Protest Politics Today

DEVASHREE GUPTA

Contents

CHAPTER 5

The Message

Objectives

- To examine how social movements use frames to create and share meanings in order to define problems, identify culprits, and persuade potential supporters to mobilize in search of solutions.
- To appreciate what distinguishes successful, resonant frames from unsuccessful ones.
- To recognize the consequences of unsuccessful frames and the challenges that face movements when trying to recalibrate frames that are misaligned with their intended audience.
- To understand the ways in which different types of media influence movement messages and how each can enhance or distort a movement's choice of frames.
- To identify the opportunities and limits of the internet for disseminating movement frames to a broad audience.

Introduction

In May 1993, the Supreme Court of Hawaii ruled that denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples might infringe on their civil rights and, as such, be in violation of the state constitution's equal protection clause. Although the landmark *Baehr* v. *Lewin* case did not actually legalize same-sex marriage, it still sent shock waves through the country; for nearly 25 years, gay rights groups had tried to bring similar cases in front of the courts without much success. In 1970, for example, two men sued Minnesota to argue that they should be permitted to marry; that case – *Baker* v. *Nelson* – went all the way to the US Supreme Court without success and was subsequently cited as a precedent in other cases to block same-sex marriage. Since the 1970s, states and municipalities across the country had held referenda to overturn equal rights laws protecting gays and lesbians (Adam 2003). And, as recently as 1986, the US Supreme

Court had upheld state laws that criminalized sodomy, referencing such acts as "infamous crime[s] against nature" (*Bowers* v. *Hardwick*). Little wonder, then, that many gay rights advocates, like William Rubenstein of the American Civil Liberties Union, hailed the *Baehr* ruling as momentous; speaking to the *New York Times*, he described the decision as "a major breakthrough" and "the first court decision to give serious consideration to gay marriage" (Schmalz 1993).

Not everyone was so pleased. Many religious and conservative groups believed that same-sex marriage undermined traditional ideas of marriage being between one man and one woman; moreover, they argued that legalizing same-sex marriage would also threaten families and, in particular, harm children. Though *Baehr*, as already mentioned, did not, in itself, legalize same-sex marriage, its opponents feared that the ruling opened the door to sweeping social change. In short order, driven by what Barry D. Adam describes as a "moral panic," opponents of same-sex marriage organized referenda and pushed legislatures to slam the door shut on marriage equality before it opened any further (Adam 2003; Smith 2007). In 1995, Utah's legislature passed a bill that banned the recognition of same-sex marriages that were performed in other states, which is the customary practice for heterosexual marriages under the US Constitution's full faith and credit clause. In 1996, 14 states passed legislation barring same-sex marriage in addition to the federal government, which passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), defining marriage as a "legal union between one man and one woman." The following year, an additional 9 states followed suit.

While opponents of same-sex marriage were able to advance their goals in state legislatures, the court system was seen as a potential liability, as judges were more likely than elected officials to reverse same-sex marriage bans. In early 1998, for example, the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that same-sex couples had a constitutional right to marry, overturning a bill barring such marriages that had just been passed the year before. In response, conservative and religious groups organized public referenda to amend state constitutions and define marriage as being between one man and one woman. Just nine months after the Alaska Supreme Court ruled same-sex marriage constitutional, 68 percent of state voters passed a constitutional amendment outlawing it. The same year, 69 percent of voters in Hawaii passed a similar constitutional measure. Both margins reflected public sentiment more broadly, as a Pew

Research Center study found that, in 1996, 65 percent of people across the country opposed gay marriage (Pew Research Center 2012).

The strength of this movement opposing marriage equality, however, also gave rise to its own opposition. Although same-sex marriage had not, up to that time, been a top priority of the gay rights movement, which had focused instead on fighting discrimination issues in employment, housing, and other domains (Moscowitz 2013), the strong movement against same-sex marriage induced gay rights advocates to mobilize as well (Dorf and Tarrow 2014).

Both sides were able to claim victories in the subsequent years. Proponents of marriage equality pointed to legislative and court victories that either passed same-sex marriage bills or overturned bans for violating state constitutions. In 2003, the Massachusetts Supreme Court became the first in the country to fully legalize gay marriage, and the following year, the first fully legal gay marriage was performed in the Cambridge city hall. Supreme Court justices in Connecticut, California, and Iowa followed suit in the following years, and in other states, such as Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York, elected officials passed bills to legalize same-sex marriage. Opponents, however, also made headway in their counterattack. Between 1998, when voters in Alaska and Hawaii approved constitutional amendments barring gay marriage, and 2008, an additional 30 states passed referenda supporting the one-man-one-woman definition of marriage, as Table 5.1 shows.

Over this decade, constitutional bans on same-sex marriage passed in *every* state that held a referendum, effectively blocking sympathetic legislators and courts from mandating marriage equality by law or ruling. In some of the states listed above, the referenda were pre-emptive moves to forestall possible court challenges or legislation; in others – such as California – the referenda passed specifically to overturn prior legislation or court rulings that legalized gay marriage.

The California example was a particularly big blow to marriage equality advocates who had seen it as a bellwether for campaigns in other states (Warren and Bloch 2014). California had passed a bill legalizing same-sex marriage in 2005, becoming the first state to do so via the legislature. In response, opponents collected enough signatures to put a constitutional amendment in front of voters in the 2008 election. This ballot initiative, known as Proposition 8, was a hard-fought campaign, with both sides expending considerable

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Table 5.1 States with constitutional amendments barring same-sex marriage

State	Year of referendum	State	Year of referendum
Alaska	1998	Oregon	2004
Hawaii	1998	Utah	2004
Nebraska	2000	Kansas	2005
Nevada	2002	Texas	2005
Arkansas	2004	Alabama	2006
Georgia	2004	Colorado	2006
Kentucky	2004	Idaho	2006
Louisiana	2004	South Carolina	2006
Michigan	2004	South Dakota	2006
Mississippi	2004	Tennessee	2006
Missouri	2004	Virginia	2006
Montana	2004	Wisconsin	2006
North Dakota	2004	Arizona	2008
Ohio	2004	California	2008
Oklahoma	2004	Florida	2008

energy to persuade the public. By this time, the percentage of people supporting gay marriage had risen, from around 27% in 1996 to 39% in 2008 (Pew Research Center 2012); slightly more people in California were in favor of marriage equality than nationally (between 44% and 51% depending on the poll), which made the outcome of the Proposition 8 campaign uncertain.

Supporters of Prop. 8 (i.e., opponents of same-sex marriage) argued that they were defending traditional marriage (and families), and that the constitutional amendment would safeguard the will of the people against activist judges and crusading lawmakers who did not reflect what the public really believed (Khan 2009; Warren and Bloch 2014). For their part, opponents of Prop. 8 (i.e., supporters of same-sex marriage) framed their arguments around the ideas of equal protection under the law and protecting the civil rights of gay and lesbian couples. Indeed, the way in which both sides in California framed their arguments echoed how advocates and opponents of same-sex marriage had tried to sway public opinion in other state referenda campaigns, with advocates stressing the notion of rights and opponents stressing the notion of morality (Hull 2001; Pan et al. 2010; Baunach 2011). Unfortunately for proponents of marriage

equality, their arguments did not resonate with enough people, and, on election day, Prop. 8 narrowly passed with 52 percent of the vote. The result was disheartening for same-sex marriage supporters; it seemed that there was no stopping these constitutional amendments from passing.

Then came the Minnesota referendum in 2012. By this point, attitudes toward gay marriage had continued to liberalize – nationally, 46 percent of people were in favor of legalizing same-sex marriage, and 45 percent were opposed (Pew Research Center 2012). Attitudes were sufficiently close for the outcome not to be a sure thing for either side. Under these conditions, both movements swung into action and crafted messages to sway voters to their side. Same-sex marriage opponents returned to their tried-and-true messaging themes: protection of traditional marriage, protection of families, the rights of parents to protect their children, and the need to rein in activist judges and reckless lawmakers. Television ads run by Minnesotans for Marriage, a group opposing same-sex marriage, argued that "marriage is an issue that should be decided by the people," and that "voters should always have the final say" about defining marriage; the ads also included claims that while everyone should be able to love who they want, "we can support gays and lesbians without changing marriage. Marriage is still about children having a mom and dad." One ad featured two concerned-looking parents who argued that, if gay marriage became legal, schools would teach children about gay marriage, and that parents would be unable to object to the inclusion of such content.

Supporters of same-sex marriage, however, had learned lessons from their experiences in California and decided that the traditional civil rights framework they had used to argue – and lose – every prior campaign needed to change. Even though the rights framework had been powerful in the Civil Rights movement 40 years before, it did not seem to move voters to grant same-sex marriage rights in the twenty-first century. Moreover, in the Minnesota context, the rights frame had limited utility: same-sex couples already had a number of rights in the state, including the right to adopt, the right to visit partners in the hospital, bans on housing and employment discrimination based on sexual orientation, and even hate crimes legislation. It would, therefore, be harder to argue that marriage conferred vital civil rights that were otherwise inaccessible. They needed to find something else that would sway the public.

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Campaign organizers reasoned that, rather than an abstract and legalistic focus on rights, which did not seem to resonate with many voters, the Minnesota campaign against the marriage amendment should reclaim the emotional ground that same-sex marriage opponents had staked out: emphasizing values, empathy, and morality – particularly the idea that people should treat others the way they would want to be treated themselves. To do so, the campaign should highlight the actual lived experiences of gays and lesbians communicated in one-on-one conversations from the heart that emphasized how the constitutional amendment could hurt real people (Grassroots Solutions 2013). One campaign volunteer, for example, spoke about how, as a little girl, she had fantasized about the wedding dress she would wear and celebrating with her family, and that passing the amendment would deny her the opportunity to realize this deeply felt childhood dream simply because she had fallen in love with a woman. Activists also emphasized that extending the opportunity to marry to all people would strengthen families and, in turn, protect children, which provided a counter-narrative to one of the central claims from the pro-amendment camp. One anti-amendment campaign ad argued: "Marriage means love. Marriage means family. Marriage is caring for another person. Minnesotans choose to marry each other to make a vow in front of their family and friends of love, commitment, and responsibility to each other. Love and commitment foster a child's success and happiness, not a parent's sexual orientation." This messaging was also reinforced by other campaign literature, signage, and outreach efforts (figure 5.1).

To counter support from various religious organizations for the amendment, the anti-amendment movement also forged its own religious alliance, complete with a campaign faith director. Moreover, they argued that the amendment actually *undermined* religious freedom by preventing denominations that *did* support marriage equality from presiding over same-sex marriages – a reframing of the rights issue that also sabotaged the religious freedom arguments that gay marriage opponents traditionally used (DeLaet and Caulfield 2009). Above all, the campaign focused on framing the campaign in highly emotional terms, highlighting personal stories and emphasizing to voters what the opportunity to marry meant to the people who lived in their own communities.

As a strategy, it worked. Although it was close – only 110,000 ballots separated the two sides – ultimately, the constitutional

Photo credit: Fibonacci Blue (Creative Commons license).

Figure 5.1 *Marriage equality movement framing, Minnesota*

amendment failed, with 51.2 percent of the public voting against it. Minnesota became the first state in a decade to reject a constitutional amendment barring same-sex marriage by popular referendum. In the campaign post-mortem, the change in message framework and the emphasis on the personal and the emotional aspects of the marriage equality movement were given considerable credit for stopping the amendment's passage in a state where doing so had been anything but certain (Grassroots Solutions 2013). In so doing, the Minnesota anti-amendment example underscores the power that the right message framing can have for the success or failure of a social movement.

Framing and Social Movements

The idea of framing starts from a basic idea: things do not have inherent, automatic meanings. Instead, meanings are constructed by individuals and groups as they interact with each other and attempt to make sense of these interactions using their own experiences and based on the cultural contexts in which they are

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Methods Spotlight: Frame Analysis

Frame analysis is a tool that enables researchers to examine how movements, media, and other actors construct and transmit meanings to their intended audiences. Like most concepts in the study of social movements, frames can be treated as both an independent variable (e.g., frames can affect a movement's ability to recruit supporters) and as a dependant variable (e.g., frames can be the product of particular organizational characteristics). Frames are embedded in communication and to get at the data, researchers must distill frames from texts (broadly understood): newspapers, press releases, memoirs, websites, speech acts, visual images, videos, newsletters, posters, and other locations where meanings are constructed, disseminated, and interpreted (Lindekilde 2014). When the relevant texts have been identified and sampled, then researchers must code the texts to identify and categorize the various frames that might be present.

Depending on the particular research question prompting the investigation, researchers may focus on a text's diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational framing; or perhaps the researcher will be particularly attuned to changes in framing over time, or signs of frame alignment (or misalignment) processes among groups in the same movement. These types of goals inform what types of messages will be of particular importance in the data collection phase, since it would be inefficient to try to capture every message and meaning that a text contains. This coding is sometimes carried out via deductive methods, in which the researcher begins examining the relevant texts with particular framing categories in mind. For example, if I were interested in understanding how the Standing Rock Sioux formulated diagnostic frames to support their mobilization against the Dakota Access Pipeline, I might – based on my prior knowledge and research on the case – expect that I would find themes that referenced violation of tribal sovereignty, or perhaps environmental threat. I would therefore generate a list of possible frames and, using this list, identify the number of times and the places where they are found. Coding can also occur inductively, when researchers identify frames as they work with the material. Often, coding involves both inductive and deductive coding: researchers begin with a list of likely frames, and then adapt, supplement, and change that list as they encounter new and different ideas than just the ones they anticipated in advance.

As an example, let us imagine we are interested in how Minnesotans United for All Families framed its campaign in support of marriage equality to promote the idea that it was consistent with religious freedom – a reversal of the conventional messaging that opponents of same-sex marriage had used successfully in early referendum contests. We might examine campaign literature, commercials, and written texts for that explicit message. But we might also find evidence of that frame in more subtle ways: images of same-sex couples in houses of worship, for example, or pledges of support by religious authorities from different faiths. Coding work must be sensitive to the many direct and indirect ways that meanings can be constructed out of words, images, and symbols.

Once texts are coded, then researchers must analyze patterns in the codes. This can be done quantitatively as well as qualitatively. For example, we might count up the number of times particular messages or ideas or symbols appear in texts and compare those numbers to other messages, other groups, other campaigns,

or over time. Such techniques can illuminate the relative importance of one frame over another. Researchers can also analyze message patterns in a more qualitative way by exploring not just the number of times particular frames occur, but the relationship between frames, the ways in which messages might reinforce or undercut one another, how nuances in the fashioning of frames affect their resonance, and so forth.

Explore this Method

Frame analysis often begins with researchers identifying what messages or frames are of most interest and the population of texts (broadly understood) to analyze. Researchers then might develop a coding sheet with some initial messages, ideas, words, or symbols that they would expect from the texts. This kind of coding sheet can be fairly simple or extensive. A simple coding sheet might include questions like:

1 What is the source of the news article?
2 What is the primary tone used in the story: positive / neutral / negative?
3 Who does the article suggest is primarily responsible for the problem: government / corporations / international organizations / other countries / other?
4 Does the article suggest the problem will lead to economic difficulties: yes / no?
5 Does the article suggest the problem will lead to social conflict: yes / no?
6 Does the article suggest the problem will lead to environmental damage: yes / no?

By contrast, the following codebook for analyzing how newspapers and online documents frame articles on climate change is far more extensive, with coding categories corresponding to many different levels of analysis: www.ikmb.unibe.ch/ueber_uns/personen/prof_dr_adam_silke/e222290/files222291/Codebook_ClimateChange_SchmidPetrietal_2013_ger.pdf. Another extensive codebook for analyzing news stories about protest events is available at www.ssc.wisc.edu/~oliver/PROTESTS/ArticleCopies/codebook2000.htm. More codebooks – and other resources and suggestions for content and framing analysis – can be located at http://academic.csuohio.edu/neuendorf_ka/content/coding.html.

   After exploring some of these resources, you might consider practicing some frame analysis in a simple way. Formulate a simple question that you could answer by examining a social movement organization's diagnostic or prognostic messaging. For example, you could ask: what do animal rights organizations think is the most pressing problem that needs to be solved? You can then develop a sample coding sheet based on the models you explored from above. Then, visit the websites of two or more organizations working on an issue relevant to your topic, read through the messages, and think about how you might use your coding sheet to capture the diagnostic frames being used. If you discover that you need to add or adjust the coding categories as you go – no worries! You are simply using inductive as well as deductive coding process. Just keep in mind that if you add categories after you have coded one or more texts/pages/documents, you should revisit those pages and

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make sure you apply these new codes to them. Finally, once you have coded your two or more websites, what initial conclusions can you draw about the way the different organizations formulated their frames? What hypotheses can you form to explain any differences between them (or unexpected similarities)?

embedded. "Meanings don't just float in the air around us," James Jasper argues (2014: 42), so, to understand the social world in which we live, we must organize, categorize, and interpret empirical events in order to make them sensible. Clifford Geertz (1973) offers an illustrative example of this interpretative process. Imagine you see two boys rapidly opening and closing the eyelids of their right eyes. This physiological act has no inherent meaning to it; it is observable, but not understandable. If, however, you described what the boys are doing as winking, or involuntarily twitching, you are interpreting what you see, differentiating the observed behavior from other similar kinds of behaviors, and assigning meaning to it. As Geertz posits, "the difference, however unphotographable, between a twitch and a wink is vast . . . the winker is communicating, and indeed communicating in a quite precise and special way" while the involuntarily twitcher is not intentionally communicating at all (1973: 6). Moreover, having differentiated the winker from the twitcher, you might also arrive at other understandings about the boys and their motivations based on the society in which you live and your own individual background. If you are from a Western culture, the wink might signal to you friendliness or flirtatiousness; if you were from China, however, you might interpret that same wink as a rude gesture. A doctor might diagnose the boy with the involuntary twitch as suffering from stress, or dry eye, or some other physiological condition; a superstitious, non-medical professional, on the other hand, might take the same twitch to mean that the boy will soon encounter an unexpected person.

Framing, in other words, is how we construct and negotiate meanings with others in society and attach those meanings to the events, people, and places around us (Tarrow 2011: 142; Gray et al. 2015). Frames are, to use the words of Erving Goffman (1974: 21), "schemata of interpretation" that help us to take disparate facts about the world and weave them into coherent narratives that help us to organize our experiences and navigate how we should respond. Frames provide a way of simplifying and making sense of complex empirical reality. They are, in a sense, cognitive shortcuts that we

use to focus attention on some aspects of the world around us (and, by extension, to designate other aspects as irrelevant), tie together discrete events to provide a sense of coherent meaning, and transform how we see or understand the world (Snow et al. 1986). Robert Entman (1993) argues that this simplification occurs via processes of selection and salience. We select some aspects of our perceived reality and make them more noticeable or memorable.

In addition to the way individuals frame their own experiences, groups – such as social movement organizations – can also frame events to articulate common grievances, identify appropriate targets to resolve problems, differentiate themselves from other groups, and mobilize supporters (Benford 1993a; Tarrow 2011). Using a variety of formats, including speeches, visual images, music, costumes, slogans, rituals, and performances, movement actors can propose a particular interpretation of the world and also appeal to the audience's emotions and morality to galvanize people into action (McAdam 1996; Jasper 2014). In so doing, movement actors can also help to build a sense of collective identity among movement participants by clarifying the boundaries between "us" and "them," identifying the movement's heroes, villains, and bystanders, and strengthening the sense of commonalities among members (Hunt et al. 1994; Dimond et al. 2013; Jasper 2014). The activists blocking the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, for example, refer to themselves not as "environmental protestors," but as "water protectors," a rhetorical shift that creates a different moral relationship between themselves and the pipeline supporters; the move from protestor to protector paints their actions not as disruptive, but as righteous, which helps to further their narrative around who represents good versus evil in this particular stand-off.

Framing choices are also evident in the controversy over consuming beef in India. The issue is highly controversial and has led to outbreaks of violence, as rumors that certain individuals are involved with beef consumption have led to vigilante groups descending on alleged perpetrators and, in some cases, lynching them. After one such incident in the village of Dadri, an article appeared in *Panchjanya*, a right-wing Hindu nationalist magazine, that pointed fingers at the Muslim community, blaming its leaders for the violence because of their disrespect for the country's (presumed Hindu) traditions. In addition to justifying the lynching by referring to Hindu religious texts that sanction capital punishment for those who kill cows, the article also depicts Indian Muslims as

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former Hindus who had converted a few generations ago and asks "who has taught the converted Indians to hate their origins, reject the traditions of centuries?" (Bhardwaj 2015).

The framing in this instance makes certain selections and simplifications to further a particular interpretation of the world. It singles out Muslims as the perpetrators of beef consumption even though other religious communities in India, including Christians and Jews, consume it as well. This selection and focus fits with a broader anti-Muslim orientation within Hindu nationalism that paints Muslims, and Pakistan specifically, as the "other" to India's Hindu majority; this article reinforces the notion of Muslims as the villains of the piece and devalues their religious claims by reducing them to lapsed Hindus who ought to adhere to their forgotten traditions rather than following the precepts of a foreign religion. It also frames Hinduism as irrevocably opposed to beef consumption and cites religious texts as support; it paints as heroes those devout Hindus who will kill to protect the cow. Both rhetorical moves elide the fact that the Hindu community is enormously heterogeneous in its views, and that some Hindus eat beef because of personal preference or, in the case of lower-caste individuals, because it is a cheaper protein source than many alternatives. In these ways, the framing choices that the author makes create a particular interpretation of those who eat beef (i.e., foreign, outsiders, disrespectful, blameworthy, apostates) as well as of those who want to impose a ban (i.e., blameless, devout, heroic, pure) and, along the way, glosses over the more complex relationships between religious identity and beef consumption that exist in contemporary India to create what Ann Mische (2008: 233) calls a "provisional homogeneity." All of these choices serve the interests of the Hindu nationalist movement and increase its appeal among its target audience. In fact, movement interests and strategic needs drive framing choices in general. Effective collective action frames can counter the dominant narratives offered up by states and other targets, convert neutral bystanders into supporters, mobilize existing supporters to act, attract media attention, influence authorities, and build coalitions (Benford 1993a; Snow et al. 2014: 30). Frames, in other words, can be highly consequential for movements.

Types of Frames

Social movements use frames to accomplish a number of tasks, including defining and crystallizing grievances, identifying culpable actors to target, proposing solutions that would resolve their members' discontents, and persuading those who support the movement's goals to take action. Each of these tasks is accomplished by a different type of frame. The methods spotlight in this chapter describes how researchers use frame analysis techniques to better understand the various meanings encoded in these messages.

Diagnostic Framing

Diagnostic framing constructs the problem around which movements mobilize. This construction involves the naming of grievances as well as interpreting them in such a way that multiple people who are individually aggrieved begin to see themselves as connected to a common cause and in need of a common solution (Snow and Benford 1992: 136; Tarrow 2011: 144). Neither step – interpreting conditions as grievances and connecting individual grievances to a larger collective grievance – is an automatic one. The experience of Indian Dalits, or lower-caste Hindus, is a case in point. Often deemed "untouchables," they historically have faced considerable discrimination and marginalization in Indian society. They have been subject to segregationist practices in public spaces and schools, denied access to government social services, and are more often the victims of violence (Narula 1999; Thorat and Lee 2008; Ramachandran and Naorem 2013). Because this subordination is typically justified on religious grounds and the "idea that some groups *deserve* less respect and fewer rights than others . . . simply as a result of their birth into a particular social stratum" (Bob 2006: 159), it is conceivable that individual Dalits could interpret their position and its accompanying miseries as inevitable, divinely sanctioned, and therefore immutable. Understanding these experiences as *oppressive* (as opposed to natural) requires a different way of interpreting these events. Perceiving these oppressions as a collective ill and not just the misfortunes of a single individual also requires a frame that connects the experiences of multiple Dalits and emphasizes the commonalities among them. In this way, diagnostic frames help to articulate and shape common identities among movement participants.

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Diagnostic framing also involves the attribution of blame, not just identifying who is responsible for the grievance, but also attaching motives and identity to these opponents (Snow and Benford 1988). This step in diagnostic framing is when targets are constructed. In the case of Dalit activists, it would be possible to attribute the blame to different groups, including religious actors, upper-caste Hindus, or the government. If the Dalit movement framed the source of their grievances as outdated religious practices and general social unwillingness to let go of oppressive norms and traditions, it might suggest different targeting strategies than if the movement opted to frame government officials who do not do enough to enforce anti-discrimination laws as the main culprits. Because there might be more than one potential culprit, diagnostic framing can be a contested process with different actors attempting to make their favored frame the dominant one. Such "framing contests" occur at other points in the framing process as well (Benford 1993a). Moreover, diagnostic frames do not remain fixed once they are formed; rather, they are continually negotiated and modified as actors, events, and contexts shift over time.

Prognostic Framing

Once movements have diagnosed the problem and attributed blame, they must also consider what solutions they want to propose. This process involves prognostic framing, in which movement activists specify what should be done and who is responsible for taking that action (Snow and Benford 1988). Prognostic framing is another point where intra-movement disputes can emerge, as different actors may have divergent ideas about appropriate solutions even if they agree on the same diagnostic frame. Splits between radical and moderate movement groups often take place over such disagreements as moderates tend to advocate for solutions within existing institutional and social structures while radicals tend to advocate for more sweeping and systemic change. Feminists might agree on diagnostic frames (for example, identifying sexual violence against women as a core problem and patriarchal institutions as a source of the problem), but differ wildly when it comes to how those problems should be confronted. For mainstream, moderate feminists, the best solution might entail reforming existing institutions, strengthening laws, and challenging social norms around sexual violence. Radical feminists may find all of this inadequate

and advocate instead that the only way to combat patriarchy is to escape it completely; some radical feminists did just this by setting up women-only collectives that interact as little as possible with outside groups (Rudy 2001).

Motivational Framing

Together, diagnostic and prognostic framing constitute what Bert Klandermans (1984) calls "consensus mobilization." If movements are able to persuade others of their diagnosis of and solutions for a social problem, then they will generate support for their agenda. However, support does not automatically translate into action; for that, social movements must also employ motivational frames so that passive support becomes active participation. Such action mobilization, Klanderman writes, depends on successful prior consensus mobilization: "[while] consensus mobilization does not necessarily go together with action mobilization . . . action mobilization cannot do without consensus mobilization" (Klandermans 1984: 586). In other words, once a consensus has been built, effective motivational framing can help social movements to overcome potential collective action problems, even in cases where the environment might otherwise make such mobilization difficult (Noonan 1995).

Motivational framing involves cognitive processes that provide rationales for engaging in protest. This rhetorical "call to arms" involves particular types of appeals – what Robert Benford calls "vocabularies of motives" that spur action. These might include language that emphasizes the severity of a particular problem, the urgency of taking action, the efficacy of collective action, and the moral obligation to take part (Benford 1993b). David Snow and Sarah Soule (2010: 138) also suggest that cognitive appeals to costs and benefits (i.e., the greater benefits of action over inaction) and status enhancement (i.e., participation will improve standing, reputation) can be effective ways to mobilize sympathizers to act. Movements will not use all these vocabularies all the time, but even so, these rhetorical strategies are easily found in the messaging of most movement groups. Navsarjan, the largest Dalit rights organization in the Indian state of Gujarat, for example, uses several of these vocabularies when describing its campaign to implement minimum wage protections for day laborers who are disproportionately low-caste. They invoke the idea of severity when they note

that Gujarat's minimum wage is one of the lowest in India, and that day laborers make significantly less than even that; they emphasize the tangible benefits of action by pointing out the potential gains from increasing wages; they highlight the efficacy of collective action by describing how the campaign succeeded in getting workers paid the minimum wage in particular villages; and they also acknowledge potential status enhancement when they write: "Because of the diversity within the union, Dalits and non-Dalits are becoming closer; they sit together and drink tea together, and fight for their minimum wages together. This fact has the added benefit of decreasing untouchability practices in the targeted areas" (Navsarjan n.d.). Movements must determine which motivational vocabularies are most appropriate given the issue, the target, the context, and the stakes. The choices that movements make around motivational frames are also contestable and fluid – what might be mobilizing at one point in time may not work later.

While cognitive appeals are important, motivational framing also involves emotions, which can galvanize feelings and make people excited, determined, or passionate about joining a movement. Critics of the PPT approach have argued for the inclusion of emotions in framing analyses overall, since decisions to participate in movements are not just about cognitive worldviews (Benford 1997; Goodwin et al. 2001: 72). Which emotions are particularly effective at motivating – and then sustaining – participation can vary. Negative emotions like fear, anger, and frustration can spur people to action, leading William Gamson (1995) to argue that all successful framing attempts require some reference to injustice. In a similar vein, James Jasper (1997) points out that moral shocks – a sudden, unexpected, intense, and usually negative emotional experience – can move previously uncommitted bystanders to action. On the other hand, more optimistic emotions, such as joy and love, can also play important roles, both in galvanizing action and, perhaps even more importantly, in maintaining activism over time (hooks 1994; Jasper 1997). Motivational framing that emphasizes collective identity can also generate a powerful desire to demonstrate solidarity with others (Hunt et al. 1994). Which frames movements choose is, again, subject to contestation and to considerations like the phase of movement development and the emotional culture of the wider society (Tarrow 2011: 154).

Master Frames

As movements carry out the framing tasks above, certain ideas may be invoked repeatedly across different types of movements and even different social contexts. Movements as varied as the fight against apartheid in South Africa, the Dalit movement in India, the transnational anti-sweatshop movement, and the men's rights movement have all used injustice frames to animate their diagnoses of the problems their members face despite the movements having little else in common. The fact that the injustice frame is applicable to these disparate movements and settings suggests that some interpretative schema are particularly portable; David Snow and Robert Benford call such schema "master frames" (Snow and Benford 1992). Master frames are understood in two somewhat distinct ways. One way is to think of them as generic frames that can move easily across contexts and movement types. For example, notions of injustice, justice, equal opportunity, and rights can have broad applicability to movements across the world (Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Benford 1997). Not all master frames will be relevant and useful to all contexts (Swart 1995) but they will still have fairly broad reach.

Alternatively, the concept of master frames has also been used to describe rhetorical similarities among movements that emerge at similar points in a larger cycle of contention (Snow and Benford 1992). The protest cycle that started with African Americans mobilizing around civil rights, for example, also included the women's liberation movement and the gay rights movement, both of which used a similar rights frame. The takeaway here is that when a particular master frame is successful, then other movements will be more likely to use it as well, since people will be able to make parallel cognitive shortcuts even if the substance of the claims might be different. To put it another way, because the Civil Rights movement achieved many of its goals using a rights frame, it made such a frame more attractive to movements that followed, and when successor movements invoked the rights frame, its familiarity helped to crystallize the movement's demands and legitimated their own claims.

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Framing Processes

Prior to the 1980s, scholars of social movements paid little attention to how movements construct meaning; the dominant paradigm at the time – resource mobilization – focused more on material conditions than the impact that culture, identities, and ideas could have. This lack of attention started to change in the 1990s when the idea of framing became incorporated into political process approaches and constructivist theories started gaining more traction across the social sciences. However, much of this initial work on frames tended to treat them as "things" that were relatively static (Benford 1997: 415–16; Snow et al. 2014). Critics of frames-as-things argued that this notion ignored how frames were themselves products of negotiation, contestation, and learning. Instead, as Robert Benford writes, the prevailing view seemed to be that "participant mobilization was simply a matter of movement activists pushing the appropriate rhetorical button" (Benford 1997: 422). To counter this tendency, the critics of this view called for scholars to take seriously the ways in which framing processes are dynamic, ongoing, recurring, and contingent on the web of relations in which activists and groups are embedded. Moreover, framing was not simply a cognitive process but, as discussed above, one that could tap into and mobilize deep emotions as well (Hunt et al. 1994; Goodwin et al. 2001).

Framing is an activity that is not isolated to social movement actors, nor is it restricted to elites; everyone uses frames to simplify and make sense of reality. The frames that we use reflect our own values, goals, cultural inheritances, and experiences (Tarrow 2011: 142). In a sense, we each bring cognitive and emotional maps to make sense of new information and ideas, and our interpretations, in turn, depend on the direction in which our initial maps send us. In addition, the social contexts in which we are located also affect how we frame and how we interpret frames (Noonan 1995). Framing does not happen in a vacuum, and societies have distinct "discursive opportunity structures" (Koopmans and Statham 1999) that condition what ideas are likely to be considered legitimate, realistic, and appropriate. Movement frames that echo and are consistent with these discursive opportunities are more likely to find a receptive home and be effective than ones that are out of step with the way a given society communicates or the principles that are implicit in its conversational landscape (McCammon et al. 2007).
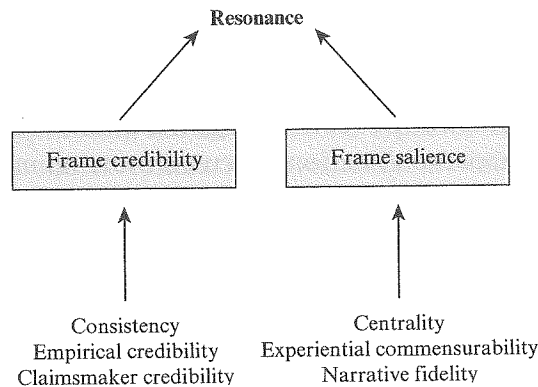
Figure 5.2 *Factors affecting frame resonance*

Rita Noonan (1995), for example, argues that, during the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, frames that emphasized leftist ideas like working-class radicalism were pushed underground. Such frames could not be effective at mobilizing protest and making contentious claims because they had been expunged from public discourse by the stridently anti-Communist regime. The discursive opportunity structure, therefore, left little room for the types of ideas around which social movements in Chile had traditionally organized. This created an opening for alternatives to emerge, such as feminist and maternal frames, that did not clash with the dominant political discourse but still made it possible for women to mobilize and challenge state policies.

Frame Resonance

In order for frames to be successful, they must resonate with their intended audience, which includes, but is not limited to, adherents and potential sympathizers. Frames that make cognitive sense and that also engage audience emotions will be more likely to connect people to a movement's actions and to mobilize them. To be persuasive in this way, Snow and Benford (1988, 2000) argue that frames must be both credible and salient or, to put it another way, believable and relevant. Each of these two criteria, in turn, depend on additional factors, as figure 5.2 illustrates. Frame credibility has three components. It must be consistent with the other things that a group says it believes or how it behaves. If an organization is seen as hypocritical – saying one thing but doing another or contradicting itself from one moment to the next – its credibility will

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be undermined. Next, frames must be empirically credible insofar as the claims they make must reflect the audience's perceived reality. Claims need not be objectively factual (Snow and Benford 2000: 620), but there must be evidence available that could be used to support the claim and make it seem believable. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement uses instances of police shooting unarmed people of color as evidence that law enforcement is plagued by institutional racism. Importantly, Snow and Benford note that such empirical evidence does not have to be persuasive to everyone, just to the movement's supporters and potential recruits. This is also the case in the Black Lives Matter movement, as evidence used by BLM to highlight institutional and embedded racism is seen by its detractors as isolated cases of bad cops, not an indictment of law enforcement in general. Finally, those making the claims must also have credibility based on factors like having expertise in the subject matter, experience, or high status in society.

In addition to credibility, resonance also hinges on a frame's salience. This, in turn, depends on centrality of the ideas in the frame to the lives of audience members. If frames appeal to core values or beliefs, or ideas that are particularly important for the audience, they will have higher salience. Experiential commensurability refers to whether the frame makes sense and applies to the daily lived experience of the audience. When same-sex marriage advocates refer to the restricted rights of committed same-sex partners who are unable to marry – not having hospital visiting privileges, or having difficulty accessing insurance benefits, or not being able to adopt – such ideas are likely to ring true for many individuals who have experienced (or know people who have experienced) exactly these situations. Frames that are too far removed from peoples' own experiences will have less salience. Salience also hinges on narrative fidelity, or the idea that frames must be consistent with the cultural meanings and narratives that exist in the audience's society. Mitch Berbrier (1998) found, for example, that when white separatist groups in the United States, which are stigmatized for their racist worldview, framed their promotion of white culture and identity as contributing to cultural pluralism, they were more successful in attracting adherents since diversity and pluralism are typically presented as bedrock values of American society. Finally, for a frame to resonate, it must not only pass these various cognitive tests of credibility and salience, but should also engage audience feelings and emotions as well (Jasper 2014), making resonance

an exercise in appealing not simply to the head, but also to the heart.

Frame Alignment

Resonance also implies that movement groups are able to connect with and recruit potential supporters, whom they can subsequently mobilize. This recruitment relies partly on having credible and salient frames, but also requires movements to employ strategies that link their ideas, values, and beliefs to unmobilized individuals and groups, thereby drawing them into activism. Having resonant frames will do little for a movement if it cannot share those frames with potential members who can make the movement stronger and larger. To accomplish this, movements use various frame alignment strategies to connect their work and claims to their target audience, including bridging tactics, amplification, extension, and transformation (Snow et al. 1986).

Bridging tactics connect individuals and groups who might share certain grievances or interests to social movements that are organizing around those very same issues. By linking these previously disparate individuals and organizations together, movements can increase their size and support. Movements use bridging tactics whenever they do organizational outreach like conducting door-to-door canvassing, spreading information through social networks, and using mass media channels to educate the broader public about their issues and goals (Dimond et al. 2013). In this way, they can attract supporters who might share their concerns but who had previously been unaware of the movement or its work. A movement organization that seeks to make puppy mills illegal, for example, might set up an information table at a pedigree dog show on the assumption that the attendees – likely to be small-scale specialty breeders themselves – will already be against the practice and therefore sympathetic to joining the movement. Frame bridging is a common activity for movements and intended to recruit passive sympathizers and convert them into active adherents. In this process, individuals do not change their worldview or beliefs, only act on them with movement prompting (Opp 2009: 238).

Movements can also amplify their frames by building on the pre-existing ideas that people might already have, but that need additional clarification or stimulation to generate mobilization. This might involve more persuasion than is necessary for frame

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bridging, where the target audience is already presumed to agree with the specific diagnostic and prognostic frames that the movement is offering. With amplification, the pre-existing beliefs or values may need to be reinforced or modified to be congruent with movement frames. For example, an individual who believes that corporations do not care about their workers could be mobilized more easily by a movement like Occupy Wall Street, which can build on that prior belief and amplify it to include a focus on things like income inequality. Similarly, an individual who values personal autonomy and self-reliance might be someone who might be more easily persuaded to join the Tea Party Movement compared to someone who believes that the common good supersedes individual self-interest.

Frame extension requires a movement to expand its own frames and "encompass auxiliary interests not obviously associated with the movement" (Snow et al. 1986: 472). In effect, movements extend frames by trying to make their goals relevant to a wider population of people. The Dalit rights movement, for example, could extend its focus from championing the rights of "Untouchables" to working on behalf of all marginalized people in India. By framing the aggrieved population not as Dalits but as subordinated groups, they might also make their work and demands appealing to others, such as the Adivasis (indigenous tribal populations), who also suffer systemic discrimination. David Snow and his collaborators similarly discovered that in Austin, Texas, largely white and middle-class groups within the peace movement extended their focus to include content on anti-racism, anti-sexism, and other forms of oppression in order to broaden their appeal to minority communities (Snow et al. 1986: 472).

In some cases, movements might find that their frames simply do not resonate with potential supporters who might see little connection between their lives and the movement's work, or might even oppose the movement's claims. In such circumstances, "new values may have to be planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or 'misframings' reframed" (Snow et al. 1986: 473). This is particularly challenging to do, because existing ideas and values may be entrenched and the individual resistant to change. However, if people can be persuaded to see their circumstances in a new light or re-examine their assumptions, it is possible to bring them around to a movement's point of view. Ziad W. Munson (2002) notes, for example,

that some of the most committed anti-abortion movement activists that he studied admitted to initially having pro-choice views. Their encounters with the movement, however, changed their minds and offered them a different perspective on the issue, and over time, they emerged as especially strident opponents of abortion who engaged the issue with the zeal of the converted.

Framing Dilemmas

Framing processes are strategic and interactive. But they are also contingent and uncertain. There are a number of challenges that movements might encounter as they frame their grievances and proposals, and attempt to mobilize supporters, including constructing frames that are ineffective and having to dispute how others in the movement think something should be framed.

Framing Miscalibration

Despite their best efforts, movements sometimes construct frames that miss the mark and that simply do not resonate with the desired audience. Such frames might reflect the sincere values and beliefs of those in the movement, but without broader appeal, movements can limit their ability to effect change. Movements might also discover that previously effective frames lose their appeal over time and must be adapted to take into consideration changing circumstances, new social values, and emerging identities, in order to stay relevant (Snow et al. 1986). In addition, as the movement engages in contention, its strategies change, as does its leadership. All of these shifts are part of the dynamic movement environment, and all of them make it impossible to develop and then permanently stick with one unvarying set of framing choices. Frames must adapt and evolve to be effective. When circumstances dictate, movement actors may have to shift existing frames to new ones while avoiding perceptions that, in doing so, they are uncommitted or inconsistent in their beliefs.

The anti-death-penalty movement in the United States, for example, has traditionally framed its opposition to capital punishment on moral grounds, critiquing it as a human rights violation or in terms of a religious argument about the sanctity of life. This framing, however, had narrow appeal and was unable to sway most individuals who did not already subscribe to a progressive political

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outlook (Haines 1996). As a result, the movement then shifted its critique to rationalist and procedural frames that might appeal to a broader audience. It moved from making moral or religious arguments to claims about capital punishment's expensiveness, its ineffectiveness at deterring crime, and how procedural flaws in the legal system might lead to innocent people being executed (Eren 2015).

This dispute within the anti-death-penalty camp points toward another way in which movements might not develop effective frames. While frames have to resonate with a movement's audience, and that resonance is contingent on movements being able to calibrate their ideas and values with the norms and beliefs of society as a whole, if that calibration is *too* good – meaning that the frames simply reflect existing cultural discourse – then it can be hard for movements to challenge entrenched ways of thinking and push for social transformation (Tarrow 2011: 147). This creates something of a paradox for movements: on one hand, movements that want to oppose prevailing customs will want to construct frames that offer an alternative view, but if that alternative strays too far from the existing cultural meanings and attitudes, it will not resonate. This paradox can make it hard for movements to develop frames that sufficiently oppose prevailing ideas and power structures while also not straying too far from what the discursive opportunity structure will support.

Framing Disputes

Recalibrating frames that are misaligned is not always easy, however. If frames are initially articulated in very concrete and explicit ways, any attempt to modify them to reflect changing circumstances or opportunities can risk their consistency and credibility (Jasper 2010b: 75). In addition, shifting frames too often or too much can also alienate existing members who joined movement groups under the old, familiar frame and may not accept new ways of framing the issue. If the disagreements are serious enough, they can lead to schisms and splits within movement organizations. A recalibration-related dispute of this type occurred in the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1969 when part of the group's leadership and membership adopted an increasingly Marxist analysis of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. This Marxist diagnostic frame, which pointed fingers at

the bourgeois economic elite for fomenting violence and division between the two communities, was rejected by others in the organization who believed the appropriate way to think about the conflict was in more traditional nationalist terms and saw Protestants and the UK government – not class interests – as the real culprits. The disagreement could not be resolved, and the organization split into smaller rival groups.

Such framing disputes can still be damaging even if they do not lead to schisms. Because social movement organizations are not unified actors and are composed of different individuals with their own ideas and interests, they can have sincere disagreements over the diagnostic and prognostic frames that develop. In the anti-death-penalty movement, for example, the shift from a progressive moral/ethical analysis to a more rational/legal view has not gone uncontested. Colleen Eren (2015), for example, argues that while the frame shift has coincided with increased support for anti-death-penalty demands, this should not be interpreted as progress. Instead, she argues for a shift not to the right of the political spectrum but to a stronger commitment to the *left* and support of more radical ideas of economic and social justice. This disagreement underscores the reality that framing disputes can occur not just in movements that run into trouble, but also in movements that seem to be doing well and making gains on their policy goals. While some disagreement can be healthy insofar as it energizes discussion and requires actors to be intentional in their framing choices, too much disagreement can paralyze groups, sapping their energies and diverting focus away from their overarching goals.

In addition to framing disputes *within* movement groups and *among* movement groups, there are also disputes between movements and outsiders, such as oppositional movements, states, and other external actors who develop counterframes to offer a rival interpretation of the world (Benford 2013). These counterframes are not just aimed at these groups' own supporters; they also are part of the crowded discursive field aimed at bystanders and neutral publics to sway general opinion or to stop potential supporters from mobilizing. If movements do not offset them, these counterframes can undermine their support (Klandermans 1992).

When advocates of same-sex marriage initially framed their demands using the idea of equal protection and enjoying the same rights as heterosexual couples, their opponents countered by arguing that rights were not really the issue at all, and if rights were all

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that were at stake, legislation specifically focusing on those areas of inequity, such as adoption or survivor benefits or hospital visitation, could be enacted without changing the definition of marriage. This counterframe proved to be effective at persuading some people who might have otherwise responded sympathetically toward the rights-based frame offered by marriage equality advocates. A Pew Research Center study illustrates the power of this counterframe by showing the growing support for civil unions that would offer same-sex couples many rights while stopping short of full marriage equality. Between 2003 and 2009, support for same-sex marriage did not appreciably change, with some 53 percent of respondents opposing it. Support for civil unions in that same period increased by 12 percentage points, from 45 percent to 57 percent, suggesting that the idea of granting rights without granting marriage was an effective counterframe (Pew Research Center 2009).

Multiple Audiences

Most analyses of framing start from the assumption that the main audience at which such messages are directed consists of movement supporters, as well as bystanders in the general public who could become supporters. However, social movements operate in a multi-organizational field in which there are more potential audiences than these, including donors, countermovements, governments, other movements that could be allies or opponents, and the media (Evans 1997; Neuhouser 2008; Blee and McDowell 2012). Moreover, movement supporters can be differentiated into distinct groups, including occasional supporters, regular rank-and-file members, and the committed movement faithful. All of these clusters of people will respond in different ways to movement messages based on their identities, interests, cultural contexts, and values, which makes the idea of framing "a" message for "an" audience a nearly impossible task.

Unless movements are able to tailor messages with considerable specificity *and* ensure that only their intended audiences can see them – unlikely in most societies and made increasingly difficult with inexpensive communication technologies – movements will encounter what James Jasper (2010b: 75) calls an "audience segregation dilemma." Because it is hard to direct messages without them also being heard by secondary publics, movements risk contradicting themselves and potentially undermining their credibility.

Pleasing one audience can be hard enough; pleasing multiple audiences – especially when they want to hear different things – can be extremely challenging.

Devashree Gupta (2008b) describes this dynamic with respect to the nationalist movement in Northern Ireland, particularly the challenges that militant groups like the Irish Republican Army and its political wing, Sinn Féin, had to navigate when they started to embrace political participation and contest elections. Up until the 1980s, the republican movement in Northern Ireland had eschewed taking part in elections in order to avoid any sign that they believed in the legitimacy of British political institutions. Instead, they opted for a physical force strategy, using violence against the state. In the 1980s, however, Sinn Féin's leadership made a strategic pivot to pursue a joint strategy of contesting elections alongside armed struggle and framed this change as a better way of taking power than violence alone. To keep their existing members, Sinn Féin could not simply abandon armed struggle at this time without triggering a possible exodus from the organization. As such, its leaders took pains to emphasize their ongoing commitment to physical force republicanism. However, non-Sinn Féin supporters – including moderate nationalists who abhorred violence – could also see this message, which meant that in elections against moderate groups, the party struggled to win over such voters. Members of the Protestant community also heard this message and used it to persuade their members that Sinn Féin and the IRA had not changed and were still dangerous groups, which perpetuated tensions between the two sides. And state officials heard this message as well, which made it more difficult for the IRA and Sinn Féin to argue that they deserved a seat at the negotiating table.

Multiple audiences may also be a challenge for movements that attempt to build transnational coalitions and must, therefore, think about how frames might play across different cultural contexts with different discursive opportunity structures. Because framing processes interact with the existing values, identities, cultural knowledge, and emotions in a society, changing the context can change how problems are diagnosed and the solutions that seem most appropriate. Jackie Smith (2002) demonstrates this tension when talking about the transnational human rights movement, which connects groups working in both Global North and Global South countries. These geographic differences are further compounded by economic differences (between, for example,

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developed and developing societies) and, together, they limit the shared experiences and cultural touchstones that movement actors have in common. As a result, movement groups diverge on both diagnostic and prognostic frames. Smith describes how movement groups from developed, democratic countries tend to diagnose the problem of human rights violations in narrow, legal terms that suggest the best solutions involve sanctioning governments of developing states that violate international standards. But groups from developing countries often see human rights problems from a different lens, influenced by economic dependence and a colonial experience. They argue that human rights violations are connected to global systems of economic and political exploitation that also implicate even democratic and rich states. Building compelling frames across such cultural differences is not impossible by any stretch, but is made more complicated given the divides that such frames need to cross.

Mediating Frames: The Role of Media

Disseminating ideas is another crucial part of framing; once movements have constructed meanings, they must transmit them to others in order to attract support and generate the enthusiasm and commitment needed for success. Some movement organizations have their own internal channels of communication, like magazines or newspapers, that can help ideas flow among members. But to reach a wider audience, especially the all-important group of prospective members, movements rely on media to provide a bridge to the wider world. This is not a new phenomenon. In early modern Europe, the revolutionary technology of the printing press made it possible for activists of various stripes to print their manifestos and share them across the continent at speeds much faster than had been possible and at a fraction of the cost (Eistenstein 1979; Anderson 2016). Subsequent advances further accelerated and intensified the speed and reach of transmission, making media a crucial element in movement strategy. Vincent Roscigno and William Danaher (2001) found, for example, that in the 1920s and 1930s, labor action against textile factories in the southern United States was more likely to take place in areas close to radio stations – radio stations that were pivotal in building worker solidarity, disseminating information about working conditions, and increasing awareness of opportunities for collective action.