Collective Action Frames in Nosamo and the Tea Party:

The Changing Face of Political Movements and the Consequences for Democracy

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Abstract

Classical collective action theories assume that successful political movements must have an organization and the ability to mobilize supporters in support of a common goal. Yet the unprecedented achievements of networked political movements have led scholars to reconsider these assumptions. South Korea's Nosamo and the Tea Party Movement are unique among networked political movements in that they were aimed at electing specific political candidates. The ability of these two movements successfully to bypass party orthodoxy without a traditional organizational apparatus has bolstered optimism about participatory democracy. However, while both of these movements began as free-flowing horizontal networks, each developed a hierarchical organizational structure. We examine how the development of an organizational structure affected each group's dominant frame, comparing structures and outcomes in the two cases. In particular, we find out whether there are differences in each group's ability to affect a unified presence by examining group documents and news coverage. Our results suggest that a cohesive collective action frame is possible without formal organizations, though there may other requirements that might obtain only under certain circumstances, somewhat weakening prospects for participatory democracy.

1   Introduction

In 2002, something of a miracle occurred in South Korea: No Mu-Hyeon, a liberal politician born in Gyeongsang province, was elected president. Despite the deeply entrenched antipathy of liberals in Jeolla Province (located in Korea's South West) towards politicians form Gyeongsang province (located in Korea's South East), No was able to develop a broad base of support for his electoral campaign. Perhaps this is not as miraculous as the economic transformation that took place on the Han River, but it was a watershed in Korean politics that, to many, signaled the demise of the regional voting pattern that had held an iron grip on Korean politics ever since its democratization in 1987.

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A major contributor to No's success was the emergence of Nosamo, a political fan club that evolved into a networked political movement capable of mobilizing voters and activists on a national scale (No, 2002). Nosamo played a key role in turning the electoral tide during the Democratic presidential primary. Having been born in an Eastern province, it was believed that liberal Western voters would be weary of his Eastern roots, and that he would not be able to win enough support in his native Eastern province because it is a conservative stronghold. It was the efforts of Nosamo activists that helped No overcome intra-party opposition and secure the Democratic presidential nomination.

In the United States, the Tea Party Movement (TPM) faced a similar dilemma. It had come to perceive the Republican Party establishment as having lost touch with the free-market ideology that had helped the party achieve political success in the 1980s and 1990s, and it sought out more libertarian-minded candidates. But candidates too far out of the mainstream were shunned by the party establishment, causing many to see the party as un-representative of its activist core. Ron Paul, a non-mainstream politician who had failed to obtain the party's backing for his presidential bid, was given a boost by the efforts of loosely organized activists and interested citizens. As with No Mu-Hyeon and Nosamo, it was the spontaneous networked action of citizens that catapulted Paul from the fringe into the national spotlight, and that would go on to do the same for many other non-mainstream conservative candidates.

The success of these kinds of networked movements has led some scholars to reconsider the requisites for successful collective action. According to classical theories, collective action efforts must meet certain requirements if they are to be successful; these include an organizational apparatus, a stock of resources, and a dominant frame. But the internet and digital media have made new forms of collective action possible, forms which do not require

hierarchical organizations or centralized leadership in order efficaciously to influence politics and the public sphere.

These phenomena also have implications for broader debates on contemporary Democracy. For example, Dalton (2008) claims that the apparent decline in participation is masking a shift towards "engaged participation", such that Americans are more likely to participate in voluntary organizations. Goldstone (2003) has argued that social movements should be considered a normal part of institutional politics. More generally, Fishkin (1991) has argued that, through the use of such technologically-enabled devices such as deliberative opinion polls, democracies around the world will move towards a more direct or participatory style of politics. The experiences of the TPM and Nosamo may be construed as lending support to this thesis.

Nevertheless, there are many reasons to doubt the ability of networked movements to function as participatory channels. One of the criticisms of networked movements is that because they lack organization they also lack the ability to maintain a dominant frame or set the movement's agenda. Others, however, argue that networked movements *can* maintain a dominant frame, even without a central organization capable of controlling participants' political communications (Bennet & Segerberg, 2013). That Nosamo and the TPM achieved political success without a true central organization suggests that traditional theory may need to be updated.

However, though both the TPM and Nosamo *began* as networked movements, they transformed into more traditional interest groups as their activities became focused on winning particular political contests. Hence, these two cases offer scholars of social movements and social movement organizations (SMO) a unique opportunity to study changes in movement

characteristics as is it shifts from a networked movement to an organization-based movement. In particular, we may be interested to see if there are differences between the abilities of Nosamo and the TPM to maintain a consistent collective action frame during their earlier networked periods, as well as track any changes that occurred as they became more influenced by formal organizations.

In this article we investigate the impact that the use of the internet and digital media is having upon political movements, as well as its implications for political participation in modern democracy by comparing the changes in the collective action frames of Nosamo and the TPM. We begin with a brief historical comparison of Nosamo and the TPM, focusing on the organizational evolution of each group. Then, we provide an overview of debate on contemporary collective action. The main analysis consists of a computer-assisted text analysis, where we identify collective action frames in both the networked and organized periods of each group, and assess the impact of organization on each movement's collective action frame. We then compare these experiences and infer from this comparison more general implications about social movements and participatory democracy.

Our research supports the view that networked movements can indeed maintain a consistent collective action frame, but the development of formal organization can result in large changes to the initial frame, even if it is widely resonant with the public. Furthermore, the successful maintenance of such a master frame may depend on the presence of a subpopulation of citizens that has common political and social experiences. This suggests that the prospects of networked social movements as a regular part of institutional politics is fair, though it is unclear that they can serve as long-term links between citizen involvement and substantive outcomes. We conclude with suggestions for further research.

2   Nosamo and the TPM: a brief comparative history

In many ways, Nosamo is the product of the spread of web 2.0 in the early 2000s, when use of the internet began to shift from a traditional top-down content production style to an interactive, user-oriented format. No longer were websites simply electronic phonebooks; they had become a way for citizens to create and share information on a previously unimaginable scale. Nosamo, which is a transliterated Korean acronym meaning "Group for People who Love No Mu-Hyeon", began as an ostensibly non-political fan site for No Mu-Hyeon (Koh 2002, p.18). After No failed to win a legislative seat in his home province, his supporters began to use the site as a place to express their common sympathies and frustrations about regionalism and No's defeat in the general elections (Koh 2002, p.48).

According to Koh (2002), the weak social bonds developed through online interaction became the basis for offline political action in support of No's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. After intense online deliberation, Nosamo members collectively decided to engage in offline political activities in support of No. The primary obstacle to No's election was a powerful group of Democratic Party elites who favored mainstream candidate Yi In-Jae. The Democratic Party had recently replaced the traditional method of candidate selection by intra party nomination with a novel primary system, wherein the presidential candidate would be chosen by an electoral college composed of any voting age citizen who wished to participate. Nosamo members held pro-No rallies in each of Korea's major provinces, and began a campaign that encouraged Nosamo members to write letters to the members of the Electoral College, as well as to regular citizens urging them to join the party and support No. The result was an

impressive victory in Jeolla Province that turned the tide in No's favor, leading to his successful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

After the primary election, however, it became clear that Nosamo's loose, horizontal, networked style of action was not sufficient for dealing with the problems of a full-fledged political campaign. Nosmao had been operating without a central leadership or formal organization, such that all decisions were made by unanimous or near unanimous online vote. But the realities of the presidential campaign began to create divisions within the movement about its political direction, making unanimous decisions impossible (Jenkins 2014, 23). Nosamo's inertia coincided with a sudden drop in No's popularity, resulting in the departure of many Nosamo members from the group.

In order to solve this collective action failure, the remaining members transformed Nosamo into a political organization with a clearly identifiable leader and administrative apparatus apable of making decisions on behalf of the group. While it retained a firm rooting in grass roots activism, Nosamo began to take on the character of a campaign machine, focused on mobilizing voters and rallying broader electoral support for No. Perhaps the primary example of organized Nosamo's activities was the "hope pig" campaign, wherein Nosamo distributed small plastic piggy banks and urged citizens to fill them with coins that would be collected and used to support Nosamo's activities.[2]

Analogous to Nosamo's "hope pigs" were the "money bombs" that thrust Ron Paul into the presidential conversation in the United States. Just as supporters of No had been frustrated by regionalism and the efforts of party elites to sideline fringe candidates in favor of mainstream candidates, Ron Paul's supporters circumvented the party and its donors by amassing a large

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[2] Han Yun Hyung & Kim Wan (2012, June 8). The Latter Half of 2002: the things that saved No Mu-Hyeon from the candidate change debate. Retrieved from www.mediaus.co.kr

number of small donations.[3] The December 16th "Money Bomb" event was timed to coincide with the 234th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, and it attracted more than 20,000 new donors, many of whom had no previous political experience.

Similar to the way Nosamo members used nosamo.org to exchange ideas and organize political events, members of what we have termed the "networked" Tea Party used meetup.com to do much the same. Maltsev and Skaskiw (2013) describe early TPM activism in the following manner:

> Using the networking website meetup.com…Paul's supporters formed local clubs which worked to promote Paul and his campaign. Supporters held signs by interstate highways during rush hour. They created their own advertisements and placed them in newspapers, on billboards, or in backyards…These activities occurred at the initiative of Ron Paul's supporters with no direction from his campaign. (p.26)

In other words, while we have become used to associating the TPM with corporate-backed national organizations, the early TPM was to a large extent a genuine grass roots movement that received direction neither from Paul's campaign, nor from the steering committee of a central Tea Party organization. Rather, it was a flurry of political activity inspired by the political ideals associate with Paul, just as Nosamo was a networked movement inspired by the ideals associated with No.

The kind of organizational scheme the TPM later developed, however, differed greatly from that of Nosamo. The key impetus to the development of large, centralized national TPM organizations was the appearance of Rick Santelli on CNBC in February of 2009.[4] Santelli

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[3] Vogel, K.P. (2007, December 16). Money Bomb: Ron Paul Raises $6 Million in 24-Hour period. Retrieved from usatoday.com

[4] Rosenthal, P. (2009, February 23). Rant Raises Profile of CNBC on-air personality Rick Santelli. Retrieved from chicagotribune.com

criticized the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, and urged citizens to organize a "tea party in July". Soon after, large national groups like the Tea Party Express, Tea Party Nation, Resistnet, and the Tea Party Patriots began to gain national prominence, seizing the momentum created by Santelli's speech, and harnessing the conservative reaction to the policies of the Obama administration.[5]

In contrast to the highly centralized civilian leadership that emerged in Nosamo, there is no one dominant national organization or steering committee that directs the activities of the TPM. Rather, each national group has its own leadership, organizational structure, and affiliations with local Tea Party groups. The national groups do sometimes cooperate, as they did in the 2009 march on Washington, but they are independent organizations with distinct and sometimes conflicting political objectives. For example, FreedomWorks is mostly dedicated to issues related to taxes and decreasing the size of the Federal government, whereas the 1776 Tea Party's platform includes points on a wide range of items, from taxes to immigration (Burghart and Zuskind, 2010, 23).

Perhaps the largest difference between the TPM and Nosamo is the source of each group's funding. Whereas Nosamo was funded by member fees and individual contributions, the national Tea Party organizations have the financial backing of powerful corporate donors, such as FreedomWorks founder David Koch, and influential figures associated with the Republican Party establishment, such as former FreedomWorks chair Dick Armey. It is on the basis of such associations that the TPM has been criticized as being an "astroturf" movement, rather than a true grass roots movement. The debate about the authenticity of the TPM as a grassroots

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[5] This is, of course, not to suggest that Rick Santelli created the TPM, or that TPM groups did not exist before his well-known tirade. Rather, it is similar to the way Occupy began after the publication of an Ad-Busters article urging citizens to march on Wall Street; the support for the movement was pre-existing, but in a different form.

movement is outside of the scope of this paper. For the purposes of our comparison, it should suffice here to note that we were unable to find evidence that suggests that the TPM follows the direction of any *single* donor or leader. In the next section we consider the implications of the experiences of these two groups for collective action theory.

3   Collective Action and the Rise of "Connective Action"

Scholars of collective action have posited a number of requirements that political movements must meet if they are to be successful. For example, Olson (1965) argues that the mere presence of shared interests among individuals is not a sufficient condition for collective action; in order to induce people to join in collective action they must either be offered an incentive or be threatened with a punishment. This implies that the collective action efforts must include some kind of governing body capable of offering such incentives and meting out punishment for non-participation. In other words, the organization must come prior to individual participation.

Social movement scholars deviate somewhat from the classical view, but they too see organization as a pre-requisite for collective action. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996) argue that political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and collective action frames are critical to the success of social movements (p.4). That is, a social movement is not simply a formless mob that storms the streets; it has structure and a coherent message, and its ability to influence the public sphere and effect political change is dependent upon openings in the political opportunity structure (Meyer, 2004). This also suggests that there must be some kind of vanguard capable of constructing a collective action frame and gathering the resources required to mobilize potential supporters. So, as with unions and other collective action groups, the influence of individual

participants on the aims, ideology, and decision-making process of the movement is constrained by the movement's organizational structure.

One potential caveat is the possibility that the emergence of a "master frame" might enable "a number of movements clustered together" to engage in collective action despite the absence of a favorable opportunity structure (Benford, 2013). For example example, Carroll and Ratner (1996) provide evidence that the use of a common master frame correlates positively with "cross movement networking", since a master frame is broad enough both to provide a common understanding of the political situation and to allow each group sufficient leeway to adapt the frame to its unique agenda (p.611). Yet here too, social movement organizations have been pre-supposed, suggesting that even in the presence of a master frame organizations are necessary for collective action.

The emerging ubiquity of the internet and digital media has caused scholars to reconsider the traditional requirements and parameters of collective action. By dramatically lowering the cost of communication, digital media allow people to engage in collective action on their own terms, rather than according to the direction of an organizational body. Bimber et al. (2011) argue that the internet and other technologies have made possible a wide range of participation styles, such that members of traditional interest groups, like the AARP, need no longer rely on the central organization for opportunities to participate, and can instead use the internet to contact other members and organize group activities on their own. Moreover, organizations that lack most of the structural features of traditional interest groups, such as MoveOn, allow members to interact and engage in ways that were far more difficult in a non-digital media environment.

Bennett and Segerberg (2013) go even further, arguing that the contemporary digital media environment has made possible an entirely novel pattern of collective action that they call "connective action". The authors posit that connective action is not just a way to solve the free-rider problem. Rather, it is an alternative logic of group action rooted in the personalization of self-expression fostered by digital media. Connective action makes it possible for citizens to organize without organizations, such that it is no longer necessary to rely on the leadership of a centralized governing body or interest group headquarters in order to achieve movement objectives. The appearance of successful networked movements, then, would seem to strengthen the ability of citizens to engage the kinds of direct political participation that Fishkin and others had imagined.

3.1   Collective Action Frames

Despite their differences, both traditional collective action theory and connective action concede that collective action frames are necessary for successful group mobilization. A collective action frame is an idea, statement, or word that provides a movement with a way to interpret the world. According to Benford and Snow (2000), it functions by "simplifying and condensing aspects of the "world out there", but in ways that are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner by-stander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (p.614). There are three kinds of frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Whereas diagnostic frames identify the problem, prognostic frames identify a solution to the problem, and motivational frames inspire potential movement participants to action (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). Frames are a necessary part of organizing because they are the intellectual underpinnings of

movement operations, and they provide a way to motivate people to action by specifying the source of (and solution to) their political, economic, or social troubles.

The literature on collective action suggests that frames must be coordinated by organizations, the assumption being that without an organizational body to promulgate a coherent interpretative framework and sanction deviations from this framework, individuals or subgroups within the movement would invent mutually conflicting slogans and frameworks, hence would fail to enter achieve broad-based recognition, since citizens would be unable to identify the movement and discern its ideological commitments.

Proponents of connective action, on the other hand, point to Occupy Wall Street and Los Indignados as examples of collective action that emerged from spontaneous and individualized participation, not as part of the design of an organizational body with a parochial set of concerns. In Occupy, people gathered under the "We are the 99 percent" frame, but individuals adapted and personalized that frame without any interference from a governing body intent on maintaining a coherent image and message (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). This is because frames like "We are the 99%" are broad enough to allow multiple interpretations while providing the movement with a minimal degree of ideological coherence. While each sub-group may have its own story-telling devices, the movement as a whole is united under a single dominant frame, not a pastiche of fragmented frames, as traditional theory might lead us to expect.

3.2   Research Question

There are a few critical similarities between Nosamo and the TPM that make them uniquely suitable for comparison. As mentioned, they both began as networked movements that emerged in response to frustration at the inability to get non-mainstream candidates elected to

office. Also, both transformed into more highly structured political organizations with specific political objectives. Thus, these two cases provide us with a unique opportunity to assess the ability of networked movements to maintain a coherent collective action frame, as well as to observe the effect of the development of a formal organization on each movement's frame. Further, given the cultural and political differences between the two countries, a comparison of of these two cases will yield insight into the effect of contextual variables on the ability of networked movements to construct collective action frames. Does a consistent frame emerge prior to the development of an organization, or are there conflicting and competing frames within the same movement? How does the development of an organizational structure affect each movement's frame? What do different outcomes in each movement suggest about the contextual factors that influence the formation of collective action frames or master frames?

Traditional movement theory might lead us to expect the absence of a clear collective action frame during the early stages of the networked movement, since without a true central organization there is nothing to prevent the emergence of multiple competing frames. This is in contrast to the latter stages of the movement, which should be characterized by a more coherent frame, since the central organization will have sanctioned or excised factions maintaining deviant frames. On the other hand, the logic of connective action would suggest that, while there may be many interpretations of the primary collective action frame, a dominant frame will nevertheless be present in the beginning as well as the later stages of the movement, though it is unclear what changes the development of a formal organization will bring.

3.3   Research Method

Following Bennett and Segerberg (2013), we seek to understand how each movement defined itself by examining documents produced by the movement itself. We also include news articles written about each group, since the extent to which the movement frame is fragmented will likely be reflected in third party accounts of its activities. We operationalize "frame" as the most frequent word in each data set and its correlates. We assume that the title and first sentence of each entry will contain key words related to the collective action frame. Accordingly, the most frequent word is likely to be the frame or a variant of it. We discover these frames for the networked and organization-based phases of each group by conducting a text analysis of group documents and news articles. This consists of using a text mining software package to remove stop words and punctuation from data, then finding high frequency words along with their correlates, that is, words that frequently appear together with the high frequency words. We verify each frame by looking for references to it in unreconstructed sentences from the data set, as well as contextual evidence. Finally, we construct word clouds in order to provide a visual interpretation of the differences between frames in the two phases of each movement.[6]

3.4   Data

We draw our textual data from a variety of sources, including official group documents like press releases, member posts on the group message boards, as well as newspaper articles written about the group. We include the latter because they provide some indication of how the group was perceived by those outside the movement. We expect this perception to be the result of varying influences from within the movement, so that the news articles will act as a balance to documents pulled from movement websites, since the latter are more thematically consistent. In

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[6] Admittedly, we have somewhat artificially divided these movements into two phases. This particular division is done for the purposes of the present research, and may not be relevant for investigating other aspects of these groups.

other words, there may be individuals within the group using drastically different frames not captured by group sources. So, by adding news articles we hope to include some of this variance, in order to avoid overestimating the coherence of the group collective action frame.

We use media.nosamo.org to collect user-generated content related to Nosamo. Overall, we collected 136 members' opinion without overlapping; 14 in 2000, 16 in 2001, 39 in 2002, 27 in 2003, 27 in 2004, and 13 in 2005. We were not able to find data before 2002 because the primary work of Nosamo was building the organization, and the group was less active. As the number of Nosamo members increased following the Democratic presidential primary (50K) and Presidential election (100K), so did the amount of user-generated content, such that the highest amount of data is available for the middle period of Nosamo (Yun & Chang, 2007). We were unable to find group data for 2005, so added news articles for 2005, which were drawn from a variety of newspapers, such as Seoul Newspaper, SBS, and OhMyNews.

For the Tea Party Movement we drew upon three main data sources: a national newspaper with a liberal ideology (*The New York Times*), a national libertarian organization that has an affiliated Tea Party branch, (FreedomWorks), and a decentralized, online TPM blogging forum (the Tea Party Patriots). In total, we collected 173 entries consisting of one major story or blog post for every month from December 2007 (Ron Paul's first "money bomb") to December 2012 (a month after President Obama's re-election win) with the exception of the Tea Party Patriots whose forums did not become active until March 2009. Specifically, we searched for terms such as "Tea Party," "Ron Paul," and "Libertarian" using the New York Times' Digital Archive, chose the most commented-upon blog post for each month on the Tea Party Patriot site, and, to provide some consistency, only used blog posts or press releases from FreedomWorks

that were written by Matt Kibbe, its CEO and co-founder. For example, our database consisted of three entries for March 2009. These are shown in the table below.

Table 1: Example Data for TPM

New York Times	"Reporter Says Outburst Was Spontaneous"	"Rick Santelli, the CNBC reporter whose on-air suggestion of a "Chicago Tea Party" to protest President Obama's housing plan sparked an Internet sensation and a smattering of actual protests across the country, found himself on the defensive Monday."
FreedomWorks	"Top Ten Ways the Obama Budget Wastes Taxpaper Money"	"The president's fiscal year 2010 budget proposal amounting to $3.55 trillion in spending was released on Feb. 26. According to the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the president's proposals will add deficits of $9,300,000,000,000 over the next 10 years."
Tea Party Patriots	"Tea Party Patriots to Washington Warriors"	"I agree with the idea of a march on Washington. That is our Capitol, the People's White House...a Congress that should be working for us, and a President who took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

4   Results

The results of the text analysis are shown in the tables below. The Frequent Terms column displays the most frequently occurring words for the networked and organization-based periods of each group.[7] Next to each frequently appearing word is the lower limit of the frequency with which it appeared, i.e., >30 indicates that the word appeared at least 30 times. The Correlated Terms column displays words that appeared together with the most frequent terms. The degree of correlation is shown in parentheses; 0 indicates no correlation and 1 indicates perfect correlation.

4.1   Results for Nosamo

Table 2: Frequent Words and Correlated Words

Networked Nosamo (2000-June 2002)		Organization-Based Nosamo (June 2002-2005)	
Frequent Terms	**Correlated Terms**	**Frequent Terms**	**Correlated Terms**
Regionalism (>30)	Overcome (0.45) Ending (0.41)	Election (>20)	Committee (0.44) Excessively (0.44) Law (0.39)
Chosun (>25)	Pro-Japanese (0.42) Boycott (0.40)	Nosamo (>20)	Position (0.41) 1st (0.29) Nohaegyeong (0.29)

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[7] Although "organized" and "organization-based" refer to different kinds of group structures, we use them here interchangeably.

The word "regionalism" is the most frequent word in the networked Nosamo data set. Given the high correlations with the words "overcome" and "ending", we characterize the collective action frame of networked Nosamo as "end regionalism". That is, Networked Nosamo framed the presidential election in terms of ending Korea's regional voting pattern, since it was believed to be at the root of distortions in the country's party system. Perhaps chief among these perceived distortions was No's failure to win a legislative seat in his home province in the general election in 2000, as well as the dominance of the Party Bosses, who some writers as have characterized as a kind of "political nobility", since their power is rooted in the adherence of the body politic to region-based voting (Son 2011, p.729). The following pair of quotes drawn from our data set illustrates the logic of the "end regionalism" frame:

> Netizens felt sorry for Roh's defeat due to regionalism. There is no disagreement on the problem of regionalism among the political elites and the public. We need alternative actions to overcome it.
>
> I thought Representative Roh has a strong potential to break regionalism. He is the most electable presidential candidate.

Thus, the "end regionalism" frame can potentially perform all of the functions that theorists of collective action and social movements require a collective action frame to perform: it identifies regionalism as the source of the problem (diagnostic), it suggests the election of Roh as the solution (prognostic), and it motivates people by suggesting participation in Nosamo as a way to make tangible progress towards this goal (motivational).

The second most frequent term during the Nosamo period is "Chosun", which refers to the Chosun Ilbo, Korea's foremost Conservative newspaper company. The frequent appearance

of this term can be attributed to the newspaper's frequent polemical attacks on No Mu-Hyeon and Nosamo. It is unlikely that it constitutes a distinct collective action frame.

Looking at the results for the organized Nosamo, it is clear that the substantive focus of the group's collective action frame veered away from regionalism and towards participation in institutional politics. While it is difficult to identify a single collective action frame, the prominence of the word "election" suggests that Nosamo focused on the practical aspects of winning an election. Also, as the word cloud below suggests, the frequent appearance of the phrase "hope pig" strengthens the interpretation of organized Nosamo as a "campaign machine" of sorts, since the "hope pigs" were Nosamo's primary means of fund raising. The word clouds below makes apparent the difference between the "end regionalism" frame of networked Nosamo and what we call the "participation" frame of organized Nosamo

Figure 1: Networked Nosamo vs. Organizaton-based Nosamo

Networked Nosamo   Organization-based Nosamo
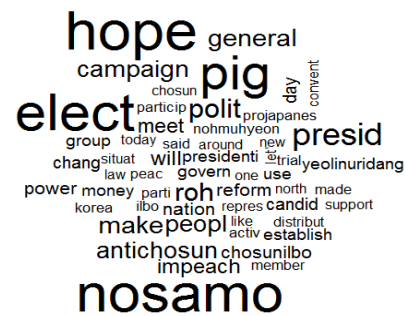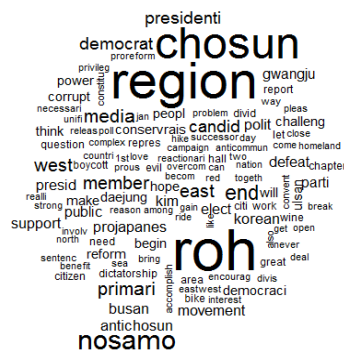
4.2   Results for the TPM

The results for the TPM do not suggest an easily interpretable collective action frame for either of the periods. However, they do generally follow a pattern that is similar to that which we discovered in Nosamo, in that the conversational themes move from issue or ideology-centered themes to a more generic participatory theme, as suggested by the absence of mentions of broad ideological issues in the organized TPM data.

In the first instance, networked TPM appears to have framed the political debate largely in terms of a reaction to the two cornerstone policies of the early Obama administration: the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (health care reform) and the American Recovery and Reinvestment act, otherwise known by its detractors as the "bailout". There is an almost perfect correlation in the 2007 to 2009 data between the phrases "care" and "health" giving credence to the belief that references to healthcare dominated the sources that we used. Other correlated terms included "care" and "system"; "care" and socialized"; "vote" and "urge"; "vote and bailout"; and "Paul" and "Lyman." These pairings can also be understood in the context of the data sources themselves; while Ron Paul's name was often linked in *the New York Times* with that of Trevor Lyman, who orchestrated the Boston Tea Party-related "money bombs" as fundraisers for Paul, Matt Kibbe's personal focus in the same three-year window was constantly and consistently urging members of the House and Senate to vote against the bailout and healthcare reform.

The shift in the nature of the TPM—from networked to organized—engendered a similar shift in media coverage as well as the frames of the movement itself. An examination of the second half of Table 3 reveals as much; references to "healthcare" and "bailout" which had so

dominated all three data sources from December 2007 to April 2009 faded considerably from mid-2009 to December 2012. Rather, the dominant term was again "vote," but this time, as the Tea Party Movement rapidly expanded to the national political arena, the correlated words were "vote" and "massive"; "vote and "intrusion"; "act" and "cosponsor"; and "act" and "3826" (a reference to H.R. 3826 on energy reform). Another remarkable change between the networked and organized TPM was a decline in identification with the Republican Party; while the first period saw a healthy correlation between Paul's name and the "republican" label, that dropped off in the second phase of the movement as Ron Paul faded as a presidential candidate and darling of the movement, and was instead replaced with a host of other figures who were all linked to the TPM, including Senator Ted Cruz, Representative Michele Bachmann, and others.

Table 3: Most Frequent Words and Correlated Words for TPM

Networked TPM (2007- April 2009)		Organization-based TPM (May 2009-2012)	
Frequent Terms	**Correlated Terms**	**Frequent Terms**	**Correlated Terms**
Care	health 0.96 system 0.80 socialized 0.62 battle 0.60	Act	cosponsor 0.43 3826 0.38 reins 0.38 avoid 0.37
Vote	key 0.86 urge 0.71 american 0.43 bailout 0.43	Vote	key 0.65 massive 0.51 yes 0.43 intrusion 0.42
Paul	lyman 0.58 web 0.58 republican 0.50	Party	democratic 0.24 ideals 0.22 influencing 0.22

Figure 2: Networked vs. Organization-based TPM

Networked TPM   Organization-based TPM

5   Discussion

The results of the analysis generally support the ideas of proponents of connective action. Networked Nosamo had neither the resources, leadership, nor organization classical collective action theories argue is required for collective action, yet it displayed a highly consistent collective action frame. The cohesiveness of the "end regionalism" frame of networked Nosamo can perhaps be partly attributed the degree to which it resonated a key subset of voters, the so-called "386" generation, which refers to the subsection of voters that had participated in the democratization movement, but whose hopes for democracy had been circumscribed by regionalism (Jenkins 2014, 20). These citizens had witnessed the cooptation of regional divisions

by ambitious politicians, making them uniquely receptive to this frame, thus relatively easy to mobilize in support of No regardless of their other ideological or political commitments.

In contrast, there does not seem to have been a *single* overriding issue that united tea partiers under a single banner. The efforts and influence of national organizations notwithstanding, the TPM more or less remained a "loose confederation of leaders, activists, and sympathizers" that organized in support of a constellation of conservative principles (Parker & Barreto 2013, 1). Some participants joined the movement because of specific issues like opposition to health care reform, while others joined the movement for broader ideological reasons. It may be the case that, without a cohort of similarly situated individuals, the tea party failed to produce a single collective action frame analogous to Nosamo's "end regionalism" frame. In this respect, the experience of the TPM tempers out initial conclusion, though, considering the TPM's political successes, it is an open question as to whether master frame is necessary at all.[8]

In any case, our results suggest that, while networked groups can produce a coherent collective action frame, its effect is highly dependent on political context. The "end regionalism" frame helped unite members of Nosamo only up until the complex nature of politics created centrifugal pressures within the group, after which point formal organization became necessary for its survival. Thus, even if a master frame does develop in a networked movement, it is not clear that it has the ability to maintain it in the long term. This is not a problem if we view such groups as conduits for citizens to influence public discourse, since it need only exist long enough to steer the national conversation to subjects of importance, just as the Occupy movement

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[8] On the other hand, it is possible that, without the aid of the national groups, the TPM would have gone no further than the Money Bombs. This would suggest that connective action does, in fact, require a master frame, though this question is beyond the scope of the present investigation.

revived attention to inequality. Yet, if we view these groups as instruments of political change, then connective action may need to be supplemented by traditional organizational capacity.

6   Conclusion and Thoughts for Further Research

The results of the present research suggest that networked collective action, or connective action, can maintain a coherent collective action frame. This strengthens the claims of theorists who argue that social movements provide a consistent and reliable means of linking citizen preferences to the national political discourse. By maintaining a consistent collective action frame, networked movements can effectively influence the public sphere and indirectly affect the governing process and laws that are shaped by it.

Yet there are still many reasons to doubt the capacity of such movements to perform this function, or, rather, to perform it better than traditional interest groups of social movements by virtue of making citizen involvement in the movement more direct. For example, the pattern of beginning as a loose, horizontal, or networked movement and transforming into an organization (or at least a more organized form of the movement) is not unique to these two groups. A similar pattern emerged in Occupy Wall Street, for example, which began to develop steering committees and factions as movement participants struggled to establish a plan of political action. It is an open question whether or not this pattern is embedded in the nature of such groups, that is, whether or not networked movements are fated to transform into organization-based groups owing to organizational weaknesses inherent in them.

This, in and of itself, should not necessarily be disappointing to proponents of participatory democracy. In fact, perhaps we can conceive of this divide as a kind of natural division of labor, wherein networked movements steer the conversation in the public sphere

towards an important issue, and organizations affiliated with or resulting from the movement go on to do the dirty work of campaigning and raising money for specific electoral races or bills. Yet, as we saw in the transition from networked Nosmao to organized Nosamo, there may be something critical lost in the transition from networked to organization-based activity; individual input on group agenda. Thus, even here, the potential for ordinary participants to influence the governing process, even at this removed stage, is limited.

6.1   Suggestions for Future Research

There are clear limitations to the present pilot study that can be improved upon by future research. First, by collecting a greater amount of data, we will be able to give a more complete assessment of collective action frames in both groups. Since data for Nosamo is limited, full text analysis may be more appropriate for obtaining deeper insights into the evolution of its collective action frames. Second, a comprehensive quantitative analysis combined with a more thorough qualitative content-analysis will strengthen our claims about the substantive interpretation of each group's collective action frames.

Finally, this project can be expanded by supplementing the content analysis with public opinion data. Do changes in the public's attitudes towards Nosamo and the Tea Party Movement correlate to the aforementioned changes in these groups' frames? While public opinion data on the TPM is easily available, the same is not true for Nosamo. Despite these limitations, future research in this area is promising, and will aid in understanding the changing patterns of collective action in evolving democracies.

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