SPECIAL SECTION

Institutional isomorphism in corporate Twitter discourse on citizenship and immigration in India and the United States

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Abstract
High net-worth individuals (HNIs) play important roles in influencing policy through their voices. Technology-mediated means of addressing issues, such as social media activism, have become a central part of such policy advocacy. We examined the Twitter engagement of the 50 wealthiest individuals and their 'networks' in India and the United States, specifically their engagement with citizens' movements and policy issues related to citizenship and immigration, with a focus on debates triggered by the enactment of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), respectively. We quantified the level of engagement of 'HNI networks' with these debates through a textual analysis of their tweets using computational methods combined with manual annotation, followed by qualitative analysis and comparison of subjective meanings attached by actors to key terms. We found that American HNIs leveraged their social media presence to advocate for inclusive immigration and naturalisation policies, their model of advocacy characterised by confrontation, collective action and ownership by key actors, thus exhibiting mimetic isomorphism. Indian HNIs' tweets on CAA were few and far between, with no call for change and no evidence of either collective action or individual ownership, and a hesitation to challenge the central government, thus exhibiting coercive isomorphism.

1 | CORPORATE ACTIVISM: A COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK

Social media have created a space in the public discourse for the personal and political views of influencers on a range of issues. Consequently, business leaders, chief executive officers (CEOs) and high net-worth individuals (HNIs) have actively or inadvertently engaged in political issues in a way that is neither lobbying nor corporate social responsibility (CSR) but rather something best described as 'activism' because it often involves polarising social justice issues such as racism, queer rights and structural inequality.[1] Eilert and Cherup (2020) defined corporate activism (CA) as "a company's willingness to take a stand on social, political, economic and environmental issues to create societal change by influencing the attitudes and behaviors of actors in its institutional environment," and they differentiated it from CSR using parameters such as societal consensus on an issue, risks of negative feedback, motivation and influence strategies. Chatterji and Toffel (2018b) argued that CA is distinct from corporate lobbying, differentiating 'traditional' methods (such as behind-the-scenes lobbying) from 'activism' which is 'confrontational'. They divided CA into two modes: (a) raising awareness (writing a statement, a tweet or an op-ed), and (b) exerting economic influence (withdrawing business or funding causes). Vredenburg et al. (2020) distinguished 'authentic' from 'inauthentic' brand activism or 'woke washing' or lack of alignment

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between posturing and values. While most definitions focus predominantly on *methods* (influence strategies) and *issues*, we provide a typology of socially oriented corporate practices, by adding the dimensions of *targets* and *motivation* (Table 1).

Corporate activism marks a shift from corporations being targets of activism to being agents of change. While studies on CA do not conclusively hold social media responsible for this phenomenon, Chatterji and Toffel (2018a) argued that the Twitter age enables this phenomenon because silence is no longer acceptable. Within the institutional theory, firms tend to orient philanthropic behaviour to that of industry and geographic peers (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2016). However, geographic proximity is more likely to influence the imitation of reference group behaviour than fields of operation (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2016), indicating that comparative studies of CA across geographies are warranted. Most studies of CA focus on the United States (US), and there are hardly any comparative studies. Previously, we undertook a comparative study of the topical focus of CEO engagement on Twitter in India and the United States, and found quantitatively similar engagement on abstract *themes* such as gender, sustainability, peace and justice but a huge qualitative difference in commentary on specific *issues* such as hate crimes or ongoing citizens' movements: while American CEOs were outspoken on specific incidents of racial violence or hate crimes, the Indian side did not engage (Arya et al., 2021). Thus, quantitively, the *form* of corporate political engagement seems similar, but the differences are apparent in the *content*. Thus, within a geographical setting, corporate behaviour seems to be similar. Similarity in the behaviour of firms in an institutional environment is termed institutional isomorphism. Three kinds of isomorphism – normative, coercive and mimetic – have been identified (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). While *normative isomorphism* implies similarity in values which could arise from (business leaders) having received the same or similar education (and, thereby, similar normative orientation), *coercive isomorphism* arises from factors like customer expectations, legal requirements and political pressures. *Mimetic isomorphism*, by contrast, refers to a phenomenon where uncertainty causes an organisation to look to peers in the institutional environment whose practices are considered better. Thus, when firms are unclear about how to behave, they look to industry leaders for cues. We analyse our findings in the light of this framework.

For our study, we used the *Forbes* Richest Lists of 2021 for India and the US—to obtain the top 50 HNIs in both countries. We then sampled the Twitter accounts of:

a. the HNI/family (spots on the list are held either by an individual or by a family),
b. their company(ies),
c. the companies' philanthropic arms, and
d. immediate family members who hold leadership positions at either the companies or the philanthropies.

We call the resulting sample 'HNI network(s).' Our sampling method overcomes the problem of exclusion of influential individuals arising out of strict inclusion criteria associated with sampling CEOs alone, such as in studies of CEO Activism.

Our previous work (Arya et al., 2021) showed that comparison of CEOs' topical engagement along generic *themes* such as 'justice,' 'sustainability,' etc. can be misleading, and that contextual referencing is needed for a more comprehensive understanding, warranting an interpretive analysis of the qualitative

TABLE 1 Typology of corporate social actions.

	Issue	Target	Motivation	Strategy(ies)
Lobbying	Policies with business relevance	Lawmakers; Government	Favourable policies; profit maximisation	Non-confrontational: Meeting lawmakers, creating/ funding discourse, etc. behind the scenes
CSR and Socially Responsible Behaviour	Socially acceptable issues or issues accepted within institutional environment	Stakeholders; Public	Support acceptable issues; Image-building	Status-quoist: funding charities, philanthropy, eco-friendly business practices, etc.
Corporate Activism	Controversial; social justice	Government; Public	Social Change/Policy Change	Confrontational: awareness raising; economic action; judicial action; funding causes
Diversity and Inclusion	Representation	Employees; Shareholders	Compliance; Posturing	Inclusive hiring; sensitising employees
'Wokewashing'	Currently fashionable issues	Customers; Millennials	Cashing in on an ongoing phenomenon	Appropriation: Woke Advertisements/Tweets, etc. Not followed up with economic action

contents of messages, to make sense of their contemporary relevance. For this paper, we used a single case study (*issue*) and a comparative framework to undertake a deeper analysis of debates on citizenship and immigration because both India and the United States saw widespread protests on these issues, triggered by the Trump administration's rescission of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in the United States and the Modi government's enactment of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) in 2019 in India. We selected a temporal window (2017–2021) with intense debates in both countries about immigration and citizenship triggered by the aforementioned changes in immigration policy and citizenship law. Since political battles are increasingly enacted online, the outrage around CAA and DACA was reflected on Twitter with people batting for and against these policies. Although the Twitter discourse around DACA and CAA has been studied (Grover et al., 2019; Vashishata & Arya, 2020), we focused on elite engagement on the issue, which had not been probed.

1.1 | DACA, CAA and the case for comparison

In 2019, the Indian government amended the Citizenship Act of 1955 to fast-track citizenship for Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christian refugees from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Left out of its ambit are persecuted minorities such as the Rohingyas in Myanmar, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Uighurs and Tibetans in China, Shia and Ahmadi minority sects and Baloch refugees in Pakistan, atheists and religious dissidents in Bangladesh, and political dissidents from Afghanistan. Faith-based citizenship was unprecedented in India's history and the CAA, therefore, brought a new conception of citizenship (Bhat, 2019; Chandrachud, 2020; Jayal, 2019). It was perceived as arbitrary and anti-Muslim. Because it was sought to be implemented alongside the nationwide National Register of Citizens (NRC) intended to expunge illegal immigrants, it triggered fears that Muslims who could not prove their citizenship during the NRC exercise would be rendered stateless, while non-Muslims who failed to prove citizenship would be protected by the CAA (Changoiwala, 2020). Mass protests against CAA were witnessed across India, and the debate spilled over to Twitter as well.

In the US, a 2012 order of the Obama administration known as the Napolitano Memorandum directed US immigration agencies to exercise prosecutorial discretion in acting against individuals who had been brought to the United States as children and did not, therefore, intend to violate US laws on immigration (Napolitano, 2012). It directed the immigration agencies not to enforce immigration laws blindly against

such people and to prevent the removal of people who had not committed serious crimes. For people already in removal proceedings, this order directed Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to consider their status case-to-case to prevent the removal of people who fulfilled these criteria. It allowed for a policy of providing a two-year breather (deferred action) to such people, subject to the same criteria, a status that was to be renewed every 2 years. This order asked people to come forward and identify themselves—if they fit the criteria—to apply for protected status, extending a golden handshake to children of immigrants. This provision came to be known as DACA. It is common in the US to refer to DACA recipients as 'Dreamers'—alluding to participation in the American Dream, the belief that anyone can make it if they follow the rules. However, on September 05, 2017, the Trump administration issued a memorandum rescinding the 2012 order, effectively ending DACA for any future applicants (Duke, 2017), regardless of whether they had violated the law; this was perceived as a betrayal of the golden handshake (Jobs, 2017).

Citizenship Amendment Act and DACA allow for comparison because both evoked debates about immigration, citizenship and legal status, revealing societal ideas, consensus and contestations around these issues. The introduction of CAA and rescission of DACA were seen not as mere policy changes, but as changes to the fundamental nature of how the two nations were conceived. While India was born in the wake of violence at the dawn of independence triggered and enabled by a religion-based Partition of 1947, the US has long been home to immigrants, who are considered a resource rather than a liability. Traumatised by the Partition and the ensuing violence, India adopted a secular polity with non-discrimination, affirmative action and pluralism scripted into the Constitution. CAA was seen as an affront to these values. Jayal (2019) argued that once the principle of faith-based discrimination is admitted in law, it becomes a precedent that can be extended to other areas. While India's twin, Pakistan, was created on a religious criterion, India consciously chose to not adopt faith-based citizenship. CAA changed that, and its legality was challenged in the Supreme Court of India almost as soon as it was passed. The decision to rescind DACA was part of a host of anti-immigrant measures by the Trump administration such as the Muslim ban, which sought to change how that nation views itself. The US Supreme Court struck down the rescission of DACA, and DACA advocates demand a 'Dream Act' – a legislative solution to grant permanent residence to DACA recipients.[2]

While the CAA did not affect corporate India in any way, the recession of DACA created an uncertain environment in the US, as DACA recipients (Dreamers) form a significant part of the productive labour force, as

acknowledged by American HNIs in their engagement. We analysed the Twitter engagement of HNI networks in India and the US through keywords such as citizenship, immigration, etc., and found quantitative and qualitative differences in corporate engagement around these issues. American HNIs leveraged their social media presence to advocate for inclusive immigration and naturalisation policies. Their model of advocacy was characterised by open confrontation through online messaging, collective action and individual ownership of issues. The particular form of isomorphism that they exhibited is mimetic in nature, as explained in the findings. Indian HNIs, by contrast, did not challenge the status quo despite their active social media presence. The tweets we found on CAA were few and far between, with no call for change, and no evidence of either collective action or individual leadership. We interpret silence in this case, not as incidental, but as a case of coercive isomorphism, as explained in the findings.

2 | RELATED WORK

2.1 | Social media and democracy

Access to largescale data sets and the computational methods available to analyse these have dramatically changed the ways in which political commentary has been studied in the last decade. While figuring out how to predict election outcomes remains a largely elusive enterprise, despite earlier claims otherwise (Tumasjan et al., 2011), much work has looked at the other ways in which political discourse has been changed by social media, including through political abuse (Ratkiewicz et al., 2011), polarisation (Barberá et al., 2015; Conover et al., 2011), manipulation (Bessi & Ferrara, 2016), and the nature of trending ideas (Aiello et al., 2013). While the early work on social media and politics focused on Western nations, the use of social media expanded to various parts of the world, starting messaging around the political developments in the Middle East (Al-Khalifa, 2012; Bruns et al., 2013; Khonsari et al., 2010), South East Asia (Guo et al., 2019; Skoric et al., 2012), Latin America (Glowacki et al., 2018; Marques & Mont'Alverne, 2016; Soares et al., 2019), and in sub-Saharan African states (Best & Meng, 2015). These works focus mainly on the information environments created by social media and the impacts these environments have on the quality of public engagement in the respective states.

In addition to this body of work on social media and democracy, a significant amount of work within information communications technology and development (ICTD) has examined facets of technology and society that focus not as much on the devices that people own, but on the information environments that these devices enable. These include works on aspirations (Cannanure et al., 2020), social media and privacy (Al-Ameen et al., 2020), on artefact design for better integration and access to social services for marginalised residents such as refugees (Almohamed et al., 2020) and as a means for extending peace and bridging social relationships (Mukoya, 2020). While less work directly addresses social media in this universe, we hope our research helps to build a critical mass of work around social media and social concern (Mejova & Kalimeri, 2020).

2.2 | Corporate activism and Twitter

CEO activism and corporate activism (CA) in the US have evoked scholarly interest.[3] Centred mostly around issues of racism, homophobia, transphobia and immigration reform, the phenomenon is an indicator of the evolving moral compass of American society. While an earlier study showed that CEO Activism negatively affects short-term shareholder wealth (Fitzpatrick, 2019), the *Fortune* Magazine recently reported that the typical issues around which corporate activism revolves (including abortion rights) enjoy the support of around 80% of Americans.[4] Eilert and Cherup (2020) used the term 'activist company' to describe organisations that engaged in activism. Studies on CEO activism explicitly mention Twitter as a medium for expressing dissent, signalling the importance of the platform in making official stances known. The importance of Twitter as a platform for political activism and consciousness-raising has been documented, but studies on CEO activism have not analysed Twitter activity itself in a systematic way. Our work on corporate Twitter engagement seeks to address that gap through this paper and through our previous work (Arya et al., 2021).

Chatterji and Toffel (2018a) also argued that while CEO activism as a phenomenon has remained confined to the United States, where political polarisation is driving frustration and outspokenness, there is no reason this trend should not go global, especially in the Twitter age where silence is deemed conspicuous. Previously, we probed this idea through a comparative textual analysis of the tweets of the CEOs of top Indian and American companies, sampled from the *Fortune* 500 lists of the respective countries, and found that both Indian and American CEOs had similar trends of engagement on abstract *themes* such as gender, sustainability and justice but that there were significant differences in Twitter engagement around specific *issues* such as #BlackLivesMatter on the US side and #DalitLivesMatter on the Indian side (Arya et al., 2021). While the engagement of Indian CEOs was highest on topics related to 'peace, justice, and strong institutions,' there was negligible engagement around actual hate crimes. This suggests that statistics around topical

engagement hide more than they reveal. In this paper, therefore, we combined computational methods with a qualitative analysis.

3 | METHODOLOGY

The two most common metrics of capturing economic influence are lists published by *Fortune* and *Forbes* magazines, which annually curate ranked lists of the wealthiest corporate and individual entities. In our previous work (Arya et al., 2021), we used the *Fortune* 500 lists for both countries. Since *Fortune* lists focus on companies and not individuals, they fail to capture founders or promoters who do not hold executive posts, despite their continuing importance in the company and in the public discourse. Also, many Fortune 500 companies in India are public sector enterprises. Therefore, we sampled the top 50 high net-worth individuals each from India and the United States based on the respective *Forbes* richest lists of the two countries published in 2021. We identified their personal Twitter handles, their company handles, as well as handles of their family members who hold leadership positions in the businesses or philanthropies, and, finally, the handles of their philanthropic initiatives. We chose this method to map the political discourse in HNI networks. We included the philanthropic arms of the companies/individuals because these are more likely to tweet about social issues than the company handles. Several spots on the *Forbes* lists pertain not to individuals, but to families; hence, we included blood relatives holding leadership positions. The family members are also HNIs, so they fall within the definitional ambit of HNIs; but, more important, they share in the family privilege and are often groomed to take leadership of the companies owned by the family.

We pulled the tweets posted by both Indian and American HNI networks from 2017 to 2021, a period that overlaps with major controversies related to immigration and naturalisation in the two countries. We found 106 accounts on the India side and a total tweet volume (including retweets) of 465,843 tweets, while on the US side, we found 92 accounts and a total tweet volume (including retweets) of 1,192,831. After filtering the datasets using keywords related to DACA and CAA debates, we had 6417 tweets on the US side and 636 on the Indian side. The keywords varied slightly depending on the country-specific context. We manually annotated the resulting datasets, labelling as 'positive' those tweets that actually correspond to DACA or CAA, and excluded false positives. In the US dataset, we labelled tweets related to undocumented immigrants generally as positive, as they alluded to the ongoing debate. Similarly, in the Indian dataset, we labelled tweets related to the plight or human rights of minorities in neighbouring countries as positive, as they are the intended beneficiaries of CAA. We got a total of 20 positives for India and 950 positives for the US. Five of 106 handles (5%) on the Indian side engaged with the issue of CAA. On the US side, 27 of 92 handles (25%) engaged with the issue of DACA.

4 | FINDINGS

4.1 | India

We used a set of keywords related to the public debate around CAA to filter tweets written by people on the *Forbes* 50 richest list for India, their companies, philanthropic/CSR arms and family members holding leadership positions, from 2017 to 2021. Using this method, we got a dataset of 636 tweets, which we manually annotated for CAA-related tweets. Of the 20 positives thus obtained, only five were directly related to CAA, and these are listed in Table 2. None of the tweets or retweets had a confrontational tone toward

TABLE 2 CAA-related tweets by high net-worth Indians, annotated by stance.

Tweet	Author	Stance
In a young country – new laws have to be understood before being opposed! This law will protect the country from illegal immigrants and will place Indians first, irrespective of their caste and religion. #ISupportCAA	sajjanjindal	Support
I want my India cleaner than Finland, more innovative than Switzerland, to do better in Olympics than USA, to be safer than Sweden – to be the fastest growing economy. And here we are wasting our time on saffron or green, potatoes or beef, CAA or not. Let's focus on real issues.	jay_kotakone	Avoidance
Let's focus not on CAA but on DAA! (Delhi, Agra and Ahmedabad) ☺	SangitaSJindal	Avoidance
RT@ProfVarshney Few Delhi-based journalists know Assam as well as Shekhar Gupta. His analysis of the Assam developments is worth reading. Key message: BJP's attempt to target Bangladeshi Muslims can seriously backfire into violence of one against all. https://t.co/FxrhZZzNNs	ParthJindal11	Oblique
RT@qzIndia India's plan to tweak its citizenship law will fundamentally alter the country https://t.co/xK6mNEyG4Z https://t.co/heelv2UmZA	jay_kotakone	Oblique

the government: one supported the government's move, two advocated an agnostic stance, and two were oblique references – retweets at that. To ensure that our method had not missed any veiled references to CAA or CAA protests, we used web search to look for press reports of any direct or indirect references to the said issue(s) made by the sampled individuals/entities.[5] Both primary and secondary data support the finding that Indian businesses avoided the subject almost entirely.

Only one Indian HNI openly supported CAA – the steel and mining magnate Sajjan Jindal.[6] His brother Naveen Jindal is a face of the opposition Indian National Congress (INC) party, which opposed the CAA (passed by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]). The Jindal family is actively part of electoral politics, and the family matriarch Savitri Jindal is the richest woman in India and a former minister of the North Indian state of Haryana. Sajjan Jindal's spouse, Sangita Jindal and their son Parth Jindal both mentioned CAA either positively or neutrally and members of the family are fairly outspoken on social justice issues such as women's rights, disability rights, etc. Thus, the family is far from neutral or politically inert. Opposition politicians in the family – Savitri and Naveen Jindal – however, did not oppose CAA on Twitter or elsewhere. There is, thus, a clear reluctance to critique the central government's decisions. As discussed in a subsequent section, Naveen Jindal's spouse did adopt a confrontational tone toward a state (provincial) government on an internal migrant crisis, but not toward the central government. Thus, in the Indian case, isomorphism is observed in a general reluctance to oppose the powerful BJP government at the centre, and not so much in a normative orientation toward general aloofness from political topics (decorum). It is unclear whether the reason for silence is political pressure or fear of public backlash – as the Modi government is one of the most popular and stable governments in Indian history, having an absolute majority in the Parliament – however, both political pressure and customer expectation can lead to coercive isomorphism.

4.2 | Engagement on minority rights

We also annotated as positive tweets pertaining to naturalisation or to minority rights in India's neighbouring countries since CAA specifically concerns them. We present these tweets in Table 3. One person who stands out here is Jay Kotak, son of India's 9th richest person Uday Kotak, the CEO and Managing Director of Kotak Mahindra Bank. Jay Kotak co-heads a digital neobank within the company.

Jay Kotak is opinionated, critical of both Russia and the US.[7] His pinned tweet on Twitter is a 2021 tweet about the monopoly of the American Big Five companies on the Internet.[8] He is also vocal about human rights issues in neighbouring countries (see Table 3). Yet, he sidestepped the issue of CAA, advocating instead for a focus on 'real issues' (Table 2). Jay Kotak's silence on the issue can thus be explained not as a personal trait of avoiding complex political issues but rather a specific effort to avoid a political hot-button topic on which engagement can easily fall afoul of the party in power. Overall, we see a coherent silence across the board in corporate India on the CAA issue which triggered mass protests with significant Muslim participation.

TABLE 3 Tweets related to either minority rights in India's neighbouring countries, or naturalisation/immigration.

Tweet	Author
Interesting story of a Pak Army Colonel who fled to India & won freedom for Bangladesh in '71. Via @thebetterindia https://t.co/YYrQbcktbf	MPNaveenJindal
Uyghurs Tibetans Bangladeshis Tamils Burmese Nepalis Chakmas Afghans Maldivians Rohingya Somalis Palestinians etc. On #WorldRefugeeDay, let's remember India's extraordinary history as a safe haven for persecuted people — irrespective of ethnicity, faith or ideology.	jay_kotakone
Pakistan – a bankrupt, theocratic, military junta state. No Hindus left, Ahmadi & Shia Muslims persecuted, politician Salman Taseer gunned down for protecting minorities & his killer publicly celebrated! India has its problems, but we don't need faux history lectures from you. https://t.co/y0kHvfIg2x	jay_kotakone
I want to live in Imran Khan's mythical world for a day, where India is Nazi Germany, Pakistan cares for minorities, democratic traditions and China is a champion for human rights. Maybe in that fantasy world, Pakistan will finally beat India in a cricket match at the World Cup.	jay_kotakone
Never given an inch to the RSS-BJP. But Islamic State of Pakistan where an Ahmadiya could not be a part of an Economic council, where oath is taken in the name of Allah, which runs on an *Islamic Constitution*, and non Muslims cannot hold certain posts – gets to lecture India? https://t.co/dMlJgXOZa0	jay_kotakone
Pakistan has ethnically cleansed it's Hindus – 13% of Pakistanis were Hindus in 1947, today under 2%. Same in Kashmir – 500,000 Kashmiri Hindus in 1989, 3000 remain today. Kicked out at gunpoint. India has 200 million Muslims, but we are now going to cleanse Kashmir? Rubbish.	jay_kotakone
Interesting tidbit from Freedom House's "Freedom in the World 2019" report. Concludes Pakistani people are less free than Kashmiris in "Indian Kashmir." Freedom score US-86* India-75 "Indian Kashmir"-49 Somaliland-43* Pakistan-39 "Pakistani Kashmir"-28 Cambodia-26*	jay_kotakone

4.3 | Subjective meanings attached to 'citizenship' and 'migration'

The term 'citizenship' on the Indian side was used only in one instance to refer to the *political* idea of citizenship (1 of 14 times). Other uses of the term corresponded to digital citizenship, global citizenship and corporate citizenship. Thus, the term 'citizenship' generated only one CAA-positive result (Table 2). Table 4 outlines the comparative frequency of use of the term 'citizen' and its variants on the Indian side versus the US side. American HNIs referred to the political idea of citizenship quite often. The terms 'citizen/citizens' and 'citizenship' led to 31 DACA-positive results. Thus, while the US side engaged with the substantive debate on citizenship, the Indian side did not.

Among all CAA-related keywords in the India dataset, the term 'migrant' was the highest engaged, even though none of its usages in our dataset pertained to CAA. Of the 106 Twitter handles in our India sample, 29 engaged with the term 'migrant' for a total of 173 times, most pertaining to the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) lockdown-induced reverse migration crisis.[9] Only one among the 173 tweets – part of a four-tweet thread written by Shallu Jindal, the spouse of politician-CEO Naveen Jindal – adopted a confrontational tone toward the Bihar state government over its handling of the migrant crisis (Table 5).

Tweeting against state governments and foreign governments certainly signals a move away from a normative silence or decorum. Yet, none of her tweets questioned the central government's decision to impose a nationwide lockdown at hours' notice without consulting the states, which led to millions of migrant workers who had no savings and no work needing to walk miles back to their homes because all transportation suddenly shut down (Misra, 2022). HNIs eschewed blaming the central government or the Prime Minister in their tweets and limited their engagement to accounts of humanitarian aid organised for the workers – similar to media coverage of the issue (Agarwal & Sarkar, 2022). Over 90% of the workforce in India consists of informal workers, many of them internal migrants. The corporate sector depends, ultimately, on informal labour in the organised and unorganised sectors for various services. HNI engagement on the migrant crisis exhibits elements of mimetic isomorphism as it was a time of crisis, and top corporate entities were actively organising relief, signalling to others the format for engagement. This warrants separate investigation. But the selective silence displayed by Indian businesses on CAA is more coercive than normative or mimetic because Indian HNIs do comment on controversial topics, as long as it does not involve criticism of the Modi government.

To summarise, Indian HNIs are likely to assume a confrontational tone while talking about a foreign government, especially Pakistan. Nationalism is a consistent theme across many HNIs' Twitter activity. There may be more openness to criticising state governments as opposed to the present national government. Corporate India's consistent silence on social justice topics that run contrary to the ruling BJP's decisions or ideas can be interpreted as a case of coercive isomorphism.

TABLE 4 Use of the term 'citizen' and its variants on both sides.

Keyword	Frequency of occurrence	False positives	Precision rate
India			
Citizen	65	65	0%
Citizenship	14	13	7%
United States			
Citizen	108	107	0.90%
Citizens	428	398	7%

TABLE 5 Usage of the term 'migrant' by Indian HNI networks in context of the COVID-19 lockdown.

Tweet	Author	Confrontational?
Some suggestions to the central & state govts, particularly for migrant labourers & daily wage earners. Needless to say, they are already doing a lot to keep the economy afloat at this time, pvt. sector is supporting whole-heartedly, we will come out stronger #IndiaFightsCOVID19 https://t.co/rpQyZUJbq7	AnilAgarwal_Ved	No
State Minister, Govt of Rajasthan @drsubhashg visited migrant service camp set up by #LHWRF #Bharatpur at Sewar tiraha #migrants #MigrantLivesMatter #ServingDuringCovid19 #servingtheneedy #rajasthan @sitaramgupta11 https://t.A5co/maZ6Eg1nG5	LupinCSR	No
Thanks to @Wipro and our implementation & distribution partners, CEE Urban team aims to reach out to 3000 beneficiaries including migrant workers, daily wagers, brick kiln workers, commercial sex workers and domestic help across Pune. #Lockdown21, #COVID2019, #fightagainstcorona https://t.co/4oNKvPc48C	Wipro	No
Perhaps solutions to house these migrant workers can include converting school campuses, which are currently unoccupied, to shelters. Putting them in confined spaces that resemble jail cells is certainly not a solution. @NitishKumar ji @SushilModi ji @yadavtejashwi ji	shallujindal20	Yes

4.4 | United States

We used a set of keywords related to the public debate around DACA to filter tweets written by accounts identified from the *Forbes* list on the same metrics as in India. Using this method, we got a dataset of 6417 tweets, which we manually annotated for DACA-related tweets. We found 950 tweets related to DACA. Table 6 lists some of these tweets and their authors.

We found no opposition to DACA from American HNIs. Their engagement was direct and squarely addressed issues of DACA, the Muslim ban, Temporary Protected Status, etc. The overall number of DACA-positive tweets is skewed heavily by Emerson Collective's tweet volume (750 of 950), which explicitly took this on as a core issue, highlighting the role of key actors. *Fortune* Magazine calls such organisations 'first movers'.[10] The Emerson Collective is founded by Laurene Powell Jobs (wife of late Steve Jobs, founder of Apple Inc.) who was very outspoken on the issue (Jobs, 2017). Excluding Jobs and Emerson Collective leaves us with 145 tweets on DACA by 25 Twitter handles, highlighting the importance of key actors in the institutional environment whose actions form a template for other organisations in times of uncertainty – by definition, mimetic isomorphism. Interestingly, this number (145 tweets by 25 Twitter handles) closely resembles the engagement with the term 'migrant' on the Indian side (173 tweets by 29 Twitter handles) (see Findings > India > Subjective Meanings). This also reinforces the business interest argument: in India, the workers of consequence to large corporations are poor migrants from the hinterland moving into cities, while in the United States labour has a significant undocumented component. Qualitatively too, the case for Dreamers to be retained and naturalised was made as often in terms of human rights and human dignity as it was on the basis of economic losses (see Jobs, 2017), and this is similar to how the migrant crisis was talked about on the Indian side.

The DACA case study demonstrates a successful model of corporate activism, combining strong individual leadership and ownership of an issue, combined with collective action. Earlier studies have documented the prominent role of Apple CEO Tim Cook in advancing queer rights (Chatterji & Toffel, 2018a, 2018b; Fitzpatrick, 2019). Although Jobs is not formally associated with Apple, it appears there is a well thought-out, conscientious, deliberate and authentic corporate activism strategy at work throughout the Apple network, as it were. Indeed, corporate activism is most successful and unlikely to be affected by backlash when it is authentic and aligned with a company's core values. Mimetic isomorphism is exhibited when firms experiencing uncertainty (in this case, due to threat of deportation of a large segment of the workforce) tend to imitate firms that are perceived as successful (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This pattern was also evidenced in offline actions. As per a statement by Microsoft, while the company was the first to legally challenge DACA's rescission, 145 companies had filed amicus briefs supporting DACA by the time the case reached the US Supreme Court.[11] Over 800 US businesses also signed an open letter in support of DACA.[12] Thus, the actions of US businesses were not limited to Twitter and can therefore be appropriately termed 'activism.'

TABLE 6 American HNIs tweets on DACA.

Tweet	Author
#Dreamers belong here, in the country they call home. We remain unyielding in our efforts to build a U.S. immigration system that honors the human spirit, fosters diversity and equity, and protects #DACA. We are in solidarity with Dreamers. #HomeIsHere https://t.co/Gfm6Pv3q8y	EmCollective
@Bloomberg is lucky to have Dreamers. They're helping power our company & economy. Business leaders want a solution – Congress must lead.	MikeBloomberg
Signatures to this letter by American businesses have more than doubled. The momentum to protect #Dreamers is real https://t.co/5S5FWQy9rW	laurenepowell
Every Temporary Protected Status holder deserves dignity, respect and is part of the social fabric of our country. We urge Congress to pass the Dream + Promise Act to provide permanent protections for #TPS and #DACA holders. https://t.co/DTyUdz19Mg	ChanZuckerberg
I'm very disappointed with today's decision to end #DACA. Our statement: http://b-gat.es/2x8LBKZ	BillGates
As a long time supporter of immigration reform, today's U.S. Supreme Court #DACA ruling is an important milestone. We are and will continue advocating for immigration policies that support our business, customers & team members. https://t.co/Pcmhx6cHYF	DellTech
Amazon applauds the Supreme Court's decision to protect DACA. DREAMers are critical to America's family & economy, & we are grateful for those who've helped us create & innovate. We'll continue to push for laws that honor their contributions & allow a path to citizenship.	Amazon
@sundarpichai is right – Dreamers are helping make USA innovative and successful. I stand with them. #WithDreamers https://t.co/yMXapKLkta	Ericschmidt

5 | CONCLUSION

Corporate political engagement in India is limited to formal engagement around topics that are mandated by Section 135 of the Companies Act, 2013 which makes CSR activities compulsory for large profit-making firms. These topics, listed under Schedule VII of the Act, are broadly aligned with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and with the Fundamental Duties under Article 51-A of the Constitution of India. This explains the similarities in topical and quantitative Twitter engagement of Indian and American firms in our previous work (Arya et al., 2021). In this paper we go beyond the form of the engagement and analyse its content. We conclude that Indian corporate political engagement is characterised by a consistent silence which we interpret in the light of institutional theory as a case of coercive isomorphism, as it arises neither from an overall avoidance of topics outside the business domain nor from a normative silence or decorum. On the US side, we show through our case study that firms tend to look to leading actors (first movers) in the institutional environment and take cues on how to engage on contentious issues. This is a case of mimetic isomorphism. We limit our conclusions to the aforementioned hypotheses because of the difficulty of developing a comparative framework and drawing generalisations based on a single qualitative case study that used subjective meanings that actors assign to ideas such as 'citizen' and 'migrants'. However, two larger issues are worth examination.

First, do the nature and structure of institutions – specifically, the independence of investigating agencies – impact the kind of pushback that an influential individual or company can expect on contentious stances? In recent years, there have been several reports of police and enforcement agencies in India treating people differently based on their perceived closeness to the ruling party, referred to as a "rule by raids" to target dissenting voices (Pathak, 2023). The ruling party also commands a massive machinery on social media, which can be used to systematically attack opponents or defend supporters, as was most recently seen in the nationalistic discourse around Gautam Adani, briefly Asia's richest man, known for his closeness to Narendra Modi (Ellis-Petersen, 2023; Hyatt & Tognini, 2023; Mehrotra, 2023). When Hindenburg research alleged financial fraud on its part, Adani enterprises responded by using a nationalistic tone and presenting the fraud allegations as an attack on India,[13] which several pro-government influential handles on social media endorsed.[14] The case brought to fore not just the accumulative benefits of light regulatory oversight associated with closeness to a hegemonic political elite (Chatterjee, 2023), but also the advantages of online support during a time of crisis. In contrast, there have been a series of attacks on social media, engineered by pro-BJP accounts whenever there is a public statement or advertisement by a corporation which goes against the dominant narrative of the state (Barthwal & Sharma, 2022).

While there has been much mainstream media reporting on the capture of institutions such as the courts and various forms of policing by the national government in India, there is little systematic examination of this phenomenon in academia. Our data suggest that while we cannot make conclusive claims on the HNIs' behaviour, it would appear to be in self-interest to avoid the mix of institutional and public sphere problems that come with publicly denouncing the government. What we see here is a confluence of two elements – fear of the political and administrative apparatus of the state on one hand, and concerns about the political positions of a consumer base on another. Either of these may lead to coercive isomorphism.

An element worth further examination is that of polarisation. While much has been said about 'woke culture' in the United States, proposing at times that corporate leaders make statements to pander to a subset of consumers who present a set of values as normatively superior, less has been said about active silencing on the issues that may have a 'cancel' effect. In India, the question worth asking is whether public opinion on social media is in itself important enough that a corporation making a public statement taking a normative position must consider blowback from its existing and likely consumers. The case study presented here offers us important questions to further probe what the patterns in India and the United States say about the voice of influencers in society, as well as the ability for engaged activism to be part of a democratic discourse.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Arya et al. (2021); Branicki et al. (2021); Chatterji and Toffel (2018a, 2018b); Eilert & Cherup (2020); Flauger & Stratmann (2017); Weber Shandwick and KRC Research (2018).

[2] https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/264/text?r=5&s=3

[3] Branicki et al. (2021); Chatterji and Toffel (2018a, 2018b); Eilert & Cherup (2020); Fitzpatrick (2019); Vredenburg et al. (2020).

[4] https://fortune.com/2022/06/30/companies-supporting-abortion-rights-roe-v-wade-first-movers/

[5] See https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/magazines/panache/caa-anand-mahindra-prays-for-peace-non-violence-sajjan-jindal-supports-bill/articleshow/72840460.cms?from=mdr for example.

6 The Man of Steel https://www.jsw.in/steel/journey-revolutionary-leader-sajjan-jindal

7 See: https://twitter.com/jay_kotakone/status/1497466722290393091 and https://twitter.com/jay_kotakone/status/1536141867691261959

8 https://twitter.com/jay_kotakone/status/1348242359084085248

9 https://indianexpress.com/article/india/the-long-walk-of-indias-migrant-workers-in-covid-hit-2020-7118809/

10 https://fortune.com/2022/06/30/companies-supporting-abortion-rights-roe-v-wade-first-movers/

11 https://blogs.microsoft.com/on-the-issues/2020/06/18/scotus-upholds-daca-dreamers/

12 https://www.businessleadersdreamletter.com

13 https://www.adani.com/-/media/Project/Adani/Invetsors/Adani-Response-to-Hindenburg-January-29-2023.pdf

14 https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-01-30/adani-labels-fight-with-us-short-seller-as-attack-on-india; See also: Right-wing portal OpIndia brainstorming whether the right-wing should "blindly support Adani": https://www.opindia.com/2023/01/adani-hindenburg-saga-congress-left-using-it-has-right-wing-divided-on-twitter/

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