Organizing Women *as Women*: Hybridity and Grassroots Collective Action in the 21st Century

Kristin A. Goss and Michael T. Heaney

The Million Mom March (favoring gun control) and Code Pink: Women for Peace (focusing on foreign policy, especially the war in Iraq) are organizations that have mobilized women *as women* in an era when other women's groups struggled to maintain critical mass and turned away from non-gender-specific public issues. This article addresses how these organizations fostered collective consciousness among women, a large and diverse group, while confronting the echoes of backlash against previous mobilization efforts by women. We argue that the March and Code Pink achieved mobilization success by creating hybrid organizations that blended elements of three major collective action frames: maternalism, egalitarianism, and feminine expression. These innovative organizations invented hybrid forms that cut across movements, constituencies, and political institutions. Using surveys, interviews, and content analysis of organizational documents, this article explains how the March and Code Pink met the contemporary challenges facing women's collective action in similar yet distinct ways. It highlights the role of feminine expression and concerns about the intersectional marginalization of women in resolving the historic tensions between maternalism and egalitarianism. It demonstrates hybridity as a useful analytical lens to understand gendered organizing and other forms of grassroots collective action.

On May 14, 2000—Mother's Day—several hundred thousand women, many of them with children in tow, descended upon the Washington Mall to demand that Congress pass stricter firearms laws.[1] The Million Mom March, the brainchild of a suburban New Jersey mother and part-time media publicist, was by far the largest gun control protest in American history.[2] It demonstrated for the first time that mothers were a significant grassroots constituency for preventing firearms violence. Although the march did not change any national laws, it birthed scores of Million Mom groups across the country that, nine years after the event, continue to press their cause as the grassroots component of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, a major national interest group.

As the Bush Administration began threatening in 2002 to invade Iraq, a small group of activist women sought to

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doi:10.1017/S1537592709992659

halt the preparations for war. They founded Code Pink: Women for Peace, a network composed largely of women that uses colorful protest tactics to call attention to U.S. militarism, to hold those responsible for it to account, and to redirect resources toward human needs, domestically and internationally.[3] Clad in pink shirts, and the occasional pink undergarment, these women disrupted congressional hearings, produced street theater, and marched through the streets of Washington and other cities. Code Pink did not stop the Iraq invasion, but it provided an outlet for creative direct action that sought to transform American attitudes toward war and peace. It continues to function as a peace group that campaigns against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and supports the redirection of public resources toward healthcare and other "life-affirming activities." Although different in many ways, the March and Code Pink both picked up a long-standing tradition of American women organizing against what they saw as a muscular militarism deeply embedded within U.S. culture and politics.

Against the long sweep of history, the fact that women would organize against domestic and international militarism in the early 21st century seems unsurprising. From the Woman's Peace Party in the World War I era, to Women Strike for Peace and Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament in the Cold War era, to Save Our Sons and Daughters and Women Against Gun Violence in the 1990s, organized womanhood has been at the vanguard of anti-violence movements for nearly a century.

Yet, viewed in the context of the past forty years of women's history, the organizing efforts by the Million Mom March and Code Pink are notable. For in recent years many of the largest and most influential women's interest organizations and social movement organizations have struggled to maintain critical mass, suffering considerable losses in membership and in some cases being forced to shut their doors. These trends have affected multipurpose organizations and organizations focused on women's rights.[4] In an important study of large membership associations, Theda Skocpol notes that same-gender groups suffered membership declines beginning in the 1960s and again after the mid-1970s. She concludes that socially segregated organizations lost their appeal as younger Americans came of age during a more tolerant time and women, the stalwart association volunteers, continued their movement into the paid labor force.[5] A 1997 survey found that nearly six in ten Americans said they would be "very unlikely" to join a group that "accepts only men or women."[6]

The March and Code Pink are worthy of attention not only because of the vibrancy of their organizing, but also because of their substantive focus. They have addressed entrenched, non-gender-specific public issues during an era in which much of women's organizational energy has gravitated to narrower issues of women's rights and status. During the 1970s, and to a lesser extent the 1980s, there was a dramatic rise in groups focusing on women's rights; economic well-being; legal, social, and political status; research; health; self-improvement; and organizational support.[7] Not surprisingly, the fraction of women's groups devoted to general (non-gender-specific) issues declined gradually from the 1940s through the 1970s, with half of all women's groups devoted to general interests founded before 1960, and only 13% founded after that.[8] Similarly, the testimony of women's groups before Congress shifted toward women's particularistic concerns in the 1970s through 1990s, with gender-specific issues the focus of roughly 50–60% women's group appearances in that era, up from less than 10% at mid-century.[9] Women's groups' legislative activity around foreign policy, notably peace work, declined sharply from the 1950s through the 1990s.[10] Against this background, the March and Code Pink have focused on the non-particularistic issues of gun control and peace at a time when many other women's groups have deemphasized or abandoned these broad-based concerns.

These developments, concerning the vibrancy of single-sex modes of organizing and shifts in women's organizational agendas, make the emergence and flourishing of the March and Code Pink intriguing intellectual puzzles. We investigate these groups not because they are average or typical, but precisely because they present a break from what theory and conventional wisdom tell us about the basic trajectory of women's advocacy organizations and because they represent a new and interesting form of women's political organizing. We examine two questions about these groups. First, how have these organizations forged collective consciousness among women, a large and diverse group? In particular, how have these groups managed and surmounted obstacles linked to legacies of women's traditional roles as caregivers and nurturers? Second, how have these organizations confronted the echoes of backlash from the media, public officials, and public opinion against previous mobilizing efforts by women, notably the "second wave" feminism that originated in the 1960s? In addressing these questions, we analyze how the March and Code Pink have mobilized women *as women* at a time when such efforts face many daunting challenges.

Today, women's organizations face ambiguity over the meaning of feminism and ambivalence about women's social identities. We argue that the March and Code Pink represent innovative organizational adaptations to these uncertainties and tensions. Women may want to organize *as women,* but they must do so within a framework that unites them in the context of changing attitudes about women's roles. To be successful, organizational strategies must appeal to heterogeneous communities of women and be robust to uncertain shifts in public ideas about gender. We argue that the *hybrid* character of the March and Code Pink has been critical to their respective ability to meet these challenges.

In organizational theory, a hybrid is "an organization where identity is comprised of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together."[11] In gender politics, hybridity typically refers to the combining of maternalism and egalitarianism.[12] We use hybridity to understand how strategic entrepreneurs in modern women's anti-violence groups use a method of "sample and recombine" to constitute themselves and advance their policy agendas.[13] These organizations hybridize by drawing elements from multiple social movements (e.g., the women's movement and the peace movement), constituencies (e.g., supporters of traditional women's roles, feminists, young women), and institutions (e.g., social movement organizations, interest groups). More importantly, they blend together discursive frames—"women as caregivers," "women as rights-bearers"—that many often consider separately and that some conservative ideologues have sought to cast as diametrically opposed. Their emergent hybrid forms represent adaptations to the changing environment of women's organizing.

Our analysis begins with the challenges of framing women's collective action in the United States today. We then explain organizational innovation through hybridization as a strategy to adapt to these challenges, comparing this strategy with the expectations of several alternative theories of social movement adaptation. Third, we present a demographic portrait of Million Mom March and Code Pink participants based on surveys of members and organizational activists. We then present case studies of how each organization has used hybridity as a political strategy to build support and to fend off critics. The case studies are based on participant-observation, elite interviews, media coverage, and analysis of organizational documents. We follow the case studies with a content analysis of the gendered symbols and narratives that each group uses, analyzing organizational texts (newsletters and Web pages) using statistical analysis and social network methods. We conclude by explaining how efforts to address intersectionality affected the integration of the anti-violence and women's movements and how these developments enrich our understanding of social movement adaptation, women's collective action, and hybridity more generally.

The Challenges of Framing Women's Mobilization

A primary challenge to mobilizing women *as women* into collective action stems from the fact that they constitute a large and diverse group. Differences include (but are not limited to) variations in age, race and ethnicity, class background, education, sexual orientation, geographic origin, political ideology, experiences of subordination, and attitudes toward the proper roles of women in society. These differences, along with changing times and circumstances, guarantee that not all women are reachable through the same calls for action.

Social movement leaders develop and borrow collective action frames to mobilize movement participants into action. Erving Goffman explains that a "frame" establishes a "definition of a situation . . . in accordance with the principles of organization that govern events."[14] In essence, a frame instructs us what to pay attention to, and what to ignore, about a situation. Within the context of social movements, David Snow and Robert Benford specify that collective action frames are "emergent, action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns."[15] That is, frames instruct potential participants on why and how they should undertake action for a cause. Since different people are inspired by different sets of beliefs and meanings, multiple frames emerge within any movement. For this reason, William Gamson observes that "[m]ovements may have internal battles over which particular frame will prevail or may offer several frames for different constituencies . . ."[16] Struggles over which collective action frame is most appropriate for which constituencies has been a key feature of women's organizing in the United States. While a large number of different frames have been used to animate women's collective action, we focus on three of the most prevalent ones: the *maternal frame,* the *equality frame,* and what we term the *feminine-expressive frame.*

The *maternal frame* highlights women's roles as mothers, nurturers, and caregivers, as well as their differences from men, in calling them to action. This frame is rooted in *maternalism,* the belief that women have biological—and perhaps psychological—differences from men that justify the distinct social roles that have been constructed around those differences. Women's proclivity toward caregiving has been used to justify their political engagement on behalf of issues including public education, children's healthcare, mothers' pensions, and women's suffrage.[17]

Most relevant for our purposes, maternalism has been a significant rationale for women's involvement in peace work. Women's groups have pursued this peace agenda through internationally oriented groups, such as the Woman's Peace Party and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and through national multi-issue associations, such as the League of Women Voters and the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations.[18] In 1925, major women's groups formed the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, which claimed to represent 20% of American women.[19] A leading Progressive Era reformer explained women's intense engagement by observing that "women are mothers, or potential mothers, [and] therefore have a more intimate sense of the value of human life . . . [affording] more meaning and passion in the determination of a woman's organization to end war than in an organization of men and women with the same aim."[20] This rationale continued with the creation in 1961 of Women Strike for Peace,

which protested nuclear testing in a way that was "intentionally simple, pragmatic, nonideological, moralistic, and emotional."[21] The organization played to cultural stereotypes of proper womanhood to ensure its credibility within the political and media realms,[22] but it also represented the actual motivations of many women and certainly of its leaders. "They wore their status of middle-class wifehood and motherhood proudly, while asserting their responsibility for nurturance, moral guardianship, and life preservation."[23]

The *equality frame* stresses women's sameness with men—especially as bearers of civil and political rights and as labor market participants and occupiers of professional roles—in calling them to action. This frame is rooted in *egalitarianism,* which has been essential in making the case for women's right to equal treatment under the law (especially universal adult suffrage), reproductive autonomy, and equal opportunities in the economic sphere.[24] Late-19th-century suffragists and the advocates for the Equal Rights Amendment a century later are archetypal examples of egalitarianism as a rationale for public policy and a motivation for collective action.[25]

The *feminine-expressive frame* reclaims feminine stereotypes and attire and uses them in a playful, self-parodying way in order to call women to action. *Feminine expression* is rooted in individual empowerment through the reclamation of "Girlie" iconography and unabashed feminine sexual expression.[26] The feminine-expressive frame has long been a feature of women's collective action: It was employed by early 20th century suffragists who staged mock theatrical pageants, feminists who protested the Miss America pageant in the late 1960s, and the Guerrilla Girls, who assaulted the "conscience of the art world" in the 1980s.[27] At the same time, both Code Pink and the March exemplify new efforts to synthesize this rhetorical frame creatively with the discourses of "maternalism" and "egalitarianism."

Each of these collective action frames has spoken to American women in different times and political contexts. Yet, by the early 21st century, these frames faced challenges from within the women's community and critiques from counter-movements seeking to identify and take advantage of weaknesses in their opponents' narratives. In both cases, the rhetorical polarization of "maternalism" and "egalitarianism" has been promoted by a mass media heavily inclined toward what E.J. Dionne, Jr., called "false polarization."[28] Political entrepreneurs within women's organizations are thus challenged to confront these criticisms by devising new ways to reach women for whom these internal and external critiques have resonated.

The maternal frame is regularly challenged by actors who claim that an emphasis on a women's care ethic does a disservice to women's political stature. For example, some proponents of egalitarianism criticized Women Strike for Peace for enforcing "a gender hierarchy in which men made war and women wept" and argued that "until women go beyond justifying themselves in terms of their wombs and breasts and housekeeping abilities, they will never be able to exert any political power."[29] In 1971, the National Organization for Women resolved that women should cease traditional, service-oriented volunteering on the grounds that it reinforced gender inequality.[30] Other critics argue that maternalism undermines women's claims to full, effective citizenship by reinforcing stereotypes of women as instinctive, emotional, and guardians of the private sphere.[31] Reflecting on the maternalist frame articulated by Progressive Era reformers, Theda Skocpol contends that "in the United States today no such unproblematic connections of womanhood and motherhood, or of private and public mothering, are remotely possible—not even in flights of moralism or rhetorical fancy."[32]

The equality frame is regularly challenged by actors who claim that calls for equality are tantamount to the dismissal of motherhood, devaluation of marriage, and the rejection of femininity. These critiques have been nurtured by conservative institutions and media figures[33] such as radio host Rush Limbaugh, who coined the term "feminazis." These figures promote "the myth that all feminists are . . . fat, man-hating, no-fun lesbians."[34] Amid the conservative backlash, critics and the media have developed a narrative of feminism in decline.[35] Between 1989 and 2001, "some 86 articles in English language newspapers referred to the death of feminism and another 74 articles referred to the post-feminist era."[36] A 2004 book title went so far as to pronounce "feminism" *The F-Word.*[37]

An effect of media and conservative portrayals of feminism has been to increase the difficulty of mobilizing women using the equality frame. From the late 1980s to the late 1990s, a series of national polls of women revealed a seven-point decline in feminist self-identification, from 33% to 26%, and a concomitant increase in the fraction of women who said they were decidedly not feminists.[38] The decline was driven by younger women (born after 1955), who accepted the negative connotations of feminism perpetuated by media caricatures or who were uncertain about what feminism meant.[39]

The feminine-expressive frame is regularly challenged by actors who claim that activism based on expressions of femininity and sexuality tends to neglect important public policy issues. Echoing other media accounts, a prominent article in *Time* magazine depicts this approach as largely "divorced from matters of public purpose."[40] *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen dismisses expressive activism as "babe feminism," which she predicts will have "a shorter shelf life than the feminism of sisterhood."[41] Within the women's movement, some critics worry that activism intended as parody will be misunderstood and may reinforce stereotypes.[42] Others question whether accepting stereotypes of male dominance (even if in the form of parody), "might undermine equality in the public sphere."[43]

All three frames are vulnerable to the challenge that they neglect the concerns of less-advantaged women, especially regarding education, poverty, and discrimination. Many activists are keen to identify the ways in which women are *intersectionally marginalized*; that is, how identities linked to race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, disability, and other disadvantaged statuses interact with gender to compound experiences of marginalization.[44] These activists advocate that gendered frames must be combined with other identities in order to have political resonance. Whereas criticisms of maternalism, egalitarianism, and expressivism typically challenge the way each of these approaches frames questions of gender, the focus on intersectionality questions the exclusive focus on gender itself, insisting that politics deals not simply with women (understood as mothers, citizens, or provocateurs) but with black or white women, middle-class or poor women, gay or straight women (and, of course, the literature on intersectionality underscores the range of permutations of race, class, gender, and sexuality).

As the critiques above suggest, the ability to navigate among competing collective action frames is a critical challenge for contemporary women's organizers. Framing disputes have the potential to induce schism within a movement and undermine prospects for collective action.[45] Movement leaders thus search for novel frames that have the potential to reconcile conflicts between existing, often competing frames.[46] Organizations that are able to innovate in this way may ameliorate both internal and external threats to effective collective action. The Million Mom March and Code Pink represent such innovators.

Social Movement Adaptation

To understand how the Million Mom March and Code Pink have navigated their changing political environments, we draw upon the political science and sociology literature on how social movements adapt and evolve. We briefly review five major perspectives on social movement organizations—the *cohort perspective,* the *organizational ecology/niche perspective,* the *political process/opportunity perspective,* the *diffusion perspective,* and the *spillover perspective.*[47] Then, drawing from each, we develop a modified *organizational-innovation perspective,* focusing on the ways that organizational and rhetorical hybridity have enabled both Code Pink and the Million Mom March to adapt to the challenges of women's collective action.

Cohort-perspective studies examine how social movements evolve as new generations of activists enter and founding generations exit.[48] Much of this work extends pioneering studies on the formation of collective identity in social movement organizations.[49] In the case of the Million Mom March and Code Pink, the cohort perspective would argue that new generations of women were responsible for organizational innovation. The *organizational ecology/niche perspective,* which draws on insights from population studies and bioecology, examines the birth, death, and adaptive strategies of organizations, including advocacy organizations.[50] This work privileges factors such as the density of an organizational field, niche-seeking behavior, and external patronage support as critical to organizational innovation and survival. The ecology/niche perspective would predict that the Million Mom March and Code Pink arose to fill gaps in the existing organizational field, but would do little to illuminate how the gaps were identified or how leaders of the emerging organizations crafted a collective identity.

The *political process/opportunity perspective* focuses on how changes in the socio-political context can lead to an intensification of protest activity,[51] which sometimes takes the form of "cycles of protest."[52] This perspective would explain the March and Code Pink as responses to frustrated political agendas on the left and the opportunity to identify focal points around gun control and the Iraq War. But it would not necessarily account well for why women emerged as leaders of these movements or how or why these movements would frame their issues creatively in gendered terms. The *diffusion perspective* examines how tactics and ideas spread *within* the same movement across geographic boundaries,[53] such as the effect of the New Left in America on the comparable movement in Germany[54] and the spread of anti-Apartheid shantytowns across college campuses in the United States.[55] This perspective would emphasize how the March and Code Pink borrowed tactics from other gun control and peace organizations but would not necessarily draw attention to the relationship between these tactics and tensions among women's constituencies.

Finally, the *spillover perspective* emphasizes how tactics, personnel, and ideas spread *between* movements. For example, Larry Isaac and his colleagues document the effects of the U.S. civil rights movement on the revival of the American labor movement.[56] David Meyer and Nancy Whittier examine the influence of the women's movement on the anti-nuclear movement of the early 1980s.[57] Rhonda Evans and Tamara Kay document the effect of environmentalism on the labor movement.[58] The spillover perspective would highlight the borrowing of the March and Code Pink from other contemporaneous peace or social-justice movements, but would not necessarily explain why and how certain strategies, tactics, and organizational innovations were adopted, while others were not.

In short, while each of these five perspectives offers important insights, none of them sufficiently theorizes the creative process of recombination exemplified by the strategies of March and Code Pink. More promising is the *organizational innovation perspective,* associated with scholars such as Elizabeth Armstrong, Elisabeth Clemens, Victoria Johnson, Francesca Polletta, and Fabio Rojas.[59] This

perspective argues that movements adapt over time through organizational innovations that sample and recombine ideational and strategic components of predecessor movements. As Victoria Johnson explains, political entrepreneurs often innovate through hybrid forms to respond strategically to varied actors that place demands on the organization.[60] While these demands may come from state actors, Elizabeth Armstrong and Mary Bernstein point out that demands may also come from non-state actors (such as media, corporations, and interest groups). These actors constrain organizations to develop hybrid forms that satisfy the requirements of multiple institutions in their environments, thus making hybridization a product of "multi-institutional politics."[61] While this kind of hybridity is one of many possible paths to organizational innovation, we believe that it best explains the distinctive strategies and activities of both the March and Code Pink.

For these women's anti-violence organizations hybridity operates in three ways simultaneously. We term these strategic adaptations *inter-movement hybridity, intra-constituency hybridity,* and *inter-institutional hybridity.* Each approach allows women to organize *as women* while managing tensions surrounding their distinctive frameworks of collective action.

- *Inter-movement hybridity.* The March and Code Pink bring a women's perspective—embodied in leaders, rhetorical frames, and tactics—to the broader anti-violence movements of which they are a part. At the same time, these women's organizations work with, and draw substantive ideas and resources from, mixed-gender groups within their respective movements.[62] Drawing from and feeding into the broader anti-violence movement while maintaining a distinctive approach to this movement is a major accomplishment of these organizations.
- *Intra-constituency hybridity.* In the absence of a clear consensus among women about what unites them, the March and Code Pink both recombine three collective action frames—the maternal frame, the equality frame, and the feminine-expressive frame—in ways that can attract constituencies drawn by one frame without alienating constituencies drawn by the other frames.[63] Balancing and synthesizing these distinct gender frames is also a major accomplishment.
- *Inter-institutional hybridity.* The March and Code Pink sample from and recombine the tactical repertoires of both "outsider" social movement organizations and "insider" interest groups to amplify their external reach. This approach allows the March and Code Pink to shift between historical understandings of women as "virtuous" political outsiders and contemporary recognition of women as "savvy" political insiders. Such tactical shifting helps the groups appeal to the diverse values and interests of external political actors—such as the media, Congress, and the President[64]—and thus secure their cooperation.

In applying the hybridity perspective to women's collective action, we borrow from and elaborate theories of hybrid organizations,[65] hybridized identities in social movements,[66] and gender-based hybridity. Research on gender-based hybridity has explored, for example, the combination of maternal and egalitarian understandings in the women's suffrage movement, contemporary campaigns of women candidates, and nation-states that promote women's leadership.[67] We recognize that hybridizing within women's organizations is not new to our times. Women for at least a century have used maternal, equality, and expressive frames to motivate and/or legitimize their participation in the public sphere. As Joan Scott has argued, the equality-difference (i.e., maternal) tension has long been a core paradox of women's political engagement.[68] At the same time, we argue that both the Million Mom March and Code Pink employ distinctive hybrid forms in reaction to contemporary challenges. Of particular interest is how the March and Code Pink mix equality and feminine-expressive frames, together with maternal frames, to advocate for not-explicitly-feminist issues.

We thus enlist hybridity to understand organizational adaptation and innovation. This perspective is indebted to, yet also distinct from, other approaches to social movement adaptation. Like the cohort, political opportunity, and organizational ecology/niche perspectives, the organizational innovation perspective recognizes the role that political context plays in organizational strategies and fortunes. However, unlike these perspectives, it does not assume that generational replacement or other macro-level shifts necessarily drive the adoption of innovative organizational forms or collective action frames. Like the organizational ecology perspective, we are interested in organizational births. However, rather than emphasizing mechanistic factors such as population density and organizational age, we emphasize the importance of culturally sensitive political entrepreneurship in catalyzing organizational formation and in motivating organizational strategy. The organizational innovation perspective is similar to diffusion and spillover perspectives in that it recognizes that social movement organizations are indebted to immediate precedents and contemporaneous models. But while diffusion and spillover theories focus on the transmission of movement tactics, ideas, and frames from one movement locus to another, hybridity emphasizes that movements not only sample desirable components of other movements but also adapt or discard undesirable or outdated components. While diffusion focuses on intra-movement learning in a single movement period, and spillover attends to inter-movement learning over time, hybridity reveals the mechanisms behind organizational innovation.

Our perspective echoes that of Sidney Tarrow, who argues in the context of the U.S. civil rights movement that "the symbols of revolt are not drawn like musty costumes from a cultural closet and arrayed before the public. Nor are new meanings unrolled out of whole cloth. The costumes of revolt are woven from a blend of inherited and invented fibers into collective action frames in confrontation with opponents and elites."[69] Our cases support Tarrow's observation that movements are "both consumers of existing cultural meanings and producers of new meanings."[70] Along these lines, Francesca Polletta and James Jasper observe that little is known about "how individuals sort out and combine different sources of identity," how they "juggle and choose among" the various roles available, or how "cultural building blocks . . . are used to construct collective identities."[71] Our analysis unpacks the manipulation of these "cultural building blocks" by savvy entrepreneurs in two innovative contemporary organizations.

The Million Mom March and Code Pink: Who Are These Women?

To understand how the Million Mom March and Code Pink evolved as new modes of women's mobilizing, it is useful to paint a portrait of the groups' participants.[72] Both March and Code Pink participants were rich in civically valuable resources. First, these participants were highly educated: Roughly half of the March organizers, the March participants, and the Code Pink activists had attended graduate school or received a graduate school degree—compared to just under 8% of women 25+ in the national population.[73] Second, they were affluent: 40% of March participants (and 33% of organizers) had household income over $100,000, compared to 10% of American households at that time. Code Pink activists are likewise advantaged: Roughly one-third had more than $75,000 in personal income; their median personal income was in the $45,001-$60,000 range.[74] Third, neither movement was especially racially diverse; whites constituted 95% of Code Pink activists, 83% of Code Pink members, 90% of March organizers, and 83% of March participants—compared to 71% of the nation at large.[75] African-Americans in these organizations are underrepresented relative to their proportions in the relevant reference groups—military personnel[76] and victims of gun violence.[77]

These educated, affluent, white women were also politically progressive and inclined toward liberal activism. Fully 83% of March organizers, 74% of March participants, and 60% of Code Pink activists identified as Democrats. More than 70% of March participants and 91% of Code Pink activists had been involved in a prior social-political movement. Among March participants, the most common were civil, women's, or gay rights (43%); abortion rights (34%); peace/antiwar/anti-nuclear issues (32%); and environmentalism, including animal welfare (26%). Among Code Pink activists, the most common were women's rights (68%); environmentalism (67%); civil rights (56%); and anti-nuclear issues (46%). The data suggest that these activists move freely between causes associated with egalitarianism, such as women's rights and abortion rights, and women's causes rooted in an ethic of care, such as peace and environmental protection.

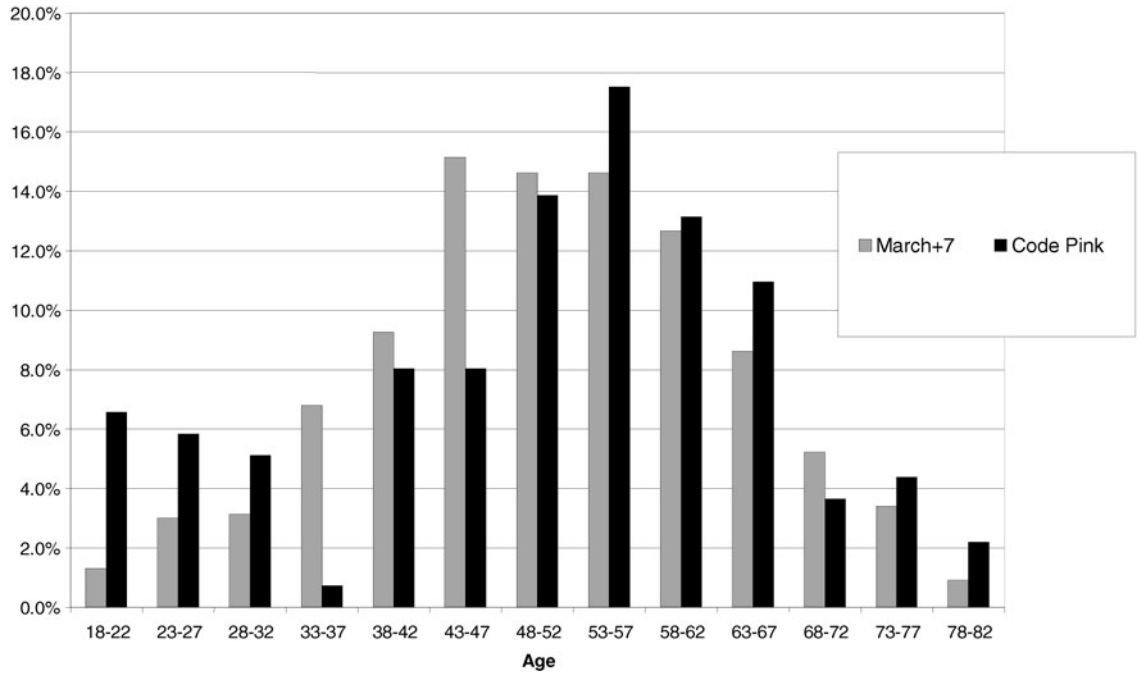
Although both organizations attracted white, affluent, activism-prone women, the groups differed along one dimension that was important to their hybridity strategy: the age distribution of activists. The March participants were normally distributed around a mean of 44 years of age, while Code Pink attracted relatively more participants at the high and low ends of the age distribution. However, since the two groups were surveyed seven years apart (the March in 2000 and Code Pink in 2007), a direct comparison of their ages at the time of the survey would be misleading. To compare the two groups directly, we added seven years to the age of all March participants, which synchronizes the birth years of both groups. The adjusted age distributions are plotted side by side in Figure 1. Both groups drew heavily on baby boomers, who came of age in the 1960s and 1970s. However, Code Pink mobilized a slightly older cohort of women (even after allowing the Marchers to "age" to 2007), while the March drew more women in the traditional ages of childbearing and childrearing. Code Pink also attracted more young women, who became politically active after 9/11 and the start of the War in Iraq, while the March was less successful in enlisting women in the 18–32 age range.

The way that each movement organization frames women's collective identity aligns with the generational and life cycle experiences of the women whom these organizations attracted. In the case of the March, organizers consciously targeted mothers of adolescent and teenage children, the women most likely to feel immediately threatened by gun violence in schools. Code Pink attracted women who were a part of the anti-war movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 2000s, largely consisting of two groups: (1) older women who supported the women's movement's Vietnam-era pacifist agenda but also recall the subordination of women within the anti-war movement itself and (2) younger women who were politically catalyzed by post-9/11 foreign policy in the United States. As we explore below, both the March and Code Pink simultaneously embraced, rejected, and made playful use of women's essentialism to attract women to their respective causes.[78]

Hybridity As a Political Strategy

The March and Code Pink drew upon maternal, equality, and feminine-expressive frames, melding together diverse views of women's roles on behalf of singular political objectives. They hybridized these frames by adopting, yet simultaneously exaggerating, symbols of gender as a political

Figure 1
Age distribution of Million Mom March (aged 7 years) and Code Pink (actual)



Source: Authors' surveys of 766 Million Mom Marchers (2000) and 138 Code Pink participants (2007).
Note: The age of all Million Mom Marchers is increased by seven to make them comparable to Code Pink participants, who were surveyed seven years later.

identity. They embraced the moral authority that women traditionally found in separatism, while sending a public signal—a collective "wink"[79]—that they did not embrace the political subordination that often accompanied that separatism. Likewise, these organizations self-identified as women's groups, taking advantage of the solidaristic incentives for participation that "difference" appeals historically afforded, while at the same time signaling, in keeping with egalitarianism, that they would welcome men's participation.[80] Hybridity makes it possible for women with diverse perspectives on women's roles to feel comfortable within a single organizational environment.

A word about intersectionality is warranted here. Intersectionality theorists argue that many women do not experience gender in isolation from other identities, such as class, race, disability, or sexual orientation. Intersectionality theory thereby challenges the efficacy of universalistic women's collective action frames, such as maternalism, egalitarianism, and feminine-expression. Both the March and Code Pink were led predominantly by white, privileged women whose experience of violence in many cases did not reflect that of their less-privileged sisters. Recognizing this, the groups confronted the intersectionality critique tactically by spotlighting diverse women and the distinct experiences of violence they represented. At the same time, however, the March and Code Pink employed a larger strategy that subsumed distinct (intersectional) experiences within a framework of universal womanhood. As measured by rank-and-file participation, this balancing act worked to some extent—both groups attracted activists outside of traditional white, middle-aged, middle-class constituencies. However, because the groups' collective action frames centered on gender, with other identities secondary, the groups may have had difficulty resonating with diverse women who had complex feelings about gender solidarity.

Million Mom March Hybridity: Maternalism, with a Wink

After a spate of shootings in schools and a California day care center, suburban mother and part-time publicist Donna Dees-Thomases believed that mothers constituted a formidable, yet unorganized, voice in gun-control politics. This policy domain had long been dominated by the powerful National Rifle Association and its gun-rights allies. She calculated that a maternal framing, tailored to make allowances for egalitarianism's uneasiness with difference arguments, would intersect deftly with the gun-control cause (inter-movement hybridity), appeal to women with different sensibilities (intra-constituency hybridity), and facilitate varied organizational forms to draw support from

political allies outside the movement (inter-institutional hybridity). The Million Mom March featured equality frames employing maternal rationales laced with playful, self-consciously ironic touches of the feminine-expressive frame.

Inter-movement hybridity. The March was designed to connect women's organizing with the gun control cause, which had been dominated by non-gendered single-interest groups at the national and state levels. For decades, public opinion polls had found women to be significantly more supportive than were men of stricter firearms regulation, but women's voluntary associations had not been a prominent force in the gun-control coalition.[81] The challenge for Dees-Thomases, then, was to create a grassroots women's niche within the gun control coalition at a time when sex-segregated organizing was no longer the dominant paradigm and women could participate instead in non-gendered gun control groups.

The March grew out of Dees-Thomases's sense that mothers, herself included, would like to work meaningfully for gun control and her inability to find an existing organization that would welcome her contributions, or even return her phone calls.[82] A publicist who had worked in network television, Dees-Thomases said the first question for her was, "Who's your audience?" Her answer: "Within a few calls, every mom I called was outraged. Clearly that was our targeted audience."[83] However, efforts to introduce a grassroots women's component into the existing gun control movement did not go smoothly. Dees-Thomases describes having to learn to "navigate the male politics of the gun-control world."[84] At several points, according to Dees-Thomases, a national gun control group attempted to scuttle the march, apparently out of fear that it would be a public failure and set the movement back. "Little did I know room was scarce for us moms on that bandwagon where the majority of seats, curiously, were occupied by men."[85]

The effort to create a women's submovement within the larger gun control movement—what we have termed "inter-movement hybridity"—demonstrates the promise and peril of the maternal frame in the contemporary era. Dees-Thomases was betting, based on her professional judgment as a marketer and on the informal "focus group" conducted with her professional-mother friends, that women-as-mothers could be mobilized for gun control. Leading men in the gun control movement were skeptical of the resonance of maternalist appeals in an egalitarian or "post-feminist" environment. The challenge for Dees-Thomases, and other organizers, was to craft a message that would appeal to multiple women's constituencies, what we term "intra-constituency hybridity."

Intra-constituency hybridity. Dees-Thomases calculated that explicit appeals to women's biological and social roles as mothers would mobilize women in a frontal assault on the powerful U.S. gun lobby and its Congressional supporters. Thus, the organization that Dees-Thomases and others created utilized narratives and visual symbols of maternalism, emphasizing women's differences from men. The maternalist rhetoric was not merely emotional; it contained a deeper critique of men's domination of politics and of the largely men's gun culture. The Million Mom March adopted the instrumentalist logic of maternalism, used by suffragists eighty years earlier, that women's participation in politics would result in better public policies. Yet the Million Mom March also tailored its message to make allowances for the tensions between the equality frame and the maternal frame.

To be sure, the Million Mom March's language was unrelentingly maternal in its embrace of traditional notions of virtuous womanhood. A review of key March documents reveals the core narrative. Women, and mothers in particular, were *practical* citizens who wanted *common-sense* gun control policy to *protect children.* Theirs was a *mainstream* view that would be *apolitical* but for the fact that an *extremist, irrational* gun lobby had *captured* a *cowardly* Congress. These elected legislators (who were predominantly men) were behaving in an *irresponsible* manner and must be disciplined by virtuous mothers representing the general good. Thus forced into politics, these civic-minded mothers would *publicly scold* anti-gun-control legislators, *demonstrate* in front of their legislative headquarters, and *vote* for pro-control candidates. These women utilized the language of level-headed, pragmatic motherhood familiar to lawmakers, to consumers of popular culture, and (they hoped) to everyone who has ever had a sensible mother.

Consistent with the maternal frame, March materials also emphasized the connections between motherhood and electoral power. Newsletters repeatedly remarked that the woman suffrage amendment was ratified because the mother of a 24-year-old Tennessee legislator told him to do the right thing. March materials urged women to participate in politics; the official bumper sticker read, "Million Mom March: i vote!" This symbolism is represented in the picture in Figure 2, where a woman at the March, pushing a stroller with her child, holds a sign stating "My Mommy Votes."

Interestingly, the March scarcely addressed the aspect of gun violence that might have resonated most with feminist activists: domestic violence. Even though guns injure or kill more adult women than schoolchildren,[86] Dees-Thomases felt that the maternal frame would offer the most effective appeal. "We tended to get much bigger numbers just by our name."[87] She calculated that the equality frame had not completely discredited the maternal frame. "We are nurturers whether we want to acknowledge that or not . . . Some women [i.e., feminists] got very 'we're too smart for this,' but I haven't seen us go anywhere with that."[88]

Figure 2
The Million Mom March, Mother's Day, 2000

Source: Million Mom March, Washington, DC, May 14, 2000, http://www.millionmommarch.org/aboutus/2000march/gallery2.php, accessed August 20, 2009. Used with permission of the Million Mom March Chapters of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence.

Yet, as suffused as the March was in the maternal frame, the organizers were careful to refine the message to resonate with women with egalitarian-feminist sensibilities. Pamphlets describe March organizers by their professional identities: "writers, editors, musicians . . . CEO's . . . public relations executives . . . former journalists, policewomen, doctors and lawyers,"[89] and Dees-Thomases's book describes how her and her co-organizers' professional skills were critical to the March's development. To defuse the egalitarian critique of appeals rooted in maternal "difference," the March made playful, almost self-parodying use of motherly iconography. For example, the March's website featured a visual "time-out chair" for pro-gun politicians and an "apple pie award" for gun-control sympathizers. Dees-Thomases' final communication with her organizers before the March instructed them to "gas up the minivans, moms."[90] The solidaristic elements of the equality frame, combined with the feminine-expressive frame elements, attracted women who might have been ambivalent about maternal narratives: "I always go back to the fact that the first 5–10 women were all professional women, and I figured we might as well have a little fun."[91]

Consistent with theories of intersectionality, the March organizers understood how gender intersects with other identities to create varied experiences with gun violence. Thus, at the Mother's Day event, urban African-American mothers lamented the gang-related violence afflicting their neighborhoods; Jewish women recounted a white-supremacist hate crime directed at Jewish children; white mothers testified to the random violence perpetrated by disaffected suburban teens; and political wives and daughters gave witness to the devastation of assassination. On that day, the March succeeded tactically in showcasing the complexity of women's identities, thereby visibly confronting intersectionality theorists' critique of egalitarianism while uniting women under the banner of gender solidarity. In turn, gender solidarity was achieved by hybridizing conventional frameworks of women's organizing. March organizers constructed a maternal frame but leavened it with elements of egalitarianism and feminine-expression to deal with maternalism's dated or prosaic elements.

The March's use of hybridity posed a strategic problem for the gun lobby, which sought to discredit various women's identities simultaneously. The gun lobby developed two narratives. In the first, *rank-and-file marchers* were portrayed as sincere mothers concerned about children's wellbeing, but also as "misinformed," "misled," "self-righteous," and "hectoring," mothers driven by (women's) emotion as opposed to (men's) reason.[92] In the second narrative, the *organizers* were portrayed as ambitious professional liberals using a maternal guise to

advance their political agenda, as in this exchange between Brit Hume, then-anchor of Fox News Channel's "Special Report," and *Weekly Standard* editor Fred Barnes:

> Hume: "And this character has emerged, Donna Dees-Thomases, who is leading [the Million Mom March], and is widely described in quite favorable media accounts as a—as a mother who was simply there watching television at home one day while tending to her children, one presumes. And she saw horrible scenes of shooting at a—at a youth center, where kids were killed, and she had to do this."
>
> Barnes: "Of course, all that's fakery. I mean, this is a woman who is a contributor to Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign. She's the sister-in-law of Susan Thomases, who is a hard-nosed liberal operative and one of Hillary's best friends. She was—she's a New York City PR woman who's worked for Dan Rather. I mean, this is not some stay-at-home mom who's mad about Columbine. It's just ridiculous.[93]

Dees-Thomases and her organization sampled and recombined various women's roles—mother, professional, playful activist—to create a hybrid role that took advantage of the most strategically useful aspects of each role. Understanding the power of hybridity, the March's opponents disassembled this role into its component parts, then issued standard critiques of each. They believed that cracking the hybridity code was necessary to keep the women from gaining political allies.

Inter-institutional hybridity. The March sought to mobilize women while influencing two extra-movement actors: the news media, necessary to publicize and legitimize the mothers' cause, and Congress, necessary to enact the March's legislative agenda. Because these two targets had distinct interests and values, the March employed tactics associated with different organizational forms. Specifically, it hybridized the repertoire of grassroots social movements with the approaches of Washington-based interest groups. The news media value "altruistic democracy," dedication to the public interest, and political moderation—values historically associated with maternalist organizing.[94] On the other hand, reelection-minded Congress members are responsive to political insiders, such as interest groups, that can organize and mobilize attentive publics, which typically have intense preferences and narrower issue concerns.[95] The news media gravitate to conflict and drama,[96] while Congress members value stability and seek to minimize electoral uncertainty.[97] Thus, to attract the media, the March had to employ the language of democratic consensus while creating political drama and conflict; to gain Congressional support, Marchers had to represent themselves both as intense, single-issue voters and as civic pragmatists who would not stir up "reasonable" gun owners. The March's use of the Internet listservs eased somewhat the creation of this balance by facilitating the kind of hybrid-driven repertoire-switching theorized by Andrew Chadwick, though the Internet's capacity in 2000 for enabling such behavior was primitive relative to what is possible today.[98]

A mothers' march allowed the women to meet these conflicting ends. They created a dramatic event for the media to cover, with an equally dramatic narrative: the David-and-Goliath battle between civically virtuous mothers and the "self-interested gun lobby." Donna Dees-Thomases recognized the narrative's power: "The media has to go for the easiest symbol for people to understand . . . We're selling apple pie, safety for kids—that can be 'gotten.'"[99] The media responded: At least 77 newspapers covered the march, with a total of 159 articles published the following day alone.[100]

At the same time, the March demonstrated to Congress that, contrary to conventional wisdom, there was an intense grassroots constituency for gun control. To show that this constituency had staying power to rival that of the gun-rights forces, the Marchers incorporated themselves into a national organization, with state affiliates, to pursue conventional interest group tactics, such as direct lobbying and public education. In both its social movement and interest group incarnations, the March took care to reassure lawmakers that its agenda did not include banning guns or otherwise offending "law abiding gun owners." This framing positioned the women in the "sensible" mainstream and reassured lawmakers that they could support the March's agenda. Thus, the March recombined social movement and interest group repertoires—what we term inter-institutional hybridity—to manage the conflicting interests of external actors.

Code Pink Hybridity: Traditional Femininity, with a Wink

While the Million Mom March emerged in response to the long-term political issue of stopping gun violence, Code Pink: Women for Peace arose in reaction to the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and the Bush Administration's response. A climate of fear was one of the features of American politics in the months (and years) immediately following 9/11. The color-coded alert system warning of the risk of terrorist attacks—Red: Severe, Orange: High, Yellow: Elevated, Blue: Guarded, and Green: Low[101]—vividly symbolized this climate. A profound dilemma for activists was how to criticize the emerging policy without seeming unpatriotic, disloyal, or dangerous.

Code Pink was born during the fall of 2002 out of a discussion of women involved in the organization Bioneers.[102] They puzzled over what to make of the color-coded alerts, finally saying, "Bush says Code Red; we say Code Pink."[103] This response served to mock the system in a playful, non-threatening way, while attempting to demonstrate the absurdity of broader government policies, in the process mobilizing women to oppose the invasion of Iraq.[104] On November 17, 2002, Medea Benjamin, Jodie Evans, Diane Wilson, and Starhawk (born Miriam Simos) led a group of women who began a campaign of

vigils in Washington, DC, in front of the White House, thus forming the basis of Code Pink: Women for Peace.

Code Pink quickly became a central player in the American anti-war movement,[105] with approximately 250 local chapters worldwide at its height.[106] When much of the anti-war movement receded into abeyance in 2008,[107] Code Pink remained active, launching actions weekly and often daily from its "Pink House," a hybrid of an office, meeting place, and group home for Code Pink activists in Washington, DC.[108] We argue that hybridity—between movements, constituencies, and institutions—was a critical part of Code Pink's success in activating and sustaining women's involvement in the anti-war movement between 2002 and 2009.

Inter-movement hybridity. The mobilization of women *as women* in the context of the anti-war movement is a principal focus of Code Pink. Specifically, they "call on mothers, grandmothers, sisters and daughters . . . and every ordinary outraged woman willing to be outrageous for peace."[109] Co-founder Medea Benjamin explained that they make this call because "We really think that war is a women's issue, and that women's organizations in the U.S. and around the world should be at the forefront of opposing war."[110] Women's role in peace comes "not because we are better or purer or more innately nurturing than men, but because the men have busied themselves making war."[111]

Code Pink was able to bridge the anti-war movement and the women's movement for several reasons. First, many women participating in Code Pink believed that the organization allowed women to assume leadership roles that were often foreclosed to them in other peace organizations. Rae Abileah, the local-groups coordinator for Code Pink, explained that many other peace groups, such as Veterans for Peace, were perceived as being "strongly male-dominated, hierarchical and bureaucratic."[112] Women's experience with organizations dominated by men suggests that women need to have their own safe spaces to thrive organizationally. Because Code Pink was women-initiated and women-led—even though it does not exclude men—some members believed that the group allowed women to play leadership roles perceived to be less available in organizations dominated by men. Thus, Code Pink utilized variants of the difference rationale to marry women's peace organizing to the larger anti-war effort.

Second, Code Pink created safe, physical contexts for anti-war activists from multiple organizations to come together. Francesca Polletta argues that the formation of such "free spaces" is critical to movement development.[113] The Pink House in Washington, DC—established by Code Pink in 2007—was a place that helped to connect the women's movement to the larger anti-war movement.[114] Especially important were weekly "potlucks" held on Wednesday evenings.[115] These events were open to supporters of peace without regard to organizational affiliation. While attendance varied from week to week, a rough estimate is that one-quarter to one-half of participants in these events in any given week were not regular participants in Code Pink protests and other advocacy activities. Thus, the Pink House quickly became a place for people across the anti-war and women's movements to share information about Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria, the U.S. military, the rape of women soldiers, suffering women and children in Darfur, the meaning of "feminism," or other issues that might be brought to the table in nonhierarchical setting. These discussions, and the free flow of activists participating in them, promoted the hybridization of the women's and anti-war movements.

Intra-constituency hybridity. Like the Million Mom March, Code Pink faced the challenge of attracting participants with heterogeneous attitudes about feminism and the appropriate roles of women in social movements. Code Pink activist Rae Abileah observed that "not all of us [in the Code Pink leadership] are on the same page about feminism or its relative importance in our movement" and the term "is sometimes thought to be a taboo word."[116] Because the primary issue that mobilized these women was opposition to violence, rather than women's rights *per se,* some participants did not have experience organizing on gendered issues. On the other hand, many participants in Code Pink did have long histories of fighting for women's equality and other gendered causes. How did Code Pink unify women (and men) from such diverse backgrounds?

One way that Code Pink spoke to different women's constituencies was by blending different frames. Women's roles as mothers were symbolized by holding events every Mother's Day that often highlighted women's care for children, sometimes including games, clowns, and face painting as "family friendly" activities, even while directing attention to serious foreign policy issues, such as the Iraqi refugee crisis.[117] At other events, Code Pink worked closely with Cindy Sheehan, who became internationally recognized when, in August 2005, she camped outside President Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas, to ask the president about "what noble cause" led to the death of her son, Casey.[118] Sheehan became the emblematic "peace mom" and one of the most recognizable figures in the anti-war movement; the partnership between Sheehan and Code Pink called attention to Code Pink as an organization of mothers grieving the loss of their children.

The prevailing image of Code Pink, however, relates to its often surprising appropriation of feminine-expressive symbols. The stereotypically feminine color pink is omnipresent at the organization's activities. Participants wear pink, make pink banners, and blow up pink balloons in an expression of the "pink-packaged femininity" that typifies "Girlie" feminism.[119] Co-founder Medea Benjamin had to replace her entire wardrobe in order to remain

Figure 3
Code Pink, I Miss America Pageant, 2008

Source: Photo by authors, Washington, DC, March 16, 2008.

clothed in the color every day since Code Pink's inception.[120] Yet participants' behavior while wearing the color typically rejects stereotypes of feminine passivity. They are often clad in a "pink slip," which simultaneously represents women's sexuality and the termination notice at a job, in order to propose that the country "pink slip Bush" (or Vice President Cheney, or whichever government official was the target of the day). Along the same lines, Code Pink staged "I Miss America" pageants (as pictured in Figure 3) to nod to femininity while at the same time criticizing the state of public policy. The dual use of maternal and feminine-expressive symbolism opened the organization to participants from both perspectives. The fact that both types of symbols were used with a touch of levity was a collective wink that allowed participants from both perspectives to feel comfortable with their involvement.

Code Pink's deployment of feminine-expressive frames created an opening for counter-movement attacks. Pro-war organizations, such as the conservative website Free Republic, turned to pink as a way to tag Code Pink as communists—"Pink-o's"—who were disloyal to America. Similarly, Free Republic turned symbols with a feminine component, such as lingerie, into an attack on the sexuality of women in Code Pink, lampooning them as man-hating lesbians.[121] For example, one sign held by a Free Republic activist at a Washington, DC, rally on September 24, 2005, stated "Uh Oh! It's Code Pink-o!"[122] It then pictured a fictional woman with a shaved head, mustache, and communist tattoo, wearing a pink bra and pink men's underwear on the outside of her clothes.

A second way that Code Pink spoke to different women's constituencies was by deploying a deploying a wide range of tactics. It engaged in formal lobbying and letter writing, similar to organizations typically associated with the maternal and equality perspectives. However, its signature was the highly theatrical and disruptive approach that earned it so much media attention. As local Washington, DC, organizer Sarah Rose-Jensen explained, events such as the 2008 Valentine's Day "Kiss In" (as opposed to "sit in") outside a military recruiting station, "makes activism fun."[123] Code Pink also supported activists who wish to engage in high-risk activism, such as when Desiree Fairooz blanketed the worldwide news after she confronted Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice with bloody hands at a congressional hearing on October 24, 2007.[124] The availability of tactics with varied levels of risk helped to make the organization accessible to supporters with varied attitudes toward activism.

Code Pink applied symbols and tactics with ambiguity and flexibility to create the wiggle room necessary to accommodate people from different traditions. For example, pink was the quasi-official uniform for all Code Pink activities, but because not all activists felt comfortable wearing such feminine garb, space was allowed for individuals to participate without conforming to this norm. This flexibility opened up the space to unify multiple constituencies. In a

nod to understandings of intersectionality, Code Pink sought to raise awareness of the rape of women, often black women, in the military service. Retired U.S. Army Colonel Ann Wright spearheaded Code Pink's involvement in this issue, stressing the unexpected ways in which war relates to sex and gender.[125]

Inter-institutional hybridity. Code Pink hybridized the organizational structure of a social movement organization and a Washington-based interest group, as did the March, though Code Pink emphasized protest-group tactics. The March's focus on reasonableness and common sense attempted to build bridges from the middle of the political spectrum to Congress, the media, and other institutions. The outrageous disruptiveness, irreverence, and creative theatricality of Code Pink sometimes appeared to be the antithesis of reasonable dialogue. By dropping a giant pink slip from a balcony inside the Hart Senate Office Building or shouting during the congressional testimony of General David Petraeus (former commander of the forces in Iraq), Code Pink activists may be painted as unreasonable. Yet the Pink House allowed the group to be a constant presence on Capitol Hill, facilitating its adoption of Washington-style lobbying. Code Pink activists met regularly with Congress members and strategized with anti-war coalitions inside Congress, such as the Out of Iraq Caucus and the Progressive Caucus.[126] As with the March, Code Pink combined "outsider" and "insider" tactics, reflecting an effort to turn the duality of women's place in the polity into a strategic advantage.

Despite the obvious risks, Code Pink's tactics had numerous advantages in potentially bridging the inter-institutional divide. First, disruptive tactics quickly captured the attention of the media, thus giving Code Pink far more exposure than its "competitor" organizations (e.g., the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). This exposure raised public consciousness of the group to the level that it has been parodied on "Saturday Night Live" and "The Daily Show with Jon Stewart." Second, Code Pink was one of a large number of anti-war organizations, thus allowing it to assume the role of the "radical flank,"[127] a luxury not afforded to the March, which was part of a smaller overall anti-violence movement. Third, highly creative, theatrical, and risky actions helped to build solidarity, which fosters greater attachment to the organization over a long period of time.[128] When Congressman Gary Ackerman proposed that the United States impose a blockade on Iran, Code Pink reacted rapidly by using canoes and rafts to blockade his houseboat on the Washington waterfront at 7 a.m. on July 9, 2008. This kind of performance made activists feel like they were part of something to be proud of, while capturing the media's eye.

Finally, Code Pink's use of the Internet enabled it to engage in a hybrid-driven repertoire switching (as postulated by Chadwick) to a much greater extent than was possible for the Million Mom March, which peaked during a comparatively primitive period for Internet activism.[129] Code Pink actively utilized "Web 2.0" applications that promoted interactivity between its member-activists in real time by channeling participants to different kinds of forums, such as congressional hearings, campaign rallies, and protests.[130] These Web 2.0 applications aided Code Pink in targeting media attention and institutional contact (e.g., a meeting with House Judiciary Committee Chairman John Conyers, a news article with colorful photos in a Washington, DC newspaper). The Internet facilitated rapid switching between repertoires, depending on the relevant audience and action goals.

Organizational Rhetoric Compared

The case studies of the Million Mom March and Code Pink, presented above, reveal two organizations that have crafted unique hybrids to mobilize women for anti-violence causes, activate different women's constituencies, and attract external political support. In this section, we use statistical and network analysis to consider the similarities and differences between these groups' messages. We systematically collected documents generated by both organizations to communicate with potential supporters. For the March, this included 72 letters and newsletters mailed between 1999 and 2001, during the height of its campaign. For Code Pink, this included 202 documents posted on its Web site between 2002 and 2008, including all documents filed under the categories "campaigns" and "action alerts." While the two sets of documents differed in their means of delivery (paper mailings versus Web postings), both reflected the organizations' efforts to motivate individuals to undertake collective action for their causes. We coded every document for each instance of its use of symbolic content, substantive debate, and discussion of organizational logistics. The results are reported in table 1.

Similarities and differences were evident between the organizations in their efforts to convey messages symbolically. Consistent with the imperatives of inter-movement hybridity, both organizations explicitly invoked gendered symbols or metaphors (e.g., Mother's Day, flowers, pink) in more than 40 percent of all cases, and highlighted women as movement actors (e.g., mothers, grandmothers) in about the same proportion. These references underscored the considerable emphasis by the March and Code Pink in gendering issues of violence.

Although the March and Code Pink deployed gendered symbols and metaphors with roughly equal frequency, the groups varied in the relative weight that they gave to different frames. We coded each gendered symbol as invoking primarily the maternal, equality, or feminine-expressive frames and recorded the frequency of its use.[131] As discussed above, the organizations sampled and recombined from these three collective action frames to meet

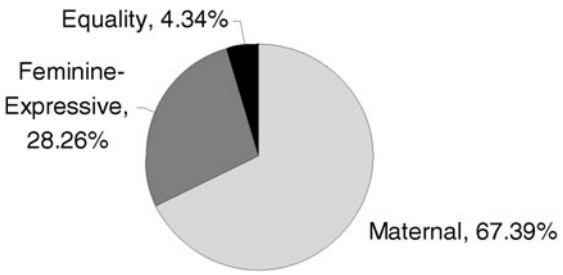
Table 1
Content analysis of organizational documents for the Million Mom March and Code Pink

	Million Mom March		Code Pink		Difference
Type of Content	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	T-score
Organizational Logistics					
Call to Action/Tactics	42	58.33%	126	62.38%	0.60
Targets of Activism	32	44.44%	101	50.00%	0.09
Substantive Debate					
Issue Discussion	52	72.22%	156	77.23%	0.85
Symbolic Content					
Gendered Symbols/Metaphors	33	45.83%	85	42.08%	–0.55
Children's References	34	47.22%	30	14.85%	–5.90***
Women as Movement Actors	32	44.44%	91	45.05%	0.09
Non-Women as Movement Actors	6	8.33%	9	4.46%	–1.24
Solidarity with Women Internationally	0	0.00%	30	14.85%	3.53***
Religious References	5	6.94%	9	4.46%	–0.82
Emotions	4	5.56%	12	5.94%	0.20
Total Documents	72		202		

Source: Million Mom March, Newsletters, 1999–2001; Code Pink, http://codepink4peace.org/, 2002–2008.

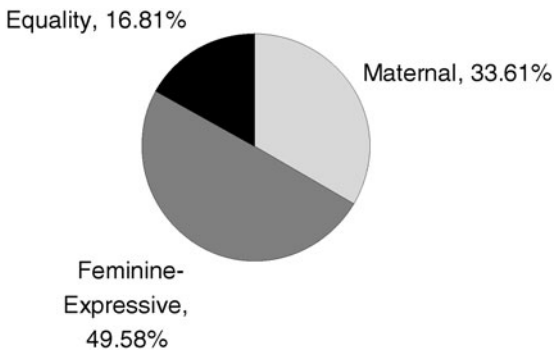
Note: *** denotes $p < 0.001$, ** denotes $p < 0.01$, * denotes $p < 0.05$.

Figure 4
Gendered symbols and metaphors in Million Mom March texts



Source: Million Mom March, Newsletters, 1999–2001.

Figure 5
Gendered symbols and metaphors in Code Pink texts



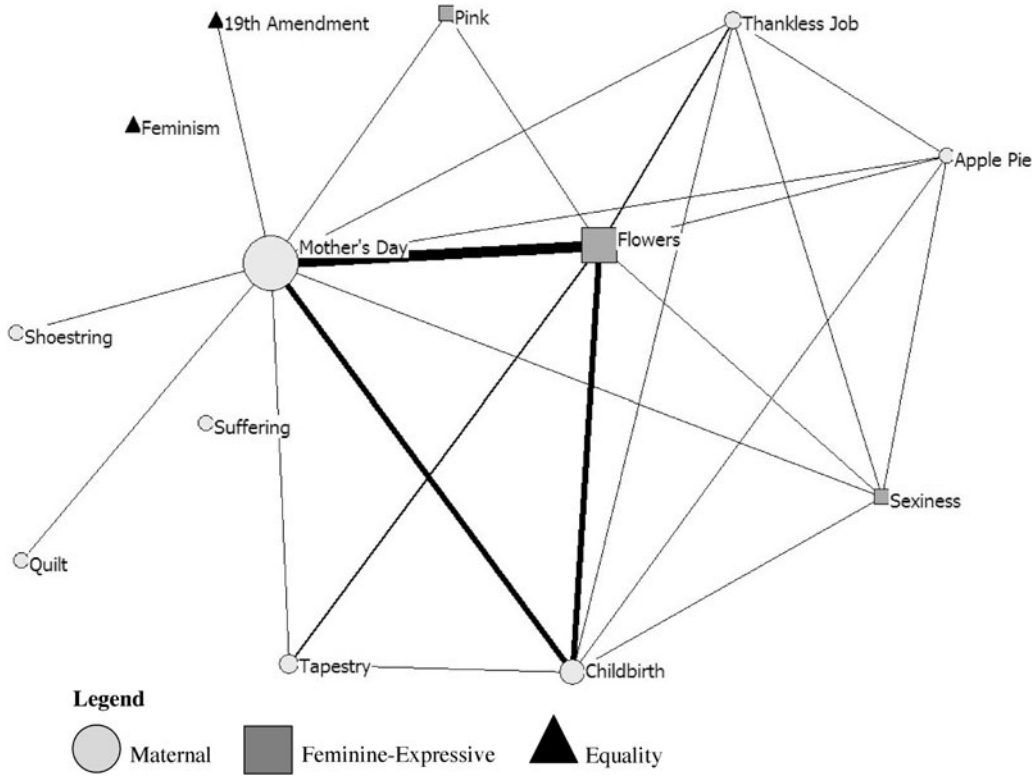
Source: Code Pink, http://codepink4peace.org/, 2002–2008.
Note: Statistical differences between Million Mom March and Code Pink:
Maternal, t-score = 5.13***
Feminine-Expressive, t-score = –3.10**
Equality t-score = –2.21*
*** denotes $p < 0.001$, ** denotes $p < 0.01$, * denotes $p < 0.05$.

the strategic goals of attracting different types of women (intra-constituency hybridity) and of appealing to external political actors with different values and interests (inter-institutional hybridity). The results are reported in Figures 4 and 5.

The March emphasized maternal symbols (e.g., Mother's Day, shopping), which it used in 67% of cases. In contrast, Code Pink placed significantly less emphasis on maternal symbols, relying on them only 34% of the time. Rather, Code Pink turned more readily to feminine-expressive symbolism (e.g., pink, lingerie), using it 50% of the time, compared to just 28% of the time for the March. While neither organization relied heavily on symbols of equality (e.g., Statue of Liberty, 19th Amendment), Code Pink did so significantly more often (17% of the time) than did the March (4% of the time). For example, Code Pink invoked global women's solidarity (e.g., International Women's Day) in 15% of cases, while the March made no such references.

The relative emphasis of the March and Code Pink is indicated not only by the frequency of different symbols' use, but also by the relationships of symbols to one another in organizational documents. We recorded the frequency with which each pair of symbols co-occurs in a document.

Figure 6
Network of gendered symbols and metaphors in Million Mom March texts



Source: Million Mom March, Newsletters, 1999–2001.

This exercise reveals how organizational leaders saw different symbols as relating to one another—that is, the system of thought behind each group's messaging. In Figures 6 and 7, we map the co-occurrence of symbols as an ideational network. Two symbols are tied to one another if they appear in the same document, with the thickness of the line between them indicating the frequency of co-occurrence and the size of the network node reflecting the appearance frequency of a single symbol. We represent maternal symbols with circles, feminine-expressive symbols with squares, and equality symbols with triangles.[132]

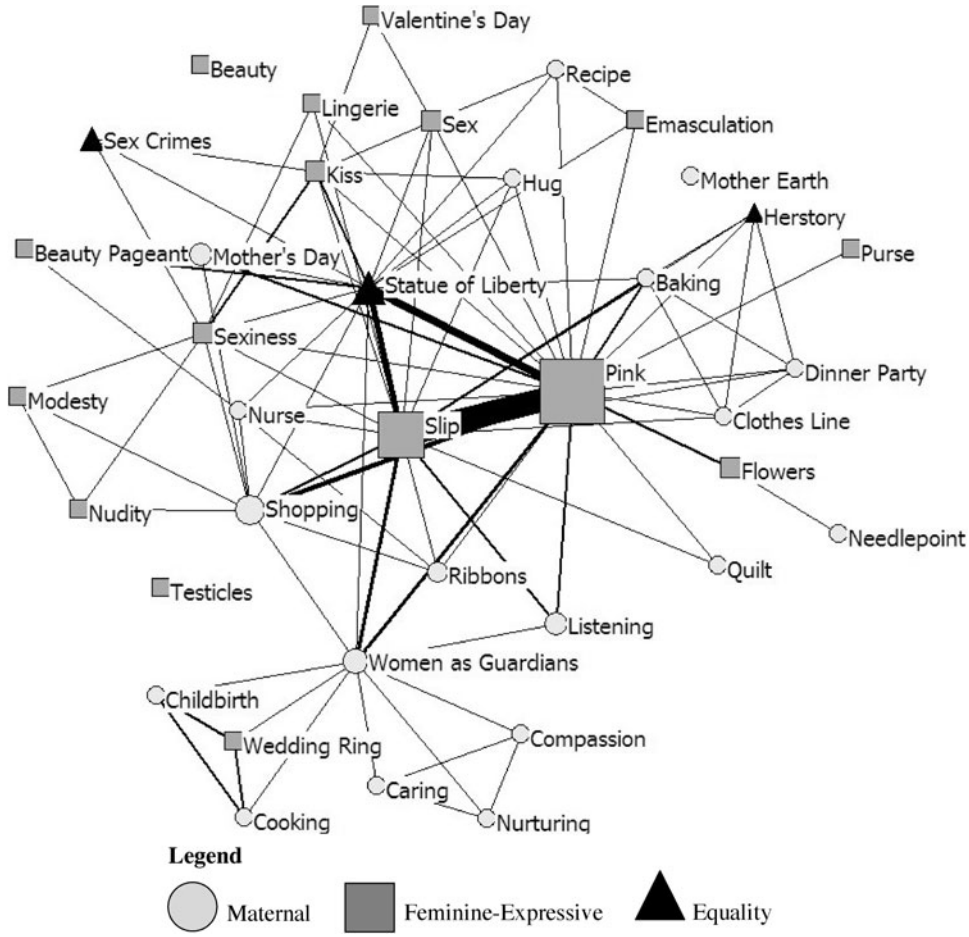
A comparison of the ideational networks depicted in Figures 6 and 7 further reveals how the March and Code Pink employed symbols to articulate their arguments. The network analysis in Figure 6 documents that Mother's Day is the most central symbol in the March's ideational network,[133] followed closely by flowers and childbirth. The ideal-typical feminine-expressive symbols of pink and sexiness are part of the dialogue, but they were more peripheral to the texts than were the maternal symbols. Similarly, the 19th Amendment was invoked as a symbol of women's equality, but was not central to the ideational network.

The feminine-expressive symbol pink is the central symbol in Code Pink's ideational network, represented in Figure 7.[134] Pink is followed closely by the slip (a provocative woman's undergarment) and the Statue of Liberty (a symbol of equal citizenship). A strong tie exists between pink and slip because of the ubiquitous presence of the "pink slip" in Code Pink literature. Maternal symbols factor into this network—Mother's Day, shopping, and baking are all part of the symbolic repertoire—but they are not as central to the thinking of Code Pink as are the feminine-expressive and equality symbols.

It is possible that the meaning of symbols by the March and Code Pink is transformed by the ideational networks in which they are embedded. Feminine-expressive symbols may take on a maternal meaning when used in the context of the March's maternal-centric discourse. Likewise, maternal symbols invoked by Code Pink may assume a more feminine-expressive interpretation given the organization's overall framing strategy. If these effects were present in the network, then the differences between the March and Code Pink would be amplified. This result may be a partial explanation for why the two organizations' recombination of similar elements yields organizational styles with a sometimes radically different ethos.

Content analysis adds precision to the observations outlined in the case studies. The March and Code Pink bring

Figure 7
Network of gendered symbols and metaphors in Code Pink Texts



Source: Code Pink, http://codepink4peace.org/, 2002–2008.

women's symbolism into debates about violence by blending maternal, equality, and feminine-expressive frames to create unique hybrids. Each organization does so differently, with the March emphasizing maternal frames and Code Pink drawing more upon feminine-expressive and equality symbols. These hybrid messages allowed the organizations to manage the challenges of women's mobilization, in the process appealing to both the grassroots constituencies and the external actors whose support they needed.

Meeting the Challenges of Grassroots Collective Action

For more than a century, women's organizations have sought to manage the uneasy coexistence of equality ("sameness") and maternal ("difference") arguments.[135] This balancing act was never more apparent than in the late 19th and early 20th century, when suffragists argued that they should receive equal voting rights so that they might use their maternal sensibilities to enact more caring public policies.[136] Indeed, women's organizations' use of hybridity is not new to our times, and in developing this approach the March and Code Pink echo previous efforts.

At the same time, women's anti-violence organizations historically have had a particularly difficult time managing the tensions between equality and difference rationales. Indeed, these groups have faced pressure to keep the two women's viewpoints separate. In the World War I era, for example, the Woman's Peace Party supported suffrage nationally but was forced to allow its state branches to remain neutral because of rank-and-file opposition to the vote.[137] Moreover, women suffragists and peace activists suffered a falling out when the National American Woman Suffrage Association voted to support the U.S. government's eventual entry into World War I.[138] During the Vietnam era, the tension between egalitarianism and maternalism again came to the fore, when members of prominent women's peace organizations, including the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace, "marched to Arlington Cemetery carrying the dummy of a rather staid-looking woman to bury as 'Traditional Womanhood.'"[139] The event invitation called on women to break with maternalism: "Don't bring flowers . . . Do be prepared to sacrifice your traditional women's roles . . . you must resist approaching Congress and playing these same roles that are synonymous with powerlessness."[140]

More than three decades later, the Million Mom March and Code Pink have developed innovative ways to manage this historic tension between the maternal frame and the equality frame. The feminine-expressive frame and aspects of intersectionality have facilitated this reconciliation by allowing women's organizations to voice claims about women's distinctive experiences and sensibilities in ways that are both serious and authentic, on the one hand, and whimsical and almost self-parodying, on the other. Likewise, maternalism and egalitarianism have amplified feminine expression's legitimacy by putting it in the visible service of substantive public policy issues.

The Million Mom March and Code Pink are institutional adaptations to the critiques of women's collective action frames in their various stages and incarnations. The groups' seemingly peculiar combinations of strategies and tactics make sense in this historical context. Their uses of inter-movement, intra-constituency, and inter-institutional hybridity make the organizations difficult to classify in the taxonomy of women's organizations. As our data show, both organizations have attracted baby-boom women who came of age during, and often participated in, the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Still, both organizations expanded beyond this group. The March used the iconography of maternal protection to attract 30-something mothers of young children, while Code Pink deployed expressive theatricality to galvanize a new generation of 20-something activists. These two organizations sampled from three major collective action frames for women's political participation to widely varying degrees. Nonetheless, all three frames were present in each group's work.

The Million Mom March and Code Pink demonstrate the power of hybridity as a political strategy for managing social ambiguity about women's "proper" roles and women's ambivalence about prevailing collective action frames. These groups sustained women's mobilization by combining enduringly powerful components of maternal, equality, and feminine-expressive frames and discarding those components that had lost their resonance. Hybridity allowed women's organizers to speak to different women's constituencies simultaneously. This approach strengthened the organizations' frames in the face of backlash from conservative media and activists, thus increasing the likelihood that these organizations could sustain robust collective action.

These organizations used hybridity to foster a politically productive ambiguity about identity, allowing sincere adherents of both egalitarianism and maternalism to join women's anti-violence groups, while also leaving room for women who were uncomfortable adopting these points of view. Thus, contemporary women's anti-violence groups salvaged the early 20th century linkage between egalitarianism and maternalism, while using a new rhetoric of feminine expressivism to resolve the historic tensions between them.

As an intellectual enterprise, hybridity helps us to make sense of the emergence of these high-profile women's activist groups during a time when gendered organizing was thought by many commentators to be passé. Hybridity further helps us to recognize the common understandings and strategies uniting these two organizations that, on the surface, appear so different. Of course, there are limits to the success of hybridity as a way of building bridges. Neither the March nor Code Pink was highly effective in connecting with non-white or working-class/poor constituencies, though their concerns with intersectional marginalization motivated them to do so. Peace movements have traditionally had a hard time reaching out to minority communities and, instead, have found their base of support among white, middle-class constituencies. The movement against the war in Iraq has found African Americans and Latinos, for example, underrepresented at protests relative to their proportions in the population at large.[141] When minorities participated in the movement against the war in Vietnam, they tended to do so through racially homogeneous organizations such as the Black Panthers, rather than by cooperating with white-led peace organizations.[142] Even though the March and Code Pink did not fully cross the interracial divide in peace activism, they did succeed, through hybridity, in mobilizing women in an era when many other organizations had faced difficulties.[143]

This study contributes to theories of how social movements and their constituent organizations adapt and innovate. We utilize hybridity not simply as a construct for understanding Code Pink and the Million Mom March empirically, but also for theorizing about how successive social movement cohorts learn from one another and how organizations adapt to a changing political context. Our two cases expand upon organizational hybridity theory by spotlighting hybridity in organizational form, tactics, and framing processes. We likewise add to the theory of gender hybridity by spelling out its uses as a strategy of innovation for women's organizations and by bringing feminine expression and intersectionality into the picture. Finally, we expand the evidence available on intersectionality by applying this perspective to issues beyond women's particularistic interests.

The Million Mom March and Code Pink may represent the cutting edge of an emerging era in women's collective action, in which women's advocates are mobilizing women's multiple identities for transformative political

action and, in the process, transforming what it means to organize *as women* in the 21st century. At the same time, the hybrid forms adopted by the March and Code Pink may reflect broader trends in grassroots collective action across the political spectrum. A wide range of activists increasingly employ spectacle and parody—supported by hybrid organizational forms—to mobilize support and reach ideologically diverse constituencies. The Billionaires for Bush (recently morphed into the Billionaires for Wealthcare) followed scripts and an organizational form not unlike Code Pink to critique Republican policies, officials, and candidates.[144] Similarly, the "Radical Cheerleaders" have turned to playfulness and humor in hybridizing the stereotypical feminine role of cheerleader with the role of social critic to "challenge gendered assumptions about women's political activity."[145] On the Right side of the political spectrum, grassroots organizations have created new, hybrid political forms—merging talk radio, social movement tactics, and interest group politics—to oppose health care reform and other items on the agenda of the Obama Administration through "Tea Party" protests.[146]

Hybrid organizational forms may be particularly well suited for grassroots constituencies to respond to collective action frames under sustained challenge. The crisis of confidence suffered by conservatives in the wake of Obama's election as President in 2008, which strengthened Democratic majorities in Congress, poses strategic challenges for activists on the Right. Thus, further development of hybrid organizations may be a way for conservatives to galvanize their grassroots base. Future scholars may have the opportunity to investigate these dynamics in real time as the Internet and related digital technologies make social movements simultaneously easier to mobilize and to observe surreptitiously. Such studies promise to illuminate the range of conditions under which hybridity is a politically effective approach for social movements seeking to adapt their repertoires to increasingly complex and changing conditions.

Notes

1 Toner 2000.
2 Goss 2006.
3 Moreno and Sun 2003.
4 Goss 2009a; Skocpol 2003; Putnam 2000.
5 Skocpol 1999, 475–482.
6 Skocpol 1999, 482.
7 Goss and Skocpol 2006.
8 Ibid.
9 Goss 2009b.
10 Goss 2009a.
11 Albert and Whetten 1985, 270.
12 McDonagh 2009.
13 Albert and Whetten 1985; Chadwick 2007; Kraatz and Block 2008; Minkoff 2002.
14 Goffman 1974, 10.
15 Snow and Benford 1992, 137.
16 Gamson 1992, 7.
17 Cott 1987; Kraditor 1971; Skocpol 1992; Scott 1991.
18 Cott 1987, 94.
19 Cott 1987, 95.
20 Crystal Eastman, letter to Jane Addams, 16 January 1915, quoted in O'Neill 1969, 176.
21 Swerdlow 1993, 51.
22 Swerdlow 1993, 72.
23 Swerdlow 1993, 25.
24 Evans 1979.
25 Kraditor 1971; Mansbridge 1986.
26 These expressions evoke the theory of gender performativity developed by Judith Butler (1990).
27 Echols 1989, 92–96; Finnegan 1999, 84; Withers 1988.
28 Dionne 1991.
29 Swerdlow 1993, 140.
30 Kaminer 1984, 4.
31 DiQuinzio 2005; Dietz 1985.
32 Skocpol 1992, 538.
33 Faludi 1992.
34 Waters 2007, 258.
35 Thomas 2008.
36 Staggenborg and Taylor 2005, 37, citing Hawkesworth 2004, 962–963.
37 Rowe-Finkbeiner 2004.
38 Polls conducted on national samples of women by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, for Time and CNN; 23–25 October 1989; 20 February 1992; 25–27 August 1992; and 18–19 May, 1998.
39 Aronson 2003; Schnittker, Freese, and Powell 2003.
40 Bellafante 1998.
41 Quindlen 1994.
42 Farrar and Warner 2006,
43 Snyder 2008, 190.
44 Strolovitch 2007; Roth 2004; Kurtz 2002; Cohen 1999; Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1989.
45 Gitlin 2003; Heaney and Rojas 2008; Rochford 1989.
46 Snow and Benford 1992.
47 We do not claim that this discussion provides a comprehensive survey of approaches to movement adaptation. Rather, our goal is to introduce a few major perspectives to serve as a baseline for the organizational innovation approach.
48 Whittier 1997; Johnston and Aarelaid-Tart 2000.
49 Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986; Snow and Benford 1992; Carroll and Ratner 1996.
50 Amburgey and Rao 1996; Hannan 2005; Minkoff 1995, 1999; Browne 1988, 1990; Heaney 2004; Gray and Lowery 1996; Marger 1984; Soule and King 2008.

51 McAdam 1982; Costain 1992; Meyer 2004.
52 Tarrow 1998; Swart 1995.
53 Strang and Soule 1998.
54 McAdam and Rucht 1993.
55 Soule 1997.
56 Isaac and Christiansen 2002; Isaac, McDonald, and Lukasik 2006.
57 Meyer and Whittier 1994.
58 Evans and Kay 2008.
59 Armstrong 2002; Clemens 1997; V. Johnson 2007; Polletta 2002; Rojas 2007.
60 V. Johnson 2007.
61 Armstrong and Bernstein 2008.
62 For an historical example of inter-movement hybridity, see Meyer and Whittier's (1994) discussion of how the feminist movement of the 1970s bequeathed personnel, modes of organizing, and protest tactics to the women's anti-nuclear movement of the 1980s. For a recent example of inter-movement hybridity see Beamish and Luebbers' (2009) discussion of cross-movement coalitions between the environmental and peace movements.
63 For a discussion of intra-constituency hybridity, refer to Kutz-Flamenbaum's (2007) analysis of how early 21st century women's peace groups, including Code Pink, simultaneously embrace and challenge traditional gender norms, thereby attracting both feminists and mothers who are wary of feminism.
64 For an illustration of inter-institutional hybridity, consider Chadwick's (2007) demonstration of how MoveOn.org merged the forms of an interest group, social movement, and political party within a single organization.
65 Albert and Whetten 1985; Chadwick 2007; Kraatz and Block 2008; Minkoff 2002.
66 Armstrong 2002.
67 On the ideas of the suffrage movement, see McDonagh 2009 and Kraditor 1971; on women's identities in political campaigns, see Kahn 1993; Williams 1998; Gupte 2002; Larson 2001; Lee 2005, cited in McDonagh 2009; Shames 2003; Witt, Paget and Matthews 1994; and on hybrid states, see McDonagh 2009.
68 Scott 1996.
69 Tarrow 1998, 118.
70 Tarrow 1992, 189. See also Benford and Snow 2000.
71 Polletta and Jasper 2001, 299.
72 To develop our portrait of these women, we utilize several data sources: (1) two surveys of key state and local organizers of the national Million Mom March conducted 6–7 months and 2–3 months before the event (n = 29); (2) a survey of Million Mom March participants conducted in Washington, DC on May 14, 2000 (n = 793); and (3) surveys of Code Pink activists taking part in six anti-war demonstrations in four cities throughout 2007 (n = 138). These surveys asked for standard demographic information, as well as about respondents' history of political activism.
73 U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003, 5.
74 At the same time, some activists made great financial sacrifices to participate in their respective organizations. Within Code Pink, some women quit their full-time jobs and moved to Washington, DC, on a permanent basis to be activists, depleting their retirement savings and other resources.
75 Non-Hispanic white population reported in 2000 Census (Grieco 2001, Table 4). Code Pink membership percentage comes from an analysis prepared for the organization by Catalyst (Benjamin 2008), while the activist figure comes from survey data compiled at anti-war events in which Code Pink took part. The Million Mom March figures come from separate surveys of organizers and participants.
76 Kane 2005.
77 Cook and Ludwig 2000.
78 It is possible that the use of maternalism serves, in part, to reinscribe traditional roles for women, even if it is intended to do the opposite (DiQuinzio 2005). However, this normative critique is beyond the scope of our empirical investigation in this paper.
79 We have borrowed the "wink" metaphor from gun-control organizer Dees-Thomases, who used it—ironically—to explain her interpretation of Code Pink (Dees 2008).
80 The Million Mom March, for example, said it was open to "mothers, grandmothers, foster mothers, and anyone who has ever had a mother" (Rosenfeld 2000). Approximately 16% of Million Mom March participants were men (Author survey); while approximately 25% of those on the Code Pink email list are men (Benjamin 2008).
81 Goss 2006.
82 Dees-Thomases 2004.
83 Dees 2008.
84 Dees-Thomases 2004, 77.
85 Dees-Thomases 2004, 77.
86 Catalano 2007; Goss 2006.
87 Dees 2008.
88 Dees 2008.
89 Million Mom March 1999.
90 Million Mom March 2000.
91 Dees 2008.
92 See, for example, Stuttaford 2000; Kopel 2000; and quotations in Milligan 2000; Toner 2000.
93 Special Report 2000; for similar arguments, see, Stuttaford 2000; Bozell 2000; Apple 2000; Blankley 2000.
94 Gans 1979.

95 Arnold 1990; King 1997.
96 Patterson 1994.
97 Collie 1984; Fenno 1977; Mayhew 1974.
98 Chadwick 2007.
99 Dees 2008.
100 This conclusion is based on a search of U.S. newspapers catalogued in the Lexis-Nexis Academic database. Because this database does not include all U.S. newspapers, the number of articles about the March, and the number of newspapers running them, almost certainly exceeds the figures cited here.
101 Department of Homeland Security, 2008.
102 Abileah 2007.
103 Moreno and Sun 2003. This quotation is adapted from the song "codePINK" by Emma's Revolution (2004). The song lyric is "They say Code Red; we say Code Pink."
104 Murphy 2008.
105 Heaney and Rojas 2007; 2008.
106 Code Pink 2008a.
107 Ramirez 2008.
108 MacDonald 2008.
109 Starhawk 2002.
110 Fernandez 2003.
111 Code Pink 2008b.
112 Abileah 2007.
113 Polletta 1999.
114 While events at the Pink House are the best example of context creation, they are by no means the only example. Code Pink frequently rented space at the activist establishment, Busboys and Poets to stage events widely open to the peace community. At various anti-war national gatherings, such the 2007 United States Social Forum in Atlanta, Code Pink sponsored parties that assembled a diverse swath of the peace community.
115 The authors observed this effect during regular visits to the house (approximately twice a month) during the 2007–2008 academic year.
116 Abileah 2008.
117 Code Pink 2006.
118 Sheehan 2006.
119 Baumgardner and Richards 2000, 137.
120 Benjamin 2005.
121 Supporters of war also employed non-gendered frames to advance their position. For example, Boettcher and Cobb (2009), explain the use of a "sunk costs" frame (i.e., "Don't Let Them Die in Vain") as a motivation for supporting the war.
122 Source: Photo taken by authors.
123 Rose-Jensen 2008.
124 Fairooz 2008.
125 Ann Wright herself is a hybrid activist. She is actively involved in Code Pink, but also numerous other anti-war organizations, such as Veterans for Peace. Wright sometimes chooses to embrace fully the Code Pink persona, including a full wardrobe of pink garb. Other times, she embraces her identity as a veteran (retired Army), preferring military attire, or chooses to mix attire on other occasions. (See Wright pictured above in Figure 3—third from the right—wearing veterans'—non-pink—attire at the "I Miss America Pageant" on March 16, 2008.) Wright also raises her voice as a former diplomat, especially through her book with Susan Dixon, *Dissent: Voices of Conscience* (Wright and Dixon 2008).
126 Goold 2008; Woolsey 2008.
127 Haines 1988.
128 Nepstad 2004.
129 Chadwick 2007.
130 Web 2.0 refers to Internet applications that allow interaction between the owners of a Web page and their readers. The ability to comment on a blog, for example, is a classic feature of Web 2.0. In contrast, Web 1.0 refers to Web pages that allow viewers to read, but not respond to, the content of the Web page.
131 We coded symbols into three categories (maternal, equality, and feminine-expressive) consistent with the discussion of evolving women's collective action frames above. Symbols were coded as "maternal" if they invoked biological, psychological, or social differences from men (e.g., childbirth). Symbols were coded as "equality" if they alluded to equal treatment under the law, reproductive autonomy, or economic opportunity (e.g., 19th Amendment). Symbols were coded as "feminine-expressive" if they reflected the expression of women's femininity and/or sexuality (e.g., lingerie). In cases where there was any ambiguity with our coding rules, we looked to the document's context to resolve the dispute. For example, we coded "kiss" as feminine-expressive rather than maternal because of the sexual contexts in which it was employed (e.g., "Make Out Not War"). Similarly, we coded "flowers" as feminine-expressive because they call attention to femininity without invoking necessarily motherhood (as women receive flowers long before they become mothers).
132 The spring-embedding algorithm in Netdraw 2.046 was used to position symbols close to one another in the network if they have a similar pattern of co-occurring symbols (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman 2007).
133 Mother's Day earns the top score on all four traditional measures of network centrality, including degree (83.33), closeness (33.33), betweenness (41.67), and eigenvector (63.78).
134 Pink earns the top score on all four traditional measures of network centrality, including degree

(59.46), closeness (23.13), betweenness (34.15), and eigenvector (61.54). The ideational network represented for Code Pink in Figure 7 is larger than the one presented for the March, though this difference is largely an artifact of the greater number of documents analyzed in the Code Pink case (202) than in the March case (72). Thus, it is essential to focus on the structural pattern of this network, rather than its size.

135 Cott 1986; McDonagh 2009.
136 Kraditor 1971; Cott 1986; McDonagh 2009.
137 Schott 1997, 56–57.
138 Schott 1997, 59.
139 Schott 1997, 222.
140 Quoted in Schott 1997, 222.
141 Heaney and Rojas 2007; 2008.
142 Westheider 2008, 65–68.
143 Goss 2006; Heaney and Rojas 2008.
144 Farrar and Warner 2008. See also: http://billionairesforwealthcare.com/, accessed August 20, 2009.
145 Farrar and Warner 2006.
146 Urbina 2009. See also: http://912dc.org/, accessed August 20, 2009.

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