

Online Social Cohesion Reflects Real-World Group Action in Syria during the Arab Spring

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Abstract

In recent years, political activists have taken to social media platforms to rapidly reach broad audiences. Despite the prevalence of micro-blogging in these sociopolitical movements, the degree to which virtual mobilization reflects or drives real-world movements is unclear. Here, we explore the dynamics of real-world events and Twitter social cohesion in Syria during the Arab Spring. Using the nonlinear methods cross-recurrence quantification analysis and windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis, we investigate if frequency of events of different intensities are coupled with social cohesion found in Syrian tweets. Results indicate that virtual social cohesion is coupled with the counts of all and negative events each day but shows a more nuanced connection to positive events, suggesting that virtual mobilization does reflect real-world movements. We conclude with a discussion of implications and applications of nonlinear methods in political science research.

Keywords: social cohesion, recurrence quantification analysis, complex systems, Twitter, Arab Spring

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Before social media, people coordinated protests using phone tree calling sheets and mimeographed flyers, through in-person meetings of social organizations and churches, and by word of mouth. They gathered together and hand-made protest signs that reflected their agendas. As McAdam found, people were more likely to join movements when they had a personal connection (McAdam 1986; McAdam and Paulsen 1993): Historically, strong ties have been strong predictors of involvement in high-risk protest activity.

The cohesiveness and strength of social movements before the Internet were operationalized by the number of people present and through the political events that precipitated and resulted from social gatherings *en masse*. Cohesive social movements were reflected in their cohesive placards and posters. For example, the pervasive “I am a man” posters during the 1968 sanitation workers’ strike reflected their internal cohesion and unified, goal-oriented movement (Windsor 2020).

However, the rise of the Internet and its decentralized online networks have upended theories about recruitment to—and participation in—social movements. Strong interpersonal ties have yielded to weak impersonal ties that strongly predict involvement in social movements (Steinert-Threlkeld 2017). Measurements of social movements have similarly evolved from ethnographic interviews to “big data” analyses of social media.

Amid the cacophony of messages during political upheaval—such as the Arab Spring—consistent themes emerge through hashtags, retweets, and the repeated mentions of concepts such as regime, demonstration, and human rights. The cohesiveness of these themes (i.e., whether movement participants are metaphorically singing in one voice) reflects the real-world events happening contemporaneously with collective action in social movements or civil conflicts.

In the present research, we investigate the relationship between linguistic cohesion and social cohesion in times of social conflict and unrest. We tackle a question related to

the one posed by Zeitzoff (2017): How does social media reflect on-the-ground realities during times of social conflict? To do so, we examine patterns of linguistic cohesion on Twitter and their connection to real-world events during the Arab Spring uprising in Syria between March and June 2012.

Disentangling the complicated relationship between mass online mobilization—and social mobilization in person—continues to be relevant, even as our modes of communication change. Accordingly, the political events around the Arab Spring are still being understood. As Zeitzoff (2017) recognizes, social media is changing conflict, but the mechanisms and relationships by which it does so are still largely unknown.

Syria in Context

The decades preceding the Arab Spring in Syria were marked by repression and fear. In 1971, Hafez al-Assad overthrew the previous leader and remained in power for thirty years, presiding during regional contentiousness and cooperation until his death in 2000. His son, Bashar al-Assad, continued the regime of authoritarian leadership after assuming his office. The Assad lineage hails from a minority Islamic sect (the Alawites) in a multi-religious and multi-ethnic country comprising Christians, Sunni and Shia Muslims, Kurds, and Palestinian refugees.

In December 2010, a Tunisian man named Mohamed Bouazizi was unjustifiably stripped of his vendor cart by municipal officials. His humiliation led him to set himself on fire in protest to the authoritarian rule, leading to his death several days later. His actions served as a catalyst for the Tunisian Revolution, and one week after his death, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali—the longstanding authoritarian president—fled the country. The events of Tunisia rapidly spread to surrounding countries also subject to unjust authoritarian rule, including Egypt, Libya, and Syria.

Following a wave of democratization efforts across the Middle East and North Africa,

modest Syrian protests began in March 2011. The regime responded harshly with imprisonments, detentions, censorship, and military operations as the resistance to Assad's regime spread. The fighting escalated dramatically in March 2012, after increased unrest in the western city of Homs. International actors—including the Red Cross/Red Crescent Society, the United Nations General Assembly, the U.N. Security Council, and individual world leaders—worked toward cease-fires, negotiations, and concessions without much success. While many high-level military and diplomatic officials defected, numerous loyal forces continued the regime's repression, and the Syrian people turned to social media to coordinate their activism and communicate to the world. Between March and June 2012, more than 8 million tweets were sent within Syria, revealing the details of the conflict suppressed by the government.

Syria is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious state. Kurdish people make up between 10-15% of the population, Alawites between 8-15%, and Christians about 10%. There are also much smaller sects (e.g., Ismailis, Druze), but Sunni Muslims comprise the vast majority of society. Most people speak Arabic as their primary language. Most policy reports addressing the current conflict report on the cohesion of the ruling Alawite military elite, rather than on the cohesiveness of the opposition movement. However, the Sunni majority's disaffection with the Syrian government and their lack of political representation provide sufficient grievance and collective group identification to make them a cohesive force.

Social Media and Social Movements

Massive online social cohesion can manifest in real-world social behavior. Social media platforms enable online social cohesion by offering distributed information-gathering and real-time information dissemination. Given its accessibility and proficiency as an information exchange tool, Twitter has provided social and political activists an opportunity to complement or even replace real-world social mobilization. During the 2012

Italian protests for global economic change, tweeting was determined to be more effective locally in discussing real-world, real-time events than traditional mainstream media platforms (Vicari 2013). As people increasingly rely on social media for local news and information, we must understand exactly how these micro-blogs connect to and reflect real-world action.

Along with Facebook, Twitter has been credited as essential to the Arab Spring—both for protesters and for the government’s response to them (Comninou 2011). The Arab Spring has been deeply examined within the political science literature (e.g., Lutterbeck 2013; Koehler 2017), but to our knowledge, the direct *coupling* between Syrian Twitter cohesion and international action has not been investigated. In fact, some have been skeptical about the effect of social media on collective action at all (Seay 2014).

This skepticism is summarized in a quote by Lisa Anderson (2011):

The important story about the 2011 Arab revolts in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya is not how the globalization of the norms of civic engagement shaped the protesters’ aspirations. Nor is it about how activists used technology to share ideas and tactics. Instead, the critical issue is how and why these ambitions and techniques resonated in their various local contexts.

Others have similarly expressed hesitation about the role of online organizing. Some have argued that real-life strong ties outweigh online weak ties and that the power of the strong ties through in-person contact is critical to recruiting people for higher-risk activities (Gladwell 2010; McAdam 1986).

Interestingly, these views may help make the case for bridging social media and social mobilization. Such views suggest the strength of online social ties is inextricably linked to the *context* and *ambitions* of the actors. Moreover, research suggests that weak ties still retain considerable political power: While strong ties tend to bind smaller groups, weak ties tend to bind groups across distances (Granovetter 1973).

Social media generates critical information about events, including whether and how

a demonstration will take place, how many people participate, and how those in power (e.g., state, military) respond. Similarly, these media platforms alert us to more global shifts within a conflict, such as when fighting moves to a new city or region, the number of casualties and wounded, and the types of weaponry used by parties (Zeitsoff 2017). In monitoring social media channels, government forces may respond to the perception that citizens are gaining strength and sympathy. Governments have been shown to be quite tolerant of dissent so long as it does not metamorphose into collective action (King, Pan, and Roberts 2013).

Citizens communicate with each other with increased transparency due to the ubiquitous availability of social media such as low-cost and egalitarian platforms like Twitter. Citizens are able to access these tools via mobile phones and computers with Internet connectivity, providing a stream of real-time shared information. Citizens can share the location of events like protests and military incursions, the degree of state repression, and the number of casualties. In turn, the government—interested in remaining in power—monitors social media platforms to ascertain emerging threats (Comminos 2011), such as where new groups are forming, where existing groups are strengthening, where gatherings are held, and who the leaders are.

An example of a leader expressing his interest in such public conversation is given by Bashar al-Assad in a speech on June 3, 2012:

I know that I have been away from the media for a long time, and I have missed having direct contact with the citizens, but I have always been following up with the daily occurrences and gathering the information so that my speech can be built on what is said by the street.

With few exceptions, Assad chose to keep social media platforms up and running. Gohdes (2015) notes that regimes can attempt to thwart the growth of social protest online and in the streets by shutting down the Internet. During these times, military repression increases, but government information about the citizens decreases. As a result, regimes

may elect to maintain Internet connectivity to monitor and surveil their citizens.

At the same time, the insulation of online social platforms allows researchers to detail real-world social dynamics at unprecedented resolution and scale (Paxton and Griffiths 2017). The digital traces left by individuals and collectively as groups are regarded as a valuable source of information that can offer powerful insights into states of social disequilibrium, uprisings, and escalations into civil wars. By examining these conversations, researchers can study the degree of cohesion between speakers and the alignment between that cohesion and their collective political behavior.

The Role of Cohesion in Social Movements and Civil Wars

People join social and political resistance movements because they feel a sense of connection to the cause. Given that people are generally risk-averse, overcoming inertia requires a strong connection to the group identity or a strong aversion to an individual, event, or political injustice (Goldstone 1980, 2011). Political resistance offers participants the opportunity to “lose themselves” and relinquish their individual identity in favor of identification with a larger group, contributing to a cohesive group ready and mobilized for action (Hoffer 2011).

The type of collective contentious behavior that manifests in society is a function of the available political opportunity structures. The political opportunity structure is “comprised of (*sic*) specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others” (Kitschelt 1986). What emerges as strategies and tactics in contentious politics are a function of what the system makes possible. This includes the number of people and their disposition (i.e. nonviolent or violent), as well as their internal structure. The more cohesive a group is, the greater threat they pose to the establishment.

Cohesion is a familiar concept in the study of civil conflicts, as it pertains to group affiliation and the ability to overcome collective action problems. Individuals must act in concert—that is, cohesively—to accomplish the task of challenging state authority (Olson 1965; Eisinger 1973; Tilly 2004; Francisco 1995). Viewing rebel recruitment during civil conflicts as a function of internal cohesion, rebel movement success is influenced by the degree of group cohesion, which itself is a function of geographic distance, ideology, and ethnicity (Gates 2002). Within Syria, multiple rebel groups exist, sourcing fighters locally (from the disaffected Syrian population) and internationally (from transnational terrorist organizations). Groups compete intensely with one another for recruitment in the rebel movement and often punish defectors for nonparticipation (Gates 2002).

Another factor influencing social cohesion during social movements and civil wars is ethnic identity and the degree of ethnic conflict associated with the movement. Greater degrees of ethnic conflict increase the salience of ethnic identity, leading people to identify more strongly with their own ethnic identity (Sambanis and Schulhofer-Wohl 2009). As ethnic conflict intensifies, groups seek to become more quintessentially like the typical member of their ethnic group. This can manifest in a number of ways, including in behavior on social media. However, this may also include a general identification across ethnic groups in a membership of an opposition to an oppressive leader.

The civil war literature has also explored the role of social cohesion. Social homogeneity increases the likelihood of social conflict, especially when the society is polarized (Collier and Hoeffler 2004); this is partly due to nationalist groups' strong identification with a collective identity (Cederman and Girardin 2007) and their social solidarity (Sambanis and Schulhofer-Wohl 2009). These same processes can be similarly important for rebels (Anyanwu 2002). Referencing Gurr's (2000) work on minorities at risk, Regan and Norton (2005) note that

a religious or linguistic minority might suffer disproportionately in a given society, and this form of aggrievement can lead to unrest across the social lines that distinguish

the minority group. Therefore, while collective cohesion is a function of targeted maldistributions, it is individual penury that allows for this collective mobilization.

The body of previous work concurs that group cohesion matters to group mobilization. We build on this by providing a quantitative approach to understanding cohesion from multiple levels and by incorporating analytic tools that allow us to investigate the interconnectedness of those levels.

Cohesion: A Multi-Leveled, Multi-Layered Concept

We contextualize linguistic cohesion with social mobilization and response to the relative intensity of the conflict. Cohesion is a multi-layered concept referring to the connectedness of speakers, actions, and societies. It reflects the continuity of language and expression and shows the connectivity of participants in a social movement. To address the relationship between language and discourse and social movements, we adopt an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates linguistics, psychology, and political science using nonlinear dynamical systems methodology to disentangle the relationship between language and action.

Lexical and Interlocutor Cohesion. Just as real-world social cohesion can be quantified, so can online cohesion. One kind of cohesion is the similarity in language use on social media. This implicit or explicit similarity can indicate shared beliefs, thoughts, and feelings, as has been studied in research on language style in psycholinguistics and social psychology (Gonzales, Hancock, and Pennebaker 2010; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010; Brennan and Clark 1996). Although previous work on language style has often focused on individuals and small groups, this can be scaled up to examine massive social-level changes (Michel et al. 2011; Fusaroli et al. 2015).

The first level of cohesion that we will consider are the words within social media posts. In Figure 1, we see four sequential tweets of four words each. Each sequential tweet contains some content included in the previous tweets. The linguistic construct of content

word overlap measures the relationship across units of meaning—here, tweets—where identical and semantically similar words are repeated (Graesser et al. 2004). These repeated lexical items constitute a theme; on Twitter, this might be a particular hashtag, a name, a location, or another nominal category. This localized cohesion is referential; words are repeated and co-referred across tweets, creating a sense of continuity and cohesiveness.

Typically, these analyses focus on *content words* (e.g., nouns, adjectives, verbs), which convey more meaningful semantic information than *function words* (e.g., articles, conjunctions). While function words can provide important information about complexity and language structure (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010), content words have more specialized meaning and are therefore more useful when researchers want to understand *what* people are discussing, rather than *how* they are discussing it (Graesser et al. 2004; McNamara et al. 2014).

In estimating cohesion in Twitter posts, tweets that share content words yield higher cohesion values, even among speakers with opposing views on the subject matter. Repetition of terms and concepts is captured by reiteration, which is a type of lexical cohesion in which a subsequent item repeats a previous item, or refers to it through synonymous language (Halliday and Hasan 1976). In social media, we can conceive of retweets (i.e., reposts or forwards of previous messages) as a form of reiteration that increase message cohesion. Since retweets replicate verbatim some part of another tweet, these tweets would also have higher cohesion. Hashtags function similarly and are included in our analysis.

The use of similar language can provide insight into *interlocutor cohesion*, or the degree to which people are talking about similar things. This can include people who are talking about similar things from radically perspectives, as well as those who are talking about something from the same perspective. Previous research from political science has investigated these ideas (Windsor 2020): The “Occupy Wall Street” movement has been

held up as an example of a movement with low interlocutor and linguistic cohesion because of its wide range of signs and slogans, while the “I am a man” protest (during the 1968 sanitation workers’ strike in Memphis, TN) or the “Black Lives Matter” placards (following the uprising in Ferguson, MO) have high lexical and interlocutor cohesion (Edgar and Johnson 2018).

Fed by lexical cohesion, interlocutor cohesion ebbs and flows, contextualized by changing real world events. Interlocutor cohesion may increase preceding an in-person social mobilization event, alerting a repressive government that collective mobilization is happening. Interlocutor cohesion may also respond to exogenous events such as spontaneous, unprovoked militarized conflict.

Given the importance of lexical and interlocutor cohesion for messaging in political movements, lexical cohesion may be important trace data for researchers interested in leveraging social media data to analyze social movements. Similar to large-scale studies of sociocultural movements (sometimes referred to as *culturomics*; e.g., Michel et al. 2011), political scientists can track the ways in which conversations on social media coalesce or diffuse around similar content words. In this way, it matters relatively little whether the interlocutors have precisely the same views: The point is to understand whether the society-level conversation is converging on similar themes.

Social and Political Cohesion. Real-world collective action is known to bring about a sense of togetherness, also known as “collective effervescence” (Durkheim 1995). This feeling of being a part of something larger than oneself leads individuals to act in ways that would not have on their own. Being overcome with this feeling can lead to violence (Collins 2009; Spaaij 2014). Conversely, increased exposure to violence can result in positive social cohesion. Gilligan, Pasquale, and Samii (2014) found that exposure to fatal wartime violence resulted in increased prosocial motivations, including cooperative behaviors, feelings of trust, and overall community-level social cohesion.

At the same time, behavioral similarity in certain contexts has been connected to important psychological and social effects. For example, shared language is associated with rapport (both in face-to-face and computer-mediated conversations; Niederhoffer and Pennebaker 2002; Riordan et al. 2011) and can even be connected to better performance on shared tasks (as long as the language is relevant to the task at hand; Fusaroli et al. 2012). Shared movement is associated with greater group bonding and greater willingness to contribute to the group (Wiltermuth and Heath 2009), and shared identity leads to a greater willingness to adopt the group's goals and motivations (Walton et al. 2012).

We expect to see increased linguistic cohesion among people participating in online discussions about an idea, event, individual, or movement. Given that Syrian protesters coordinated their activity through Twitter by discussing their own events (e.g., planned protests, active demonstrations) and their reactions to events happening around them (e.g., government reactions, international action or inaction), the cohesion in social media should correlate with the social cohesion of the group (Zeitsoff 2011).

Political and social cohesion in the world can be modeled using event data which encodes who does what to whom on a given day. CAMEO (Conflict and Mediation Event Observations) encode a set of activities with numerical values, rescaled to reflect a conflict-cooperation scale (Schrodt and Hall 2006; Goldstein 1992). These event codes include a range of behaviors, from making public statements and appeals, to demanding, threatening, protesting, and using unconventional mass violence.

Social cohesion can have real and wide-ranging impacts on a political movement and the people in it. A socially cohesive group is inherently more threatening to the existing regime because it reflects momentum in collective opposition and the professionalization of alternate leadership. Global insurgency movements exhibit similar patterns in their social structure (Bohorquez et al. 2009). Rather than patchwork messages via Twitter, emergent or intentional cohesive online messaging—using similar language, paralleling in-person

messaging (Windsor 2020)—demonstrates increased organizational structure, inciting a government response.

Thus, lexical and interpersonal cohesion are hypothesized to be tied to social and political cohesion. Shared online language may lead to the development or expression of shared identity (Wiltermuth and Heath 2009). This, in turn, may drive individuals' propensity to engage in coordinated behavior for the group (Wiltermuth and Heath 2009; Walton et al. 2012). Taken together, these processes may increase movement participants' weak and strong ties (Granovetter 1973; Gladwell 2010; McAdam 1986), building the movement by expanding and deepening heterogeneous ties. Therefore, during social conflict, the linguistic cohesion of the online conversation should correspond to the degree of social cohesion on the ground.

Steinert-Threlkeld (2017) modeled a similar relationship between social media and social mobilization alongside event data. That groundbreaking work demonstrated that participants on the fringe of a social movement contribute substantially to the overall level of protest. Here, in addition to providing new methods to this area, we build on this work by demonstrating how sociolinguistic cohesion evolves in tandem with negative and positive exogenous events.

Sociolinguistic Cohesion: Connectedness of Speakers, Ideas, and Events.

We tie the constructs of lexical, interlocutor, and social cohesion together in a theoretical framework called *sociolinguistic cohesion*, as shown in Figure 2. Previous values of linguistic cohesion should influence future values of linguistic cohesion and future actions in the real world space. Previous events influence future events and future linguistic cohesion in social media.

Sociolinguistic cohesion is not a static concept. Just as social movements experience increased participation and setbacks—indicating dynamic relationships among participants and between participants and the sociopolitical environment—sociolinguistic cohesion is

also dynamic, reflecting the changing states of the political sphere. Other scholars have noted the diffusion of messages that reach critical mass, allowing for “behaviors, beliefs, and preferences” to spread within a population (Barash, Cameron, and Macy 2012). Cohesion changes over time in response to external events and the internal dynamics of the social movement, even if the social interaction occurs entirely online (Centola and Macy 2007).

Lexical cohesion, then, is a useful indicator of social cohesion in political crisis. Lexical cohesion happens at the word level. Interlocutor cohesion happens between speakers. Political cohesion happens at the social level during moments of political crisis, like civil wars and social movements. Sociolinguistic cohesion comprises lexical, interlocutor, and sociopolitical events, in which the words and their context reveal the disposition of socially connected linguistic communities. It accounts for the cohesion between multiple speakers in an environment as their language becomes more similar. Sociolinguistic cohesion also addresses how groups involved in political rebellion converge to mount sustained resistance to state authority.

Related previous work has also explored diffusion of hashtags in viral contagion in Nigeria, a phenomenon similar to what we identify as sociolinguistic cohesion (Fink et al. 2016). The prevalence and rate of particular hashtags were contributed to the overall sociolinguistic cohesion. The more that people reuse hashtags or common phrases, the greater the sociolinguistic cohesion when this phenomenon occurs during socially significant times like protests (State and Adamic 2015).

Combining these separate threads, it is reasonable to expect that real-world actions and online social interactions would be enmeshed, driving and being driven by one another. From a dynamical systems perspective, online social cohesion and in-person action can be considered two complementary components of a single system, mutually constrained and constantly interacting and influencing one another (Mahner and Bunge 1997). Investigation of the coupling of real-world mobilization and social cohesion could provide

new insight into the power of social media during mobilization and the ways in which individuals utilize it to bring about, or respond to, social change. Increasingly, social media platforms are being utilized during social mobilization (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2003; Koopmans 2004), but the relationship between virtual and real-world mobilization is still largely unknown. The present work aims to understand how physical and virtual movements coexist and interact from a dynamical systems perspective.

Using Nonlinear Methods to Capture Complex Relationships

Given the hypothesized interrelationship between the real-world and online actions—and the notorious messiness of naturally occurring data—it is critical to find appropriate analysis tools that can identify the complex interconnections. Traditional linear analyses have led to many notable discoveries in the domains of psychology and political science, but time series data pose problems that are not easily overcome with these methods. Events have historically been conceptualized as linear chains of smaller, sequential events with one occurrence leading to the next. Certain kinds of data are relatively well-suited to these analyses, but messy, complex, variable data from real-world events can pose challenges, from overpowered samples to violation of underlying statistical assumptions (Paxton and Griffiths 2017).

At the same time, the foundational theoretical assumptions of a linear world has been increasingly replaced by ideas from dynamical systems theory. Rather than a chain of events, time series data can be thought of as nested occurrences, where mutually constrained parts (e.g., citizens, governments, real-world events, social media platforms) are constantly interacting, leading to more global behaviors that are larger than the sum of the parts (Turvey 2018). When analyzed as dynamical systems, many phenomena exhibit new nonlinear patterns that were formerly overlooked. Nonlinear methods provide means for capturing the rich temporal dynamics and variability that unfold in time series data.

Although a number of other nonlinear methods exist, the primary nonlinear methods used in the current work are cross-recurrence quantification analysis (CRQA; Zbilut, Giuliani, and Webber Jr 1998) and its offshoot, windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis (WCRQA; Webber Jr and Zbilut 2005). CRQA has successfully been used to gain a better understanding of many complex human phenomena, including a variety of human social interactions (for a review, see Fusaroli, Konvalinka, and Wallot 2014). Much as it has for psychology, we argue that the use of nonlinear methods in the investigation of political science phenomena will lead to new insights and the development of more robust theories.

The Present Work

Social media has become a primary platform for social movements and activism across the world, but the extent to which virtual activism reflects and drives real-world mobilization is still largely unknown. In the current work, we conceptualize the physical and virtual movements as a dynamical system, both constantly interacting and influencing the other. We aim to study this by analyzing the real-world events and online social cohesion during nearly three months of the Arab Spring. Both real- and virtual-world collective coordination were powerful tools in the events of the Arab Spring and are undeniably linked. This study aims to explore the dynamics of Twitter users in Syria, who used the social media platform to raise awareness about the Arab Spring and bring about mass mobilization.

Using cross-recurrence quantification analysis (CRQA; Zbilut, Giuliani, and Webber Jr 1998) and windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis (WCRQA; Webber Jr and Zbilut 2005), we analyzed the co-evolution of social cohesion online and real-world events. Specifically, using heterogeneous data from March 30, 2012, to June 15, 2012, we compared the social cohesion of Syrian tweets with the counts of all, positive, and negative real-world events derived from international event data (i.e., the Integrated Crisis Early Warning System; Boschee et al. 2015).

We hypothesized that the count of all events and the count of negative events would show high levels of determinism, as this time period was marked by daily violence which often leads to increased salience. We also hypothesized that the count of positive events would not show patterns of determinism, as these events were likely overshadowed by the salient negative daily occurrences. After testing these hypotheses, we then conducted exploratory analyses to further examine the patterns identified with CRQA. Using WCRQA, we sought to identify shifts in the dynamics of the systems that could then be linked to real-world shifts in conflict frequency. Through these analyses, our two primary goals in the current work were to uncover (1) how different intensities during times of turmoil may enhance or deter social cohesion in social media communication and (2) how social mobilization may be evident in the dynamic coupling of cohesion and real-world events.

An additional focus of the current work is to introduce cross-recurrence quantification analysis—a longstanding method from physics that has since become influential in a variety of other fields—to political science. We do so by providing detailed descriptions of the methods and providing clear directions about interpretation and significance testing even with relatively small- n or case studies. After demonstrating these methods’ utility with this dataset, we close the paper with specific suggestions to political scientists interested in these methods.

Method

Materials

Tweet Corpus. The corpus of tweets used included 0 Syrian tweets occurring between March 30–June 15, 2012. Using the Twitter streaming API, servers at the University of Texas at Austin collected the tweets. The servers were run on a stable (LTS) version of Ubuntu Linux (v. 10.04) and were connected directly to the high-bandwidth UT

network maintained by IT services.

Tweets collected contained one or more of the following keywords: “syria,” “syrian,” “damascus,” “homs,” “al-assad,” and “sunni.” These keywords were chosen based on the most distinctive terms used in news articles covering the Arab Spring in Syria at the time. A node.js script was used to reinitialize the connection to Twitter’s servers whenever the script timed out due to a period of silence. The script requested data from the API endpoint using basic HTTP authentication (OAuth was optional, at the time) at <https://stream.twitter.com/1.1/statuses/filter.json>, and stored the data directly to the local hard disk. The tweets were then post-processed with a Python script to convert the JSON-formatted tweets to tab-separated files, which were then compressed to maximize storage efficiency.

All scripts used for scraping tweets and compressing data can be found at <https://github.com/chbrown/twilight>.

Event Data. Event data were obtained from the 2012 Integrated Crisis Early Warning System (ICEWS; Boschee et al. 2015). The event data were first filtered to remove incomplete and incorrectly formatted data. They were then filtered to include only events that were directed at (i.e., **target**) Syria ($n = 6300$). To explore the impact of outwardly directed Syrian events, the data were filtered again to include events that were both directed at (i.e., **target**) or directed by (i.e., **source**) Syria ($n = 7990$).

Data Preparation

Social Cohesion Metric. The social cohesion or linguistic similarity of daily tweets was calculated by quantifying the frequency of shared content words with respect to those words’ frequencies in the entire tweet corpus. If a linguistic term has a high frequency in one tweet but has a low frequency in the whole tweet corpus, then it is more likely a content word and is thus given more weight in calculating social cohesion. This

method is similar to inverse document frequency (IDF). For more information on IDF, see Jones (1972) and Robertson (2004).

The tweets were first sorted into ascending order by timestamp. They were then grouped into successive sets of five tweets. Inverse frequency weighting for the overlap words and all words was conducted for each pair of two tweets in the group of five, then divided to get the social cohesion score for that pair (see Eq. 1-3). This resulted in ten social cohesion values for each group of five tweets; these values were then averaged to get a social cohesion score for the entire set of five tweets. Finally, the mean of all average cohesion values for all groups was taken to get a social cohesion score for each day.

$$\text{Inverse frequency weighting of overlap words} = \sum_{i=1}^k \frac{\log(f(t_i, d1) + f(t_i, d2) + 1)}{\log(f(t_i) + 1)} \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Inverse frequency weighting of all words} = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\log(f(t_i, d1) + f(t_i, d2) + 1)}{\log(f(t_i) + 1)} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Two tweets' similarity} = \frac{\text{inverse frequency weighting of overlap words}}{\text{inverse frequency weighting of all words}} \quad (3)$$

The social cohesion calculation was performed on the tweet corpus containing both English and Arabic tweets. All hashtags and URLs were included in the analysis. The raw social cohesion time series can be seen in Figure 3.

ICEWS Event Time Series. Using the Integrated Crisis Early Warning System (ICEWS) developed at the Defense Advanced Research Project Agency, the daily events were scored with an intensity rating ranging from -10 to 10. Negative events—such as riots

and attacks—are coded with low negative numbers, while positive or peaceful events are coded with high positive numbers. This well-validated coding scheme allows for numerical quantification of different event types.

For both the target-only and the target and source data described above, time series of the count of all events were generated by summing the total number of events on each day, irrespective of ICEWS score. Similarly, time series of count of positive events were generated by summing the number of ICEWS events for each day that had an intensity rating greater than zero. Lastly, time series of count of negative events were generated by summing the number of ICEWS events for each day that had an intensity rating less than zero.

The raw event time series for target filtered data can be seen in Figure 4. The raw event time series for source and target filtered data can be seen in Figure 5.

Analyses

Cross-Recurrence Quantification Analysis. We first used cross-recurrence quantification analysis (CRQA; Zbilut, Giuliani, and Webber Jr 1998) to investigate the temporal patterns of social cohesion and real-world events in Syria during Arab Spring. CRQA is an extension of RQA, which captures the patterns of revisited states of a single time series (Zbilut and Webber Jr 1992; Webber Jr and Zbilut 1994). CRQA allows for two time series to be projected onto one another to investigate shared states and trajectories. In CRQA, we track these shared states by identifying *recurrent points*, or intersections of time during which two signals shared or revisited the same state. These shared states can be at the same time or at later points in the time series. We can further chart shared trajectories by examining the occurrences and patterns of multiple sequential recurrent points.

To perform CRQA, the time series must be converted to the same scale, while still preserving a sampling rate that respects the native timescale of the system (cf. Nyquist

frequency in signal processing; Grenander 1959). Because the social cohesion and event data have different scales and values, we converted each time series (e.g., Figure 6) into deciles (e.g., Figure 7) to analyze the relative dynamics of different levels of social cohesion and counts of all, positive, and negative events on each day. We implemented CRQA using the `crqa` package (Coco and Dale 2018) for R (R Core Team 2019).

Visualization.

A cross-recurrence plot (CRP) is the visual representation of CRQA. To construct a cross-recurrence plot, two time series are plotted against each other on the x and y axes. At every point where they share the same state, a point is placed on the plot to indicate recurrence. (For categorical CRQA, this process is similar to the Cartesian product.)

We can visually analyze these plots to reveal patterns of structure and recurrence. The line $y = x$ is known as the *line of identity*. This line falls where the time series match temporally. A filled line would indicate perfect in-phase synchrony between the two time series. See Figures 8-9 for examples of RPs.

Metrics.

While visual inspections can be informative, we can derive a variety of quantitative metrics from the cross-recurrence plot. Each of these metrics provides information into the patterns and dynamics of the new shared system. These metrics are also critical for inferential statistics. We will focus most directly on two of these metrics: *recurrence rate* and *determinism*.

The percentage of recurrent points to total possible points is a metric called the *recurrence rate* (RR). This metric gives a general description of how frequently the time series are sharing the same states. In the current study, a recurrent point would indicate that the level of social cohesion and frequency of events were at the same intensity.

Recurrent points that occur in successive moments form line structures. These are conceptualized as shared trajectories, where the two time series are moving together across

time in a shared state. The percentage of recurrent points on the plot that fall along diagonal line structures (i.e., two or more consecutive points) is a metric called *percent determinism* (or simply *determinism*; *DET*). For the current project, a high DET would indicate that not only are the levels of social cohesion and frequency of events occurring at similar intensities, but they are doing so across consecutive days.

A number of other metrics provide insight not only into the amount of structure between the systems but about the nature of this shared structure. The average length of the line structures is called *mean line* (*L*), which can be conceptualized as the average amount of time that the two time series move together before one or both shift states. The longest line length is called *max line* (*maxL*); it indicates the longest instance of being “stuck” in a particular state together and is a measure of the stability of the system. The total *number of lines* on the plot (*NRLINE*) scales with structure: The more lines that exist, the more coupled the two systems are. The complexity or variability of line lengths is captured by a metric called *entropy* (*ENTR*)—which may also be normalized by the total number of lines (i.e., *normalized entropy*; *rENTR*)—and indicates the stability and predictability of the system. When one of the signals gets “stuck” in a state and the other moves on to other states, this results in vertical line structures, which are quantified in *laminarity* (*LAM*; i.e., the proportion of points forming vertical line structures) and *trapping time* (*TT*; i.e., the average length of the vertical trajectories). For more detail on CRQA metrics, see Coco and Dale (2018).

Parameters.

To conduct the analyses on the decile data, the parameters were set to those typically used in categorical CRQA: Delay was set to 0, embedding dimension was set to 1, and radius was set to .001 to allow for only exact recurrent matches. No normalization was done, and lines were considered two or more consecutive recurrent points. The Theiler window was set to 0 to include points along the line of identity. For more details on the CRQA parameters and how they impact the analysis, see Coco and Dale (2018).

Permutation Test.

Unlike some nonlinear analyses (e.g., fractal analyses), CRQA metrics do not have inherently meaningful values. As a result, CRQA is best used as a relative metric—that is, comparing the CRQA values across conditions or subsets of the data. Typically, meaningful differences between values are determined with traditional inferential statistics. While this may not be a problem for experimentally derived datasets, it can pose a barrier to researchers using small- n data or conducting data-informed case studies.

For CRQA, this can be addressed using *permutation tests*. Similar to more established methods of statistical significance in CRQA research (which create surrogate time series; e.g., Paxton and Dale 2017), the permutation test approach to significance testing allows the researcher to use a time series as its own baseline by testing whether the *structure* of the unfolding events of the time series—rather than the *raw frequency* of the events within the time series—cohere together more than would be expected by chance. A permutation test is similar to bootstrapping, except that the sampling of observations is done without replacement. In this approach, we simply create a large number of permutations of the original time series (i.e., breaking up the dependency across time points but preserving the frequencies of the events), conduct CRQA for each of those permutations, and then examine whether the real time series’ CRQA metrics exceed those that we would expect to see by chance. The proportion of times that the real time series’ values exceeds the surrogate time series’ values can be interpreted as the alpha criterion to determine significance. For more information on permutation tests, see Good (2013).

Using the real deciles of social cohesion, count of all events, count of positive events, and count of negative events, we conducted a series of permutation tests (one for the comparison between social cohesion and each type of event count) to determine statistical difference from chance for each CRQA metric. Using the `sample` function in base R (R Core Team 2019), 1000 permuted time series were created for each of the real time series.

CRQA was then run 1000 times for social cohesion and count of all events, social cohesion and count of positive events, and social cohesion and count of negative events using the permuted time series. This resulted in 1000 results for each of the CRQA metrics for each combination of time series. Statistical significance from chance was set at the 95th and 99th percentiles of the metrics from the permuted CRQ analyses. Given that a permutation test is similar to bootstrapping but does not include replacement, all points were included in each CRQA analysis, leaving RR constant across all permutations. Thus, RR is not included in the inferential tests.

Windowed Cross-Recurrence Quantification Analysis. We used windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis (WCRQA; Webber Jr and Zbilut 2005) to further investigate the evolution of the temporal dynamics of social cohesion and real-world events. In this analysis, a smaller “window” of time points is used to calculate CRQA and capture more fine-grained dynamics of two time series. The window remains the same size and “slides” diagonally up the line of identity. The changes in the CRQA metrics across the windows can reveal changes in dynamics that can then be linked to external, real-world events. We implemented WCRQA using the `crqa` package (Coco and Dale 2018) for R (R Core Team 2019).

Metrics.

For WCRQA analyses, we decided to focus on RR and DET, but similar analyses and visualizations can be performed for any RQA metric.

Parameters.

In addition to the CRQA parameters, two other parameters are required when conducting WCRQA. First, the *window size* will determine how many observations are used in each CRQA analysis. We conducted WCRQA with a window size of 14 to investigate the dynamics over two weeks and allow for the capture of more structure and thus a more meaningful interpretation of DET.

The second parameter to be chosen is a *window step size*. Window step size is how far the window moves up the line of identity before conducting CRQA again. We chose 1 for the step size to understand how the metrics evolve from day to day.

All other CRQA metrics remained the same as those previously noted.

Visualization.

To visualize WCRQA, the resulting metrics from each window can be plotted as a time series. This allows for visual interpretation of the pattern or fluctuation of the metrics across time. These dynamics can then be linked to other external events. See Figures 10 and 11 for examples.

Permutation Test.

To visualize the differences in the WCRQA metrics from those obtained by chance, a permutation test was done to set upper and lower bounds for the 95th and 99th percentiles. Using a sample size of 14, 1000 permuted time series were generated without replacement for each real time series. The upper and lower 95th and 99th percentiles were set based on the distribution of the permuted WCRQA metrics.

Results

Cross-Recurrence Quantification Analysis

Syria as Target. A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of all events found a statistical difference from chance for DET, NRLINE, maxL, and LAM. All other metrics did not reach significance (Figure 8; Table 1).

A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of positive events found no statistically significant difference from chance for any of the metrics other than TT (Figure 8; Table 1).

A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of negative events found a statistically significant difference from chance for DET, NRLINE, L, ENTR, LAM, and TT. All other metrics did not reach significance (Figure 8; Table 1).

A qualitative investigation of the recurrence plots suggests a shift in dynamics around the 36th observation, which corresponds to May 4th, 2012.

Syria as Source and Target. A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of all events found a statistical difference from chance for DET, NRLINE, and LAM. All other metrics were non-significant (Figure 9; Table 2).

A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of positive events found a statistical difference from chance for maxL, ENTR, and LAM (Figure 9; Table 2).

A permutation test for the CRQA of social cohesion and count of negative events found a statistical difference from chance for DET, NRLINE, and rENTR. All other metrics were non-significant (Figure 9; Table 2).

Looking qualitatively at the recurrence plots, there again appeared to be a shift in dynamics around the 36th observation (May 4th, 2012).

Windowed Cross-Recurrence Quantification Analysis

In the WCRQA plots (see Figures 10 and 11), the 95th percentiles are represented by horizontal red lines, and the 99th percentiles are represented by horizontal orange lines. The trend lines are plotted in blue.

Syria as Target. For social cohesion and count of all events, there was a consistent period of above-chance RR from the 7th–12th and 32nd–47th window. In addition to some one-week peaks at the beginning of the time period, DET was largely above chance from the 46th to the 61st window, with some exceptions (Figure 10).

For social cohesion and count of positive events, we saw a downward trend in RR as the window advances throughout the sample. Interestingly, we see largely above-chance RR

until the 50th window, with some exceptions during window periods 19–30. DET was at or above chance for the 8th–17th, 32nd–33rd, and 60th windows (Figure 10).

For social cohesion and count of negative events, RR stayed above or almost above chance from the 4th–7th and 43rd–47th windows. DET was above or nearly above chance in the 1st and 2nd windows, with intermittent peaks in later windows (Figure 10).

Syria as Source and Target. For social cohesion and count of all events, there was a consistent period of above- or nearly above-chance DET from the 7th–13th and 26th–47th windows. DET also showed above- or nearly above-chance values in windows 7–17 and intermittent peaks between the 34th and 61st windows (Figure 11).

For social cohesion and count of positive events, there was a downward trend in RR as the window moved, with largely above-chance values in the first 20 windows and the 32nd–45th windows. DET stayed largely within chance, with the exception of windows 13–19 (Figure 11).

For social cohesion and negative events, there was an extended, overlapping period of time during which RR (32nd–47th windows) and DET (35th–39th windows) were above or nearly above chance (Figure 11). These windows span from May 3rd–14th, 2012.

Discussion

In the present study, we investigated the dynamics of real-world events and online communication on Twitter in Syria during Arab Spring. CRQA methodology allows us to disentangle the relationship between sociolinguistic cohesion and exogenous political events. This work stands alongside the model of Palestinian-Israeli social media and events developed by Zeitzoff (2017), and the role of peripheral participants in the Syrian Arab Spring movement by Steinert-Threlkeld (2017). By introducing the CRQA and WCRQA methods, we demonstrate how language and social mobilization interact with events along the conflict-cooperation continuum in Syria. We have introduced a novel theoretical

framework of sociolinguistic cohesion which we operationalize using a weighted measure of lexical relationships. Using nonlinear dynamical time series analyses, we investigated the theory that virtual mobilization is increasingly reflective of real-world events during times of strife.

Cross-Recurrence Quantification Analysis

Syria as Target. The significant result of DET for social cohesion with all and negative events supports our first hypothesis that event salience is coupled with online social cohesion. The frequency of all and negative events are thus associated with greater shared trajectories with social cohesion than would be expected by chance. However, when we specifically target positive events, the connection to social cohesion fades, providing further support for our second hypothesis. Positive events may be less coupled to social cohesion than more salient negative events during times of turmoil; by contrast, overall event frequency and negative event frequency are coupled with Twitter social cohesion.

Syria as Source and Target. By adding Syria as a source in the data filtering, the dataset increased in size by 1,690 samples. These additional observations are times where Syria initiated an event with another country. Events initiated by Syria but directed internally within the country were already captured by the target-only filtering. The increase in coupling between positive events and social cohesion can thus only be due to the externally directed events. Though the coupling between social cohesion with negative and all events were largely unchanged, positive events and social cohesion showed greater stability in their coupling (reflected in maxL); while TT was no longer significant in these analyses, LAM (related to TT) did reach statistical significance.

While interesting, the underlying meaning or drivers of this change in results requires further investigation that incorporates the actual content of the tweets themselves. One possible reason (among many) may be that the finding was spurious. The positive external events from Syria may have been self-serving, aiming to prevent intervention by other

countries or to cover up what was happening internally. During these moments, the increased cohesion may reflect a surge from the Syrian people trying to raise awareness of the situation or to decry the Syrian government’s attempts to improve their international standing. In this case, the increased coupling of positive events would be coupled not with shared positive affect in social media but instead to shared negative affect in social media in response. However, we cannot test this hypothesis with the current time series data; future research should explore the semantic content of this tweet corpus to determine the nature of the socially cohered language.

Windowed-Recurrence Quantification Analysis

Syria as Target. The time period of differing dynamics noted in the cross-recurrence plots—from observation 32 through 47—appears to be captured by the above-chance RR values in WCRQA of social cohesion and count of all events (Figure 10). However, DET for these periods only intermittently rises above chance; it more consistently reaches statistical significance only at the end of the window through the end of the observation period, following a spike in the RR between negative event count and social cohesion. During this period, the modal ICEWS event for each day (Figure 12) was almost consistently -10, the most violent event category. This supports our first hypothesis.

Surprisingly—and contrary to our second hypothesis—we saw consistent coupling between positive event count and social cohesion. Although both had a downward trajectory throughout the time period under consideration, RR was at or above chance in nearly all windows, and DET showed much more consistent shared trajectories than negative events. This may suggest that Syrian Twitter community was reacting more cohesively to the positive events aimed at Syria from the international community; this interpretation is supported by the attenuation of the effect in the analyses that include Syria as both a source and a target.

Syria as Source and Target. WCRQA on the source-and-target-filtered data showed similar patterns of RR between the count of all events and social cohesion (as observed in the target-only data), though the values increased. This suggests that large numbers on a given day match increased levels of social cohesion online. However, the results for DET changed: While the majority of statistically significant DET windows occurred toward the end of the observation period for target-only data (creating a positive trendline), the source-and-target data showed a negative trendline for DET.

The divergences in the all-event count data for these two datasets underscores the differences between RR and DET. As noted earlier, DET captures *trajectories*—in this case, similar to the impact of actions and social cohesion carrying across time. The same number of points (RR) can fall in different patterns (DET), providing important information about the structure of the system in question.

WCRQA metrics for positive-only event counts with social cohesion showed similar patterns in RR and DET as the target-only data, but the precise values of DET and RR were diminished. This may support the ideas suggested in the CRQA section, but again, only future work including the *content* of those tweets can directly speak to that explanation.

Finally, the coupling between negative-only event counts and social cohesion also remained relatively similar but demonstrated some important differences. First, we see a greater number of windows at above-chance levels for RR, including an interesting spike around window 32 that suggests a negative externally focused action taken by Syria prompted a sharp rise in social cohesion. (This would not have been captured by the target-only dataset.) Second—like with the all-event data—we see different structuring of the data through differences in the patterns of DET; above-chance DET only occurs within the middle of the observation period, around a time of increased strife (as noted above).

Implications for Methodology and Theory

Nonlinear methods have been transformative for a variety of research areas (including psychology, Coco and Dale 2014). One of the goals of the present work was to introduce variants of one kind of nonlinear method—specifically, recurrence quantification analysis—to this research area. While a number of excellent guides can provide detailed explanations of the methods and their statistical underpinnings (e.g., Riley and Van Orden 2005; Webber Jr and Zbilut 1994, 2005), one of the most important considerations that should be briefly summarized here is about data.

Nonlinear methods—including recurrence-based analyses—require time series data. This requires repeated observations of the behavior at interest, preferably at a frequency that provides information about timing at a temporal resolution that allows the researcher to make observations about interesting variations over time. While this is easily controlled by scientists who conduct experimental research, it can be more difficult for scientists who rely on trace data or naturally occurring data. However, where possible, we recommend political scientists work to expand efforts for improving the temporal granularity of the data. One possible means of achieving this may be through collaborative efforts like the Open Event Data Alliance (Schrodt, Beielser, and Idris 2014).

This methodology should be of great interest to social scientists investigating social mobilization. It has potential applications for gender studies and the #MeToo movement and for the relationship between social protest and repression during the Black Lives Matter protests. Fundamentally, this methodological approach can help us better understand the human social mechanisms underlying social media and its influence on human behavior in real life. Given that many governments enact repressive measures when they determine that collective action by citizens is imminent, this methodology should help to improve the predictive power of using social media data in estimating repressive behavior. If social media messages are increasing in cohesion, this may represent a threat

to civil and political liberties of citizens engaging in collective action.

Conclusion

Considering the pervasiveness of social media, it is unsurprising that social activists and protesters have utilized these platforms to support real-world mobilization. Here, we quantitatively explored the connection between online social cohesion and real-world events. In addition to introducing political scientists to a family of powerful nonlinear dynamics analyses, our results have serious implications for monitoring global movements. While state-run media in regions of authoritarian rule are often biased and serve as propaganda for the leader and central government, the self-organized nature of Twitter provides a new avenue to gain insight into truths about uprisings and social mobilization. By conceptualizing Twitter and real-world events as two elements of an inextricably linked dynamical system, the levels of social cohesion within social media platforms could be monitored for fluctuations indicating shifts in power and peace. Social media mobilization may thus help alert the world to citizens' actions and reactions that are suppressed by government regimes, providing insight into events that may not otherwise be broadcast and allowing for faster intervention.

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Table 1
CRQA results for target-only data.

metric	all events	p	sig.	positive events	p	sig.	negative events	p	sig.
DET	28.525	0.000	***	19.672	0.288		25.902	0.001	***
NRLINE	80.000	0.000	***	57.000	0.274		71.000	0.005	**
maxL	4.000	0.045	*	4.000	0.053	.	4.000	0.053	.
L	2.175	0.082	.	2.105	0.474		2.225	0.021	*
ENTR	0.481	0.079	.	0.341	0.455		0.575	0.015	*
rENTR	0.438	0.352		0.311	0.749		0.523	0.135	
LAM	35.902	0.002	**	25.738	0.062	.	29.344	0.021	*
TT	2.147	0.238		2.492	0.012	*	2.295	0.049	*

Table 2
CRQA results for source and target data.

metric	all events	p	sig.	positive events	p	sig.	negative events	p	sig.
DET	25.246	0.001	***	21.803	0.074	.	22.623	0.023	*
NRLINE	75.000	0.000	***	61.000	0.121		64.000	0.038	*
maxL	3.000	0.423		4.000	0.037	*	3.000	0.370	
L	2.053	0.911		2.180	0.079	.	2.156	0.155	
ENTR	0.208	0.901		0.499	0.064	.	0.433	0.165	
rENTR	0.300	0.802		0.455	0.305		0.625	0.032	*
LAM	34.262	0.003	**	30.328	0.016	*	24.098	0.113	
TT	2.247	0.107		2.176	0.165		2.100	0.360	

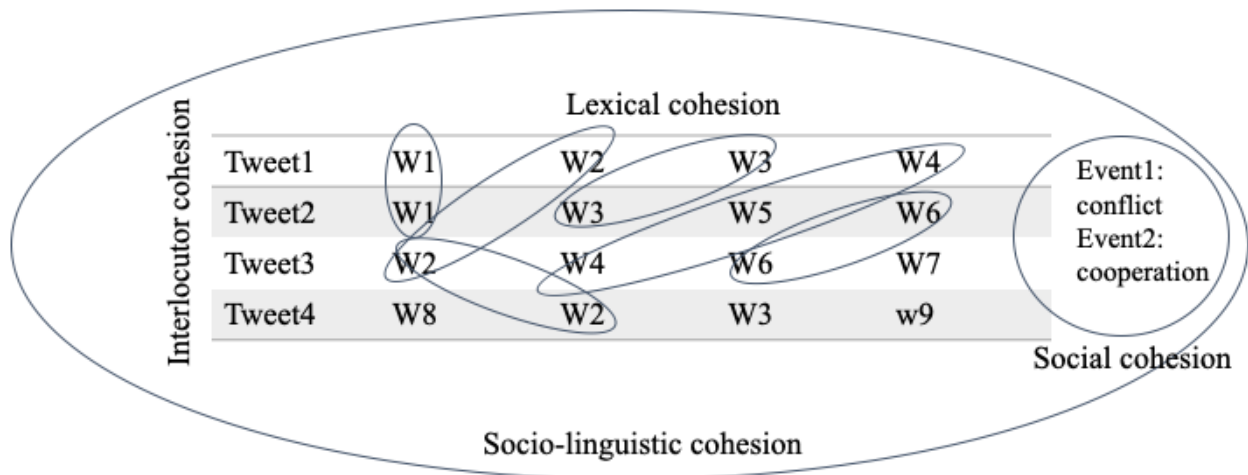


Figure 1. A visual representation of cohesion in tweets. The shared content words—either identical or semantically similar—constitute a theme around which cohesion is occurring.

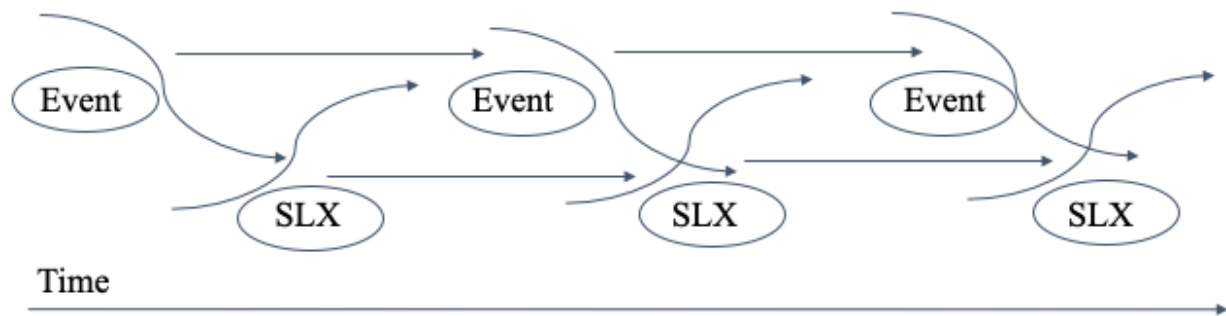


Figure 2. The theoretical framework for sociolinguistic cohesion. Real-world events and linguistic cohesion continually interact and influence one another throughout time.

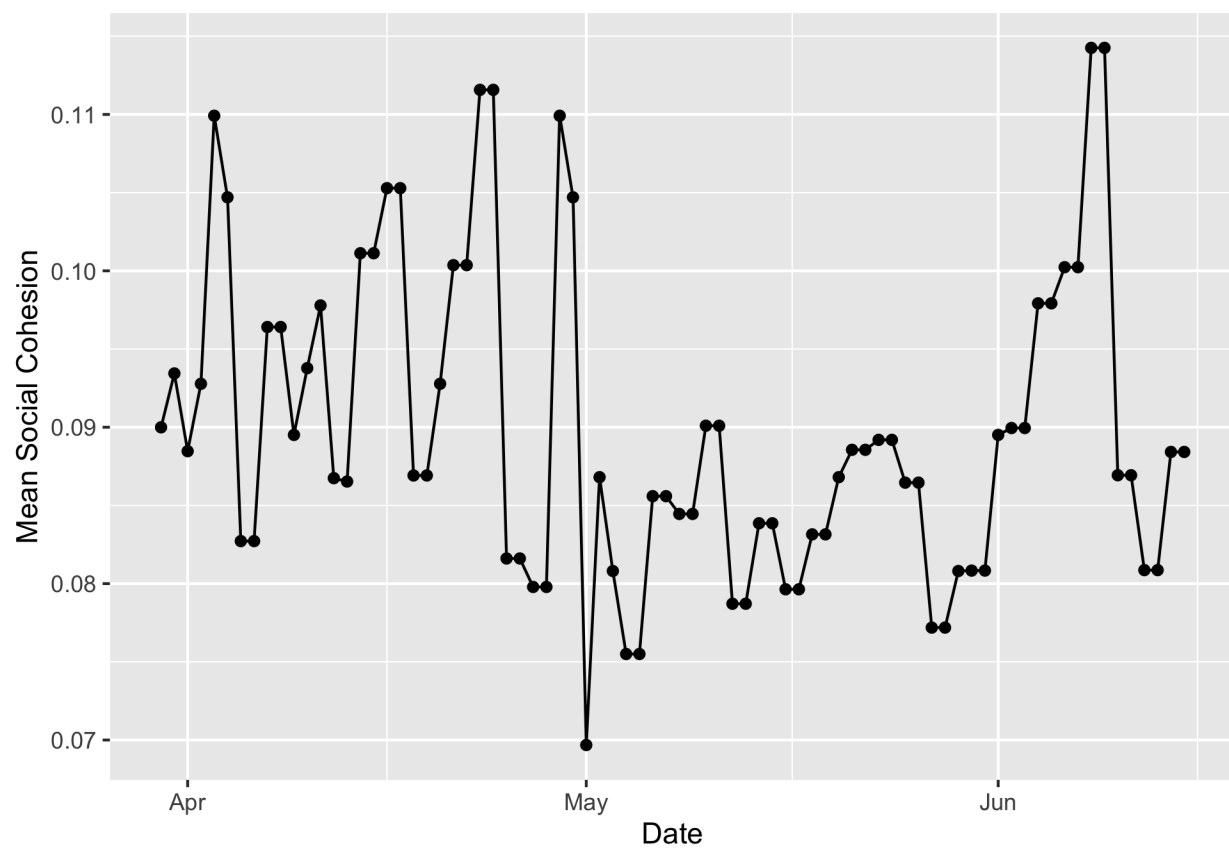


Figure 3. Raw social cohesion metric time series.

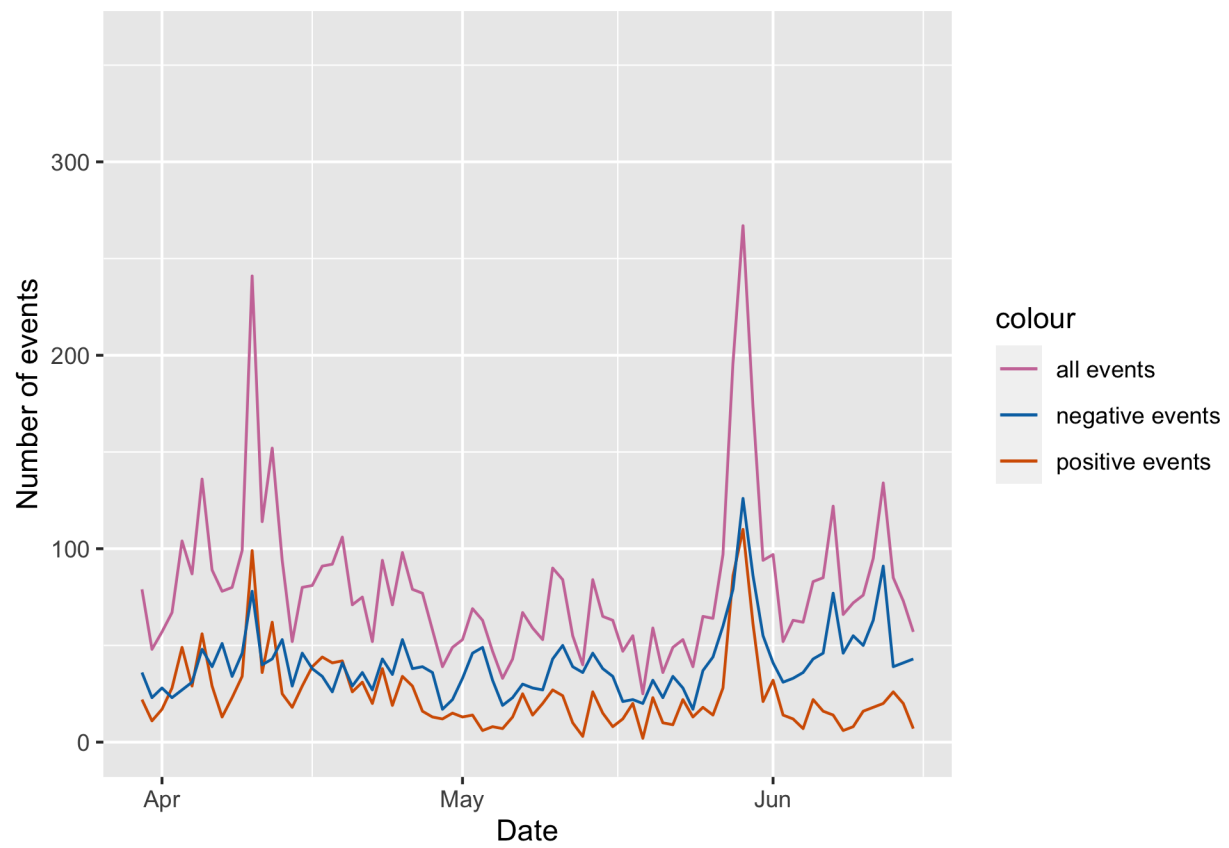


Figure 4. Raw event count time series for target filtered data.

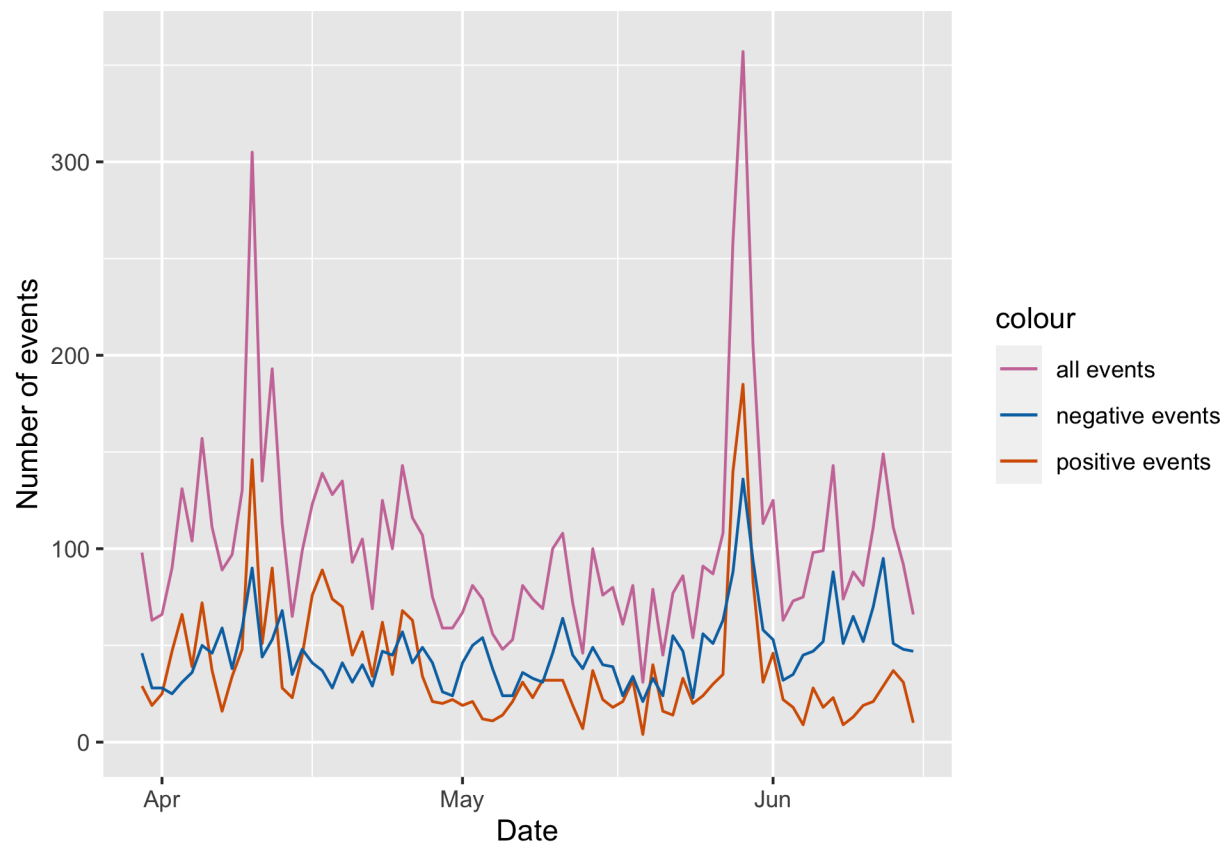


Figure 5. Raw event count time series for source and target filtered data.

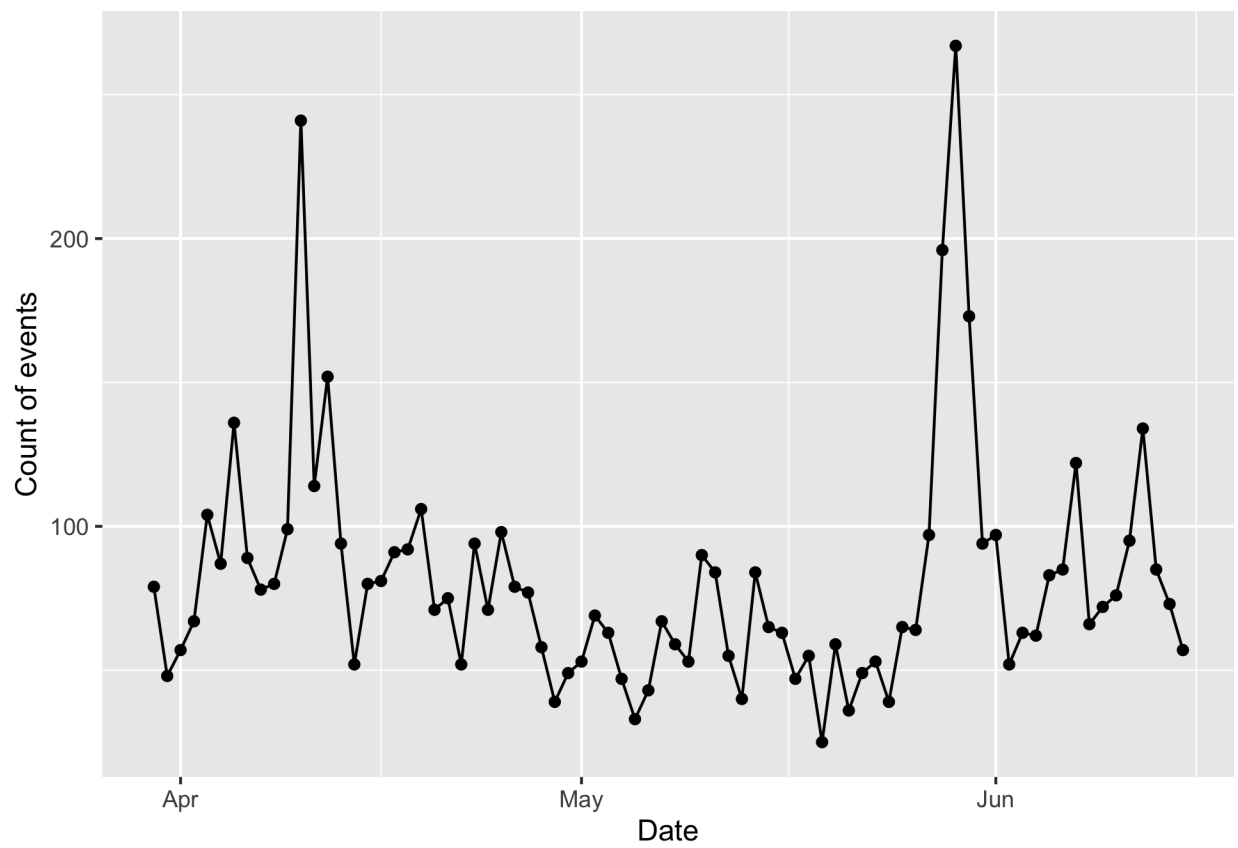


Figure 6. Example of pre-processed data.

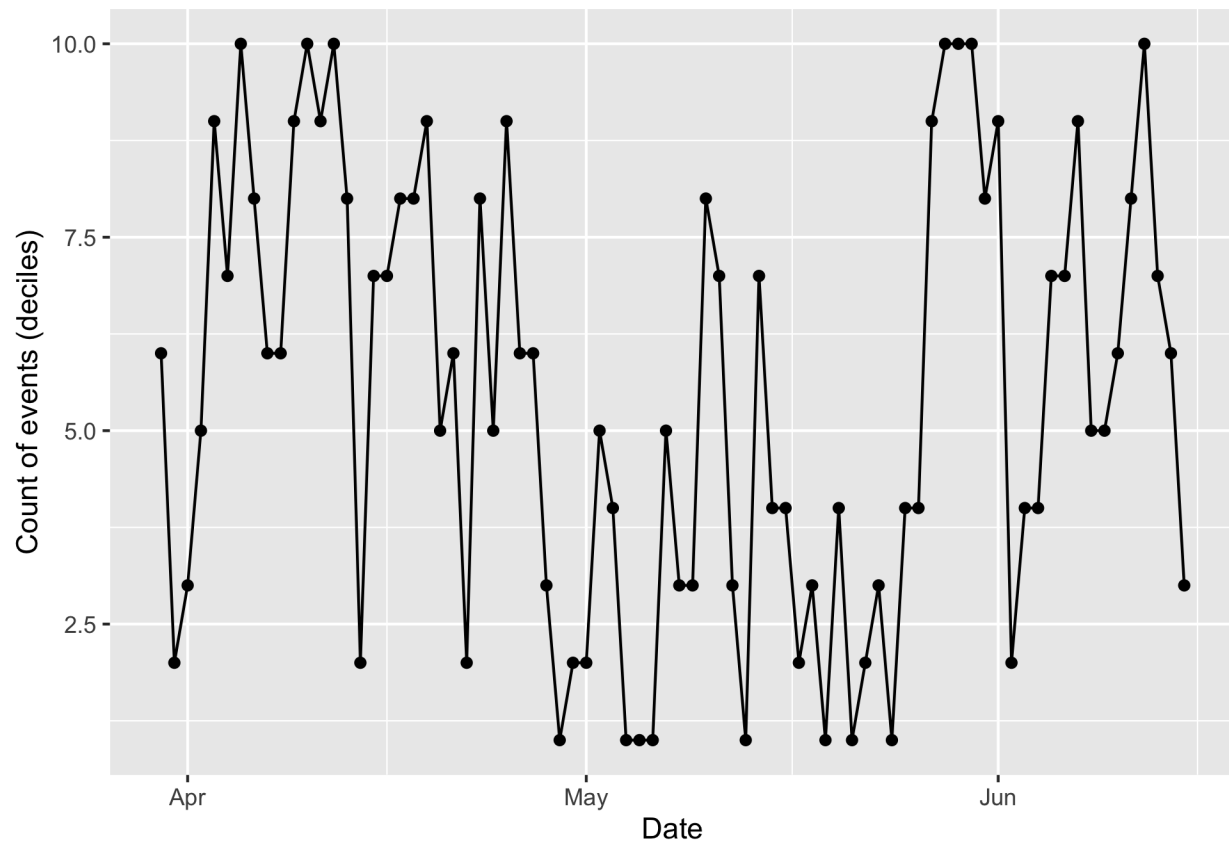


Figure 7. Example of deciled data.

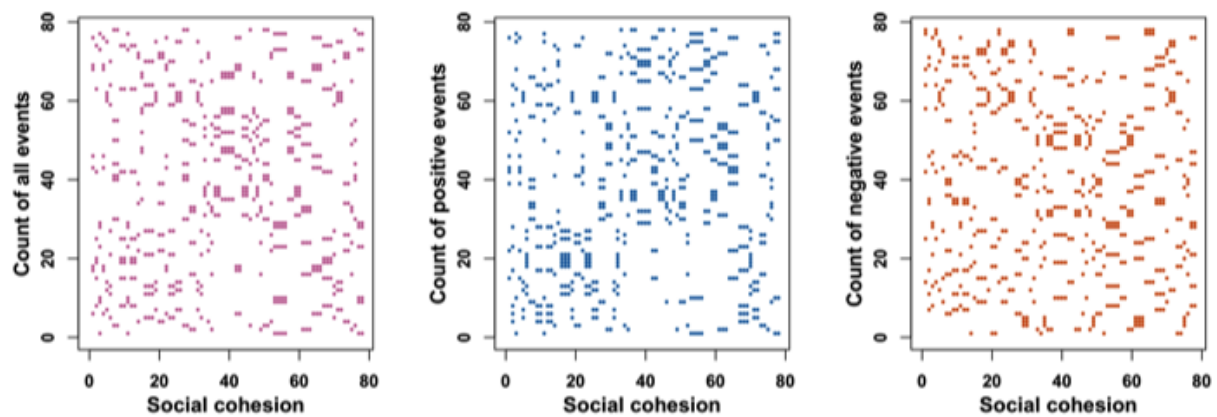


Figure 8. Recurrence plot (RP) for social cohesion and count of all events from target filtered data.

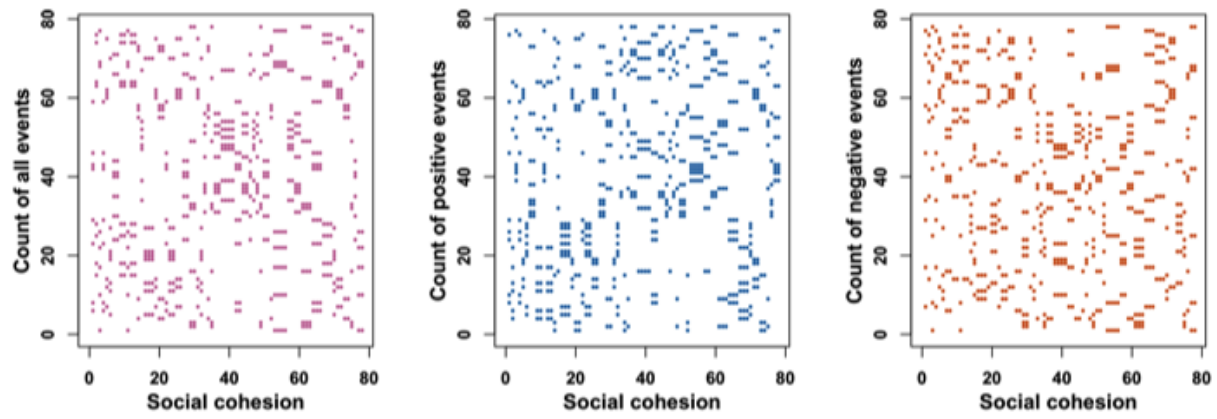


Figure 9. Recurrence plot (RP) for social cohesion and count of all events from source and target filtered data.

Windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis
with event count data with target-only filtering

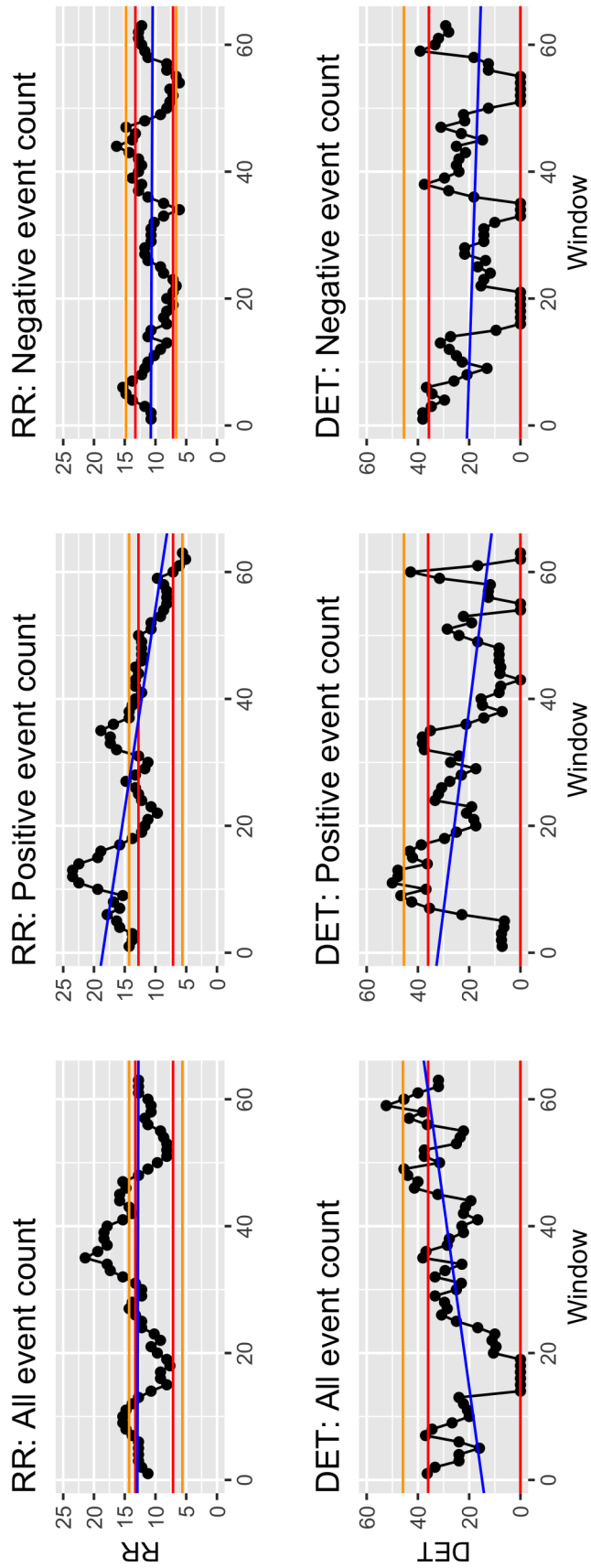


Figure 10. Windowed CRQA for social cohesion and event counts from target filtered data.

Windowed cross-recurrence quantification analysis
with event count data with source and target filtering

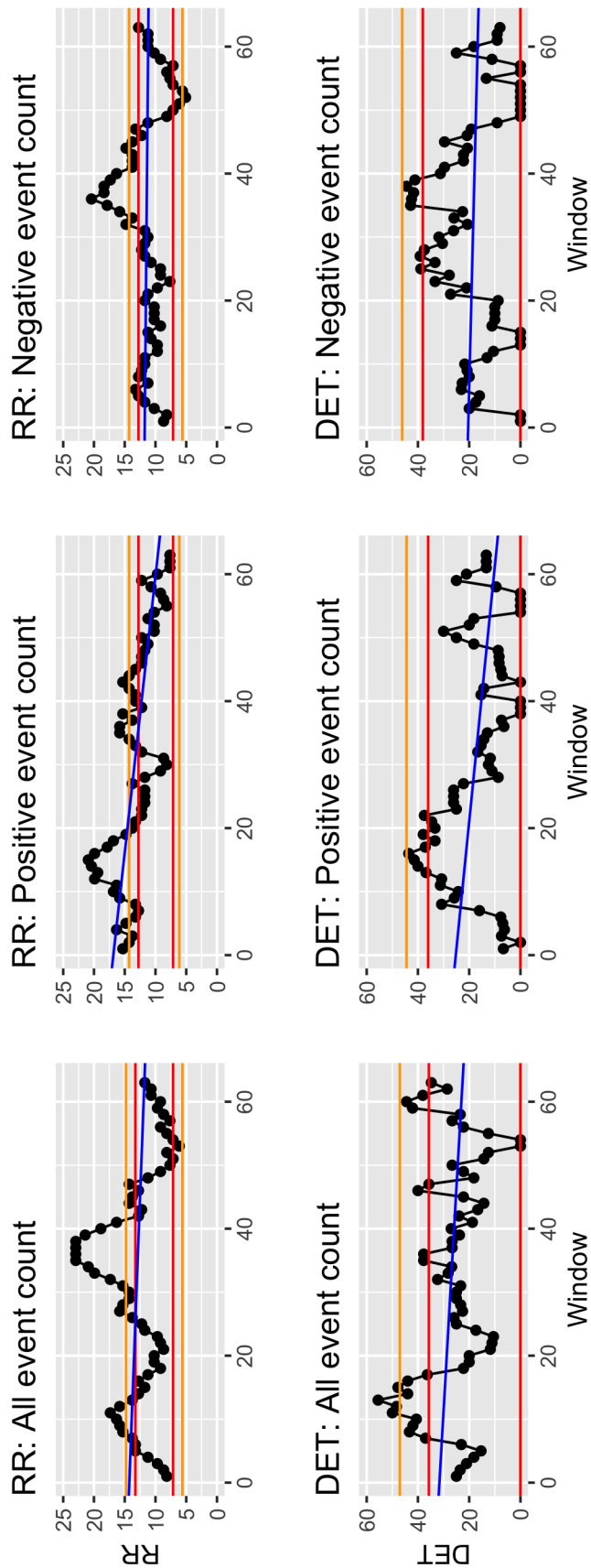


Figure 11. Windowed CRQA for social cohesion and event counts from source and target filtered data.

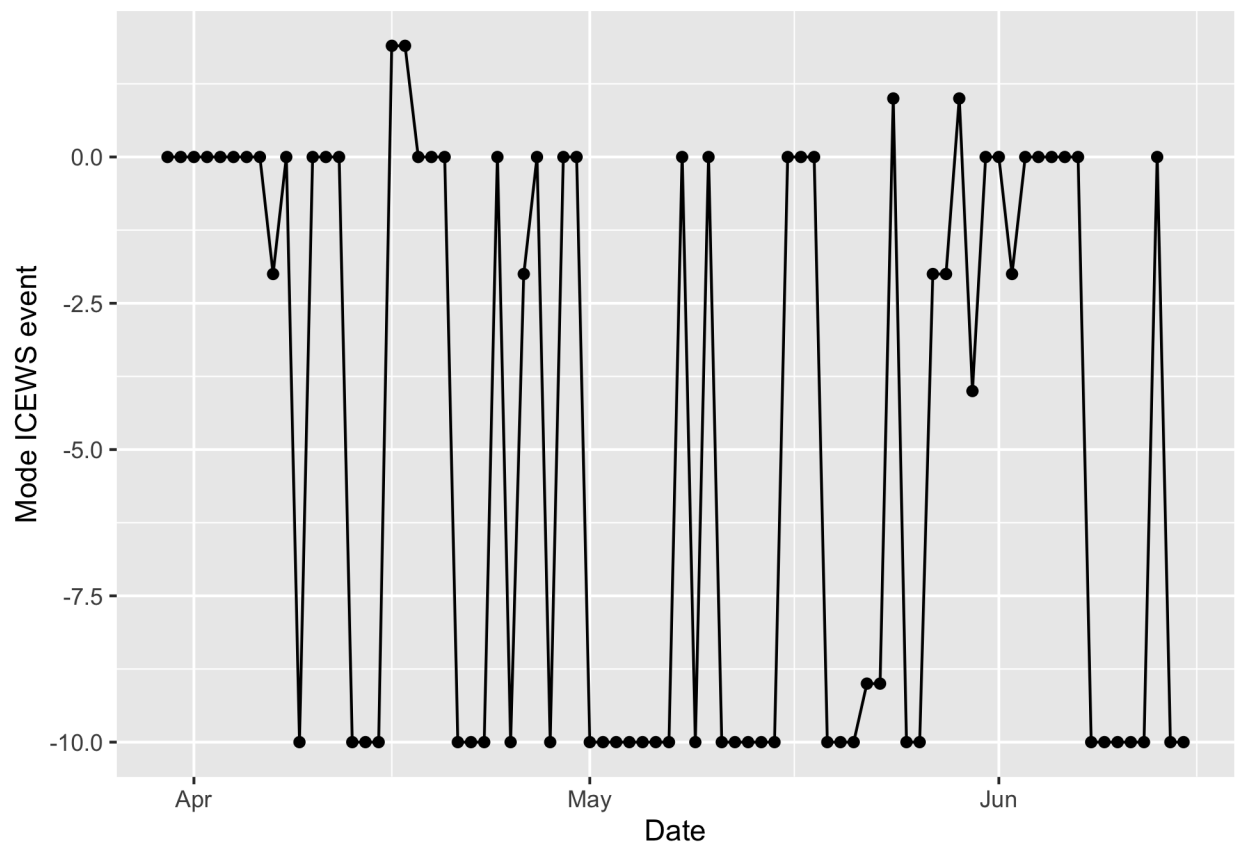


Figure 12. Mode ICEWS event per day.