual campaign page affirming the campaign's mission and offering an idea for future action.
Once published the post is public to all members of the campaign, or the digital platform, regardless of the hour of day or physical location. The Facebook post can instantly receive reactions as additional micro-operations from the other members of the campaign. Through the micro-operations the multitude is able to create consensus and begin to choreograph, script and set the scene for the connective network. This concept holds true in the other digital media platforms, however, the micro-operations will vary slightly.

Interaction between Collective and Connective Networks

Collective networks and their participation vary from connective networks, but it would be a mistake to not recognize when they can unite and interact together. Connective networks interact with collective networks in a couple of different ways. The first way is through video recording and the second is through event creation.

Connective networks can first interact with collective networks by sharing collective network participation and action on digital media platforms. This can take place through video recording and photography on a digital media platform. Once collective network participation enters a connective network digital media it becomes smoother: it becomes accessible to all the stakeholders and users of the platform in a common language, time, and space. For instance, an in-person protest that was organized by a collective leader can be recorded and published as a video in a tweet on Twitter. This video then is on a digital media platform, Twitter, and can be interacted with by multiple micro-operations. The video can be used as a tool in a connective network for the multitude to perform micro-operations that continue choreographing the protest. Members of the connective network, for example could all choose to “like” or retweet the
video on Twitter, which would affirm the action that took place. This in turn could spark discussion, further micro-operations, scripting, and choreography in a similar manner.

The second interaction between collective networks and connective networks is through the creation of events. On some digital media platforms, like Facebook, there is the ability to create an event. This would mean that through micro-operations in the digital media platform, collective network participation can be planned. Through the micro-operations with the connective network the collective network participation would be choreographed and scripted. For example, if a member of a campaign posts an idea to choreograph a collective network protest on Facebook, other users can interact through micro-operations with this post. They can choose to comment and discuss options for a date and time, or they can simply like the post. Once an event is agreed upon through micro-operations, an official Facebook event can be created to establish the details for the collective network participation opportunity.

Conclusion

When examining the New Sanctuary Movement in collective networks it is necessary to remember the forms of participation that are taking place. Some New Sanctuary Movement protest incorporates collective network participation in their formation through a stakeholder hierarchy and collective action. Other New Sanctuary Movement protest uses connective networks, the focus of this study, which incorporates digital media platforms as a smoother space to create micro-operations for connected action. This connective network for protest and its participation qualities are essential to
the understanding of the New Sanctuary Movement with Edith Espinal and the roles into which she is cast in by each network.
Chapter 3: The Casting of an Activist: Edith Espinal

"Más que nada, quiero decir que no dejen de luchar. Nosotros podemos luchar hasta el final. Y yo, la verdad es que voy luchar hasta el final."

- Edith Espinal

Edith Espinal as quoted above is currently in sanctuary and is not going to give up fighting. She is interesting to study because her New Sanctuary Movement story has placed her in the mainstream media spotlight with collective network qualities and she is present on digital media platforms with connective network qualities. In addition, her story is one that has been going on for quite awhile and has captured the attention of the Columbus, Ohio community. To better understand how Edith Espinal has been cast in the role of an activist through the connective networks and digital media platforms, this chapter will focus on three areas. The first focus area will be Espinal’s background and relationship to the New Sanctuary Movement, the second will be her involvement with collective networks and the mainstream media, and the third will be her involvement with connective networks and digital media platforms. In the two networks, there will be examples of how the participation in the networks has cast Edith Espinal in distinct roles.

Background

Edith Espinal has been a resident of Columbus, Ohio for ten years and she has lived in the United States for over twenty years (TheMennonite, 2017). Espinal has been
actively trying to keep her family together in the United States for many years. Two of her children, Isidoro and Stephanie, are United States citizens; but her third son, Brandow, is not a citizen of the United States (DreamActivist.org). She has successfully protested with her son Brandow, who was part of Dream 30, to bring him back to the United States (Bennion, 2013). The Dream 30 was a group of students who had all lived in the United States for long periods of time and were deported before finishing their education (Blitzer, 2013). Espinal’s goal is to keep her family together and stay in the United States with them (Durant, 2017).

Most recently Espinal entered the United States under an advanced parole permit because she was seeking asylum from violence in Mexico (Gil, 2017). An advanced parole permit allows someone to reenter the United States without applying for a visa (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2017). This type of permit is typically given in cases like Espinal’s where the person is seeking refuge. Like Espinal, many Latino immigrants who have lived in the United States and then are deported feel the need to return to the United States. This is partially due to the insecurity that they can face returning to their home countries, “Even if they are not, legally speaking, American, that is exactly how they’re seen…turning them into ‘instant targets’” (Blitzer, 2013). This is one reason why Latino immigrants return to the United States with an advanced parole permit. In the case of Edith Espinal, the violence where she lived was part of the reason she wanted to return to the United States, but she also wanted to be with her family (Gil, 2017).
In February of 2017, Espinal was contacted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to begin having regular meetings to discuss the status of her permit. During one of these meetings, Espinal was denied the opportunity to further her asylum. This denial led to Espinal being given an ankle monitor in August of 2017 (TheMennonite, 2017). The purpose of the ankle monitor is for the ICE officials to be able to track her movement (Hart, 2017). Espinal’s attempt since then to appeal this was denied and she was forced to buy a plane ticket returning to Mexico, which she did not use (Hart, 2017). She does not face this battle against ICE on her own; she has her husband and three children with her and the support of the Columbus Mennonite Church. Her husband and son who are undocumented are not in the same situation as Espinal as they are not presently being pursued by ICE (Warren, 2017). Currently, the entire family resides in Columbus, Ohio and Edith Espinal is staying in sanctuary at the Columbus Mennonite Church, which is located in the Clintonville neighborhood.

Espinal began her stay with the Columbus Mennonite Church in September of 2017. According to the PeaceLab Podcast, this choice to provide sanctuary for Espinal was made by the congregation of the Columbus Mennonite Church. A call was received by a leader at the church to see if the church would be able to help Espinal and her situation by providing her with sanctuary. This church leader then made the other church leaders and congregation aware of Espinal’s case. The church then came together at a meeting to decide if they could support Espinal with their current resources. They decided that they could and should support Espinal. However, to accommodate Espinal they had to redesign a former nursery in the basement of the church to become an
apartment (PeaceLab Podcasts, 2017). Espinal moved into the church and as of March 2018 she is still currently residing there. This would not be possible without the continued community support and donations collected by the church (PeaceLab Podcasts, 2017). The church has had numerous fundraising events to make sure that the financial stability is still there to support Espinal (Solidarity with Edith Espinal).

While the church is able to provide a place for Espinal to stay, this arrangement does not allow Espinal to live a life physically outside of its premises. Espinal has left the church in an attempt to return to her daily routine, but had to reenter sanctuary because of pressure from ICE officials (Warren, 2017). This pressure was not only the threat of deportation, but also the threat of additional actions being taken on the rest of her family (Warren, 2017). Even while in sanctuary, Espinal is not able relax completely. The presence of the ICE officials can still be felt as Espinal has an ankle monitor that she has to wear twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week (Palm-Houser, 2017). An ankle monitor is not something comfortable to wear, but that is not the most distressing part, according to Espinal. The worst part is that the ankle monitor beeps and vibrates at all hours of the day and even in the early morning. This includes before 6 a.m. on the weekends, giving Espinal an intrusive sort of wake-up call (Palm-Houser, 2017). When confronted about this wake-up call the ICE official’s representative stated that, “If she wants it off, she has to come in” (Palm-Houser, 2017). This type of treatment would be more difficult to bear for Espinal if she did not have the support of the community and the Columbus Mennonite Church. While in sanctuary at the church, members often
include her in classes, teach her crafts, and exercise with her. These activities make her stay easier and more comfortable, given the circumstances (Palm-Houser, 2017).

While Espinal is in sanctuary, she may not be as comfortable as she could be in her own home, but she is essentially safe from deportation with the help of two local groups. The first group is the Columbus City Council, which recently passed an ordinance to protect immigrants in sanctuary. This ordinance, Ordinance 1304-2017, prohibits the “use of city resources for the sole purpose of detecting or apprehending an individual based upon suspected immigration status, and investigating a person’s immigration status” (City of Columbus, 2017). This piece of legislation was spearheaded by Councilmember Elizabeth Brown who has historically been a strong supporter of immigrants in Columbus. Elizabeth Brown has pronounced on her own digital platform that, “In Columbus, we stand with immigrants!” and has multiple posts about aiding immigrants and refugees in Columbus (Brown). This council ordinance was inspired by a meeting Brown had with Espinal and other immigrants in Columbus (Honig, 2017). Councilmember Brown also led the initiative to create Columbus Families Together Fund (CFTF), which also was inspired by the stories of immigrant and refugee families in Columbus. This is the second Columbus group dedicated to helping people like Edith Espinal. The CFTF was created “to protect immigrant and refugee families in Central Ohio from the financial and emotional devastation that results from aggressive immigration enforcement” (Honig). Both of these groups are additional support systems for Espinal and other refugees like her in Columbus, Ohio.
Each of these steps, from protesting with the Dream 30 to living in sanctuary at the Columbus Mennonite Church and inspiring new legislation, has been captured in collective networks and connective networks. During her sanctuary in Columbus, Espinal has been interviewed by at least three local television channels, several different newspapers and magazines, and has been cast in different roles on mainstream media and digital media platforms. To better understand Espinal’s impacts in all these areas this chapter will be divided into two sections, the collective networks and the connective networks.

Collective Networks

To examine the collective networks of protest participation and role casting for Edith Espinal, different events will be analyzed individually. As each of these events can incorporate different elements of collective network participation in the creation and execution, this sort of division will allow for the most comprehensive study. The first event that will be examined is Espinal’s September 2017 meeting with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials, the second is Councilmember Brown’s visit with Espinal in October of 2017; and the third is Christmas dinner with a reporter from The Columbus Dispatch. Each of these events highlights the efforts of the collective participation roles in which Espinal is cast by mainstream media.

Meeting with ICE

On the 18th of September 2017 Espinal met with officials from Immigration and Customs Enforcement. According to Rick Reitzel of NBC4 News Columbus, this
meeting was held to decide the next steps for Espinal regarding deportation. During this meeting, the decision was made to wait until her application had been filed before deciding if she should be deported. This decision seemed to provide hope for Espinal as she stated, “I feel a little bit more at ease now, because at the very least I feel like they are going to listen to the application” (Reitzel, 2017). During this news segment, the collective network participation was evident through the highlight of the crowd in attendance. About twenty-five protestors were featured in the segment standing outside of the building where Espinal’s meeting was being held (McCarthy, 2017). The protestors held picket signs with statements like “Keep Edith Home”, and “Keep Families Together” (Reitzel, 2017). This number in attendance was significant because it was able to show the support for Espinal and the intensity of participation was noted, “Protesters rallied in front of Leveque Tower for hours waiting to hear whether Edith Espinal will be deported and separated from her family” (Reitzel, 2017). Rallying and waiting for hours shows the intensity of participation through their dedication, which is a key element of analyzing collective action examined in chapter one of this study. In addition, this news segment highlighted the hierarchical formation of this protest, as it showed a short interview with Reverend Clark with Faith in Public Life. Rev. Clark was one of the main organizers of the event and led the protestors in various chants like, “Keep Edith home, keep Edith home” (Reitzel, 2017; McCarthy, 2017). It should be noted that this event was also posted on the digital media platform Facebook, so there was an interaction between the networks. However, it was only posted on the page the day before as a “Rapid Response” call (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This interaction, though on the campaign
The roles in which Espinal was cast in during this event with the use of mainstream media are the ultimate mother and the victim of immigration. The “ultimate” role is the mother figure, designed in the image of the Virgin Mary, a role in which immigrant, Latina women are often cast (Hewett, 2009). This idea stems from the deep Catholic roots in much of Latin America (Hewett, 2009). The Virgin Mary is often seen as the ultimate mother because she was the mother of Jesus and willing to make many sacrifices for his well-being (Hewett, 2009). The Virgin Mary was also chosen by God to be Jesus’ mother making her chosen to be the ultimate mother as well. The second role seen in this event is the victim of immigration. Victim roles are closely related to the Virgin Mary role, as someone who is always suffering because they are trying to do the right thing. The difference between these two is that as the victims of immigration, they are suffering because of the reasons in which they are brought into a new country and their effort to do right thing by moving to a new country (Aranda, 2003). The victim of immigration role portrays immigrant, Latina women as more fragile and weak (Aranda, 2003). This supposed weakness leads to the idea that these women need help, or to be rescued from their situations (Ehrkamp, 2010). This is especially true as previous research has given immigrant women the label of “associational” migrants, whose ‘decisions are a consequence of the decisions made by the primary movers” (Aranda, 2003)

The first role of the ultimate mother in this event is shown first through the background given about her by Mark Taylor, the news anchor who introduces the
segment. Before learning her name, the audience of the newscast learns that the subject is a mother as she is introduced as such (Reitzel, 2017). This quite literally places the importance of her role as mother before her unique identity, her name. This also takes place in the news segment from ABC6 with Mike McCarthy that covers this same event. On ABC6, the title of the news segment is “Immigrant mom facing deportation gets another week in Columbus” and the use of the term “mom” is used six times throughout the segment (McCarthy, 2017). This again reinforces the fact that Espinal is going through this meeting and suffering for her children because she is a mom.

The second role in which Espinal is cast is that of the victim of immigration. This casting is especially evident in the ABC6 segment. McCarthy first emphasizes the tracking of Espinal through an ankle monitor, showing that she is not able to escape the eye of immigration (McCarthy, 2017). Next he mentions how neither he, nor the protestors were allowed to accompany Espinal into the building because there are Homeland Security officers guarding inside (McCarthy, 2017). Also, through McCarthy’s description of the scene, “Just past this door, all morning long there have been Homeland Security agents making sure these supporters *stay outside*, but also keeping *us* outside as well” the Homeland Security agents and Immigration Officials can be seen as villains (McCarthy, 2017). In the previous quote, the italics on “stay outside” and “us” are to show where emphasis was added in the speech of McCarthy's because this inflection adds to the role of the villain being cast on the immigration services. Lastly, in this news segment there is an interview, with a protestors, who claims that she felt obligated to protest because she could not watch families being “torn apart” without doing something
(McCarthy, 2017). The choice to show this clip with this language of tearing a family apart adds to the creation of immigration services as the villains and Espinal as a victim.

Through the mainstream media news coverage and collective network participation in this event, Espinal was able to have her supporters physically present for her meeting with ICE, but she was not able to be shown as an activist. The mainstream news media took this event and presented it in a way so that the roles that Espinal was cast in were that of the ultimate mother and victim of immigration. This casting of Espinal is very similar to how earlier New Sanctuary Movement activists were cast by the mainstream media, like the casting of the first migrant to seek sanctuary in the New Sanctuary Movement Elvira Arellano (Puga, 2013; Yukich, 2013)

Meeting with Councilmember Brown

This second event is Espinal’s meeting with Councilmember Brown as shown in the ABC6 segment “Columbus woman taking refuge in church still fighting deportation” by Maria Durant. In this event, the interesting part regarding collective network participation is that some of the same clips from the “Immigrant mom facing deportation gets another week in Columbus” news segment are used again. As this event with Councilmember Brown did not evoke any collective network participation, perhaps older clips were used to reinforce the idea that she does have community support. This lack of collective network participation focus in this news segment paved the way for Espinal being cast in stronger roles being cast on Espinal.

The main role highlighted in this news segment is the ultimate mother. For perspective on how the mainstream media set the scene, about fifty percent of this two
and a half minute news segment featured Espinal in the main sanctuary of the Columbus Mennonite Church. Only about seven percent of the segment shows the collective network participation and the remaining time is devoted to Councilmember Brown and the news reporter Maria Durant. Through this scene setting alone it is evident that the role in which Espinal is being cast is that of the ultimate mother by the religious surroundings. However, this segment takes the religious aspect one-step further by highlighting Espinal in a clip in which she is praying in a pew with her hands clasped, highlighting her bracelet and rings which together have three crucifixes and two medals depicting religious figures (Durant, 2017). During this shot of Espinal praying Durant states, “This is where Edith Espinal spends most of her time now, hands folded, praying that the U.S. government will finally let her stay with her family” (Durant, 2017). By setting this scene of Espinal in the sanctuary for almost half of the segment, focusing a shot on her clasped hands with religious icons, and then stating that she spends most of her time praying, the devoutness of Espinal is exceptionally prevalent. In addition, looking at the language used in this segment, words relating to family, the word mother or mom are mentioned over fifteen times. This reinforces the concept the Espinal is a mother caring for her family about once every eight seconds. Espinal also mentions in this interview that the reason she needs to be there with her family is because the mother is one of the most important parts of the family, in keeping the children safe and helping them prepare for college. This directly aligns with Hewett’s perspective on the perceived role of mothers in the family.
This news segment with Espinal meeting Councilmember Brown was an obvious use of mainstream media to cast Espinal in the ultimate mother. This meeting was also significant, as we know from Espinal’s background on influencing Councilmember Brown, in the development of Columbus policies and the CFTF.

Christmas with *The Columbus Dispatch*

On Christmas, in sanctuary, Espinal was able to cook and have a Christmas dinner with her family. *The Columbus Dispatch* a local newspaper was there to catch the entire scene. This article emphasizes the importance of family, Espinal’s devotion to her family, and her sacrifice by staying in sanctuary.

The article first shows photographs from the evening with Espinal dressed in a white cardigan with a rosary hung around her neck (Lane, 2017). This attire combined with the scene of the first photograph where Espinal is at the table with her two children creates a photograph of a devoted Roman Catholic mother. To further this point, the article quotes Espinal when asking her about this Christmas and the threat of deportation, “I can’t go to the store to buy the presents for my kids. I need to stay here, waiting to go back to my home. I don’t want to be deported. My family is here, my kids are here” (Lane, 2017). This quote from Espinal emphasizes the importance of family to her and her feeling of need to care for them. This quote choice combined with the photo selection cast Espinal in this role of the ultimate mother who is devout and family oriented.

The other quotes and descriptions in this article highlight the sacrifice that Espinal is making because she is staying in sanctuary. For example, when Espinal is quoted saying, “Sometimes I just feel alone” drawing sympathy from the reader and shows her
suffering. (Lane, 2017). The reporter also mentions that she “spends her days in sanctuary inside the church. She is taking guitar and piano lessons from a couple of church members…and exercises daily by running up and down the stairs” (Lane, 2017). This description, stages the scene for Espinal to show her sacrifice for her children. Espinal is inside the church, she cannot leave and she is reduced to exercising by running up and down stairs. This article from the *Columbus Dispatch* sets the scene of a mother who is still willing to try and make a Christmas meal for her family, a devout Christian with her rosary and white clothing, and a mother who is willing to suffer to keep her family together.

These three event examples in mainstream media through collective networks are by no means exhaustive of the interactions that Edith Espinal has had with this network. However, they were chosen because they provide clear examples of the use of collective network participation and the casting of immigrant Latina roles.

**Connective Networks**

To examine the use of connective networks protest participation and role casting, individual examples will be analyzed, in order to illuminate how they differ from the collective network examples mentioned previously. Individual examples will be analyzed for their protest participation and the role that they cast. These examples include a Facebook cover photograph for the *Solidarity with Edith Espinal* page, a Facebook post and photograph from the same page showing Espinal being interviewed, a post and photograph again on the same Facebook page showing Espinal with guests, a tweet from
Ruben Castilla Herrera, and an event post from the *Solidarity with Edith Espinal* Facebook page which will highlight the benefits of intersecting the collective and connective networks.

The campaign page on Facebook, *Solidarity with Edith Espinal*, is the main concentration of participation for Espinal’s sanctuary case. On this page as of March 1, 2018, there are 1,207 total likes and 1,246 followers (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). The Twitter campaign is different from the Facebook campaign as there is not a central page, or user that is tweeting on behalf of the campaign. However, there is use of tweets and hashtags by other users to express their support for the cause. As mentioned in the introduction hashtags are a way to connect users to causes and show support for a campaign. Twitter, is similar to Facebook as it can be seen by anyone regardless if they are a user of the platform, but only users can tweet, or perform other micro-operations on the platform.

**Cover Photographs and Activists**

The cover photograph that will be referenced in this section is figure one. Additionally, for reference, this photograph was taken at the “Solidarity Vigil with Edith Espinal” on September 17, 2017 (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This vigil was held the day before the event “Meeting with ICE” that was mentioned in the Collective Networks section. The purpose was to provide support for Espinal and her supporters to “Gather with us in prayer and song as we stand with Edith on the eve of her ICE check-in” (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This photograph like the one before also shows the intersection between the collective and connective networks. The scene that the
photograph is staged in was one of collective network protest, but the photograph became part of connective network protest space when it was posted on the page.

The cover photograph of a Facebook page is the first thing that users will see when they arrive on a page, as it is always located across the top of the page. This provides anyone who looks at the page easy opportunity to perform micro-operations on the photograph, as it will always be visible. To first examine the micro-operations of the multitude with this cover photograph, it is evident that this photograph was well received by some of the multitude. There are only nine micro-operation interactions with this photograph, but all nine are positive. There are seven likes and two hearts given to this photograph (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This shows that from these nine micro-operations the photograph was approved by nine members of the multitude. As this photograph only received nine micro-operations of the 1,246 followers it is difficult directly state if the entire multitude is in support of the use of this photo and the role of an activist in which Espinal is cast. However, as noted previously, a quality connective action is that they are self-motivated and therefore dependent upon the motivation of the participants. In addition, it is worthwhile to note that compared to the other cover photographs on the page up to March 1, 2018, this photograph received three more micro-operations than the average for these photographs (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This shows that of the self-motivated participants of the multitude, that on average provide a reaction to this type of photograph, three more participants felt compelled to affirm this photograph and the role in which it casts Espinal.
Looking away from participation and towards the role that is cast through this photograph, we can see a change from the collective networks examples seen previously. This photograph casts Espinal in the role of an activist. While the aesthetics of this photograph could be shown on mainstream media, the difference is that using connective networks these aesthetics were ratified by the multitude through their approval of the image using micro-operations. These aesthetics can be seen in several different ways, the first of which is her costuming. Espinal is in a black t-shirt that states, “I am undocumented” (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). The color black, while many may associate as a traditional color of mourning, has evolved into a color of protest. The opposite of the ultimate mother white costume color is black. Black in symbolism can mean something that is polluted or not pure (Olderr, 2012). There are several other theories as to why black is a popular choice for protest clothing. One of these is that it originates from the use of black clothing to protest in West Germany in the 1980s (King, 2016). Another theory is that black is simply an easy color to use because many people own black clothing (Shulman, 2018). Therefore, if a protest group like the New Sanctuary Movement would like to appear more unified by wearing the same color, they would choose the color black because it is likely that everyone would own something black. Most recently, there have been “Black Blocs” which were groups from the far left protest as a large group all dressed in black (Vice, 2017). The attendees at the Golden Globes and at the State of the Union also donned all black in protest of sexual harassment and violence (Grady, 2018). Additionally, it should be noted that black is seen as a color of mourning in much of Western culture and is a color for leaders in the Catholic Church.
(Barthes, 2004). This use of black in the Catholic tradition with church leaders and mourning is seen as a “pious and commendable religious practice” one that highlights the mourners and church leaders’ foregoing frivolous clothing and a focus on a religious connection (Saunders, 1997). To show others through black clothing that one has made the choice to abstain from superficial or aesthetic temptations to focus on religion is a statement of an individual’s protest against the societal norm to focus more on religious desires and goals. While each group was protesting something different, the statement or symbolism of wearing black is still the same: it shows an act of protest.

Interviews and Activists

The post and photograph that will be referenced in this section is figure two. This post is from January 19, 2018 and depicts a filmed interview that took place between Espinal and a member of the Women's March on Washington-Ohio Chapter (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). Her interview was eventually aired with others in a video that was used for the Women's March in Columbus, Ohio on January 20, 2018 (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This post provides an example of the interaction between spaces as mentioned in chapter two. In this photograph Espinal is part of collective network protest participation by being filmed for a collective network, but the post itself is using connective networks.

Now to look at the participation elements of this post, the micro-operations for this post were higher in the total amount compared to the cover photograph. There were seventeen likes, two hearts, and five shares, (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This total of number of micro-operations for this post is one below the average for the Facebook posts
until March 1, 2018. This shows that as a self-motivated connective action one less participant formed a micro-operation than the average twenty-five participants in the other posts. However, all of these micro-operations that were received were positive. If one additional participant had left even a negative reaction to post and the role cast, the overwhelming majority of the multitude would still have been positive. Each of these micro-operations being used positively affirms the actions taking place in the photograph and the description of in the caption. In the caption it states, “Filming for a presentation at the Women's March Ohio Power to the Polls 2018 gathering at the Columbus Convention Center on Saturday - January 20 Edith will share her story as a woman, a mother, a sister and a Sanctuary leader. #LetEdithStay #SanctuaryNotDeportaion” (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). These captions script the image on the digital media platform, so that it is better understood by the audience and searchable on the platform. A hashtag as shown in this caption is one of these searchable pieces. Hashtags have become a popular choice for a movement to unite behind a certain phrase or demand. An example of this today is the use of the hashtag, “#MeToo”. This hashtag developed into a “rallying cry” and a way for women to come together in solidarity against sexual assault (Zacharek, Dockterman, & Edwards, 2017).

Espinal in this post is being cast in the role of the activist for the New Sanctuary Movement as a woman, mother, sister and Sanctuary Leader. Sister in this caption refers to Espinal as a sister in the movement with the other women. The piece that solidifies this photograph as casting Espinal as an activist are the affirmations of the multitude of the post. The caption of this post also provides a script and adds to the choreography of the
protest for the campaign participants. The caption achieves this by first explicitly stating that what Espinal is doing on camera is protesting. Second, the caption makes use of hashtags, which are part of Espinal’s campaign. The use of the caption in this post is key to casting Espinal as an activist and the micro-operations would indicate that this action was approved by almost all the average amount of participants in the multitude.

Receiving Guests & Activism

In this section the post and photographs that will be examined are figure four. This post is one of the more recent popular posts, as of March 1, 2018, on the Solidarity with Edith Espinal page because there are more than seventy-five total micro-operations (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This post, from February 10, 2018, features Espinal with candidates Dennis Kucinich and Tara L. Samples Candidates for Ohio’s Governor and Lieutenant Governor (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). See Figure 3. It is also important to note that in this post there are four different photographs highlighted. On a Facebook post it is possible to highlight multiple photographs and not just one. Below it the use of multiple photos will be examined to see how it can add more opportunities for participation and role casting.

In this post, Espinal receives one of the highest affirmations from the multitude, as of March 1, 2018 (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This post and the photographs have a combined ninety-eight micro-operations. This is largely due in part to how this post was created to invite different forms of participation. Participation has been analyzed in the previous examples and is the total amount of affirmations through likes and hearts that the post receives. The actual post in this case received a total of thirty-six likes and nine
hearts, which is well above the average for the page (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). However, the key to this post is that it had multiple photographs and each of these photographs can individually receive micro-operations as well. These four photographs combined received twenty positive micro-operations with seventeen likes and three hearts, which again is higher than the average amount of micro-operations for the photographs in posts. The most popular of these photographs or the most affirmed was the photograph shown in Figure 3 in the bottom right hand corner. This was a group photograph taken of Espinal with her husband and the two candidates. This photograph resulted in six positive micro-operations, four likes and two hearts. Similarly, the photo also received more shares than the average for photographs in posts. This post was shared thirty-three times (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This is another indicator high participation in connective networks as the post then is shared with additional users who may not have been following and/or liked the page.

The next area of participation to analyze is the post’s caption. This post is unique from the previous examples we have seen because it facilitates participation through more common language use:

Tuvimos una reunión excelente con Dennis Kucinich y Tara L. Samples, candidatos para Gobernador y Vicegobernador de #Ohio -- "Estoy contigo, lucharé por ti y haré todo lo que esté a mi alcance para asegurar que te quedes con tu familia." - Dennis Kucinich

We had an excellent meeting with Dennis Kucinich and Tara L. Samples, Ohio candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. -- "Know that I am with you,
will fight for you, your family and all immigrants in this state. I will do all I can for you” - Dennis Kucinch” (Solidarity with Edith Espinal)

This post text as seen above provides the message first in Spanish and second in English. At first glance, this allows for more participation from the multitude as the text can be understood in more languages. However, it is interesting to note that the quote from Dennis Kucinch is slightly different in each language. In the English version of his quote there is a mention of “all the immigrants in this state” that does not appear in the Spanish version of the quote (Solidarity with Edith Espinal).

In addition, in this caption the italicized names of the gubernatorial candidates in the excerpt represent where there were mentions in the original post. These mentions represent two links in this post. A mention essentially links the text to these candidate’s pages and notifies them that they have been mentioned in a post. In addition, the person who is mentioned has the option to share the post directly on their page, which would increase opportunity for participation.

The mentions, the multiple photos, and the Spanish to English caption are tactics that were not present in the previous examples. These three elements while used to collect more participation, also aid in the construction of the activist image for Espinal. The photo that received the most micro-operations from the post, shown as the photo in the bottom right side of the post, captures Espinal in a group picture with some of her family members, and Rubén Castilla Herrera. Rubén Castilla Herrera is a member of the Columbus community and a well-known community organizer and activist that has been an advocate in Espinal’s New Sanctuary Movement campaign. This photograph then
gives the color combination of joining activism and motherhood in her wardrobe weight with the use both her family and campaign supporters in the photograph chosen by the multitude. Additionally, the use of the hashtag and mentions emphasize for the audience that Espinal is part of a protest movement. Rubén Castilla Herrera commonly uses this hashtag in his posts and city recognition can also be seen in other New Sanctuary Movement posts (Herrera, 2017) Lastly, in the text itself the quote from Dennis Kucinch he states that he is joining Espinal and willing fight for her. This shows that this meeting was successful in garnering more support for the campaign, which shows her again in the role of an activist.

With these three different techniques in this example that were not present in the others, this post was able to attract almost three times as many micro-operations with the connective network, making this post in which Espinal is cast in the role of an activist an even stronger representation from the multitude.

Activist Tweets

The fourth example in this study is Figure 4. This is a tweet from September 21, 2017 and the photo may look familiar. This is in fact the same photograph from the cover photo of the Solidarity with Edith Espinal Facebook page. However, the use of this photo is slightly different from the cover photo. This tweet occurred directly after Espinal’s meeting with ICE that was referenced in the collective network section. During this time, Espinal was told that she would have to wait to hear the results of her meeting. This tweet and its protest language hope to continue to gather support for Espinal’s campaign and cast her in the role of an activist and add new complexity to her roles. In this photograph
she is not only shown to be an activist, but she is also shown to have elements of an ultimate mother role as well.

This was first achieved through the language in the tweet itself. The tweet makes a declaratory statement, “Just because something is a law, doesn’t mean that it’s right” and then uses two hashtags “#LetEdithStay #ColumbusOHIO” (Herrera, 2017). This short declaratory statement creates the idea that a law must be broken in order to provide justice. This concept coupled with the two hashtags, one that directly relates to Edith Espinal and her situation, and the other that calls attention to the City of Columbus, are hashtags used previously in her campaign so they continue the protest scripting of the campaign. Espinal in this photograph as analyzed earlier is showing Espinal as an activist, speaking in front of a crowd, and wearing black. Espinal can also be seen in this photograph to be wearing a rosary. A rosary is a powerful symbol in Catholicism and highlights and interaction of roles for Espinal between an activist and ultimate mother. This tweet received sixteen micro-operations, six retweets and ten likes (Herrera, 2017). This is four more micro-operations than the average for the Herrera’s tweets regarding Espinal. This message was affirmed by the sixteen participants of the Twitter campaign, making this tweet of Herrera’s one of his more successful in the connective network protest for Espinal on Twitter. With only sixteen micro-operations, it is apparent that the larger multitude participation for Espinal’s campaign takes place on Facebook when compared to Twitter.
Sanctuary is Resistance

The previous examples have shown posts that contain photographs and text regarding different meetings, or general messages that have been shared on the Facebook page. This post is different because it is shown as an event. This type of post is completely dedicated to construction of an event that will take place outside of the digital media platform and with collective network participation. This event was successful for collective network participation and for its collective network participation intersection.

Like the other examples, this post has use of language and a photograph that promote the role of activist for Espinal, while showing her, like the previous example, as an ultimate other. The first of these is language and as seen in figure five, the word “resistance” is used four different times, all relating to Espinal and her fight for immigrant justice (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This repetition of terms creates the idea that Espinal is indeed active in her battle with ICE and is not merely a victim she is resisting and fighting. Secondly, the photograph for this event shows a photograph of Espinal with her family emphasizing the complexity of her role of an activist as well as an ultimate mother. This photograph shows Espinal’s daughter in the t-shirt from the profile photograph of the page that says, “I am undocumented” and Espinal appears to be in the same t-shirt or a t-shirt that appears to be black (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). Again this use of a statement t-shirts that appear black with the use of words that imply activism help cast Espinal in this role of an activist.

When examining the micro-operations that take place for event posts there are two that stand out the interest in the event and the comments. First, the interest in the
event is comparable to the likes that are described in the other examples. For an event on Facebook, users have the ability to select if they are interested in an event similar to the like, or thumbs up symbol and they have the ability to say that they are going to an event which is similar to the love, or the heart emoji. For this event there were one hundred and four users that said they were going to the event and two hundred and ninety-one users interested in the event. This number far surpasses the number of likes and loves received in the other examples. Two hundred and ninety-one micro-operations for this event is also about seventy micro-operations higher than the average for the events on the Espinal page (Solidarity with Edith Espinal). This makes the event the second highest event micro-operation interaction and affirmation on the page. The second area to examine is the comments made on an event, just as they can be made on a post. For this event, there were sixteen individual comments. These comments ranged from questions about donation payment types accepted at the event to affirmation of the event after it took place. Again this is more comments than the other examples had received and above average for the events on the page. Each of these event micro-operations reflects individual user’s positive affirmations for the event. Since this event is about Espinal as an activist, battling ICE, and resisting deportation through sanctuary that means there are over 350 users who support this campaign and the role in which Espinal is cast as an activist.

This example shows only one side of this event that took place. While the connective network participation was high for this event, it would be necessary to attend
to the collective network participation event that it was sponsoring to see the interaction of the two spaces come full circle.

Conclusion

Edith Espinal is valuable to study the differences between collective network and connective network protest, in order to examine the differences in the roles created by and for immigrant, Latina women. Through these examples in collective networks it became evident that the mainstream media sources gravitated towards casting Espinal in two of three examined for immigrant, Latina women. These two roles were the ultimate mother and the victim of immigration. The collective network also was shown to be an active space for collective network participation through the larger group protests and meetings with officials. The connective network has shown the power of the connective network participation on digital media platforms and the role in which it casts Espinal. The connective networks participation did not ignore the other two roles seen in collective networks, but instead used them more infrequently and in conjunction with the activist roles. Through the different posts and photographs the connective networks have been able to receive a lot of varied participation in the form of micro-operations, which has led to the development of Espinal as an activist.
Conclusion

This study principally examined how the role of protest participation is changing and a new town square is developing through intersections between connective networks and digital media platforms, which allows for a change in the roles in which subjects of protest are cast. The main example used was that of Edith Espinal, the first woman to seek sanctuary in Ohio. I used her example to demonstrate this change in roles that can be achieved with connective networks and digital media platforms. In conclusion, a brief summary of the chapters in this study will be provided, the importance of this study will be explained, recommendations will be given for various audiences, and future research opportunities will be discussed.

Why Does It Matter?

This study is relevant today because the new town square is continuing to evolve and digital media platforms continue to grow in popularity. Even while writing this study, there were evolutions in the digital media platforms and changes in users. The field of connective network participation is far from being concrete or stable. This area will continue to grow for as long as technology continues to grow as well. Moreover, because collective and connective participation are often intertwined the evolution of technology will affect both types of protest.
When using such a contemporary topic, the contribution matters to the field because it begins to find connections from preexisting scholars and expand upon them. This thesis is not an attempt to disprove other theories, but rather combines and has applied preexisting theory to a current topic to further expand its uses. The theory and ideas that are necessary to understand the actions taking place on digital media platforms are beginning to be studied in more depth by scholars. This thesis only utilized a select few of the many theories available. This small number of ideas and theories allows stronger connections to be drawn, which can be useful for future research.

The nature of digital media platforms is that they are changing to meet the needs and demands of their users. As they are private businesses with a profit to watch and shareholders to please, digital media platforms will continue to change to improve their systems. This means that the examples collected for Edith Espinal and the use of protest participation through her page can be also used by the private sector. The digital media platforms want to continue to have high participation, as it is necessary for their survival. Understanding the different forms of this participation can aid them in discovering the tools that are most used and the best way to make updates to the platform that will help continue their growth.

Lastly, this thesis matters because it can show how connective networks choreograph and cast protest subjects in roles that differ from collective networks and the mainstream media. The collective network can be understood to show one perspective of a Latina immigrant women and can cast her in a role that may not be of her, or of her supporters’ choosing. Connective network participation gives the opportunity for
discussion and consensus on the roles of Latina immigrant women and their casting in digital media platforms.

Recommendations

From this study I have three recommendations. The first recommendation is a policy recommendation, the second is for those active in the New Sanctuary Movement protests, and the third is for a general audience.

First, when looking at Sanctuary Cities it would be my recommendation as a local government enthusiast for cities to examine their policies regarding sanctuary in their city. This does not have to entail a direct opposition to the federal government through a declaration of becoming a Sanctuary City. The City of Columbus is an example of a city that has passed legislation exceptionally similar to Sanctuary Cities but did not use that specific term. This allows for Columbus and the State of Ohio to continue to receive benefits from the federal government and yet protect its citizens from deportation. When examining this sort of policy, it is also recommended that a city take note of churches and other nonprofit groups that are actively housing people in sanctuary, or open to doing so.

The second recommendation is directed towards churches, nonprofits, people seeking sanctuary, and for the everyday protestor. This study has shown that digital media platforms are a powerful tool for choreographing the image and role in which subjects of protest are cast. Leaving the role casting and stage setting to the mainstream media often submits subjects of protest and the choreography of protest to a hierarchical structure. My recommendation would be to research the most current and active digital platform that is being used for protest participation in your area and exploit its potential
for connective network protest. In the case of Edith Espinal, Facebook is the popular digital media platform for protest participation; however this could change with time. Taking advantage of these digital media platforms that are often completely free of charge can give choreography of the protest back to the supporters.

Thirdly, for the average digital media platform user and mainstream media consumer my recommendation would be to be conscientious of the roles that are being portrayed. As seen with Espinal, the roles in which she is cast in the mainstream media vary from the roles in which she is cast in on digital media platforms. Take advantage of the abundance of sources for information and form the role for yourself. In addition, if you are inspired to do so, take a leap and follow or like a protest page and begin to participate. Each micro-operation allows a stronger consensus to be reached and allows you to have a hand in the choreography of protest.

Future Research

When studying digital media platforms and connective networks there was room for future research. In particular, with my thesis of looking at the New Sanctuary Movement and the role in which Latina immigrant women are cast there is room for further study in three areas, additional subjects, additional digital media platforms, and additional micro-operations. With continued research, additional data, and expansion of a theoretical base, this study could become a base for future research in the field.

The first area for additional research is looking at additional examples. Originally, this study had mapped out two additional women, Jeanett Vizguerra and Juana Luz Tobar, both of whom have been influential in the New Sanctuary Movement. Vizguerra
has been influential through her use of digital media platforms, she has been recognized by *Time* magazine, and was recently granted a two-year stay by ICE. Tobar is another woman who was the first to seek sanctuary in her state and has taken advantage of digital media platforms for her protest campaign as well. These women and the addition of others could provide new insights to the study. There is the possibility of different roles other than the activist role being cast by the swarm. There is also the possibility of different utilization and participation styles with the digital media platforms. Both of these could offer new ways to understand the connective network participation and provide a way to develop new theory as well. In addition, this study focused on Latina, immigrant women, but they are not the only immigrants. There are also men and children that emigrate from Latin America to the United States. They are also cast in a variety of roles cast which could provide more areas of research and development into a more thorough understanding of the power of the connective networks to choreograph protest.

The second area that could be researched in the future is other digital media platforms. In this study, the digital media platforms that were examined were Facebook and Twitter. There are other digital media platforms used for protest like Instagram, GoFundMe, and Snapchat. Each of these digital media platforms has their own set of micro-operations that can be used to interact in different ways with the content. This will also continue to evolve and provide new opportunity for research as new digital media platforms are created and the current ones are updated. In addition, it has been argued that different digital media platforms target different audiences. Consequently, with further research, the recommendation could be made as to what campaigns would be best
suited for certain platforms to achieve the most participation success. Lastly, by looking at different digital media platforms there could be evidence of more crossovers between platforms by campaigns. This could be examined as a strategy to reach more participants. In addition, it could result as valuable to study of whether the roles in which subjects are cast varies by platform.

The third area that could be examined for further research is a wider variety of micro-operations. For example, in this study with Edith Espinal only certain micro-operations were examined and performed. However, in both digital media platforms, Facebook and Twitter, many other micro-operations can take place. For example, simply with the micro-operations examined with Espinal where it was possible to like or love a post, there are other options to micro-action. They can signify affirmation, discontent, and a wide variety of swarm responses to the campaign content. By looking at a wider breadth of micro-operations, different swarm participation techniques could be examined. This would allow for a deeper investigation and perhaps even ranking of these micro-operations from their most participatory and influential to the least. Additionally, this could allow for an investigation on counter protest in the digital media platforms. As not all micro-operations are in favor of campaigns, this could bring to light how opposing campaigns participate on the same digital media platforms.

I hope that the example of Edith Espinal and the roles in which she is cast in on mainstream media and digital media platforms will inspire future study. With the foundation provided in this thesis, future research could continue around the subject of collective networks, connective networks, and their use of participation in
choreographing protest in the New Sanctuary Movement. The New Sanctuary Movement and immigration policy is a challenge that the United States has faced for decades. With more research on connective networks and its ability to choreograph protest with the multitude then perhaps the roles in which immigrants are cast in can continue to be explored.
Appendix A: Digital Media Platform Examples
Figure 2: Facebook Post of Edith Espinal being Filmed
Source: Solidarity with Edith Espinal Facebook Page
Figure 3: Facebook Post of Edith Espinal and Candidate Dennis Kucinich
Source: Solidarity with Edith Espinal Facebook Page
Figure 4: Tweet @OhioLatinx
Source: Ruben Castilla Herrera Twitter Page
Figure 5: Event Sanctuary is Resistance
Source: Solidarity with Edith Espinal Facebook Page
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