The consequences of group style for individual participation in political protest

Abstract

This article proposes a theory of how interaction in groups influences activists' probability of engaging in different kinds of collective action. Current social research often conflates group interaction with either network embeddedness or the frames used by social movement organizations. In line with the recent ethnographic turn within political sociology, we instead argue that the group and its culture emerge as patterns of interaction. We support our theory with four statistical tests drawing on a survey of the Danish refugee solidarity movement with 2,283 respondents. This survey is combined with data of the totality of online interaction in 119 Facebook groups. Through content analysis using supervised machine learning, we estimate the variation in group styles along the dimension of contentiousness. The statistical analyses show that group style explains the individual's degree of participation in political protest better than network embeddedness and group framing.

Keywords: social movements; group interaction, social media, content analysis, differential recruitment, political protest, survey, group style, refugee solidarity movement

Introduction

The group is ubiquitous in social movement theory, where individuals join in groups to handle local issues, protest for wider social change, and ensure public goods. Many seminal small N studies of social movements that pay attention to the internal dynamics and processes of groups or social movement organization's (SMO) (e.g. Coutin 1993; Epstein 1991; Lichterman 1996; McAdam 1988; Teske 1997; Whittier 1997) and a number of prominent theories that stress the importance of

group processes (e.g. Hirsch 1990; McAdam 1986, 1999, Melucci 1989, 1996). However, what goes on inside social movement groups and the consequences hereof, has not been sufficiently theoretically specified. Two conceptions of the group dominates the literature: The first is the group as a Social Movement Organization (SMO). Here the group is viewed as a collective actor that defines itself and its repertoire of action through processes of framing. Focus is on the agency of the group as an actor that self-consciously and in a strategic manner frames itself in order to advance its goals (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988, 1992). The second perspective views the group as a network constituted of the individual activists' dyadic relations. Here, strong and weak ties lead to different forms of activism. The degree of the individual's network integration is taken as a measure of the individual's willingness to carry out activities of high risk and cost as the strength of integration in the networks is assumed to be equal to the strength of identification with the group's overall goals and ideology (e.g. Della Porta 1988; McAdam 1986). A third approach to studying the group has recently been formulated: Here patterns of interaction within groups take center stage in understanding movement processes (Becker 1999; Blee 2012; Eliasoph 1998; Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003; Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014). However, this new perspective lacks studies showing that group interaction has consequences beyond the internal group culture and practice. This paper presents an attempt at such a study.

To show that patterns of group interaction have consequences for the conduct of activists and the movement, we develop a theory of how patterns of interaction in groups influence differential recruitment to collective action and thereby shape the movement's overall repertoire of action. We investigate patterns of interaction as a distinct meso level of analysis (see Fine 2012). Our focus is on how patterns of interaction within a group setting when stabilized constitute a local order that we, following Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003), call group style. Our theoretical proposition is that group styles, through a process of encoding certain habits of thought and action in the individual

activist's body, influences the activist's mode of action in and beyond the group setting. Thus, we argue that group style will influence what type of collective action individual activists participate in and thereby differential recruitment. Furthermore, we argue that this encoding also is likely to shape the activist's involvement in activism at later moments in time and other settings than the group. Theoretically, this involves three important distinctions: First, the important concept of the network must be separated from the concept of the group. As a theoretical concept, network concerns structural availability derived from observations of dyadic relationships and not the content of interactions and the group level style they constitute. Second, we argue that group style proposes an understanding of the group and how it influences the movement's repertoire that is different from framing. Where group interaction concerns interaction inside the group, framing is undertaken by the group as a collective actor, that is, the SMO, typically represented by its leadership that act on behalf of the collective that is reified as an entity rather than a group of interacting individuals. Thirdly, we specify how group style has consequences for the individual's participation in collective action, through the three processes of 1) filtering and qualifying activities and information, 2) encoding habits of action and thought in the group members, and 3) capturing and attuning the activist to certain aspects of the issue.

To empirically substantiate these theoretical propositions, we undertake a large N study of variation in group style along the dimension of contentiousness and its consequences for the individual group members degree of involvement in political protest. This strategy is chosen because it allows for testing of the relative generality of our hypotheses and to make up for the lack of such large N studies of internal group dynamics in the social movement studies in the aggregate. This is achieved by developing a research design that combines survey data with social media data. We have surveyed 2,283 activists in the movement recruited by posting links to the questionnaire in Facebook groups associated with the movement. In parallel, we used supervised machine learning

and natural language processing to analyze the interaction in 119 groups in the form of >640,000 posts and comments on Facebook.

We find that the level of contentiousness of the group style in the Facebook groups strongly influences the likelihood of the individual participating in political protest. At the same time, the framing of the Facebook group which we operationalize as the official description of the Facebook group visible to potential members still matters, but the effect is comparatively small. The same is the case for network, which is measured as both personal and organizational ties in relation to initial recruitment, embeddedness in civil society, and embeddedness in the movement itself. Only embeddedness in political civil society and the movement itself has statistically significant effects. This overall finding supports the main theoretical proposition, namely that group style matters for differential recruitment. Furthermore, we find that the effect differs with regard to the level of the activist's history of activism, revealing that experienced activists are more resilient to the effects of group style than non-experienced activists. We also find that the effect of group style not only pertains to in-group activities but also affects the individual's choice of activities beyond the group, although to a lesser extent. These additional findings support the theoretical hypotheses developed in the theory section below.

The empirical case is the Danish refugee solidarity movement, which tries to help refugees in Denmark, and constitutes the largest mobilization of civil society in recent Danish history. The movement is significant and exemplary in at least two ways. First, the movement is an important player in the Danish political landscape because it is concerned with the issues of immigration and refugees which have been among the most contested issues in Danish as well as European politics for decades (Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008; Green-Pedersen and Odmalm 2008; Kaarsen 2015; Rydgren 2004, 2010). In Denmark, lawmakers for decades have implemented regulations making it harder for refugees and immigrants to obtain legal residence in Denmark (Bræmer 2010;

Fenger-Grøn and Grøndahl 2004) in tandem with the discourse becoming more hostile to refugees (Holm 2006; Mihai 2011; Vitus and Lidén 2010). Thus, the movement is party to one of the most important political conflicts in Western societies. Second, Facebook is an integral part of the refugee solidarity movement and the dominant vehicle for organizing and mobilizing. As will be explained in the extended case description below, this is due in part to Facebook being the dominant social media in Denmark (Tassy 2016). For these reasons, interaction in Facebook groups is likely to be a valid measure of variation in style of group interaction in the movement.

In section 2, we first outline our theoretical propositions by explaining what we mean by group style, how it distinguishes itself from network and framing, and how it influences differential recruitment. Section 3 introduces the case by explaining the political and historical context, the status of social media, and not least, exemplifying the online interaction that takes place in the Facebook groups. The qualitative observations concerning group style and its relation to activities motivates the subsequent statistical analysis. Section 4 concerns the research design that combines survey data and "big" social media data in four tests designed to establish the relationship between group interaction and individual activity, as well as the heterogeneity of this relationship. Section 5 presents the results which are discussed in relation to theoretical propositions in section six.

Theory

In this section, we will make three theoretical arguments, namely that group interaction should not be conflated with 1) social networks or 2) SMO framing, and furthermore that 3) group style influences what kind of activity the individual activist engages in, that is, differential recruitment.

Explanations of variation of collective action repertoires can be divided into micro, meso, and macro levels. The research program around repertoires of contention (Tilly 1978), political opportunity structures (McAdam 1999), and protest cycles (Tarrow 1989, 1991) are all interested in variation in the forms and intensities of activism over time, given changes in the macro-level

conditions. Micro-level explanation focuses on the history of activism (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), pre-disposition, and attitudes (Deth and Scarbrough 1995; Self-reference) and emotions (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2009; Jasper 2008; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Polletta 1998).

The meso level has in much political sociology focused on how processes of SMO framing (Babb 1996; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986), group culture (Coutin 1993; Melucci 1995), and the degree of network embeddedness (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; González-Bailón et al. 2011; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980; Steinert-Threlkeld 2017) influence the individual's recruitment to different types of activism. This meso level of analysis has proved successful in connecting the micro and macro level (e.g. Hirsch 1990; Taylor and Whittier 1992), but, we will argue, too much uniform agency within the SMO has been assumed, and it is imprecise to conflate the group with the network.

Instead of the network and framing aspect, we focus on the interactional aspect. This aspect we specify by the concept of group style (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003) which is the group members' shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances (Schutz 1975:82). The empirical expression of group style is the recurring and relatively stable patterns of interaction. Because group style is the members shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances, the style is likely to have consequences for what kind of collective action the in which members organize and participate. This is quite different from the way in which network and SMO framing influences involvement in action which we now will explain in detail.

'Group interaction' is not network structure

There are two main differences between a group style perspective and a network perspective on groups. First, the former focuses on the co-presence of interacting actors within a certain setting and on the content of interaction, whereas the latter identifies the structure of the dyadic relationships

between the group members. Network analysis has given political sociologists the means to locate group-like entities such as cliques or clans systematically. However, the aggregation of dyadic relations into structural entities is, however, not the same as an interacting group.

Group interaction is focused on actors being co-present, where one's actions are displayed to the group rather than a single relation within the group. Interaction in groups is situational in the Goffmanian sense—happening within an environment where the gathering can monitor it and where the actor can adjust her behavior to the setting. Eliasoph captures this well in her work on civic groups, where members could speak of entirely different things backstage than they could front stage, because the group style allowed for only certain forms of interaction (Eliasoph 1998). Therefore, networks are different from groups because the group setting constitutes its own context of interaction, where the network may capture only the relational structure.

Second, the focus on group interaction also foregrounds the patterns of discourse created through interaction. Typically, the content of the relations constituting the ties of a network are black-boxed (Erikson 2013; Mische and White 1998). Although studies have shown the importance of differentiating between weak and strong ties in explaining recruitment to different forms of activism (e.g. Passy 2001), it is equally important to understand what practices those relations are made of. Habitual ways of talking and acting toward an issue together with others make certain lines of action more probable than others (Gross 2009), which is what group style enables us to analyze.

'Group interaction' is not identical to SMO framing

There are several important differences, both theoretically and methodologically, between group style and framing. SMO framing literature is concerned primarily with public representation and relations of a movement in its attempts to win legitimacy and attract members through processes of frame alignment (Snow et al. 1986). A focus on group interaction, on the other hand, centers on the

patterns of interaction and problem solving. Thus, we have a difference between internal interaction patterns and external communication and action strategies. This difference can be quite profound as Eliasoph & Lichterman (2003) show in their ethnographic work.

The perspective of group style offers a way to remedy what Benford (1997) calls the static and reifying tendencies within the framing literature. According to Benford, much of the framing literature focuses on how SMOs interpret and act on issues. However, it thereby neglects the variety of actions and interpretations performed by actors within SMOs. This becomes especially problematic when activists are not simply "joiners" of highly structured organizations, but rather the constitutive force of multiple small activist groups that make up the movement. In contrast to the reified version of framing, group style does not determine an activist's mobilization, rather, they bring to the fore certain aspects of issues, create certain political sensibilities, and cultivate certain habits of action that, in combination with the macro- and micro-level factors, may affect collective action.

Group interaction and action repertoire

Our contribution to the group style perspective is to theorize three processes through which group style leads to different probabilities of engaging in different forms of collective action. These processes constitute our theoretical hypothesis that we will submit to statistical analyses in the subsequent sections. In the following, we argue that group style has consequences for individual's participation in collective action because by constituting the members shared understanding of a situation and system of typifications and relevances it 1) filters and qualifies information and activities, 2) encodes habit of thought and action, and 3) captures and attunes activists to certain aspects of the refugee issue.

1. Filtering and qualifying activities and information

If one does not have information on an event, then surely it is impossible to join it, unless by coincidence. This is also why social movement scholars have been so interested in network, which shows that actors' embedding in civil society or their friendship with activists play an important role in both differential recruitment and mobilization (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Schussman and Soule 2005). However, the context in which one is being asked or gets information about a collective action event is crucial as well. In a situation, to gain relevance, information must be formatted in a way that fits the situation (Thévenot 2007). This implies that in a group, ill-placed recruitment attempts not in alignment with the group style can either constitute a breach or be ignored as noise. In other words, to be successful, an invitation to a collective action must be aligned with the group style. This implies that we expect that the individuals in a group are more likely to participate in collective action that is in line with the group style. For instance, if the group style is very non-contentious we expect that non-contentious activities gain prominence and gain participants whereas contentious activities like political protests have lesser status or are simply ignored.

2. Encoding habits of action and thought

From being part of a group style, actors develop habits of thought and action in relation to specific issues. We follow the pragmatist conception of habits as arts or competences rather than mere behavioral repetition. For instance, one must learn how to think and talk contentiously about the refugee situation. This is learned through situational tests in which actors learn what principles should be used in denunciation (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), what repertoires of action are appropriate and efficient, and so on. Interaction within groups provides an essential resource and testing ground for learning how to practice refugee activism. Interacting with fellow activists whom

you know, trust, and assign worth to, makes your collective practices even more important for the development of enduring habits of action. This idea of habits invokes a sequential explanation where the habits acquired through past activism make certain responses to present situations more probable (Gross 2009). This implies that we expect that a history of activism will mediate the influence of present group styles. For instance, when entering a new group, an activist with a long history of activism will, to a lesser degree, align her choice of activities with the group style than a novice activist who is just beginning to develop habits of thought and action in relation to activism in the group style of which she is a part.

3. Capturing and Attuning the activist

Where the habits of action are historical, attunement works within the present. Group style sets activists in certain "moods" where certain things become natural and effortless while others seem a hurdle (Silver 2011). Group style around an issue makes an actor become engrossed in certain practices while distanced from others. However, where habits are more concerned with the skills acquired through recurrent practices, attunement is concerned with the orientation of the actor in an evolving present. The group style, which resides in a specific setting, extends its reach and becomes how the activist relates to the political context in general and outside the group, where certain things stand out, and others become background (Silver 2011). This process can both be very practical where, for instance, the more humanitarian action one does, the more humanitarian problems one encounters and the fewer resources are available for participating in political protest. It may also be more proactive, as when actors are flow of action where every problem is translated into a question of what can I do here and now to help the unfortunate suffering. In this flow, the possibility of translating problems into political critique leading to political protest is not even considered. Therefore, we expect that the group style not only influences the individual's activities in the group,

but also outside the group, however to a lesser extent due to the influence of the patterns of interaction of the other settings.

The three processes outlined all point to how group style may influence individual activity and, therefore, the action repertoire of a group and, taken together, a movement. Below, we shall empirically examine these relationships between group style and political protest through four empirical tests. Before this, we need to introduce the case that is our object of study, namely the September Mobilization of the Danish refugee solidarity movement, to provide context and case-specific background for the research design as well as the theoretical interpretation of the results.

Case: The Danish refugee solidarity movement

The Danish refugee solidarity movement is a strategic case for analyzing how group style matters for the individual's participation in collective action for the following reasons: First, the movement is organized in small informal grass-root groups which theoretically makes the analysis of group interaction even more important (Blee 2012). Second, Facebook groups are the dominant organizational tool in the movement which enables us to study the group styles of the movement in the aggregate, because we can collect data of all interaction in the Facebook groups. Third, typical of humanitarian movements (Boltanski 1999; Eliasoph 2013), the major division in the movement is about choosing a contentious or a purely humanitarian and non-contentious strategy. This motivates our choice of this dimension for analyzing variation in group style and its correlation with individual participation in political protest. Fourth, in relation to the so-called European refugee crisis, in September 2015 and the subsequent months, the movement experienced a massive mobilization. This event, which affected all in the movement, provides a reference point that enables us to inquire retrospectively with precision—using a survey tool—into the processes of

recruitment and the activities in relation to that event. Below, these characteristics of the case are explained. The movement has received little attention from researchers, and we rely on [Author]'s knowledge of the movement which he has accumulated through several years of fieldwork, in-depth interviews with activists, and background research [Self-reference].

Grassroots organized in Facebook groups

The Danish refugee solidarity movement consists of people who act out of solidarity with refugees to aid them in their efforts to obtain asylum status and settle down and integrate into Danish society, but also to advocate on behalf of the refugees' rights and affect political reform of the laws regulating immigration. Besides a few large professionalized NGO's, the movement mainly consists of small, local, grass-root groups with little if any formal organization or hierarchy. These groups are almost without exception present on Facebook, and Facebook has become an integrated element in the way the movement organizes itself. There are at least three important reasons for this: 1) Most Danes use social media and in particular Facebook. In Denmark, 67% of the total population aged 16-89 use Facebook, and when looking only at Internet users, at least 96% are Facebook users (Tassy 2016). 2). Facebook is integral to the largest faction of the movement called The Friendly People, which during 2015 were diffused from a single local group in the countryside to being a national phenomenon with groups in all municipalities of Denmark and tens of thousands of supporters. 3) During the explosive September Mobilization 2015 (more on that below), Facebook became the default platform for communicating and coordinating among the activists—new and old. Thus, in the collective experience and memory of the September Mobilization, Facebook was an integral element. For these reasons in addition to the well-known advantages for mobilization and communication in social movements (González-Bailón et al. 2011; Harlow 2012; Howard et al. 2011; Obar, Zube, and Lampe 2012; Wolfsfeld, Segev, and Sheafer 2013), the movement went

online during 2015 and thereby it offers itself as a strategic research site for analyzing social media group interaction.

The dimension of contentiousness

The central dimension along which the groups are differentiated is the degree to which the refugee issue should be approached in a purely humanitarian and non-contentious way and a more contentious manner based on critiques of other actors such as the state and government. This question becomes even more important when we consider the fact that the political issue of immigration and refugees in recent decades has become one of the most contended in Danish (Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup 2008; Kaarsen 2015) and European politics (Geddes and Sholten 2016; Koopmans et al. 2005). This implies that simply helping refugees, even from purely humanitarian motives, may be and often is seen by spectators as taking a stand in a heated and polarizing debate. That this is the case is substantiated by media reports of harassment of volunteers who did not participate in political protest but simply aided the refugees on a purely humanitarian level and in fully legal ways (e.g. Marstrand-Jørgensen 2016; Rosenquist 2015). Thus, in the present political situations, it seems that a turn to a more contentious approach is associated with a larger risk.

This division is also evident when we consider the variation in how the groups frame themselves. An example of a non-contentious approach is the group, The Friendly People. The non-contentious nature of their approach to the issue is expressed in this quote from the group's description on Facebook:

> 'We do not consider why the asylum seekers are here, or IF they should be here. We relate to THE FACT that they are here. So we leave it to the authorities to assess IF they have the right to

be here. Until this decision, we are friendly and welcoming to them—this we believe is to show ordinary humanity and decency.'

Here it is made clear that what is in focus is the relationship with the refugees here and now—not the causes of the future consequences of Danish immigration policies or other human constructs for the refugee. Because the issue is a heated political battleground, the strategy and framing of the Friendly People may seem quite peculiar, and it is also true that several other groups in the movement use a contentious framing. Typically, they combine the humanitarian aspect with a need for contentious action aimed at altering the political regulation. An example is from the official description from the Facebook site of the activist group, Welcome to Denmark:

'We emerged spontaneously from an individual and collective feeling that refugees and immigrants deserve to be greeted with open arms. There is a need for action. The EU's asylum policies do not work, and the political leaders will not assume responsibility.
Come and help us create a Denmark where we meet refugees with respect and care.'

Not only in relation to framing, but also in the group interaction we find that the degree of contentiousness is an important dimension. One is example is the original Friendly People group, whose style is highly non-contentious and positive. Here, friendliness in group interaction plays a central role both as a style of interaction and as an issue in and of itself. In this friendly and non-contentious style. A great variety of things are "wonderful," "friendly," and "life-affirming." These adjectives are used in the description of refugees seeking a job, humanitarian work, fellow activist, and readings, among many others. The horror of the suffering refugees is largely absent, and the interaction is filled with positivity and possibility. The same goes for the political other; those who do not help refugees. The most dramatic illustration of this is the near lack of reference to any of the many politicians and parties hostile to immigrants that during the period of study were elected to the Danish parliament. When such rare posts rarely occurred, they were not applauded through likes or

comments—they were ignored. Not even ironic depictions of absurdly unfriendly activity received any attention. There is only one reference to the large national conservative and anti-immigration party Danish People's Party (DPP), and this is in a comment in which the author states her dislike of the us/them distinctions and illustrates the fruitfulness of friendliness through her pleasant experience with a DPP representative resulting from her initial friendliness. That the style backgrounds certain things and foregrounds others also seem to have consequences for recruitment to collective action. While, for instance, events such as Christmas parties bringing Danes and refugees together in celebration were hugely popular, the biggest national refugee political protest event in relation to the European refugee crisis in the fall 2015, a massive demonstration attended by tens of thousands, receiving massive media attention, was largely ignored despite the event being shared in the group (see appendix A for full summary of the case-analysis).

These findings from a case analysis of the online interaction in the Facebook groups exemplify how group style in the Facebook groups filters information and attunes the activists and how contention is a central dimension of variation in group style, as also found in other studies of humanitarian movements (Boltanski 1999; Eliasoph 2013).

The September Mobilization

We now turn to the recent events that are the object of the empirical study below. In September 2015, a massive mobilization, the September Mobilization, took place; this event is the case for this study. The mobilization happened as a reaction to the arrival of large group of refugees in a rather unregulated manner. Media attention was massive as the police gave up detaining the refugees who started walking on the freeway toward Sweden causing the shutdown of the roads. Such chaotic scenes are extremely alien to Danish citizens living in a highly regulated welfare state. Thus, as the events developed in the first week of September, citizens becoming activists organized assistance to

the refugees, providing them with food, clothing, and medicine at the train stations and harbors, as well as organizing illegal transportation onward to their destination, often Sweden. In the single first week of September, 14,776 new members joined. By the end of the year, the movement membership was up to 79,693 from 31,061 primo September.

However, the number of 31,061 members on the eve of the September Mobilization indicates there was a considerable movement in place as the events took off. Beforehand, a long-term build-up had taken place. This not only allows for analyzing the interaction in the Facebook groups using quantitative techniques. The September Mobilization as a defining event in the movement's history also presents itself as a point of reference allowing for retrospective inquiry of the events using survey techniques. Furthermore, because of the massive influx of new members within a relatively short span of time in September, we can compare old and new members. For these three reasons, the September Mobilization makes the case strategic with regard to developing a research design for testing the influence of group style on collective action.

Research design

Our aim is to empirically substantiate the theoretical claim that group interaction is important to differential recruitment and demonstrate how this can be studied with quantitative methods at an aggregate level. This implies subjecting the qualitative observations made in the preceding case description to rigorous statistical scrutiny by testing the influence of variation in style between groups on individual participation in political protest. Thereby, we add to the existing qualitative studies not only by investigating variation in the independent variable (group style) but also by analyzing how it correlates with the outcome variable of political protest. At the same time, we can control for alternative explanations suggested in the literature on differential recruitment. We present our research design in the following order. First, the logic of the empirical tests is outlined.

Then we present the data sources and subsequent details regarding the variables included in the analysis.

The statistical analysis falls in two steps. First, we examine the overall hypothesis arising from the theoretical consideration presented above saying that *group style will influence the level of political protest engaged in by the individual independent of framing, network embedding, and individual properties.* Thus, it is made plausible that group style influences individual action. This being established, the second step is to investigate the hypotheses regarding heterogeneity of the effect of group style on action depending on the level of prior activist experience and whether the activity is inside or outside the group of the individual.

FIGURE 1

These two steps are structured around four statistical tests. The logic of the tests is exemplified in Figure 1. Tests 1 and 2 concern the first step of the analyses, to test the overall hypothesis, whereas tests 3 and 4 concern the second step, to test for heterogeneity with regard to a history of activism and the group embeddedness of the activities. In Figure 1, *X* is individual *i*'s characteristics including network ties to individuals and organizations. *Y* is the political protest of individual *i* carried out during and/or after the September Mobilization. *F* is the framing of group *g* that the individual is a member of, and *G* is the group interaction that individual *i* is influenced by as a member of the group. The emphasized arrow depicts the variable relationship that is the core in the analysis in the model.

Tests 1 and 2 both concern the overall hypothesis, namely that group style influences individual participation in political protest. In test 1, we estimate the statistical effect in a multilevel design allowing for controlling for unobserved variation among the groups. Given that our hypothesis

concerns a group-level factor, it is of course quite important to minimize the likeliness that the observed statistical effect is due to some unobserved co-varying group characteristic. In test 2, a time dimension is introduced distinguishing between t_0 before September, and t_1, during and after the September Mobilization. This distinction is obtained by splitting the sample into veterans, active at t_0, and newcomers, not part of the movement until t_1. This distinction concerns the degree to which the individual itself has been part of creating the group culture from the beginning, which may be the case for the veteran activists who were already active during t_0, or as a recruit enters the group and becomes subject to the group style at t_1. It also concerns the length of time the individual has been part of the group and thereby has encoded the group style. Thus, test 2 concerns the effect on the new members who first became members during or after the September Mobilization, t^1. The individual *i*'s characteristics are formed at t_0, prior to September, and *F*, framing and *G*, group style, of group *g* first have effects during t_1 simultaneously with being active, Y_1. Thereby, we attempt to control better for possible endogeneity, in the sense that we are more certain that the individual characteristics have not influenced or been influenced by the group style. Our expectation is that G has a positive effect on Y in both statistical tests.

To investigate heterogeneity, test 3 splits the population by history of refugee activism to examine whether the level of experience *X*, influence the effect of contentious group style, *G*, on the contentious action, *Y*, of individual *i*. In accordance with our theory, we would expect that the experienced activist with a long history of refugee activism would be less affected by the group style due to stronger habits, whereas non-experienced activists would have no experience and habits to guide them in this respect, and therefore to a greater degree align with the group style. Test 4, splits on activities that took place within the group and outside the group. The straightforward hypothesis is that group style has more to say about in-group activities than outside group activities.

However, in line with our theoretical assumption of attunement to group style, we still would expect it to influence activities outside the group as well.

Data

Data stems from two sources, which we combine. To measure individual properties and network and the dependent variable of the individual's involvement in political protest, we exploit data from a survey with a total of 2,289 respondents recruited online in the Facebook groups of the movement. Carried out during summer 2016, the online survey of movement participants' inquiries about the individual's actions and experiences in relation to the September Mobilization. These events constitute a fixed and public event in time, about which that people in Denmark in general and activists in particular have a clear memory, which better allows for retrospective investigation of the event as in this case (Belli 2014). Furthermore, by focusing on the event of the September Mobilization, we can distinguish between before and after in the questions asked, which allow for including the dimension of time. In addition to inquiring about the September Mobilization, the questionnaire asks about movement and civic activities, motives, attitudes, and beliefs as well as individual and socioeconomic characteristics at a more general level. The survey includes information on the respondent's primary Facebook group affiliation. This information is exploited to relate the individual to measures of the interaction in this particular group, which will be explained in more detail below. Finally, it has information about whether one's activities were carried out inside or outside the group, enabling us to counter some of the endogeneity in our research design.

As explained in the case description, in practice, almost all those active in the movement were a member of the Facebook groups when the survey was conducted. This strategy allowed for the recruitment of a broad selection of activists. However, it cannot be assumed that the survey

constitutes a representative sample of the movement implying that findings regarding proportions of the movement cannot claim to be general for the movement population. Nonetheless, this study is concerned with testing variable relationships, and in this respect, the results are likely to be less biased (Søgaard et al. 2004) (for more details see [Self-reference]).

Despite the construction of survey items allowing for some time separation of measures, by the end of the day, we are still dealing with cross-sectional data, and not panel data, which would have been preferable but in practice impossible as the September Mobilization was difficult if not impossible to foretell. Also, even though by focusing our inquiries on a significant event we are likely to reduce the problem of recollection when conducting retrospective surveying, the problem can by no means be ruled out as an influence on the answers. For these reasons, we do not claim that we observe a causal relationship—merely the likelihood of such a relationship between variables which at best provides the theoretical argument with plausibility.

The second source is data collected on Facebook. It is used to measure variation in group interaction along the dimension of contentiousness. Using content analysis and machine learning techniques, we analyze the totality of statements in 119 Facebook groups identified through a key-word search[1] and classify them as either contentious or non-contentious by a coding of 12,500 statements randomly drawn from the interaction in the 119 Facebook groups (>640,000 statements) carried out by the authors including validation. This labeled sample was then used to train a machine-learning model to replicate the qualitative evaluations. How we did this is described in more detail in appendix B. The resulting model achieved a reasonably high accuracy (0.99 vs. the 0.90 baseline of a model predicting negative every time). This demonstrates that natural language

1 The keywords were: *refugee* (flygtning), *asylum* (asyl), *racism* (racism), *foreigner* (udlænding), *Venligbo* (the Danish nomination for a large and new social movement which has kindness toward refugees and others in need as its central goal), *friends of refugees* (flygtningevenner), *intercultural* (interkulturel), *the Red Cross* (Røde Kors), *the Red Cross Youth* (Røde Kors Ungdom), *the Danish Refugee Council* (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), *DFUNK* (the Danish Refugee Council's youth organization), *Frivillignet* (the volunteering organization of The Danish Refugee Council), *Save The Children* (Red Barnet), *Save The Children Youth* (Red Barnet Ungdom), and *Amnesty International*.

processing and machine learning algorithms can be tailored to replicate evaluations made by qualitative researchers with a reasonably high accuracy.

TABLE 1

Variables

The variables included in the models are summarized in Table 1. The dependent variable—*political protest*—is based on a set of 16 items asking about what activities the respondents have been involved in. In the following, we consider only activities that took place during or after the September Mobilization to synchronize the activities with our measure of group interaction.

TABLE 2

Out of the 16 kinds of activism, seven have been categorized as political protest[2]. The activities included covering traditional means of extra-institutional political activity such as demonstration and petitioning. It also includes several activities characteristic of the movement's repertoire, namely civil disobedience in relation to avoiding deportation of refugees. Due to a very small number of observations in the higher counts, it is recoded in five categories distributed as reported in Table 2. When splitting the sample in tests 2-4, due to the smaller N, the variable is further recoded into a binary variable simply distinguishing between being engaged in contentious action or not.

The focal independent variable is *contentious group style*. This variable represents our operationalization of group style. Not conducting ethnographic field work, we deviate from the

2 See appendix C for a table listing the activities and their classification as either political protest or non-contentious.

approach originally suggested by Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003; 2014).[3] Instead of describing different kinds of group styles, we wish to measure all group styles on one dimension, namely that of contentiousness, which we have argued is prominent to the movement on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Thus, in a quantitative approach, the straightforward way to compare variation in group styles along a dimension is to measure the relative frequency of interaction expressing the dimension under study in the groups. To construct such a variable we did a content analysis, scaled with supervised machine learning techniques, of post and comments within the Facebook groups(see appendix B). The variable measures the proportion of contentious statements during the months of October and November in the single groups weighted by the total number of statements per month in the groups. When we do not include September, this is because even though most of the 119 groups were created before September, 23 were created during September. Thus, to get a comparable measure of the groups including those created in September, we measure interaction in October and November. Contentious group style continuously ranges from 0-1, but the very low mean (0.046) and S.D. (0.031) reveals that it generally operates at the lower end of this range. Turning to the control variables, group framing is of particular theoretical interest. It is a group-level variable distinguishing between groups that frame their activity and purpose as non-contentious or contentious. All Facebook groups have a self-description that contains information about the group available to potential members. Examples of such descriptions were presented in section 3. We use these descriptions to construct the variable *contentious framing* simply by coding the group descriptions of all the groups as contentious or not. The vast majority of respondents (89%) are in groups framed as non-contentious. On average, 50% of the respondents in the non-

3 Lichterman and Eliasoph suggests that the *style* can be grasped by the heuristic of 1) *speech-norms*, 2) *maps* of orientation including group boundaries, and 3) *group bonds*, which are the mutual expectations and obligations (Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014:814). However, because we do not study the style by ethnographic methods, we deviate from this heuristics (indeed, Lichterman and Eliasoph by no means claim that this heuristics is the only way to study group style) and understand study of the group style as the aggregation of interactions along a certain privileged dimension.

contentious groups were involved in political protest. In the contentious groups, the number is 81%. This indicates that framing indeed relates to differential recruitment. It is included to ensure that framing is not confounded by group style, by controlling for selection effects due to the activists selecting a group based on the alignment between their views and the group's framing.

At the individual level, people's network is of particular theoretical importance. Network effects are divided into personal and organizational networks. *Personal network ties* are measured on a scale 0-2 constructed from a survey item asking whether the individual was encouraged to join the group by (2) friends or family, (1) colleagues or acquaintances, or (0) were not encouraged. Thus, the scale reflects a continuum from weak to strong ties. *Organizational ties* are measured in three ways. First, a dummy variable measuring whether the individual was encouraged to join by an organization or association at a meeting or in a newsletter or the like. Second, a scale from 0-9 measuring the degree of *embeddedness in non-political civil society* associations such as sports associations, churches, and "other associations." For each of the three categories of civil society associations, the individual is assigned 0 to 3 points depending on whether it has (0) no relation to such associations, (1) has previously been a member, (2) is currently a member, (3) is currently an active member. The third variable in the same way measures *embeddedness in political civil society* which are political parties, trade unions, and NGOs on a scale of 0-9. The two scales of civil society embeddedness are constructed to reflect the humanitarian/non-contentious–political/contentious dimensions, in order to be able to measure potential variation in the salience of the network ties (McAdam and Paulsen 1993). Finally, the variable *active prior to September* simply measures whether the individual was embedded in a movement network on the eve of the September Mobilization or first became a member of the movement during the mobilization.

We also seek to control for selection by including two variables measuring *history of activism related to refugees* and *history of activism related to other issues*. Prior engagement and experience

with activism are regarded as important predictors of the likelihood for engaging in future activism (Klingemann and Fuchs 1995; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), and it is, therefore, an important variable to include in the model to ensure that potentially observed effects of group style are not spurious. These two variables are scales ranging from 0-5 measuring activism prior to September 2015.

In the same vein, predisposition such as beliefs and values may shape preferences for how to act in solidarity with refugees (Deth 1995; Deth and Scarbrough 1995; Inglehart 1977). To control for such effects, we include *political attitudes* on a scale from left to right (1-4). We also included basic human values measuring the degree of *self-transcendent values* (1-8) and *self-enhancement values* (1-7) as defined by Schwartz (Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz 2008; Schwartz 1992). *Religion* (categorical with non-believer as reference), as well as *church attendance frequency* (1-5) are also included. It has persuasively been argued that emotional reactions to events are likely to motivate involvement in activism (Goodwin et al. 2009; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). We therefore include a variable measuring the strength of the individual's *emotional response* on scale from 0-4 counting the number of the emotions of 1) anger toward the authorities, 2) responsibility for the refugees, 3) compassion with the refugees, and 4) indignation due to the situation of the refugees. To control for biographical availability (Bruni 2013; Schussman and Soule 2005; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), we include the variables of *children living at home* (dummy), assuming this would impose constraints on time for activism, *age* (continuous by year), and its square, *working time* (0-5), which measures the degree to which the respondents experience that time spent on work and education limits their engagement, and finally *occupation* (eight categories with full-time employment as reference) which in an objective way controls for time constraint due to work as well as flexibility which is assumed to be higher among self-employed and students. Finally, variables measuring several individual characteristics are included: *gender* (three categories with female as reference),

income (1-5), *highest level of educational attainment* (1-5), *residential area's degree of urbanization* (1-5), and being a *refugee* (dummy).

Results

The overall effect of group style on individual activity

Test 1 aims at assessing the plausibility of the overall hypothesis that group style independently influences individual participation in political protest. It is specified as a linear random intercept two-level model with Facebook groups as the group level. As is conventional, we set the minimum number of observations per group to >5 (Snijders and Bosker 2012). Details of the model are summarized in Table 3. The model includes all the variables described in the variable section.

TABLE 3

The results are reported in table 4. Model 1 includes only the focal relationship of contentious group style on political protest, model 2 also including the framing variable and network variables, and finally, model 4 includes all the individual level controls (we report only the significant estimates. For a full list of estimates, see appendix D). Both framing and group style have a significant effect on political protest. The network measure of civil society embeddedness is also significant. Including the individual level controls reduces the effect of both group style and framing, but they are still statistically significant. For the network measures, only embeddedness in political civil society and being active before September are significant and have a positive but rather small effect. The estimates of the control variables are considered in appendix E.

TABLE 4

Test 2 isolates the sub-population of newcomers to ensure that the observed relationship in test 1 is not simply the product of veteran activists having aligned their habits of action with the group style.

Due to the smaller number of observations in the sub-sample, it is estimated as a logistic regression model distinguishing between whether the individual was involved in political protest or not. In Table 5, we report the estimates of three models parallel to the multi-level models of Table 4 (for all estimates, see appendix F).[4] Regarding the effect of contentious group style, it is substantial and significant in all the models even though it is reduced when adding the controls. Framing is not significant in any of the models. This, however, may be because variation in this variable was modest to begin with and is further reduced when reducing the sample. Therefore, and because the effect was significant in the multilevel models, we hesitate to conclude that framing does not matter. The same is the case with embeddedness in political civil society.

Overall, tests 1 and 2 both support the overall hypothesis that group style influences in what kind of collective actions the individual participate. To get a sense of the predicted impact, Figure 2 shows non-parametric regression curves of the predicted values of the random intercept model 3 in Table 4. As noted in the variable presentation section, the contentious group style variable primarily operates in the lower spectrum of its principal range of 0-1, and in Figure 2 we consider only the lower quarter of the range. Throughout this spectrum, the degree of involvement in political protest increases with the level of contentious group style. However, it is close to flat before 0.1. Around 0.17, the effect accelerates to flatten out after 0.2. The S-curved relationship suggests that when the degree of contentious group style reaches a certain level, a more dramatic shift in the internal group dynamics with regard to participation in political protest occurs. Even though we consider only the lower end of the X-axis, going from 0 to ca. 20% contentious group style increases the individual number of political protest by 1.5 on a scale from 0-4. Thus, the predicted effects are substantial. However, as indicated by the CI, the number of observations higher than ca. 0.2 on the X-axis is

4 A similar model for only the veterans reveals similar findings. See appendix G.

quite small, which make us urge caution regarding drawing a firm conclusion about effects at the high end of the axis.

TABLE 5

FIGURE 2

Heterogenous effects

We now turn to investigating possible heterogeneity of the effect. In test 3, we include the same variables as in model 3 of Table 5. We estimate two logistic models: one for activists with no history of refugee activism and one for activists with a history of activism. The model estimates can be found in appendix H. In both models, contentious group style is significant. However, for those with a low history of activism (coefficient=13.961***; robust S.E.=3.336), it is much higher than those with a high history of activism (coefficient=5.640*; robust S.E.=2.650). Non-parametric local regression of the predicted values is depicted in figure 3, giving an impression of the difference between the two groups. As expected, this suggests that seasoned activists are more resilient to effects of group style, whereas group style strongly influences novice activists.

In test 4, we examine the theoretically expected heterogeneity with regard to whether the activities take place inside- or outside the group. We estimate two logistic models for in-group activities and outside-group activities. The model estimates can be found in appendix I. The dependent variables compare those not engaged in any political protest with those engaged in political protest in or outside their group of primary affiliation. In accordance with our theoretical expectations, the effect of contentious group style is significant also on outside-group political protest (coefficient=7.730***; robust S.E.=2.096), even though, as anticipated, the effect on in-

group political protest (coefficient=20.241***; robust S.E.=4.471) is much. Non-parametric local regression of the predicted values is depicted in figure 3, giving an impression of the difference between the two groups.

FIGURE 2

To summarize, all four tests support our theoretical hypotheses regarding the importance of the neglected dimension of group style for differential recruitment, and the presence of a substantial effect seems to be quite robust. However, it should be underlined that this does not amount to making any causal or general claims beyond the Danish refugee solidarity movement. It does, however, increase the plausibility of the theoretical argument and demonstrates that such analyses can be undertaken.

Discussion & Conclusion

Overall, the results support that the group style correlates positively with individual participation in collective action along the dimension of contentiousness. That contentious group style influences individual engagement in political protests points to the importance of in situ group interaction as a distinct meso level of analysis.

Furthermore, the results, as expected, show that histories of activism and the implied encoded habits of action and thought mediates the relationship between group style and individual activity. A seasoned activist with established habits of action, entering a new group, does not to the same extent get engrossed in the form of engagement enacted within the group as a novice. What goes on inside the group does not come to define the issue as such, even though they do adjust their engagement to some degree. For the novice, the opposite is the case. Entering the group and the movement without any habits of action, the group style is all there is to direct thoughts and action.

This brings us to the relationship between activities organized in one's group and the activities taking place outside the group. If group style was completely endogenous to group activities, one should expect that group style would become superfluous in relation to external group activity. However, this is not the case as we observe a significant influence of contentious group style participation in political protest outside the group. Although embedding in political networks does matter, group style is still the strongest predictor of participation in contentious activities. That patterns of group interaction encode themselves into activists and become consequential in other settings at other times (McAdam 1988; Whittier 1997) points to the importance of group interaction more generally and not just in relation to the contentious activities studied here. Refugee solidarity activism, like environmental activism (Lichterman 1996) and feminist activism (Taylor and Whittier 1992), is filled with small actions which are in and of themselves important without having to have an end goal in a large demonstration, petition, or the like (e.g. Coutin 1993; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Teske 1997). In such within-movement cultural outcomes (Earl 2000), where changing the fabric of society happens through everyday actions, the focus on patterns of group interaction and how to quantify it should be of great utility.

These results do not undermine the importance of framing for differential recruitment. Frames still have explanatory value. Frames provide the means through which concerned citizens navigate between groups and choose to join certain groups and not others. Also, a group's official framing is, of course, important in that unlike everyday talk it cannot be ignored as mere talk and, in many cases, must be seen as a privileged part of group discourse. However, our result also clearly underlines that the interactional and situational aspects of Goffman's theoretical endeavor should be considered. This is especially when the ability of a group as an agent to determine actors' engagement is as weak as it is in this case exemplified by relative low influence of group framing on the members' activities.

As with framing, individual network embeddedness still matters for differential recruitment. Structural availability makes it more likely to participate in contentious activities as expected and as such, network matters for differential recruitment. Still, the effect is modest, and the measures of the strength of the ties to the movement as well as embeddedness in civil society are all without significant effects. In most studies the effect of network in differential recruitment is assumed to be a process of socialization (e.g. McAdam 1986; Passy 2001). However, socialization can hardly be reduced to networks. For instance, what network embeddedness indicates is the likelihood of being socialized, not socialization per se, which is rather the result of, for instance, attunement to a certain group style. This aside, evidence for networks' impact on differential recruitment tends to be sparse (e.g. Passy 2001). The impact of the network is rather related to initial recruitment (Hensby 2014; McAdam 1986; Snow et al. 1980; Tindall 2015), that is, the difference between shows and no-shows. Furthermore, that ties are not just ties, and that the distinction between weak and strong is far from sufficient, has long been recognized among social movement network scholars (e.g. Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Tindall 2015) and shown in several studies(Hensby 2014; Leenders 2012; Passy 2001; Rizzo, Price, and Meyer 2012). Our proposition is that paying attention to patterns of group interaction will help open up the black box of the network tie by uncovering what it is the network makes the individual structurally exposed to.

Finally, in relation to the ongoing discussion of the status of online activism (Diani 2000; Donk et al. 2004; Laer and Aelst 2010), our focus on online group interaction and its consequences for offline activities highlights an overlooked perspective. We contend that online activism not only facilitates offline activism or e-mobilization (Earl et al. 2010; Earl 2016), but the interaction in Facebook groups shapes the offline activism of the individuals.

The results presented above are far from conclusive to the question of what accounts for differential recruitment, and more research is needed to determine the relative importance of frames,

networks, and group style. This is so because in this study the measure of framing is crude and variation is small. Also, additional and more fine-tuned measures of network would be desirable. Also, improvement of the group style measure by including more dimensions is a necessary future task as well as relating it to outcomes other than individual participation in collective action. Also, to truly open the black box of network ties, a measure of interaction should be used to assess better what effects can be ascribed to network understood as structural availability, and what effects should be ascribed to the information, communication, or encoding of habits and thought to which networks structurally expose the individual. Given these reservations, this paper has made the case that group style matters for differential recruitment and in the case of the Danish refugee solidarity movement provided empirical evidence suggesting that group style is an important factor in explaining involvement in political protest. These results substantiate the theoretical claims that group interaction should be analytically distinguished from network and framing as an important meso-level determinant of social movement repertoires.

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Tables and figures

Figure 1. Logical designs for four tests of the effect of group style on political protest

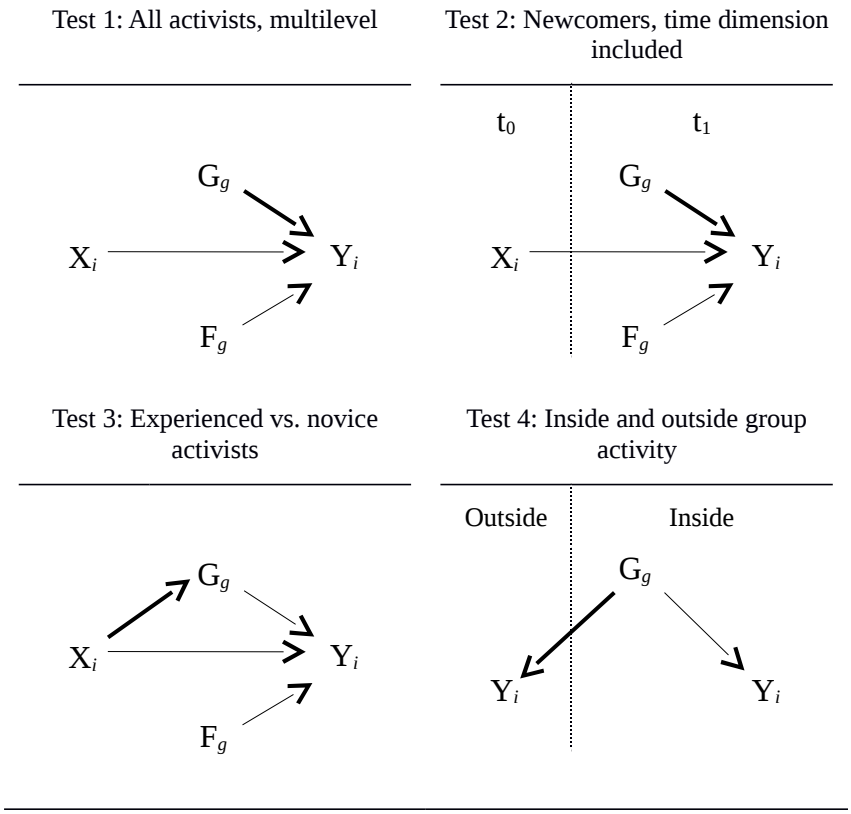

Table 1. Summary of variables included in statistical models

Variable (type)	n	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Political protest (scale)	1,364	0.860	0.94	0	4
Contentious group style (scale)	1,364	0.048	0.04	0	1
Contentious framing (dummy)	1,364	1.025	0.15	1	2
Personal network (scale)	1,364	0.885	0.91	0	2
Organizational network (dummy)	1,364	0.061	0.23	0	1
Political civil socieity embeddedness (scale)	1,364	4.228	1.68	0	9
Non-political civil socieity embeddedness (scale)	1,364	3.850	2.04	0	9
Emotional response (scale)	1,364	3.463	0.97	0	4
Income (scale)	1,364	3.002	1.15	1	5
Worktime (scale)	1,364	1.816	1.59	0	5
Highest level of education (scale)	1,364	4.127	0.95	1	5
Degree of urbanization (scale)	1,364	3.424	1.23	1	5
Children in household (dummy)	1,364	0.460	0.49	0	1
Age (scale)	1,364	48.822	13.8	15	84
Refugee (dummy)	1,364	1.970	0.17	1	2
Active before september (dummy)	1,364	0.538	0.49	0	1
Prior history of activism (scale)	1,364	1.754	1.63	0	5
Prior history of refugee activism (scale)	1,364	0.877	1.31	0	5
Self-transcendent values (scale)	1,364	5.556	1.79	1	8
Self-enhancement values (scale)	1,364	3.669	1.48	1	7
Political attitude (scale)	1,364	2.117	0.89	1	4
Frequency of chruch attendendance (scale)	1,364	1.013	1.12	0	4
Categorical variables	n	Percent			
Occupation					
Full time	606	44	-	-	-
Part time	119	9	-	-	-
Self emplyed	118	9	-	-	-
Student	110	8	-	-	-
Unembployed	61	4	-	-	-
Early retirement	60	4	-	-	-
Retired	189	14	-	-	-
Other	101	7	-	-	-
Gender					
Female	1,17	86	-	-	-
Male	185	14	-	-	-
Indentify as neither	7	1			
Religion		-	-	-	-
Non-believer	686	50	-	-	-
Danish National churc	594	44	-	-	-
Islam	22	2	-	-	-
Other	62	5	-	-	-

Table 2. Frequency of political protest

# Activities	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative %
0	546	43.61	43.61
1	418	32.20	76.81
2	232	18.43	95.23
3	33	2.62	97.86
4-7	27	2.14	100.00
Total	1,259	100.00	

Note. This table includes only the observations that are included in the statistical model of Table V, and thus are not missing on any of the variables included and where group size>5.

Table 3. Summary of multilevel model

n groups	75
n individuals	1,259
Min. individuals per group	6
Max. individuals per group	183
Mean. individuals per group	16.8
ICC empty model	0.115

Table 4. Linear random intercept multi-level models of involvement in political protest (0-4)

Covariate	1. Focal		2. Framing &		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious gr. style	6.142***	1.425	4.414**	1.364	3.549**	1.070
Contentious framing			0.709**	0.226	0.544**	0.197
Individual level						
Personal network			0.025	0.028	0.025	0.026
Organizational network			-0.097	0.106	-0.030	0.097
Political civil society			0.068***	0.015	0.045**	0.014
Non-political civil society			-0.034**	0.012	-0.006	0.012
Active before September			0.304***	0.012	0.236**	0.047
History of activism					-	0.019
History of refugee activism					0.138**	0.024
Emotional response					0.147**	0.025
Self-transcendent values					0.034*	0.013
Self-enhancement values					-	0.017
Political attitude					-	0.028
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National Church					-	0.058
Islam					-0.012	0.190
Other					0.069	0.118
Degree of urbanization					0.060**	0.022
Constant	0.515	0.067	-0.769**	0.241	-	0.526
Random effects	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Estimate*	*S.E.*	*Estimat*	*S.E.*
S.D. constant	0.254	0.039	0.213	0.035	0.135	0.032
S.D. residual	0.876	0.018	0.853	0.017	0.787	0.016
Intra-class correlation	0.077		0.059		0.029	
Degrees of freedom	1		7		34	
Log likelihood	-1649.249		-1609.530		-1498.620	

Note: *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. Total individual observations in all models=1,259. Total groups in all models=75. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Table 5. Logistic regression models of involvement in political protest for newcomers (0-1)

Covariate	1. Focal		2. Framing &		3. All controls	
	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.	Coef.	S.E.
Group level						
Contentious group style	10.087	2.770	9.369**	2.850	7.371*	3.313
Contentious framing			1.029	0.976	0.300	0.944
Individual level						
Personal network			-0.025	0.092	-0.008	0.107
Organizational network			-0.176	0.388	-0.110	0.430
Political civil society			0.160**	0.054	0.085	0.061
Non-pol. civil society			-	0.043	-0.036	0.053
History of refugee activism					0.390**	0.108
Emotional response					0.552**	0.122
Political attitude					-	0.113
Religion						
Non-believer					Reference	
Danish National church					-0.464*	0.228
Islam					-0.143	0.789
Other					0.557	0.473
Constant	-.504**	0.142	-1.63	1.02	-2.838	2.706
Pseudo R^2	0.017		0.039		0.180	
Degrees of freedom	1		6		33	
Log likelihood	-428.751		-419.122		-357.718	

Note. *=p-value<0.05; **=p-value<0.01; ***=p-value<0.001. S.E. are robust. Observations in all models=630. Coefficients are unstandardized.

Figure 2. Non-parametric regression curves of predicted values of random intercept model 3

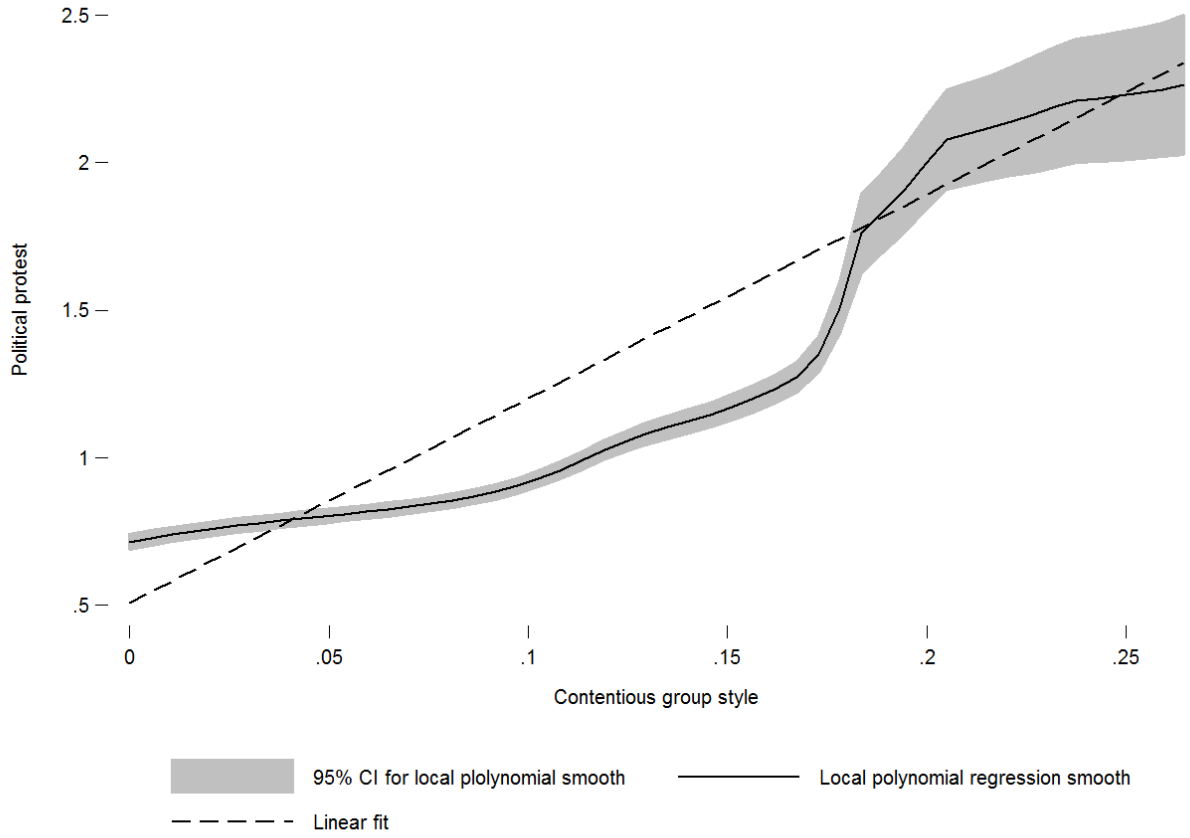

Figure 3. Heterogeneity with regard to experience and activities embeddedness in group