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TWITTER AS A MEANS OF EMOTIONAL COPING AND COLLECTIVE (RE)FRAMING OF CRISES. CASE STUDY: THE "COLECTIV" CRISIS IN ROMANIA

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Abstract

The lack of information from the organizations involved in a crisis situation and the high level of uncertainty may result in setting an emotional tone on social media and even in bringing radical political and social changes. Such an example is the Colectiv crisis in Romania. The fire, caused by a fireworks display, broke out at the Colectiv nightclub where almost 300 people were attending the "Goodbye to Gravity" band concert. 27 people died that night and the death toll reached 63 in December. This tragedy led to an online and offline civic uprising, Romanian citizens protesting against a corrupted political system. The scope of this study is to examine the emotion-filled dialogue on Twitter and to determine the evolution of coping strategies and collective action frames throughout this crisis which resulted in a social and political reform in Romania.

Keywords: social media, collective action, diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, framing alignment, emotions.

Introduction

At 10:30 p.m., on 30 October 2015, in the Colectiv nightclub, almost two hours after the metalcore band *Goodbye to Gravity* launched the release of their new album, Mantras of War, the sparks from the fireworks reached one of the scaffold pillars and caught fire. The fire quickly spread to the ceiling and parts of the incandescent materials collapsed over the people trapped inside, the ones who did not succeed in leaving the club through the only exit available. 27 people died on the site but within two months the death toll reached 63. This tragedy was a wake-up call for Romanians who protested against a corrupted system, demanding the resignation of the Romanian Prime Minister and the government. Six days later, the Prime Minister and the government resigned, the club owners were arrested and the Romanian anti-corruption prosecutors arrested the mayor

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Table 1. Coping strategies and emotions (adapted from Duhachek, 2005, pp. 44–6)

Coping category	Coping strategy	Definition
Active coping	Action coping	Attempts to make a plan of action, to concentrate on ways the problem could be solved, to follow a plan to make things better
	Rational thinking	Attempts to control one's emotions, to analyze the problem before reacting
	Positive thinking	Attempts to try to look at the bright side of things, to make the best of the situation
Expressive support seeking	Emotional venting	Attempts to acknowledge and express one's emotions
	Instrumental support	Attempts to try to get advice from someone about what to do, to ask friends with similar experiences what they did
	Emotional support	Attempts to seek out others for comfort, to share feelings with others
Avoidance	Avoidance	Attempts to try to take one's mind off of the event by doing something else, to find satisfaction in other things
	Denial	Attempts to deny that the event happened, to completely close off oneself mentally from a source of stress

to "quickly share initial information and updates" [Veil et al., 2011, p. 110], but also to provide a snapshot of the public opinion on a particular crisis and to serve as a means of coping with crisis situation. For example, during the 2010 Haiti earthquake individuals used Twitter to connect with a community of supporters, to promote involvement and to personalize issues [Smith, 2010, p. 331] and during the 2011 shootings at Virginia Tech, instrumental support-seeking prevailed in the users' tweets with individuals asking others for advice about how to deal with the crisis [Brummette and Fussell Sisco, 2015, p. 94].

Online protests and collective action framing processes

Considered "social movement entrepreneurs" [Noakes and Johnston, 2005], protesters select, punctuate and encode events, experiences and actions. Being signifying agents of meaning construction [Snow and Benford, 1992], protesters generate, elaborate and diffuse "collective action frames" [Benford and Snow, 2000] through three core framing processes [Snow and Benford, 1988]: *diagnostic framing* (identification of a problem in need of a remedy and attribution of responsibility), *prognostic framing* (proposal of a solution to the problem), and *motivational framing* (call to action).

Every online protest uses frame alignment as a device for mobilization [Snow et al., 1986] and brings to surface some specifically cultural, political and socio-economic frames which should resonate with social movement participants' common and shared values and beliefs. Thus, these collective action frames have three qualities [Benford and Snow, 2000; Noakes and Johnston, 2005]: *culturally compatible* (the compatibility of frames and symbols with the cultural tool kit - cultural narratives, cultural heritage and symbols), *consistent* (the internal consistency and thoroughness of the beliefs, claims and actions promoted in the frames) and *relevant* (the capacity to make sense of the participants' experiences within the respective society). The four strategies for frame

of the district where the Colectiv club used to function, for having given the venue a permit without firefighters' authorization.

Although Twitter is not as popular as Facebook in Romania[3], the event generated enormous emotional turmoil, causing people to take to Twitter as a means of coping with this national tragedy and as a way of mobilizing Romanians to protest against the political system and to donate blood for the injured ones. According to the Zelist Monitor , the #Colectiv hashtag received 10.860 mentions on Twitter between October, 30 – November 11, 2015. This article explores how the #Colective hashtag was used, throughout the six days after the tragedy by the resignation of the Romanian government, and follows the shift from online solidarity in mourning and helping the survivors in their recovery to online solidarity in protesting.

We will examine what coping strategies and collective frames the Twitter users employed as co-producers of up-to-date information about the help needed by the injured and victims' families and about the Romanian civic uprising.

Theoretical framework

The #Colectiv hashtag activated networked gatekeeping [Barzilai-Nahon, 2008] and gatewatching [Bruns, 2005] from the first day of the crisis. The Twitter users could be interpreted as embodiments of "networked individualism" [Rainie and Wellman, 2012] as each autonomous individual served as a prosumer of the flow of information related to issues concerning the development of the commemoration and protesting marches. Gradually turning from networked mourners into networked protesters, they became "social movement entrepreneurs" [Noakes and Johnston, 2005]. By encoding the initial online grief and the subsequent online outrage through their individual and collective experiences, the online users employed a twofold understanding of an issue [Meraz and Papacharissi, 2013], enabling both a content-based (substantive) and a sentiment-based (affective) framing of the #Collectiv crisis. Thus, our analysis focused on the coping strategies and on the collective framing processes and alignment present in the #Colectiv tweets.

Coping strategies during crises

Margaret Gibson [2007, p. 416] considers that "the new forms of technology have created a form of do-it-yourself (DIY) rites of mourning and memorialisation". Defined as "the ability to craft individual responses to death in an open venue", online grief expressed individually is subject to the virtual surroundings which "form a crucial process of coping with and working with loss" [Lingel, 2013]. Crisis situations, especially those with victims, trigger the online users' responses to be mapped "(…) according to the organization's engagement (…) and the primary publics' coping strategy" [Jin et al., 2012, p. 266]. Adam Duhachek [2005] proposes a model in which emotions interact with appraisals to enact coping strategies. The researcher identifies eight dimensions of coping (Figure 1) which he groups in three main categories: active coping, expressive support seeking and avoidance.

The studies on crisis situations with victims show that the salience of emotions varies not necessarily according to the type of crisis, but to the organization involved in the crisis. Although sadness is considered to be the stakeholders' typical salient emotional response during a highly predictable and uncontrollable crisis [Jin et al., 2012], Brummette and Fussell Sisco's study [2015] indicates that anger dominated during the shooting at Virginia Tech because of the organization's crisis history. In terms of the use of Twitter during crisis situations, studies show that microbloging is used not only

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3   In October 2016, there are 377,077 Twitter users compared to 8,400,000 Facebook users. (http://www.zelist.ro/)

alignment [Snow et al., 1986; Benford and Snow, 2000] are *frame bridging* (linking two or more congruent but structurally unrelated frames), *frame amplification* (clarification and invigoration of existing values or beliefs), *frame extension* (reaching out to other potential supporters), and *frame transformation* (redefining what is meaningful within the primary framework in terms of another framework).

Methodology

Research questions

We sought to apply the coping strategies and the framing processes and alignment strategies to analyze the Twitter discourse during the Colectiv crisis in Romania. We will the following research questions:

RQ1: What types of coping strategies were expressed in the #Colectiv tweets and how did they evolve throughout the crisis?

RQ2: Did the #Colectiv crisis tweets display instances of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing and, if so, with what specific frames were they associated?

RQ3. Did the #Colectiv crisis tweets display examples of frame alignment – bridging, amplification, extension, and/or transformation – and, if so, how were they expressed?

Method

The current study used the quantitative and qualitative content analysis method to examine the tweets disseminated over a six-day period from October 30, 2015 (the day the fire started) to November 4, 2015 (the day the Romanian Prime Minister resigned). The basic sampling unit was individual tweets (original, modified tweets or retweets) using the hashtag #Colectiv as a search term. Our corpus was formed of 764 tweets which included both a text and a photograph since alongside with texts, images of collective action also shape public understanding of a crisis situation because they may convey a greater emotional response than textual accounts [Corrigall-Brown and Wilkes, 2012].

We quantitatively analysed each tweet and categorized tweets according to the coping strategies approach [Duhachek, 2005], which included action, rational thinking, emotional support, instrumental support, emotional venting, avoidance, positive thinking and denial. To test for inter-coder reliability, the two coders coded 67 randomly selected tweets (10% of the total sample). This preliminary coding procedure resulted in Krippendorf reliability coefficients that ranged from .83 for coping strategies.

The qualitative analysis of the framing process and alignment focused on an interpretative perspective since a textual analysis during crises "(…) enables a researcher to decipher the overarching themes based on the sum of mini-messages (…)" [Carr et al., 2012, p. 297] and "(…) invokes a broader process of critical reflection on various interpretation of messages and ideological streams embedded in the text" [Carr et al. 2012, p. 297]. Tweets were examined for specific frames that emerged inductively and that were indicative of one of the core framing processes (diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational). At the same time, tweets were reviewed for indicators of frame alignment (bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation). We created an initial categorization scheme that was (re)analysed and adjusted by moving some tweets to other categories of frames, framing processes and alignment to better describe the representation of the #Colectiv crisis in visual and verbal tweets.

Findings

The first research question was focused on identifying the coping strategies used and on determining their evolution during and after the crisis. The results were predominantly mixed between three strategies: emotional venting (57%, n=442), action coping (34%, n=257) or rational thinking (7%, n=52). Other coping strategies salient in the #Col-

ectiv tweets were: instrumental support (0.26%, n=2) and emotional support (0.39%, n=3). A total of 8 (1.34%) tweets displayed no coping strategy and no instances of avoidance and denial coping were identified. Figure 2 shows that the emotional venting strategy significantly increased the second day of the crisis, then decreased throughout the following three days and on the final day it was almost as visible as it was at the beginning of the crisis. The difference between these two peaks lays in the types of emotions displayed in the #Colectiv tweets. Sadness was gradually replaced by anger and outrage since the instances of solidarity shifted from unity in grievance into unity in protests against corruption. Action coping was the second most displayed strategy which fluctuated throughout the six days of the #Colectiv crisis. At the beginning the tweets focused on mobilizing people to donate blood for the injured persons and money for the victims' families, and towards the end the tweets included Romanians' call to protests as a potential solution. Although rational thinking was not as prevalent as the other two coping strategies, it was mainly used to suppress despair and to determine the causes of the fire, to help in finding the missing persons, or to provide up-to-date information about the hospitalized persons.

Figure 2. The evolution of coping strategies throughout the #Colectiv crisis (October, 30 – November, 4)
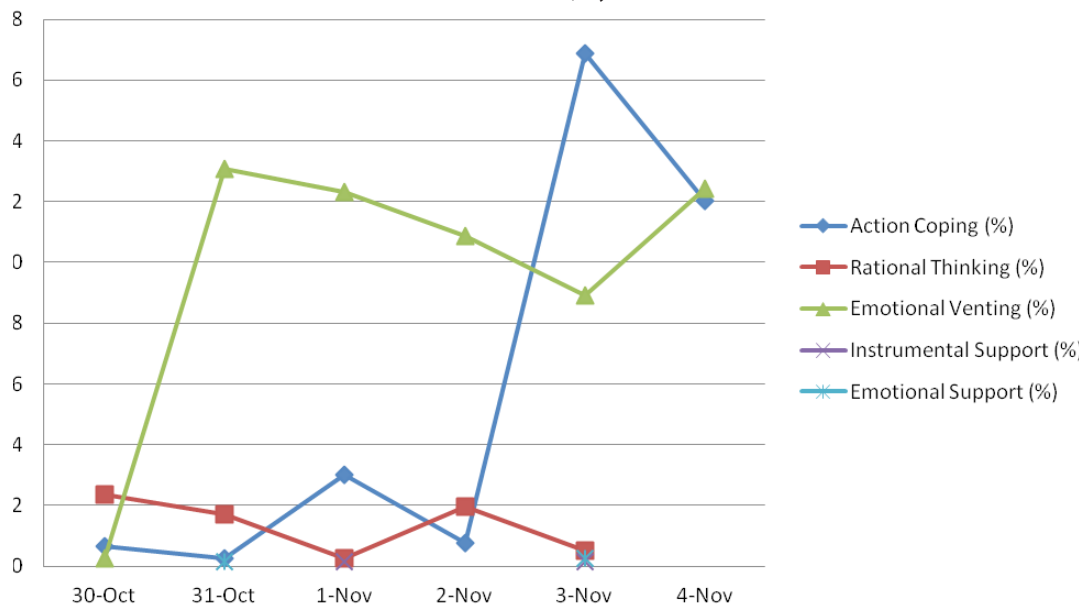
Framing processes

Diagnostic framing: Corruption and ignorance

Corruption was the most prevailing diagnostic frame evidenced in the #Colectiv tweets and the collective frame of anger and outrage was displayed towards a corrupted political system. Ignorance was another frame used to diagnose and explain this tragedy.

From the outset (October 30 2015), the #Colectiv tweets focused on the frame of ignorance rendered through assigning a twofold blame: on the one hand, the club which did not have all the necessary authorization documents to function properly, on the other hand, the band singers who were accused of celebrating the pagan celebration of Halloween. Two days after the #Colectiv tragedy, the tweets also emphasized ignorance, but this time targeted onto the Romanian Orthodox Church which had a belated reaction in joining people in the collective prayer for the victims.

In one tweet, an adapted excerpt from a song of a Romanian hip-hop band (B.U.G Mafia) was included. This clearly highlighted the polarization between churches and hospitals: '*Ard îngerii în spitale/ Dracii dansează-n catedrale/ N-am alte cuvinte să descrie ag-*

onia/ Poate unul singur: România!' (Angels burn in hospitals/ Devils dance in cathedrals/ I could not find any other words to express agony/ Maybe just one: Romania!, November 1, 2015). Three days later, the protesters' street banners included messages targeted towards the Patriarch Daniel of Romania. For example, the following tweets were posted depicting the banners used by protesters: *'Daniele, știi de ce nu venim la tine în club?/ Pentru că e scump și pui muzică nasoală! #niștesataniști'* (Daniel, do you know why we do not come to your club?/ Because it is expensive and the music sucks. #somesatanists); *'PreaFericit? Nu pentru mult timp.'*(Your Holy Happiness? Not for a long time, November 4, 2015)

Starting from November 1st, 2015, this attribution of responsibility at a micro-level was gradually shifted towards a macro-level blame, which focused on the diagnostic frame of corruption and the most compelling tweets embedded the slogan of the street banners (*'Corupția ucide!'* – Corruption kills!, November 1st, 2015) which turned into the keyword of the protesters. In its diagnostic framing, the e-protesters targeted corruption as the explanation for the decay of the Romanian society and this frame was molded by communicating distrust in the political system and in the Romanian Orthodox Church. One tweet image depicting a street banner said: *'Biserica spală creiere și banii publici, în timp ce românii spală WC-uri în alte republici.'* (Churches wash brains and public money, while Romanians wash closets in other republics. November 4, 2015).

After the resignation of the Prime Minister, Victor Ponta, and of the Romanian Government, the protesters continued to protest against the members of the Romanian Parliament (*'Nu ne cumperi cu două demisii'* - You won't buy us with two resignations, November 4th, 2015). For example, some tweets showed street banners saying: *'Consideri că întreg Parlamentul trebuie să-și dea demisia? #Colectiv'* (Do you consider that the whole Parliament should step down? #Colectiv, November 4th, 2015)

Prognostic framing: Solidarity and resignation

Prognostic framing in the #Colectiv tweets was more prevalent than diagnostic framing and it focused on two concrete solutions: solidarity and resignation. The frame of solidarity was expressed as a threefold appeal to people's desire for unity: solidarity in commemoration, solidarity to donate blood and money (the first days after the tragedy), and solidarity with protesters (the last two days of the crisis situation). The visual accounts depicting candles, flowers and people taking part in commemoration marches show the high degree of solidarity in paying respect to the #Colectiv victims ('A small sea of candles and flowers mark the place where 27 people lost their lives in Bucharest last night', October 31, 2105; *'Spre #Colectiv#Suntemcolectiv'*, Towards #Colectiv #Wearecolectiv, November 1, 2015). The magnitude of this tragedy was evidenced at a national and international level. As one tweet said, on 31st October, the Romanian government decreed three days of national mourning (November 1st, 2015) and other tweets illustrated the presence of national and international personalities (Romanian President, football players, singers, Princess Margareta of Romania, or the UK and the Slovenian Ambassador in Romania) at the factory Pionierul, where the club was located. The gravity of this tragedy was also highlighted by Google using the image of a black ribbon on its start page, as one tweet suggested: *'Știi că situația e nasoală atunci când și #Google schimbă pagina de start'* (You know that the situation sucks when even #Google changes its home page design, November 2nd, 2015)

Romanian citizens' desire to donate and to help the injured constituted the second instance of activating solidarity. Thus, Romanian hospitals had been framed, in the first days after this tragedy, as safe places of recovery [Slăvilă, 2013]. For example, one of the early tweets presented the centers and hospitals where blood could be donated (*'Unde poți să donezi pentru victimele de la #Colectiv'* - Where you can donate blood for the #Colectiv victims, October 30th, 2015). Many Romanians expanded this frame of solidarity by posting photos of themselves while waiting in line or while donating blood.

Money donations were initiated by various clubs and TV stations and music bands held charity concerts. For example, in a tweet Club Noa announced that '*profiturile obținute în această seară prin aportul nostru și al celor de la Nest of Angels vor fi donate celor afectați de această tragedie*' (the profits of tonight, through our efforts and of those from Nest of Angels will be donated to the persons affected by this tragedy, October 31, 2015). Romanians tweeted information about the teledons organized by two Romanian TV stations (November 1st, 2015): '*Români împreună*' (Romanians Together, at Antena 1 & 3) and '*Nouă ne pasă. Împreună dăruim speranță!*' (We do care. Together we give hope, at ProTV).

Solidarity with protesters was mainly expressed through the coping strategy of emotional venting. The verbal accounts of tweets revealed people expressing their pride of being Romanians while the visual images suggested the huge number of protesters carrying the Romanian flag and banners. For example, some tweets said: '*Proud of our people, standing up for what they believe in tonight in#Bucharest following #Colectiv*'; '*#Romania #Bucharest #colectiv #Wearecolectiv #proud #romaniasaysno*' (November 3, 2015); '*#SmartWednesday#Colectiv#Fire Proud of Being a Romanian*' (November 4, 2015). The collective identity of offline and online protesters will be also discussed when presenting the frame amplification of the #Colectiv protest.

The fifth day of the crisis brought the resignation frame. On November 3rd, both the verbal and visual tweets focused on the resignation of the Prime Minister and of the Government ('*Resignation Ponta, Oprea and Piedone! 25.000 people protesting*'; '*Nu plecăm până nu plecați*' - We won't leave until you leave is accompanied by the visual image of a street banner saying '*Ei au murit. Voi plecați*' - They died. You leave.) On November 4, the tweets displayed two instances of resignation: one that was achieved ('*The Romanian government steps down after 20.000 march in light of the tragedy at #Colectiv #corruption*') as an implicit sign of victory; the other as a call for solidarity to force the Members of the Parliament to resign. One Romanian journalist (Catalin Radu Tanase from ProTV), very active on Twitter, posted that '*Revolta continuă în București. Se cere dizolvarea parlamentului*' - The revolt is going on in Bucharest. People ask for the dissolution of the parliament and another later tweet illustrated an edited image of the Romanian House of Parliament being bombarded.

Motivational framing: Participation in commemorating and protesting marches

The #Colectiv motivational framing centered on a participation frame aimed at individual supporters either for the mourning or protesting marches. Twitter users tried to forge a connection between Romanians and the families of the wounded and of the victims by asking them to join the mourning marches of silence that took place during the first two days after the tragedy: '*Keep calm and pray for the wounded #Colectiv*' (October 31, 2015); '*Nobody should die on the dance floor/ #Pray for Romania #Pray for the victims*' (November 1st, 2015); '*10.000 people marching quietly today, honoring #Colectiv victims, #Come*' (November 1st, 2015)

Whereas '*#Corupția ucide*'/ #Corruption kills was the salient hashtag to be found in the prognostic framing, '*#Rock this country*', '*#The day we die is the day we give in*' or '*#Toți suntem unul*'/ #We are all one were prevalent for the motivational framing. Some of the most obvious examples of calls for participation had to do with the protests on November 3 and 4. Twitter users posted images of street banners which were turned into hashtags (#ResetRomania Ctrl+Alt+Del, November 4th, 2015) and they used mobilizing quotes that were meant to determine Romanians to protest against the corrupted political system. On November 3rd tweets displayed visual images of quotes belonging to the activist Alice Walker ('*The most common way people give up their power is by thinking they don't have any*') or to Coco Chanel ('*The most courageous act is to think for yourself. Aloud*') accompanied by hashtags, such as '*#silencekills#Colectiv#impreunarezistam*'/ #silencekills#Colectiv#togetherwerezist. This online call for empowerment had its of-

fline illustration of participation since other Twitter users kept on posting up-to-date images depicting the great numbers of protesters.

Instance of frame alignment

Frame bridging can be observed in the #Colectiv tweets that linked issues surrounding this tragedy to other similar events that took place in Romania. The most relevant example was the connection forged with the 1989 Romanian revolution. The visual images depicting the national flag with holes in it are an illustrative example of a culturally compatible symbol for Romanians since it has become a symbol of freedom after the overthrowing of dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Other tweets connected the frame of resignation to crisis management examples handled by other governments. For example, a November 2nd, 2015 tweet was a link posted by @Europeanul.org to a newspaper article presenting the position of the EPP member of the European Parliament, Cristian Preda, who made a plea to the Romanian PM to follow the example of the Latvian PM who resigned after of the collapse of a shopping center roof.

Frame amplification mainly focused on solidarity through clarification and invigoration, thus the #Colectiv Twitter users trying to link citizens' individual identities to a collective identity and shared purpose, as an early post said: '*May the most horrible recent tragedy in Romania unite as all against corruption … #Colectiv #Corruptionkills*' (October 31st, 2015). The most illustrative examples of attempts to create and nurture collective identity were the images posted by Twitter users while protesting. Romanians' sharing of their visual experiences as protesters against corruption contributed to the solidarity frame relevance and consistency. These images of the crowds gathering in public spaces were posted by Romanian protestors from all major cities (#Brasov, #Timisoara, #Cluj, #Craiova, #Sibiu, #Bacau, #Iasi, #Constanta, or #Ploiesti) in Romania and from abroad (#Birmingham, #Graz,#London, # Paris, or #Dublin), thus showing the amplitude of the #Colectiv protests. Some tweets provided encouraging updates on the number of protesters who seemed to have turned into network gatekeepers. For example, November 4th, 2015 tweets extensively focused on a verbal juxtaposition ('*Aseară 25,000. În astă seară 50,000!#colectiv*'/ Last evening 25,000. Tonight 50,000!#colectiv) and other posts included updates about the time when the photo was taken and the number of protesters ('*9.40 pm − 30,000#Colectiv*'; '*As long as it takes! 35k people!#colectiv*'; '*65,000+ people in street now in #romania#bucharest#Colectiv*').

Two other instances of network gatekeeping could be observed: on the one hand, the online users were the ones who during the first hours after the fire, shared lists with the hospitals where the injured persons could be found, and on the other hand, Twitter users collaboratively produced up-to-date feeds about the intervention actions of the police during the protests.

Explicit examples of *frame extension* were not as common as other instances of frame alignment. However, some tweets included explicit verbal accounts of reaching out to potential supporters by urging them to repost the image depicting the crowd of protesters (‚*Asta e România mea!!!#romaniamea#colectiv Share daca esti roman!!!*' - This is my Romania!!! #myromania#colectiv Share if you are Romanian/, November 4th, 2015). An international extension of the boundaries of the solidarity frame was visible in tweets including links to the international TV stations and newspapers. A November 4th, 2015 tweet presented the top three most viewed news articles from Euronews: ‚*When @euronews Top 3 Stories today are all about #Romania #colectiv − Romania: PM Victor Ponta resigns; Thousands in Bucharest blame corruption for Friday's nighclub blaze; Romania honors two of the Bucharest nightclub blaze*'.

The verbal tweet which best characterizes the *frame transformation* from grief to outrage is '*Five persons wanted to launch an album. They launched a revolution. #colectiv*'

(November 2, 3, 4, 2015). It is clear that after this tragedy the #Colectiv posts would have been embedding only candles, flowers and people paying their respect to the victims unless this transformation into a protest had not been taking place. Whereas at the beginning Romanians seemed to resonate in mourning, starting with the fifth day after the tragedy they resonated in anger targeted towards the decaying political system which had been affecting Romanians. The tweets containing images of the lyrics of *Goodbye to Gravity* band ('*We're not numbers we're free, we're so alive/ And the day we give in is the day we die*') accompanied by verbal accounts paying homage to the victims sought to re-energize supporters of the protests ('*Moartea nu ia spaga!*' - Death does not take bribe!; '*#Colectiv #Romania #32 #SaNuUitamDeEi*' - #Colectiv #Romania #32 #LetUsNot-ForgetThem, November 4th, 2015). Other evidence of transformative framing could be linked to the change from sadness to gratitude textualized as a shift from victims to heroes: '*RIP hero Claudiu Petre, blogger, who managed to escape but went back inside the club to save other lives*' (November 1st, 2015); '*A ieșit primul dar s-a întors și a salvat cinci oameni, apoi a murit. RESPECT!*' (He escaped the first but then he went back and saved five people, and then he died. RESPECT!, November 1st, 2015, the tweet was referring to another hero, Adrian Rugină.) Both Claudiu Petre and Adrian Rugină were posthumously decorated by the Romanian President for saving lives at the cost of supreme sacrifice.

Conclusion

All core framing processes could be identified in the #Colectiv tweets during the six days after the tragedy in the Colectiv club in Bucharest where it took place. The online users connected Romanians' individual value systems about morality and legality to the larger issue of ignorance and corruption which became salient after the death of the people attending the concert of the coremetal band, *Goodbye to Gravity*. They diagnosed the problem of corruption by attributing the blame at the micro level (the club) and at the macro level (local authorities and the political system) and suggested the prognostic frames of solidarity and resignation as remedies to the decaying political system in Romania. Through motivational framing, the #Colectiv users called Romanians to action focusing on online and offline participation in the practice of mourning, during the first three days, and in the practice of protesting, throughout the following two days.

Although the #Colectiv Twitter users embody a type of networked individualism through their do-it-yourself forms of mourning, the unfolding of the events clearly showed a shift towards do-it-ourselves forms of solidarity. This transformation could be observed in the display of the frame alignment processes. The 1989 Romanian revolution as a culturally compatible element was used as frame bridging to determine Romanians to join the offline and online Colectiv protests. Another type of bridging was performed at the level of cultural relevance through images of street banners which were turned into hashtags. Tweets, such as '*#Rock this country#colectiv*' or '*#The day we die is the day we give in#colectiv*' reminded Romanians of the coremetal band during whose album launch one of the greatest tragedies in Romania happened. Frame amplification could be linked to two coping strategies used in the #Colectiv tweets. On the one hand, amplification was achieved through do-it-yourself forms of rational thinking, people posting up-to-date information about the wounded, about the centers for blood donation, and on the other hand, amplification was achieved through do-it-ourselves forms of solidarity in mourning and protesting, meant to encourage and invigorate supporters throughout the commemorating marches and the civic uprising events.

Our results are consistent with Brummette and Fussell Sisco's study [2015]: the expression of sadness may turn into anger if there is a high degree of blame attribution targeted to the organizations involved in the crisis. Metamorphosis, embodied in the verbal tweet '*Five persons wanted to launch an album. They launched a revolution. #colectiv*', is the most appropriate keyword characterizing the #Colectiv tweets posted during this crisis. The Club Colectiv crisis could be labeled as highly predictable and uncontrollable

since the club should have had a fire prevention plan and authorization in order to properly function as no one could have imagined that the fireworks sparks reaching the pillars would have caught fire. It is exactly this situational context of the Colectiv crisis which explains the two major shifts: at the level of emotional coping (from sadness to anger and outrage) and at the level of coping strategies (from emotional venting to action coping). The findings highlight that the attribution of blame to micro-organizations (the Colectiv club, in our case) and to macro-organizations (Romanian Government) plays a significant role in the employment of emotions, coping strategies and core framing tasks.

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