TROUBLED PASTS AND FILTERED FUTURES:
FRAMING SOLIDARITY, RIGHTS, AND THREATS ACROSS RACIAL
LINES IN THE REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE MOVEMENT

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Dedicated to my great-grandmother, Carrie Wilson, who insisted all her girls get an education

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ABSTRACT

Can a reproductive health organization address the history of eugenics with 140 characters and some emojis? Can a 10 second video establish the link between abortion access, child protective services, and prison abolition? This dissertation explores the framing – the use of narratives, symbols, and discourse used to motivate collective action – in social media posts social movement organizations (SMOs) in the reproductive health field. I ask: How do organizations frame the past and how does the past influence contemporary frames? While the organizations in my study share a field, they do not necessarily share the same collective memory of that field. Instead, organizational depictions of time and history may be divided across racial lines. Using SMOs' social media posts on Instagram, I look at six reproductive health SMOs, three historically white (HW) and three POC-led. I use quantitative and qualitative analyses to explore differences in framing by organization type in my 1,200 Instagram post dataset. While all the organizations broadly claim inclusivity I hypothesize differences in framing around the past, legal rights, and threat. My work shows, both quantitatively and qualitatively, there are variations between HW and POC-organizations both in what frames are used and who is centered in those frames. I find HW-organizations are more likely to use rights framing, encourage participation in formal political institutions, and focus on inclusion along a single axis. In comparison, POC-organizations are less likely to use rights frames or call for formal political actions. They are more likely to encourage protest actions, highlight threats outside of legal restrictions, and center marginalized groups using an intersectional lens. I conclude that organizational understandings of temporality constrain historically white organizations' capacity for intersectional solidarity and undermine POC-led organizations tactics, framings, and goals. Understanding frame variation across organizations in this field has broader implications for diversity, solidarity, and sustainability within social movements more broadly.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Can a reproductive health organization address its legacy of eugenics in 140 characters or less? Could the right filter heal racial divides? Social movement organizations (SMOs) are utilizing social media to communicate with audiences. Social media offers a comparatively inexpensive and fast way for SMOs to share information regardless of geographic distance. How do organizations frame the past and how does the past influence contemporary frames? While the organizations in my study share a field, I question whether they share the same collective memory of that field. Instead, might organizational depictions of time and history be divided across racial lines? There is no doubt that the history of reproductive health in the U.S. is shaped by race and racism, but how do organizations frame that history? This dissertation explores the use of social media by social movement organizations in the field of reproductive health as a means of exploring movement actors' insights into the racial legacy and gendered past of the movements surrounding reproductive health. I use framing – the narratives, themes, and symbols used by social movement actors to recruit, motivate, and persuade – to investigate differences between SMOs (Snow et al. 1986). My overarching research questions are *how does a social movement's racial legacy affect the way SMOs frame contemporary threats and actions? And how do organizations' framing on social media indicate organizational capacity for building intersectional solidarity? Specifically, does an organization's racial composition and corresponding sense of the past impact contemporary framings of rights, threats, and solutions?*

I select the field of reproductive health to answer these questions because it sustains many interrelated movements organized around both gender and race. Here "field" refers to political fields as conceptualized by Raka Ray (1998) to explain how movement organizations are embedded in larger political arenas. A political field is "a structured and socially constructed environment within which organizations are embedded and to which organizations constantly respond" (Ray 1998: 22). Thus, a movement may straddle multiple fields (such as raced and gendered movements) and a field may contain multiple movements (such as the field of reproductive health). The concept of strategic action fields enables social movement scholars to bridge literatures on organizations and social movements by placing actors, organizations, and institutions in conversation with one another (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, also see Bourdeiu

1991, 1992). The dominant movements within the field of reproductive health are the movement for reproductive rights and the movement for reproductive justice. While organizations in these movements may use similar framings and even collaborate, there are sharp distinctions between the two movements' goals and strategies. Reproductive rights organizations are organized broadly around gender while reproductive justice organizations are explicitly organized around how race is gendered and gender is raced (Bond Leonard 2017). Reproductive justice organizations are inherently abolitionist – supporting liberation from the state, gender binaries, and oppressive institutions (Hayes et al. 2020; Ross et al. 2017; Roth 2017) – and link reproductive health to intersecting systems of oppression whereas reproductive rights organizations are more tightly linked to state institutions and policy-oriented solutions.

It is the differences across the movements in this field that make this field so interesting for a study of SMO framing. But to understand these differences properly, historical legacies and how actors within the field *perceive* those legacies must be considered. Present actions are shaped by legislation, successful past collective actions, and responses to opposition movements. The degree to which organizations share the same collective memories surrounding tactics, goals, and events influences how the view the present moment. I suggest that organizations differ in their sense of temporality which colors their framing. Historically white organizations bound off the past as a stationary object which can be compared and contrasted with the progressive present while POC-organizations experience history as uninterrupted pattern of oppression. In subsequent substantive chapters I expand on this variation in sense of time and history.

The history of the reproductive health field is experienced and understood differently by socially privileged and marginalized populations. Past events within the field are made sense of, mythologized, organized, and retold through collect memory practices. Collective memory, which is "a variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective," is a powerful political motivator and the lens with which groups make sense of current events, threats, and what is possible in the future (Olick 1999: 346). For social movement organizations, current frames are derived from and respond to what organizations assume are shared understandings of the past; however, do rights and justice movements in the field of reproductive health share the same collective memory of events and structures that shape reproductive health? If not, what are the implications of this on framing, contemporary movement actions, and organizations' capacity for intersectional solidarity? In my

dissertation, I present and analyze data intended to examine potential differences across SMOs in terms of how they frame both the past and the present related to issues related to reproductive health.

Social movement organizations (SMOs) produce a wide variety of messaging and materials containing frames, which are developed and used to communicate with movement members and potential recruits. My study of reproductive health activist organizations' framing and messaging makes use of social media data. Social media offer a window into social movement organizations' rhetoric, calls to actions, and stated missions. Social media also offer new types of data to explore long-held questions. These data provide one view into a movement's complicated racial and gendered past and rapidly advancing digital landscape by illustrating how two movements sharing a field with a raced (and racist) past craft messages addressing (or ignoring) that history. This project is ultimately not about social media usage, but the ways in which social movement organizations address their legacies of racial discrimination using social media data. In the rest of this chapter, I provide a brief explanation of my case, summarize the relevant theoretical literature, outline my methodologies, and give an overview of the chapters to follow.

Movements for Reproductive Health

Tensions and debates over reproductive health do not begin or end with Roe v. Wade. (Staggenborg 1991). The movement field includes gender-focused organizations such as Planned Parenthood SMOs organized around how gender is raced such as SisterSong.The history of collective action around reproductive health is filled with racial tensions as white, middle class women are frequently centered by gender-focused SMOs at the expense of women of color (WOC), impoverished white women, and queer and gender non-conforming people (Luna 2017; Lusero et al. 2017; McFadden 2017; Miller 2017; Silliman 2004). Reproductive injustices are not evenly distributed across the population.

While WOC and queer and impoverished people of all races and genders face more frequent and severe threats to bodily autonomy, it is rarely their concerns that are centered in the reproductive health field. The unique barriers and persistent inequality based on U.S. policies that target the bodies of marginalized people such as forced sterilization, racial discrimination in medicine, constrained access to reproductive technologies and prenatal care, disproportionate

state surveillance, and removal of children all result in racially stratified reproduction (Bridges 2011; Collins et al. 2004; Dominguez et al. 2008; Roberts 2002; Stern 2005). As a result, POC have been actively organizing prior to the reproductive rights movement, although their efforts have received less attention in the histories of the movement. This lack of attention to their work and needs culminated in the formation of the reproductive justice movement which POC organizations argue is part of a larger racial justice movement (Luna and Luker 2013; Price 2010; Ross et al. 2017; Silliman 2004). I posit further that reproductive health policies are inseparable from state efforts to maintain control over raced bodies and that reproductive health at large is a site of racialization.

So, how are modern day movements making sense of these racial legacies? How do they draw on and represent the past in their contemporary messages? Not only will my inquiry examine whether these movements differ in framing threats and solutions (with implications for how they have reckoned or failed to reckon with difficult pasts), but a study of these movements will further our understandings of racial tensions and frame disputes in social movements more generally. Historically white organizations claim to speak for all people seeking reproductive health care and family building – but are all organizational claims of being broadly inclusive accurate? POC-led organizations have embrace intersectionality, a legal, theoretical, and practical concept that examines how aspects of an individual *interact* to produce unique barriers and experiences of oppressions (Crenshaw 2017). Movement organizations may claim intersectionality and inclusion but how well are intersectional identities and concerns addressed? Do all those seeking reproductive justice feel equally represented?

An Overview of the Literature

The following subsection provides a brief overview of the relevant literatures, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. In this section I demonstrate how the key concepts of framings, legal precarity, threat, and solidarity are connected. These concepts and literatures guide my project and lead me to specific research questions and hypotheses.

Framing, Precarity, and Threat

My dissertation builds on past work on social movement framing (specifically legal framing) and the construction of threats. Social movement actors engage in framing, a discursive activity that provides a common narrative which identifies problems and possible solutions (Benford 1993; Snow et al. 1986). Successful framing can sustain movement activity while unsuccessful frames may result in division, inaction, or dissolution.

When frames tap into audience beliefs, values, and emotions it achieves resonance and its use is maintained, spread, and adapted (Benford and Snow 2000). Frames that utilize broad themes typically resonate widely but may need to be focused or tailored to suit specific contexts or the needs of particular groups. I am particularly interested in activists' use of the law in framing. I argue that resonance of legal frames will vary across racial divides because of the persistent legacy of racial discrimination and stratification that still impacts the criminal legal system and reproductive health. I predict that HW-organizations will be more likely to embrace legal frames and formal political institutions as a solution to threats to reproductive health while POC-organizations will use fewer legal frames because they see the criminal legal system as a threat in and of itself and therefore seek frames (and solutions) beyond the state and formal political institutions.

The law is considered a master frame – a cultural touchstone with broad resonance – with many frames stemming from this central belief in *The Law* as an ideological higher authority (Pedrianna 2006; Snow and Benford 2000). Rights, justice, and equality frames pull from the law as a master frame (Pedriana 2006). But do all groups see rights in the same way? I suggest that rights may be experienced differently by the marginalized, not as unalienable and universal, but as *precarious* and conditional. I argue that rights are experienced as limited or precarious by racially marginalized groups in the U.S. In my usage, precarious rights are unstable and dependent upon social and political circumstances – rights may be extended to socially privileged groups but they are extended only conditionally and can be withdrawn if circumstances change. Without securing the rights of the most marginalized all groups are vulnerable to precarity because the privileged do not understand their rights as conditional they do not take steps to shoring up those rights through political power and organizing. The further into the margins a person or group falls, the more likely they are to find "rights" are only selectively available to them. While others have discussed rights as a resource that can be drawn

upon for legal and social gains (Scheingold 2011), I argue that uneven precarity – where those with the most social and political power are secure in their rights, while those with the least social and political power are only selective granted their rights (if at all) – results in difficulty mobilizing or utilizing rights as a resource across racial and ethnic groups. One set of analyses in this dissertation examines whether different SMOs frame rights, especially reproductive rights, differently. If so, I suggest that this uneven precarity undermines organizing and threatens access for even those with the greatest privileges as rights are increasingly stripped and restricted. While efforts to expand inclusion are laudable, it is not enough to just *include*. The failure to *center* marginalized groups allows reactionaries to chip away at "established" rights.

. Even when marginalized groups are included, the threats they face are often ignored or understated. In the literature on social movements, threat refers to the inaction and often, although not always, relates to state repression (Almeida 2003; Einwohner 2022; Einwohner and Maher 2010; Goldstone and Tilly 2001; Maher 2011). I expect the construction and prioritization of threats to reproductive health to vary across racial and ethnic groups. But how social movement organizations frame threats – or whether they reference a threat at all – shapes who feels legitimized and what actions are possible. The construction of threat is particularly relevant to diverse social movements. Groups who do not feel their issues are represented may leave the movement or organization. To maintain solidarity across racial divides, social movement organizations must demonstrate authenticity to prove their legitimacy meaning SMOs must engage marginalized audiences who will be continually evaluating their sincerity (Luna 2017). Organizations who fail to credibly demonstrate the SMO and marginalized group have a shared interest will be deemed illegitimate as was the case when Black audiences reject frames made by predominantly white SMOs that banning abortion saved Black lives(Luna 2017). The anti-abortion SMO attempted to draw on eugenics and racist violence to mobilize Black audiences but did not adequately address historical racism within the anti-abortion movement or consistently frame racial discrimination as a threat (Luna 2017). This example illustrates that *how* organizations understand history and frame contemporary racism can undermine efforts to build cross-racial solidarity

I argue therefore that perceptions of threats and inclusivity are intertwined for movements for reproductive health. In other words, a study of how SMOs vary in their perceptions of threats can also say something about SMOs' capacity for intersectional solidarity. Racial legacies shape

the movement field of reproductive health and SMOs with a history of racial abuses are publicly grappling with issues of racism and gender. Now many of these SMOs have issued statements promising to do more to address racism and reiterate their claims to represent all people with reproductive health needs. If these claims of inclusivity are accurate then we should see little variation between framing and messaging across organizations by racial composition and mission. If little to no variation exists, that would indicate the realization of intersectional solidarity, suggesting that marginalized voices and experiences are centered and those with more power and privilege are conscious of systematic oppression (Tormos 2017). Should variation exist, however, it can be used to understand barriers to inclusiveness and, ultimately, the underlying differences between the reproductive justice movement and the reproductive rights movement.

Study Design, Data, and Methods

To examine how racial legacies shape framing by movements in the reproductive health field, my project explores whether and how framing varies between organizations that formed more broadly around gender and those that formed explicitly around racial justice. I seek to answer (1) how social movement organizations use legal frames around reproductive rights and whether those frames vary across organizational types (historically white versus people of color led), and (2) how threats to reproductive health are constructed and whether those threats vary by organizational type. The answers to these questions will help me assess whether and how social media is used by SMOs to address past racism and build intersectional solidarity.

To answer my research questions, I draw on a dataset of 1,200 Instagram posts from six reproductive health social movement organizations (SMOs). Instagram posts include images, videos, and captions which provide rich information on the symbols, narratives, and messaging of an organization; information which is not conveyed as deeply when limited to text. I selected three historically white[1] SMOs and three explicitly POC SMOs. Using a random number generator, I collected a sample of 200 posts from each organization resulting in a dataset of 1,200 posts. After hand coding the data and conducting quantitative analyses and qualitative analyses

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[1] Historically white organizations were founded and run disproportionately by white men and women, their boards and agendas centered the needs of white people and received criticisms from POC organizations

of subsamples. I explore differences in legal frames, framing of threats, and attempts at building inclusion and intersectional solidarity.

Contributions

No analysis of a contemporary movement can be complete without acknowledging both the history of racial and ethnic relations and the growing role of social media in collective action. Yet my project goes beyond these two pillars by examining their intersections: the role of the past in mobilizations of the present. More specifically, my project offers several theoretical and methodological contributions. First, my study contributes to the literature on framing solidarity and threat by exploring a case where past abuses may prevent present day attempts at building solidarity across racial lines. As I explain in more detail in Chapter 2, the social movement literature has not sufficiently explored how past framings may impact present grievances within a movement. My project addresses this gap by exploring how current social movement organizations address – or fail to address – racially charged past frames. Both frames used in the past and the way organizations frame their past are of interest. The history of frames used speaks to both the perceived threats and the perceived audience of the movement. Whose concerns are represented in frames? Whose concerns are absent? These questions address but are distinct from how organizations frames their past.

I also further the literature on sociolegal framing by examining how rights are framed and understood across racial groups – some of whom may not experience rights as guaranteed. Legal rights, discussed at length in Chapter 2, are a powerful frame for social movement organizations; however, some groups, such as marginalized racial groups and genders in the U.S., may not experience rights in the same way as the dominant group. What I refer to as "precarious rights," or rights with contested legal grounds, may differ from "rights" as traditionally understood as immutable or inalienable. As stated above, I examine the uneven precarity of rights – in this case, access to reproductive health care, including abortion – and how that precarity may be more acutely felt by some populations who have experienced virtually all their rights as precarious. Further, I explore how legal framing strategies, and the resonance of those frames, may vary across racial groups.

The third theoretical contribution is to expand the threat literature by examining how organizational choices about which threats to acknowledge may undermine capacity for intersectional solidarity. Because the reproductive health field is diverse and subgroups are impacted unevenly, how threats are constructed and which threats are prioritized has major implications for solidarity and mobilization. My project seeks to understand how threat construction varies by racial composition of an organization. How and *whether* a threat is discussed may have racial overtones as it is disproportionately Black and Indigenous women, queer people of color, and racialized immigrants who face the deadliest reproductive threats (murder, sterilizations, incarceration/detention, violence, and pregnancy complications). These deadly threats are often not prioritized because they are not perceived as credible and imminent threats to majority (white, cisgender, middle/upper class) audiences. Omitting some threats or highlighting others can be a strategic recruitment tactic but may ultimately serve to undercut attempts at intersectional solidarity.

Methodologically, I seek to move digital sociology, or the sociological study of digital and social media, forward. I do so by quantifying Instagram posts into a useful database that can answer many research questions. Twitter has long been the favored site for large-scale social movement analysis, but I argue Instagram is a rich source for data and the platform lends itself to mixed method analyses that can be used to triangulate data on complex and dynamic processes like framing.

Chapters to Follow

I make these contributions in the chapters that follow. In Chapter 2, I provide a literature review that identifies gaps in the existing literature on framing and threat – particularly how framing choices may marginalize the already marginalized within a movement and how racialized and gendered bodies may experience the same threats differently. Concepts and theories summarized in this section include social movement framing, legal framing, threat, solidarity, and intersectional solidarity. In Chapter 3 I delineate my study designs for data collection and analysis for both my quantitative and qualitative data. In Chapter 4, I provide an historical overview of the reproductive health movement field and the six organizations that serve as the basis for my data and analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 present my substantive analyses. My work finds that while historically white organizations are increasingly adopting the language used by POC led organizations, (1) HW organizations' *use* of these frames differ in crucial ways largely because HW organizations do not tightly connect race and racism to structures, political institutions, and present day threats, (2) the two types of organizations consistently identify different threats and solutions, and (3) while all organizations make claims in their public statements and materials about intersectionality, in practice, HW organizations focus on diversity and inclusion rather than centering the most marginalized while POC led organizations post frequently about the needs of poor, queer POC – especially Black trans women. In my seventh and final chapter, I summarize my findings and present some implications for future research.

A Note on Language

Language related to race, gender, and marginalized groups is often contested. I end my Introduction chapter by explaining why I am using the terminology I have selected. Throughout this dissertation I use terms such as marginalized, POC, Black, white, cisgender, transgender, and queer. Below I offer the justifications for my language choices.

Marginalized versus Minority

I refer to socially, economically, and politically disadvantaged groups as marginalized rather than minorities. This term reflects the power dynamics at work in social inequalities and more accurately reflects demographics. White people do not represent a global majority and in many areas in the U.S. they are not the minority group; however, the historical and political context of white supremacy in the U.S. marginalizes people of color (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009; DeVore 2015; OECD.stats 2022). Similarly, women are not necessarily a minority by demographics but by gendered power relationships. Thus, I find "marginalized" more accurately reflects the active process of subordination rather than a passive result of demographics.

Terms Related to Race/Ethnicity

I have opted to use the term people of color (POC) when referring to non-white groups. The term people of color is an umbrella term for racially marginalized groups. As this group encompasses all non-white people it is inherently heterogenous. In the United States coalitions of

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POC have challenged white supremacy and racial and ethnic discrimination. While all POC experience disadvantages related to white supremacy, those disadvantages manifest differently based on political and historical context. Wherever possible I name specific groups within POC for specificity and accuracy. The term POC has been criticized for homogenizing racially marginalized groups especially when it is used in place of "Black." In media and popular culture predominantly white organizations and people will use "POC" in place of "Black" or "African American." Partially in response to this phenomenon, some scholars and social commentators have popularized the use of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous people of color) (Grady 2020). I have opted not to use BIPOC as it collapses differences and minimizes the role of whiteness in producing racial marginalization (Selvarajah et al. 2020). While BIPOC attempts to be a more inclusive term by highlighting Black and Indigenous Peoples as distinctive from POC, it erases the collective advocacy of multiracial organizing against white supremacy that produced the term POC (Grady 2020). In places I distinguish between POC and WOC (women of color) to denote that the organization or phenomenon is specific to women as opposed to men and nonbinary people. Particularly in Chapter 4, some organizations activists were explicitly for and by women originally (such as COLOR Latina) and later made an intentional effort to expand its mission and leadership to include all genders. I refer to SisterSong, COLOR Latina, and Forward Together POC-led rather than WOC-led to emphasize the material and culture shift the organizations underwent to focus on reproductive health as a field that all people have a stake in regardless of gender.

I use the term Black as opposed to African American throughout this study to better reflect the diversity of identities including African, Caribbean, and Latin American ancestry within Black identities. I consistently capitalize Black and Indigenous as doing so is consistent with the AP style guide and APA style guide. Previous additions of the ASA style guide do not recommend capitalization for Black but it is a recommended practice among scholars of race and ethnicity I believe future editions of style guides will reflect this. The recognition and adoption of the capitalization of Black and Indigenous by professional and media organizations is the result of political organizing. Specific ethnic and tribal groups (which would be capitalized) were intentionally erased through genocidal colonial practices. Capitalization recognizes the groups' shared culture and history (Daniszewski 2020). The lack of systemic erasure of ethnic identity and shared cultural heritage is in part why "white" as a racial category is not capitalized.

Terms Related to Gender/Sexuality

When discussing gender identity, I use "cis" and "trans" as adjectives rather than modifiers. For example, I write "cis woman" or "trans man" as opposed to ciswoman and transman. By separating the cis- and trans- from woman and man, I aim to emphasize cis and trans as descriptors rather than separate categories of gender. Gender is a spectrum which includes men, women, genderfluid, agender, and nonbinary people (Connell 2009). Masc and femme refer to masculine and feminine gender displays (Dalbey 2021; West and Zimmerman 1987). Trans is an umbrella category for people who identify with a gender not associated with their assigned sex at birth. Trans includes genderfluid, agender, nonbinary, gender non-conforming, trans men, and trans women. Queer is an umbrella category that includes trans people but can include a variety of LGBTQIA+ identities. Here LGBTQIA+ refers to lesbians, gays, bisexual people (attracted to the same and other genders), trans people, queer and questioning people, intersex people, and asexual and/or aromantic people (not attracted sexually and/or romantically to any genders). The plus indicates additional identities such as pansexual people (attracted to all genders). The acronym is frequently shortened to LGBTQ or LGBT.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW: FRAMING, THREAT, SOLIDARITY, AND DIGITAL SOCIOLOGY

This chapter brings together literatures on social movement framing, legal framing, threat, and social media use by social movements. To understand the movements for reproductive health, it is important to acknowledge that understandings of rights, threats, and movement actions change over time across subpopulations. Perceptions and understandings of inequalities shift across contexts. This dissertation draws on social movements and political sociology literatures and race scholarship such as intersectionality and racialization to make sense of how and why frames vary across organizations. . This literature review links the framing literature, construction of rights and threats, and social media as social movements attempt to reach and mobilize diverse audiences. The frames used by SMOs have implications not just for mobilization but for solidarity within organizations and between movements.

Social Movement Framing

This dissertation, like so many sociological pursuits, is interested in meaning making. Creating shared understandings is crucial to collective action (Benford and Snow 2000; Jasper 2011, 2014; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Social movement organizations use symbols, narratives, and collective memories to make sense of events and issues to their members and audiences. Collective memory is the understanding that the past is understood through social processes. Our shared understandings of the past shape and are shaped by social institutions and practices (Olick 1999). Because remembering is a social process the meanings we assign to symbols, narratives, and practices may change or vary across time and context. Social movement organizations and participants use these symbols, narratives, and practices to create frames.

Framing refers to the process of constructing meaning in order to mobilize collective action (Snow et al. 1986). Frames are narrative structures that shape our understandings of problems and solutions based on cultural and political contexts (Snow et al. 1986). Successful frames pull from broad cultural practices, norms, values, or ideologies to guide an audience toward a unified understanding of an issue. Frames are actively developed by social movement

actors and may be shaped by audience responses in an interactional process (Coe 2011). Movement actors will attempt to package an issue so that it aligns with larger cultural narratives. Framing is used to recruit individuals to a larger movement by providing a common narrative which identifies problems and possible solutions. Frames use familiar cultural symbols and narratives to make sense of political and social developments (Jasper 2011, 2014; McAdam, 1996; Zald 1996). Collective action is fueled by audiences who resonate or identify with the available frames. Frames that tap into familiar and deeply held beliefs, cultural repertoires, and values are resonant frames and can agitate new audiences into viewing a phenomenon as a problem or make an outcome previously thought impossible seem achievable (Jasper 2014, 2018; Zald 1996). However, if the frames lack resonance audiences will not be moved to act or find the suggested solutions desirable (Benford and Snow 2000).

Of key importance to my project are the concepts of motivational framing, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity. Motivational framing provides a "call to arms" for collective action (Benford and Snow 2000: 617). Motivational frames inspire action within the movement and draw in support from bystanders (Snow and Benford 1988). Emotional appeals and reliance on common values may be strategically employed. Motivational frames must balance between being narrow enough to specify the desired response, but broad enough to have mass appeal. This balance will become important when discussing threat, as too severe a threat may discourage some potential participants, while broader, less dire frames may not align with those experiencing the most lethal aspect of the threats. Framing the issue as too severe may actually deter action (Benford 1993). So, movement actors and organizations may underplay the severity of an issue to ensure that their audience believes their collective action will be impactful.

Mobilizing frames have limitations on their capacity for inspiring collective action, however. Snow and Benford identify three constraints on the mobilizing potential of frames: (1) empirical credibility, (2) experiential commensurability, and (3) narrative fidelity (1988). Empirical credibility refers to how well a frame fits the audiences' understanding, e.g. the audience finds the frame credible. If the frame can be tested and verified it is considered empirically credible. More important to my study is the exploration of the second criterion – experiential commensurability. In a situation where several frames are competing, why might one frame rise to common usage and other frames fall out of use? Frames with experiential commensurability are those frames which align with the lived experiences of the audience. Snow

and Benford argue "experiential commensurability is perhaps *one of the most important determinants* of individual and cross-cultural variations in the mobilizing potency of peace framing efforts (emphasis is my own, 1988; 209)." My study explores whether an how, within a movement, the experiential commensurability of a frame vary by racial group. When lived experiences vary drastically across racial groups in the U.S. it would follow that experiential commensurability would hinge on racialized experiences.

Lastly, narrative fidelity ties into the effectiveness of framing in a diverse movement as well. Narrative fidelity is the degree to which a frame taps into cultural themes and touchstones (Fisher 1984; Snow and Benford 1988). Narrative fidelity relies on movement actors' and decision makers' understanding of the culture in which they live. If they do not understand their audiences, how will they know what is likely to resonates with the audiences' truths and beliefs? In the case of the reproductive health field, rights narratives may not speak to people of color (POC), particularly Black women in the U.S. who were not in control of their reproductive lives from the outset and only won recognition for their struggles in recent years. If historically white and POC-led organizations do not share the same collective memory it seems unlikely they will find the same frames resonant. Resonance relies on shared values and beliefs which are often rooted in a shared sense of the past and present.

Legal Framing

A particular tension point in my case is the degree to which legal frames resonate across racial divides. Marginalized groups experience the criminal legal system as something to avoid so frames that encourage participation with state institutions can undermine coalition building (Quadagno 1992). I am particularly interested in activists' understanding of issues in terms of legal rights and justice, which leads many movement actors to use the law as a basis for activists' framing efforts. Social movements, law, culture, and formal politics intertwine mutually shaping each other (Burstein 1991; Hull 2003; Leachman 2013; McCann 2004; Stryker 2007). Actors within a social movement field develop legal-framing and must adapt and respond to changes in the field (Leachman 2013; McCammon and Beeson-Lynch 2021). It is useful here to distinguish between Formal justice, substantial justice, the law as written, and the law as practiced. Weber delineates the differences between formal law, which emphasizes rule following and procedure,

and substantive law, which is concerned with more ideological goals of sociopolitical justice (1978). The distinctions between law as written and law as practiced has been the concern of sociolegal scholars for some time (Gould and Barclay 2012). Legality is a social construct meaning it responds to how law is practiced on the ground and how those practices are received and experienced by both practitioners and laypeople (Ewick and Silbey 1998). Social movement constructions of law and justice have the power to shift legal consciousness so how SMOs are invoking the law and justice may have significant effects on laws in the future. This section will define key social movement terminology and unpack the many forms *The Law*, laws and legal framing shape and are shaped by social movements.

The distinction between laws and capital "*The Law"* is that The Law represents ideals and is related to collective memory in that "The Law" is in part the story we tell ourselves about our national character and standards for justice. The Law as a concept and a practice shapes the lives of ordinary people and provides a lens through which we view the world (Ewick and Silby 1998). Laws regulate our lives and are consequential in everyday life while *The Law* is the ideology that justice and the criminal legal system is an impartial, idealistic system which protects inalienable rights. Invoking *The Law* is a powerful tool for social movements; however it can be an unwieldy, contradictory, and multidimensional tool (Leachman 2013). On the ground abuses in the practice of law may undermine the ideology of *The Law*. Rights may conflict, laws may change, and social movements may be left with hollow rhetoric. But as Scheingold argues, the law and legal frames could be used to benefit those typically abused by the criminal legal system but only if those who practice and enforce the law rethink their understanding and relationship to politics and social change (2004; Stryker 2007)

The law is considered a master frame with many frames stemming from this central belief in *The Law* (Pedrianna 2006). A master frame is an overarching cultural schema that resonates broadly such as the use of Christianity as a frame in the Civil Rights movement. Civil Rights leaders were also religious leaders and drew on Christian themes, imagery, and culture in their calls to action. Religious imagery, songs, and symbols were culture touchstones that connected easily with Southern Black people the movement was seeking to mobilize (McAdam 1999). This is one of example of how master frames are used to connect with large segments of the population by tapping into beliefs that are both widespread and deeply held. Specific frames are

often derived from these master frames (Snow and Benford 1992). Rights and equality frames both pull from the law as a master frame (Pedriana 2006).

Rights Framing

The concept of "rights" carries substantial cultural weight in the U.S. Rights are mythic in their significance and existence (Scheingold 2011). Rights have real world impacts but also function as an ideology. Thus, rights framing is particularly potent. However, "rights" can mean many things and often conflicting claims can undermine each other – the right to life versus the right to choose, for example – and rights can transcend legality through cultural practices – such as protest weddings prior to the legalization of same-sex marriage (Hull 2003). Social movement actors adjust their legal frames based on their audience (McCammon and Beeson-Lynch 2021). There are historic examples of U.S. suffragettes shifting between justice and reform frames (McCammon et al. 2004). Both frames invoke law as a master frame but shifts in which aspects of the law they draw upon impacts how respective their audience is and ultimately how persuasive their argument is.

Rights framing, like other types of frames, seem to be applied widely and once successfully invoked, inspire more usage across other arenas. In this way framing is often mimetic with seemingly dissimilar movements developing similar framing strategies over time (see Benford 1993; Jasper and Poulsen 1993, 1995; Snow and Benford 1992 for examples). Using frames that resonate across a wide array of groups and interests is critical in building support across diverse subgroups within a movement. The degree to which a frame aligns across groups is related back to Benford and Snow's three constraints described in detail above (1988). While legal framing may be used by different SMOs in a movement field, I expect the way legal frames are usedwill vary by racial makeup of the organizations. Race impacts experiences and perceptions of the law. In the following section I describe how the law creates and maintains racial categories and how racialized populations perceive the law.

Race and the Law

Race, ethnicity, and citizenship are aspects of identity which intertwine and intersect with all other aspects of identity. In this dissertation I argue reproduction and legal rights are racial

projects. By racial projects, I mean the "efforts to shape the ways in which human identities and social structures are racially signified, and the reciprocal ways that racial meaning becomes embedded in social structures" (Omi and Winant 2014: 13). Racial projects connect the social meanings of race to the hierarchical practices of racial stratification (Omi and Winant 2014). As argued by Khiara Bridges, race is reproduced through reproduction (2008). While Bridges examines pregnancy as specific site of racialization, I extend this to the whole of reproductive health and reproductive policy. Racialization is the process through which racial meaning is given to social phenomena; it is "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (Omi and Winant 2014: 111).

Racialization

Reproduction is indeed a key site where race is negotiated, contested, and reinforced (Bridges 2011; Briggs 2017). In this subsection I will explain how reproduction is a site of racialization. People and bodies are racialized or assigned racial meanings through reproductive policies in the U.S. Race, racism, and racial hierarchies are contextual, maintaining racial power relationships is the result of constant social processes. Racial hierarchies are, therefore, formed and maintained by racial projects. Groups within this racially stratified system are not neatly ordered but move up and down through racialization processes (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Omi and Winant 2014). Socio-political factors like citizenship, religion, national origin, among others may racialize minority groups while organized efforts may resist imposed categories or challenge the current racial relationships, but the overall racial hierarchy and domination of white supremacy remains stable (Beaman 2017; Bonilla-Silva 2014; Maghbouleh 2017). Racialization assists in the maintenance of the racial hierarchy by extending "racial meanings to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (Omi and Winant 2014: 111). Groups, statuses, and practices may become racialized when needed by the racially dominant group in to maintain hegemonic control. Reproductive policies and practices are deeply influenced by race and racism.

State participation in population management is part of ongoing racial projects that facilitate the racialization process of citizenship (Foucault 1990; Omi and Winant 2014; Stern 2005). The state has the ability to allow or inhibit the growth of subpopulations through direct and indirect measures. In the U.S. this may be as seemingly benign as offering tax credits to

married couples with children to the more severe and overt sterilization policies that targets POC and low income or immigrant whites (Briggs 2017; Stern 2005).

Raced fears of white population decline and increasing immigration link the state, race, and reproduction with implications for who is seen as a full, cultural citizen – and therefore has the right and responsibility to reproduce. This can manifest as white women struggling to obtain permanent and long-acting reproductive contraceptives (LARCs) while immigrants and POC are pressured into them (McFadden 2017; Stern 2020). Citizenship status – is not the same as being fully able to enjoy the status citizenship socially and politically – including having your reproduction legitimized and encouraged by the state – denial of reproductive rights suggests marginalized racial groups are not treated as full citizens.

Increasingly, in the U.S. and elsewhere, citizenship and immigration status has become a significant social cleavage. Racial and ethnic groups are tied to citizenship and used as a proxy for who does and does not belong. Historically, citizenship in the U.S. is raced with only white people granted the status – and even then, only selectively (Omi and Winant 2015). Legal citizenship, though, is often insufficient to secure the full protections of the law when it comes to racial discrimination (Beaman 2017; Omi and Winant 2015; Maghbouleh 2017). If full protection under the law and integration into society is contingent on citizenship and citizenship although legally granted is socially and politically denied by race, race remains a determining factor who is granted rights.

The political contributions of people of color to the organized resistance of racial hierarchies have fundamentally shaped the U.S., its politics, and legal rights (Omi and Winant 2014; Silliman et al 2004). To quote Nikole Hannah-Jones's essay from Project 1619 – a New York Times special issue – "America wasn't a democracy until Black Americans made it one." This quote not only captures the active political participation of Black Americans but illustrates how organized resistance to racial projects can themselves renegotiate racial meanings and power relationships.

Inclusion and Belonging

Who is allowed to belong and who is blamed for exclusion? Literature on assimilation suggests that racial and ethnic groups benefit from social and ideological integration into mainstream (i.e., the politically dominant culture); however, assimilation ignores the racial

dynamics of exclusion which relies on visible differences (Iceland 2017). Legal citizenship combined with racial exclusion creates "citizen outsiders" who, despite being legal citizens, are erased from the national identity and excluded from cultural citizenship (Beaman 2017: 14).

In the U.S., racial and ethnic groups on the margins of whiteness have occasionally argued their way into legal white status or were allowed in through the porous boundary to shore up racial political power as new immigrant groups enter (Bonilla-Silva 1997, 2014; Maghbouleh 2017; Omi and Winant 2015). But immigration and integration are not uniquely U.S. concerns. Virtually all OECD member countries are dealing with increasing immigration and racial/ethnic diversity with varying degrees of social acceptance (Iceland 2017). Despite obtaining citizenship status or being native born, many visible minorities experience exclusion from national identity (Beaman 2017; Iceland 2017). When disparate outcomes are blamed on a failure to integrate the blame shifts from systematic racial and ethnic discrimination to individual behavior while conveniently ignoring the social and political fact that assimilation hinges on proximity to whiteness (in the cases of the U.S. and Europe). By adopting a color-blind ideology and using rhetoric of integration and assimilation, visible difference becomes a physical mark of exclusion (Beaman 2017).

Racialized Precarity

In my proposal I suggest that "universal" and "unalienable" rights are experienced as limited and fragile or *precarious* by the socially marginalized. In my usage, precarious rights are unstable and dependent upon social and political circumstances. The further into the margins a person or group falls, the more likely they are to find "rights" are only selectively available to them. While others have discussed rights as a resource that can be drawn upon for legal and social gains (Scheingold 2011), I would argue that uneven precarity – where those with the most social and political power are secure in their rights, while those with the least social and political power are only selective granted their rights (if at all) – results in difficulty mobilizing or utilizing rights as a resource.

Cultural citizenship is both gendered and raced, with political participation and "universal suffrage" originally extended to only men in the dominant racial group – in the U.S. and many other white or colonized nations citizenship of POC and women was a hard fought political victory which at times pitted white women against POC, often dismissing the existence of WOC

who were doubly denied (Ramirez et al 1997). Today, citizenship's full advantages may only be experienced by those at the top of the racial hierarchy while racial minorities who are legal citizens are denied cultural citizenship (Beaman 2017). This supports the concept of racially precarious rights by illustrating that the rights associated with citizenship are racially precarious. The status of legal citizenship can be undermined by the denial of cultural citizenship (Beaman 2017). Citizenship complicates conversations about race and racism in the U.S. where Black/White racial dynamics often dominate the conversation of race. The intersection of race and citizenship has racialized other ethnic groups in ways that produce distinct barriers to rights and complicate a bi-racial or even tri-racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2014). Latinx, Middle Eastern, and Asian immigrants – particularly South Asian and working-class Asian immigrants – are excluded from full cultural citizenship and sometimes from legal citizenship as well (Das Gupta 2006; Iceland 2017; Maghbouleh 2017). These groups are likely to experience or perceive their rights as precarious.

While racial minorities are not monolithic and individuals will have varying relationships to and perceptions of power, if a legally guaranteed "right" can be denied in practice even once anecdotally, it undercuts the faith in rights and the legal system more broadly for racialized minorities. The high-profile detentions of Latinx U.S. citizens by ICE signals that citizenship is at best a weak protection for the entire community. Similarly, the rights of Black Americans are violated in widely publicized media stories ranging from unlawful searches to illegitimate uses of force to violations of workplace discrimination policies (A. B. Wilkinson 2016). Even if these incidents were rare, which I would argue they are not, the constant presence of these narratives creates the perception that legal protections and rights are not to be relied upon (Pew Research 2012). Precarity is raced when it comes to the U.S. because the country itself is built upon racial hierarchies. I argue that racialized minorities – particularly Black, Latinx, and Indigenous groups – have always experienced their rights as precarious because they have been denied full citizenship and inclusion. Legal rights in the U.S. are touted as race-neutral or race-blind but nothing is race-neutral in a racially stratified society.

Race, the State, and Threat

Racial formation theory views race as the product of social structures, representations, policies, shared meanings, and identities (Omi and Winant 2014). Race is then a dynamic

construct shaped by power hierarchies, historical relationships, and political context. Race is loosely based off perceptions of biology forming categories which fail to withstand even cursory scientific investigation (Roberts 2011). Racial formations are the result of racial projects which assign raced meanings to previously non-raced objects, practices, and bodies (Omi and Winant 2014: 13). Racial projects do the work of connecting structure to representations; they connect racial meanings to racial stratification (Omi and Winant 2014).

The U.S. has maintained a racial hierarchy since it was first colonized, quickly establishing major legal and social boundaries across white/non-white or Black/non-Black lines. Though today race scholars have moved beyond bi-racial understandings of racial hierarchies the Black/white colorline persists as a defining feature of U.S. society (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Brown and Jones 2015; DuBois 1903; Iceland 2017; Maghbouleh 2017; Omi and Winant 2014). While the form and mechanisms used to maintain the hierarchy change, the hierarchy itself remains relatively stable because of ongoing racial projects and the racialization process.

I posit that racial hierarchies will shape what concerns are framed as the largest threats to reproductive health and who is legitimized as vulnerable to threats. "Who speaks for whom" is a reoccurring question in the reproductive justice movement (Luna 2017: 435, title). I intend to document what conversations about race and reproduction are occurring, who organizations claim to represent, whether the content they produce reflects their claims, and how organization frames differ based on their racial makeup.

Race and Reproduction

Pregnancy is a site of racialization where racial categories are enforced and both pregnancy and ending a pregnancy is stigmatized for POC (Bridges 2011). Because reproduction is a stratified process outcomes, opportunities, and options are constrained by race, class, and gender. State policies and social practices enable some to optimize their reproduction options while others are severely constrained (Foucault 1990; Ginsburg and Rapp 1991). Reproductive stratification today echoes colonial patterns and reflect a tri-racial system where the racial hierarchy is created and negotiated by white, affluent parents who are in the best position to navigate reproductive markets and POC's options are constrained and controlled (Bonilla-Silva 2004, 2014; Shura et al. 2016; Stoler 2002; Woodward 2016).

Social and state control of people of color and reproduction is not a new dynamic, but one as old as imperialism (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Stoler 2002). From social perceptions of good parenting to colonial practices that used colorism to sort and remove Indigenous children to laws banning interracial sex and denying parents legal custody of multiracial children, history abounds with illustrations that confirm family building is a racial project (Coontz 1992; Omi and Winant 1994; Stoler 2002).

Race-Based Organizing

Existing racial hierarchies and state policies directed at population management create unique threats for POC communities. Threats have the power to mobilize collective action. When those threats are race-based, we can expect racial variation in the resulting mobilizations. By mobilizing around race-based threats, marginalized racial groups can create political power where it may have been previously denied and develop multiracial coalition groups.

Race-based threats drive much of POC mobilization in the reproductive health field and were the impetus in the 1990s for POC activists to separate from the reproductive rights movement. My dissertation in part documents whether historically white organizations are more thoroughly addressing race-based threat. The failure to address race-based threats erases reproductive health as a cite of racialization and undermines coalition building. State intervention in reproductive health is at its core motivated by maintaining racial hierarchies. If reproductive health threats can be understood as part of a larger racial project, then it would be necessary for all reproductive health organizations to actively participate in racial justice actions as part of their mission. While ambiguity in framing can be beneficial as movement actors want to cast a wide net, this ambiguity may be letting key stake holders slip through. As I will argue in the conclusion, given the past abuses from the state and movement actors in the reproductive health field, specificity and history are necessary for coalition building.

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Formal Justice and Legal Consciousness

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The law is not monolithic, it contains many component parts, layers, and actors. The law can mean many things and relationships *to the law* and *within society* may determine the definition of law being invoked. I document tensions between formal versus substantive justice, and the law as written versus the law as practiced. These differences in experiencing the law as

procedural as opposed to meaningful and as symbolic, on paper, or discriminatory in practice impact the validity and resonance of legal frames. In this section I explore how the law is used within social movements as understood by social movement actors.

Weber delineates the differences between formal law, which emphasizes rule following and procedure, and substantive law, which is concerned with more ideological goals of sociopolitical justice (1978). The distinctions between law as written and law as practiced has been the concern of socio-legal scholars for some time (Gould and Barclay 2012). Legality is a social construct meaning it responds to how law is practiced on the ground and how those practices are received and experienced by both practitioners and laypeople (Ewick and Silbey 1998). Social movement constructions of law and justice have the power to shift legal consciousness so how SMOs are invoking the law and justice may have significant effects on laws in the future.

To better understand social movement actors' conceptualizations of "justice" and "rights" it is helpful to understand how socio-legal scholars conceptualize formal and substantive justice. Formal justice refers to procedural equality – the equal application of legal procedures, internal orientation without regard to context, and self-referential systems (Pedriana and Stryker 2017). Whereas, substantive justice refers to moral, political, and cultural goals that reach beyond the bounds of formal legal systems (Pedriana and Stryker 2017). Social movement actors may mobilize around perceived mismatches such as the denial of a right, reframing formal law as unjust and developing alternate practices to replace legal ones. This oppositional stance to the legal system is a resistant legal consciousness (Hull 2003). Tensions between formal justice and substantive justice are made increasingly visible in the struggle for racial justice where formal justice exacerbates disparate racial outcomes in the law.

Rights, as part of formal justice, are contestable social constructs which offer formal protections which may not manifest in practice (Scheingold 2011; Tushnet 1989). The distinction between law as written and law as practiced has been explored extensively by socio-legal scholars (Ewick and Silbey 1998; Gould and Barclay 2012; Luna 2013). I argue that both law as written and law as practiced are racial projects, reinforcing racial hierarchies even when using seemingly race "neutral" language. Racial projects are the ongoing processes which maintain racial stratification by embedding racial meanings in social structures (Omi and Winant 2014). Increasingly racial hierarchies are maintained through color-blind processes which perpetuate

racial stratification without overtly invoking race (Bonilla-Silva 2014). Formal justice which relies on equal application regardless of context renders existing racial disparities invisible, exacerbating disparate racial outcomes. In the next section I will describe how formal justice appeals more to those in privileged positions in society while those on the margins – particularly racial minorities – may focus on substantive justice.

Legal consciousness is a collective construction produced through the law as practiced, the law as experienced, and the stories we tell about the law – what it is and who it is for (Ewick and Silbey 1998). Social movement actors often invoke the concept of rights but how it is invoked has major consequences for coalition building and maintenance, legal and policy outcomes, and perceived applications. Differing understandings of rights and justice may create tensions where a coalition might have formed (Quadagno 1996). Appealing to individual just outcomes may be less effective in legal cases than a group-centered approach (Pedriana and Stryker 2017). Relying on a group-centered effects framework "focuses on systemic group disadvantage rather than individual harm, discriminatory consequences rather than discriminatory intent, and substantive, remedial group results rather than formal procedural justice for individual victims or alleged wrongdoers" (Pedriana and Stryker 2017: 88). Some conceptualizations of justice may not include the interests of marginalized groups, undercutting the robustness of the definition by further disadvantaging the disadvantaged (Quadragno 1992). For the purpose of legal change, then, it would follow that rights should be constructed to include or center the concerns of marginalized groups and focus on collective disadvantage and discriminatory effects, so why is that not the consistent conceptualization of rights for social movement actors?

Competing interests and state interactions are the major cause of variation in legal frames. Intergroup relations – in this case particularly across racial lines – and relationships to the state result in differing constructions of law and justice. In the 1960s, Unions and Civil Rights activists clashed over the meaning of economic justice, with Civil Rights activists arguing for access to jobs while Union members sought better wages and conditions (Quadagno 1992). The starting point for each group was different – before the Civil Rights activists could focus on fair treatment in the workplace, they needed to gain access to those workplaces. Competing interests resulted in antagonism between the two groups where solidarity might have formed. Unions strategically excluded Black men so instead of both the unions and Civil Rights activists

pressuring employers, employers were able to exacerbate tensions between the two activist groups (Quadagno 1992). A formal definition for economic justice was slowly formed over multiple conflicts, legal interventions, and Justice Department policies – this suggests that justice while a mobilizing frame was not a fully established or articulated ideology, rather it "*evolve[d] through a dialectical interaction between the state and social movements*" (emphasis original, Quadagno 1992: 626). Who advocates for justice and what conceptualization of justice they hold may result in how the state eventually adopts or rejects movement demands. The type of change – social, legal, cultural – a social movement creates relies on how they discuss threats, grievances, and solutions.

The reproductive health field highlights (1) the tensions between law on the books and law as practiced, (2) the failure of reproductive "rights" to protect POC's reproductive lives holistically, (3) the complex and occasionally conflicting relationship between rights and justice movement organizations (Gould and Barclay 2012; Luna and Luker 2013; Ross 2006; Scheingold 2011). The concept of reproductive justice, appearing in WOC activist works in the 1990s, embedded reproductive health and rights in racial and economic justice (Luna and Luker 2013; Ross 2006). I posit that racial justice and reproductive justice cannot be separated and I am not alone in that assertion – early in the movement, Black women activists were resistant to separating reproductive rights from civil rights (Silliman et al 2004)[2]. POC have been organizing around racialized reproductive justice for as long as (if not longer) white organizations have been organizing solely around reproductive choice (Briggs 2017; Silliman 2004).

The legal grounds of Roe v. Wade rested on the right to privacy which means the major barriers – racism and economic inequality – POC face to have, not have, and raise children could not be addressed within the legal framework established by "reproductive rights." Thus, reproductive rights and reproductive justice are not equivalent. The "rights" won through Roe v. Wade were inaccessible to many women financially and geographically. A legal right with no mechanisms to realize that right, made safe, legal abortions just as inaccessible as before Roe v. Wade. Socio-legal scholars play an important role in the emergence of the reproductive justice frame (Luna and Luker 2013). While organizations who previously worked under a rights framework are eager to adopt the justice framing, I would expect reproductive justice

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[2] Although it should be noted is there is not a hegemonic agreement among POC in support of reproductive rights

organizations and activists to be wary of relying on rights and formal law which are embedded in racial projects and discriminatory practices.

Intersectionality

Both feminist and critical race scholars acknowledge the limitations of using a single-axis approach (using only a gender or race lens) to view inequality (McCall 2005). Race, class, and gender cannot be disentangled because they are "reciprocally constructing phenomena" (Collins 2015: 2). This means that class is raced and gendered, gender is raced and classed, and race is classed and gendered (Acker 2006). While there are disagreements over the primacy of any given axis, it is generally accepted by scholars of inequality these axes are intertwined – or *intersected*. At its core, the concept of intersectionality is about relationships to power and knowledge (Choo and Ferree 2010).

Intersectionality is ultimately about understanding how interlocking oppression maintain a racialized and gendered hierarchy through matrices of domination (Collins 1990). Racial, gender, and class hierarchies do not reify themselves in isolation but interact to perpetuate the domination of white men (MacKinnon 2013). Class and gender can impact perceptions of race, for instance, with "diagonal movement" across categories – for instance, class mobility has been proven to influence perceptions of race (Penner and Saperstein 2013).

There are many ways to think about intersectionality – as a field of study, as a methodological strategy, and as a critical praxis (Collins 2015; McCall 2005; Zavella 2020). As a framework, keeping with the tradition of feminist scholarship, intersectionality acknowledges that knowledge and power are linked and mutually re-enforcing. Intersectionality is therefore an epistemological stance and an active practice. For the purpose of my project, I use intersectionality as a theoretical concept focusing on the intersections of race/ethnicity and gender throughout my dissertating and discuss intersectionality as a methodological approach in Chapter 3.

I argue the field of reproductive health can only be understood by using intersectionality as a framework. The reproductive experiences of any individual cannot be separated from gender, racial and ethnic group, sexuality, and class. Gender alone cannot explain the issues, interests, tensions and threats within the movement. Intersectionality and perceptions of threat are explored in greater detail in the following section.

Constructing Threat

Ultimately my dissertation project is interested in solidarity across lines of race/class/gender. Solidarity, or a sense of unified purpose or stake in a movement, may result from shared identity (Taylor and Whittier 1992) or shared interests (Anner 2011; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Political opportunity theorists believe openings for collective action in the political context, or political opportunities, are more salient than shared identities in creating solidarity (Bair and Palpacuer 2012; Bieler and Lindberg 2011; Kay 2011; Meyer 2004; Tormos 2017; Williams 2010) and more recently scholars argue intersectional praxis is necessary for cultivating solidarity (Einwohner et al. 2021; Tormos 2017).

Threat has been well documented as a powerful mobilizing force. Threat, referring to state repression (including erosion of rights and state induced economic hardship) as conceptualized in the political process model is often used as the foil to political opportunity, which refers to action that occurs when resources include favorable social or political conditions become available (Almeida 2003; Goldstone and Tilly 2001; McAdam 1982; Tilly 1979). Threat is not the inverse of opportunity although it is often treated as such; threat is its own distinct concept which has been developed in its own literature (Almeida 2003; Goldstone and Tilly 2001; Maher 2010). State repression is one form of threat, but threat can also be thought of in terms of some damaging event or condition that will result from the failure to act collectively. For the purpose of this project, I define threat as the cost of inaction – i.e., what will happen if we fail to act? (Einwohner and Maher 2011; Maher 2010).

Threat not only mobilizes but can encourage coalitions to develop where they may not normally form. Coalitions, or collaborations between social movement organizations, form when the political opportunity structure is favorable and/or when the threat is great enough (McCammon and Campbell 2002; Van Dyke 2003). Perceived threats and perceived severity play a large role in mobilization. The perceived threat of a Trump administration mobilized millions of women in 2017 who began planning the Women's March as soon as the presidential election results were announced in 2016 (Fisher 2019; McKane and McCammon 2018). Mobilization during the HIV crisis was highest among the LGBTQ+ community as they experienced the threat and mobilized in increasingly visible collective actions after the state ignored the epidemic (Smith and Siplon 2006;Tester 2004). The Women The concept of threat is especially useful for understanding collective action under extremely repressive conditions, as

evidenced by patterns of resistance or compliance during the Holocaust where underestimating the total threat lead some communities to comply while in other communities hopelessness was transformed into collective action (Einwohner 2003, 2022; Einwohner and Maher 2011; Maher 2010). These studies show that how threats are framed has a meaningful effect on collective action (Einwohner 2022; Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Threats and the perception of threats do not impact everyone equally however, either within a group and across groups. Some may be more vulnerable than others – or perceive themselves to be.

A shared understanding of threats can be a powerful mobilizing force, ut organizing is undermined when groups fail to perceive a material threat as severe and impending. Peoples' understandings of threat can vary even if the conditions experienced are the same as exemplified in the case of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust (Einwohner 2022). Despite the material threat of genocide across Nazi-occupied territories, assessment of the severity and immediacy of the threats varied (Einwohner 2022). Failure to accurately assess threats can have dire consequences. The severity of threat can impact the degree to which individuals and groups mobilize. Too little or vague a threat and action seems unnecessary, too severe a threat may discourage action (Benford 1993). Immediacy (the temporal proximity) and lethality (the physical severity) of a threat often dictate collective action (Maher 2010). Although past literature indicates threats that are too powerful can cause inaction. there are key cases – such as the above mentioned organized Jewish resistance inside camps and ghettos during the Holocaust – which indicate resistance can occur because of "total threat" – a threat which is both immediate and lethal (Maher 2010). Total threats are acted upon through collective action under two conditions: (1) critical conclusions must be reached, and (2) resonant responses must include action (Einwohner 2022). Critical conclusions refer to how people understand the failure to act. If those affected believe they will die whether they act or fail to act they may decide armed, collective resistance is a reasonable or *resonant* response (Einwohner 2022: 38). The failure to understand a threat as deadly, imminent, and total undermines organized resistance. This has implications for the capacity to organize in movement fields with differing understandings of threat and uneven experiences of precarity.

I build upon extant discussions of threat by arguing that perceptions of threat and inclusion can be intertwined. How social movement organizations frame threats – or whether they reference a threat at all – shapes who feels legitimized and what actions are possible. The

construction of threat is therefore particularly relevant to diverse social movements. Threats from external foes and structures can specifically target a marginalized group within a movement. A movement's failure to recognize and address those threats undermines the capacity for solidarity. While there is a robust literature on the types and degrees of solidarity within the sociological and political science literature (Sholz 2008), I am interested primarily in intersectional solidarity. Intersectional solidarity is an active process which requires confronting unequal power relations to work across differences (Einwohner et al. 2021; Tormos 2017).

Intersectional solidarity views solidarity as an ongoing process which consciously challenges oppression and power dynamics by identifying and centering those with the least power (Tormos 2017). Rather than a passive solidarity resulting from shared identity or grievances, intersectional solidarity is an active process of inclusion. Organizations must actively engage in intersectional praxis to build a capacity for intersectional solidarity. Inclusion without the active and ongoing commitment to intersectional praxis will undermine an organization's capacity for solidarity.

A movement which practices intersectional solidarity carefully consider how perceptions of threat vary across groups. Organizations who claim to be intersectional, then, would be expected to engage in consistent, intersectional praxis which would result in relative uniformity across organizations in what is considered a threat. Failure to critically engage with power relations will render inclusion of marginalized groups superficial at best and inauthentic at worst. Perceptions of inauthenticity undermine perceived legitimacy and ultimately participation in a movement (Luna 2017).

This project aims to address variations in threat construction and perceptions of threat within and among groups as a means of furthering my ultimate interests in intersectional solidarity. As Einwohner and Maher (2011) argue, threat is multi-dimentional which means threat maybe experienced differently over time and across groups. In case of the reproductive justice movement, I argue that threat can be perceived differently by historically white and POC led organizations, with implications for solidarity across the racial divide.

According to Einwohner and Maher (2011), the dimensions of threat are severity, temporality, applicability, malleability, and credibility. Severity refers to lethality/survivability of the threat; temporality refers to how imminent or distant the threat is; applicability refers to who the threat applies to; malleability is the responsiveness of the threat to movement actors'

effort; and credibility which is the believability of the threat (Einwohner and Maher 2011). Applied to my case, I argue that white women understand the threat to reproductive health as inaction will lead to their legal rights being limited by proposed legislation and extremist politicians while POC understand the threat of inaction to be continued denial of rights, potential death, and family separation from interlocking systems of oppression including but not limited to threats from the state. The historical basis for these perceptions of threats are explained in greater depth in Chapter 4 where I provide a brief summary of forced sterilizations, increased rates of maternal and infant mortality rate, and systematic mistreatment of marginalized groups in the United States. While all women experience gendered oppression, cis white women enjoy racial and cisgender privileges which impacts their collective understanding of the past and current threats to reproductive health. The result of the uneven historic mistreatment is that POC are more likely to view threats to reproductive health as less survivable, more immediate, more applicable, and the most severe threats will seem more credible. Thus, racism within the reproductive health field is not relegated to the past. Disagreements over the prevalence and severity of threats persist in social movement discourse today.

In the rest of this dissertation, I examine differences in how rights and threats are framed in social media posts by six SMOs in the field of reproductive health. The next chapter describes my data and methods.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND METHODS

Introduction

Any analysis of a modern social movement must address technology – how do social movement organizations (SMOs) use the Internet? What can social media usage tell us about a social movement's goals? How can researchers use social media to track SMO messaging? Social media act as an "instant archive" recording events in real time with user-populated archives and platform moderation (Rochford et al. forthcoming). My project uses social media data to answer several research questions about framing rights, threats, and solidarity across difference. While frames, rights, threats, and solidarity are well-studied phenomena in the social movements literature, my study offers a novel way to collect data on social movements concepts: Instagram posts. Instagram is a social media platform that allows users (in this case reproductive health SMOs) post visuals alongside text captions. My project explores the imagery and accompanying captions to better understand how reproductive health SMOs frame threats and solutions as well as how organizations build or express solidarity across racial differences.

To answer my research questions – How does a social movement organization's understanding of racial history shape contemporary framing choices? How does framing on social media address race and inclusion? How do SMOs signal inclusion or intersectional solidarity? – I collected original data from 1,200 Instagram posts. This chapter delineates my methodology which includes (1) quantitative analyses using Instagram posts and (2) in-depth qualitative analyses using Instagram posts. My data consist of 1,200 posts (including images and text) from six reproductive health organizations, three historically white (HW) (600 posts) and three POC (600 posts), I use these data to explore differences in organizations' framing of rights and threats and their portrayals of the past and projections of their future. In this chapter I explain my choice of Instagram as my data collection site, describe my data collection procedures, and outline my analysis.

Data Collection

In this section I explain the unique features of Instagram that make it an ideal and underutilized site for studying social movements. Next, I detail my sampling, data collection, and coding procedures for the quantitative and qualitative methods of my project. Finally, I will detail the types of analyses I performed.

Why Instagram?

Social media offers social movement organizations easy access to a large audience by increasing the speed of communication while decreasing the expense of reaching out. Increasingly social media is important for organizing action, sustaining participation, and recruiting potential participants (Earl and Garrett 2017; Earl and Kimport 2011; Tufekci 2017). My project is specifically interested in how SMOs utilize social media to mobilize and represent diverse audiences. Twitter is often the platform most associated with social movement scholarship in part because it lends itself well to big data analysis and network analysis (Earl et al. 2013; Jackson et al. 2020; Tufekci 2017). SMOs are active not only on twitter and Facebook, but on a wide range of social media.

Social media is not a monolith; platform designs inform how individuals are able to engage and whether they will feel comfortable in a digital space. For the purpose of my dissertation, I focus on the platform Instagram. Instagram is one site where gendered political performances are made highly visible (Einwohner and Rochford 2019). Instagram is considered a feminized space (Einwohner and Rochford 2019), while platforms like 8chan are known as hostile for women and minorities – especially Black women and queer people of color.

Instagram offers a compelling site to examine SMOs' framing of rights and threats to reproductive health because it is a visual platform. Real, filtered, and artistic renderings of bodies and issues are on display for analysis. Instagram's emphasis on visual displays makes it an ideal platform for frame analysis. Framing includes symbols and themes that are not easily captured through text alone. Visual data also allow me to assess who is represented as part of the movement – what types of people are shown, who is included, and who is centered. Importantly, Instagram is a platform with an active presence of SMOs working in the reproductive health field. Based on Instagram's popularity with actors within the reproductive health field, the value

of visual information on framing, and the potential richness of the data, I selected Instagram as the platform for my research.

Platform choice is especially important when race and movements for racial justice come into play. The Digital Age presents unique challenges and opportunities in terms of racial inequality. Technology can perpetuate existing racial inequality, but also has the capacity to challenge racism. Social movement actors utilize the speed and ease of social media to spread information and organize as evidenced by transnational organizing and resource sharing around the Movement for Black Lives in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and more (Beaman 2015; Jackson et al. 2020). Social media also enabled fast and affordable strategy sharing during pro-democracy uprisings in Hong Kong and the United States(Groundwater 2020). It also enabled photos and videos to "go viral" or circulate rapidly to thousands (or millions) of viewers.

Yet, technological advances have not been uniformly beneficial or detrimental to racial equality. While Black activists have especially used digital tools to their advantage (see "#BlackLivesMatter" and "#SayHerName" campaigns), white supremacist and fascist organizations have long utilized social media and the Internet to recruit and radicalize (Copsey 2003; Whine 1997). It is important to parse through which advances are associated with what effects. Social media is playing a larger role in the average person's daily life. 72% of Americans used social media of some kind in 2021 and globally 2.34 billion people are using social media (Pew Research 2021). The 2020 COVID-19 pandemic likely increased these figures as more Americans were forced to embrace digital socialization. Sociologists are increasingly recognizing social media as a critical area of study. Often social media analysis looks at one platform – often Twitter – without acknowledging how platform design, reputation, and updates create unique interactions and digital cultures. Design features such as sharing tools, degree of anonymity, photo features, and moderation tools create digital cultures and norms that can enable or constrain hate speech (Rochford 2020; Rochford et al. forthcoming). In terms of combatting or perpetuating racial inequality, platforms are not uniformly harmful or beneficial. I argue we must distinguish between platforms when it comes to the analysis usage of social media.

Twitter and Facebook have dominated social movement research, perhaps in part because of software accessibility and their reputations as political platforms. Excellent scholarship on how movements utilize social media has made its way into mainstream social movements

literature (see Earl and Garrett 2017; Tufekci 2017). Social media analysis is still in its infancy and methodologies are still developing and often changing as quickly as the data they are attempting capture. As platforms change and new platforms emerge, it is critical we spend time unpacking platform design and how it shapes the content. Design can enable and/or constrain content in subtle ways which is why I will outline the particulars of Instagram and justify its use for this study.

Instagram is a visual platform which allows users to post up to ten photos or short videos at a time. It is known for being upbeat and stylized, perhaps because of this reputation the perception is that its user base is largely younger women. The use of Instagram by gender is actually even with men and women within a percentage point; however, women are much less likely to visibly engage on other social media sites making this parity strike some as dispropotionate (Dixon 2022; MacLachlan 2022). Instagram has over one billion monthly users according to their own statistics[3]. Users create a handle which may de-identify them, but all posts and comments they make will be marked by this name making the platform semi-anonymous. Users are only able to react with a heart option or comment. There are no down vote or dislike options which may contribute to Instagram's reputation for having a positive atmosphere. Users may express distaste via comments, but the original poster is able to delete comments with discretion. Due to these design features it is fairly easy for users to police negativity making this platform ideal for newer political activists or women who want to embrace political action without violating expectations of femininity (Einwohner and Rochford 2019; Rochford 2020). All these platform characteristics – the visual data and positive culture – make Instagram distinct from other, oft-used platforms such as Twitter and Facebook and enhance the contributions of my study.

Organization Selection

The data for this project come from public Instagram posts from six reproductive justice organizations: The Center for Reproductive Rights, COLOR Latina, Forward Together, NARAL, Planned Parenthood, and SisterSong. The organizations were purposively selected based on their prominence and historical significance within the reproductive justice movement. My criteron of

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[3] https://instagram-press.com/our-story/

variation in sampling was the racial makeup of the organizations. I wanted to compare three historically white organizations to three people of color lead organizations. This division perfectly aligned with movement type (rights and justice). This was not a purposeful feature of the sample but a natural result of organizational histories. The historically white organizations all operate within the reproductive rights movement and the POC-led organizations all operate within the reproductive justice movement. Race shaped the reproductive health field and influences the ideologies organizations develop. The overlap between race and movement type is so complete that I could have easily labeled my organizational types "Rights Organizations" and "Justice Organizations" and present the same analyses but it is the racial makeup that drives the ideology. I outline the historical and cultural significance of each organization in Chapter 4.

Table 1: Data Sources and Types

Data	Source	Type	Purpose
1,200 Instagram posts	6 RH SMOs (3 HW; 3 POC)	Quantitative analyses	Assess differences across HW and POC organizations in terms of framing
120 Instagram posts	Stratified, random 10% subsample	Qualitative analysis	Expand upon quantitative analyses to explore differences in how frames are being utilized
227 Instagram posts	Purposive subsample, posts coded "1" for rights	Qualitative analysis	Explore in-depth the framing and context around "rights"

Data Collection – 1,200 Instagram Posts

The data for my dissertation come from 1,200 Instagram posts from six reproductive health organizations. While three organizations are explicitly run by and for POC, the other three have no stated racial demographic target but caters to white middle-class cisgender audience and has typically been run by predominately white boards of directors/leadership. I refer to these organizations as historically white (HW). Criteria for inclusion in this study include:

reproductive health/justice/choice organizations with public accounts, accounts must be verified Instagram account and more than 500 posts as of the data collection (January 2019 for the initial test sampling and July 2020 for the final sample included in the dataset). Verification indicates the account has been vetted and represents the organization it claims. The number of posts indicates the organization actively uses the platform with some regularity. Each organization included in my sample had over 1000 followers and posted with some regularity – either daily or weekly. Some organizations post multiple times a day. Usage of the platform increased overtime for all six organizations. All the organizations have a national presence outside of Instagram usage although some may be regionally specific in terms of the communities they serve. The organizations were purposively chosen based on reviews of nonprofits, their inclusion in works detailing the history of the reproductive health field in the U.S. such as Staggenborg's work on the passage of Roe v. Wade, Silliman et al.'s volume on the history of people of color led organizations, and Zavella's work on contemporary women of color led organizations (Silliman et al. 2020; Staggenborg 1990; Zavella 2020).

Initial Sampling

I conducted two rounds of sampling of Instagram posts from these organization, an initial sampling of 400 posts and a second round which comprised my final 1,200 post dataset. The initial 400 post sample was used to develop and refine research questions and coding schemes. This sample was not included in the final dataset. To collect the initial sample, I worked with a research assistant to generate a random sequence of 400 posts from two organizations to develop my coding scheme (explained in more detail below)

Final Sampling

In June of 2020 I began data collection for the 1,200 post sample that comprises the data for this dissertation. The official Instagram accounts for the six SMOs that are the focus of my study were sampled using a random number generator. A sample of 200 posts from each SMO was selected by entering the total number of posts at the day of collection into a random number generator and collecting the first two hundred random numbers. The "first" post is considered the earliest post on the account and the last is the most recent, so "1" in the sample would be the

earliest image posted. For example, if organization A had 1,236 total posts, I would set the random number generator to range from 1 to 1,236, the generator would then randomly list all the integers between 1 and 1,236, then I would select the first 200 integers, and finally I would collect the posts corresponding to those integers. As the total number of posts varied by organizations, this process was repeated for each of the six organizations. By using a random number generator, I was able to systematically sample each account. The sample covers a seven-year span with the earliest organizations actively posting in 2013 and all six organizations actively posting into 2020.

I then coded the 1,200 posts to create a quantitative dataset that measured a number of variables describing the posts (see Appendix). Initial coding patters, review of the literature on social movements and reproductive justice, and research questions all informed the codes. Images were coded for (1) descriptives such as word count, number of likes, number of comments, presence of various elements such as figures or body parts, (2) references to legislation or social movements – for example the Women's March, (3) explicit references to intersectionality, race/class/gender, or sexuality, (4) frame use, (5) calls to action, support seeking, and type of action (none, political, cultural, or both), and (6) racial composition of figures if present, colorism, and whether figures are real or artistic renderings. The dataset includes many other variables as well such as references to violence and use of hashtags or emojis. Coding occurred in stages with both the author and a research assistant coding 400 images not included in the sample and comparing a subsample of 50 for validity. Coding was then confirmed by a third-party researcher for accuracy and consistency. My research assistant, our third party researcher, and I coded a random sample of ten posts using the codebook and produced results that matched at 90% or more. Initial coding patterns, review of the literature on social movements and reproductive justice, and research questions resulted in a final codebook of 105 variables.; however, for this project I narrow my focus to variables related to race, legal frames, threat, calls to action, and intersectionality.

The code book (Appendix) includes three major types of variables: (1) post details, (2) descriptors, and (3) theoretically substantive variables. Post details include variables that track the date, the number of the post, an ID number, and the number of images and videos included. Descriptor variables describe the visual and textual content of the post. These variables provide a rough sense of what the post contains, for example is it an illustration of a group or a text post

describing legislation? Finally, theoretically substantive variables include concepts including frames used, references to social movements or legislation, explicit use of terms like gender, etc. Used in combination, theoretically substantive variables can answer research questions about complex subjects like framing, threats, and intersectional solidarity.

Theoretically substantive variables are derived from the literature and refined during the initial phase of coding. Substantive variables are themes and concepts one would expect to find based on the reproductive health and social movement literatures. The substantive section predominantly uses categorical variables measured with binary categories. Concepts like frames are broken into a series of binary variables which will allow for posts that invoke multiple frames. Complex concepts like "violence" were refined during the initial phase of coding. Originally violence was a binary variable, coded "1" for any references to violence; however, the in coding the initial 400 posts (not included in the final sample) it became clear that there were distinct types of violence referenced and that patterns varied based on the type of violence. This led to the creation of multiple binary violence variables that can be used in combination and captured the difference between gender-based violence, sexual violence, and murder. By separating out types of violence I am able to parse perceptions of threat and vulnerability in Chapter 6.

I use my dataset quantitatively to (1) track frames used over time, (2) calculate the frequency of calls to actions, frames used, number of mentions of substantive topics like race, gender, LGBTQ+ issues, references to legislation, etc. and (3) compare trends and frequencies by organization type (POC or HW). I also perform more detailed qualitative analysis on a smaller subset of posts to further explore the quantitative findings. My specific quantitative and qualitative analyses are described in more detail in each substantive chapter to come. Before, I describe in detail the history of the reproductive health field in the U.S. and the six organizations I selected for my analyses, I want to explain how intersectionality is used in my study. In Chapter 2 I detail its theoretical uses, here I want to summarize how intersectionality can be applied methodologically and considerations for measuring intersectionality quantitatively.

Intersectionality as Methodological Practice

Intersectionality as a methodological practice stems from intersectionality as theoretical framework (McCall 2005). Black Feminist Thought argues that all knowledge is partial (Collins

1990). Knowledge is socially produced from the particular vantage point of the scientist and as such all knowledge is incomplete. Intersectionality as a methodological strategy ranges from quantitative interactions in models to more radical anti-categorical practices (McCall 2005). Intersectional methodologies highlight the limitations of previous methods while highlighting the need for evolving methodologies which may be better able to capture the complexities of intersectional lives (McCall 2005).

In its simplest form, interacting variables in a statistical model, researchers acknowledge that the combination of traits produces a unique effect that differs from an additive model, i.e. including the combination of variables produces distinct results as compares to simply including all the variables. What this suggests is that there is no such thing as the variable in a "pure" form. Gender and race do not exist in a "pure" form, rather they are inherently mutually constructed (Collins 1999). Capturing intersectionality purely through quantitative methods has been contested although some argue it can be done effectively (Penner and Saperstein 2013). Qualitative methodologies are generally considered better suited to capturing the complex intersections of identity especially as including multiple axes often shrinks your sample size and the adherence to categories may further marginalize marginalized populations by forcing spectrums into binaries and categories for the sake of convenience (Choo and Ferree 2010; Penner and Saperstein 2013). Some take this a step further, rejecting categories altogether as an inherently limiting and oppressive strategy of analysis (Collins 1990; Haraway 1988; McCall 2005).

Coding for Race

Race, ethnicity, and immigration are tied to nationalism and state projects (Brown 2009; Omi and Winant 2015). Measuring and defining race is deeply contextual and political. Race is not a biologically meaningful category, rather it is a political construction (Omi and Winant 2014; Roberts 2011; Smedley and Smedley 2005). Racial categorization may come from the state or be the result of concerted efforts for recognition (Maghbouleh 2017; Omi and Winant 2015). The state may set forth the categories and criteria for racial and ethnic groups but that does not necessarily mean an individual's legal race matches their racialized experiences (Maghbouleh 2017). Racial and ethnic identities are not passively received from the state either as shared racial and ethnic identity (legal or perceived) can result in organizing efforts that

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challenge the state. It should be noted that power in racial hierarchies is not strictly top down from the state, the political power of racialized minorities cannot be dismissed (Omi and Winant 2014). Assigning racial and ethnic codes to images is imperfect and should be noted as such. Posts were coded using a binary variable for references to race and ethnicity. Visuals of people were not coded "1" for "Race" unless the post referenced a specific name, category, or group strongly linked to race/ethnicity, as all figures face a racial and ethnic identity (See Appendix).

Coding for Intersectionality

As I am interested in the performance and practice of intersectionality (among other things), I think of capturing intersectionality in several ways. I code for explicit mentions of intersectionality quantitatively and implicit uses qualitatively. In this subsection I explain and justify my analytic strategies and discuss some the complications in measuring intersectionality. As discussed in Chapter 2, intersectionality refers to the complex interactions of identity that produce unique experiences of oppression. This is difficult to capture strictly quantitatively. Below I describe my coding strategy for my data set:

(1) *Quantitative - Coding for Explicit Uses*. How and when are organizations invoking intersectionality? Are they using it as shorthand for diversity – which would be an improper application of the term – or are they engaging critically with the legal and academic understanding of the term? For example, a post which uses the term "intersectional" or "intersectionality" would be coded as a "1" while a post which highlights Black women or uses the phrase "WOC" or "Women of Color" would be coded "0." While the term "Women of Color" does acknowledge the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender, I am interested in when the concept of intersectionality is explicitly referenced. How do organizations package intersectionality? What imagery do they use when invoking the term? Will the usage vary by organizational type?

(2) *Quantitative - Coding for Component Identities*. Measures such as "Race" and "Gender" are also captured so a variable can be constructed for posts that explicitly mention both race and gender. In practice, all bodies exist on some intersection of identity, so excluding all but explicit use of the term (or variants of the term) is a more consistent and accurate measure for intersectionality, i.e. why would a Woman of Color be inherently coded as intersectionality but a white man would not be as both terms describe an intersection of gender and race/ethnicity – this highlights the idea of POC as difference and white as

default. By coding for intersectionality separately from combinations of race, gender, class, sexuality, and disability, I can compare when intersectionality is used explicitly to when it is implied by the combination of terms used.

(3) *Qualitative – Coding for Vulnerability.* Coding qualitatively through memos allows for more a nuanced approach to intersectionality. Because intersectionality is related to power and oppression, I can code for themes around abuses – who is framed as vulnerable and to what types of abuse and oppression? This approach allows me to explore whether organizations focused on a single axis of oppression or acknowledge the matrix of domination. As abuses and oppressions vary based on a number of identities, whether organizations opt to highlight or erase uneven threats will illustrate their degree of intersectionality as praxis

(4) *Qualitative – Coding for Centering*. Using a stratified random sample of posts, I coded for who is depicted visually or discussed in the text of posts. I was interested not only in whether organizations included diverse representations of people, but whether posts explored the identities and issues of the people they referenced. This coding relates to intersectional solidarity which demonstrates how the most marginalized must be the focus of movement goals. Organizations centering marginalized groups and issues is engaging in intersectionality as praxis.

I am interested in the degree of ambiguity in the usage of "intersectionality." Scholars of intersectionality caution against using it as shorthand for identity because the definition and usage should always engage with power and oppression (Collins 2015). Using intersectionality or intersectional identity interchangeably with diversity or identity is a dangerous misusage. Popular usage of diversity and inclusion has all but stripped the terms of critical analysis, instead individuals and organizations engage in non-threatening "happy talk" (Bell and Hartmann 2007). Intersectionality in popular discourse is in danger of following the same path of increasing ambiguity. If the final analysis reveals systematic differences in frequency or context of invoking intersectionality, there are major implications regarding the achievement and maintenance of intersectional solidarity.

CHAPTER 4. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH FIELD IN THE UNITED STATES AND ORGANIZATION BACKGROUNDS

Introduction

The fight for reproductive freedoms in the United States predates the founding of the country. Colonizers imposed strict reductive hierarchies that prevented white women from engaging in interracial relationships and controlled the reproductive lives of Black, Brown, and Indigenous Peoples through violence, coercion, and legislation (Luna 2020; Roberts 1997; Ross 2017;Silliman et al. 2004; Stoler 2010). Collective actions to improve reproductive health and options repeatedly challenged laws and policies aimed at controlling bodies (Silliman et al. 2004). Historically, white women advanced their causes at a cost to women of color while women of color either allied themselves with white organizations (typically by embracing anti-Black ideologies) or formed multiracial coalitions (Ross et al. 2017; Staggenborg 1991; Zavella 2020). In the last century, public discourse on reproductive health has focused predominantly on accessing abortion or the ability to "choose" to have an abortion. Centering abortion access, however, often dismisses the serious concerns of people of color which can include abortion access but extends further into a broad range of reproductive health issues (Yuen Thompson 2017).

Organizations run by people of color, especially organizations led by Black women, have increasingly focused on shifting discourse from reproductive "choice" to reproductive justice which encompasses a broad range of subjects including: the right to access abortions, the right to bear children, and the right to raise children (Fried 2013; Luna 2017; Ross 2006; Ross et al. 2017; Silliman et al 2004), but these arguments rarely make it into mainstream discourse. The reproductive health agenda has largely been set by the white, cisgender, middle class leaving the concerns of marginalized groups unaddressed by mainstream (predominantly white) organizations (McFadden 2017). The public faces of the movement – recent presidents of NARAL and Planned parenthood, senators – have been white women who claim to represent the interests of all women (Luna 2017). Planned Parenthood recently named women of color as presidents. Leana Wen succeeded Cecile Richards as president but she was removed within a year (from February 2018 to July 2019) (Cramer et al. 2018; Kliff and Goldmacher). Wen cited

differing goals on equity and tactics as the reason she stepped down. Planned Parenthood claimed it was an issue of fit and replaced Wen with interim president Alexis McGill Johnson (another woman of color). The board eventually voted to make McGill Johnson the permanent president (Planned Parenthood 2022). This exception seems to prove the rule, placing women of color in leadership did little to shift the organization in terms of racial justice Although still used in popular discourse, the frame of choice has been long contested among reproductive justice organizations (Ross et al. 2017; Yuen Thompson 2017). Pro-choice framing and the organizations that embraced them – typically made up of middle class, cisgender, white women – did not consider the lived experience of low-income women, trans and nonbinary people, and WOC (McFadden 2017; Yuen Thompson 2017). Choice implies the ability to choose between accessible and realistic options (Rothman 1999). Marginalized people find their reproductive options socially, politically, and economically constrained. The frame of choice was inadequate for these groups, so many organizations moved toward a frame of justice (Yuen Thompson 2017). Although, its inadequacy is well known, the choice frame is still widely employed (Luna and Luker 2013).

In the summer of 2020 amid a nationwide racial reckoning, high profile reproductive health organizations like Planned Parenthood are also publicly grappling with their role in racial discrimination in the United States. The racial discrimination and frames in the field of reproductive health today cannot be fully understood separately from the history of the movements for reproductive rights and justice. In this chapter I provide important events, organizations, and legislation related to the movements for reproductive health. This chapter is divided into three sections: the right NOT to have children, the right to have children, and the right to parent children. These sections correspond to the three major goals of the reproductive justice movement (Ross 2017). The organizations in this study do not all claim to be reproductive justice organizations, but all six organizations operate within the field of reproductive health and advocacy.

The Right Not to Have Children

Roe v. Wade, which protected abortion under the Fourteenth Amendment right to privacy, was the culmination of various women's organizations, medical professionals, and

activist efforts at local and national levels. In the following subsection, I will outline a brief history of Roe v. Wade. First, I will describe the build up to Roe v. Wade and the role of medical/family planning organizations and the Women's Movement. Then, I will discuss the attacks against Roe v. Wade and restrictions to abortion (culminating in the Dobbs decision which overruled Roe as of June 2022). Finally, I will delineate the responses of marginalized groups who were either organizing concurrently or splintered from "mainstream" (middle class, white organizations) to better address their concerns with regards to both internal movement politics and externally in the quest for reproductive justice.

Since the landmark Supreme Court case Roe v. Wade, access to abortion has been fiercely attacked through state-level restrictions and ongoing attempts to send the abortion debate back to the Supreme Court. As of the writing of this chapter, a Supreme Court draft was leaked in May of 2022 indicating the court intended to overturn Roe. The Court announced in June of 2022 in the Dobbs decision that Roe and Casey are overruled and decisions related to abortion would be left to the states. Twenty-six states are likely to ban abortion completely including thirteen states with "trigger" laws which are intended to go into effect simultaneously with Dobbs for the purpose of ending abortion in those states (Nash and Guarnieri 2022). The Dobbs decision surprised many Americans but some activists on the left had been warning the public of this possibility. Fears over Roe increased as the 2016 Republican presidential candidates expressed increasingly far right beliefs (Gambino 2016). The 2016 election sent shockwaves through the country. The Supreme Court appointments during the Trump presidency and the now solid conservative majority in the court have many activists and organizations fearful for reproductive rights. The fight for reproductive rights in the 1960s and 70s provides necessary context for abortion's legal precarity today.

Leading Up to Roe

The Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision was the result of a concerted effort by doctors, activists, lawyers, and organizations. Three major types of organizations helped bring the issue of abortion access to the Supreme Court: professional associations (both medical and legal), women's rights organizations, and environmental groups (Staggenborg 1991). Legal and medical professional associations were concerned about the rights and safety of people seeking abortions

and used their professional expertise and resources to advocate. Environmental groups fought for abortion as a solution to over population and sustainability. Women's organizations advocated for women to have control over their bodies and family building. Although each organizational type had different rationales, each significantly contributed to bringing the issue of abortion to the Supreme Court.

Abortion was not illegal in the United States until the 1800s when states began passing legislation to restrict the practice[4]. The banning of abortion can be traced back to whites' fears of being outnumbered and doctors' professionalization campaigns (Reagan 2022). Doctors seeking to discredit midwives and elevate their own professional status were instrumental in the efforts to criminalize abortion and key actors in enforcement (Reagan 2022). After the high social status of medical doctors had been secured and the deadliness of illegal abortions became a major social problem, medical associations organized efforts played large role in securing the Roe v. Wade victory (Reagan 2022; Staggenborg 1991). Medical and family planning organizations predate and assisted the landmark case, although somewhat less vocally than other organizations. For example, Planned Parenthood is now perhaps the most well-known organization in support of Roe v. Wade but did not play a significant role prior to the Supreme Court decision (Staggenborg 1991). Both physicians and Planned Parenthood were relatively cautious with their lobbying efforts (preferring to focus on providing care than entering into highly charged political debates) but became far more vocal following the legalization of abortion. Organizations narrowly focused on abortion – such as National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL) and the Association for the Study of Abortion (ASA) – were the organizations leading the efforts to legalize abortion. In fact, ASA was responsible for supplying the lawyers (Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffee) and experts (Harriet Pilpel) who filed Roe v. Wade (Staggenborg 1991).

The early actors in the fight for Roe v. Wade were grassroots activists, NARAL, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and environmentalists (Staggenborg 1991). This coalition of single-issue organizations, women's organizations, and grassroots activists was predominantly white.

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[4] https://prochoice.org/education-and-advocacy/about-abortion/history-of-abortion/

Roe v. Wade

      The Roe v. Wade decision established that the Constitution supported the right to an abortion. This decision struck down state bans and restrictions on the procedure. Norma McCorvey, dubbed "Jane Roe," sought an abortion in 1969 Texas after discovering she was pregnant with what would be her third child. At the time Texas only permitted abortions when the life of the pregnant person is at risk. Attorneys Linda Coffee and Sarah Weddington brought her lawsuit to the Supreme Court in part thanks to pro-abortion advocacy groups (Staggenborg 1991). The decision was announced in 1973 with a 7-2 majority. Roe determined that abortion fell under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the right to privacy. Roe would be largely upheld by the decision in Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992) and eventually overturned by the decision in Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization (2022).

Restrictions Post-Roe v. Wade

      As of the writing of this chapter, Roe v. Wade has been effectively overturned by the Supreme Court ruling Dobbs v. Jackson (2022). A draft of the decision leaked in May 2022 causing mass protests and public outrage – both over the content of the decision and the breach of protocol the leak represented (Glenza 2022). Dobbs was argued on December 1st, 2021 and the decision was announced June 24th, 2022. This decision overrules Roe v. Wade (1973) and Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992) (Supreme Court 2021). In the days following the official announcement, people came out in mass to protest and medical professionals scrambled to confirm the legality of providing care (Glenza 2022). This subsection traces the gradual chipping away of access to legal abortion from the Roe decision to Dobbs.

      In the years following Roe v. Wade many of the active organizations professionalized, restructured, and moved toward a political and social "insider" status (Staggenborg 1991). This professionalization and formalization post-Roe v. Wade (a response to the seemingly universal victory for women) may have been too early for the women on the margins who felt the Roe v. Wade decision did not do much to address their specific barriers to reproductive healthcare. While access to abortion was formally granted with Roe v. Wade, abortion is considered a "negative liberty" in that it is legal to receive an abortion, but it is not a "positive liberty" which

means that all are entitled to access an abortion (Yuen Thompson 2017). This meant that for many people, accessing legal abortions remained out of reach.

The response to Roe v. Wade was an overwhelming, well-organized, and well-resourced legal mobilization of anti-abortion organizations. This is in large part due to the infrastructure provided by conservative religious organizations (Ginsburg 1998). Instead of being able to use the Supreme Court case as a window to cement access and further reproductive rights, the movement was forced into a defensive position as anti-abortion activists pushed restrictions through state legislature (Gerber Fried 2013). Whereas politically conservative groups had used maintaining racial segregation as a mobilization strategy that cause became increasingly unpopular, conservative groups adopted abortion as their new crusade (Ross 2017).

Since Roe v. Wade, 1,074 state-level restrictions have been passed related to abortion with 203 policies in just the first five years after Roe (Guttmacher 2016). Policy varies by state in the U.S. but some of the restrictions include limited time windows to have an abortion, eligibility based on the rationale for the procedure (rape, incest, medical necessity), limits on what methods/procedures can be performed, strict requirements for facilities that provide abortion services, and restricting/cutting federal funding (Guttmacher 2022). The Hyde Amendment is one example at the federal level of incremental reduction of Roe v. Wade's effect (Stern 2005; Denlendorf et al 2013). The Hyde Amendment specifies that federal funding cannot be used to provide abortions – including Medicaid (Bond Leonard 2017).

Various states have proposed legislation to shorten the time span available to women considering abortion. Georgia's "Heartbeat" Bill is one example. The so-called heartbeat bill sought to change the time frame to around six weeks (before many women know they are pregnant) (Grinberg 2016). The bill makes abortion access next to impossible, so while it could not deny access de jure while Roe stood, it would have de facto. Other states have policies forbidding the abortion of viable fetuses which provides a 20-week time frame – something many reproductive justice advocates find troubling. Currently 43 states restrict abortion access based on fetal development with several states attempting to pass six week bans which would effectively ban abortion (Guttmacher 2022).

POC and low-income white women are most acutely impacted by restrictions and more likely to seek abortion services than economically stable white women (Bond Leonard 2017). In a vicious cycle, anti-abortion advocates use disparities in abortion rates as evidence that clinics

target marginalized women (Dehlendorf et al 2013; Luna 2017; Ross 2006). By this logic, women of color who obtain abortions are guilty of racial injustice and banning abortion would be an act of racial justice (Ross 2017). This framing of the issue ignores not only POC reproductive and racial justice activists but the other health issues and social conditions – including mistrust in contraceptives and reproductive health care due to the legacy of abuses and racial projects – that contribute to a racial disparity in abortions (Dehlendorf et al 2013). Those seeking reproductive healthcare include a wide range of racial and ethnic groups, economic classes, gender identities, sexualities, physical health statuses, etc. Many groups felt their specific identities and concerns were not being prioritized by mainstream (white) SMOs and opted instead to work with or form SMOs that centered their intersectional identity rather than defaulting to middle class, cis, white women.

The Right to Have Children

POC-organizations had reasonable concerns about hinging reproductive health movements on abortion access. Many racialized groups in the U.S. were targeted for sterilizations, poor medical treatment, and racial/genocidal violence which threatened their abilities to form families (Krase 2014; Ross 2017; Silliman et al. 2004). In the 1950s, POC spearheaded efforts to end forced sterilizations of people of color and poor white women (Stern 2005). Nonconsensual sterilizations were legal in the U.S. until 1981 and the case Buck v. Bell (1927) which argued public institutions should be permitted to sterilize the "unfit" was never formally overturned. In the decision the justices write: "It is better for all the world if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes… Three generations of imbeciles are enough (Buck v. Bell 1927: 274)"

This fight and other forms of racial population management intertwine with the fight for abortion access and the racial legacy of white reproductive health organizations – particularly as environmental organizations, like Populations Zero, became vocal advocates for legal abortions (Staggenborg 1991). Although often framed as a social good, a public health measure, or an environmental protection, limiting population growth by targeting certain groups for measures

that reduce births are violations of international and domestic laws and policies (Silliman et al. 2004; Staggenborg 1991; Stern 2005). Sterilization or measures taken to limit the growth of marginalized groups through births is considered by the UN Convention on Genocide and the International Indian Treaty Council as an act of genocide (Silliman et al. 2004). Racialized fears of overpopulation or an over-abundance of *certain* populations played a role in public support for abortion access and low mobilization against forced/coerced sterilization and/or long-acting birth control (Briggs 2017; Ross 2007; Stern 2005). The zero population groups in particular were rooted in eugenic ideology which prioritized wealthy white and western reproductive lives over those in the global south (Staggenborg 1991). Organizations with explicit or implicit eugenic ideologies created sustained tensions within the movements for reproductive health.

Thus, the ability to *not* have children is not the only right denied to people of color. Some SMOs, such as the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), placed abortion access and sterilization as equally pressing issues (Silliman et al. 2004). Forced and coerced sterilizations targeted men and women from racially marginalized groups (Krase 2014; Stern 2005). Immigrants and Puerto Ricans were disproportionately sterilized in the 1960s and 1970s (Krase 2014). Medical professionals were legally permitted to sterilize patients they deemed unfit based on their intellect, sanity, physical health and ability, poverty, or sexual promiscuity (Stern 2005). Medical discretion led to tens of thousands of sterilizations in the U.S. and its territories. Forced and coerced sterilizations are ongoing in the U.S. We may never know how many people have been subjected to sterilizations through the criminal legal system, but formally incarcerated people continue to come forward (Krase 2014; Johnson 2013). Incarcerated people may be coerced into medical sterilization or pressured into long-acting reversible contraceptives (Gubrium et al. 2016; Higgins 2015). The criminal legal system routinely violates the law to coerce the marginalized people it comes into contact with to use contraceptives or opt into semi- and permanent contraception. In one shocking example, in 2018 a Cleveland judge implies to a man in his court that he will be denied leniency if he has any more children. The shocking piece is not that this occurred but that the judge said this while the internationally acclaimed *Serial* podcast crew were recording (Koenig 2018). The episode aired on September 20, 2018. The judge who unapologetically violated the law is still a sitting judge as of the writing of this, July 2022.

The Right to Parent

Related to the ability to have children discussed above, is the right to parent children in a safe environment. State intervention and institutional coercion not only prevent marginalized groups to growth through wanted pregnancies, they also remove children and separate families. The U.S. government has a long history of allowing or enforcing family separation through enslavement, immigration enforcement, incarceration, and forced relocations (Hannah-Jones 2021; Roberts 2002; Roth 2017; Silliman et al. 2004). While the mechanisms and targeted groups have changed over time, the state disproportionately removes children from marginalized groups.

Indigenous children in the U.S. were taken from their parents and placed in boarding schools and non-native homes to force native groups to assimilate (Pember 2019; Silliman et al. 2004: 106; Wong 2019). In the past decade, mass graves and widespread abuses have been uncovered at these schools in the United States and Canada (Blakemore 2021; Klotz 2021; Pember 2019, 2021). The Catholic Church recently (July 26, 2022) issued an apology for the atrocities committed by the religious boarding schools it ran in Canada from the early 1900s into the 1970s (Winfield and Smith 2022). Indigenous Peoples were not the only groups targeted for the removal of children. Enslaved Black children were used as leverage over their parents who had no legal rights to their children (Hannah-Jones 2021; Silliman et al. 2004). Enslaved people were subjected to rape, forced marriages, and forced separations (Silliman et al. 2004). State sanctioned violence as well as social stigmas and political disenfranchisement still exert considerable control over the reproductive lives of Black people and stability of Black families (Roberts 2002; Silliman et al. 2004). In *Killing the Black Body, Shattered Bonds,* and *Torn Apart* acclaimed legal scholar Dorothy Roberts meticulously outlines how the United States has restricted the reproductive lives of Black people including using child welfare as a means of state surveillance which disproportionately destroys Black families (1997, 2002, 2022). Immigration policies and enforcement have come under scrutiny during the Trump administration which took a "zero tolerance approach" to migration. The policy to separate children from their parents at the U.S./Mexico border resulted in adverse mental and physical outcomes at the individual, family, and community level (Wood 2018). While the Trump administration received the brunt of public outrage, U.S. immigration policy has historically detained and abused racialized groups

and continues to do so after Trump has left office (including separating families through detention and deportations) (SPLC 2022).

Mobilizing Around Gender vs Race

The organizations included in my dissertation are organized either broadly around gender or around race. Organizations which formed broadly around gender are typically founded and run disproportionately by white women. I refer to these organizations as historically white or HW-organizations. In response to their specific needs and concerns being ignored by the larger reproductive rights movement, POC formed new organizations explicitly around race and the ways that gender is raced and race is gendered. These organizations often formed around specific racial or ethnic groups. While founded predominantly by WOC they have made a concerted effort to include men and nonbinary people as stakeholders in the reproductive health field. I will refer to these organizations as POC-led rather than WOC-led to reflect this. POC organizations would go on to coin and popularize reproductive justice.

Women of color continue to be marginalized within the larger reproductive health field as evidenced by the prolonged use of frames that alienate them. HW-organizations have attempted to publicly address past racism and reach out racial minorities; however, these attempts do not seem to create sustained racial solidarity. Authenticity – linking movement identities to frames – is often a major concern when organizing on behalf of racial minorities (Luna 2017). The tension of who can authentically represent whom is double for women of color who feel their interests are not represented by predominantly white organizations but at the same time, they may have to contend with racist opposition (Luna 2017). The racial past of the U.S. shapes reproductive justice and attitudes about reproductive health care. Reproductive justice movement organizations must contend with opposition groups who appropriate the Civil Rights and the legacy of eugenics as justifications for limiting abortion (Luna 2017).

Racial minorities, especially Black women, are rarely centered in U.S. society and so their concerns are not given the same legitimacy (Luna 2017). Women of color, feeling their interests were not only not prioritized, but not *legitimized*, organized with explicit racial justice messaging. SisterSong, one of the most well-known racial and reproductive justice SMOs, formed in 1997, defines reproductive justice as "(1) the right to have a child; (2) the right not to

have a child; and (3) the right to parent the children we have" (Ross 2006). SisterSong is led by and centers the experiences of POC, with special attention to the experiences of Black women and femme non-binary people (SisterSong 2018). In addition to an explicit anti-racist stance, they outline a mission statement that promotes racial and economic justice as key components of reproductive justice (SisterSong 2018).

Other organizations such as COLOR Latina (which formed in 1998) center the specific issues of the Latinx community where language and immigration status become larger barriers to accessing care and racial and ethnic discrimination is reproductive health care may take on different dimensions. Notably, COLOR Latina is inspired by SisterSong organizer and former president, Lorretta Ross, who is prominently featured on the COLOR Latina website[5]. COLOR Latina challenges assumptions about Latinx stances on reproductive health. Latinx people are assumed to be Catholic and therefore opposed to abortion and contraceptives and wholly uninvolved in reproductive politics (Silliman et al 2004; Zavella 2019). The sexualization of Latina women combined with religious stereotypes and white fears of immigrant fertility rates create unique, racialized barriers to Latinx people seeking reproductive healthcare.

Asian and Pacific Islander populations also face barriers to reproductive healthcare related to immigration (Silliman et al 2004). Organizations like Forward Together (1989), slightly older than SisterSong and COLOR Latina, may not focus on one specific racial identity in its current mission statement – aiming to address the concerns of racial minorities in the U.S. as a whole[6] - but, Forward Together began as Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice suggesting that the interests and concerns of Asian communities are distinct from those of predominately white organizations and other racial minorities (ACRJ 2005; Luna and Luker 2013; Silliman et al 2004).

The existence of race/ethnicity specific organizations speaks to an underlying racial dimension to reproductive health, an area often reduced to sex and gender. By focusing only on gender discussions default to the experiences and concerns of white women – rather than separating race from gender these discussions reinforce white supremacy by cementing white as the neutral and invisible category. SisterSong, COLOR Latina, and Forward Together recognize that reproductive health field as a whole was failing to address the threats and concerns of

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[5] https://www.colorlatina.org/reproductive-justice/
[6] https://forwardtogether.org/about-us/#mission

women of color – sometimes even failing to recognize that threats and concerns varied by race at all, assuming the experiences of white women were representative of women as a whole. Each group mobilized around a raced set of threats and grievances.

KEY ORGANIZATIONS

In the following subsections I provide brief introductions and histories for each organization in my dissertation. The organizations are presented by type: historically white organizations – Planned Parenthood, NARAL, and the Center for Reproductive Rights – and people of color led organizations – Forward Together, SisterSong, and COLOR Latina.

Planned Parenthood

Planned Parenthood Federation of American (PPFA), originally named the "American Birth Control League," was founded in 1916 and is the longest running organization included (PPFA 2022). As described earlier in this chapter, Planned Parenthood did not actively engage in the struggle for legal abortion until after the Roe decision, focusing instead on providing health and family planning services (Staggenborg 1991). Planned Parenthood joined abortion advocacy in full force following the Roe decision. The organization opted to frame abortion as a rights, privacy, and individual issue to appeal to more conservative voters (Luna 2020). Planned Parenthood focused largely on the reproductive rights of white, cis woman. Activists of color attempted to coordinator with historically white organizations against forced sterilizations. Not only did Planned Parenthood fail to join coalitions opposed to sterilizations, it advocated for fewer restrictions on sterilizations because white women were routinely denied these procedures (Silliman et al. 2004).

Despite its tight focus on rights and abortion, in the 2010s Planned Parenthood began appropriating the language of reproductive justice organizations without a broader commitment to the movements ideology (Zavella 2020). Planned Parenthood is a reproductive rights organization committed to providing health services but has adopted the term "reproductive justice" in recent years (Luna 2010; Zavella 2020: 13). Planned Parenthood failed to recognize the role of reproductive activists as the organization moved away from "pro-choice" messaging. In 2014 then Planned Parenthood president, Cecile Richards, suggested Planned Parenthood's shift in language was in response to the changing needs of young women, erasing the work and

advocacy of people of color (Richards 2014; Simpson 2014; Zavella 2020). Collaborations between reproductive rights and justice movements do occur and Planned Parenthood shares and uses infographics and messaging from other organizations across the reproductive health field. It has collaborated with NARAL and SisterSong. Women of color in senior positions at Planned Parenthood are members of SisterSong (Ross 2006). On Instagram, Planned Parenthood follows Forward Together, the Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, and SisterSong.

NARAL

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL Pro-Choice America), formerly the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, was founded in 1969 and dedicated to securing legal abortion (Staggenborg 1991). NARAL worked to fund the Roe v. Wade lawsuit and provided Jane Roe with legal counsel (Staggenborg 1991). After the Roe decision, NARAL kept the acronym but replaced its meaning to reflect the legal status of abortion. The organization focused on legal issues such as repealing parental notification policies that forced minors to inform their guardians before receiving an abortion (Zavella 2020). It expanded its mission but like Planned Parenthood, focused largely on the needs of white, cis, women. NARAL opposed sterilization legislation that would place restrictions and protections in place on the procedure,ignoring the forced and coerced sterilizations of people of color, insteadfocusing on the difficulties white heterosexual cis women faced when seeking procedures (Silliman et al. 2004). NARAL joined Planned Parenthood in frames that were designed to appeal to more conservative voters (Luna 2020); however, NARAL increased its political activity in response to Trump's campaign and administration (Zavella 2020).

Despite repeated statements affirming its commitment to inclusion, former employees, racial justice advocates, and reproductive justice activists continue to bring allegations of racial discrimination within the organization (O'Connor 2020). Activists of color have criticized NARAL for its treatment of Black employees and racism within the organization (O'Connor 2020). NARAL has addressed these criticisms in public statements and state affiliates have issued specific apologies (NARAL Washington 2020; Planned Parenthood of Illinois 2020). The NARAL national affiliate does not reference specific allegations on its official website but has since added a section called "Racial Justice" affirming its commitment to solidarity with POC populations and the Movement for Black Lives (NARAL 2022). NARAL collaborates with other

organizations within the reproductive health field but does not necessarily support the goals and frames used by reproductive justice organizations (Ross 2006). On Instagram, NARAL follows COLOR Latina, the Center for Reproductive Rights, and Planned Parenthood.

Center for Reproductive Rights

The Center for Reproductive Rights, formerly the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, was founded in 1992. The Center for Reproductive Rights challenges legal barriers to reproductive health in the U.S. and transnationally. The Center describes itself as "a global human rights organization of lawyers and advocates" that has, since its foundation, participated in every major reproductive health case brought before the U.S. Supreme Court (CRR 2021). The Center partners with organizations as needed to collaborate on lawsuits and court cases. The Center describes itself as "the only global legal advocacy organization dedicated to reproductive rights" (CRR 2021). The organization has a dedicated focus on U.S. challenges with information for each state, but it includes high profile cases and major legal developments in African, Asian, and European affiliate its 60 countries (CRR 2021). While the cases the Center highlights in the U.S. focus specifically on abortion access, their work globally is more expansive using a human rights framing of sexual and reproductive health. It is perhaps telling that they do not fully embrace a human rights approach (which requires economic justice, racial justice, and liberation) when discussing the U.S. context. On the Center's website the section "Global Advocacy" states "100%: Reproductive rights apply in every country and every context, including crisis, conflict, and disaster." The explicit inclusion of human rights on the "Global" page and its omission from the U.S. page suggests that human rights do not apply in the U.S. context, only in the developing world. The Center does emphasize the disproportionate maternal mortality rates for Black and Indigenous women suggesting they perceive and acknowledge race-based threats (CCR 2021). On Instagram, the Center for Reproductive Rights follows COLOR Latina, Forward Together, NARAL, Planned Parenthood, and SisterSong.

Forward Together

Forward Together, formerly Asian and Pacific Islanders for Choice (APIC) and Asians and Pacific Islanders for Reproductive Health (APIRH), was founded in 1989 (Silliman et al.

2004). APIC organized in response to the lack of API voices in the fight for abortion access and centered the needs of low income and immigrant API women (Silliman et al. 2004). Forward Together advocates for reproductive health beyond abortion. It is a leader in the reproductive health field by setting forth an ambitious agenda which emphasized reaching out to new audiences (Zavella 2020). Forward Together began with grassroot campaigns to assess the needs of the API people including the most marginalized ethnicities and groups within the API community (Silliman et al. 2004).

Forward Together and SisterSong refined the definition of reproductive justice in 2005 and later in 2017 Forward Together expanded the definition to be more gender inclusive pointing out that men had a stake in productive justice and nonbinary people had unique reproductive health concerns (Zavella 2020). SisterSong, among many other reproductive justice organizations, moved to explicitly include in men after Forward Together's example (Zavella 2020). Forward Together was one of the earliest organizations to organize around environmental justice as a component of reproductive health (Silliman et al. 2004). The emphasis on environmental racism and the disproportionate rates low-income, immigrant, and racially marginalized communities were exposed to environmental toxins contrasts with historically white organizations partnerships with zero population environmentalists (Staggenborg 1991). Environmental harm was not frames as caused by (implied POC driven) overpopulation but as part of the state condoned abuses POC endure. Forward Together is a highly respected and sought-after partner for reproductive health coalitions (Silliman et al. 2004). Forward Together is a founding member of SisterSong (described below) which is reproductive health collective. Other collaborations include SMOs organized around Black and Latine/Latinx identities (Luna 2020; Zavella 2020). On Instagram Forward Together follows COLOR Latina, the Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, Planned Parenthood, and SisterSong.

SisterSong

SisterSong: Reproductive Justice Collective was founded in 1997 as a network of WOC led organizations (Simpson 2017). While SisterSong formed in 1997, its parent organizations had been active since the 1970s. The Black Women's Health Imperative, National Latina Health Organization, Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center, and Asian Pacific Islanders for Choice came together in 1997 to form SisterSong: Reproductive Justice Collective

which followed the framework of reproductive justice set forth by Women of African Descent for Reproductive Justice in Chicago (Zavella 2020). The initial collective included sixteen organizations and represented Black, Indigenous, API, and Latina women and advocated broadly for women's reproductive and sexual health (Silliman et al. 2004; Strickler and Simpson 2017). SisterSong provided services in addition to advocacy similar to Planned Parenthood, but SisterSong offered a more expansive list of services based on the needs of communities within its four constituent demographics (Silliman et al. 2004). SisterSong's mission was to "win concrete changes on the individual, community, institutional, and societal levels" (Strickler and Simpson 2017: 51). SisterSong frequently collaborates with racial justice and reproductive justice organizations. Prominent women of color in historically white organizations frequently become member of SisterSong (Ross 2006). SisterSong follows COLOR Latina, the Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, and Planned Parenthood on Instagram. NARAL is the only organization that does not follow SisterSong in my sample. It is worth noting that SisterSong has leveled public criticisms against Planned Parenthood and NARAL, although appears to continue collaborating with Planned Parenthood (Zavella 2020).

COLOR

The Colorado Organization for Latina Opportunity and Reproductive Rights (COLOR) was founded in 1998. The organization was formed in response to reproductive health practioners' concerns over high rates of HIV and teen pregnancy among Latine communities (Silliman et al. 2004). COLOR focuses on reproductive health issues related to immigration, language barriers, and Latine communities. Immigration, ICE, and detention create barriers to reproductive health care access and family unification. COLOR raises awareness about family separations such as one campaign asked members to send Mother's Day cards to women in ICE detention centers (Zavella 2020). COLOR programs include sex education and youth programs (Zavella 2020). COLOR takes its guiding principles – "razalogía" which refers to a knowledge of the people and for the people and "conocimieto" which refers to "common unity" – from Chicano activism (Silliman et al. 2004: 271). While COLOR is rooted in Colorado and is a powerful voice in Colorado state politics, its reach and agenda are national (Silliman et al. 2004).

COLOR has presented to historically white organizations such as Planned Parenthood and NARAL on Latina reproductive health issues but does not partner with them frequently (Silliman et al. 2004). COLOR collaborates most frequently with immigrant rights groups and

other reproductive justice organizations, but the organization launched using seed money from Planned Parenthood (Silliman et al. 2004). On Instagram, COLOR follows the Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, Forward Together, Planned Parenthood, and SisterSong.

In the rest of this dissertation, I explore differences across these six organizations, comparing the three HW (Planned Parenthood, NARAL, and the Center for Reproductive Rights) and the three POC (SisterSong, Forward Together, and COLOR) in terms of the ways they frame rights, threats, and intersectional solidarity in their Instagram posts. In the following chapter, I present my first of two analytic chapters, one that explores how organizational differences in framing either underscore or undermine the missions of each organization by comparing rights framing.

CHAPTER 5. RACE, RACISM, AND RIGHTS FRAMING: USE OF LEGAL FRAMING BY ORGANIZATION TYPE

Introduction

The six organizations included in my dissertation all broadly claim inclusivity. The Historically white (HW) organizations state in both their posts and public statements that they work for all women while the people of color (POC) led organizations explicitly state that they take an intersectional approach (often emphasizing that members include people throughout the gender spectrum – not just women). My main goal in this dissertation is to examine the extent to which the organizations differ in their approaches to inclusivity and solidarity. One way to do so is to compare the organizations' use of legal framing.

As discussed in Chapter 3, legal framing is any framing that uses The Law as a master frame. Legal framing can include frames such as justice frames, rights frames, and liberation frames. This chapter focuses on rights framing. Legal rights in the U.S. are imbued with a mythic power making them a potentially powerful mobilizing frame (Scheingold 2004). However, given the legacies of racism within both the field of reproductive health and political institutions in the U.S., the resonance of legal framing should vary across racial groups. Following extant research, I expect to find that HW-lead organizations used rights framing differently than POC-lead organizations. I narrow my focus to one aspect of legal framing—here, rights—in order to explore the nuanced variations in the use of rights frames more fully.

Legal framing often resonates with audiences in the United States; however, as argued in Chapter 2, marginalized populations are typically more skeptical of the state and the criminal legal system. It is reasonable then to expect that past abuses from formal legal institutions impact the degree to which legal frames appeal to marginalized groups. So, while "the Law" is a master frame which an SMO can draw upon to create resonant frames for its audience and rights can be a resource when mobilizing collective action (Pedriana 2006; Scheingold 2004), the degree to which legal frames resonate can vary by the audience's relationship to the criminal legal system. Audeinces may have a resistant legal consciousness replacing legal institutions with cultural ones or they may avoid all interactions with the state and criminal legal system (Hull 2003).

I provide evidence that HW-organizations and POC-organizations vary substantially when it comes to using rights frames. I find that HW-organizations are more likely to use rights framing as compared to POC-organizations. I also find that POC-organizations are less likely to link the securing of rights to political institutions. These organizations are more likely to view rights as being denied primarily by political institutions working as expected while HW-organizations view the denial of rights as a failure of institutions or a lack of audience participation in political institutions. I provide descriptive statistics and chi square to demonstrate the quantitative variation in frame use. I then supplement the quantitative findings with an in-depth qualitative analysis. The qualitative findings demonstrate that there is variation not only in the frequency of frame usage, but in the way the frames are deployed by each type of organization. In the conclusion, I discuss the implications of my findings on organizational relationships to the criminal legal system, formal political institutions, and perceptions of institutional trust.

Methods

This chapter uses quantitative and qualitative analyses of the SMOs' Instagram posts to assess differences in the frequency of rights language, how and when organizations invoke the Law, and the relationship between rights and the law, as well as how organization type (HW versus POC) impacts engagement with legal framing. The quantitative dataset includes variables that indicate use of rights discourse as well as variables tracking references to legislations, formal political institutions, and political/legal actions. The quantitative data therefore provide a descriptive landscape of organizations' discourse. I also use an in-depth qualitative analysis for a more nuanced understanding of the organizations' frames use.

For the quantitative analyses, I present a series of crosstabs and chi square tests that use the complete sample of Instagram posts (N=1,200) to assess differences in frame usage by organizational type. Specifically, I compare use of rights frames by organizational and the types of political actions referred to in posts. My independent variable is organization type (HW and POC) which also vary by movement type – rights versus justice. The causal relationship here is that the racial makeup of organization influences the ideologies it develops. Race impacts whether an organization embraces rights ideologies or justice ideologies. The key dependent

variables are summarized in the following subsection. After conducting the quantitative analyses, I identified all posts that reference "rights" (n=227) to conduct an in-depth qualitative analysis. My analytic technique and coding strategies borrow from grounded theory although they are informed by past literature and key theoretical concepts rather than categories arising purely inductively (Berg and Lune 2012; Glaser and Strauss 1967). My coding process abductively uncovered themes which were developed over iterations of memoing to explore how themes were connected (Berg and Lune 2012; Timmermans and Tavory 2012). I read the data repeatedly until key linkages, or theoretical classes, emerged (Schatzman and Strauss 1973).

The memoing process occurred over time and consisted of multiple rounds of coding. First, I memoed descriptively on how rights were being used within the post. Throughout the memoing process, I repeatedly read through the data – revisiting the posts in multiple rounds of memoing – and allowing initial themes and codes to inform each reading (Berg and Lune 2012). After I described each post in prose, I identified potential codes and possible emergent themes, summarized the key message(s), and recorded dates, people, and locations referenced (Berg and Lune 2012). I then memoed thematically by revisiting the descriptive memos, grouping posts by common themes and establishing relationships or linkages between codes (Schatzman and Strauss 1973). Patterns related to the denial of rights, securing rights, and institutional trust emerged and were refined with each round of memos. After multiple rounds of thematic memoing, no new themes or relationships emerged. I paid careful attention to how central rights were to the message of the post, the themes and narratives surrounding rights, and the links organizations made between rights and political institutions.

Variables

Data for the quantitative analyses come from the larger dataset on reproductive health SMOs use of Instagram described in Chapter Three. The main independent variable is the organization type: *POC-organization* (1=post is from a POC-organization, 0=post is from a HW-organization). Dependent variable of of interest for this chapter include: *Rights Framing* (1=post uses rights language/discourse, 0=post does not use rights language/discourse), *Human Rights Framing* (a sub code of Rights Framing, 1=post uses human rights language/discourse, 0=post does not use human rights language/discourse), and *Political Actions* (0=no political action,

1=voting/electoral action, 2=congressional/legislative action, 3=judicial action/court decision, 4=presidential/governor/executive action, 5=social movement protest).

Examples of posts coded "1" for rights include those with a hashtag such as #rights, #civilrights, or #humanrights. As another illustration, the post in Figure 1 is coded "1" for rights because it includes a sentence describing an organization as supporting reproductive rights (alongside reproductive health and reproductive justice). The second illustration in Figure 1 is a post coded "1" for both rights and human rights. In this post there is a much more overt focus on rights with a detailed post on the human rights crisis created by intersecting inequalities in maternal health care. Both posts in Figures 1 are engaging in rights framing.

The *Political Actions* variable is a categorical variable that focuses on specific types of action called for by the organizations. A post coded as "0" does not call for any political actions. Posts coded "1" ask for electoral participation. The most common type of "1" post calls for the viewer to vote. "2" calls on Congress to act or requests the viewer to pressure or encourage their legislators to act. "3" urges action from the court system or encourages the viewer to make demands on the court. A hypothetical post coded "3" might ask the viewer to "Tell the Supreme Court We Won't Go Back" in reference to overturning Roe v. Wade. Posts coded "4" are appeals to executives (presidents, governors, etc.) to act or posts asking the viewer to pressure executives to act. A post coded as "4" might be a direct appeal to a specific governor to block anti-abortion bills such as a post asking Governor DeWine to veto Ohio's "Heartbeat Bill." Finally, posts coded "5" are calls to protest or participate in collective action. A post coded as "5" may ask the viewer to take to the streets or volunteer at a movement event or share information. Posts may reference more than one institution but are coded based on the target of the action even if the action's goals are rooted in another. For example, a post that references the judiciary but urges viewers to call their Congress person to oppose Kavanaugh's appointment to the Supreme Court would be coded "2" as the action is targeting Congress. Similarly, a post asking the viewer to canvas for a congressional candidate would be coded as "1" for electoral action, not "2" for congressional.

Given my overall interest in organizational differences in framing and variations in legal frames, I develop and test several hypotheses. First, I expect there to be a difference in usage of rights frames, with HW-organizations using rights frames more frequently. I also expect that when HW-organizations call for action they will suggest actions that work within existing

political institutions. As described in Chapter 3, HW-organizations are more likely to be professionalized and political insiders. In contrast, I expect POC-organizations will favor actions that work outside formal political institutions.

Hypothesis 1: HW-organizations will engage with rights frames more frequently than POC-organizations.

I expect HW-organizations to use rights framing more frequently because, as discussed in Chapter 2, rights frames are a subset of legal framing which resonate more with socially and politically privileged groups. Quantitative evidence in support of this hypothesis would be a greater percentage of posts from HW-organizations using "rights" or "human rights."

Hypothesis 2: HW-organizations will call for formal political actions more frequently than POC-organizations.

I will compare types of political actions using a categorical variable with five possible types of action: None (none), Electoral (formal, political), Legislative (formal/political), Judicial (formal/political), Executive (formal, political), and Social Movement (social, political). This measure differentiates between formal political actions through insider channels and social or cultural collective actions outside of formal, political state institutions. I expect HW-organizations to call for actions within formal political institutions given their status as political insiders. As I explain in Chapter 3, these organizations tend to be led by individuals in positions of privilege as political insiders. Therefore, I expect HW-organizations to call for actions within formal political institutions. Quantitative evidence supporting Hypothesis 2 would be a greater percentage of HW-organizations' posts calling for formal political actions such as voting, legislation, and/or executive actions. Evidence that POC-organizations recommend social movement/collective action and social/cultural change more frequently than formal political actions would also support Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2a: HW-organizations will be more likely to call for formal, political actions within posts that use rights frames.

As a corollary to Hypothesis 2, I expect that not only would HW-organizations post more frequently about rights and formal institutions, but they would also be more likely to reference

formal political institutions *within* posts about rights. I include this hypothesis because the relationship between rights and political institutions is of key interest in this chapter. The way organizations portray the relationship between political institutions and the realization of rights has serious implications for resistance against the denial of rights. Emphasizing political institutions as the legitimate source and protector of rights undermines the resonance of collective action outside of formal political actions. SMOS that emphasize participation in formal, political institutions may prioritize preserving the traditions and functions of political institutions over direct actions that disrupt or challenge the legitimacy of institutions. As I explain in more detail below, I test difference in calls for action by selecting for posts coded "1" for rights and using those posts to compare calls to action by organizational type.

Quantitative Results

The following section details the descriptive statistics and chi square results for variables related to legal frames by organization type.

Rights Frames

Table 2: Rights Framing by Organization Type

Rights Frame % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	27.7% (166)	10.2% (61)	18.9% (227)
No	72.3% (434)	89.8% (539)	81.1% (973)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 59.899; p < 0.001$

Table 2 shows that historically white organizations are more likely than POC-organization to use rights frames. In the sample of 1,200 posts, HW-organizations used rights framing in 27.7% of posts compared to 10.2% of posts by POC-organizations. The relationship between organization type and use of rights frames is statistically significant (p < 0.001). This evidence supports Hypothesis 1.

Human Rights Frames

Table 3 displays the crosstab and chi square test results comparing references to human rights but organizational types. Human rights is a subcode of rights.

Table 3: Human Rights Frames by Organizational Type

Human Rights Frame % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	7.0% (42)	1.3% (8)	4.2% (50)
No	93.0% (558)	98.7.7% (592)	95.8% (1,150)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 24.125; p < 0.001$

Table 3 shows that historically white organizations are more likely than POC-organizations to use human rights frames. In the overall sample of 1,200 posts only 1.3% of posts by POC-organizations referenced human rights compared to 7% of posts by HW-organizations. The relationship between organization type and use of human rights frames is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This does not support Hypothesis 2 which assumed POC-organizations would be more likely to reference human rights.

Calls for Political Action

Table 4 displays the crosstab and chi square test comparing calls to action by organizational type.

Table 4: Calls to Action by Organizational Type

Calls to Action % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
None	39.7% (238)	26.8% (161)	33.3% (399)
Electoral*	6.2% (37)	3.0% (18)	4.6% (55)
Congressional*	14.3% (86)	15.0% (90)	14.7% (176)
Judicial*	14.5% (87)	8.0% (48)	11.3% (135)
Executive*	5.2% (31)	2.2% (13)	3.7% (44)
Social Movement	20.2% (121)	45.0% (270)	32.6% (391)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

χ^2(5, N = 1,200) = 96.925; p < 0.001

*indicates a formal, political institution

Table 4 shows that in the overall sample of 1,200 posts, two thirds call for some type of political action. Roughly 60% of HW-organization posts and 70% of POC-organization posts call their audiences to engage in political collective action. However, the types of political action called for vary by organizational type. Historically white organizations called for electoral actions twice as frequently (6.2%) as POC-organizations (3.0%) although it should be noted that calls for electoral action were comparatively low for both organizational types. POC-organizations (15.0%) and historically white organizations (14.3%) called for congressional or legislative actions with similar frequency. HW-organizations called for judicial action more frequently than POC-organizations (14.5% versus 8.0%). While the percentage of posts calling for executive action is low for both organization type, there are differences. HW-organizations called for executive actions (5.2%) over twice as often as POC-organizations (2.2%). Posts calling for social movement/protest actions were the most common for both types of organizations, but POC-organizations called for these actions more than twice as frequently (45%) compared to HW-organizations (20.2%). The relationship between organization type and calls for political and legal actions are statistically significant (p < 0.001). This finding supports Hypothesis 2 which posits that HW-organizations would be more likely to call for actions that operate within formal, political institutions. Of the POC-organization posts calling for action, the

majority (61.5%) call for social movement action. Of the HW-organization posts calling for action, the majority of posts (66.6%) call for action related to political institutions. The relatively large proportion of HW-organization posts that do not call for any actions and the similar level of calls for actions targeting Congress from both types of organizations do not provide support for this hypothesis.

Rights and Types of Political Actions

Table 5 displays the crosstab and chi square test results comparing calls to action by organizational type for posts that reference rights. Because this table only includes information for those posts that reference rights, the sample size is 227.

Table 5: Type of Actions Called for by Organization Type within Rights Posts (n=227)

ACTION *% (n)*	*HW-* *ORGANIZATIONS*	*POC-* *ORGANIZATIONS*	*OVERALL*
None	19.3% (32)	11.5% (7)	17.2% (39)
Electoral	4.2% (7)	1.6% (1)	3.5% (8)
Congressional	19.9% (33)	21.3% (13)	20.3% (46)
Judicial	22.9% (38)	16.4% (10)	21.2% (48)
Executive	4.8% (8)	0.0% (0)	3.5% (8)
Social Movement	28.9% (48)	49.2% (30)	34.4% (78)
Total	100% (166)	100% (61)	100% (227)

$\chi^2(5, N = 227) = 11.6281; p < 0.05$

This analysis tests Hypothesis 2a which posts that HW-organizations will make formal, political calls to action more frequently than POC-organizations. Table 5 compares calls to action by organization type just for those posts that reference rights discourse in some way. Within posts referencing rights, the difference between calls to action by organizational types remain significant. When the sample is restricted to only those posts coded "1" for rights frames,

I find the differences between organizational type and calls to action remain statistically significant. Table 5 therefore demonstrates that not only are there differences in the frequency of rights posts by organizational type, but that the calls associated with rights also vary by organizational type.

Historically white organizations were less likely to include any calls to action within their rights posts compared to POC-organizations. Roughly 20% of the HW-organizations' rights posts did not call for any type of action compared to 10% of the POC-organizations. This table indicates that of the rights posts, about 90% of POC-organization posts include calls to action compared to 80% HW-organization posts. Both organizations are frequently making calls to action, the types of actions called for vary. When HW-organizations did call their audiences to act about a fifth of the calls focused on Congress, another fifth on the judiciary, and not quite a third on social movement activity. The remaining roughly 10% of the calls split about evenly (4.2% and 4.8%) between electoral and executive requests. This pattern is in contrast to POC-organizations which did not have a single post linking rights with calls to executive and only one post linking electoral action with rights. About half (49.2%) the POC-organizations rights posts included a call to social movement related action. Slightly more than a fifth (21.3%) called for congressional action and the remaining 16.4% included calls for judicial action. This analysis therefore provides support for Hypothesis 2a.

Qualitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis provides the general landscape of the rights discourse in the sample and establishes that there are statistically significant differences between organization types and legal framing. However, because chi square tests are sensitive to sample size (Acock 2008), I supplement these analyses with qualitative inquiries. An in-depth qualitative analysis allows me to explore whether the significant differences are also *meaningful* differences. The qualitative evidence presented below shows *how* organizations use rights frames. In this section I outline and illustrate the major themes that arose from the qualitative data: rights as established, rights as conditional, and how to protect rights.

Because I am interested in further examination of how the SMOs talk about rights in their Instagram posts, my qualitative analysis focuses only on those posts that reference rights

(n=227). In the following section I detail the qualitative themes that emerged in the rights posts. Historically white organizations use historic examples to celebrate how far the movement has come – indicating that rights are *established* (albeit under threat) – while POC-organizations draw a throughline from past abuses to highlight present day precarity – rights as *conditional*. This is just one example of the two organizations perceive time and history differently. As I argue below, the differences in understanding rights is rooted in the organizations' sense of temporality. Thus the analysis shows how HW-organizations conceptualize rights as something that women possess but could lose while POC-organizations view rights as a fragile privilege that is and always has been conditionally extended to marginalized groups. My analysis also unpacks how organizations present the relationship between institutions and securing rights.

The first subsection outlines the broad contours of how and when HW-organizations and POC-organizations discuss rights. The next subsection outlines the first major qualitative finding: reproductive rights as established but under threat of being denied by political extremists. HW-organizations ask their audiences to rely on and participate in formal institutions as the primary way to secure and protect their established rights. They portray the denial of reproductive rights as a possible future if "extreme" politicians are elected or legislation is passed. The final subsection details the second major qualitative finding: reproductive rights as conditional and routinely denied both historically and contemporaneously by institutions functioning as intended. POC-organizations portray rights as conditional – constantly under threat or outright denied by formal, political institutions. The major cleavage between HW and POC organizations with respect to rights therefore appears to be whether rights are established but in need of additional institutional protections against outlier political actors (HW-organizations) or rights as precarious, extended conditionally to those with social privilege and largely denied to those who are marginalized (POC-organizations).

Rights as Established or Conditional?

In this subsection, I outline differences in how HW- and POC-organizations present rights to their audiences. Whereas the quantitative analysis established that HW-organizations use rights frames more frequently, my qualitative analyses expand on this finding by demonstrating that HW-organizations understand the starting place for the conversation on rights

differently than do POC-organizations. The qualitative analyses reveal patterns suggesting that HW-organizations take as a given that women have reproductive rights which are frequently under attack from specific figures or policies, while POC-organizations begin the conversation on rights by highlighting the many people who have not had their legal rights fully (or even partially) realized.

Historically white organizations rarely cited current limitations of reproductive rights; rather, they highlighted how future actions might impact established rights. Historically white organizations describe rights as "our[s]," "hard-won," and in the singular possessive (my, mine, yours) They also claim proposed legislation or conservative political candidates would "roll back rights" or "Take away our care" if successful The language of "rolling back" or "taking away" necessitates a shared understanding that the rights are in existence in order to be "rolled" or "taken."

Historically white organizations link attacks on rights to specific, isolated people or conditions. A post typical of NARAL is an advertisement for a digital campaigner of color The caption includes this quote: "Now is the time to organize & protect our communities, especially with the incoming Trump administration." This quote positions the Trump administration as a unique threat to communities of color (as opposed to the Obama administration). This post is particularly striking given political context as it was published in November of 2016, roughly three years into the ongoing Movement for Black Lives which had a record breaking (at the time) turn out the summer of 2016 with over 100 protests around the deaths of Deborah Danner, Alton Sterling, and Philandro Castile (Ellis et al. 2016).

Another post from the Center for Reproductive Rights reads "ACCESS TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE IS A RIGHT FOR ALL – not a privilege for a few – #FIGHTBACKTX" (emphasis in original). The framing of this message implies that if House Bill 2 (referred to in the post as HB2) in Texas passes it will make reproductive rights a privilege. While HB2 would reduce access to abortion, many marginalized groups in Texas and in the United States in general already experience reproductive health care as an economic, social, and political privilege (ACLUTX 2022; Gohra 2021). Again, this posts frames rights as something that exist currently. The fight for rights is defensive for protecting, not offensive for securing.

Nearly half of the 227 posts that made references to rights (107) were made by the Center for Reproductive Rights, an HW-organization. NARAL and Planned Parenthood may have varied on the frequency of their rights posts, but their messaging was consistent with the Center for Reproductive Rights. The HW-organizations all tended to refer to specific legal rights, most frequently the right to access legal abortions. HW-organizations might frame rights as under attack but they linked those attacks to specific legislation or politicians while POC-organizations framed rights as historically denied to women of color For instance, SisterSong promises they "shall not rest until it [freedom] comes and hosts events such as "Until Justice" "Until" implies that freedom, justice, and rights have not been achieved. POC-organizations consistently use "until" language, placing the possession of rights as something that is possible, but has not yet been achieved. They connect the struggle for reproductive rights to historical movements toward collective liberation.

When HW-organizations reference historical inequalities, they frame them as divisions that have been overcome. Historical figures and examples are invoked to celebrate how far the movement organization has come. In Figure 7 Planned Parenthood celebrates the inequalities Sojourner Truth challenged as she advocated for the inclusion of WOC at the Women's Convention. This post relegates racism within the women's movement to a historical relic rather than an ongoing tension. Race is not the only axis of inequality erased in HW-organizations'' rights framing. Posts focus on gender without meaningfully and consistently connecting gender to race, class, sexuality, or disability. Failure to acknowledge the financial inaccessibility of abortion regardless of its legal status was a notable absence. While one NARAL post is dedicated to "Repealing Hyde" which an amendment that prevents federal funding to be used toward abortion, preventing low-income people from accessing abortion Hyde is rarely mentioned by HW-organizations. NARAL's post does not include any links or actions their audience can take. It does include the hashtag "BeBoldEndHyde." NARAL was more likely than the other HW-organizations to reference class barriers to reproductive health care. In addition to the reference to Hyde, NARAL celebrates labor rights in one post and calls for subsidized menstrual products in another. No post about financial/economic inequality references race despite the disproportionate effect on POC.

Historically white organizations also frame rights in relation to time. In the past, rights were denied to marginalized racial groups but through anti-racist organizing by historical figures

the present movement is a diverse collective of people who celebrate and protect their reproductive rights which could be denied in the future should extreme politicians derail institutions. The temporal boundaries HW-organizations create in their frames are directly opposed to the connections POC-organizations make between past inequalities and ongoing, systematic abuses in the United States.

Denial of Rights as Politically Extreme

This subsection provides evidence for the next major qualitative findings: HW-organizations frame institutions as strengthening established rights. Institutions maintain and secure access to rights therefore efforts to limit rights come from politicians and actors who are undermining the functions of formal political institutions. As noted earlier, a common theme within HW-organization posts is the celebration of successfully defending rights from political attacks (see Figure 5, right). By framing themselves as "defending rights," HW-organizations imply that rights have been established and belong to those seeking reproductive health care. Ongoing attacks to reproductive rights would deny the audience those established rights if not for the intervention of HW-organizations and supportive politicians. The references to attacks against and denials of rights in HW-organizations typically celebrate the failures of politicians or pieces of legislation or present the denials as hypotheticals (see Figure 9). The posts in Figure 9 exemplify the theme of failed attacks and denials as hypotheticals. In one post, members of "the squad," a nickname for young women of color who were elected to Congress in 2018, are illustrated looking confidently out at the audience above a banner reading "Come for our Rights, We'll come for your seats." This post celebrates the defeat of Republican Congressional candidates. The remaining posts in Figure 9 provide examples of the if/then format typical of the hypothetical denial posts (if X happens then we will lose reproductive rights). Failures to donate, vote, or make calls could result in the loss of reproductive rights.

The examples above show that HW-organization posts include messages that take for granted that rights are universally established. When they do frame rights as denied or threatened, HW-organizations turn to institutions and appeals to political elites to secure them. Calls to vote or reach out to elected and appointed officials are prevalent. HW-organizations frame voting, donating to SMOs, and appealing to Congress as a vital part of securing rights. For instance, The

Center for Reproductive Rights shared an infographic about "Anti-Choice laws" in Louisiana in 2014 captioned in part "ReproRights advocates aren't backing down." "Our message to the Senate on President Trump's Supreme Court nominee: NO ROE, NO GO." declares one 2017 post by Planned Parenthood. The declaration is in white text on a pink tinted photo of the Supreme Court. The caption explains that the right to safe and legal abortion is at risk with Trump's nominee (Neil Gorsuch). It goes on to refer to Roe as one of the cases that makes America "who we are as a country." Another 2017 post (from NARAL) asks politicians to "Keep Your Laws Off My [cat illustration][7]" in a post that includes the hashtag "reproductiverights."

The Center for Reproductive Rights posts with relative frequency highlighting new laws and court battles. The posts describe how the Center challenges new legal barriers to care but do not address the many historic legal barriers (such as the Hyde Amendment). The lack of attention to historic legal barriers is notable because the Center does not focus exclusively on present court cases. The Center highlights landmark cases as well with dedicated posts for Planned Parenthood v. Casey (1992) and Roe v. Wade (1973). The post referencing Casey includes information about a current battle in Texas. The caption juxtaposes the national victory of the Casey ruling with the ways current Texas legislation threatens those victories. The 2016 post celebrating Roe is an appeal to SCOTUS to uphold Roe as new cases challenge its legitimacy. The Center focuses largely on the legitimacy of the criminal/legal system in the United States and the power of the people to sway legislators. In their posts appealing to Congress or asking their audience to make appeals, they cite public opinions and voter beliefs. In their post referencing Roe they include as part of Roe's definition "A ruling supported by the majority of Americans, yet attacked relentlessly by extremist politicians." This definition of Roe again frames institutions as the legitimate source of rights and the ongoing protector of rights while those that deny rights are "extremists" operating outside of legitimate political institutions. The Center for Reproductive Rights then paints rights as (1) something granted by legitimate political authorities and institutions, (2) secured through democratic actions done primarily by insiders with the support of the audience, and (3) denied by illegitimate actors ignoring or subverting the rules of institutions.

The examples above are emblematic of the types of rights posts HW-organizations publish. The above posts are in response to conservative measures to limit access to reproductive health

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[7] The cat illustration is a symbol for "pussy" a slang term used by Donald Trump to describe a woman's vagina

care. The Center for Reproductive Rights post singles out one state (Louisiana) and five specific "anti-choice laws" as threatening the right to abortion. Additional text in the image and caption repeat that they will not back down. The posts does not call the audience to act but reassures the viewer that the Center will challenge new laws that limit abortion access.

The Center for Reproductive Rights dedicated one 2014 post to celebrating the blocking of bills that would limit the right to an abortion (Figure 5, right). In one post, Planned Parenthood celebrates the anniversary of Roe but does acknowledge that Roe is not accessible to everyone (Figure 6); however, the reference to Roe's limitation is cut off in the image's caption. The viewer would need to click to expand the caption and scroll to see the acknowledgement if the post is viewed on a phone or similar hand-held device.[8] So, while Planned Parenthood goes further than the other HW-organizations to recognize rights as unevenly accessible, that message is not prominently featured.

The Center for Reproductive Rights is not the only HW-organization that portrays rights in this way. The Planned Parenthood post poses as a message (or challenge) to the Senate and offers the viewer a link in the caption to email senators. It frames the right to abortion as in jeopardy from specific political actors (Trump and Gorsuch). While HW-organizations are less likely to call for action, when they do make appeals to their audience the requests refer the member to political insiders. The audience can participate by supporting SMOs or political representatives (typically Congress people). Methods of support are automated and uniform with scripts and prose autogenerated for the audience member or links to easy donations. The audience is asked to protect their rights by contacting senators. The legislature and appeals to elected officials are framed as securing the right to abortion by neutralizing the threat of specific political actors. This represents a key difference in how organizations discuss rights centers on *who* is responsible for maintaining rights. The HW-organizations view themselves and insiders (lobbyists, lawyers, politicians) as the actors responsible for protecting rights. The audience or average members' responsibility is to support these insiders through engagement in political institutions, donations to SMOs and politicians, or signaling their support through social media participation.

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[8] In Figure 6 the post has been opened on a desk top computer to expand the amount of the content visible.

Denial of Rights the Status Quo

"Roe doesn't mean much" one COLOR post boldly declares, "to low-income women and WOC who can't afford that right" (Figure 5, left). This post illustrates the second major theme in the qualitative data: While HW-organizations tended to celebrate achievements and passage of legislation related to rights, POC-organizations tended to highlight the limitations of rights. POC-organizations do not celebrate landmark cases the way that HW-organizations do; rather they acknowledge that court rulings and legislation rarely improve access for the most marginalized groups. While POC-organizations do not deny Roe was a victory, they are still quick to point out limitations and uneven access as illustrated by the opening quote of this subsection. Whereas protecting Roe is a dominant theme among the rights posts of HW-organizations, in contrast, POC-organizations discuss rights in terms of those being denied access to a litany of rights beyond accessing abortion. Roe appears less frequently in rights posts by POC-organizations, who are more likely to call for access to gender affirming care, removing barriers immigrants face to accessing care, and expanding voting rights. POC-organizations used rights in a broader way often linking concepts beyond U.S. law and tied to human rights (e.g., the right to information as in one SisterSong post about fake clinics, or the right to safe neighborhoods and authentic communities such as posts by Forward Together calling for the decolonizing of communities and another SisterSong post advertising for the Movement for Black Lives's week of action against police brutality. Authentic community is a reoccurring theme in the literature and practice of reproductive justice. It refers to equal status engagement with parties that have sincere investment and stake in the issues and well-being of each other. In one SisterSong post the viewer is called to join a protest against "Fake Clinics" (Crisis Pregnancy Centers which do not provide medical care despite implying they do). In the image of the post SisterSong asserts "It's our right to know our options." Thus, POC-organizations do not use rights to indicate a singular legal right that one can possess, but rather rights are more broadly conceptualized as an absence of threats and the ability to live full lives unimpeded by state control over marginalized bodies. For example, COLOR and SisterSong often mentioned violence reduction, the right to live free of violence, or freedom of state violence in connection with reproductive health. POC-organizations spoke of reproductive rights beyond abortion, particularly queer and trans rights . Bodily autonomy and collective liberation are pre-requisites for fully experiencing rights. Liberation is framed as a collective and ongoing project that

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requires physical and material participation. The audience is called to march (as in SisterSong's post about fake clinics), join local chapters of organizations (Figure 1, left), or attend virtual town halls as an advertisement COLOR encouraged.

POC-organizations were also more likely to reference rights in passing, using hashtags rather than making rights the main feature of the post. For instance, many of the references to rights that occur in posts by SisterSong either occur simultaneously with health and justice – such as a post inviting a coalition of supporters of reproductive health, rights, and justice to support an action in D.C. – or in reference to rights denied based on race and gender – such as one of the multiple posts about Marissa Alexander who was denied the legal protection of stand your ground laws. Alexander fired a warning shot in the air to defend herself and her children from her abusive ex-husband. The Stand Your Ground law was made infamous when it was successfully invoked to defend George Zimmerman from murder charges in Florida after fatally shooting 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in 2012. Alexander, a Black woman also living in Florida in 2012, used the same defense but was sentenced to a mandatory minimum of 20 years in prison. Alexander's case did not receive extensive national media coverage but was consistently covered by SisterSong.

SisterSong's coverage of the Alexander case is only one example of POC-organizations' criticisms of the criminal legal system. POC-organizations frequently highlight systemic abuses. One SisterSong post includes the subheading "Dismantling Structural Injustice" in reference to the practice of shacking incarcerated pregnant people. Another post by COLOR is captioned in part "We know who is hurt most by the racist, fascist, agenda we are facing." The image accompanying the post includes protestors holding a banner which reads "Ain't I A WOMAN" in reference to Sojourner Truth's challenge to racism within the women's movement. This reference to Sojourner Truth as relevant voice for contemporary protests is in stark contrast to Planned Parenthood's celebration of her as a historical figure. Other protestors hold signs calling to "decolonize feminism" and to honor murdered and missing Indigenous women. The post illustrates how POC-organizations frame the United States' history of colonial violence as the precursory of the racism and fascism within the Trump administration. Racial discrimination and state violence is embedded in the country's foundation and manifests consistently over time. This post suggests that the Trump administration is not an aberration of American politics, but a logical escalation.

The themes of rights as an active process with interconnected struggles for liberation are exemplified by one post by COLOR which describes justice as "no bigots;" the caption goes on to argue for unions, higher wages, a fair criminal legal system, abortion, immigrant rights and LGBTQ liberation (Figure 8). This post connects multiple interlocking systems of oppression to reproductive health. Moreover, this post frames reproductive rights as necessitating additional related rights to be secure (economic security, labor rights, racial and ethnic equality, and LGBTQIA+ liberation). While it references abortion access, it frames rights as interconnected struggles outside of legal abortion. Economic access and racism within the criminal legal system were commonly cited by POC-organizations and conspicuously absent in the majority of HW-organization posts. Going back to Figure 4, this post by SisterSong highlights the discrepancies in the criminal legal system's treatment of Black women when stand your ground laws failed to protect a Black woman. Thus, the data show that POC-organizations see the denial of rights as a feature of political institutions while HW-organizations treat the denial of rights as an aberration.

Conclusion

This chapter examines variations across the different SMOs in my study with respect to how HW- and POC use of legal frames, especially rights frames. My quantitative findings demonstrate that the relationship between organization type and engagement with legal frames is significant. HW-organizations frame issues in terms of rights and legal/formal political solutions. Their calls to action emphasize electoral participation, campaigning for specific legislation or candidates, and supporting/opposing court outcomes. POC-organizations are less likely to use rights framing and are more likely to support social solutions like protests, community resources, and cultural shifts. HW-organizations were less likely to call their supporters to any type of action compared to POC-organizations. POC-organizations called for social movement participation in nearly half of their posts (as opposed to participation in institutionalized political actions). HW-organizations encourage their audiences to participate in formal politics through financial support, channeled campaign efforts, and social media support. Their calls to action around systemic issues are vague where they exist at all. In contrast, POC-organizations connect systemic oppression to concrete actions inside and outside of formal political institutions. Their calls to action move beyond channeled responses.

The qualitative analyses extend the quantitative analyses. With them, I show that not only does legal framing vary by organizational type, but through exploring differences in rights framing I ultimately demonstrate organizational trust (or distrust) of political institutions. My findings suggest that HW-organizations view political institutions, insider statuses, and formal political actions as a pathway to securing rights while POC-organizations see formal political institutions as forces that can only threaten, undermine, and deny rights. HW-organizations use legal framing and draw upon "The Law" as a powerful master frame. While POC-organizations may view the criminal legal system as incredibly powerful, it is not a resonant frame within their messaging. POC-organizations are less like to use rights as a mobilizing frame and call for their audience to participate in protest, community actions, organizing, and collect actions in addition to *and beyond* formal political actions.

One way to think about the differences between HW- and POC-organizations in terms of how they frame rights is to see them as a distinction between rights as strong versus fragile and as established versus in progress. HW-organizations frame reproductive rights as something secured by earlier movement efforts but under threat by reactionary and extreme politicians. These attacks are framed as aberrations (although frequent and consistent) and as resistance to the progress women have made. POC-organizations frame rights as something historically denied to people of color, especially queer and poor women of color. "Rights" are not universal in their framework, rather the rights of marginalized people (racialized minorities, gendered minorities, economically marginalized etc.) are actively and consistently denied. For HW-organizations the fight for legal rights is a defensive battle - protecting the rights they already enjoy – while for POC-organizations the fight for rights is an offensive battle for survival.

The POC-organizations conceptualized rights as an ongoing and continuous struggle that reflects gendered and racial power inequalities. They emphasized community as the source of justice rather than state institutions which were framed as historically and currently failing POC. My findings indicate a resistant legal consciousness in rpeorductive justice organizations which promotes developing alternative institutions, organizations, and practices that reduce or remove reliance on state institutions. HW-organizations saw the law as upheld by institutions and formal politics. They cited individual laws and political figures as aberrations while POC-organizations viewed oppression as systemic and historical. HW-organizations engaged with human rights frames either vaguely or explicitly as a concept for countries outside the U.S. While POC-

organizations did not invoke human rights framing explicitly they were more likely to discuss things like the environment, housing, and economic justice. They were more likely to cite specific examples of human rights frequently denied to U.S. citizens.

The differences in posts across the SMOs in my study are not just about differences in legal framing, however. As I show in the next chapter, I also find evidence of differences in terms of threats. In the next chapter I build upon frame variations to explore how differences in whose threats are centered have implications for organizational capacity for solidarity. Whereas this chapter explored how legal frames vary by organizational type and why those differences are meaningful, the following chapter provides additional evidence that these differences in messaging points to deeper cleavages in the movement field that undermines solidarity and threatens the security of reproductive rights for everyone. Ultimately the way organizations engage with legal frames has implications for how their audiences perceive threats, solutions, and what is possible. These findings also impact organizational capacity for achieving intersectional solidarity which is explored in Chapter 6.
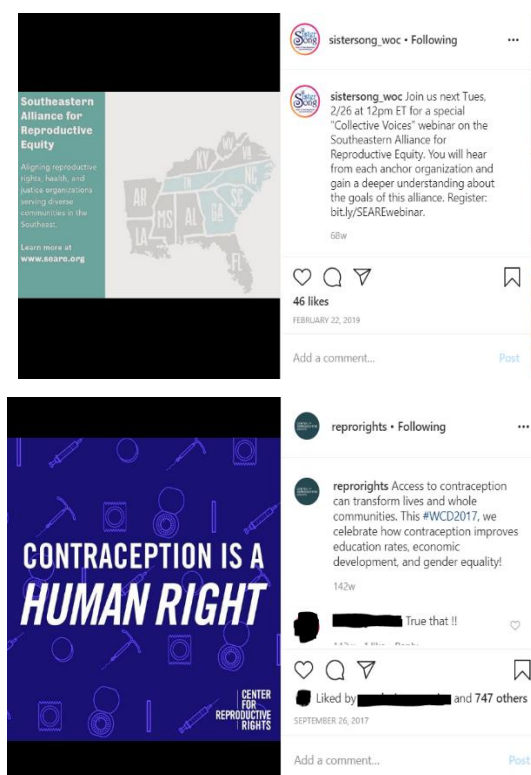
Figure 1: Examples of Rights Discourse

Figure 2: Voting to Gain and Maintain Rights

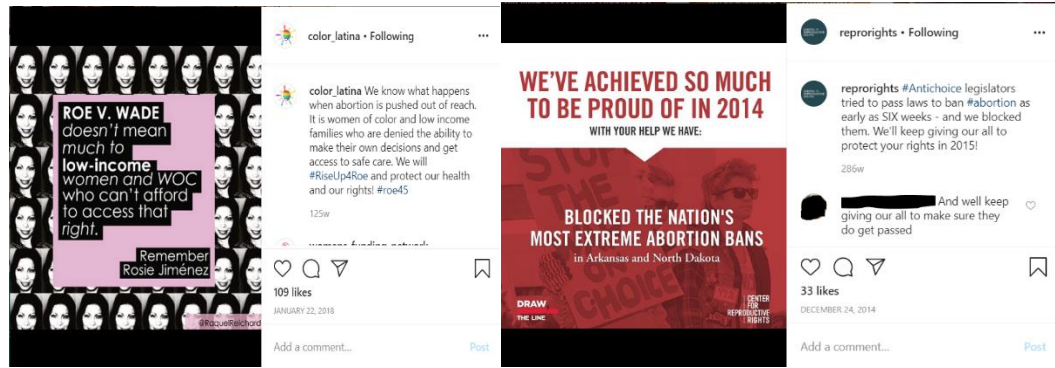**Figure 3: Institutions Deny Rights**

Figure 4: Rights as a Privilege

Figure 5: Celebration and Acknowledgement of Roe's Limitations

Figure 6: Inequalities within the Movement as Historical Artifacts

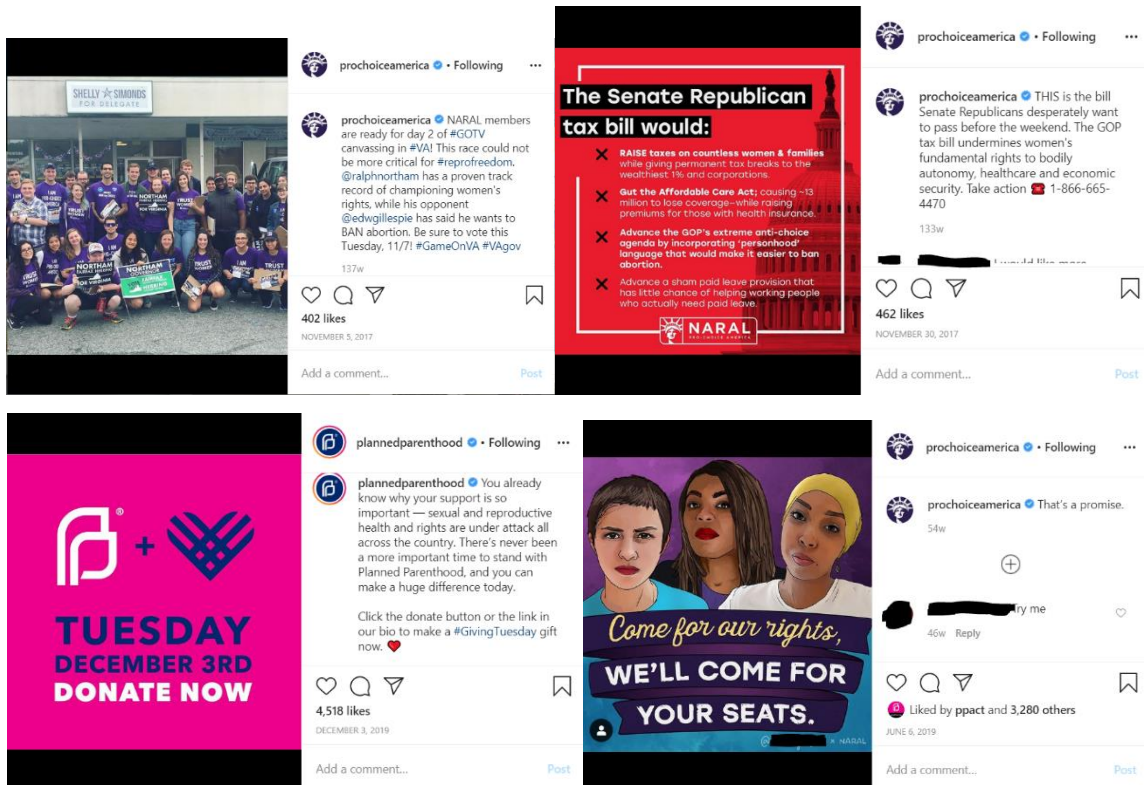**Figure 7: Reproductive Rights as Part of Multiple Struggles for Rights**

Figure 8: Celebrating Defeated Attacks and Describing Hypotheticals

CHAPTER 6. IS INCLUSION ENOUGH? INTERSECTIONAL SOLIDARITY AND CENTERING VULNERABILITY TO THREATS

Introduction

"OUR BODIES. OUR RIGHTS. OUR CLINICS. THE RESISTANCE STARTS **NOW**." The above quote is taken from a 2016 post made by the Center of Reproductive Rights. The post made in collaboration with Planned Parenthood and the ACLU, is in response to the election of Donald Trump and his administration's implications for reproductive health. Because my dissertation seeks to gauge intersectional solidarity within the field of reproductive health and how the achievement of racial solidarity is linked to the past, two things stand out in this quote: "our" and "now." Who do these organizations include when they say "our bodies?" Are they thinking of bodies beyond the gender binary? Racially marginalized bodies? Disabled bodies? Queer bodies? And when they say their resistance starts now, why is Trump's administration the aberration? Why resist this presidency specifically?

The quote above also illustrates something about threat, a central theoretical concept in the study of social movements (Almeida 2003; Einwohner 2022; Einwohner and Maher 2011; Maher 2010). In this chapter I argue that the way SMOs frame threats is crucial to building solidarity as it indicates who the organization views as the affected population. SMOs advocate for their causes by making their audience aware of the threats and proposed solutions regarding their cause. Any exclusion of threats against marginalized populations therefore implies that these groups are not part of the cause or the constituent members of the SMO. This exclusion lowers the SMO's capacity for solidarity with these groups. SMOs advocates for mobilization against the threats that would harm those they see as affected. The erasure of harms that only affect or disproportionately affect marginalized groups erases the stakes those groups have in the movement. Which threats are presented as relevant and prevalent have implications for *who* the movement is perceived to be for and about. Who is centered as the most vulnerable to harm determines the capacity an organization has for intersectional solidarity (Einwohner et al. 2021; Tormos 2017).

Threat is a crucial mobilizer and can be key in creating a sense of shared identity within social movements. As I explained in Chapter 2, threat is defined as the cost of inaction: if "we" fail to act then "x" will happen (Einwohner and Maher 2010; Maher 2011). In the quote at the beginning of this chapter, a collective "we" (implied by "our") perceives threats to its bodies, rights, and clinics. But who does "we" encompass? Solidarity and trust can form within a movement if actors feel they share the same identity, stakes, or interests (Anner 2011; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Tayler and Whittier 1992). Active, intersectional solidarity argue that identities and stakes need not be shared if movement actors are committed to intersectionality as praxis (Einwohner et al. 2021; Tormos 2017). In this chapter I argue that threat and solidarity are intertwined. Organizations with a capacity for intersectional solidarity would then mobilize around threats that affect marginalized groups within the movement regardless of the identity or stakes of the dominant group. For an organization or movement to build intersectional solidarity, the needs and interests of the most vulnerable must be centered (Tormos 2017). It is an active process of revisiting who is being marginalized and bringing them into the core of the movements messaging and actions (Einwohner et al. 2021). Examining how HW and POC organizations perceive threats to reproductive rights and freedoms can therefore have implications for organizational capacity for intersectional solidarity.

All six organizations in my study make broad claims about inclusion and concerns for raced and gendered minorities. The POC-organizations explicitly claim intersectionality in their mission statements and public facing materials while HW-organizations use "inclusion," "diversity," or generalized language such as "we speak for *all women*," "reproductive healthcare is for *everyone*," or "*for all* those seeking reproductive health care." The HW-organizations have made multiple statements addressing past racism and recommitting to racial solidarity. If solidarity is to be achieved, then presumably all the organizations would present threats in the same way. In this chapter I examine my data for evidence of differences in threats and, ultimately, capacity for solidarity.

Methods

This chapter examines threat and solidarity both quantitatively and qualitatively. I begin with a series of quantitative analyses using the 1,200 Instagram post sample from all six

reproductive health organizations in my study. I then turn to a qualitative analysis of a stratified random 120 post subsample of the dataset (20 posts per organization). The quantitative data are used to assess *what* organizations see as the threat to reproductive health and whether there are significant differences between the type of organization and the frequency of *who* is centered as vulnerable. By determining *what* is seen as a concern and *who* is seen as at risk of harm, I illustrate how organizations view their role in protecting and advocating for "us"/"all." Variations by organizational type would suggest who the organizations see as part of "us" and who is ancillary to their constituency and goals.

I use chi square tests to compare statistically significant differences in mentions of variables related to violent threats and the populations under threat by organizational type. The quantitative analyses can provide basic descriptions of what variables are present in the posts. They can also assess how frequently a violent threat is mentioned or whether posts mentioning violence *also* mention race or gender. However, the quantitative analyses cannot tell whether a post referencing violence, race, and gender is connecting those concepts. Thus, the quantitative analyses provides valuable information on what is being presented to audiences but the qualitative analysis is necessary to understand how threats are related to intersections of race and gender. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are limitations on coding for intersectionality. As my data are visual, any image of figure might complicate coding for race and gender. I do not use interaction terms in my analysis which is one approach to intersectional analysis. Instead I use a series of bivariate analysis and explore theoretical intersectionality with my qualitative analysis to capture implied use of intersectional praxis.

The qualitative analysis is based on a proportionate stratified random sample of 120 from the 1,200 post dataset. I used a computer-generated random sequence of twenty numbers between 1-200 to collect 20 posts from the 1,200 post dataset. Posts in the dataset are IDed using a four-digit number. The first digit indicates the organization, and the three remaining digits are 1-200 indicating the post's number within the n=200 sample of the organization. For example, 1= SisterSong so the 15th post collected from SisterSong would have the ID number "1015." I selected the corresponding numbered post from my dataset of posts for each organization. The randomly generated sequence process ensured that the organizations would be equally represented while introducing randomization. I conducted analysis by thoroughly reading and rereading the data over the course of multiple rounds of coding. With each round of reading the

data, I both focused on patterns indicated by the previous round and remained open to new, emergent themes. Therefore, each round of coding was informed by the previous. I used descriptive and thematic memoing to uncover patterns and themes within the data (Glaser 1978; Miles and Huberman 1994).

Memoing sorts through ideas and identifies patterns in qualitative data (Miles and Huberman 1994). I create two types of memos which I refer to as descriptive and thematic. By descriptive memoing I mean the practice of putting into prose the content of the posts. I wrote in my own words a description of the images, language, and overall impression of the post. I made notes of events, figures, and allusions made in the post. For instance, if a post alluded to police killings I would cross check the date of the post with news coverage at the time to provide broader context to the post. Thematic memoing is the process of coding for themes, narratives, and relationships. I began by memoing on the descriptive memos, recording my thoughts, potential themes, possible patterns, and connections to the literature. Thematic memoing involves exploratory writings, comparing posts and memos, and identifying tensions, contradictions, and absences. Any concept of interest or potential code is refined and tested against the 120-post sample to ensure the pattern or theme is prevalent. I was particularly interested in themes and relationships related to quantitative results such as the inclusion or centering of trans people (especially Black trans people) and references to systemic violence and oppression. Below I describe my quantitative and qualitative analyses in greater depth.

Variables

As noted above, this chapter focuses on how the SMOs talk about threats to reproductive health in their posts. Unlike in Chapter 5, which was focused on rights, there is no single variable that captures threat. Instead, I use variables related to race, gender, and violence. Just as I used rights to focus on variations in legal framing, in this chapter I narrow my scope to differences in references to violence to explore variations in threat framing. These variables are used in combination to assess who movements portray as experiencing different types of harm. They therefore indicate both the "what will happen to us if we don't act" and who the "us" is in reference to the threats illustrated.

Below I summarize the variables relevant to these analyses. The variables and coding decisions are described in greater detail in the Appendix. The main independent variable for the analysis is *POC-organization* which indicates organizational type. A post is coded "1" if it is a post published by an organization founded and run by POC (COLOR Latina, Forward Together, or SisterSong). Posts coded "0" are posts published by historically white organizations (Center for Reproductive Rights, NARAL, or Planned Parenthood). Dependent variables include: *Trans* (1=reference to trans people or issues, 0=no reference to trans people or issues), *LGBTQ* (1=reference to LGBTQIA+ people or issues, 0=no reference), *Gender Identity* (1=post explicitly mentions gender identity, 0=no reference to gender identity), *Race* (1=explicit mention of race or ethnicity as a concept or specific refence to a particular racial group, 0=no reference), *Black* (a subcode of *Race,* 1=explicit reference to Black people, Blackness, or anti-Black racism, 0=no reference), *Immigration* (1=explicit reference to immigration, immigrants, migrants, DACA, undocumented people, or citizenship issues, 0=no reference), *Indigenous* (1=explicit reference to Indigenous Peoples, Native Americans, tribal groups in U.S, or related issues, 0=no reference) and *Any Violence* (1=reference to any type of violent action or threat, 0=no reference), *Gendered Violence* (subcode of *Any Violence*, 1=specific reference to gender-based violence, 0=no reference), *Sexual Violence* (subcode of *Any Violence*, 1=specific reference to rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, or threats of sexual violence, 0=no reference), *Fatal Violence* (subcode of *Any Violence*, 1= specific reference violence that results in death, 0=no reference),

These variables indicate discussions of marginalized groups and potential harms that people seeking reproductive healthcare may face. Because threat and marginalization are relational there is no one variable that can indicate either, rather a series of variables must be used to indicate the frequency of refences. By using variables related to race, gender, and sexuality as indicators I can assess differences in how often marginalized groups are being referenced. Similarly, there is no one variable to indicate threat. Indicators for threats are a combination of variables on movements, barriers, and violence. I focus on violence variables as indicators because they are overtly connected to threat. The types of violence referenced by organizations is one indicator of who they see facing the threat of violence and what types of violence they see as relevant to the field of reproductive health.

As described in Chapters 2 and 3, Black women are disproportionately at risk for a myriad of potentially lethal harms (higher rates of maternal mortality, pregnancy and post-

partem complications, state violence, and economic disadvantage) and trans people are at a heightened risk for interpersonal violence and economic disadvantages (Adams and Thomas 2017; Brubaker 2007; Bryant et al. 2010; Dominguez et al. 2008; FORGE 2012; Giscombé and Lobel 2005; Giurgescu et al. 2011; USTS 2016). If organizations are focusing on the most lethal threats, we should expect to see frequent references to race and gender identity. While we would expect organizations founded around race to reference race and racism consistently, organizations founded broadly around gender and claiming to speak for all people seeking reproductive health care should refer to racial and gender minorities at least in proportion to population demographics. Based on 2020 U.S. Census data, 40.7% of the population is non-white. The Census does not include all genders, only the sex categories "male" and "female," but Pew Research surveys indicate the trans/nonbinary population in the U.S. is roughly 1.6% overall but growing with 5.1% of people under 30 (Brown 2022). Safety concerns, stigma, and access to information and gender confirming care are influencing self-reported gender. A meta-analysis of five decades of studies finds that trans (as an umbrella category) represents at least between .1% to 2% of the global population (Goodman et al. 2019). It is likely that the actual percentage of trans and nonbinary people in the U.S. is higher as this is an underreported and fast-growing segment of the population. Rates of violence against trans Americans is difficult to determine given the lack of data and resources to compare risks relative to the general population; however, reports of abuse and violence from police, health care professionals, schools, family members, and strangers suggest that trans people are experiencing violence at disproportionate rates (FORGE 2012). Trans people in the U.S. are 3.7 times more likely to experience police violence (Lambda Legal 2022), and three times more likely to experience unemployment (USTS 2016). As of 2013, at least 85% of anti-trans violence victims were trans women of color (HRC 2020). Trans women of color are one of (if not) the most vulnerable group to violence in the U.S. Organizations representing women and organizing against threats to women should therefore include (or center) trans women of color in conversations about violence.

If organizations have a high capacity for intersectional solidarity, I would see few statistically significant differences between organization type and the threats they describe as well as who those threats target. However, based on extant research on intersectionality within the field of reproductive health, I would expect significant differences across the threats

portrayed most frequently as well as who is included, centered, and/or excluded in messaging (Luna 2017; Ross et al. 2017; Zavella 2020). Historically white organizations will focus on the threats that impact the majority of their membership which skews white, cis gender, and middle/upper class. Based on past research (Luna 2020; Ross et al. 2017), I propose the hypotheses below on the variations I expect based on organizational types. Quantitative analyses will then test relationships and establish the broad contours of discourse within the dataset which will set the stage for the qualitative analysis.

Hypothesis 1: POC will reference violence more often than HW-Organizations.

Based on past research I expect that historically white organizations will be less likely to view some types of threats (such as violence of any type) as important topics to discuss while POC-organizations will more frequently mention topics such as gender-based violence and fatal violence. Instead, I expect HW-organizations to be more likely to focus on institutional political actors and actions as sources of threat. As discussed in Chapter 5, HW-organizations frame threats to reproductive health as fringe political extremists operating within formal political institutions (although they frame these actors as outside institutional norms). Evidence supporting Hypothesis 1 would be statistically significant differences between organizational type and (1) references to violence of any kind and (2) references to specific types of violence.

Past research demonstrates that women of color led organizations are more likely to acknowledge how violence (particularly domestic violence) impacts reproductive health and organize or collaborate with groups mobilizing against violence (Silliman et al. 2004; Zavella 2020): therefore, I expect POC-organizations to be more likely to frame violence as a barrier to reproductive health. I expect HW-organizations to be less likely to connect reproductive health to violence, with the exception of sexual violence. The media and popular culture have sensationalized sex-based crimes against young, white women which has distorted the perception for who at the greatest risk of experiencing sexual violence (Webb 2021). While sexual violence is prevalent in the U.S., poor, queer people of color are at the highest risk (FORGE 2012; Lambda Legal 2022; USTS 2022). I expect organizations whose primary audience is young, white, cis women will likely engage with sexual violence as a prevalent threat. Because violence from any source – state violence, gendered violence, sexual violence, gun violence, and other

forms of interpersonal violence – disproportionately impacts racial and gender minorities (Catalano et al. 2009; Sumner et al. 2015; USTS 2022).

Hypothesis 2: POC-organizations will be more likely to reference oppressed groups (based on race, gender, class, sexuality, and citizenship marginalization issues).

As mentioned earlier, scholars and activists note that in order to achieve intersectional solidarity, the most marginalized must be centered; this requires an approach to inequalities that connects axis of oppression (Tormos 2017). I posit that POC-organizations will reference multiple axes of oppression (including and beyond gender) while HW-organizations will be more likely to take a single axis approach to inequality. POC-organizations organized around race and gender but have a stated commitment to intersectionality. If that is an accurate claim, they will include a wide range of marginalized groups. HW-organizations will reference marginalized groups less frequently. Evidence for Hypothesis 2 would include statistically significant differences in references to race, racialized groups (like immigrants), class, trans people and issues, references to LGBTQ, and references to gender identity.

Hypothesis 2a: POC-organizations are more likely to reference queer people (particularly trans people and trans issues).

While all six organizations in my study make broad claims about gender inclusion, past research indicates that HW-organizations center cisgender, straight audiences while POC-organizations have made intentional efforts to center queer people of color (Luna 2020; Ross et al. 2017; Zavella 2020). Because HW-organizations organizing around gender, I expect that heterosexual cis women are the central focus for HW-organizations. I would expect POC-organizations to reference queer people and issues more frequently given their commitment to intersectionality as praxis (Zavella 2020). I use "queer" as an umbrella term for LGBTQIA+, trans, agender and gender fluid people and issues. To test this hypothesis, I created the variable "Queer" which is coded "1" if "LGBTQ," "Trans," or "Gender Identity" equals "1." I posit that POC-organizations will be more likely to include trans people whether they are trans masc, trans femme, or nonbinary. Evidence supporting Hypothesis 2a include POC-organizations referencing trans people and issues more frequently.

Hypothesis 2b: Within posts about violence, POC-organizations will reference race and ethnicity more frequently.

I expect POC-organizations will be more likely to connect race and ethnicity to the threat of violence. I expect when organizations reference any type of violence HW-organizations will be less likely to also mention race and ethnicity. Evidence to support Hypothesis 2b would include significant differences between organizational type and mentions of race for posts coded "1" for "Any Violence."

Hypothesis 2c: POC-organizations will be more likely to reference violence and queer issues.

In this chapter, I am interested in establishing not only who is present in posts but also who is illustrated as vulnerable or under threat. It is crucial then to examine differences not only in the frequency by which marginalized genders are included, but how often the harms they experience are presented as prevalent and *relevant* issues. Trans people are disproportionately targeted for gender-based violence so an SMO that is centering the concerns and needs of trans people would connect these topics. Evidence that would support Hypothesis 1 could include statistically significant variation in the frequency of posts coded as "1" for both trans and "any violence." Strong evidence would be variation in posts coded as "1" for both "trans" and "gendered violence" which would suggest that the post is referring specifically to violence against trans people. If POC-organizations reference both violence and trans issues more frequently than HW-organizations at a statistically significant level than Hypothesis 2c is supported.

Quantitative Findings

The following subsection outlines the results of the chi square tests for key variables related to race, gender, and violence. I begin with variables related to identity (race, gender, sexuality, and class). Then I explore differences in mentions of types of violence. Finally, I look within variables coded "1" for violence to compare mentions of race and gender/sexuality within violence. While these results are statistically significant, it is important to note that chi square

tests are sensitive to sample size and while the differences may be relatively small percentages (e.g. 0.2% versus 2.2%) this dissertation is interested in relative effect (Acock 2008: 201). For example, 1% versus 2% has a larger effect size (*2) than 40% versus 50% (*1.25). With those caveats in mind, the quantitative results provide powerful evidence of organizational differences in who is framed as vulnerable to threats. I find evidence in support of my Hypotheses 1 and 2a-c. The evidence and individual chi square test results are presented below.

References to Violence

Table 6 presents the chi square results comparing mentions of any type of violence by organizational type.

Table 6: Mentions of Violence by Organization Type

Mentions Violence % (n)	*HW-Organization*	*POC-Organization*	*Overall*
Yes	10.3% (62)	23.3% (140)	16.8% (202)
No	89.7% (538)	76.7% (460)	83.2% (998)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 36.215$; $p < 0.001$

POC-organizations are more likely to reference violence of any type. In a sample of 1,200 posts, HW-organizations mentioned any form of violence in 10.3% of posts while POC-organizations referenced violence in 23.3% of posts. The relationship between type of organization and mention of violence is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This supports Hypothesis 1 which posts that POC-organizations will mention violence more frequently than HW-organizations. This suggests that POC-organizations view violence as a more prevalent threat than HW-organization.

Gender-Based Violence

Table 7 presents the chi square test results for mentions of gender-based violence by organizational type. Gender-based violence is a sub code of any violence.

Table 7: Mentions of Gender-Based Violence by Organization Type

Mentions Gender-Based Violence % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	2.3% (14)	10.7% (164)	6.5% (78)
No	97.7% (586)	89.3% (498)	93.5% (1,122)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 34.279$; $p < 0.001$

POC-organizations referenced gender-based violence more frequently than HW-organizations. In a sample of 1,200 posts, HW-organizations mention gendered violence in 2.3% of posts compared to 10.7% of posts by POC-organizations. The relationship between organization type and mention of gendered violence is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This suggests gendered violence is viewed as a greater threat by POC-organizations. These results provide strong support for Hypothesis 1c and slight support for 2c as gender-based violence includes transphobic and homophobic violence. Hypothesis 2c is tested in additional ways but these results provide some tangential support.

References to Sexual Violence

Table 8 presents the chi square results comparing mentions of sexual violence by organizational type. Sexual violence is a sub code of any violence.

Table 8: Mentions of Sexual Violence by Organizational Type

Mentions of Sexual Violence % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	4.0% (24)	4.2% (25)	4.1% (49)
No	96.0% (576)	95.8% (575)	95.9% (1,151)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 8.362; p = 0.884$

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

POC-organizations and HW-organizations do not differ in mentions of sexual violence. There is not a statistically significant difference between mentions of sexual violence and organizational type (p=0.884). This is somewhat expected as described in Hypothesis 1, while POC-organizations are more likely to see violence in any form as a prevalent threat to reproductive health, HW-organizations more readily connect sexual violence to reproductive health and do not see other forms of violence as related.

References to Fatal Violence

Table 9 presents the chi square results comparing mentions of fatal violence by organizational type. Fatal violence is a sub code of any violence.

Table 9: Mentions of Fatal Violence/Murder by Organizational Type

Mentions of Murder % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	3.7% (22)	7.5% (45)	5.6% (67)
No	96.3% (578)	92.5% (555)	94.4% (1,133)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 8.362; p < 0.005$

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

POC-organizations mentioned fatal violence more frequently than HW-organizations. Comparing Table 8 with Table 7, POC-organizations reference fatal violence more frequently than either organizational type reference sexual violence. This supporting Hypothesis 1 which posits POC-organizations will reference violence more frequently.

References to Race and Ethnicity

Below are the results for the chi square test comparing mentions of race/ethnicity and organizational type. Table 10 summaries my findings.

Table 10: Mentions of Race and Ethnicity by Organization Type

Mentions Race and Ethnicity % (n)	*HW-Organization*	*POC-Organization*	*Overall*
Yes	11.7% (70)	48.0% (288)	29.8% (358)
No	88.3% (530)	52.0% (312)	70.2% (842)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 189.190; p < 0.001$

Table 9 displays the chi square results comparing organizational types referenced to race and ethnicity. HW-organizations were less likely to reference race/ethnicity (11.8% of posts) compared to POC-organizations (52.0% of posts). The relationship between organization type and referencing race/ethnicity is statistically significant ($p<0.001$). This provides partial support for Hypothesis 2 which posits that POC-organizations will reference marginalized groups more frequently.

References to Black People or Black Issues

Table 11 presents the results of the chi square tests comparing mentions of Black people, Black issues, anti-Blackness, and Blackness by organizational type.

Table 11: Mentions of Black People or Issues by Organization Type

Mentions Black People % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	9.8% (59)	27.8% (167)	18.8% (226)
No	90.2% (541)	72.2% (433)	81.2% (974)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 63.586; p < 0.001$

Table 10 demonstrates that mentions of Black people and Black issues vary by organizational type. HW-organizations refer to Black people or Black issues in 9.8% of their posts compared to 27.8% of posts by POC-organizations. The difference between organizational types and mentioning Black people or issues is significant at the p<0.001 level. The results in Table 10 support Hypothesis 2 which posits that POC-organizations will reference marginalized racial/ethnic groups more frequently.

References to Class

Table 12 presents the results for the chi square test comparing mentions of economic class and economic issues (such as poverty) by organizational type.

Table 12: Mentions of Class by Organization Type

Mentions of Class % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	7.0% (42)	12.5% (75)	9.8% (117)
No	93.0% (558)	87.5% (525)	90.3% (1,083)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 10.313; p < 0.001$

Due to rounding, percentages may not add up to 100%

References to Class also vary by organizational type at a statistically significant level (p<0.001). HW-organizations refer to economic class in 7.0% of their posts as compared to

12.5% of POC-organization posts. This result speaks to an overall difference in representing the concerns of marginalized groups which supports Hypothesis 2.

References to Queer People or Issues

Table 13 presents the results of the chi square test comparing mentions of queer people and issues by organizational type.

Table 13: Mentions of Queer People or Issues by Organization Type

Mentions Queer People % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	4.3% (26)	17.2% (103)	10.8% (129)
No	95.7% (574)	82.8% (497)	89.3% (1,071)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 51.497; p < 0.001$

The results of presented in Table 12 provides evidence in support of Hypothesis 1 which posits that POC-organizations will be more likely to include references to queer people and issues. References to queer people and issues appear in 4.3% of HW-organization posts compared to 17.2% of POC-organization posts. Put another way, POC-organization posts are referencing queer people and issues at four times the rate of HW-organizations. The difference between references to queer people and issues by organizational type is statistically significant (p<0.001). This result provides support for Hypothesis 2a which posits POC-organizations will be more likely to mention queer people and issues.

References to Trans People or Issues

Table 14 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of trans people or issues by organizational type.

Table 14: Mentions of Trans People or Issues by Organization Type

Mentions Trans People % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	1.7% (10)	12.0% (72)	6.8% (82)
No	90.2% (541)	88.0% (528)	93.2% (1,118)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

χ^2(1, N = 1,200) = 50.316; p < 0.001

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

The results presented in Table 13 demonstrate stark differences between organizations and mentions of trans people and issues. POC-organizations mention trans people and issues in 12.0% of their posts compared to 1.7% of HW-organizations (p<0.001). While representing a small portion of the HW-organizations' posts, it is important to note that estimates of the trans population in the U.S. is between 0.2% and 2.0% so it is possible to interpret the HW-organizations as being proportionally representative at 1.7%. This analysis does support Hypothesis 2a which posits that POC-organizations will reference trans people and issues more frequently than HW-organizations.

References to LGBTQIA+ People or Issues

Table 15 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of LGBTQIA+ people and issues by organizational type.

Table 15: Mentions of LGBTQIA+ People or Issues by Organization Type

Mentions of LGBTQ % (n)	Overall	HW-Organization	POC-Organization
Yes	10.2% (122)	4.2% (25)	16.2% (97)
No	89.8% (1,078)	95.8% (575)	83.8% (503)
Total	100% (1,200)	100% (600)	100% (600)

χ^2(1, N = 1,200) = 47.301; p < 0.001

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Supporting the above analyses related to Queer identities, the results in Table 6 show statistically significant differences in mentions of LGBTQIA+ people and issues by organizational type (p<0.001). POC-organizations mention LGBTQIA+ people and issues in 16.2% of their posts compared to 4.2% of HW-posts. This analysis supports Hypothesis 2a which posits that POC-organizations will mention LGBTQIA+ people and issues more frequently than HW-organizations.

References to Gender Identity

Table 16 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of gender identity by organization type.

Table 16: Mentions Gender Identity by Organization Type

Mentions Gender Identity *% (n)*	*Overall*	*HW-Organization*	*POC-Organization*
Yes	7.6% (91)	2.0% (12)	13.2% (79)
No	92.4% (1,109)	98/0% (588)	86.8% (521)
Total	100% (1,200)	100% (600)	100% (600)

$\chi^2(1, N = 1,200) = 53.378; p < 0.001$

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Consistent with the above results for issues related to queer people and issues, POC-organizations were more likely to reference gender identity (13.2%) as compared to HW-organizations (2.0%). POC-organizations mention gender identity six times more often than HW-organizations in this sample. The difference in mentions of gender identity by organizational type is statistically significant (p<0.001). This provides additional evidence supporting Hypothesis 2a which posits that POC-organizations will be more likely to mention trans, queer, and nonbinary people and issues.

References to Immigration

Table 17 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of immigration or immigrants by organizational type.

Table 17: Mentions of Immigration by Organization Type

Mentions Immigration % (n)	*HW-Organization*	*POC-Organization*	*Overall*
Yes	2.7% (16)	12.2% (73)	7.4% (89)
No	97.3% (584)	87.8% (527)	88.8% (1,111)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

χ^2(1, N = 1,200) = 63.586; p < 0.001

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 17 displays the statistically significant differences between mentions immigration issues and immigrants and organizational type (p<0.001). HW-organizations reference immigration or immigrants in 2.7% of their posts compared to 12.2% of POC-organization posts. This provides evidence in support of Hypothesis 2 which posits that POC-organizations will reference marginalized groups more frequently than HW-organizations.

References to Indigenous Peoples

Table 18 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of Indigenous Peoples and issues by organizational types. Please note that while the difference is statistically significant, the percentages are relatively small.

Table 18: Mentions of Indigenous Peoples or Issues by Organization Type

Mentions of Indigenous Peoples % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	0.2% (1)	2.2% (13)	1.2% (14)
No	99.8% (599)	97.8% (503)	98.8% (1,186)
Total	100% (600)	100% (600)	100% (1,200)

χ^2(1, N = 1,200) = 10.407; p < 0.001

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

While the percentages are low for both organizational types, there is a statistically significant difference between references to Indigenous Peoples (p<0.001). POC-organizations mention Indigenous Peoples in 2.2% while HW-organizations mention Indigenous Peoples in 0.2%. This provides additional support for Hypothesis 2 which posits that POC-organizations will be more likely to reference oppressed groups.

References to Race/Ethnicity within Violence Posts

Table 19 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of race/ethnicity by organizational type just for those posts coded "1" for any mention of violence; for this analysis the sample size is 202 posts. This analysis indicates whether race is included in posts that also reference violence.

Table 19: Mentions of Race/Ethnicity within Posts Mentioning Any Type of Violence by Organization Type

Mentions of Race % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	22.6% (14)	65.0% (91)	52.0% (105)
No	77.4% (48)	35.0% (49)	48.0% (97)
Total	100% (62)	100% (140)	100% (202)

χ^2(1, N = 202) = 30.977; p < 0.001

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 19 provides evidence in support of Hypotheses 1 and 2b. HW-organizations were less likely to reference violence (Table 5) and within the posts that reference violence, HW posts were less likely to reference race/ethnicity. Of the POC-organization posts about violence, 65% explicitly reference race/ethnicity compared to 22.6% of HW-organization posts. The difference is statistically significant at a p<0.001 level.

References to Queer People and Issues within Violence Posts

Table 20 presents the chi square test results comparing mentions of queer people and issues by organizational type within posts coded "1" for any mention of violence (n=202). This analysis allows me to see if organizations reference queer people and issues within posts about violence.

Table 20: Mentions of Queer People or Issues within Posts Mentioning Any Type of Violence by Organization Type

Mentions of Queer People % (n)	HW-Organization	POC-Organization	Overall
Yes	9.7% (6)	30.7% (43)	24.3% (49)
No	90.3% (56)	69.3% (97)	75.7% (153)
Total	100% (62)	100% (140)	100% (202)

$\chi^2(1, N = 202) = 10.350; p < 0.001$

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Of posts that reference any type of violence, there was a statistically significant difference in mentions of queer people and issues by organizational type. Not only do POC-organizations mention violence (Table 5) and queer people (Table 12) more frequently independent of mentions of each other, but they are more likely to mention queer people within posts about violence. HW-organization posts mention queer people and issues in 9.7% of their posts mentioning violence compared to nearly one third (30.7%) of POC-organization posts that

mention violence. This supports Hypothesis 2c which posits that POC-organizations will be more likely to discuss violence against queer people.

Qualitative Findings

The quantitative results demonstrate that there are statistically significant differences between reproductive rights and justice organizations in terms of how they present prevalent threats and vulnerable groups. I now turn to an in-depth qualitative analysis that explores whether those differences *meaningful*. My analysis centers on the differences between inclusion and centering. How organizations frame threats and who is included as threated has powerful implications for their capacity to build intersectional solidarity. Based on my quantitative findings, POC-organizations included marginalized groups more frequently but if this study is consistent with previous research on race within the reproductive health field, I expect POC-organizations will not just include, but center marginalized groups. In my qualitative analysis I show that POC-organizations center and intersect axes of oppression for marginalized groups. They do this by placing marginalized statuses in conversation with each other and acknowledging the ways systems of oppression intersect. Throughout the 120-post subsample, the dominant themes related to threat that emerged include: (1) *centering* -organizational differences in centering the vulnerability of trans people of color, and (2) *intersecting* – organizational differences in viewing threats as singular or interconnected fights for liberation.

Centering – Queer People of Color

While both organizational types include some references to queer, trans, and nonbinary people, HW-organizations referenced them less frequently and were less likely to connect these representations to economic precarity, increased risk of interpersonal violence, higher rates of incarceration, and housing instability. The Center for Reproductive Rights did not have any mentions of queer people or identities in the random sample. NARAL included only one small reference to queer identity in the random sample which condemned Trump for being "anti-gay" in the post's caption (Figure 13). Absences can be incredibly meaningful in qualitative analysis. The lack of references to gendered minorities and queer identities by HW-organizations is in sharp contrast to variety of ways queer people and identities are presented by POC-organizations.

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When POC-organizations included references to queer, trans, and nonbinary people they connected these identities to racial marginalization, economic precarity, and criminal legal vulnerability. Figure 9 exemplifies POC-organization posts. A Black woman smiles broadly against a pink background. In text over the bottom of the image the woman describes herself as an "artist" and a "fat, Black bitch just trying to get free." The post's caption as well as a watermark indicates that this post is part of SisterSong's Trans Day of Resilience (a play on Trans Day of Remembrance). The woman does not lead with her gender identity but the raced, gendered, and economic barriers she resists. The caption goes on to urge the viewer to "Protect Black Trans Sex Workers" and includes a link to further action.

Both types of organizations include references to queer identities (see Figures 9 and 12); however, HW-organizations do not delve into how queer identities intersect with other identities and contribute to oppression. The few HW-organization posts referencing queer identities rarely center them and typically focus on a single axis of oppression (condemning bigotry or homophobia) rather than addressing how race/class/body size and ability interact to produce unique barriers. Planned Parenthood included more allusions to queer identities, but even these posts do not provide much depth. Planned Parenthood did not feature images of gender non-confirming people within the qualitative data sample. While gender cannot always be accurately assessed, the people portrayed in the HW-organizations adhered to conventional binary displays of gender. One post included a pride (rainbow) flag which suggests LGBTQ identity, but this image does not include a figure. The post, a 2017 Planned Parenthood photo collage, includes an image of a raised white fist against a pride flag (Figure 12, left). The disembodied allusion to an LGBTQ person is an inverse to the SisterSong post described above where the central figure in the post is embodied as a fat, trans, Black woman. Her identity is featured unapologetically and in its full complexity. Another Planned Parenthood post addressing queer identity defines asexuality in the caption of a post featuring an illustration of a white femme figure with the phrase "Asexuality is Beautiful" beside them (Figure 12, right). Both Planned Parenthood posts include or allude to queer identities but do not engage with how other identities might impact queer experiences. It is also telling that the fist and figure are both white.

POC-organizations repeatedly identified threats against the trans community from the legal and physical risks trans sex workers face (Figure 9, left) to policy changes that threaten military participation and the benefits that come with it (Figure 9, right). POC-organizations

were explicit in addressing how race, class, and gender intersect to make low income trans people of color particularly vulnerable. The emphasis on protecting trans sex workers and fighting against employment discrimination comes up repeatedly in posts by POC-organizations. An exemplary post is Forward Together's 2015 post honoring Jessie Hernandez, a queer youth of color who was killed by police (Figure 6). Hernandez was a masculine (masc) lesbian and Latina. Her intersecting identities – queer, masc, brown, and young – made her vulnerable to police violence and brutality. Forward Together's post summaries these intersections in their call to "Protect Queer Youth of Color." The post illustrates how the combination of identities creates unique risks and barriers. It engages with queer identity in more depth than HW-organization posts. So, not only are queer topics occurring more frequently in POC-organization posts, they are connected more fully interlocking systems of oppression. POC-organizations do not simple include queer people of color in passing in a caption or image, queer people of color are central figures within POC-organization posts. The threats explored in posts by POC-organizations view the threat from the perspective of queer people of color. This is related to how POC-organizations connect seemingly disconnected threats while HW-organizations focus on single issues. In the next section I demonstrate how POC-organizations connect threats.

Intersecting - Connecting Systemic Threats

All six organizations included posts on specific proposed legislation or policies that would harm those seeking reproductive care and urged their audiences to act; however, HW-organizations tended to identify singular threats while POC-organizations connected many complex systems of oppression. For example, a post by COLOR Latina, an activist connects police brutality, systemic racism, and mass shootings (Figure 10, left). Forward Together also connects police violence, racism, and threats to reproductive justice (Figure 10, right and Figure 14). Not only do POC-organizations address a wider range of social problems, but they also demonstrate how those problems are interrelated and connected to reproductive health. Criminalizing Black and Brown children through policing in schools interferes with a person's right to parent children. Child removal through state intervention disproportionately impacts families of color. Systemic racism within United States history and the criminal legal system appeared frequently in posts by POC-organizations (Figure 11). A post by Forward Together

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discusses incarceration, housing, and family instability (Figure 14, right). These posts connect state violence (police brutality, incarceration, discriminatory policies) to reproductive health.

There is only one post with a similar connection made between the state and reproductive health by HW-organizations within the subsample (Figure 15). In 2018, NARAL posted a screenshot of a viral tweet which reads "Please, tell me more about how "pro-life, pro-woman, pro-child" you are as you tear gas toddlers and their mothers and rip infants from their parents in order to lock them up in cages." This example stands out as HW-organizations (including NARAL) rarely criticized immigration policies or police brutality. This post is in reference to a highly publicized failure of the Trump administration's immigration policies. The post seems to be more concerned with condemning the hypocrisy of pro-life conservatives rather than connect how state violence and policy are inseparable from reproductive health.

Conclusion

This chapter explores differences in references to marginalized groups and potential harms by testing statistical differences between types of threats referenced, frequency of references to marginalized groups, and an in-depth qualitative analysis of who is depicted as vulnerable to threats. References to marginalized groups in the context of possible harms as well as the frequency of *types* of harms have implications for organizational capacity for intersectional solidarity. If HW-organizations are representative of all those seeking reproductive health care, presumably we would see organizations discussing threats and at-risk groups at similar rates and in similar ways. There are statistical and qualitative differences in how threats and groups are framed undermining organization's capacity for solidarity. HW organizations were quantitatively less likely to mention violence and any marginalized identity as compared to POC-organizations. While they were more likely to reference race and queer peoplein posts that discuss violence (suggesting they do understand these groups to be disproportionately at risk for violence), POC-organizations were more likely to post about all of these topics individually and in combination. Qualitatively, HW-organizations focused on single axes of oppression without intersecting while POC-organizations specified how multiple axes interlocked to produce unique threats and vulnerabilities. POC-organizations also centered the most marginalized groups rather than appealing to the majority through ambiguous references to diversity. This chapter ultimately

assesses organizational capacity for solidarity by exploring evidence of variations in threat framing within my data.

Connecting or failing to connect seemingly separate issues has huge implications for recommended actions. Part of threat framing and mobilization involves framing solutions. Whether organizations see reproductive health as part a series of interconnected struggles or as single axis issues will impact how they frame solutions. Historically white organizations are quick to recognize present day threats to legal access to reproductive healthcare but they are far less likely to reference historic, systemic barriers to reproductive liberties. POC-organizations not only acknowledge the raced and gendered threats to reproductive health, they actively center the concerns of the most marginalized within the field.

In this chapter, I argue inclusion is not enough for organizations to have the capacity for intersectional solidarity. Historically white organizations include references to queer and trans people and people of color but at significantly lower frequencies than POC-organizations. When HW-organizations do reference marginalized groups they are not delving in-depth to the concerns, lived experiences, and diversity within the groups. This surface level inclusion portrays marginalized groups as peripheral to reproductive health. The framing of threats and calls to action center straight, cis, white women by the omission of the threats and risks to marginalized groups. This is in direct opposition to the deliberate centering in posts by POC-organizations. Who disproportionately reference trans and queer people and issues. While their refences to marginalized groups are not proportional to U.S. demographics or likely their audience demographics, their references reflect the heightened risks these populations face.

Threat framing communicates the risks of inaction – if we fail to act, "x" will happen, but who is "we?" POC-organizations make it explicitly clear that trans people, people in poverty, sex workers, undocumented immigrants, and disabled people are part of that "we." By fiercely defending the most marginalized they seek to improve the circumstances of all their constituents. Historically white organizations center the concerns of the majority of their audience and share information about more marginalized groups without specific, ongoing calls to action. They include marginalized identities – particularly as artistic illustrations – but do not tie these displays to broader systems of oppression or fights for liberation. In the following, concluding chapter of my dissertation I elaborate further on framing differences across organizations and the implications of these difference for intersectional solidarity.
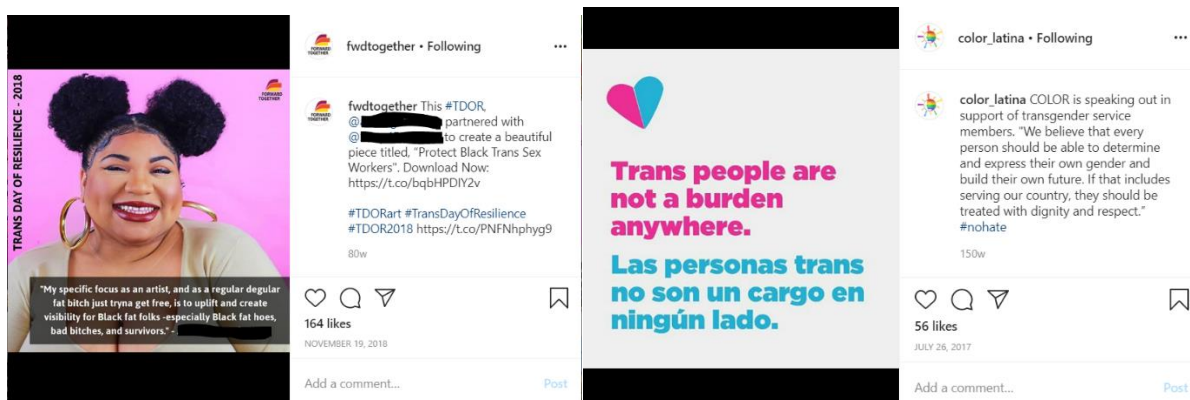
Figure 9: Centering Trans People and Issues
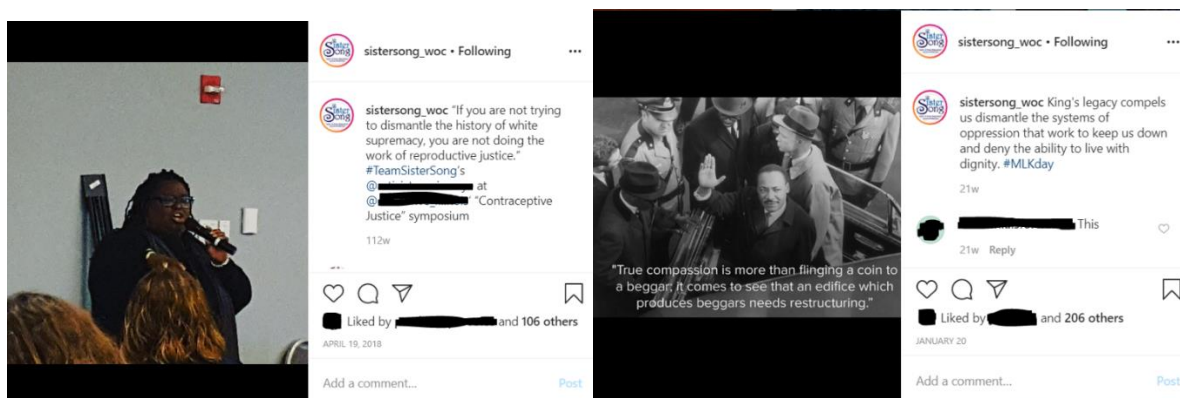

Figure 10: Violence as a Prevalent Threat

Figure 11: White Supremacy and Racism as Prevalent Threats

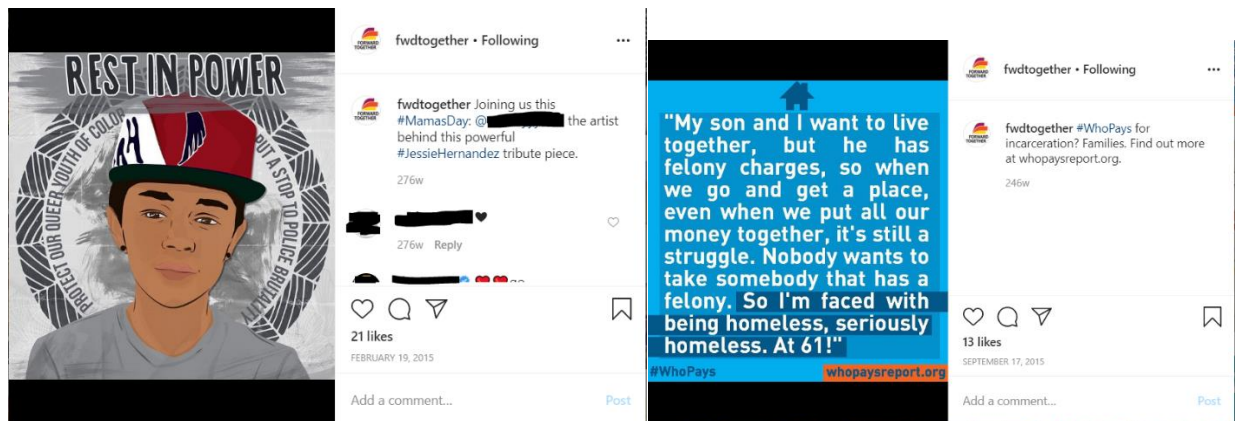**Figure 12: Celebrating Queer Identities**

Figure 13: Measuring Absence

Figure 14: State Violence as Reproductive Health Issues

Please, tell me more about how "pro-life, pro-woman, pro-child" you are as you tear gas toddlers and their mothers and rip infants from their parents in order to lock them up in cages.

Figure 15: Connecting State Violence to Reproductive Health

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION: FRACTURED FUTURES

Introduction

This is at its simplest a study on differences and time. It seems almost fitting that so much has changed since I first proposed this project. My data collection was interrupted by COVID and my study design has pivoted as a result of the pandemic and political upheavals. However, this project has never felt more prescient to me as I have watched in real time the precarity of reproductive rights and the failure of organizations to address historical racism.

As I wrote on the failures of predominantly white organizations to recognize state violence as a threat to reproductive health, Jayland Walker was killed by the Akron Police Department a few miles from my home and the protesters who gathered in response were teargassed – a practice which has been known to trigger miscarriages among many other health concerns. Police killings and the protests that proceed them are likely to continue as formal political institutions fail to hold police departments accountable and politicians increase police budgets and resources. The militarization of the police combined with their deployment to disrupt protests are already impacting abortion activists. Police departments will increasingly monitor and enforce reproductive health.

As I write this concluding chapter, the Supreme Court announced the Dobbs decision and many states effectively ended abortion access. I watched as protests across the country adopted choice-framing and appealed to political institutions and formal political practices. This doubling down on tactics which POC-led organizations have warned against prioritize preserving institutions over saving lives and securing rights. The Democratic Party is urging its constituents to vote in November while the Democratic President and the Democratic majority in Congress frame themselves as helpless which does very little to protect people experiencing this repression now and angers those who did vote only for Roe to fall under a Democratic administration. Cleavages between rights and justice movements are like to deepen as rights organizations lose Roe as evidence of the right to abortion access and their Congressional allies are being held responsible for failing to codify Roe. This project, once a speculation about the future, now seems to foreshadow our present moment. It is in this context that I wrote my dissertation

My dissertation follows organizations in the reproductive health field from the days before legal abortion to digital campaigns for reproductive liberation. This project began in 2015, prior to the Trump administration and the overturning of Roe. Yet while my data do not include posts from 2022, the events of the Spring and Summer of 2022 underscore the claims made by POC organizations in my data: If any group experiences their rights as conditional, no one's rights are secure. I did not measure the security of rights directly with my data; rather, I assessed differences in organizations' framing of rights, threat, and solidarity. In this chapter I summarize my findings and discuss their larger implications for the study of social movements and the future of reproductive health field.

Findings

In this section I summarize my major findings. In the first subsection I summarize my quantitative findings for Chapters 5 and 6. I then provide a synopsis of the five major themes I uncovered in my qualitative analyses.

Quantitative Findings Summary

My dissertation is interested in frame variation across HW-led and POC-led social movement organizations in the reproductive health field. I am particularly interested in variations in legal framing and framing around threat. In Chapter 5, I narrowed my focus to rights frames, a subframe within legal framing. I hypothesized that HW-organizations would use rights framing more frequently than POC-organizations. I further expected HW-organizations to link the security of rights to political institutions. In Chapter 6, I compared threat framing by organizational type. Similar to Chapter 5, I focused on a specific type of threat, comparing HW-organizations and POC-organizations references to violence. I expected that HW-organizations would be less likely to reference violence, marginalized groups, and marginalized groups within posts about violence. In both Chapters 5 and 6, I found quantitative evidence for differences across HW and POC-led organizations in terms of framing rights and threats. HW organizations used rights frames more often than POC organizations and were more likely to call for institutionalized political actions. With respect to threat, POC organizations were more likely to

reference the threat of violence (except for sexual violence) and the oppression of marginalized peoples.

Further, while comparing references to violence and marginalized groups separately provides a telling backdrop of what topics occur more or less frequently, I am interested in whether organizations reference marginalized groups within posts that reference violence. POC-organizations reference race/ethnicity and queer people in posts coded "1" for violence more often than HW organizations.

Qualitative Findings Summary

While the quantitative analyses showed differences in framing by organizational type, the qualitative analyses explored these differences in more depth. In Chapter 5, I discovered three major themes: understanding of rights, rights established but under threat, and rights as systematically denied. In Chapter 6, I find two major themes which related to the capacity for intersectional solidarity: centering and intersecting.

Understanding History – Rights as Established or Conditional?

A major finding in my qualitative analyses is the difference in experiencing temporality. The organizations vary in how they understand and experience time. Historically white organizations view the past as a series of discrete events that can be bounded off and celebrated or condemned from the vantage point of a progressive present day. While POC-led organizations view the past as a continuous, uninterrupted evolution of legal precarity and oppression. They do not draw a boundary between historical racism and the threats POC experience in the present day.

My data indicate that historically white organizations view racial inequalities within the reproductive health field as relics of the past as opposed to ongoing tensions within and between movement organizations. Historically white organizations discuss the past in celebratory tone: landmark cases, organizational anniversaries, prejudices overcome, and rights granted. Attacks on rights are viewed as an anomaly or a step backward on what is otherwise a straight and continuous path toward progress. In contrast, POC-organizations connect the past to current struggles. They draw a straight line from slavery, colonialism, and segregation to modern day inequalities. Attacks on rights are not new or novel but a continuation of white supremacy.

Established Rights

Lacking a shared understanding of history results in separate understandings of the status of rights. Historically white organizations frame rights as something people currently possess. Rights are established but under threat. The denial of rights is frames as hypothetical, if institutions fail then rights could be taken. Historically white organizations frame participation in formal political institutions as a way their audience can secure their rights.

Conditional Rights

POC-organizations understand reproductive rights as conditional – they are extended to the most privileged people and denied based on social and political context. These organizations frame the denial of rights as routine and a product of the normal functions of formal political institutions. POC-organizations frame the establishment of rights as something that has not happened but is possible through direct action, community participation, and physical organizing.

Centering

In Chapter 6, I explore whose threats are included and who is framed as vulnerable to threat. All six organizations make claims about inclusivity, but I am interested if those claims are substantiated and whether inclusion is enough to build a capacity for intersectional solidarity. If organizations have a high capacity for intersectional solidarity, we should little to no variation in the threats or groups referenced. I discover that HW-organizations focus primarily on white, cis, middle-class women which is consistent with past criticisms and counter to present claims of inclusivety. POC-organizations make a concerted effort to not only include marginalized groups but to center them. POC-organizations highlight queer people of color and center their lives, concerns, and voices. Historically white organizations may include references to racially marginalized and queer people, but they are typically not the main subject of the post.

Intersecting

HW-organizations focus on a single axis of oppressions. They rarely dissect how race/class/gender/sexuality intersect. Posts about queer people are rare and when they are depicted, they are white. Within the 120 sample, WH-organizations rarely mentioned race and

did not examine how race might complicate any of the issues they did post about. NARAL included two posts that connected gender and class but largely HW-organizations focused solely on gender which resulted in messaging and posts that defaulted to white, cisgender, heterosexual, and middle/upper class audiences. In sharp contrast, POC-organizations consistently engaged in intersectional praxis. They centered queer people of color and detailed how their identities intersected and exposed them to unique barriers. They often discussed how topics intersected with race and ethnicity as might be expected by organizations founded on racial justice, but they also explored how class issues, sexuality, incarceration, and immigration impacted each other. Ultimately, POC-organizations connected reproductive health to multiple intersecting, simultaneous struggles for liberation.

Limitations and Contributions

It is important to note the limitations of this study. While the data for my dissertation are rich and novel, Instagram is only one platform of many that reproductive health organizations utilize. Instagram offers a limited view of organizational messaging. All data benefit from triangulation and these are no exception. Notably, I cannot speak to organizational decision making or intentions; rather, I provide a cross section of social media communications. There are limitations to what these data can reveal. I do argue that my work on Instagram is a necessary departure from big data analysis of social media data. Rather than focusing on a large sample size through automated data scraping, I believe my work highlights the depth, richness, and potential of social media analysis beyond of large n textual analyses. Instagram, although rarely considered a political social media platform, has immense potential for analyzing political performances, social movement framing, and political organizing.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are limitations to quantitative coding for identities and intersectionality. I coded using explicit references. In the future I plan to expand my coding scheme to include theory driven implicit codes for intersectionality. The data I utilize in this dissertation are only a small part of the dataset I developed. While I could not reasonably include all of the analyses possible, I do plan to extend this work using additional variables and analyses in the future. I believe this dataset offers social media scholars a wonderful opportunity to explore framing in the reproductive health field.

Implications and Recommendations

My work also has some implications and recommendations for future study. While frame ambiguity is an often used strategy meant to appeal to the broadest audience possible, I argue in the context of the U.S. multiracial social movements need race-conscious framing. HW-organizations have adopted broadly inclusive language while historically and presently undermining the goals and tactics of POC activists. POC-organizations have taken the opposite approach: the frame specifically around the most marginalized groups. By specifically highlighting the needs of poor Black queer women they signal to their audience that they are inclusive and conscious of class, race, LGBTQ+, and gender issues. Ambiguity does not lead to inclusion but erasure in movements with a history of failing to recognize legacies of interlocking oppression.

The cleavages across reproductive health organizations are racial, political, and historical. Historically white organizations are political insiders with a vested interest in maintaining formal political institutions. People of color led organizations have little trust in formal political institutions and rely on community networks and direct action. My analyses imply that historically white organizations do not have a high capacity for intersectional solidarity because they lack a shared understanding of the status of rights, the means to establishing and securing rights, the prevalence of threats, and the groups most vulnerable to threat. While SMOs often work within the same field with different but compatible goals, I argue this is not the case for reproductive rights and reproductive justice SMOs. Instead, they are working at cross purposes as long as HW-organizations erase the precarity of people of color. By failing to understand rights as conditional, HW-organizations have failed to challenge institutions which over time have chipped away at marginalized groups rights. Those fissures appear to have finally cracked and especially now with the overturning of Roe versus Wade many white women are retroactively finding the right to abortion was precarious for everyone.

Over the course of writing this dissertation there have been monumental legal changes to reproductive health. These legal changes will likely continue in the days, weeks, and years to follow. The precarity of rights was meant to be a forewarning that if organizations allow those on the margins to experience precarity then the precarity would spread. In the Summer of 2022, many white women experienced their precarity for perhaps the first time. Responses to Dobbs are still unfolding but early signs point to white women and historically white organizations

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doubling down on their institutional approach to social change. Choice frames and calls to vote have, anecdotally, surged. I recommend a follow up study using a second round of data collection focusing around the key dates leading up to the Dobbs leak and the official announcement. Although my data cannot speak to organizational framing around these more recent dates, The time period of my data collection (2014-2020) seems to encapsulate the build up to Roe's fall. From the election of Trump to the 2020 Movement for Black Lives protests, these data represent the real-time responses of organizations within the reproductive health field to political upheavals and can perhaps shed light on how legal abortion in the U.S. was de facto overruled.

Despite a Democratic president, a Democratic majority in Congress, and the defeat of Trump, Roe was overturned without a coordinated effort to defend abortion access from formal political institutions (as of the writing of this). Historically white organizations promised to defend the right to legal abortion, but those defenses have always relied upon the legal standing of Roe. It is unclear what actions historically white organizations will take in the wake of criminalized abortion. Their reliance on institutions and political norms place them at a distinct disadvantage in the current political landscape. Planned Parenthood was notably absent in the fight to legalize abortion (see Chapter 4), preferring to stay out of legal battles to prioritize providing legal medical services. Since Roe, Planned Parenthood has become a household name in abortion advocacy and services. While it is likely they will use their lobbying and advocacy arm to fight for legal access through the courts, it seems unlikely that they will advocate for or support direct action.

POC-organizations are perhaps better prepared for this moment. They have spent decades developing networks to provide care when and where the state fails. POC-organizations rely on direct action and physical participation by its audience. While HW-organizations have focused largely on appealing to institutional power, POC-organizations have developed active communities that provide services. What remains to be seen is whether HW-organizations will reject their loyalty to political institutions and adopt the practices and ideologies of POC-organizations and expand their capacities for intersectional solidarity in this moment of precarity.

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APPENDIX

CODE BOOK

List of Variables

ID – Identification number

Date – date of post

ActCall – call to action

ActPol – type of political action

ActWho – whose action

ArtPho – image is photo

ArtText – image is text only

ArtVis – image is artwork

BarDist – distance as a barrier to care

BarEcFac – facility economic barriers to care

BarEcInd – individual economic barriers to care

BarLeg – legal barriers to care

BarReg – religious barriers to care

BarSoc – social barriers to care

Black – Black or African American

BioSex – biological sex

BodPart – body parts

Class – economic class

ColDark – colorism (dark)

ColLight – colorism (light)

Disab - disability

Femsm - feminism

FigReal – figures are real

FrChoice – choice frame

FrFree – freedom frame

FrHealth – health frame

FrJust – justice frame

FrRight – rights frame

Gender – gender

GenID – gender identity

GeoLevel – geographic level

GIDmen – gender identity men

GIDnb – non-binary or nonconforming gender identity

GIDwom – gender identity women

HlthMent – mental healthcare

HlthPhys – physical healthcare

Humor – humorous tone

ImmCit – immigration, migration, or citizenship

Indig – Indigenous Peoples

Intsect - intersectionality

LegEcon – economic legislation

LegHealth – healthcare legislation

LegImm – immigration legislation

LegOth – other legislation

LegRace – race-related legislation

LegRepro – reproductive healthcare legislation

LGBTQ – LGBTQ issues

Motherhd - motherhood

Multipho – multiple photos in post

NumCom – number of comments

NumEmo – number of emojis

NumFig – number of figures

NumHash – number of hashtags

NumLike – number of likes

NumTags – number of tags

NumView – number of views

Postnum – post number in account

Pregnancy - pregnancy

Quote – quote(s) used

RaceMake – racial makeup

RacEth – race/ethnicity

Racism – racial/ethnic discrimination

RepAbort – reproductive healthcare, abortion

RepAbst – reproductive healthcare, abstinence

RepBrea – reproductive healthcare, breast health

RepCheck – reproductive healthcare, check ups

RepCond – reproductive healthcare, condoms

RepCont – reproductive healthcare, contraceptives

RepEC – reproductive healthcare, emergency contraceptives

RepFert – reproductive healthcare, fertility

RepLARC – reproductive healthcare, long acting reversible contraceptives

RepMort – reproductive healthcare, infant or maternal mortality

RepOth – reproductive healthcare, other

RepPill – reproductive healthcare, birth control pill

RepSTI – reproductive healthcare, sexual transmitted infections

Selfcare - selfcare

SMenvi – environmental social movements

SMgun – gun violence social movements

SMincarc – mass incarceration related social movements

SMlgbtq – LGBTQ+ rights social movements

SMoth – other social movements

SMrace – racial justice social movements

SMrepro – reproductive health social movements

SMwom – women's rights social movements

Stats – statistics

SupDig – digital support

SupEng – support through post engagement

SupFin – financial support

SupPhone – phone support

SupPhys – physical support

SupVote – support through voting

TimePer – time period

Trans – transgender

Video – post is a video

ViolGen – gendered violence

ViolGun – gun violence

ViolMur – murder

ViolOth – other violence

ViolPol – police violence

ViolSex – sexual violence

WhSuprm – White supremacy

WordExtr – extreme words

WordNeg – negative words

WordPos – positive words

WordsCap – number of words in caption

WordsIm – number of words in image

Post Classification

ID: the identification number – indicates the organization and the number within the samples, the first digit indicates which organization the image comes from followed by what number (1-200) the image is within the sample; *purpose* – unique identifier that indicates organization and order within sample

Date: the date the image was posted; *purpose* – adds context for post (current events and political developments) and allows for longitudinal analysis

Postnum: number indicating where the post occurs within the total population, using the earliest/first post as 1; *purpose* – for reproducibility and checking for errors/issues, the number can be used to search of the original post should any issues arise

Video: indicates whether the post is still images or video clips; *purpose* – to track type of post, video posts pose limitations for analysis as only the still cover will be captured by the snipping/collection

Multipho: indicates whether post includes multiple photos; *purpose* – to track type of post, multiple photo posts pose limitations for analysis as only the first image will be captured by the snipping/collection

Descriptive Information

ArtText: the image of the post consists of text ONLY (excluding logos, if the only non-text image is an organizational logo the post will be considered text only), images with both text and artwork will be classified as artwork and any text within the artwork will be captured using the variable "wordsim"; *purpose* – to track the number of posts that contain only text information, this may indicate a number of things such as users who are unfamiliar with Instagram norms or a desire to focus/emphasize the information conveyed via the text

ArtPho: the image of the post is film or photo, the photos may include text over top or in
conjunction; *purpose* – to separate posts by text only, photos, and artwork will help
organize and categorize post types, the proportion of posts that depict real
people/places/events compared to illustrations or informational text posts may vary by
organization
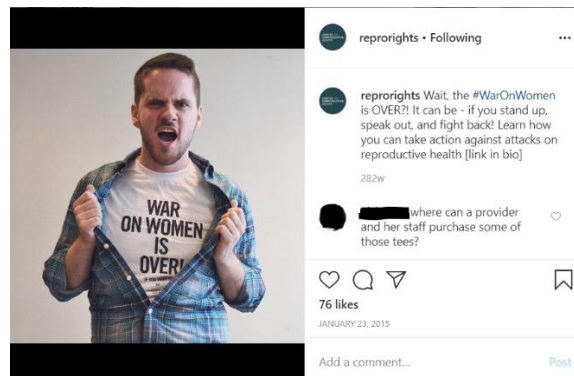
ArtVis: indicates whether the image of the post is a drawing, painting, etc. any type of visual art
excluding photography; *purpose* – to track the use of creative, artistic works, as indicated
by Zavella 2019, RJ organizations recognize the importance of artists in challenging
cultural narratives and make a concerted effort to recruit and hire artists

- **Art*** variables categorize the type of image in the post – text, photo or visual art

WordsCap: the number of words in the caption that accompany the post, if the caption is not visible (some video or panoramic posts likely have captions but the captions are not visible when viewed from a desktop/laptop computer – i.e. formatting hides the caption so the caption is unknown) this will be indicated with a "missing" value while a "0" indicates no caption was posted alongside the image; *purpose* – the amount of text information included alongside the post image varies, by tracking the word count, it is possible to tell if certain topics are related to longer captions

WordsIm: the number of words in an image post, excluding logos; *purpose* – the number of words in an image can be used as a rough proxy for information, i.e. a post with more text may be conveying more information than a post with fewer words, this variable can be combined with "wordscap" for a new variable that indicates total words

- **Words*** variables are word counts which include redacted names (each black block will count as one), it excludes logos or text too small to discern, hashtags and tags will count as one word, emojis and punctuation marks do not count

NumHash: the number of hashtags in the post (the total number including the image and caption even if hashtags repeat); *purpose* – to track the frequency of hashtag use which may vary across organizations and topics

WordsCap = 38

WordsIm = 7

NumHash = 4

NumView: the number of views on video content, this feature was developed November 2015 so videos prior to 2015 will not display the number of views; *purpose* – views are a rough proxy of audience exposure, i.e. how many users have been exposed to this post

NumLike: the number of "likes" a post receives, "likes" or "hearts" are how users indicate approval of content; *purpose* – "likes" allow for a rough proxy of support and can be used to track variations in support across organizations and topics

NumView = 22,614

NumLike = 2,734

NumEmo: the number of emojis in both the image and caption; *purpose* – track the use of emojis

Numemo = 2

NumCom: the number of comments on a post, comments can be positive, neutral, or negative, individual comments will not be captured; *purpose* – comments are a rough indication for audience engagement, while we cannot assess how many unique users are commenting we can hypothesize that a post with hundreds of comments is generating more engagement (positive or negative) than a post with one or two comments

NumTags: the number of tags (linking accounts to the post using "@" followed by the username; *purpose* – tracking the amount of links to other accounts to compare variation across topics and variation in like frequency (i.e. do more tags increase "likes" or views?)

NumTags = 2

NumFig: the number of figures/people in the imagery, this includes faces and illustrations, this does not include body parts; purpose – assess how often people are depicted and for use in combination with variables like "figart" and "figreal" to understand the proportion of figures that are photo images of real people vs illustrations
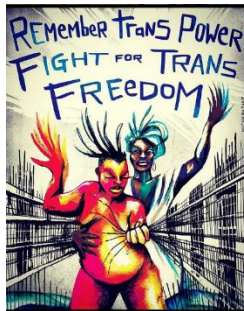
NumFig = 7

FigReal = 1

FigReal: binary, real/illustration, if there are figures indicated by "numfig" are they photo/video images of "real" people or are the illustrations/artistic renderings of figures, real = 1, illustration = 0; *purpose* – assessing whether there are variations across organizations and topics in using photos of real people; when used in combination with other variables we can make hypotheses about when real images are used, example – when talking about trans issues are orgs more likely to use illustrations or photos? For certain topics orgs may be more likely to use imaginary/hypothetical/archetypal figures vs photos

NumFig = 2

FigReal = 0

BodPart: binary, yes/no, are body parts depicted (unattached to a figure), examples include anatomical hearts, uteruses, breasts, etc. *purpose* – assess how often anatomical parts are included in posts and what substantive topics they are associated with

WordExtr: extreme words, words that are absolutes or emphasized, this includes words like "never," "always," "destroyed," ALLCAPS in captions (all caps is the visual equivalent of shouting online with the exception of all caps within images which may be artistic

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rather than for emphasis), visually emphasized words (large fonts, bolding, color change), and exclamation points; *purpose* – rough estimate for force of language used which may vary by organization and topic

WordPos: positive words, "yes," "always," "joy," "strong," etc. *purpose* – assess if positive language differs between organizations and topics

WordNeg: negative words, "no," "never," "ruin," "deadly," etc. *purpose* – assess if negative language differs between organizations and topics

WordExtr (yellow) = 5
WordPos (aqua) = 8
WordNeg (red) = 1

Quote: binary, yes/no, does the text in the caption or image include a quote; purpose – assess if quotes are associated with specific topics or other variables
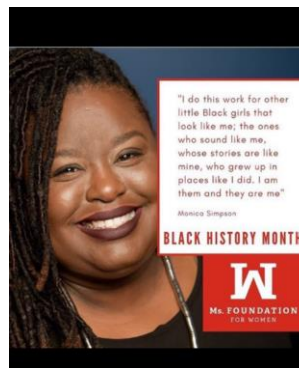
Humor: is the text intended to produce a humorous effect? i.e. is it an intentional joke or humorous premise? *purpose* – tracking variation in use of humor across topics and organizations, example - is humor more used more frequently when discussing condoms?

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Stats: binary, yes/no, does the post include statistics or infographics; *purpose* – tracking how often organizations use statistics and in relation to what topics

Femsm: binary, yes/no, does the post mention "feminism" or "feminist"; purpose – reproductive justice orgs have historical tensions with identifying as feminist/with feminism, many WOC feel feminism centers white women, differences between orgs or topics may reflect that tension

Intsect: binary, yes/no, intersectionality, is the word "intersectional" or "intersectionality" used in the post; purpose – intersectionality is identified as a key component (and a critical praxis) in POC RJ orgs (Zavella 2019), variation in usage, associations, and frequency are of theoretical interest
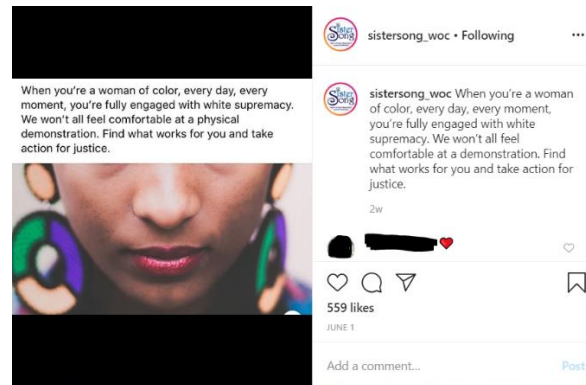

RacEth: binary, yes/no, explicit discussion of race or ethnicity or mention of race or ethnicity which do NOT include discussions of racial discrimination and racism (example below, the Latinx community is referenced specifically); *purpose* – to track how often and in what context race and ethnicity are invoked separately from discrimination and/or racism

Racism: binary, yes/no, explicit discussion of racial justice, racism, racial discrimination, social movements related to racism; *purpose* – discussions of racism are distinct from discussions of race, it is important theoretically to track both discussions of race that do not explicitly discuss discrimination and the explicit discussion of racism
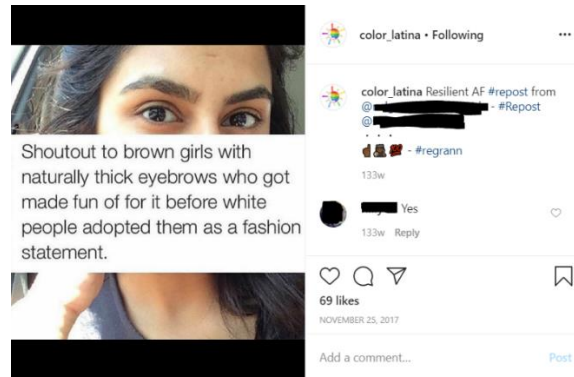
WhSuprm: binary, yes/no, explicit mention of white supremacy; *purpose* – to identify whether organizations are identifying and naming white supremacy in relation to reproductive justice

Indig: binary, yes/no, explicit mention or depiction of Indigenous Peoples, land, issues; *purpose* – theoretically important, the "I" in BIPOC/BIWOC refers to Indigenous Peoples

Class: binary, yes/no, explicit discussion of class, economic conditions, class discrimination, employment conditions, poverty, economic inequality; *purpose* – theoretically of interest, traditional starting place for critical intersections re: intersectionality race/class/gender, economic barriers to accessing reproductive healthcare and justice

Gender: binary, yes/no, explicit mention of gender, gender discrimination, gender identity, gendered issues (excludes the descriptive use of gender signifying words like men/man/women/woman, example: "The first Black *woman* to hold this office" would not be coded as "gender" while "COVID is a gendered pandemic effecting women uniquely" would be coded as "gender"); *purpose* – theoretically important, gender is central to many RJ issues, critical intersection re: race/class/gender

GenId: binary, yes/no, gender identity, explicit discussion or depiction of gender identity; *purpose* – theoretically important, distinct from discussions of gender more broadly

GIDnb: binary, yes/no, gender identity nonbinary, the post explicitly references or speaks directly to gender non-conforming, nonbinary people (note that nonbinary is not the same

as trans, i.e. trans women are women, identify as women and should be coded as women but someone may identify as both trans and non-binary); *purpose* – non-binary people are often left out of conversations about reproductive health care, presence and/or variation in presence of content about and for non-binary people is theoretically of interest

GIDmen: binary, yes/no, gender identity men, the post is explicitly for or about men, including trans men; *purpose* – assess how often reproductive health posts address men's health or role in reproductive health, could also be used with "WordNeg" or "WordPos" to explore the type of language associated with men

GIDwom: binary, yes/no, gender identity women, the post is explicitly for or about women, including trans women; *purpose* – assess how often reproductive health posts are for or about women, combined with other variables it can indicate how many posts reference only women vs a combination vs a gender other than women, women are likely the default when discussing reproductive healthcare

Pregnancy: binary, yes/no, pregnancy, the post depicts or references a pregnancy (including miscarriages) or pregnant person of any gender; *purpose* – track how often pregnancy is referenced or depicted

Motherhd: binary, yes/no, motherhood, the post explicitly mentions mothers or motherhood (variations such as moms, mamas, grandmothers, etc.); purpose – track how often posts reference mothers, motherhood is a distinctly gendered concept intertwined with reproductive health


BioSex: binary, yes/no, biological sex, does the post specifically reference biological sex or biological sex categories such as intersex, male, and/or female; *purpose* – biological sex is distinct from gender and may be used differently or in association with different topics

LGBTQ: binary, yes/no, lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer/questioning, asexual, pansexual, specific or explicit mention of LGBTQ or queer identity, issues, or policies; *purpose* – sexual orientation is relevant to reproductive health, the frequency with which LGBTQ issues and concerns are addressed may vary by organization

Trans: binary, yes/no, trans gender, does the post explicitly reference trans issues, healthcare, identity, including trans women, men, and non-binary; *purpose* – trans reproductive healthcare and reproductive justice is unique and distinct from other issues and concerns within RJ and LGBTQ movements
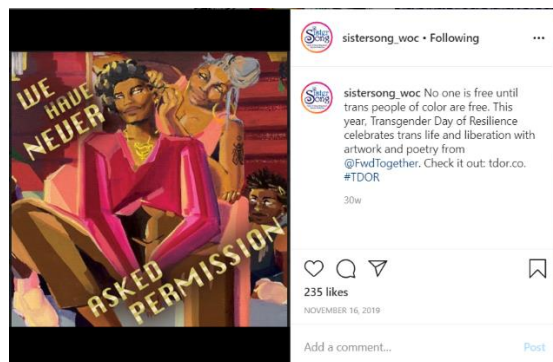
Disab: binary, yes/no, disability, does the post reference or depict disability, disability rights, etc;

      purpose – track how often are disability rights or people with disabilities centered or

      referenced
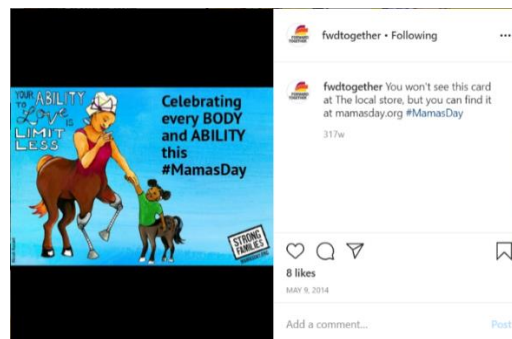
ViolPol: binary, yes/no, violence from the police, post references police violence, police killings,

      police brutality, or social movements relating to police violence; *purpose* – assess

      whether and with what frequency an organization identifies police violence as an issue

      impacting RJ (Zavella 2019), police violence is also seen as a racial issue so variation

      across organizations is theoretically interesting, (offers insight into whether organizations

      view this as a salient threat)

ViolSex: binary, yes/no, sexual violence, the post references sexual assault and/or rape; *purpose*

      – assess to what degree do organizations view sexual violence as a major threat to

      reproductive health

ViolGen: gendered violence, domestic abuse, the post references gendered violence (excluding rape and sexual assault); purpose – assess to what degree do organizations view gendered violence as a major threat to reproductive health

ViolGun: binary, yes/no, gun violence, the post references gun violence, shooting deaths, mass shootings, social movements related to gun violence; *purpose* – assess the degree to which gun violence is seen as a threat to reproductive health

ViolMur: binary, yes/no, murder, the post references a murder/violent death or murder victim, including mass shootings/gun violence deaths and deaths due to police brutality; *purpose* – assess the frequency with which violent deaths are discussed and in association with which topics and the degree to which violent death is seen as a threat to reproductive health

ViolOth: binary, yes/no, other types of violence, the post references violence that falls outside of the variables – "ViolPol," "ViolSex," "ViolMur," and "ViolOth"; purpose – to capture any other types or forms of violence that fall outside, can be used in combination with the other violence variables to assess how frequently any type of violence was referenced

- **Viol*** multiple forms of violence may be referenced in a single post, code for each variable independent of the others, so a post about intimate partner violence that ends in a shooting where the victim dies would be coded ViolSex = 1, ViolGun = 1, and ViolMur = 1

SupFin: binary, yes/no, is the post asking for financial support? Post asks for audience donations or economic contributions, the financial support could be for their organization or another cause; *purpose* – to track how often organizations make financial asks of their audience
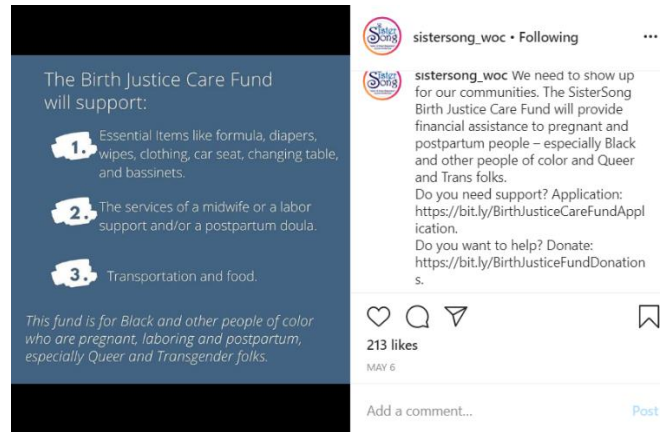
SupPhys: binary, yes/no, is the post seeking physical support? Post is seeking volunteers, asking audience to physically do a task such as show up to a protest, attend a panel/lecture, go to a townhall, this excludes digital action, making phone calls, voting, or participating in social media campaigns which are covered by later variables; *purpose* – to track how often organizations ask audience to physically participate in some action or volunteer in physical spaces, i.e. becoming a clinic escort (note: example would also be SupDig = 1, it asking it's audience to go out and complete a physical task then follow up with digital action)

SupDig: binary, yes/no, is the post seeking digital support? Post is asking audience participate in digital action such as signing an electronic petition, posting to social media, attending virtual meetup, using a specific hashtag, it excludes posts asking users to like or comment on that specific post (which is covered by another variable; *purpose* – to track how often organizations ask audience to participate in digital action or online campaigns

SupPhone: binary, yes/no, is the post asking the audience to make calls on the organization or a cause's behalf? The post is asking the audience to make a call or calls such as posts asking the audience to call their representative about legislation or posts encouraging the audience to phone bank for a politician; *purpose* – to track how often organizations ask audience to participate in phone campaigns/actions

SupVote: binary, yes/no, is the post asking the audience to vote in an election? Post encourages audience to go out and vote or to vote for a specific candidate, cause, or policy; *purpose* – to track how often organizations ask audience to participate in voting efforts

SupEng: binary, yes/no, is the post asking audience to engage with the post through comments, likes, or shares? This is distinct from digital action which asks for action beyond the immediate post, this includes only asks for post engagement; *purpose* – assess what asks organizations are making of their audiences and unlike other asks, using other variables such as "NumLike" and "NumCom" the effectiveness of this ask can be approximated (i.e. do posts that ask for engagement have more comments than posts that do not?

SupCarc: binary, yes/no, support carceral, is the post asking audience to a cause related to incarceration, jail support, bail funds, etc.; *purpose* – to track how often organizations ask audience to participate in causes related to incarceration

- Sup* variables help assess how often organizations ask for support and what kinds of support they seeking, it also provides a small window into the types of solutions organizations may support – i.e. do they believe RJ can be achieved through voting?

RepCont: binary, yes/no, reproductive health contraceptives, does the post reference contraceptives of any kind? Including condoms, "birth control," rings, shots, sponges, barriers, LARCs (long acting reversible contraceptives), etc.; *purpose* – track the total references of any type of contraceptive device or method, additional variables track specific types of methods, this variable includes those listed as well as any methods not specifically mentioned

RepCond: binary, yes/no, reproductive health condoms, does the post reference condoms (or other common names such as latex, rubbers, etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often condoms are referenced

RepPill: binary, yes/no, reproductive health birth control/contraceptive pill, does the post reference or depict contraceptive pills (or other common names such as the pill, BC (pill), birth control (pill), etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often contraceptive pills are referenced

RepLARC: binary, yes/no, reproductive health long-acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs), does the post reference LARCs (or other common names such as IUDs, depo shots, rings, etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often LARCs are referenced

RepEC: binary, yes/no, reproductive health emergency contraceptives, does the post reference emergency contraceptives (or other common names such as Plan B, etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often emergency contraceptives are referenced

RepAbst: binary, yes/no, reproductive health abstinence, does the post reference abstinence (or other common names for abstaining from sex etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often abstinence is referenced

RepAbort: binary, yes/no, reproductive health abortion, does the post reference abortion (or other common names for abortion/chemically or surgically ending a pregnancy, etc.) specifically (excluding Plan B/emergency contraceptive which do not "cause abortions" a claim made by some religious fundamentalists); *purpose* – to track how often abortion is referenced

RepSTI: binary, yes/no, reproductive health sexually transmitted infections (STIs), does the post reference STIs (or other common names such as STDs, sexually transmitted diseases, specific STIs like HPV, HIV, herpes, etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often STIs are referenced

RepFert: binary, yes/no, reproductive health fertility, does the post reference fertility or fertility related topics (such as invitro fertilization, IVF, fertility treatments, fertility issues, "difficulties getting pregnant," etc.) specifically; *purpose* – to track how often fertility issues are referenced

RepBrea: binary, yes/no, reproductive health breast health, does the post reference breast related

   health concerns (such as mammograms, breast type, breast cancer, etc.) specifically;

   purpose – to track how often breast health is referenced

RepMort: binary, yes/no, reproductive health mortality, does the post reference maternal or

   infant mortality, miscarriages specifically; *purpose* – to track how often mortality of

   mothers/people giving birth and/or infants are referenced

RepCheck: binary, yes/no, reproductive health checkups, does the post reference reproductive

   health checkups (excluding STI testing), prenatal checkups, regular screenings, etc.

   related to reproductive health specifically; *purpose* – to track how often checkups are
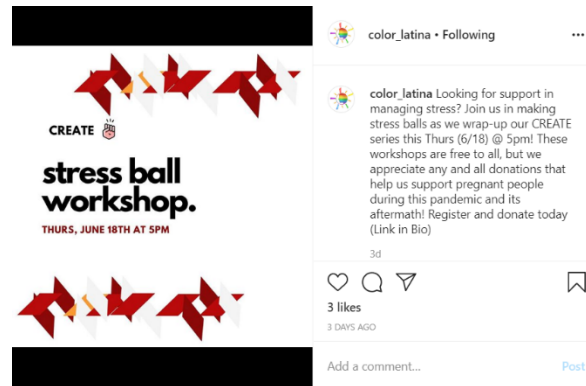
   referenced

RepOth: binary, yes/no, reproductive health not covered by previous rep* variables, does the post reference any type of reproductive healthcare or service not previously mentioned; *purpose* – to ensure all reproductive health references are captured in the data

HlthPhys: binary, yes/no, physical health, does the post reference health care or health services unrelated to reproductive health (excluding mental health which will be captured separately); *purpose* – to track other references to health and healthcare beyond reproductive health
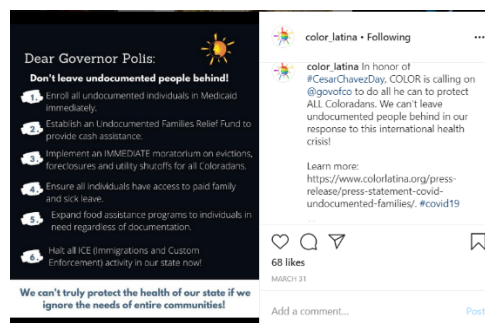
HlthMent: binary, yes/no, mental health, does the post reference mental health or mental healthcare specifically; *purpose* – to track reference to mental health and mental healthcare

Selfcare: binary, yes/no, selfcare, does the post reference selfcare specifically; *purpose* – those working in social movement organizations are prone to burnout, especially those with marginalized identities who are living through the injustices they work professionally to fight, alternatively "selfcare" as a term has been criticized as co-opted and capitalized, i.e. it went from encouraging the marginalized to rest and take care of physical needs to a catch-all rationale for "treating yourself" via mass consumption

SMrepro: binary, yes/no, social movement reproductive health, does the post reference a reproductive health related social movement or organization specifically (naming an organization, referring to Reproductive Rights, Reproductive Freedom, Reproductive Justice, etc.); *purpose* – to track reference to reproductive health social movements

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SMrace: binary, yes/no, social movement Racial Justice, does the post reference a Racial Justice related social movement or organization specifically (naming an organization, referring to Racial Justice, the Movement for Black Lives, Civil Rights, etc.); *purpose* – to track reference to racial justice social movements

SMincarc: binary, yes/no, social movement mass incarceration, does the post reference a social movement or organization related to mass incarceration specifically (naming an organization, referring to mass incarceration, prison abolition, carceral state, etc.); *purpose* – to track reference to social movements related to mass incarceration

SMwom: binary, yes/no, social movement women's movement, does the post reference a social movement or organization related to women's rights specifically (naming an organization, referring to the Women's March, Me Too, Women's Rights, etc); *purpose* – to track reference to women's rights social movements

SMlgbtq: binary, yes/no, social movement related to LGBTQ+ rights, does the post reference a
social movement or organization related to gay/LGBTQ+/queer rights specifically
(naming an organization, referring to the Gay Rights Movement, Pride, LGBTQ+ rights,
etc); *purpose* – to track reference to LGBTQ rights social movements

SMgunv: binary, yes/no, social movement related to gun violence, does the post reference a
social movement or organization related to gun violence specifically (naming an
organization, referring to the March for Our Lives, Parkland protests, mass shooting
related protests, etc); *purpose* – to track reference to women's rights social movements

SMenvi: binary, yes/no, social movement environmental movement, does the post reference a
social movement or organization related to the environment specifically (naming an

organization, referring to the environment, climate change, etc); *purpose* – to track reference to environmental social movements

SMoth: binary, yes/no, social movement other, does the post reference a social movement or organization not covered by the previous SM* variables (references to social movement organizations, specific social movement not addressed by previous social movement variables); *purpose* – to track reference to other social movements

- **SM*** variables capture references to movements and collective action, not mentions of a topic, i.e. a reference to women is not referencing women's rights, mentioning LGBTQ+ issues is not necessarily invoking the Gay Rights movement while referencing Pride would count as it invokes an iconic protest/march/parade that is a part of the larger LGBTQ+ movement

LegRepro: binary, yes/no, legislation reproductive health, does the post reference a specific piece of legislation related to reproductive health; *purpose* – track how often legislation related to reproductive health is referenced

LegHealth: binary, yes/no, legislation health, does the post reference a specific piece of legislation related to health (excluding reproductive health); *purpose* – track how often legislation related to health is referenced (the example below includes references to reproductive health AND separately references the ACA so would = 1 for LegRepro and LegHealth)


LegRace: binary, yes/no, legislation race/racial discrimination/racism, does the post reference a specific piece of legislation related to race, ethnicity, racial justice, racism, racial/ethnic discrimination; *purpose* – track how often legislation related to reproductive health is referenced

LegEcon: binary, yes/no, legislation economic, does the post reference a specific piece of legislation related to the economy, economic inequality, poverty, etc.; *purpose* – track how often legislation related to the economy is referenced

LegImm: binary, yes/no, legislation immigration, does the post reference a specific piece of legislation related to immigration, undocumented people, refugees, DACA, etc; *purpose* – track how often legislation related to immigration is referenced
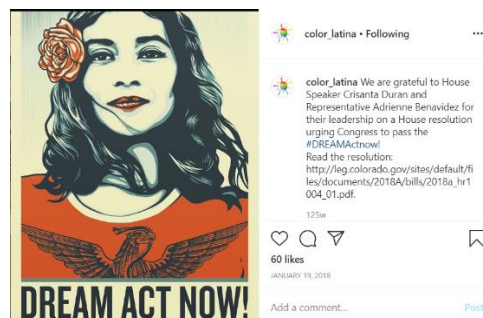
FrFree: binary, yes/no, frame freedom, does the post frame reproductive justice in terms of "freedom"; *purpose* – track how often a freedom frame is used

FrJust: binary, yes/no, frame justice, does the post frame reproductive justice in terms of "justice"; *purpose* – track how often a justice frame is used

FrChoice: binary, yes/no, frame choice, does the post frame reproductive justice in terms of "choice"; *purpose* – track how often a choice frame is used


FrRight: binary, yes/no, frame rights, does the post frame reproductive justice in terms of "rights" or "human rights" or "legal right"; *purpose* – track how often a rights frame is used

FrHealth: binary, yes/no, frame health, does the post frame reproductive justice in terms of "health" or "healthcare"; *purpose* – track how often a health frame is used

GeoLevel: categorical, geographic level of action or issue, 0 = unspecified, 1 = local/city, 2 = state/county/district, 3 = federal/national, 4 = country other than U.S., 5 = global; *purpose* – to track the scale and/or location of the problem, i.e. is the post about something in a specific community or town, a state-wide issue (like a court case or state legislation), etc.
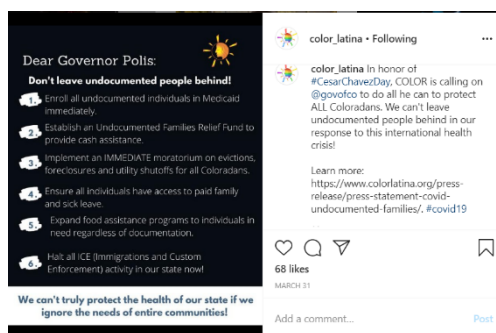
GeoLevel = 2

TimePer: categorical, time period, 0 = unspecified; 1 = present day, 2 = the past, 3 = the future, 4 = combination of past and present, 5 = combination of past and future, 6 = combination of present and future, 7 = combination of past, present, and future; *purpose* – to track how often posts refer to historical issues, present day issues, future issues or possibilities,

or a combination of time periods (such as a post about how a present day issue may impact the future)

TimePer = 3

ActCall: categorical, call to action, 0 = no call to act, 1 = formal legal or political action, 2 = social or cultural action, 3 = both social and political (note that many actions can be political, for this variable political refers to formal politics); *purpose* – to track the types of action organizations encourage, if there is a call to action, is the action formal political or legal action (such as calling your senator or voting) vs social or cultural (sharing stories or posting to social media)

ActCall = 1

ActWho: categorical, who is being called to act, 0 = no call to action, 1 = individual, 2 = collective; purpose – to track how often organizations call for individual action vs collective action

ActWho = 1

ActPol: categorical, type of political action, what political action does the post center as the solution or site of action, 0 = no political action, 1 = voting/electoral action, 2 = congressional/legislative action, 3 = judicial action/court decision, 4 = presidential/governor/executive action, 5 = social movement protest (a post urging Congress not to confirm a judge would be coded 2 not 3 as the solution or action needed is from congress); *purpose* – provide insight into the types of political action organizations see as solutions

ActPol = 3

BarLeg: binary, yes/no, barrier legal, does the post reference legal barriers to reproductive healthcare; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to reproductive healthcare is legal barriers

BarEcInd: binary, yes/no, barrier economic individual, does the post reference individual economic barriers to reproductive healthcare, i.e. poverty or class related barriers to accessing reproductive healthcare; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to reproductive healthcare is individual economic barriers

BarEcFac: binary, yes/no, barrier economic facility, does the post reference facility economic
barriers to reproductive healthcare, i.e. is the barrier to care related to facility or clinic
(de)funding or resources; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by
organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to
reproductive healthcare is barriers related to facility funding/resources

BarDist: binary, yes/no, barrier distance, does the post reference distance/geographic barriers to
reproductive healthcare; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by
organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to
reproductive healthcare is distance from clinics/geographic barriers to care

BarSoc: binary, yes/no, barrier social, does the post reference social/cultural barriers to
reproductive healthcare (excluding religion), social stigma or apathy preventing access to
or seeking reproductive healthcare; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by
organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to
reproductive healthcare is social barriers

BarReg: binary, yes/no, barrier religious, does the post reference religious barriers to reproductive healthcare; *purpose* – can be used as a threat proxy, variation by organizations may indicate the degree to which an organization believes the threat to reproductive healthcare is religious beliefs or stigma as barriers to care

RaceMake: categorical, racial makeup, for images with one or more figures, 0 = all white, 1 = all Black, 2 = all Latinx, 3 = all Asian/Pacific Islander, 4 = all Indigenous/Native American,

5 = multiracial, Black and non-white, 6 = multiracial, white and non-Black, 7 = multiracial, non-Black and non-white, 8 = multiracial, Black, white and other, 9 = Black and white, no other, 10 = ambiguous or other, this variable relies on appearance and so is only a loose approximation of racial makeup in images, racial and ethnic group identification through visual markers and context clues has limitations and findings/analysis should reflect that; *purpose* – to track the demographics of figures presented in images, roughly assess the racial and ethnic composition of figures

ColLight: scale, colorism light, in images with two or more figures, the skin tone of the lightest figure, determined using scale of 1-20 (scale from Mize and Myers 2011 unpublished, using makeup foundation charts); *purpose* – rough assessment of colorism, colorism – the cultural preference for lighter skin tones – is of theoretical importance if there are variations or patterns across organizations

ColDark: scale, colorism dark, in images with two or more figures, the skin tone of the darkest figure, determined using scale of 1-20 (scale from Mize and Myers 2011 unpublished, using makeup foundation charts); *purpose* – rough assessment of colorism, colorism – the cultural preference for lighter skin tones – is of theoretical importance if there are variations or patterns across organizations
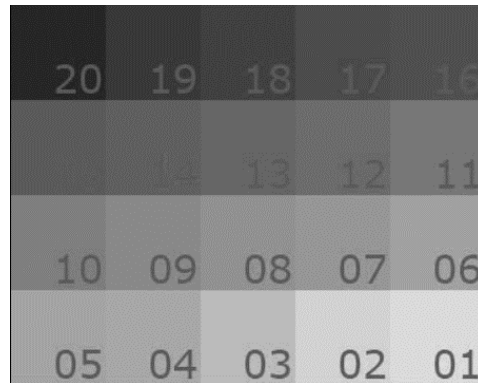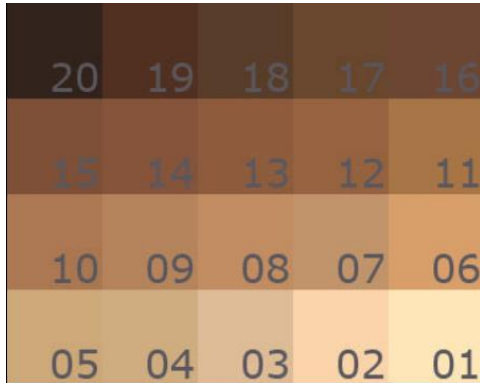
- Col* for images that have filters (Black and white images, colorized, use a black and white version of image and chart)

RaceMake = 8
ColLight = 2
ColDark = 20