



The use of twitter by AILA against Trump for the defense of immigrant rights

El uso de twitter por parte de AILA contra Trump para la defensa de los derechos de los inmigrantes

Víctor Serrano Suárez

Universidad Málaga (España)

victorserrano@uma.es

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0356-8983>

Recepción: 1/11/2020 Revisión: 9/11/2020
Aceptación: 17/12/2020 Publicación: 27/12/2020

Abstract

In this study we will analyze the use of these new technologies to wage a parallel battle, and no less effective, to the one that develops in the tribunals. Trump, knowing that the elections of the new era of digital communication are won in social networks, regardless of the veracity or not of the disseminated discourse, has especially appropriated one of them, Twitter. Given this, associations of lawyers such as the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA), have had to respond, reaching their opposition and disagreement also by these means. We will carry out an in-depth analysis of this virtual war to show that in this new scenario, communication in social networks is becoming more important than the struggle in the tribunals or the application of the Constitution for the United States of America.

Resumen

En este estudio analizaremos el uso de las nuevas tecnologías para librar una batalla paralela, y no menos efectiva, a la que se desarrolla en los tribunales. Trump, sabiendo que las elecciones de la nueva era de la comunicación digital se ganan en las redes sociales, independientemente de la veracidad o no del discurso difundido, se ha apropiado especialmente de una de ellas, Twitter. Ante esto, las asociaciones de abogados, como la Asociación Americana de Abogados de Inmigración (AILA), han tenido que responder, llegando a su oposición y desacuerdo también por estos medios. Llevaremos a cabo un análisis en profundidad de esta guerra virtual para mostrar que en este nuevo escenario, la comunicación en las redes sociales se está volviendo más importante que la lucha en los tribunales o la aplicación de la Constitución para los Estados Unidos de América.

Translation: STAR Information Engineering, S.L.

Key Words: Digital disruption; Technological procasting; Legal communication; Political communication; Digital media; Social media.

Palabras clave: Disrupción digital; Procastinación tecnológica; Comunicación legal; Comunicación política; Medios digitales; Redes sociales.



1. Introduction

Traditionally, lawyers have been a very closed guild, procrastinating the adoption of new technologies, finding in the books and in the endless mountains of documents, their most effective tools. In addition to this, they have been a very hermetic sector, especially with their own colleagues and therefore reluctant to group as fluidly as other groups have done. However, the emergence of new technologies has led to a radical change in this situation. This has prompted law organizations to prosper and use the new means at their disposal to transfer the fight to the new virtual battlefield. And Trump, in all his manifestations, has emerged as the perfect target.

The field of political communication is immersed in a profound transformation of modes and types of communication as a result of the generalization of digital communication, which has become interwoven with the strategies and tools available to political actors.

The professional sector of the legal profession, has traditionally been a hermetic sector, closed to new technologies, living anchored in traditional forms of work and very reluctant to accept the introduction of new forms of work or communication. In this regard, the specific activity of the profession and the discretion of its issues have not encouraged to the use of communication in relationships with lawyers, law firms and lawyers' associations. However, the information society demands that all public activity of relevance should set parameters of communicative action given that the movement of message and issues is ongoing and not episodic. Thus, the numerous social actors must bear in mind that a strategy of silence and non-participation does not prevent other collectives or organizations from being able to maintain and from maintaining a presence in the communication ecosystem.

However, the arrival of new technologies has led to a *“technological disruption”*, as a result of which new technologies have penetrated every sector, changing the way of working to one of adaptation to technological tools, replacing traditional and analogical media by digital ones, in spite of *“technological procrastination”*, which consists of adopting a stance of resistance to the introduction and application of new technologies, which prevails in the more conservative sectors. Firms that have wanted to increase their market share, have had no choice but to open their minds and to incorporate the new tools that have been developed unstopably over the last few years. This open-mindedness of the sector has led them to opt for new technologies to allow their work to transcend, to advertise their services, to communicate with their current and potential customers, and especially, to create opinion through the social networks.

In this sense, citizen mobilization on public issues demands that the legal sector explains its activities and functions and that it takes part in the process of discussion of public issues in the



defence of citizens' rights. In this sense, lawyers present themselves as a profession that specializes in the legal management of public affairs.

1.1 Disruption of the new communication technologies

In this sense, the path toward the new technological age is inevitable, and this means that law firms must move towards digital literacy. As far as Willinsky is concerned (1991), post-modern literacy is critical literacy which, through the use of language, promotes public awareness of social, cultural and economic ideologies. According to Chambat (1994), information and communication technologies have arrived to spread through all our day-to-day activities, from work to leisure. Thus, the evolution of the 1.0 to 2.0 activity implies the concurrence of mass and permanent communication strategies aimed at participating in the construction of the media and political agenda and in the contextualization of the conceptual boundaries of public debate, privileging or bypassing ideas or approaches that circulate in the real world. But as Scardigli stated (1994), it is necessary to take user behaviour into account when analysing the trajectory taken by technological innovation. This innovation is subject to a profound process of negotiation, Latour dixit (1994), and it is precisely now, when we are faced with the right "*technological momentum*" as defined by Hughes (1994), in which, unlike deterministic and proactive paradigms, the intention is not to attain absolute power on the part of technology, nor, on the contrary, the imposition of the social, but rather a possible process of reciprocal influence. Thus, lawyers who do not embrace the new technologies in time, will become what Rogers (1983), in his diffusionist theory referred to as laggards. In this sense, citizen empowerment has been facilitated by the ability of technologies to create and disseminate proposals that are addressed directly to the audiences concerned, and that involve a multiplicity of actors in the communication ecosystem.

As Williams put it (1975), technology can manifest itself as a force that creates habits and ways of life, or as a force that provides the necessary elements for the creation of these same habits and ways of life, and that is what is happening with the new communication technologies. Lawyers are being forced to break with obsolete strategies in order to adopt these new tools, which, as Jouët stated (1993), unlike traditional media, resort to the participation and involvement of the user who no longer needs to know how they work, they only have to use them, Bilbeny (1997) since, as Ortega y Gasset said (1989), in the past, it was man who adapted to the medium, but with technology it is the other way round, it is the adaptation of the medium to the subject. Nowadays, the new communication tools have advanced in such a way that anyone can use them, and that is what makes it necessary for all of us to adopt them, if we do not want to remain incommunicado.



This is precisely what Roman (2002) claimed when he said that technology, as a tool for social interaction, is allowing collaborative and cooperative learning to be promoted as a basic strategy for the use of new information and communication technologies. The nature of the new communication tools is changing the way we access and use information, and also the way in which social movements that want to communicate their causes are formed, (Garrett, 2006).

1.2 Social Networks

Of all the new tools, social networks are particularly noteworthy. Organizations must evolve their deeply entrenched routines and organizational structures if they are to adapt to digital publishing and social networks (Romanelli & Tushman, 1994), which entail the creation of thematic networks or social clusters of shared interest blogs (Berman, 2003).

Yet, as we have commented, the legal profession has traditionally been a closed sector. And this is not just about how they communicate with other sectors and with their clients, it is also about how they communicate or collaborate with their fellow lawyers, despite their traditional opposition. This tension is increasingly leading attorneys to seek to increase their voice and strength by joining forces in bar associations such as the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA).

1.3 The role of organizations

Social power can be developed through multiple associations as a means of channelling citizens' demands. Thus, numerous social actors who may be more or less institutionalized (political parties), but who interact with other social typologies such as interest groups, lobbies or think tanks, among others, are involved in the processes of formulation and formation of public policies. These social organizations play an essential role in the process of selecting, transposing and negotiating citizen demands as political actors who channel those demands and participate in public affairs discussion processes.

In this sense, the political culture of citizens contributes to the participation of citizens through associations of persons or of professionals as a factor of social cohesion in which individuals encounter psychological accommodation in their thoughts and in the concurrence of individual and collective demands. As a result, this individual power becomes a social power that must be heard. For Bernstein (1998), power relations create, justify and reproduce the boundaries between different categories of groups, gender, social class, race, different categories of discourse and



various categories of actors, which is why AILA is an ideal instrument for grouping together against the existing alignment. According to Driscoll and Vergara (1997), in a society driven by information, organizations must be able to make modifications in response to changing conditions, which is why AILA, as an organized group, endeavours to fight back by undoing the new measures that the Trump administration is taking, since, as Koka, Madhavan & Prescott claimed (2006), people in organizations evolve as a result of their interactions with each other, and as a result of changes in the environment.

Following Obama's protectionist era, Trump has burst into the political framework with a strong and clear stance of opposition to immigration. This convergence of opposing positions has led to a confrontational situation.

1.4 Panorama of social networks

For the purposes of this study, the starting point was to determine whether AILA is using the new communication technologies, specifically Twitter, to fight a battle parallel to the one taking place in the courts against Trump. To this end, before we began, we reviewed the current panorama of social networks in general, as well as the social networks used by AILA and Trump.

Table 1. TOP SITES RANKING FOR SOCIAL NETWORK IN UNITED STATES

	Alexa. Social Network (USA)	Statista. Social Network (USA)	Simpleweb. Social Network (USA)	Statista. Social Network (Global)	Reuters. News (USA)
Facebook	2	2	2	1	1
Youtube	1	1	1	2	2
Twitter	3	3	3	12	3
Instagram	4	4	4	5	4

Notes: Social Network in United States, global and News in United States

Source: The authors.

Before that, a review of the presence of AILA and Trump on the Internet, with reference at the same time to the former president of the USA, Barack Obama.



Table 2. PRESENCE IN SOCIAL NETWORKS

	Facebook	Youtube	Twitter	Instagram
AILA	26.722	1.363	24.800	859
Trump	25.201.433	154.890	58.000.000	12.200
Obama	53.175.153	557.832	105.000.000	1.200

Notes: Measured in followers or subscribers.

Source: The authors.

1.5 Twitter as an instrument of expression

In this sense, Twitter has undoubtedly become the most important social network in the confrontation of social opinions. As Śnchez Noriega said (1997), the very use of media favours fleeting, dispersed reception; the informative two-dozen-word news flash to communicate an event is a good illustration of the use that the media prescribe for citizens. And this is easily achieved through Twitter, as complexity is a problem, not a solution, Morin (1997) and if there's one thing we can say about Twitter, it's the ease it provides when it comes to expressing opinions with just a few characters, because as Cebrian said (1998), more information is not necessarily better information. This tool's brief messages allow you to disseminate news and opinions in real time in an immediate way (Murthy, 2011, Bruns *et al.*, 2012), and they also make live news coverage possible: The Twitter Effect (Bruno, 2011).

The combination of all these factors, together with the fact that it is the social network in which AILA and Trump together have the greatest number of followers and also the one most comments have been made in, due to the ease that the tool provides for this end by its very nature, seems to be the definitive reason why AILA has chosen Twitter as the ideal tool to make comments that may criticize the immigration policies adopted by Trump. However, the fact that Twitter has a limited text format has not hindered the development of the commented news. This has been achieved through its links.

In this regard, news content on the Internet has evolved in three stages. The first stage consists of the reproduction of content that is available through printed news sources. The second consists of the creation of original content with additional links. The third consists of the presentation of original content designed specifically for Internet (Pavlik, 1997). Twitter, through its links, falls fully into the second stage. De Kerckhove (1999), considered that it was dangerous that the more interactive the processing of information is, the less is left to the responsibility of the reader, but each user accesses the account they are interested in, so in this case this is not a problem. As for



the multimedia sources of these links, Paulussen (2004) proposed the acknowledgement of photos or drawings, slide presentations, and audio and video signals as appropriate criteria to evaluate the multimedia level of online news, and from the analysis of the links of the AILA tweets, we will see that use is made of all of them, as well as of the three levels of multimedia content available in the news: only text, text and images, and video with text and images, as described by Kiouisis & Dimitrova (2006).

Thanks to Twitter, AILA has managed to find the perfect medium, not only to express their opinions against Trump's policy, but to facilitate participation and expression by everyone. This interactivity is a feature of the communication media that reflects the degree to which readers can interact with the content of the news (Chung, 2008; Rafaeli & Sudweeks, 1997), and are able to contribute by publishing their opinions (Bruns, 2005); and it is that very interactivity that differentiates Twitter from the traditional media (Johnson & Kaye, 2010), and that in turn is considered to be one of the most important capabilities of the new media (Rogers, 1986). With regard to interactivity, Massey and Levy (1999) identified four dimensions of interactivity: the complexity of the available choice, the ability to respond to the user, the ease of interpersonal communication and the ease of adding information. For Opgenhaffen and D'Haenens (2009), there are five functions of interactivity that improve control over content: choice of frequency, choice by categories, search by keyword, possibility of customizing the content, and the ability to print the message, while for Heeter (1989) there are six dimensions of interactivity: the complexity of the available choice, the level of effort required, the ability to respond to the user, the monitoring of the use of this information, the ease of adding information, and the ease of interpersonal communication.

According to Van Dijk (1995), interaction has emphasised the role of interpretation and of socially shared methods in making sense of our interactions and the social world. According to Levy (1996), the era of vertical power structures, of the monopoly of broadcasters and sources of information has come to an end, and this is reflected in Twitter, which is purely a media of opinion, as indeed all media are, according to Casasús (1985). Twitter gives everyone the opportunity to comment, but the fact that everyone defends their own position through their own point of view, is not something that should be seen as egotistical since, as Lipovestky says (1994), the contemporary individual is no more egotistical than in other times, all he or she is doing is shamelessly expressing the individualistic priority of their convictions. This is enhanced by the characteristics of Twitter, which unlike traditional mass media, prevents the messages being standardized and subordinated to the interests of the large corporations to which they belong (Andrews, 2003; Singer, 2006). Twitter helps us to try to avoid the politicization of media and of the



journalistic function itself that is taking place in the controlled media (Casero-Ripolles *et al.*, 2015), since the traditional media establish the framework to determine what we should think about various public affairs (McCombs, 2004; Valera, 2015). In this way, the virtual sphere in which Twitter moves promotes the democratization of the media by allowing ordinary citizens to have a voice and to build communities, occupying a space in the civil discourse that was previously monopolized by the mainstream media (Tremayne, 2007).

1.6 Objective

The analysis will focus specifically on statements made by AILA on Twitter, a tool used massively by Trump since he took power, and that has become the American president's preferred communication tool. The objectives of the research are:

O1: To know to what extent AILA uses Twitter to participate in the social process of Trump's immigration policy.

O2: To analyse the issues and proposals that AILA inserts on Twitter as framing elements of the issues.

O3: To study whether the communication strategies of the two actors (AILA and Trump) are directed from a unidirectional perspective or from one of dialogue.

1.7 Hypothesis

For this research, a series of initial assumptions has been set out that allow us to narrow down the framework of the discussion by formulating a series of hypotheses such as:

H1: AILA uses Twitter to create opinion regarding the immigration policies adopted by the Trump administration.

H2: Although it uses Twitter for such purposes, it does not refer directly to Trump all that often.

H3: The nature of the statements made by AILA in tweets that mention Trump, are for the most part aseptic in nature, reflecting only relevant situations produced in the area of immigration, but without trying to create opinion through them.

H4: As AILA is the leading national association of immigration lawyers in the country, and as Twitter is his preferred communication tool, Trump will respond to some of the tweets made by AILA.



2. Methodology

2.1 Justification of the study sample

With regard to the period of the study sample, we opted for the more descriptive option, that is to say, we analysed all the tweets made by AILA in their Twitter account @AILANational, in which the term "*Trump*" was used, from 20 January 2017, the date Trump took office as president of the USA, until the closing date of this study, 20 February 2019, covering therefore a study period of 26 months.

2.2 Study methodology

The analysis covered all the tweets, analysing them comment by comment, analysing the frequency of the tweets that were made, the number of responses, re-tweets and likes obtained, and ranking them according to their subject matter. In addition to this, and to help determine the character that each tweet wanted to highlight, we analysed the hashtags that were used, whether or not the tweets relied on any external link, the source to which they link, whether they present any audiovisual media in the preview of the tweet, if so, the type of media used, the number of responses, re-tweets and likes obtained, and finally, and as a result of all this, the positive, negative or neutral nature of both the preview of each tweet and the tweet itself and the link to which it connects. We considered that this differentiation was important because, on numerous occasions, the tweets do nothing more than comment on a news item, without going on to appraise it, the source of the tweet that contains the news being both positive or negative toward the image of Trump or his policies. Also, in order to collect data from media and social networks, we used web analysis tools or media such as ALEXA, Alliance for Audited Media, Similarweb or Statista.

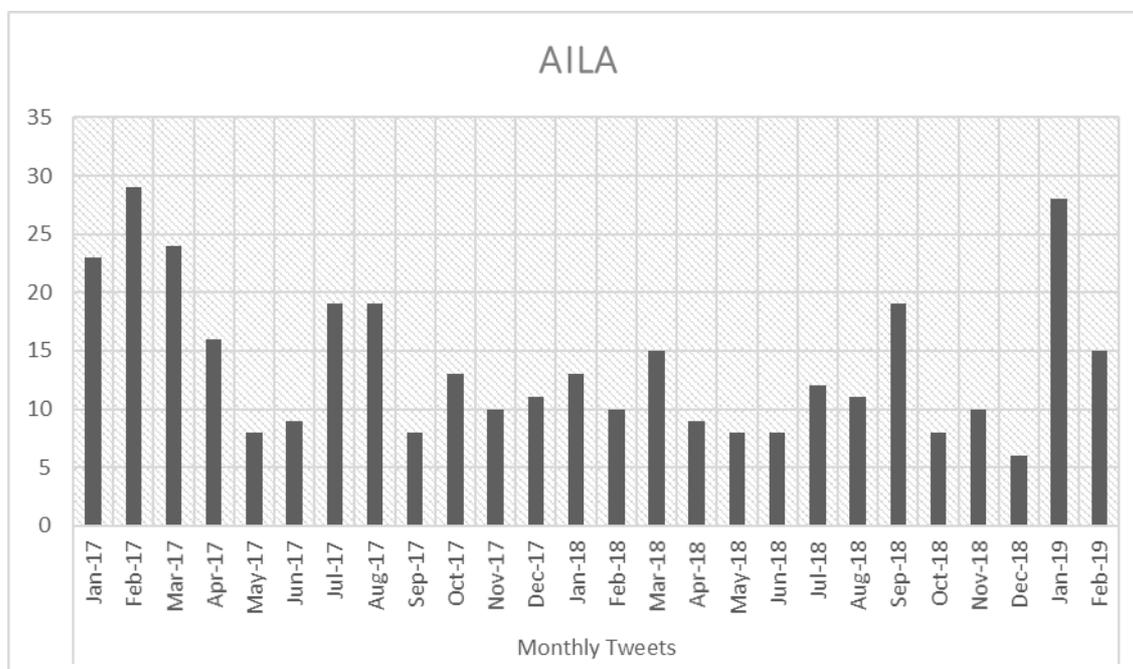
3. Results

Within the study period of just over 26 months, defined as between Donald Trump's taking office on January 20, 2017, and the closing date of the study, February 20, 2019, we analysed the 361 tweets, practically one every two days, in which Trump was mentioned on AILA' s account. Of these 361 tweets, their monthly distribution was an average of 13.88 monthly tweets, with a



greater number of tweets being observed in the first months of each year. The total distribution of the publication of tweets can be seen in the table below:

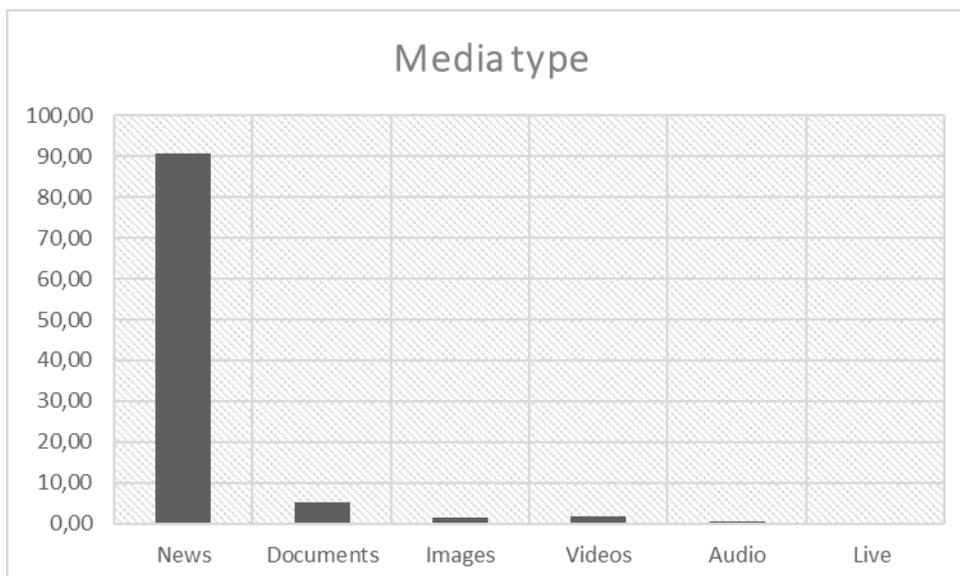
Figure 1. MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION OF TWEETS.



Source: The authors.

Of the 361 tweets analysed, 100% of them were written in English. With regard to the structure and composition of the tweets, 74.5% of them already presented some kind of multimedia content in the preview of the tweet, which makes the tweets more visual and attracts the attention of the user, while the remaining 25.5% of the tweets only displayed the statement as text. On the other hand, 98.3% of the tweets contained a link to access the source on which they based their content, whereas only 1.7% lacked a link that would refer us to additional information. In 90.86% of cases, these links referred to a news story, in 5.26% of cases, they referred us to a document, in 1.66% of cases to a recorded video, in 1.39% of cases to an image, in 0.55% of cases to an audio and in 0.28 of cases to a live video streaming.

Figure 2. MEDIA TYPE



Source: The authors.

3.1 Online media versus traditional media: Imposition of the online press

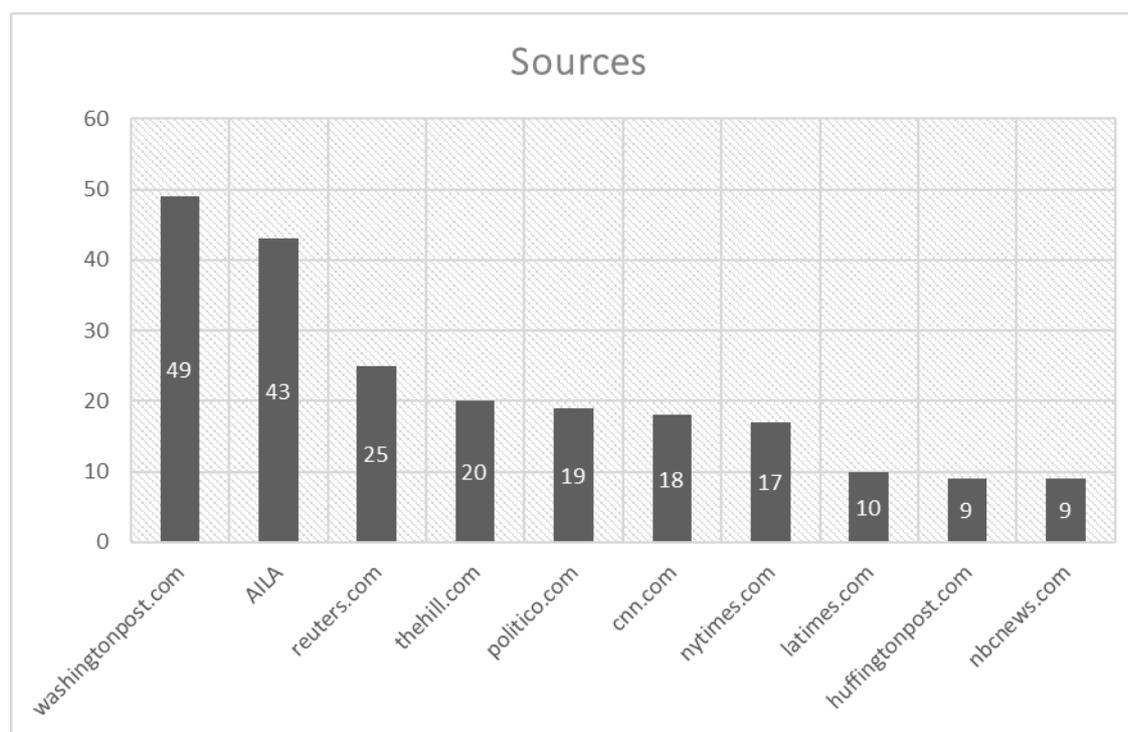
We observe, and we are not surprised, that AILA's tweets always refer to non-written media news. In this sense, Mosco (1988), anticipated that the information society is characterized by the fact that information is already treated as a marketable commodity, and online media facilitate this end. As Mallein & Toussaint said (1994), communications media run the risk of being modified in the sense of a transformation of forms of sociability, and this is already happening. The new technologies allow a greater diversification of uses, a greater personalization of media consumption according to Pronovost (1994), which must be accompanied by an earlier technological stage of ethical-legal scope, so that they are not oriented solely towards commercial purposes as stated by Michel Venne (1995), although this does not seem to have happened. Written newspapers have struggled to find successful models for survival and growth despite a series of experiments with different approaches to online technology (Greer & Mensing, 2006), but they are losing weight every day. The growth of online media, and changes in user preferences, make them a critical source of information, particularly for regional news and local events (Katz & Lai, 2009), while traditional news media have adopted adaptive strategies, including a complete restructuring of organizational goals (Boczkowski, 2004), but the Internet has definitely become the main source of information for many Americans (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2010). In this sense, Potts (2007) predicted that the income of online news sources would exceed the revenues

generated by print media in 2018, a fact that was confirmed much earlier, since the EFE news agency in Los Angeles published that, according to a report presented by Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB) and PricewaterhouseCoopers, Internet advertising revenues in the USA in 2010 had reached a record 26 billion dollars, surpassing for the first time ever the revenues obtained by the written media.

Returning to the issue of links, with regard to the sources that the links in AILA's tweets connected to, the great diversity of sources used was quite striking, since, although it is true that some media are used significantly more often than others, it is no less true that the media referred to are varied and are distributed throughout the USA.

The medium most often referred to is washingtonpost.com, followed by references to AILA's own sources, and to 71 other media, as we see the top 10 below:

Figure 3. NEWS SOURCES



Source: The authors.

As we have commented, the media mentioned in the tweets made by AILA, are of diverse origin, which makes us think, a priori, that they do not limit themselves to trying to find news that supports their positions exclusively in ideologically related media. However, following an analysis of the importance of the media mentioned in relation to the number of occasions in which reference is



made to them, we are struck by the fact that there are media of great importance in terms of their number of readers, whose news has not been cited, and there are others of equal importance, which although they have been cited, have been cited in a significantly smaller number than other media of lesser importance. This in itself does not have to actually mean anything, although it could also mean that AILA really does resort to sources that adopt the stance that they want to highlight and defend, which if that is the case may imply a possible lack of objectivity, which would make us think that AILA is in effect using Twitter as a media tool against President Trump in this virtual war.

In this regard, we compared the ranking of the media that were used as sources to support the tweets that were published by AILA, with the various rankings of available media. The result we obtained shows that of the 10 external sources most used by AILA, without taking referrals to its own sources into account, only 4 of them (cnn.com, nytimes.com, washingtonpost.com and huffingtonpost.com) feature among the ranking of the top 10 general news sources in the USA, according to the ALEXA traffic ranking; only 4 of them (nytimes.com, washingtonpost.com, thehill.com, latimes.com) feature among the top 10 in the ALEXA ranking of newspapers; only 3 of them (nytimes.com, latimes.com, washingtonpost.com) feature among the top 10 in the ranking of written media with the largest circulation of the Alliance for Audited Media; and only 5 of them (huffingtonpost.com, cnn.com, nytimes.com, nbcnews.com, washingtonpost.com) feature in the ranking of News Websites by unique monthly visitors by statista.com. On the other hand, it is striking that 2 of the 10 most cited by AILA (political.com and buzzfeednews.com), do not feature among the top 10 positions of the rankings mentioned above.

3.2 Trust in online content

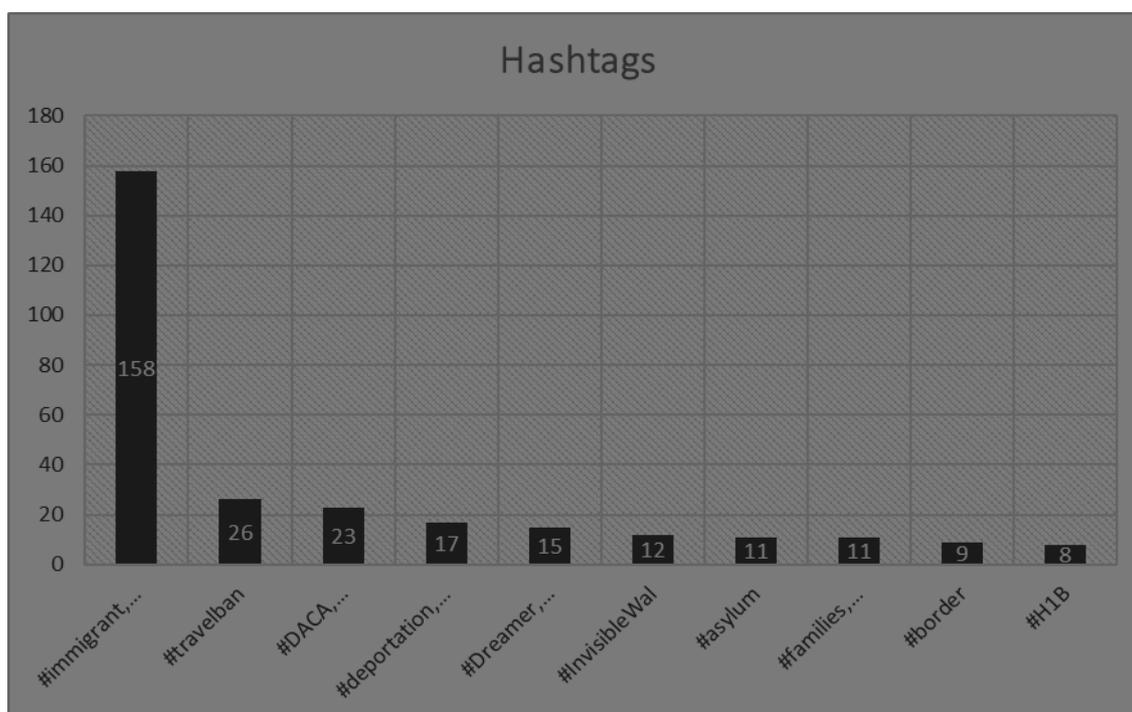
Nor does the source selection criterion appear to respond to the criterion of sources that enjoy the highest level of trust on the part of users, if we consider the 2018 Reuters Institute Digital News Report which establishes the following average level of trust in selected news brands in the USA, according to a survey asking participants to rate the credibility of each source, rating it on a scale of 1 to 10, 10 being the highest score. The results were as follows: NPR News (7.98), New York Times (7.42), Washington Post (7.39), CBS News (7.27), Wall Street Journal (7.24), News (7.21), CNN (7.2), ABC News (7.17), NBC/MSNBC Local television news (7.09), Fox News (7), Breitbart (6.96), Huffingtonpost (6.74), Vice News (6.56), Yahoo! News (6.27), BuzzFeed News (6.12).



3.3 Hashtags

As for hashtags, these were used frequently in the tweets we analysed; we found 348 hashtags in total in the 361 tweets analysed (counting the repeated hashtags), which gives us an average of around 1 hashtag per tweet, with #immigrant being the most used, and distributed according to the following top ten:

Figure 4. HASHTAGS.



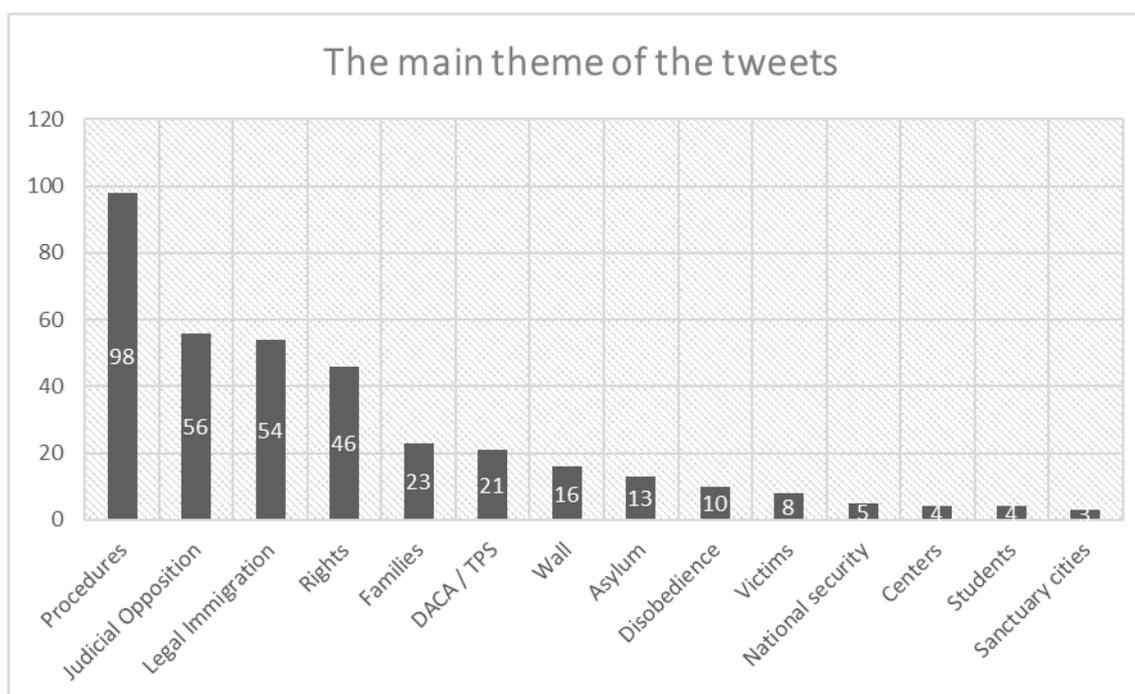
Source: The authors.

3.4 Content of the tweets

As for the content of the tweets, this is in line with the hashtags mentioned above, although, following an in-depth analysis, we observed that they can be sorted into the following issues (in descending order): Tweets whose main theme was immigration procedures in general, 98 tweets, which represents 27.15% of the total. Tweets about judicial proceedings or opinions opposed to Trump's policy by members of the Judiciary, 56 tweets, which represents 15.51% of the total. Tweets about legal immigration, including those referring to the obstacles imposed on the obtaining and maintenance of H1B visas, those referring to the granting of H-4 work visas for couples and dependants of the beneficiaries of an H-1B visa, or those expressing the opposition of

business sectors towards the growing restrictive policies for obtaining work visas for H-1B skilled workers, 54 tweets, which represents 14.96% of the total. Tweets about cutbacks to immigrants' rights, 46 tweets, which represents 12.74% of the total. Tweets about separations of immigrant families, 23 tweets, which represents 6.37% of the total. Tweets about Trump's attacks on the DACA and TPS programmes promoted by Barack Obama, 21 tweets, which represents 5.82% of the total. Tweets about the construction, financing and negotiations relating to the wall on the southern border to separate the USA from Mexico, 16 tweets, which represents 4.43% of the total. Tweets about asylum procedures, 13 tweets, which represents 3.6% of the total. Tweets about legislative or judicial violations by Trump, 10 tweets, which represents 2.77% of the total. Tweets about immigrant victims in their countries of origin, 8 tweets, which represents 2.22% of the total. Tweets about National Security, 5 tweets, which represents 1.39% of the total. Tweets about the construction or the conditions of the internment centres for immigrants, 4 tweets, which represents 1.11% of the total. Tweets about the tightening of the granting of study permits, 4 tweets, which represents 1.11% of the total. And tweets about Sanctuary Cities, 3 tweets, which represents 0.83% of the total. This classification was carried out on the basis of the central theme of the news collected in every tweet, but in many of them, several themes are sometimes combined.

Figure 5. MAIN THEME OF THE TWEETS.



Source: The authors.



3.5 Assessment of the tweets

One important aspect of this study is to determine how AILA uses Twitter when it publishes tweets referring to Trump. This is important, as it may indicate whether they are really using this tool to report objectively or whether, on the contrary, they are endeavouring to publish exclusively negative news about Trump and his policies. In this regard, we must differentiate between two different aspects: On the one hand, the analysis of the statements made in the tweets, and on the other hand, the analysis of the tweets together with the news to which they refer, that is, the complete set of the tweet and its link.

In this sense, in relation to the valuation of the statements made in the tweets, without taking their link into account, we noted that of the 361 tweets that we analysed, 285 of them, which is 78.95% of the total, present a negative image of Trump or of his policies, 71 of them, which is 19.67%, present a neutral image, and 5 of them, 1.39% of the total, present a positive image of Trump or of his policies.

If we assess the complete set of the tweet and the link to which it refers, 348 of them, 96.4% of the total, present a negative image of Trump or of his policies, 10 of them, 2.77%, present a neutral image, and 3 of them, 0.83% of the total, present a positive image of Trump or of his policies.

Table 3. EVALUATION OF THE CONTENT OF THE TWEETS.

	Tweets	Glogal
Negative	78,95	96,4
Neutral	19,67	2,77
Positive	1,39	0,83

Notes: Data expressed in %.

Source: The authors.

3.6 Effect on users

In terms of the effect and response to the tweets published by AILA, it should be highlighted that 216 responses were produced, with an average of 0.6 responses per tweet, 3,894 re-tweets, with an average of 10.79 re-tweets per tweet and 3,074 likes, with an average of 8.52 likes per tweet. Here is a table with the tweets that have produced a greater number of replies, re-tweets and likes, respectively:



Table 4. EFFECT

	Reply	Retweets	Likes
Total	216	3894	3074
%	0,6	10,79	8,52

Notes: Production response by tweets.

Source: The authors.

4. Conclusiones

The conclusions of the study did not fully coincide with the hypotheses put forward a priori, and were as follows:

- 1) AILA does in fact use Twitter to create opinion regarding the immigration policies adopted by the Trump administration.
- 2) AILA uses Twitter for those purposes, frequently making direct references to Trump. It seems to have focused all immigration-related problems on the figure of President Donald Trump.
- 3) The nature of the representations made by AILA in the tweets that mention Trump, are almost entirely negative with respect to the image of Trump and to the measures and actions taken by Trump in immigration matters, seeking, in our opinion, to generate a rejection toward them. Without making any evaluation of the policies of the Trump administration, what is clear in this study is that AILA is fighting a virtual battle, parallel to the judicial battle, by using Twitter as a tool to undermine Trump's image.
- 4) Surprisingly, in the more than 40,000 tweets that he has made, even though AILA is the main national association of immigration lawyers in the country, and even though Twitter is his preferred communication tool, Trump has not issued any statement, reference or direct response to the tweets that AILA has made in his account.

5. Discusiones

In the field of political communication, Twitter has become one of the main media for the dissemination of opinions and information in real time (Castillo, Garća & Smolak, 2013). However, in the case of our political leaders, the effect is multiplied to such an extent that they reach a public above and beyond their own followers, whether via the re-tweets or references made in the media. In this sense, the theoretical effect of AILA's messages versus Trump's messages would be clear if



we were to analyse their number of followers on Twitter (24,800 for AILA and 58 million for Trump). But if we cross the data about the sources used, we see that in the case of AILA, they disseminate information from such important media as the Washington Post or Reuters, among others; which means a multiplication of the audience and a reconfiguration of the spaces the messages reach and which extend beyond their list of followers.

In this way, a small association such as AILA becomes an entity in which other opinions and information converge, increasing the multiplier effect of messages that focus on the unidirectional dissemination of ideas and opinions. In this way, the analysis shows us how we should not only assess the number of followers an organisation has, we should also study the sources they choose and the sources that receive the messages in the social networks.

6. References

- Almansa, A., Fonseca, O. & Castillo, A. (2013). Social Networks and Young People. Comparative Study of Facebook between Colombia and Spain. *Comunicar*, 40, 127-135. <https://doi.org/10.3916/C40-2013-03-03>
- Andrews, P. (2003). Is Blogging Journalism? Weblogs and Journalism. *Nieman Reports*, 57(3), 63-64.
- Aragón, E. P. de. (s. f.). Los ingresos publicitarios de internet superan los de la prensa escrita en EEUU. Retrieved from https://www.elperiodicodearagon.com/noticias/sociedad/ingresos-publicitarios-internet-superan-prensa-escrita-eeuu_663252.html
- Ardèvol, A., Barnidge, M., & Gil-de-Zúñiga, H. (2017). Communicative Antecedents of Political Persuasion: Political Discussion, Citizen News Creation, and the moderating role of strength of partisanship. *Mass communication and society*, v. 20, n. 2, pp. 169-191. <https://goo.gl/CH2rao> <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2016.1244855>
- Auger, G. (2013). Fostering Democracy through Social Media: Evaluating Diametrically Opposed Non Profit Advocacy Organizations use of Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. *Public Relations Review*, 39(4), 369-376. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2013.07.013>
- Baranowski, P. (2015). Online political campaigning during the 2014 regional elections in Poland. *Media and Communication*, 3(4), 35-44. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/mac.v3i4.368>



Berman, P. S. (2003). The Internet, Community Definition and the Social Meaning of Legal Jurisdiction. In B. E. Kolko (Ed.), *Virtual Publics: Policy and Community in an Electronic Age* (pp. 49-82). New York: Columbia University Press.

Bernstein, J. (1998). *Pedagogía, control simbólico e identidad*. Madrid: Morata.

Bilbeny, N. (1997). *La revolución en la ética. Hábitos y creencias en la sociedad digital*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Boczkowski, P. J. (2004). *Digitizing the news: Innovation in online newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bruno, N. (2011). *Tweet first, verify later? How real-time information is changing the coverage of worldwide crisis events*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production*. New York: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. & Highfield, T. (2012). Blogs, Twitter and breaking news: The Producers of citizen journalism. In R. Lind (Ed.), *Producing Theory in a Digital World: The Intersection of Audiences and Production in Contemporary Theory* (pp. 15-32). New York: Peter Lang.

Capriotti, P., Carretón, M., & Castillo, A. (2016). Testing the level of interactivity of institutional websites: From museums 1.0 to museums 2.0. *International Journal of Information Management*, Volume 36, Issue 1, February 2016, Pages 97-104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2015.10.003>

Casasús, J. M. (1985). *Ideología y análisis de los medios de comunicación*. Barcelona: Mitre.

Casero-Ripollés, A. (2017). Producing political content for web 2.0: Empowering citizens and vulnerable populations. *El profesional de la información*, v. 26, n. 1, pp. 13-19. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2017.ene.02>

Casero-Ripollés, A., Fernández-Beaumont, J., & García, J. V. (2015). The politicisation of journalism in Spain: three obstacles to the professional autonomy of journalists. *Anàlisi*, 53, 95-109. <https://doi.org/10.7238/a.v0i53.2622>

Castillo, A. (2018). Relationship between the participation in forums and blogs of political debate on the internet and the monitoring of political information in professional media: Evolutionary analysis 2011-2016. *El Profesional de la Información*, Vol 28, núm. 6, 1248-1256.

Castillo, A., García, D., & Smolak, E. (2013). Movimientos sociales y estrategias de comunicación. El caso de 15-M y de Occupy Wall Street. *Estudios Sobre El Mensaje Periodístico*, 19(1), 71-89. http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev_ESMP.2013.v19.n1.42508



Cebrián, J. L. (1998). *La red. Cómo cambiarían nuestras vidas los medios de comunicación*. Barcelona: Círculo de lectores.

Chambat, P. (1994). Usages des technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC): évolution des problématiques. *Technologies de l'information et société*, vol. 6, 3; 249-270; Paris: Dunod.

Chung, D. S. (2008). Interactive features of online newspapers: Identifying patterns and predicting use of engaged readers. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13, 658–679.

Ciszek, E. (2016). Digital Activism: How Social Media and Dissensus Inform. Theory and Practice. *Public Relations Review*, 42(2), 314-321. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.02.002>

Driscoll, M. P. y Vergara, A. (1997). Nuevas tecnologías y su impacto en la educación del futuro. *Pensamiento educativo*, 21. Santiago de Chile: Pontificia Universidad Católica.

Earl, J., & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: Activism in the Internet age*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Flores, M. T., & Castillo, A. (2018). La incongruencia profesional de las competencias específicas en los planes de estudio de las Relaciones Públicas en México. *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas*, Vol. VIII, Nº 16, 151-170. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5783/RIRP16-2018-09-151-170>.

García, C. (2018). Achievements and limits of strategic communication for nation-building: The case of Spain's Catalan region (1979-2017). *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas*, Vol. VIII, Nº 15, 129-152. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5783/RIRP-15-2018-08-129-152>.

Garrett, K. (2006). Protest in information society: A review of literature on social movements and new ICTs. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(2), 202-224. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180600630773>

Gil-De-Zúñiga, H., Weeks, B., & Ardèvol, A. (2017). Effects of the news finds me perception in communication: Social media use implications for news seeking and learning about politics. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, v. 22, n. 3, pp. 105-123. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12185>

Global social media ranking 2018 (2018.). Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

Greer, J. D., & Mensing, D. (2006). The evolution of online newspapers: A longitudinal content analysis, 1997–2003. In X. Li (Ed.), *Internet newspapers: The making of a mainstream medium* (pp. 13–32). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.



- Guillory, J. E., & Sundar, S. S. (2014). How does web site interactivity affect our perceptions of an organization? *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 26 (1), pp. 44-61
- Heeter, C. (1989). Implications of new interactive technologies for conceptualizing communication. In J. L. Salvaggio & J. Bryant (Eds.). *Media use in the information age* (pp. 217–235). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hughes, T. P. (1994). Technological momentum. In Smith, M. R. y Marx, L. (Eds.). *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jan, M. V. P. (2017). Knowing What is Said on Enterprise Social Media: Towards the Development of an Analytical Communication Framework. *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Ṕblicas*, Vol. VII, N° 13, 5-22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5783/RIRP-13-2017-02-05-22>
- Johnson, T., & Kaye, B. (2010). Still cruising and believing? An analysis of online credibility across three presidential campaigns. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 54, 57–77.
- Jouët, J. (1993). Pratiques de communication et figures de la mediation. *Réseaux*, 60;99-120.
- Katz, J. E., & Lai, C.-H. (2009). News blogging in cross-cultural contexts: A report on the struggle for voice. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 22(2), 99–107.
- Kaufhold, K., Valenzuela, S., & Gil-de-Zúñiga, H. (2010). Citizen journalism and democracy: How user-generated news use relates to political knowledge and participation. *Journalism and mass media communication quarterly*, v. 87, n. 3/4, pp. 515-529. <https://goo.gl/Geva6M>
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107769901008700305>
- Kerckhove, D. de (1999). *Inteligencias en conexi3n*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- Kiousis, S., & Dimitrova, D. V. (2006). Differential impact of Web site content: Exploring the influence of source (public relations versus news), modality, and participation on college students' perceptions. *Public Relations Review*, 32, 177–179.
- Koka, B. R., Madhavan, R., & Prescott, J. E. (2006). The evolution of interfirm networks: Environmental effects on patterns of network change. *Academy of Management Review*, 31(3), 17.
- Latour, B. (1994). Science in action. In V. Scardigli (Ed.). *Technologies de l'information et soci3t3*, vol. 6, 4; 299-314.
- Leiner, D., & Quiring, O. (2008). What interactivity means to the user: essential insights into and a scale for perceived interactivity. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 14 (1), pp. 127-155



Lévy, P. (1996): Construire l'intelligence collective, dans *Internet: l'extase et l'effroi. Manière de voir horssérie, Le Monde Diplomatique*, oct. 35-36.

Lipovetsky, G. (1994). *El crepúsculo del deber. La ética indolora de los nuevos tiempos democráticos*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Mallein, P., & Toussaint, Y. (1994). L'intégration sociale des technologies d'information et de communication: une sociologie des usages. *Technologies de l'information et société*, vol. 6, 4. París: Dunod; 315-335.

Massey, B. L., & Levy, M. R. (1999). 'Interactive' online journalism at English-language Web newspapers in Asia: A dependency theory analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, 61, 523–538.

McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Miller, V. D., Poole, M. S., Seibold, D. R., Myers, K. K., Park, H. S., Monge, P., & Shumate, M. (2011). Advancing research in organizational communication through quantitative methodology. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 25(1), 4–58.

Mitchelstein, E., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2010). Online news consumption research: An assessment of past work and an agenda for the future. *New Media & Society*, 12, 1085–1102.

Moeller, J., De-Vreese, C., Esser, F., & Kunz, R. (2014). Pathway to political participation: The influence of online and offline news media on internal efficacy and turnout of first-time voters. *American behavioral scientist*, v. 58, pp. 689-700.

Moreno, A., Navarro C., Tench R., & Zerfass, A. (2015). Does Social Media Usage Matter? An Analysis of Online Practices and Digital Media Perceptions of Communication Practitioners in Europe. *Public Relations Review*, 41(2), 242-253. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.12.006>

Morin, E. (1997). *Introducción al pensamiento complejo*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Mosco, V. (1988). Information in the Pay-per Society. In Mosco, V. y Wasko, J. (Eds.). *The Political Economy of Information*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Murthy, D. (2011). Twitter: Microphone for the masses? *Media, Culture and Society*, 33(5), 779-789. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711404744>

Opgenhaffen, M., & D'Haenens, L. (2009). The effect of online features on subjective knowledge. Proceedings of Etmaal van Communicatiewetenschap (Symposium). Nijmegen, The Netherlands.



Ortega y Gasset, J. (1989). *Meditaciones de la t́cnica y otros ensayos sobre ciencia y filosof́a*. Madrid: Alianza.

Painter D. L. (2015). Online political public relations and trust: Source and interactivity effects in the 2012 U.S. presidential campaign. *Public Relations Review*. Vol.41, Issue 5.

Papic, M., & Noonan, S. (2011). Social media as tool for protest. *Sitrep*, 71, 12-15.

Paulussen, S. (2004). Online news production in Flanders: How Flemish online journalists perceive and explore the Internet's potential. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 9.

Pavlik. J. (1997). The future of online journalism. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 36, 30–38.

Potts, M. (2007). The chasm. *Recovering Journalist*. Retrieved from http://recoveringjournalist.typepad.com/recovering_journalist/2007/11/the-chasm.html

Pronovost, G. (1994). Ḿdias: ́lments pour l'́tude de la formation des usages sociaux. *Technologies de l'information et socít́*, vol. 6, 4. Paris, Dunod; 377-400.

Rafaeli, S., & Sudweeks, F. (1997). Networked interactivity. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 2.

Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2018. (2018). Retrieved from <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/digital-news-report-2018.pdf>

Rogers, E. M. (1986). *Communication technology: The new media in society*. New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E.M. (1983). *Diffusion of Innovations*. New York: Free Press.

Román, S., Almansa, A., & Cruz, M. (2016). Adults and Elders and their use of ICTs. Media Competence of Digital Immigrants. *Comunicar*, 49, 101-110. <https://doi.org/10.3916/C49-2016-10>

Román, P. (2002). El trabajo colaborativo mediante redes. In Aguaded, J. I. & Cabero, J. (Eds.). *Educar en Red. Internet como recurso para la educaci3n*. Málaga: Aljibe; 113-134.

Romanelli, E., & Tushman, M. L. (1994). Organizational transformation as punctuated equilibrium: An empirical test. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37(5), 1141–1166.

Sánchez, J. L. (1997). *Crítica de la seducci3n mediática*. Madrid: Tecnos.

Scardigli, V. (1994). Déterminisme technique et appropriation culturelle: l'́volution du regard porté sur les technologies de l'information. *Technologies de l'information et socít́*, vol. 6, 4; 299-314.



Shirky, C. (2011). The political power of social media. *Foreign affairs*, v. 90, n. 1, pp. 28-41.
<http://www.cc.gatech.edu/~beki/cs4001/Shirky.pdf>

Singer, J. (2006). Journalists and news bloggers: Complements, contradictions and challenges. In A. Bruns & J. Jacobs (Eds.). *Uses of blogs* (pp. 23-32). New York: Peter Lang.

Taylor, M., & Kent, M. (2014). Dialogic engagement: clarifying foundational concepts. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 26 (5) (2014), pp. 384-398

Top Sites in United States - Alexa. (2018.). Retrieved from <https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/US>

Top Websites in United States - SimilarWeb Website Ranking. (2018.). Retrieved from <https://www.similarweb.com/top-websites/united-states>

Tremayne, M. (2007). Introduction: Examining the blog-media relationship. In M. Tremayne (Ed.), *Bloggng, citizenship, and the future of media* (pp. 3–20). New York: Routledge.

Valentini, C. (2015). Is Using Social Media Good For The Public Relations Profession? A Critical Reflection. *Public Relations Review*, 41: 170-177.

Valera, L. (2015). Building the news media agenda: Spanish political parties influence on traditional media and blogosphere agendas during 2011 electoral campaign. *Communication & Society*, 28(3), 115-134.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse and cognition in society. In Crowley, D., & Mitchell, D. (Eds.). *Communication Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Venne, M. (1995). Ces fascinantes inforoutes, śrie Diagnostic, 20. Qúbec: Institut qúb́cois de recherche sur la culture.

Verheyden, M. (2017). A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Messages on Enterprise Social Media. *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Ṕblicas*, Vol. 7, Ńm. 13: 5-22

Voicu, C. G. (2015). Weblogging: A technological framework mediated by the self. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 187, 211-216. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.03.040>

Williams, R. (1975). *Television, technology and cultural form*. New York: Schocken Books.

Willinsky, J. (1991). Postmodern Literacy: a primer. *Interchange*, 22, 4; 56-7

