

TOWSON UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ACTIVISM AND WOMEN'S HEALTH:
PLANNED PARENTHOOD'S USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA DURING THE
2012 SUSAN G. KOMEN FUNDING CONTROVERSY

by

Annie M. Milli

A thesis

presented to the faculty of

Towson University

in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Science

Department of Mass Communication and Communication Studies

Towson University
Towson, Maryland 21252

January, 2013

TOWSON UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Annie M. Milli entitled "Activism and women's health: Planned Parenthood's use of social media during the 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy" has been approved by the thesis committee as satisfactorily completing the thesis requirements for the degree Master of Science in Communication Management.

<u>HUA JIANG</u>	<u>11-30-12</u>
Chair, Thesis Committee	Date
<u>Stacy Spaulding</u>	<u>11-30-12</u>
Committee Member	Date
<u>Beth Haller</u>	<u>11-30-12</u>
Committee Member	Date
<u>Janet V. Wherry</u>	<u>12-17-12</u>
Dean of Graduate Studies	Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I quit my job in 2010—to return to grad school in search “options”—I had no idea what a fulfilling, eye-opening, exhausting, and truly enjoyable three years it would be. This thesis is the culmination of much hard work and sacrifice and it makes me incredibly proud.

Thank you to Rex and Kelly Wilkes for your trust, your business, and your friendship. I am grateful every day that you came into my life. Thank you to Dirron Allen for the opportunity to work at Towson, the unyielding support and encouragement, and the lessons in work/life balance. It felt like college and I won't forget it. Thank you to my mom for teaching me to strive and accomplish, to my dad for reminding me to simply have fun, and to my grandmother for passing on the love of education.

Dr. Jiang, without your guidance and care this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you for your belief in me and for reminding me that no study is perfect. I needed to hear it more than once. Dr. Spaulding, thank you for challenging me to reach outside my comfort zone. Dr. Haller, thank you for modeling your passions for research and media. I couldn't have asked for a more talented committee.

Finally, to Michael: I know it hasn't been easy and I know this wasn't your choice. I could do nothing if it wasn't for your unconditional love and support. You always pulled me back from my breaking point into your arms. I am truly the luckiest woman in the world. Thank you and I love you so much. Now...we live!

Abstract

In 2011 and 2012, social media activism—generated by individuals, groups, corporations, and nonprofit organizations—gained considerable media attention. Using content analysis, this paper examined Facebook and Twitter activity during one such news event: the 2012 funding controversy between Planned Parenthood and Susan G. Komen. Viewed through the lens of the Situational Theory of Publics, it considered how Planned Parenthood’s social media strategy was impacted by the involvement of hot-issue publics. The study found that Planned Parenthood used similar activist strategies before, during, and after the controversy. It found notable differences between messages on Planned Parenthood’s Facebook and Twitter sites. It also identified patterns in messages receiving high levels of Facebook interactions. Its results have implications for nonprofit organizations’ social media strategies, including suggestions on appropriate message frequency, message variety, and message content. Still more studies are needed to explain nonprofits’ social media use, using evidence from additional activism-related cases.

Keywords: activism, content analysis, Facebook, Twitter, nonprofit organizations, public relations, Planned Parenthood, Susan G. Komen

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
Introduction.....	1
The Power of Social Media Activism.....	1
The Role of the Nonprofit Sector	3
Purpose of the Present Study	4
Case Overview	6
Review of Literature	9
Conceptualizing Nonprofit Organizations	9
Understanding Activism	11
Nonprofit and Activist Group Public Relations Strategies.....	13
Activism and Social Media.....	15
Nonprofit Organizations' Use of Social Media	19
Research Questions.....	22
Method	23
Methodology and Design.....	23
Sampling	25
Code Sheet Development.....	26
Coding Procedure	29
Quantitative Analysis.....	30
Qualitative Analysis.....	30

Results.....	32
Findings on RQ1	32
Findings on RQ2.....	40
Findings on RQ3.....	52
Findings on RQ4.....	62
Additional Findings	69
Discussion and Conclusions	73
Key Findings.....	73
In the Context of Current Literature	76
Theoretical Implications	83
Practical Implications	85
Methodological Implications	89
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research	89
Conclusion	93
Appendix A.....	96
Appendix B.....	98
Appendix C.....	101
Appendix D.....	105
References.....	110
CURRICULUM VITA	119

LIST OF TABLES

Message Frequency by Time Period.....	33
Mean Number of Daily Messages by Time Period.....	34
Number of Daily Messages by Key Controversy Date.....	35
Mean Number of Interactions by Period.....	36
Mean Number of Interactions by Key Controversy Date	37
Top Five Posts with Highest User Interaction	37
Evidence of Activism by Message Topic: Facebook and Twitter	39
Activist Theme Frequencies by Time Period: Facebook and Twitter Combined.....	42
Activist Theme Frequencies by Time Period: Facebook and Twitter Compared.....	56
Mean Interactions by Activist Theme.....	64
Mean Interactions by Post Type	66
Mean Interactions by Message Topic	67
IRS Class Designations for Nonprofit Organizations.....	96

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Discussion of Susan G. Komen Controversy by Date 58

Figure 2. Daily Tweet Frequencies by Weekday 70

Figure 3. Tweet Type by Controversy Period 71

Figure 4. Situational Theory of Publics in Action..... 80

Figure 5. Suggested Model for Motivating Activists on Social Media 94

Introduction

The worldwide adoption of social media has presented new opportunities for both individuals and organizations to communicate. Information sharing on sites such as MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube has at once helped to foster friendships, build communities, tear down governments, sell products, create instant celebrities, and ruin reputations (Langlois, Elmer, McKelvey, & Devereaux, 2009; Vericat, 2010).

By the start of 2012, Facebook's monthly active users numbered 845 million (Facebook, 2012b), there were over 200 million tweets sent daily (Twitter, 2012), and over 800 million unique visitors watched videos on YouTube each month (YouTube, 2012). The years 2011 and 2012 also marked a peak in the so-called *digital revolution*, smoldering for years on the Internet, with online activism garnering a record amount of media attention (CBS News, 2012).

The Power of Social Media Activism

Individual activists like Molly Katchpole used the site Change.org in 2011 to write and spread petitions successfully targeting U.S. companies. The 22 year old twice launched initiatives that shook corporate giants—the first convincing Bank of America to abandon its planned \$5 monthly debit charge and the second causing Verizon to drop its consumer fee increase (Kristof, 2012).

At the same time, groups of activists in Arab Spring uprisings organized major protests using Facebook and Twitter and shared photos and videos of their governments' violence against citizens on public sites. According to Twitter CEO, Dick Costolo, the U.S. State Department took notice: at once asking the company to postpone its scheduled

maintenance in order to allow dissidents in Iran to complete their protest plans (CBS News, 2012).

In early 2012, even corporations gained activist status when Internet staples Google, Wired, and Wikipedia staged one-day blackouts of their content in objection to planned U.S. government regulations against Internet piracy (Wortham, 2012). Millions of Wikipedia users used the site's only available tool during the blackout to look up the name of their congressman and take activist action of their own. The protested legislation was subsequently put on hold.

Weeks later, nonprofit Susan G. Komen faced an onslaught of activist pressure when it announced it would cut funding to fellow nonprofit Planned Parenthood (Sun & Kliff, 2012). Planned Parenthood mobilized its social media contacts, adding tens of thousands of *likes* to its Facebook page and receiving tens of thousands of retweets of its *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign. Like congress, Komen was forced to address activist demands, announcing a turnaround only days after the story broke.

The speed at which social media communication is shared is one reason for its success among activists. It is also cause for concern among targeted governments, corporations, and organizations. Facebook messages can be shared with users' individual networks, showing up as news updates immediately (Vericat, 2010). On Twitter, 140 character messages can be shared with the entire world instantaneously, searchable by *hashtag* (Small, 2011). Lessons from the previously cited cases demonstrate that public relations practitioners must be, at any moment, ready to take on online activists at the speed of the Internet. Likewise, these cases prove there is an opportunity for public relations to further organizational missions using social media tools.

The Role of the Nonprofit Sector

In the United States, the number of nonprofit organizations—often referred to as NPOs, charitable organizations, service organizations, and foundations, among other names—increases annually. Over the past two decades nonprofit sector growth even outpaced the overall economy (Crutchfield & Grant, 2008). The most recent data on nonprofits in the U.S., from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (2011), lists their number at over 1.5 million and climbing. This number was only 1.2 million in 1999.

Current figures show that over 11 million individuals are employed by nonprofits (Teegarden, Hinden, & Strum, 2011). In 2009, nonprofits made up 9% of the total amount of wages paid in the United States and 5.4% of the total gross domestic product. Their total revenues were reported to be over \$1.41 trillion and their assets were valued at \$2.56 trillion (National Center for Charitable Statistics, 2011).

As more and more not-for-profit groups come forward, organizations must compete for resources: both monetary and in-kind donations, spokespeople, volunteers, board members, and more (Sagawa & Jospin, 2009). The quest for credibility has become ever important as groups jockey for position as leaders in their chosen areas of service (Das, Kerkhof, & Kuiper, 2008; Feinglass, 2005; Waters, 2008).

Public relations has emerged as a solution for organizations looking to improve their standing among stakeholder groups. Increased name recognition, feelings of trust, donations, and volunteer turnout are just a few of the benefits garnered from well-executed public relations campaigns (Feinglass, 2005; Public Relations Society of America, 2012). PR generated media attention can transform once unknown organizations into instantly recognizable industry leaders, seemingly overnight.

With uneven levels of funding and disparate degrees of established infrastructure, nonprofit organizations of all sizes must continuously look for ways to maximize their public relations resources and stay competitive in their fields. Due to its low-cost implementation, relative to many forms of traditional media, social media has been said to allow nonprofits to match the efforts of their for-profit colleagues for the first time (Butcher, 2009; Waters, Burnett, Lamm, & Lucas, 2009). It is no surprise then that scholars have also found nonprofits' adoption of social media to outpace the private sector.

For both their advancement and general sustainability, large organizations (with dedicated public relations departments and staff) and small organizations (with essential staff taking on public relations roles) equally must scan their environments in search of advice, ideas, and best practice (Curtis et al., 2010). With the increasingly important role of social media as a public relations tool, the need for relevant social media research among nonprofits is ever increasing.

Purpose of the Present Study

Research into the nonprofit sector's use of social media remains both general in scope and limited in quantity (Butcher, 2009; Clarke-Roland, 2010; Inghoff & Koelling, 2010; Livingston, 2009; Lovejoy, Waters, & Saxton, 2012; Waters et al. 2009). While some scholarly research exists on social media activism by individuals (Curtis et al., 2010; Langlois et al., 2009; Livingston, 2009; McCafferty, 2011, Shirky, 2011; Small, 2011; Vericat, 2010), studies have not described social media activism by a nonprofit organization. Likewise, little research has considered how nonprofits might mobilize networks of activists using their social networking sites.

Since social media activism is a relatively new phenomenon, the importance of understanding its influence is significant. Describing how nonprofit organizations might employ activist strategies on social media, while subsequently motivating networks of individual activists, is relevant in the field of public relations from both offensive and defensive perspectives. The present study aims to shed light on Planned Parenthood's social media strategy during the February, 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy. Through content analysis of Facebook and Twitter posts made by Planned Parenthood's national chapter, it seeks to fill gaps in communication literature. It adds to social media research overall, nonprofit social media research specifically, and expands the body of literature on social media activism beyond individual political activism. The goal of this study is to understand how social media is changing the relationship between nonprofit organizations, activist tactics, and groups of individual activists.

From a theoretical perspective, this study tests the Situational Theory of Publics' definition of hot-issue publics in the realm of social media. Likewise, it argues against negative associations to the term *activist* within the nonprofit sector—making the case that activist literature should inform nonprofit communication research.

This study's description of the activist strategies used by Planned Parenthood on social networking sites provides practical guidance for public relations practitioners working in nonprofit organizations. By comparing and contrasting Facebook and Twitter communications, it suggests how messages can be more specifically targeted to reach audiences in an activist role. Finally, its analysis of Facebook user interaction points to best practice techniques for mobilizing individual activists through social media.

Case Overview

On January 31, 2012, the Associated Press broke news that Susan G. Komen (one of the United States' leading breast cancer nonprofits) would end its funding to Planned Parenthood (a national provider of low-cost women's healthcare services, including abortion) (Crary, 2012a). The report came as part of a revision to Komen's policies, which stated that groups under government investigation were no longer eligible for its grants. Months earlier, in September 2011, Representative Cliff Stearns (a Republican from Florida) had launched a congressional probe into Planned Parenthood, seeking to determine if the organization had used federal funds to subsidize its abortion services. At the time of the inquiry, the use of federal funds for abortion was banned under U.S. law (Crary, 2012a).

After days of heavy media coverage the Komen Foundation announced a reversal of its statement, on February 3, 2012, declaring that only groups under criminal investigation would be barred from grant applications. Planned Parenthood was said to be again eligible for Komen's support (Crary, 2012b). With negative press and pressure still mounting, Komen's controversial Vice President, Karen Handel submitted her resignation to CEO and Founder, Nancy Brinker, on February 7, 2012. Handel had joined the organization in January of 2011, following an unsuccessful run for Georgia Governor on a platform that incorporated defunding Planned Parenthood. This detail added to the funding decision's controversy (Henry, 2012).

In what some have called a PR fiasco, Komen's reputation suffered blows including the loss of individual and corporate sponsorships, as well as the circulation of false news reports (Sun & Kliff, 2012). One story claimed a partnership between Komen

and a gun manufacturer, while another stated Komen's CEO made upwards of \$5 million per year in her role at the foundation. Komen denied both claims.

Throughout the funding controversy, social media played a key role—driven in part by Planned Parenthood's response to Komen's decision on Facebook and Twitter. News releases were *shared* and retweeted by thousands of supporters, while *likes* on the Planned Parenthood Facebook page increased by tens of thousands (Sun & Kliff, 2012). Though publicity for both organizations, Susan G. Komen received negative attention, lost donations and followers, and reversed its decision. Planned Parenthood received positive attention, gained donations and followers, and doubled down on efforts to fulfill its mission.

About Susan G. Komen

Susan G. Komen for the Cure was founded by Nancy G. Brinker, in 1982, following her sister, Susan Goodman Komen's passing from breast cancer at age 36. Through signature events like the Komen Race for the Cure (with participation of 1.7 million individuals each year), the foundation claims to have invested nearly \$2 billion in fulfillment of its mission to "end breast cancer forever" (Susan G. Komen, 2012). Susan G. Komen for the Cure funds worldwide research, community health, advocacy, and other programs in more than 50 countries.

About Planned Parenthood

Planned Parenthood was established in 1916 by birth control advocate, Margaret Sanger. Since its inception, the organization has provided reproductive healthcare, sex education, and related information worldwide. The organization claims "one in five American women has chosen Planned Parenthood for healthcare at least once in her life"

(Planned Parenthood, 2012c). Its 74 national affiliates operate close to 800 health centers. Planned Parenthood considers its primary roles to include “Providing Trusted Community Healthcare”, “Informing and Educating the Community”, “Leading the Reproductive Health and Rights Movement”, and “Advancing Global Health” (Planned Parenthood, 2012c).

Review of Literature

This study was grounded in a broad review of communication and public relations literature. The Situational Theory of Publics (as related to activism), nonprofit and activist communication strategies, activism on social media, and the use of social media by nonprofit groups were topics specifically relevant to its methods and analysis.

Conceptualizing Nonprofit Organizations

On a most basic level, a nonprofit organization can be defined by its contrast to a for-profit organization. Where for-profit or corporate entities use their revenues to distribute profits to shareholders, nonprofits use their revenues to accomplish organizational goals (Hopkins, 2001; Powell & Steinberg, 2006).¹

With regard to missions and goals, nonprofits fall into a wide array of categories. Arts and humanities organizations, educational organizations, healthcare organizations, human service organizations, public/society benefit organizations, and religious organizations make up a typically cited framework among communication scholars (Lovejoy et al. 2012; Waters et al. 2009). Nonprofit scholars often refer to charitable organizations (including those providing food, shelter, and other life necessities, as well as churches, schools, hospitals, and social service organizations) or mutual benefit organizations (including unions, trade associations, and social clubs) (Powell & Steinberg, 2006). The IRS provides an even more detailed list of organization types, breaking groups with similar missions into 29 individual tax designations (IRS, 2011). (See Appendix A for individual categories.) Common among these designations is the

¹ Though, like a corporation, a nonprofit organization is able to generate surplus revenues, these funds must be allocated back to the betterment of the organization, in service to its mission (Hopkins, 2001; Powell & Steinberg, 2006).

501(c) classification of a nonprofit's legal tax standing. This label affords organizations certain benefits, designed to make the fulfillment of goals more economically feasible.

Though the missions and exempt class of nonprofit organizations may vary, their configurations remain somewhat similar. Whether or not the group includes a membership has the greatest impact on its organizational structure. Unlike donors, members in an organization have say over the group's leadership. When an organization does not include a membership, leadership may be self-appointed or perpetuating (Powell & Steinberg, 2006). A board of directors, board of trustees, or board of governors oversees most nonprofits. Nonprofit boards, while having the power to control the groups' resource use, do not have the power to profit from or sell those resources (Powell & Steinberg, 2006).

Collectively, nonprofits make up what is known as the nonprofit sector. The nonprofit sector functions within a trichotomy of sectors, including nonprofit, for-profit, and government. Whereas organizations in the for-profit sector gain revenue through the sale of goods or services, organizations in the nonprofit sector gain revenues in a variety of ways. Philanthropy is a major funding source for some organizations—with donated capital coming from individuals, groups, or larger foundations. The sale of donated goods or provided services also serve as sources of funding. Many organizations receive little philanthropic funding, relying instead on commercial sales or commercial and government contracts for their revenues. Government grants provide yet another source

of capital—sometimes clouding the distinction between private nonprofits and public government agencies (Powell & Steinberg, 2006).²

Of relevance to the present study, Planned Parenthood Federation of America is designated as a 501(c)(3) organization (Planned Parenthood, 2010). It is a non-membership entity overseen by a board of directors. In 2010, funding sources of Planned Parenthood included healthcare service revenues, government grants, and private contributions from individuals and foundations. According to Planned Parenthood's mission, it could be categorized as a healthcare organization, an educational organization, or an advocacy group (Planned Parenthood, 2012a).

Understanding Activism

In J. E. Grunig's (1997) development of the Situational Theory of Publics, he suggested that publics act based on the interplay between three independent variables: problem recognition, constraint recognition, and level of involvement. Based on these

² According to the *three-failures theory*, each sector responds to failures to deliver necessary services to target groups (Powell & Steinberg, 2006). Under *three-failures theory*, the nonprofit sector is more trusted by consumers than the for-profit sector due to its lack of profit-distribution motivation. Likewise, the nonprofit sector's services are more desirable than the government sector's by those wishing for more focus on minority collective consumption (versus majority or median collective consumption) or those wishing for services to be provided in a specific way, such as with a religious affiliation (Powell & Steinberg, 2006). Other economic theories also serve to explain the existence of the nonprofit sector. Leading these are *provision of public good theory* and *contract failure theory* (Teegarden et al., 2011). Like *three-failures theory*, *provision of public good theory* also looks at unmet needs, yet focuses on the government sector. While government may only be motivated to provide public services in the interest of the median voter, some members of the public desire a greater amount or different version of these services. Nonprofit entities rise to meet this need over for-profit entities due to lack of profitability (Teegarden et al., 2011). *Contract failure theory*, rather than focusing on shortcomings of government, focuses on shortcoming of the private sector. Here, nonprofits arise to meet needs in areas where it is difficult for consumers to judge quantity or quality of a good or service. When uncertainty is at play, consumers look to trust organizations with altruistic motivation rather than profit motivation—i.e. a nonprofit (Teegarden et al., 2011).

three variables, publics are said to take on either active (information seeking) or passive (information processing) behaviors (J. E. Grunig, 1997). As these publics become more active, they can further be grouped into *all-issue*, *apathetic*, *single-issue*, or *hot-issue* publics³ (J. E. Grunig & Repper, 1992). When active publics begin to organize into groups, in order to gain more power and influence, they become known as activist (J. E. Grunig, 1997).

Activist groups are often categorized by the challenges they create for targeted organizations (Smith & Ferguson, 2001). This organizational perspective is also taken when discussing the segmentation of activists into subsets (J. E. Grunig, 1997). Nonprofit organizations are sometimes defined as activist groups—although this term is often seen as undesirable due to negative associations with some activists' confrontational practices (Smith & Ferguson, 2001). However, both small activist groups arising around a single hot issue, and large nonprofits existing with broader categorical goals in mind, seek to influence other publics through deliberate action (L. A. Grunig, 1992; Smith & Ferguson, 2001).

Often the term activist group is used when referring to a small organization attempting to influence a larger organization. This definition is clear in discussions of power balance (control mutuality) and two-way symmetrical communication models that suggest activists have considerably less power than their target organizations (Karlberg, 1996). Nonprofit organizations do not always fit this definition. Additionally, nonprofits

³ *All-issue* publics are actively involved in all issues being measured. *Apathetic* publics are inattentive or uninvolved with all issues. *Single-issue* publics are actively involved in one or a subset of issues. *Hot-issue* publics are actively involved in a single problem that concerns large portions of the population and has received considerable media coverage (J.E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

of substantial size can face activist pressure of their own, from donor, volunteer, or other stakeholder groups (Schwarz & Pforr, 2011). As demonstrated by the Susan G. Komen/Planned Parenthood funding controversy, this pressure may even stem from other equally or more powerful, nonprofit or activist organizations.

L. A. Grunig (1992) argued that activists use deliberate action to influence other publics. Smith and Ferguson (2001) also pointed out that the key characteristics of activist organizations are their use of communication strategies to reach their specific objectives. Therefore the present research acknowledged the potential for any individual, group, or organization—including a nonprofit—to take on the role of activist.

Nonprofit and Activist Group Public Relations Strategies

Effective public relations is essential to nonprofit organizations' success—especially as they aim to fundraise, attract new members, energize supporters, and fulfill their missions (Feinglass, 2005). As in for-profit entities, practitioners in the nonprofit sector have largely been trained to follow traditional textbook models of public relations planning (Waters, 2011).⁴

Beyond traditional public relations models, and of particular relevance to the nonprofit sector, is the concept of stewardship (Waters, 2009; Worley & Little, 2002). Kelly (2001) emphasized the need for ongoing relationship building—aside from traditional campaign planning—especially in fundraising environments. She contributed four strategies to maintaining a continuous communication process: reciprocity,

⁴ Traditional models of public relations practice include Research, Action, Communication, and Evaluation (the RACE model) (Marston, 1979); Research, Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation (the RPIE model) (Cutlip, Center, & Broom, 1994); Research, Objectives, Programming, and Evaluation (the ROPE model) (Hendrix, 2000); and Research, Adaptation, Implementation Strategy, and Evaluation (the RAISE model) (Kendall, 1999).

responsibility, reporting, and relationship nurturing. Kelly (2001) suggested these strategies be executed through sending personalized messages and thank you notes, promoting ethical practices, providing updates on progress, and generating regular reminders of stakeholders' importance, among other tactics.

Activism has been found to have one of the highest connections to the term 'tactics' in public relations literature (Carroll, Lee, & Huang, 2009). Yet, the concept of *tactics* is one that some authors have considered vaguely defined. Looking at the history of the journal *Public Relations Review*, over a 30-year period, Carroll, Lee, and Huang (2009) found that no definition of 'tactics' was offered. Often 'tactics' and 'strategies' may be used interchangeably or 'strategies' may simply be favored for its preference among dominant coalition members (Carroll et al., 2009). Therefore, this research accepted discussions of 'tactics' and 'strategies' as equally relevant to its own conceptualization, defining 'tactics' generally as "methods, actions, and activities used to achieve objectives" (Harris & Kotler, 1999, p. 247).

Whether preferring the term 'tactics' or 'strategies,' many scholars have referred to the four categories of public relations practice offered by J. E. Grunig (1984): *press agentry/publicity*, *public information sharing*, *two-way asymmetrical*, and *two-way symmetrical*.⁵ With regard to activists specifically, Rodino and DeLuca (1999) have

⁵ *Press agentry*, considered a one-way model, covers an array of tactics in which practitioners seek attention for their organization (J. E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). *Public information sharing*, also a one-way model, includes practitioners using journalistic strategies to distribute favorable or meaningful information about their organizations (J. E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Using the *two-way asymmetrical* model, practitioners focus on persuading publics in favor of organizational needs (J. E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Finally, in the *two-way symmetrical* model, practitioners use dialogue, cooperation, and collaboration to bring about mutually beneficial change for both organizations and publics at once (J. E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

suggested an additional category of public relations practice called *asymmetrical advocacy*. This model is defined by confrontational tactics; such as creating spectacular media events or otherwise causing disturbances (Rodino & DeLuca, 1999). One example is *carnavalesque* activism, which describes activist groups as using non-violent performance based activities to gain attention for their causes (Weaver, 2010). This model employs a tactic intentionally designed to contrast the public relations activities of government and corporate organizations (Weaver, 2010). Derville (2005) found positive outcomes of such radical activist tactics to include emboldening and empowering group members, aiding in group-cohesion, thwarting opponents' supporters, and gaining support for activist causes.

Overall public relations tactics suggested to nonprofit organizations also include utilizing celebrity spokespeople, crafting press kits, writing and placing news releases, creating brochures, producing annual reports, sending direct mail, advertising, producing videos and DVDs, planning events, developing organizational websites, and using Web 2.0 tools such as social media (Feinglass, 2005).

Activism and Social Media

Scholars have defined social media in a variety of ways—ranging from a broad definition, including email, social networking sites, video sharing, blogs, instant messaging, photo sharing, text messaging, and wikis, to a more narrow definition, including only selections from this list (Curtis et al., 2010; Langlois et al., 2009; Livingston, 2009; Shirky, 2011; Small, 2011). Other scholars have qualified their definitions of social media, splitting outlets into *community-based social media* (social networks, review sites, message boards, online forums, wikis) and *traditional social*

media (blogs, podcasts, video) (Livingston, 2009). This study's analysis of Facebook and Twitter focused primarily on social networking sites while considering other relevant research sources where appropriate.

Social media is primed for use by activists in that it creates a shared awareness of issues and events (Shirky, 2011). Likewise it offers publicly viewable, measurable supporter data by way of number of *fans, likes, comments, shares* or retweets, and other technology specific components (McCafferty, 2011). Online petitions can be easily shared among users, generating needed signatures in a fraction of the time and expense previously required. Individual users are able to take up and support causes on their own, without the need to form a larger group or nonprofit organization as they had in the past (Vericat, 2010).

While many scholars have touted social media's benefits and potential to create social change, others have critiqued its lack of effectiveness. Within social media scholarship, the term *slacktivism* has emerged to describe the overly passive participation in causes, especially through the joining of Facebook groups purporting to support a cause but doing little to affect real outcomes (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011). So-called *slacktivists* are willing to click a *like* button yet are unaffected by a real emotional connection to a cause that might solicit donations or further involvement.

Studies on social media activism have focused primarily on political activism (Langlois et al., 2009; Shirky, 2011; Small, 2011). In the United States, government officials have stated a commitment to Internet freedom—including free access to information, ability to publish content, and ability to communicate with other

individuals—allowing this type of activism to go unchecked (Shirky, 2011). In many other countries this is not the case.

Text messaging, email, Facebook, and Twitter have each been used across the globe to organize political protests, including those in the Philippines, Madrid, Moldova, many Middle East nations, and others (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011). While some cases of these efforts have been successful, others have resulted in loss of life and emboldened efforts by governments to control and limit their citizens' online access (Vericat, 2010). Still this use of social media, to coordinate real on-the-ground initiatives, has been held up as an expression of the technology's greatest potential in the activist arena (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011).

Despite social media's many freedoms, activists have been reminded that their actions do not go totally unregulated on its sites in any country. As stated by Facebook spokesman, Randi Zuckerberg, although social media holds great activist potential:

Direct statements of hate against particular communities violate our Statement of Rights and Responsibilities, the governing document for our site. These are removed when reported to us. However, groups that express an opinion on a state, institution, or set of beliefs, even if that opinion is outrageous or offensive to some, do not by themselves violate our policies. When a group created to express an opinion devolves into hate speech, we will remove the hateful comments and may even remove the group itself. (Vericat, 2010, pp. 179-189).

Literature suggests that Twitter especially is a tool for democratic activism as it allows on-the-ground coverage of news events (Small, 2011). It has been used notably in this way during political uprisings worldwide. Through the use of Twitter *hashtags*, individuals are able to promote activism around issues instantaneously (Small, 2011). Activists acting as citizen journalists, on Twitter and Facebook alike, are bolstered by the potential to draw supporters to their causes in real time (Small, 2011; Vericat, 2010).

Political activists on Facebook have been discussed with regard to the organization of issue publics (Langlois et al., 2009). Within social media, issue publics arise by means of linking, sharing, assembling, and connecting. Langlois, Elmer, McKelvey, and Devereaux (2009) argued that social media platforms, such as Facebook, allow for the emergence of issue publics by nature of creating the opportunity for a group or public to exist. Adding layers to Facebook's capabilities is the coexistence of its public and private spheres, creating at once communal/group spaces while maintaining a degree of individual anonymity to outside publics.

Langlois et al. (2009) listed three ways Facebook allows users to express their political (or otherwise) support for an issue: first, they can express their views in a self-generated status update or wall post to their own profile; second, they can become a fan of an organization or group that embodies their views; third, they can express a political affiliation through their user profile. Additionally, Facebook users are able to express support by *liking* or *commenting* on the status update of a connected Facebook member, by posting self generated content in blog applications such as Facebook Notes, or by sharing another user's news on their personal page (Facebook, 2012a; Vericat, 2010). Likewise, Facebook users can express support through events—either confirming attendance at a Facebook Event or *checking in* with their GPS location via mobile devices (Facebook, 2012a). Within this framework, nonprofit organizations or political parties can become *issue networks*, defined as a set of organizations, individuals, documents, slogans, or images that link to common problems and can be described by keyword (Langlois et al., 2009, p. 428).

Nonprofit Organizations' Use of Social Media

Scholars have emphasized social media's potential as a *two-way symmetrical* communication tool, aiding in relationship building and stewardship—important components of nonprofits' donor cultivation (Ingenhoff & Koelling, 2010). In 2009, 89% of the top 200 nonprofit organizations had a social media presence (Butcher, 2009). Today this number is likely to be even higher.

A 2009 survey of 409 public relations practitioners working in the nonprofit sector, found that nearly all respondents used social media, averaging 4.99 types of media per individual (Curtis et al., 2010). Among these, email, social networks, video sharing, and blogs were reported as most commonly used. Credibility of social media type was the main factor in deciding which were utilized by organizations. The same study found that those organizations with dedicated public relations departments were significantly more likely to adopt social media than those without.

Waters et al. (2009) described nonprofits' use of Facebook as a tool to engage stakeholders and build relationships. Their content analysis of 275 organizations, consisting of humanities organizations, educational organizations, healthcare organizations, human service organizations, public/society benefit organizations, and religious organizations, revealed nonprofits used Facebook primarily as a means of disclosure—describing their organization and linking back to their own website.

Additionally, few organizations were found to utilize Facebook as a means to distribute news, with three-quarters using discussion boards and just over half posting photos and links to news stories. Self-promoted public relations efforts and multimedia/interactive content were infrequent on the majority of sites studied, with just

under 25% including these features. Likewise, nonprofits were not found to readily offer involvement opportunities to their Facebook followers. Email contact information was most readily available, with links to donation outlets, lists of volunteer opportunities, event calendars, and phone numbers less common (Waters et al., 2009).

In a similar study of 15 international nonprofits that also considered wall posts and discussion boards, Das (2010) found that 87% of organizations' Facebook profiles included a "join and invite friends to profile" feature (p. 21). Just over half promoted "join and invite friends to cause" (p. 21). Encouraging donations or volunteering was found on less than one-third of the profiles. Twenty percent of the profiles allowed non-page-administrators to initiate events or causes on behalf of the group (Das, 2010).

Lovejoy, Waters, and Saxton (2012) found that although nonprofits were using Twitter, the majority of their messages relied on one-way communication models and did not take advantage of conversations with stakeholders. Eighty percent of organizations were categorized as active users, sending at least three tweets per week. *Following back* and retweeting can be considered a way of showing reciprocity through social media. Yet among 73 nonprofit organizations studied, including those in the field of public/society benefit, healthcare, human service (non-healthcare), arts and humanities, education, and religion, only 17 were found to *follow back* a simulated user. Retweets were also used less than the average user of Twitter, 16% of messages for nonprofits compared to 28% overall. Nonprofits were found to tweet hyperlinks more frequently than the average Twitter user, with 68% of tweets containing hyperlinks (versus 18-25% in the overall Twitter population). Photos were shared in under 2% of tweets and videos were almost entirely absent (Lovejoy et al., 2012).

With regard to fundraising, scholars have suggested that the current landscape of social media donations is dominated by Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube (Livingston, 2009). They also have noted the importance of social networks like iGive.com, GoodSearch.com, Razoo.com, Care2.com, Idealist.org, and Change.org, though they acknowledge meaningful conversations rarely take place on these sites (Clarke-Roland, 2010; Livingston, 2009).

Nonprofits have launched successful public relation campaigns to solicit donations while working with businesses engaged in corporate social responsibility on social media. In the example of Chase Bank's Community Giving Facebook page, nonprofits competed to win votes from individuals and, in turn, a \$25,000 to \$1 million contribution from J.P. Morgan Chase (Clarke-Roland, 2010). Both *Chase Bank* and competing nonprofits saw *likes* of their pages increase from these efforts. Small nonprofit, Lexington Children's Theatre of Kentucky's following went from 700 to 1700 during promotion of the campaign—to offer only one example (Clarke-Roland, 2010).

While abundant case evidence exists with regard to social media-based fundraising on a micro-level, scholars suggest the next frontier in donor cultivation should be aimed at higher-level donors, making gifts in the thousands of dollars. Livingston (2009) presented the findings of a national survey that revealed individuals ages 30 to 49 were best suited for appeals due to their potential donation levels, participation levels, and trust in social media. In those surveyed, both credibility of information and trustworthiness of source were of highest concern when considering making donations through social media. Also, those surveyed were most interested in

donation requests coming from community-oriented social media, rating social networks as most desirable.

Research Questions

In order to determine which factors contributed to Planned Parenthood's successful motivation of online activists surrounding the February, 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy, a thorough review of literature—with regard to nonprofit/activist public relations, social media activism, and nonprofits' use of social media—led to the following research questions:

RQ1: What evidence of activism existed on Planned Parenthood's Facebook and Twitter pages surrounding the 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy?

RQ2: Which activist strategies were employed by Planned Parenthood on these sites, surrounding the funding controversy?

RQ3: How did activist strategies vary between Planned Parenthood's social media platforms, Facebook and Twitter, surrounding the funding controversy?

RQ4: Which Planned Parenthood generated Facebook messages inspired the greatest levels of individual user activism, by way of *likes*, *comments*, and *shares*, surrounding the funding controversy?

Method

Methodology and Design

This study looked at social media communication, in the form of Facebook wall posts and Twitter updates, through content analysis. Content analysis—described as the examination of message characteristics—has been used by mass communication and other scholars to study and describe wide varieties of media (Kassarjian, 1977; Neuendorf, 2002). According to Berelson (1952), the analysis of a message's characteristics allows inferences to be made to its producers and audiences. Content analysis is therefore especially appropriate for research concerned with testing relationships in the communication model: source, message, channel, and receiver (Shannon & Weaver, 1998). Scholars have also considered the method a preferred approach to e-research (Anderson & Kanuka, 2003).

The relationship management paradigm, namely applications of the four strategies of stewardship, has been measured through content analysis (Waters, 2011). Social media scholars have also used content analysis to examine a variety of social media sites and features. Hum et al. (2011) used the method to examine Facebook profile photographs. Waters et al. (2009) looked at Facebook profile text through content analysis. Similarly, Das (2010) looked at not only Facebook profile text but also discussion board and wall post text by systematically analyzing their content.

Advocates of content analysis have defended it as both a quantitative (Berelson, 1952) and a qualitative (Kracauer, 1953) process. Though still often regarded as primarily quantitative (Kassarjian, 1977), many scholars have begun to apply qualitative methods

more frequently as they have gained favor in mass communication research (Jensen, 1991; Wester, Pleijter, & Renckstorf, 2004).

Critics of qualitative content analysis have charged that it is overly impressionistic and results are difficult to replicate (Kracauer, 1953; Larsen, 1991). Yet as a purely quantitative exercise, critics have suggested that the standardization of variables needed to arrive at a reliable coding instrument leads to oversimplification, which may in turn limit and blur results. Kracauer (1953) went as far as to accuse that, overly “precise quantification, used alone, will actually encourage inaccurate analysis,” (p. 632). While the quantification of data may still be favored in cases where frequencies reveal relevant patterns, qualitative methods should be favored in cases where intricate message characteristics are considered, including such measures as degree of sophistication, an author’s level of respect for her audience, style, and grammar (Kracauer, 1953; Larsen, 1991). According to Berelson, (1953) quantification should not be used when the choice of a single word is equally important to the content viewed as a whole.

As suggested by Gunter, (2000) and McDowell, (2004) this study therefore employed a hybrid approach, utilizing both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Quantitative analysis was used to examine the frequency of messages occurring on Facebook and Twitter in periods surrounding the funding controversy. Likewise, quantitative analysis served to reveal patterns in message characteristics (such as word count and message type), clearly defined activist themes, and, in the case of Facebook, user interactions. Qualitative analysis of specific message characteristics, i.e. word choice, style, and framing, helped add richness to the description of this study’s results.

Sampling

Specifically, this research looked at Facebook wall posts and Twitter updates by Planned Parenthood during a six-week period. A total population of data was collected from January 17, 2012 through February 27, 2012. The period of January 17 through January 30 was immediately prior to the Susan G. Komen funding controversy—thereby setting a baseline for the group's social media use. January 31 through February 13 constituted the most active controversy period. The weeks of February 14 through February 27 made up the post controversy period in which news coverage faded from the spotlight.

Facebook wall posts and Twitter updates were observed on the publically viewable pages of each organization (<http://www.facebook.com/plannedparenthood>, <http://twitter.com/ppact>) via an Internet web browser on a full-sized computer screen (not tablet or cell phone). Screen captures were taken to preserve message format and photographic content. (See samples in Appendix B.) As data on Facebook user interaction (*likes*, *comments*, and *shares*) may fluctuate over time, all interactive content was collected on a single day—April 25, 2012—with up-to-date results.

Facebook and Twitter were specifically selected for study due to their mentions in media reports as the two preferred social media tools used by Planned Parenthood and Susan G. Komen in the funding controversy case. Although Planned Parenthood maintains numerous affiliate groups, 79 at the time of this study (Planned Parenthood, 2012a), only the main pages of the national chapter were considered in this research.

As the present study was only concerned with messages generated by Planned Parenthood, only its own wall posts and tweets were coded. *Comments* posted to the

sites' pages or direct mentions by other users were not studied unless reposted as shared links or retweeted by the organization's page administrators. Additionally, though Facebook user interaction frequencies were counted in this study, the content of their *comments* were not analyzed. Likewise, the content of linked articles, photos, and videos were not coded. Descriptions of links were considered only if stated in the body of a message or clearly discernable through Facebook or Twitter site features.

It should be noted that on or about February 7, 2012 (during the controversy period) Planned Parenthood's national chapter launched two new Facebook pages and two new Twitter accounts. According to data collected in this study, *Planned Parenthood Info for Teens* on Facebook and *@HeyPP* on Twitter were created to specifically address teenagers' questions for the organization. *Planned Parenthood Health* on Facebook and *@PPFAQ* on Twitter were created to specifically address health-related concerns and questions. As these sites did not exist for the full duration of this study, their messages were not included in the data set unless reposted as shared links or retweeted on Planned Parenthood's primary social media pages.

It should also be noted that on March 30, 2012, the Facebook format for all user pages changed to the new *Timeline* design (Swift, 2012). Therefore the appearance of this study's data varied. Message content was not impacted by the *Timeline* design change, though some visible Facebook vocabulary was noticeably altered; for example, wall posts became referred to as *Timeline updates* (Facebook, 2012a). (See samples in Appendix B.)

Code Sheet Development

Due to a lack of availability of standardized instruments in the field of social media research, code sheets were created for this study using measures suggested by

recent social media scholarship (Das, 2010; Langlois et al., 2009; Lovejoy et al. 2012; McCafferty, 2011; Vericat, 2010; Waters et al. 2009). Code sheets for Facebook and Twitter varied slightly due to application-specific details—for example, Facebook's interactive features and Twitter's use of symbols in text.

The Facebook code sheet was pretested using this study's full set of data in a pilot study (Milli, 2012). This pilot study, designed to consider only Facebook messages and investigating related but unique research questions, led to the addition of *Activist Related Themes* frequently coded as 'Other.' These themes included multiple items encouraging users to create online content. The pilot study also led to the addition of the code category *Day of the Week*, in order to better identify patterns in posting frequency. The code category *Message Topic* was also added in order to better understand the nature of overall message content. Variety in the code category *Post Type* was reduced from an original 16 items, as many types were not found in the data set.

The Twitter code sheet was based off of the revised Facebook code sheet and was also pretested using 100 pieces of data randomly selected from this study's full data set. This pretest suggested additional items for the new code category *Message Topic*. It also led to the addition of items in the category of *Tweet Type*, as well as to the addition of the *Activist Related Theme* regarding *hashtags*.

The final Facebook code sheet included four major sections. (See Appendix C for complete code sheets.) The first section collected wall post demographic data such as date of the post, length of the post, and post type (text, image, video, etc.). This information was gathered in order to point out variations of frequency and post characteristics over time—relevant to answering all research questions.

The second section looked at the general topic of posted messages, including contraception, breast cancer, other cancer, STDs, abortion, general health, non-health related politics, general organizational information, and the Susan G. Komen controversy. Message topic was also gathered to show variations of post characteristics over time and used to add richness and context in answer to all research questions.

The third section looked for associations to dominant activism-related themes, needed to answer all research questions. These themes were generated based on likely content of nonprofits' social media sites as well as likely activist social media strategies found in this study's review of literature. Themes expressly considered were encouraging donation; encouraging volunteering; calling for political action (i.e. voting, writing a senator or congressperson, etc.); attempting to organize a meeting or event on the ground; sharing a specific statistic; breaking news as a primary source; requesting users to share content, comment on content, create and share photos or videos, write a blog post, complete a questionnaire, or sign an online petition; asking a question; targeting individuals or organizations (both positively and negatively); and referencing a politician or branch of government. Additionally this section noted if Susan G. Komen or the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign was mentioned.

The fourth and final section tracked user interaction by frequency of *likes*, *comments*, and *shares*. Interaction data was needed to answer both RQ1 and RQ4. As suggested by literature, levels of user interaction point to the formation of issue publics and therefore help reveal evidence of activism during the funding controversy. Pinpointing Facebook posts with high levels of user interaction also helped reveal effective message strategies for mobilizing individual activists by an *issue network*.

The final Twitter code sheet included five major sections. Like the Facebook code sheet, its first section recorded message demographics for the same study purpose. Section two looked for Twitter interactive features, specifically how many *hashtags* (#) and direct message symbols (@) were used in each tweet. Literature suggests activist success with Twitter has relied on the use of *hashtags* and direct messages, therefore this section was used to reveal strategies of activism. Section three recorded supplemental message content: hyperlinks to additional content, or linked photo or video. Likewise, this section helped to inform strategy as sharing news reports, photos, and videos has been shown to be an activist tactic on Twitter. The fourth and fifth sections coded message topics and activism related themes, mirroring those of the Facebook code sheet and informing corresponding research questions.

Coding Procedure

Finalized code sheets were translated into survey-style web forms, accessible online, that recorded scores into a database. A single coder analyzed Facebook and Twitter entries as screen-capture images, over a one-month period.

Due to the chronological nature of social media messages, it was determined that entries from each social networking platform should be coded as a related string of interconnected text. Therefore, messages were analyzed in the order of their posting. Context clues from adjacent messages were used to inform *Message Topic*. For example, a message that only referred to senate testimony, without mentioning the nature of that testimony, could be coded with the topic *Contraception* rather than *Politics Only* if surrounding messages made clear that the senate testimony was on contraception.

To reduce coding error and increase instrument reliability, detailed instruction sheets were generated during the study's code sheet pretests and referenced during scoring. Instruction sheets sought to clarify such questions as, "What language constitutes 'encouraging donation'?" and "Does a retweet of a message signify targeting that individual positively?" (See Appendix D for detailed coding instructions.)

Quantitative Analysis

Final quantitative data was imported into *IBM SPSS Statistics* and interpreted through statistical analysis. Facebook and Twitter data sets remained separate and were analyzed individually. Data from each site was considered both as a full set (incorporating all time periods) as well as split by time period where appropriate.

Descriptive statistics including frequencies, means, and standard deviations were computed for relevant variables, as required by each research question. In answer to research questions one and four, Facebook interactions were further compared to other study variables through advanced statistical tests. These tests included bivariate correlation, independent samples t-test, and one-way ANOVA. Post-hoc tests were run to investigate ANOVA results in greater detail.

Qualitative Analysis

In addition to quantitative content scoring using previously described methods, this study employed post-structuralist qualitative textual analysis. Post-structuralist textual analysis does not attempt to compare message content to reality, i.e. whether the text is accurate, truthful, or biased/unbiased, rather it seeks to gather information about the text generators' and message recipients' sense-making practices (McKee, 2003).

Using this method, textual features are compared to existing literature and cultural information in order to make educated guesses as to their likely interpretations.

Facebook and Twitter messages were viewed as two separate series of texts, further divided by study period. Close readings were made using open coding and constant comparative analysis. Constant comparison is a recognized technique of qualitative content analysis designed to organize information into groups through a process of categorizing data, comparing data, and redefining categories (Dye, Schatz, & Rosenberg, 2000). Framing theory, which suggests that the framing of organizational communication to publics can impact the construction of social reality, was also considered during in this research phase (Austin, 2010, Entman, 1993, Lim & Jones, 2010).

To further answer all research questions, qualitative readings looked to identify trends not expressly measured in this study's quantitative component—including, but not limited to, those pertaining to word choice, stylistic features such as sarcasm and humor, and the framing of Planned Parenthood, current events, and its social network audiences.

Results

This study's findings are organized by research question. Results on each question are further segmented into quantitative and qualitative findings. Additional findings not immediately in answer to RQ1-4 are presented at the end of the section.

Findings on RQ1

Research question one looked for evidence of activism on Planned Parenthood's Facebook and Twitter pages surrounding the 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy.

The key findings, described in detail in this section, include:

- Quantitative analysis did not show evidence of activism with regard to increased message frequency.
- A similar diversity of activist strategies was present in all study periods.
- Facebook interactions, *likes* and *shares*, were significantly higher on messages posted on key controversy dates.
- Discussions of breast cancer, Susan G. Komen, and the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign each increased during the controversy period.
- Qualitative analysis revealed that multiple high profile events took place during the three study periods: President Obama's approval of the employer birth control mandate, Republican presidential debates, the Susan G. Komen controversy, and the GOP congressional birth control hearings.

Quantitative findings. Increased message frequency, increased use of activist tactics, higher instances of Facebook interactions, and directly discussing the controversy, Susan G. Komen, and associated topics were each considered potential sources of evidence. Data during the controversy period was compared to data in periods

before and after. Key study dates, January 31, 2012 (the day the funding decision was announced) through February 3, 2012 (the day the funding decision was reversed), as well as February 7, 2012 (the day Susan G. Komen's vice president resigned), were also compared to period averages.

Message frequency. In total, Planned Parenthood shared 83 Facebook posts and 683 tweets over the three periods studied. Comparing the frequencies during these periods, activism by Planned Parenthood was not evident. (See Table 1.) Although Facebook posting frequency increased slightly during the controversy ($N = 30$), tweeting was most active in the period following the controversy ($N = 300$). The least active period on both Facebook ($N = 25$) and Twitter ($N = 170$) was before the controversy.

Table 1

Message Frequency by Time Period

Network	Frequency (Percentage of Messages)		
	Before	During	After
Facebook	25 (30.1%)	30 (36.1%)	28 (33.7%)
Twitter	170 (24.9%)	213 (31.2%)	300 (43.9%)

Looking at the average number of messages per day, evidence of activism was also not found. As shown in Table 2, while the average number of Facebook posts per day was highest during the controversy, at 2.14 ($SD = .949$), the average number of tweets per day was highest after the controversy, at 21.43 ($SD = 25.491$). The period before the controversy had the lowest average of messages per day on both Facebook ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 0.802$) and Twitter ($M = 8.5$, $SD = 10.007$).

Table 2

Mean Number of Daily Messages by Time Period

Network	<i>M (SD)</i>			
	Before	During	After	All Periods
Facebook	1.79 (0.802)	2.14 (.949)	2.00 (.877)	1.98 (.869)
Twitter	8.50 (10.007)	15.21 (7.170)	21.43 (25.491)	16.26 (16.410)

Key controversy dates were not found to be among Planned Parenthood's most active days during the study. The highest number of Facebook posts in a single day was recorded during the controversy period, on February 8, with four posts occurring on that day. However, these posts' topics were not related to the funding controversy. The highest number of tweets made on a single day came after the controversy, on February 16, with 101 tweets occurring. These tweets included conditions atypical of the overall data set: 26 retweets of *hashtag* responses (responses to a provided *hashtag*, generated by another twitter users) as well as 16 *live tweets* of an event. Still, the second-highest number of tweets made on a single day also came after the controversy, on February 23, with 47 tweets occurring.

Looking further at key dates within the controversy period, the number of messages per day also failed to provide strong evidence of activism. As shown in Table 3 the number of daily Facebook posts on key dates were similar to period averages. The numbers of daily tweets made on key dates were slightly higher than period averages, though within the standard deviations of these figures.

Table 3

Number of Daily Messages by Key Controversy Date

Network	Frequency					<i>M (SD)</i>
	Jan. 31	Feb. 1	Feb. 2	Feb. 3	Feb. 7	All Periods
Facebook	3	2	3	2	3	1.98 (.869)
Twitter	18	23	23	20	20	16.26 (16.410)

Use of activist tactics. Activist tactics provided evidence of activism in each study period. However, the variation in diversity of these tactics failed to provide strong evidence of increased activism during the controversy. Of the activist strategies coded (excluding 'Other') and identified to be present during the study, 14 were present before the controversy, 16 were present during the controversy, and 18 were present after the controversy. (See Table 8.) The period before the controversy did not include asking for photos or videos, surveys or polls, petitions, or messages about Susan G. Komen. The period during the controversy did not include asking for volunteers or surveys or polls.

Sixteen strategies were present during key study dates, January 31, February 1-3, and February 7. Consistent with the overall study period, only asking for volunteers and surveys and polls were absent during these dates.

Facebook interactions. Facebook interactions provided some evidence of activism by Planned Parenthood's followers. As shown in Table 4, the average number of *likes* per post ($M = 2859.13$, $SD = 3893.563$) and average number of *shares* per post ($M = 1453.37$, $SD = 4002.161$) were each highest during the controversy period. However, comparing period averages through one-way ANOVA, this difference was not found to

be statistically significant for *likes* ($F(2,80) = 2.931, p = .059$) or *shares* ($F(2,80) = 1.012, p = .368$).

Table 4

Mean Number of Interactions by Period

Interaction	<i>M (SD)</i>			
	Before	During	After	All Periods
<i>Likes</i>	1009.04 (1770.034)	2859.13 (3893.563)	1636.50 (2427.189)	1889.42 (2969.909)
<i>Comments</i>	107.04 (96.841)	380.43 (356.254)	619.29 (1982.215)	378.66 (1176.286)
<i>Shares</i>	207.44 (327.177)	1453.37 (4002.161)	1197.57 (4039.361)	991.80 (3368744)

Looking to key dates within the period, *likes* were found to be higher than the overall average on February 1 ($M = 11,824.50, SD = 4865.602$), February 2 ($M = 3829.00, SD = 4808.025$), and February 3 ($M = 10,697.50.50, SD = 2314.360$). *Comments* were higher than average on January 31 ($M = 537.67, SD = 634.294$), February 1 ($M = 1045.50, SD = 371.231$), and February 3 ($M = 771.50, SD = 398.101$). *Shares* were also higher than average on January 31 ($M = 1038.00, SD = 1242.108$), February 1 ($M = 12,011.50, SD = 14,172.541$), and February 3 ($M = 3445.00, SD = 634.982$).

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare interactions on all key dates to interactions on other dates within the study. Significant effects were found for the variables *likes* ($t(81) = 4.222, p = .000$) and *shares* ($t(81) = 2.255, p = .027$). In other words, posts made on key dates received significantly more *likes* and *shares* than did posts made on other dates. Key dates were not found to have a significant relationship to

a post's number of *comments*, $t(81) = .459$, $p = .647$. In other words, *comments* were not significantly higher on posts made on key dates.

Table 5

Mean Number of Interactions by Key Controversy Date

Interaction	<i>M (SD)</i>				
	Jan. 31	Feb. 1	Feb. 2	Feb. 3	Feb. 7
<i>Likes</i>	888.00 (832.831)	11,824.50 (4865.602)	3829.00 (4808.025)	10,697.50 (2314.360)	1063.00 (761.650)
<i>Comments</i>	537.67 (634.294)	1045.50 (371.231)	295.00 (277.444)	771.50 (398.101)	195.67 (115.660)
<i>Shares</i>	1038.00 (1242.108)	12,011.50 (14,172.541)	876.67 (1018.205)	3445.00 (634.982)	250.67 (267.440)

More evidence of activism with regard to Facebook interactions was found within individual message posts. The highest number of *likes* on a single post came on February 1 with 15,265. The highest number of *shares* on a single post also came on February 1 with 22,033. As shown in Table 6, three of the five posts receiving the highest number of *likes*, three of the five posts receiving the highest number of *comments*, and four of the five posts receiving the highest number of *shares* all fell on key controversy dates.

Table 6

Top Five Posts with Highest User Interaction

Interaction	Date	Number of Interactions
<i>Likes</i>		
1.	February 1	15,265
2.	February 16	12,940
3.	February 3	12,334
4.	February 2	9361
5.	January 20	9071

Comments

1.	February 16	10,710
2.	February 1	1308
3.	January 31	1247
4.	February 3	1053
5.	February 9	849

Shares

1.	February 1	22,033
2.	February 16	21,724
3.	February 3	3894
4.	February 3	2996
5.	January 31	2420

Message topic. Birth control was the most commonly discussed topic during the study, with 346 total messages coded. General health, with 64 messages, and abortion and politics, each with 61 messages, were the next most commonly discussed topics. The Susan G. Komen controversy ranked as the fourth most commonly discussed topic, with 41 messages coded in all periods on Facebook and Twitter combined. The least discussed topics included cancers other than breast cancer ($N = 3$) and STDs ($N = 11$).

As shown in Table 7, Planned Parenthood's shift in message topic during the controversy period provided evidence of activism through three indicators. First, the topic of breast cancer appeared more frequently in messages during the controversy period than in periods before and after. Second, the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign appeared in greater frequency during the controversy than in periods before and after. Third, Susan G. Komen was mentioned directly in messages during the controversy almost exclusively.

Table 7

Evidence of Activism by Message Topic: Facebook and Twitter

Topic by Network	Frequency		
	Before	During	After
Breast Cancer			
Facebook	0	3	1
Twitter	3	15	2
<i>I Stand</i> Campaign			
Facebook	1	5	0
Twitter	0	34	3
Susan G. Komen			
Facebook	0	3	1
Twitter	0	26	0

Qualitative findings. Qualitative readings of Facebook and Twitter messages revealed multiple high-profile events taking place surrounding the funding controversy. The Susan G. Komen issue was found to be one of four primary issues around which activism was evident.

In the period before the controversy, messages focused on politics. Two major political events drew Planned Parenthood's focus. The first of these was a debate culminating in President Obama's approval of a rule mandating that most employers cover contraception in their healthcare plans. Many messages on this issue echoed the sentiments of a Facebook post on January 20, "President Obama did the right thing by protecting birth control coverage for millions...." The Republican presidential nomination also became a hot topic during this time. Planned Parenthood weighed in on candidates' statements as well as televised debates in messages like one tweet from January 23, "Watching #FLDebate and fact checking candidates on women's health."

Talk of Susan G. Komen dominated discussions in early February. Yet, immediately following—still within the controversy study period—attention turned back to the new birth control regulation. Planned Parenthood worked to fight against groups opposing the measure in messages like one from Facebook on February 8, “While GOP and some religious leaders are busy blasting the new birth control regulations, are they even listening to 99% of sexually active women who use birth control?”

The birth control regulation issue became most heated during the post-controversy period—focusing on discussions of a congressional oversight hearing held by the GOP on February 16. This hearing generated many Facebook and Twitter messages including activist themes. On Twitter the *hashtags* #bc4us, #supportwomen, and #issacircus, were among those used to discuss the hearing (February 16). According to messages shared on both sites, the exclusion of women from the hearing was of primary concern: “2 women will testify, but both anti #birthcontrol. Sad there is no woman’s voice to represent the millions who actually use bc,” (Twitter, February 16). Ripples from the oversight hearing controversy extended through the duration of the post-controversy study period.

Findings on RQ2

Research question two examined which activist strategies Planned Parenthood used on Facebook and Twitter surrounding the funding controversy.

The key findings, described in detail in this section, include:

- Quantitative analysis revealed five strategies to be favored during the Komen controversy: asking for donations, asking for *shares* or retweets, asking audiences to sign petitions, talking directly about Susan G. Komen, and mentioning the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign.

- Qualitative analysis showed five major themes appearing in all study periods: *Under Attack, It's War, You Have the Power, Celebrity Endorsers, and Laugh About It.*

Quantitative findings. Looking at all study data, the strategy used most was political speech, with 33.8% ($N = 259$) of all messages referencing politics. Specifically targeting individuals with positive or negative messages were the next most frequently used, with 16.3% ($N = 125$) of messages using positive targeting and 18.8% ($N = 144$) of messages using negative targeting. The least used strategy overall was requesting volunteers, appearing in only 0.3% ($N = 2$) of all messages. Asking audiences to complete a survey or poll and requesting photos or videos were also strategies used infrequently. Surveys or polls were mentioned in 0.8% ($N = 6$) of message and requests for photos or videos appeared in 2.0% ($N = 15$) of messages. (See Table 8.)

As shown in Table 8, five strategies were used notably more during the controversy period than in other periods. These strategies included asking for donations asking for *shares* or retweets, asking audiences to sign a petition, talking directly about Susan G. Komen, and mentioning the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign.

Looking at the five strategies favored during the controversy period, 80.0% ($N = 24$) of messages making requests for donations, 63.6% ($N = 7$) of messages asking for *shares* or retweets, 47.1% ($N = 8$) of messages asking audiences to sign a petition, 91.9% ($N = 34$) of message mentioning Susan G. Komen, and 90.3% ($N = 28$) of messages mentioning the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign came on key study dates. (See Table 8.) In other words, the five key dates within the controversy period accounted for large percentages of the observed difference between study periods on these variables.

Table 8

Activist Theme Frequencies by Time Period: Facebook and Twitter Combined

Theme	Frequency (Percentage of Messages)				
	Before	During	After	All Periods	Key Dates
Donation	3 (1.5%)	30 (12.3%)*	4 (0.1%)	37 (4.8%)	24 (20.5%)
Volunteering	1 (0.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.0%)	2 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Political	37 (19.0%)	11 (4.5%)	38 (11.6%)*	86 (11.2%)	3 (2.6%)
Statistic	29 (14.9%)	27 (11.1%)	35 (10.7%)*	91 (11.9%)	12 (10.3%)
Primary News	24 (12.3%)	6 (2.5%)	27 (8.2%)*	57 (7.4%)	6 (5.1%)
Share/Retweet	7 (3.6%)	11 (4.5%)*	3 (0.1%)	21 (2.7%)	7 (6.0%)
Comment	9 (4.6%)*	5 (2.1%)	3 (0.1%)	17 (2.2%)	1 (1.0%)
Photo/Video	0 (0.0%)	5 (2.1%)	10 (3.0%)*	15 (2.0%)	2 (1.7%)
Blog/Story	7 (3.6%)*	6 (2.5%)	5 (1.5%)	18 (2.3%)	5 (4.3%)
Survey or Poll	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (1.8%)*	6 (0.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Petition	0 (0.0%)	17 (7.0%)*	4 (1.2%)	21 (2.7%)	8 (6.8%)
Question	10 (5.1%)	7 (3.0%)	12 (3.7%)*	29 (3.8%)	4 (3.4%)
<i>Hashtag</i>	6 (3.1%)*	5 (2.1%)	5 (1.5%)	16 (2.1%)	2 (1.7%)
Positive	49 (25.1%)*	44 (18.1%)	32 (9.8%)	125 (16.3%)	29 (24.8%)
Negative	27 (13.8%)	35 (14.4%)	82 (25.0%)*	144 (18.8%)	16 (13.7%)
Komen	0 (13.8%)	37 (15.2%)*	1 (0.0%)	38 (5.0%)	34 (29.1%)
<i>I Stand</i>	1 (0.1%)	31 (12.8%)*	3 (0.1%)	35 (4.6%)	28 (24.0%)
Political	71 (36.4%)	50 (20.6%)	138 (42.1%)*	259 (33.8%)	18 (15.4%)
Other	21 (10.8%)	28 (11.5%)*	18 (5.5%)	67 (8.7%)	18 (15.4%)

Note. Periods including the highest frequency for each variable are denoted with an asterisk. Total number of messages were Before: $N = 195$, During: $N = 243$, After: $N = 328$, All Periods: $N = 766$, and Key Dates: $N = 117$.

Messages that directly referenced Susan G. Komen ($N = 30$) often included other activist strategies. Asking for donations ($N = 7$), sharing statistics ($N = 5$), breaking or *live tweeting* news ($N = 4$), asking for *shares/retweets* ($N = 2$), asking audiences to sign petitions ($N = 2$), asking questions ($N = 1$), targeting groups or individuals positively ($N = 4$), targeting groups or individuals negatively ($N = 15$), mentioning the *I Stand with*

Planned Parenthood campaign ($N = 10$), mentioning politics ($N = 9$), and mentioning other activist themes ($N = 5$) were all used in conjunction with direct references to Susan G. Komen.

Qualitative findings. Close readings of Facebook and Twitter messages from all periods revealed several common themes related to activist strategies. Planned Parenthood used framing to paint itself and its services as constantly under attack. Related to this framing, issues were often described using war metaphors and vocabulary. Planned Parenthood's audience was framed as highly valuable and powerful—necessary to win the war. Celebrities' opinions and actions were valued and their names were used to add support to a variety of Planned Parenthood's initiatives and causes. Humor was used often—especially on the topics of birth control and politics—but was absent during the Komen controversy.

Under attack. Many subjects were described as under attack on Facebook and Twitter during the three study periods. Women's health, Planned Parenthood and other organizations, birth control, and even women in general were framed as targets of attack: "Ladies, we are under attack. Stay informed. Stay vocal. Run for office," (Twitter, February 20).

References to "attacks on women's health" were commonly found (Facebook, February 24). These attacks were framed as continuing and constant, exemplified by a February 15 Facebook message: "When women's health is under attack nearly every day, it can be hard to keep up." The Komen funding decision was positioned as one such attack on women's health with tweets like "Stop attacks on women's health," from

February 3. Both men and women were said to be impacted by these attacks, as in a tweet on February 26 stating, “Men, attacks on women’s health care affect you too.”

Attacks on women’s health were linked to direct attacks on Planned Parenthood, as in a January 25 Facebook post: “The attacks on women’s health continue to target Planned Parenthood.” On February 2, a key controversy date, Komen was linked to prior attacks on Planned Parenthood in a tweet claiming, “Way before Komen, there was the state-by-state attack on funding for PP.” Following the Komen controversy, two messages linked Planned Parenthood to other organizations said to be under attack—including Susan G. Komen: “Attacks on Planned Parenthood, JCPenney, Susan G. Komen, the Girl Scout’s, Lowe’s—who’s going to be next?” (Facebook, February 17) and “Modern McCarthyism puts institutions like Planned Parenthood, JCPenney, Girl Scouts under attack,” (Twitter, February 19).

Immediately following the Komen funding reversal, use of the word attack turned back to birth control. On February 3, Planned Parenthood retweeted, “Glad to hear #Komen decision, but the attacks on birth control aren’t over.” Congress was said to attack birth control in many messages including, “Next week in Congress we will see even more attacks designed to undermine birth control” from Facebook on February 10 and “Congress needs to stop attacking birth control” from Twitter on February 13. Individual politicians were also called out, as in “Mitt Romney is attacking birth control again,” (Twitter, February 7). Many messages citing birth control attacks were additionally made without attribution, including “Birth control shouldn’t be attacked or lied about” from Twitter on February 8.

It's war. Related to being under attack, additional vocabulary associated with war was used frequently in both Facebook and Twitter messages. References to war included direct use of the word 'war', discussions of fights and battles, defensive tactics, and discussions of wins and victories.

Multiple messages mentioned "war on women" (Twitter, February 20). Others described a war on women's health, including one tweet on February 8 referencing the Komen controversy: "Mitt Romney, Komen, and the War Against Women's Health." An article titled "The War On The Pill And One Way We Fight Back." was tweeted on February 9. As on Twitter on February 11, a "war on birth control" was also cited often.

Sometimes described as the birth control debate, messages often preferred "the birth control fight," (Facebook, February 19). Messages like, "Congress may be willing to take away access to affordable birth control but it won't happen with out a fight," from February 21, referenced fights with politicians and other opponents. Battles were put in a historical context, including a retweet on February 16 that stated, "My mom fought for birth control so I didn't have to. My body is not a political battleground." With a tone often reserved for military service, a retweet on January 23 shared, "I give thanks to all the men and women who fought for a woman's right to make decisions over her own body." A retweet specifically referencing the Komen controversy, "Women's lives can't afford to be caught up in political battles," posted on February 1, was one of many that mentioned battles or battlefields.

Planned Parenthood was held up as a defender of many rights. On January 23, "Thank you, @PPact for tirelessly defending the right to safe legal abortion." was tweeted. Planned Parenthood also used Twitter to send thanks for defending its

organization and its causes, including one on January 23: “Thank you to @RepClever for defending Planned Parenthood.”

When President Obama weighed in on the birth control benefit on January 20, it was referred to as an “important win” on Twitter. Another tweet on January 20 announced “VICTORY!” on the same subject. Women were called out as able to win in many ways including, “When women watch, women win,” (Twitter, February 6). Referencing the Komen controversy, a retweet from Representative Nancy Pelosi on February 3 claimed, “When women speak out, women win—Komen decision to continue funding Planned Parenthood is a victory for women’s health.”

You have the power. Responding to praise from one Twitter follower on January 23, Planned Parenthood gave all the credit to its audience saying, “We’re amazing because of supporters like you.” Messages like this framed Planned Parenthood’s audiences as not only having the power to make a difference, but as those responsible for change. This framing was present on both Facebook and Twitter and was evident in all study periods. The framing was also especially evident in messages directly referencing the Susan G. Komen issue.

Many messages included general statements about the power of individual voices coming together. Facebook messages, such as “If we stand together they cannot ignore us,” on February 9, or “Millions of women can’t be silenced,” on February 16, were common. Tweets, such as “We have to be our own voice!” on February 22, frequently shared similar sentiments. More specific messages such as “Make sure your representatives hear you loud and clear,” from Facebook and January 25 and “Ladies: if

today's @GOPoversight hearing says one thing, it's...VOTE!" from Twitter on February 16, called out political action as a primary way audiences might make a difference.

Many other messages stated that social media was a tool to make change. On January 31, a Facebook message claimed, "You and your friends can stop the spread of HIV..." simply by making a Facebook status update. Early in the Komen controversy, a Facebook message stated, "On Facebook, Twitter—all over the internet—your voices cannot be missed," (February 1). Two messages sent immediately following the reversal of Komen's funding decision summed up the impact of individuals and highlighted social media. A February 3 Facebook post read, "You tweet, you speak, you write, you petition, you donate, you blog, you call, you share—and you make a difference." A tweet on the same day read "To those who #standwithPP: you tweeted, you blogged, you petitioned, you donated, you spoke, you posted on Facebook—you make a difference."

A multimedia campaign launched during the post-controversy period directly called out the power of the individual in its name. The *I Have a Say* campaign was said to ensure every voice would be heard with regard to birth control access. A Facebook message on February 25 promoted the campaign with a video announcement from Planned Parenthood President, Cecile Richards. Video messages were promoted in tweets such as, "Women across the nation are telling Congress #IHaveASay..." from February 23. Many retweets of individuals' statements also included the *hashtag* #IHaveASay.

Celebrity endorsers. The names of Hollywood celebrities appeared frequently in Planned Parenthood's social media messages. Links to celebrity articles, blogs, and interviews, celebrity-related event messages, direct tweets to celebrities, and retweets of celebrities' content were all discovered in this study's sample.

Articles, blogs, and interviews promoting celebrities' beliefs on Planned Parenthood-related issues were shared as news links on both Facebook and Twitter. On February 24, a Facebook post shared "Martha Plimpton, actress on Fox's *Raising Hope*, writes a powerful piece on the latest attacks on women's health..." with link to the celebrity-penned article. The accompanying Facebook-generated link preview included a photo of the actress. A link to a political message from actress Julianne Moore was tweeted on January 28. A similar message was shared on Facebook on January 30, stating "Our great friend, Oscar-nominated actor Julianne Moore knows how much is at stake for women in 2012 and is making her voice heard. Will you, too?" A Twitter message also included a link to a blog post with the text: "30 Rock's @elizabethbanks has something to say to politicians..." (February 17).

Events featuring celebrities were promoted in multiple messages. A "star-studded" press event held by Planned Parenthood on January 27 was mentioned on both Facebook and Twitter. A video from the event, featuring actresses Maggie Gyllenhaal, Julianne Moore, America Ferrera, and Gabrielle Union was shared on Facebook on the day of the event. During the event, *live tweets* quoting America Ferrera, Julianne Moore, and Gabrielle Union were sent. A Facebook post including a large photo of participating actresses and Planned Parenthood's President, Cecile Richards, was posted the following day, January 28. Accompanying text said the group was "standing together for women's health." Press from the event, picked up by *Essence Magazine*, featuring Gabrielle Union was later tweeted on January 31. Related to the Komen controversy, a fundraiser organized by actress Kate Walsh to support breast cancer screenings at Planned Parenthood was also tweeted on February 21.

Messages directed at celebrities were shared through Planned Parenthood's Twitter account. Thanks were tweeted to actresses Maggie Gyllenhaal, America Ferrera, Gabrielle Union, and Julianne Moore following the event they participated in on January 27. On January 30, "Thank you to @_juliannemoore for standing with PP and women's health!" was shared in a message to the actress. "Happy birthday @JudyBlume!! Thank you for being such a strong voice for women's health. =)" was tweeted to the author on February 12.

Retweets of celebrities' own messages were also commonly found on Planned Parenthood's Twitter account. Actress Olivia Wilde was retweeted telling women to vote in 2012 (January 24). Actress Gabrielle Union was retweeted sharing the statistic that "90% of PP services are preventative," (January 27) Actress Eva Longoria was retweeted in support of the President's birth control policy, (February 3). Comedian Sandra Bernhard was retweeted voicing direct support for Planned Parenthood (February 7). Retweets on February 8 included actress Eva Longoria discussing birth control and sharing a petition, actress Elizabeth Banks encouraging audiences to "tell the White House," and singer John Legend discussing birth control. Documentary filmmaker Michael Moore was retweeted on February 16 discussing congressional birth control hearings.

On Twitter, celebrity voices were also used to directly discuss the Susan G. Komen controversy. On February 1, author Judy Blume was retweeted saying, "Susan G. Komen would not give in to bullies or fear. Too bad the foundation bearing her name did. Support @PPact. Save lives." Also on February 1, former Saturday night live star and current senator, Al Franken, was retweeted promoting the *I Stand with Planned*

Parenthood campaign: “Planned Parenthood provides indispensable service to women in countless communities across the country RT @PPact if you #standwithPP.” An article with the headline “[popular band] The Decembrists Pull Support from Komen Foundation, Raise Funds for Planned Parenthood” was shared on February 2. Actress Jane Fonda was also retweeted sharing links on the Komen issue on February 2. Weighing in on Michael Bloomberg’s large donation, a retweet of comedian Sandra Bernhard’s message added, “thank you #mayorbloomberg for donating \$250,000 to @PPact a classy move,” (February 2). On February 3, cyclist Lance Armstrong’s charity’s message, “@Livestrong joins @MikeBloomberg to preserve access to care with donation to #PlannedParenthood” was retweeted. On February 4, lead singer for band The Decembrists, Colin Meloy was retweeted saying, “While it’s encouraging that Komen changed their bearing, we’re sticking with @PPact.”

Laugh about it. Humor was a device found on both Facebook and Twitter in all study periods. Links to humorous material, original humorous text, humorous photos and videos, and retweets of others’ humor were each present. While humor on Facebook appeared less often, it also tended to be more direct. Twitter’s humor was marked by sarcasm and was often displayed through the use of retweeted *hashtag* responses.

On February 19, Facebook and Twitter messages each included links to a birth control sketch on the comedy show Saturday Night Live. Text of the posts were nearly identical: “Saturday Night Live did a hilarious take on the birth control fight last night with Seth Meyers and Amy Poehler.” Twitter used the *hashtag* “#birthcontrol” to replace the words in text. Facebook additionally included, “Watch and SHARE!” Links to clips

of satirical program The Daily Show were found in multiple posts, including Facebook on February 16 and Twitter on February 14 and 21.

Mimicking segments on comedy programs, Planned Parenthood generated satire itself in a repeated feature called “Champs and Chumps of the week.” The February 17 tweet promoting the content teased, “And the Champs and Chumps of women’s health this week are... *drum roll please*....” A version from February 21 on Facebook stated, “President Newt Gingrich? *shudders* One thing’s for certain, whether he wins South Carolina today or not, he’s already a winner to us—as Chump of the Week.” Similar original humorous content included top 5 lists of “ridiculous statements from birth control opponents,” (Facebook, February 23). A Facebook post on February 12 included a joke, “A conservative, a moderate, and a liberal walks into a bar, and the bartender says, ‘Hi, Mitt.’”

Humorous Internet memes were shared on both sites. A Facebook post including a large meme about women’s many roles was shared from another user on February 15. Original video content said to commemorate “National Condom Week” was shared on both Facebook and Twitter on February 17. The video was described as showing Planned Parenthood employees playfully using condoms to form a falling domino line.

While Planned Parenthood’s use of sarcasm—even snarkiness—was woven through many of its Twitter messages, it was perhaps best exemplified by a *hashtag* started on February 16. Jumping on a comment made by “a Santorum backer” which said, “Back in the day, women used aspirin between their legs for #birthcontrol,” Planned Parenthood launched #creativecontraception (Twitter, February 16). Over the next two days, messages with other Twitter users’ ideas on #creativecontraception were shared.

Samples included, “Move in with the In-Laws!”, “Who says you can’t reuse Saran Wrap?!”, and “Spanx are actually the most effective form of birth control.” Planned Parenthood called the tweets, “a riot” on February 16 and even assembled a “Top 10 tweets from #CreativeContraception” on February 17. Fans praise of the tweets including, “The tweets on #creativecontraception are such a pleasant dose of comedy on a totally insane day,” were retweeted during the campaign (Twitter, February 16).

The device of humor was notably absent in messages related to Susan G. Komen. Messages on Facebook and Twitter maintained a serious tone on the issue throughout the duration on the controversy.

Findings on RQ3

Research question three sought to compare the strategies used on Facebook to the strategies used on Twitter surrounding the funding controversy.

The key findings, described in detail in this section, include:

- Quantitative analysis showed little difference between strategies used on Facebook and on Twitter.
- Susan G. Komen was discussed for a longer period of time on Twitter.
- Qualitative analysis found Twitter messages to use a more aggressive tone than Facebook messages when discussing Susan G. Komen.
- Twitter messages also included more audience testimonials through the use of *hashtags* and retweets.

Quantitative findings. Facebook and Twitter were compared on their diversity of strategies used as well as frequency with which strategies appeared. Data from all three

controversy periods as well as key dates were considered. Specifically regarding Susan G. Komen, the length of time the sites discussed the controversy was also compared.

Diversity of strategies. A similar diversity of strategies was found on Planned Parenthood's Facebook and Twitter sites. Of the activist strategies coded on both sites, 16 were present on Facebook and 17 were present on Twitter. (See Table 9.)

Both Facebook and Twitter included requests for donations; messages encouraging political action, including voting, writing a politician, or watching or participating in a political debate; shared statistics; *live tweeting* or first-hand news accounts; requests for *shares* or retweets; requests for *comments* or response messages; requests for photos and videos; requests for stories, testimonials, or blog posts; surveys, questionnaires, or polls; online petitions; questions directed to readership; positive and negative messages directed toward individuals, groups, or organizations; and political speech. Twitter also included the use of provided *hashtags* for group discussions. Only Twitter was found to include requests or encouragement for volunteering. Neither Facebook nor Twitter messages attempted to organize a meeting or on-the-ground event.

Additional activist tactics, not included in this study's code sheets were also found to be present. These items were coded as 'Other' and specified through coder comments. Other themes found on Facebook included encouraging tweeting, providing *hashtags*, encouraging *liking* a post, encouraging changing your Facebook Timeline cover image, and encouraging signing up for a challenge. Other themes found on Twitter included encouraging the wearing of special colors, encouraging participation in an online or virtual march, promoting reading material, encouraging "changing your profile picture," encouraging "updating your status," and encouraging signing up for a challenge.

Many Facebook and Twitter messages encouraged general “standing up,” “speaking out,” “fighting back,” “doing your part,” or “making your voice heard.” Many messages on both sites also included general encouragement to support Planned Parenthood through unspecified means.

Frequency of strategies. Looking only at overall frequency, many more Twitter messages included activist strategies than did Facebook posts. Yet, the overall percentage of posts including activist strategies was higher on Facebook for 14 of 16 variables coded. Only the variables of asking for volunteers and breaking news as a primary source/*live tweeting* occurred less frequently on Facebook by overall percentage of messages. Facebook messages were not coded for providing a *hashtag* to audiences. However, this strategy was coded as ‘Other’ and mentioned by coder comments in two instances. These instances accounted for 2.4% of total messages ($N = 83$)—nearly equal to the percentage of messages on Twitter (2.3%, $N = 16$).

The previously mentioned findings for all periods held true during individual study periods with few exceptions. Before the controversy, requests for donations were made in greater frequency and percentage on Twitter and mentions of the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign were made in greater frequency and percentage on Facebook. During the controversy, Susan G. Komen was mentioned in greater frequency and percentage on Twitter, questions were posed in greater frequency and percentage on Facebook, and requests for blogs or stories were made in equal frequency on Facebook and Twitter. After the controversy, requests for *shares* or retweets as well as mentions of Susan G. Komen were made in greater frequency and percentage on Facebook, mentions of the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign were made in greater frequency and

percentage on Twitter, and requests for audiences to sign petitions were made in equal frequency on both sites.

Looking at key dates within the controversy period, findings were also consistent with findings for all periods: on most variables, activist strategies were used in greater frequency on Twitter but in a higher percentage of messages on Facebook. Exceptions included Susan G. Komen, which was mentioned more frequently and in a higher percentage of total messages on Twitter during key dates; requests for blog posts or stories and requests for political action, which were made more frequently and in a higher percentage on Facebook during key dates; and questions and requests for photos or videos, which were made in equal frequency on both sites on key dates. Requests for volunteers and survey or polls were not found on either site on key dates. No requests for *comments* were made on Facebook on key dates.

All four Facebook messages found to directly mention Susan G. Komen were original posts (not shared from another user). Of the 34 tweets found to directly mention Susan G. Komen, 11 were original tweets, 15 were retweets, two were retweeted *hashtag* responses, and six were modified retweets from other users. In other words, 67.6% ($N = 23$) of all tweets mentioning Susan G. Komen came from other users, while all Facebook messages mentioning Susan G. Komen were original content from Planned Parenthood.

All four messages mentioning Susan G. Komen on Facebook also included hyperlinks. Twelve of the tweets mentioning Susan G. Komen (35.3%) contained no hyperlinks. No messages mentioning Susan G. Komen on either site contained photos or videos. Messages on Twitter contained an average of .59 ($SD = .743$) *hashtags* per message and an average of 1.03 ($SD = .870$) direct symbols (@) per message.

Table 9

Activist Theme Frequencies by Time Period: Facebook and Twitter Compared

Theme	Frequency (Percentage)				
	Before	During	After	All Periods	Key Dates
Donation					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	5 (16.7%)*	1 (3.6%)	6 (7.2%)	4 (30.1%)
Twitter	3 (1.8%)	25 (11.7%)*	3 (1.0%)	31 (4.5%)	20 (19.2%)
Volunteering					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Twitter	1 (0.6%)*	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.3%)*	2 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Political					
Facebook	10 (40.0%)*	4 (13.3.0%)	6 (21.4%)	20 (24.1%)	2 (15.4%)
Twitter	27 (15.9%)	7 (3.3%)	32 (10.7%)*	66 (9.7%)	1 (1.0%)
Statistic					
Facebook	10 (40.0%)	11 (36.7%)*	7 (25.0%)	28 (33.7%)	5 (38.5%)
Twitter	19 (11.2%)	16 (7.5%)	28 (9.3%)*	63 (9.2%)	7 (6.7%)
Primary News					
Facebook	1 (4.0%)*	1 (3.3%)*	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.4%)	1 (7.7%)
Twitter	23 (13.5%)	5 (2.3%)	27 (9.0%)*	55 (8.1%)	5 (4.8%)
Share/Retweet					
Facebook	3 (12.0%)*	3 (10.0%)*	2 (7.1%)	8 (9.6%)	2 (15.4%)
Twitter	4 (2.4%)	8 (3.8%)*	1 (0.3%)	13 (1.9%)	5 (4.8%)
Comment					
Facebook	1 (4.0%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.6%)	3 (3.6%)	0 (0.0%)
Twitter	8 (4.7%)*	4 (1.9%)	2 (0.7%)	14 (2.0%)	1 (1.0%)
Photo/Video					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.7%)*	2 (7.1%)*	4 (4.8%)	1 (7.7%)
Twitter	0 (0.0%)	3 (1.4%)	8 (2.7%)*	11 (1.6%)	1 (1.0%)
Blog/Story					
Facebook	2 (8.0%)	3(10.0%)*	2 (7.1%)	7 (8.4%)	3 (23.1%)
Twitter	5 (2.9%)*	3 (1.4%)	3 (1.0%)	11 (1.6%)	2 (1.9%)

Survey or Poll					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.6%)*	1 (1.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Twitter	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (1.7%)*	5 (0.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Petition					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	5 (16.7%)*	2 (7.1%)	7 (8.4%)	3 (23.1%)
Twitter	0 (0.0%)	12 (5.6%)*	2 (.7%)	14 (2.0%)	5 (4.8%)
Question					
Facebook	2 (8.0%)	4 (13.3%)*	3 (10.7%)	9 (10.8%)	2 (15.4%)
Twitter	8 (4.7%)	3 (1.4%)	9 (3.0%)*	20 (2.9%)	2 (1.9%)
<i>Hashtag</i>					
Facebook	–	–	–	–	–
Twitter	6 (3.5%)*	5 (2.3%)	5 (1.7%)	16 (2.3%)	2 (1.9%)
Positive					
Facebook	8 (32.0%)	11 (36.7%)*	8 (28.6%)	27 (32.5%)	8 (61.5%)
Twitter	41 (24.1%)*	33 (15.5%)	24 (8.0%)	98 (14.3%)	21 (20.2%)
Negative					
Facebook	7 (28.0%)	10 (33.3%)	17 (60.7%)*	34 (41.0%)	2 (25.4%)
Twitter	20 (11.8%)	25 (11.7%)	65 (21.7%)*	110 (16.1%)	14 (13.5%)
Komen					
Facebook	0 (0.0%)	3 (10.0%)*	1 (3.6%)	4 (4.8%)	3 (23.1%)
Twitter	0 (0.0%)	34 (16%)*	0 (0.0%)	34 (5.0%)	31 (28.8%)
<i>I Stand</i>					
Facebook	1 (4.0%)	5 (16.7%)*	0 (0.0%)	6 (7.2%)	4 (30.8%)
Twitter	0 (0.0%)	26 (12.2%)*	3 (1.0%)	29 (4.2%)	24 (23.1%)
Political					
Facebook	15 (60.0%)	10 (33.3%)	18 (64.3%)*	43 (51.8%)	2 (25.4%)
Twitter	56 (32.9%)	40 (18.8%)	120 (40.0%)*	216(31.6%)	16 (15.4%)
Other					
Facebook	6 (24.0%)	8 (26.7%)*	4 (14.3%)	18 (21.7%)	5 (38.5%)
Twitter	15 (8.8%)	20 (9.4%)*	14 (4.7%)	49 (7.2%)	13 (12.5)

Note. Periods including the highest frequency for each variable are denoted with an asterisk. Three-way ties are not marked. Population sizes for Facebook were Before: $N = 25$, During: $N = 30$, After: $N = 28$, All Periods: $N = 83$, and Key Dates: $N = 13$.

Population sizes for Twitter were Before: $N = 170$, During: $N = 213$, After: $N = 300$, All Periods: $N = 683$, and Key Dates: $N = 104$.

Length of discussion. As shown in Figure 1, conversations about the Komen controversy lingered longer on Twitter than on Facebook. Messages on both Facebook and Twitter began their discussion of the Komen controversy on the same day: January 31. These discussions ended on Facebook on February 4. Twitter messages continued to discuss the controversy until February 10. (One message also referenced Susan G. Komen on Facebook on February 17 in a topic unrelated to the funding controversy.)

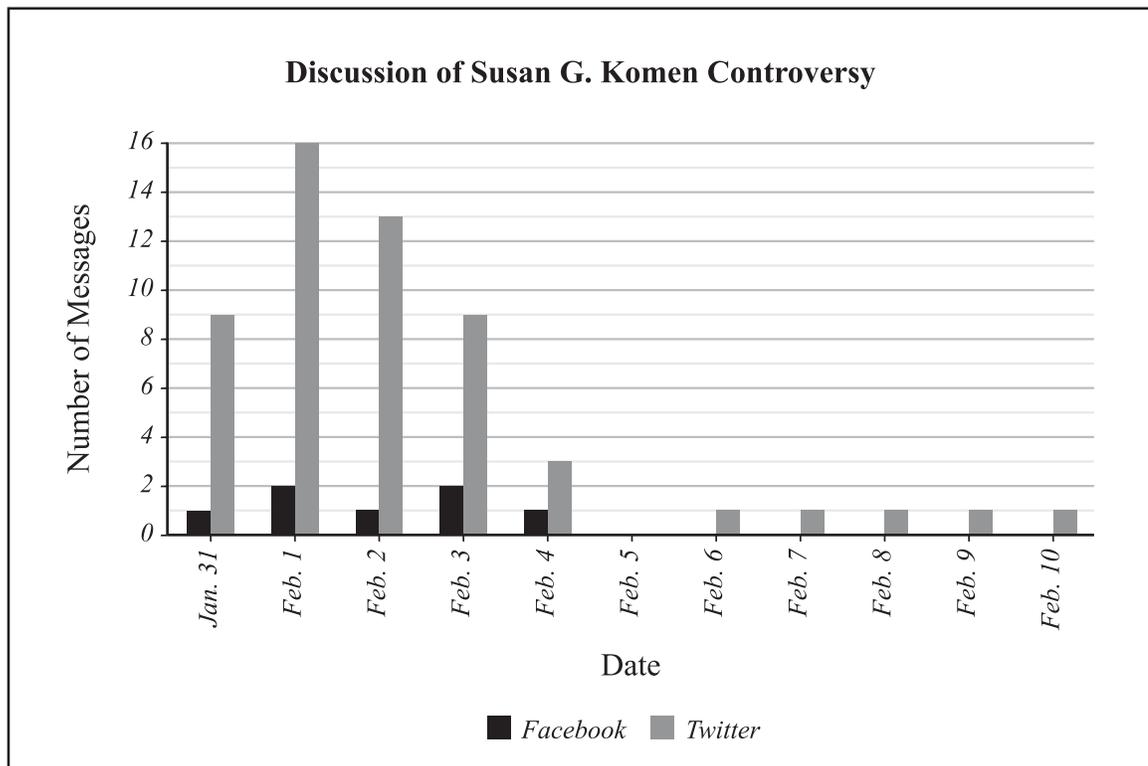


Figure 1. Discussion of Susan G. Komen Controversy by Date

Qualitative findings. Though quantitative data showed mostly similarities between Facebook and Twitter, qualitative analysis discovered a distinct difference in tone on the two sites with regard to Susan G. Komen. While Facebook messages seemed

to stay neutral on Komen's role in the controversy, Twitter messages displayed disapproval, disappointment, and aggression. Twitter messages also took advantage of the retweet feature to share testimonials with great frequency. These testimonials were not only used to underscore the importance of Planned Parenthood's services, but also to encourage activist behavior in ways Facebook did not.

Susan G. Komen. A difference in tone on Susan G. Komen was evident from the moment news of the funding decision broke. Facebook's first message seemed careful not to point blame at Komen, instead focusing on groups pressuring the organization:

"We're very disappointed to announce that anti-choice groups have successfully intimidated and pressured Susan G. Komen for the Cure Foundation to end funding for lifesaving breast cancer screenings for women at Planned Parenthood," (Facebook, January 31).

Choice of the word "intimidated" suggested Susan G. Komen was a victim, rather than aggressor, on the issue.

Twitter's first message also mentioned pressure groups while more strongly placing the blame on Susan G. Komen: "ALERT: Susan G. Komen caves under anti-choice pressure, ends funding for breast cancer screenings at PP Health Centers," (January 31). Putting blame on Komen continued on Twitter on February 1: "The Komen Foundation has decided to stop supporting women seeking care at PP health centers." Active verbs "caves" and "has decided" implied a direct responsibility absent on Facebook. By contrast, Facebook's February 1 message said, "We have been overwhelmed by the outpouring of support we've received since yesterday's announcement that Susan G. Komen will stop funding breast cancer screenings at PP health centers."

Although no original messages on Facebook or Twitter were expressly critical of Komen's decision, many retweeted or quoted messages from other Twitter users took strong stances. Audiences were said to be "saddened" (January 31), "perplexed & troubled" (February 1), and "extremely disappointed" (January 31) at Komen's "terrible decision" (February 1) in retweeted messages. Other retweets directed at Komen said, "@komen for the cure should be ashamed" (January 31), "#komen defunding @PPact tests my faith in humanity" (February 1), and "@KomenfortheCure decision is misguided and damaging" (January 31).

Only Twitter framed the Komen controversy as a political issue both before and after the reversal decision. This framing was first seen in a January 31 retweet stating, "politics is coming between women and their health care needs." It also included original tweets of "Cancer doesn't care if you're pro-choice, anti-choice, progressive, conservative. Cancer victims could care less about people's politics," and "Women's lives can't afford to be caught up in political battles," both from February 1. Other retweets echoed the sentiment that the controversy was "b/c of a political witch hunt," (February 1). Retweets following the reversal continued the theme claiming, "It's a great day when our belief that breast cancer can only be wiped out if we all work together has triumphed over right-wing politics," and "Popular dissent trumped partisan politics," (February 3). Facebook's only message referencing politics came after the reversal of funding decision on February 4. Here the reference appeared as a pull quote from a linked New York Times article called "The Politics of Absolutely Everything": "This week we had a huge political fight about breast cancer."

Twitter was the only site to mention Komen's controversial vice president in a modified tweet on January 31: "Komen VP Karen Handel ran for public office on a platform of defunding Planned Parenthood." Despite this and Twitter's more aggressive overall stance, it was notable that neither site mentioned or otherwise celebrated the resignation of Karen Handel on February 7. Both original messages and shared messages on February 7 avoided Susan G. Komen completely.

Testimonials. Although Facebook and Twitter each mentioned testimonials, only Twitter directly shared audience stories. First person testimonials on Twitter were often given through retweets and the use of *hashtags*. During the Komen controversy, a retweet on January 31 called out Planned Parenthood for its general healthcare services, "When I was a poor, under employed, college student @PPact WAS my doctor. Health screenings, birth control, GYN. It's affordable healthcare." Another on February 1 focused specifically on breast cancer, "Planned Parenthood found a lump on Tuesday and I was in surgery on Friday. I was 33. #ThanksPP." Planned Parenthood did not share others' Komen-related Facebook statuses on its own page. Two messages on key controversy date, February 2, did share information about testimonials without including story content. One message offered a link to a testimonial video while soliciting additional audience stories. The other message linked to a blog of testimonials called "Planned Parenthood Saved My Life," (February 2).

Planned Parenthood's use of *hashtags* to solicit testimonials was further exemplified by three campaigns. #BecauseofRoe included retweets like, "#BecauseofRoe I know even though I am responsible about my birth control, if it fails, I don't have 2 risk my life 2 get help," (January 23). #MyFreeBC consisted of retweets like, "#MyFreeBC

will allow me to control my PCOS. Leading cause of infertility in women and BC is one of the only treatments,” (February 8). #IUseBirthControl included retweets such as, “I am a Catholic. I’m married. #iusebirthcontrol,” (February 9). During all time periods, retweets of testimonials on Twitter were careful to include unexpected voices, including those of men and of abortion opponents: “I’m pro-life and I support Planned Parenthood,” (February 15).

Encouragement through others. Twitter messages seemed to often take an *everyone else is doing it* approach to encouraging activism, not seen on Facebook. Using an example from the Komen controversy, donation was one action encouraged by modified tweets in messages such as, “Bar trivia! How fun. Thanks for thinking of us RT @danderozier: We are donating \$100 of our #bartrivia winnings to @PPact. #StandWithPP,” (February 3). Donation was also encouraged by modified tweets before and after the controversy: “Thanks for your support! RT @scrablized: In the past three months I’ve made donations to @realitycheck, @PPact and @msmagazine,” (January 21) and “Thanks! MT @embedub: Each Lent, I put aside my change at the end of the day & by Easter have a gift for my fave charity. This year it’s @PPact,” (February 22). Among other activist actions, volunteering was also encouraged with this strategy: “@jenniferjbowles Thanks for your support! Hope you’re able to volunteer your time again :)” (January 21).

Findings on RQ4

Research question four looked at which Facebook messages inspired the greatest levels of user activism, by way of *likes*, *comments*, and *shares*, surrounding the funding controversy.

The key findings, described in detail in this section, include:

- Quantitative analysis showed significant effects with activist strategies for all interaction types.
- Only *likes* and *shares* were significantly impacted by post type.
- Only *likes* were significantly impacted by message topic.
- As post length increased, *shares* significantly decreased.
- Qualitative analysis found many highly interacted messages related to news.
- Multiple messages breaking news and receiving high levels of interaction included all-capital-letter, one-word headlines.
- Other highly interacted messages discussed the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign and included colorful, typographic images.

Quantitative findings. The use of activist tactics, type of post, message topic, and post length were all examined against numbers of *likes*, *comments*, and *shares* to determine significant effects. Data from all study periods was considered in this analysis.

Use of activist tactics. To determine which activist tactics had the greatest impact on Facebook posts' interaction levels, independent-samples t-tests were conducted comparing interactions to the absence and presence of activist variables. (See Table 10 for all mean interaction levels.)

Examining *likes* against individual activist tactics, independent samples t-tests found significant effects among five variables. Requesting donation, $t(81) = 3.562, p = .001$; breaking news as a primary source, $t(81) = 2.188, p = .032$; asking a question, $t(81) = 2.679, p = .009$; mentioning Susan G. Komen, $t(81) = 2.587, p = .011$; and mentioning the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign, $t(81) = 7.114, p = .000$; had a significant

relationship to the amount of *likes* a post received. In other words, posts using these tactics received significantly more *likes* than posts that did not.

Examining *comments* against individual activist tactics, independent samples t-test found significant effects on one variable. The tactic of asking a question was found to have a significant relationship to the number of *comments* a post received, $t(81) = 3.292$, $p = .001$. In other words, posts that asked a question received significantly more *comments* than posts that did not. Notably, asking for *comments* was not found to have a significant relationship to a post's number of *comments*, $t(81) = -.024$, $p = .981$.

Examining *shares* against individual activist tactics, independent samples t-test found significant effects among three variables. Asking for *shares* had a significant relationship to the amount of *shares* a post received, $t(81) = 2.293$, $p = .024$. Asking a question also had a significant relationship to the number of *shares*, $t(81) = 4.265$, $p = .000$. Lastly, mentioning the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign had a significant relationship to *shares*, $t(81) = 3.447$, $p = .001$. In other words, posts using these tactics received significantly more *shares* than posts that did not.

Table 10

Mean Interactions by Activist Theme

Activist Theme	<i>M (SD)</i>		
	<i>Likes</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Shares</i>
Donation	5780.83 (5037.170)	460.50 (345.465)	1697.67 (1529.569)
Political Action	1372.70 (1948.182)	232.00 (187.200)	446.40 (844.816)
Shares Statistic	2100.89 (2982.963)	289.46 (277.751)	583.29 (750.689)
Primary News	6326.50 (8495.888)	539.50 (726.199)	1565.50 (2023.033)
Asks for Share	3630.88 (5575.099)	348.88 (456.878)	4522.88 (7595.681)
Asks for Comment	621.33 (418.249)	363.33 (305.140)	179.67 (146.507)

Asks for Photos/Videos	886.00 (468.457)	162.75 (123.400)	199.50 (126.506)
Asks for Blog/Story	2264.71 (3107.014)	214.00 (174.361)	795.86 (1378.308)
Survey or Poll*	516 (-)	264 (-)	322 (-)
Petition	2163.71 (2784.218)	344.86 (209.727)	582.43 (647.574)
Poses a Question	4304.33 (5733.127)	1503.33 (3463.606)	5103.11 (9515.254)
Targets Positively	2769.37 (3505.400)	299.70 (318.791)	851.78 (1024.036)
Targets Negatively	1327.21 (2146.497)	615.41 (1800.806)	1037.88 (3680.397)
Susan G. Komen	5513.75 (5822.841)	805.75 (482.899)	1897.50 (1214.406)
<i>I Stand</i> Campaign	8447.00 (5066.837)	661.50 (473.813)	5281.50 (8324.688)
Political	1703.67 (2591.828)	481.79 (1605.770)	892.77 (3277.488)
Other Activist Theme	1638.28 (2664.080)	191.50 (227.630)	464.50 (966.968)

Note. An asterisk denotes a theme appearing only once. Standard deviation cannot be calculated for this theme.

Type of post. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine which post types had the greatest impact on Facebook messages' interaction levels. (See Table 11 for all mean interaction levels.)

With regard to *likes*, one-way ANOVA showed there was a statistically significant difference between groups, ($F(4,77) = 4.426, p = .003$). A Tukey *post-hoc* test revealed that photos with captions received statistically more *likes* ($4641.36 \pm 5311.438, p = .005$) compared to links to other-generated news (1016.54 ± 693.260). Photos with captions also received statistically more *likes* ($p = .026$) compared to the links to news when the generator was unclear (1347.38 ± 2199.006), as well as statistically more *likes* ($p = .009$) compared to videos with captions (857.43 ± 697.046).

One-way ANOVA also showed there was a statistically significant difference between groups among *shares*, ($F(4,77) = 4.177, p = .004$). A Tukey *post-hoc* test revealed that photos with captions received statistically more *shares* ($1337.45 \pm 3127.908, p = .016$) compared to links to self-generated news (323.12 ± 272.467),

statistically more *shares* ($p = .003$) compared to links to other-generated news (212.29 ± 246.346), statistically more *shares* ($p = .010$) compared to links to news when the generator was unclear (263.19 ± 245.708), as well as statistically more *shares* ($p = .011$) compared to videos with captions (132.21 ± 104.613).

There was not a statistically significant difference between groups for *comments*, ($F(4,77) = 2.256, p = .071$).

Table 11

Mean Interactions by Post Type

Topic	<i>M (SD)</i>		
	<i>Likes</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Shares</i>
Text Only*	454.00 (–)	67.00 (–)	45 (–)
Linked to Self-Generated News	2785.53 (3660.065)	323.12 (272.467)	682.00 (839.861)
Link to Other-Generated News	1016.54 (693.260)	212.29 (246.346)	340.42 (485.644)
Link to News, Generator Unclear	1347.38 (2199.006)	263.19 (245.708)	433.56 (439.180)
Photo w/ Caption	4641.36 (5311.438)	1337.45 (3127.908)	4600.91 (8613.519)
Video w/ Caption	857.43 (697.046)	132.21 (104.613)	354.50 (427.434)

Note. An asterisk denotes a post type appearing only once. Standard deviation cannot be calculated for this post type.

Message topic. One-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine which message topics had the greatest impact on Facebook posts' interaction levels. (See Table 12 for all mean interaction levels.)

With regard to *likes*, one-way ANOVA showed there was a statistically significant difference between groups, ($F(6,59) = 2.796, p = .018$). A Tukey *post-hoc* test revealed that messages about the Susan G. Komen controversy received statistically more

likes (5711.00 ± 5610.390 , $p = .032$) compared to messages about the abortion/choice debate (824.50 ± 790.831). Messages about the Susan G. Komen controversy also received statistically more *likes* ($p = .024$) compared to messages about politics only (540.71 ± 227.830).

There was not a statistically significant difference between groups for *comments* ($F(6,59) = .325$, $p = .922$) or for *shares* ($F(6,59) = .353$, $p = .905$).

Table 12

Mean Interactions by Message Topic

Topic	<i>M (SD)</i>		
	<i>Likes</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Shares</i>
Birth Control/ Contraception	1880.16 (2466.441)	557.05 (1724.478)	1045.08 (3516.003)
Breast Cancer	3732.75 (3825.829)	345.75 (184.516)	833.75 (836.408)
Other Cancer*	380.00 (–)	41.00 (–)	129.00 (–)
STDs*	141.00 (–)	25.00 (–)	0.00 (–)
Abortion/ Choice Debate	824.50 (790.831)	131.88 (118.648)	224.50 (187.326)
General Health	1077.00 (793.374)	279.50 (86.974)	253.00 (65.054)
Politics Only	540.71 (227.830)	107.86 (79.313)	133.71 (131.799)
Organizational Information	463.75 (148.823)	51.25 (19.956)	104.25 (59.101)
Susan G. Komen	5711.00 (5610.390)	896.50 (324.071)	1992.50 (1037.688)
Other	2304.67 (4220.309)	213.93 (326.199)	1904.13 (5652.465)

Note. Asterisks denote topics appearing only once. Standard deviation cannot be calculated for these topics.

Post length. Bivariate correlation was used to compare the length of a Facebook post (measured by word count) to its number of *likes*, *comments*, and *shares*. While no significant correlation was found between length and *likes* or length and *comments*,

length did have a negative correlation with *shares*, $r(81) = -.23, p < .05$. This result suggests that length had a significant effect on the amount of *shares* a post received. In other words, as length increased the number of *shares* a post received decreased.

Qualitative findings. Messages topping the list of highest *likes*, *comments*, and *shares*, often appeared in more than one category. In fact only eight individual messages appeared on the top five lists from each of the three interaction types.

Though all posts didn't share news as a primary source, most were closely tied to breaking news. A February 2 post, ranked number four in *likes*, shared news about NYC Mayor Mike Bloomberg's promise to match up to \$250,000 in donations to Planned Parenthood along with a request for donations. A February 9 post, ranked number five in *comments*, relayed "Today it was revealed that under the Bishops' plan, any CEO of a business or corporation who is Catholic could take away birth control coverage from his/her employees..." No question or request for comment was included in the message's additional text. Combining text and image, a February 16 post, ranked number two in *likes*, number one in *comments*, and number two in *shares*, included a photo of many men at a table and reported, "These are witnesses testifying on the birth control benefit right now on Capital Hill. What is wrong with this picture?"

Three of the news related posts notably included one-word announcements, set in all capital letters, at the beginning of their text. A message from January 20, ranked number five in *likes*, announced, "BREAKING: Pres. Obama has rejected efforts by anti-women's health groups and their allies in Congress to cut off access to birth control for millions of women... This is GREAT NEWS!!" Also claiming "BREAKING" news, a post from January 31, ranked number three in *likes*, number three in *comments*, and

number five in *shares*, read “BREAKING: We’re very disappointed to announce...” Susan G. Komen’s decision to stop funding Planned Parenthood. A post from February 3, ranked number three in *likes*, number four in *shares*, and number four in *comments*, read, “HUGE!!! The Komen foundation has announced they are reversing their decision!” A linked statement from Planned Parenthood President, Cecile Richards, was included along with a thank you message to those who engaged in activism on the issue.

The only two high-ranking messages not immediately sharing breaking news were both related to the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign. The first asked for engagement in the campaign while the second thanked audiences for their previous engagement and celebrated the reversal decision victory. Both included large images, however neither were photos. Images were each square graphics with text, designed in the same size proportion as a Facebook profile photo. The message from February 1, ranked number one in *likes*, number two in *comments*, and number one in *shares*, included only three words, “Are you? Share!” along with a large, pink graphic that read, “Still Standing with Planned Parenthood.” The message from February 3, ranked number three in *shares*, included, “Thank you to everyone who has stood up and supported women’s access to healthcare. Share if you always will!” with a similar graphic that read, “I stood up for women’s health and I always will.”

Additional Findings

Additional findings related to the social media practices, or social media strategies, used by Planned Parenthood were also noted during this study’s analysis. While not related directly to strategies of activism (as measured in RQ2 and RQ3) these

notable findings may have otherwise contributed to Planned Parenthood’s success with hot-issue publics surrounding the Susan G. Komen controversy.

Consistency. In all time periods, messages were consistently shared daily. At least one post/tweet occurred on each social networking site 13 out of 14 days before the controversy, 13 out of 14 days during the controversy, and all 14 days following the controversy. No Facebook messages or tweets were shared on Sunday, January 29, 2012 or on Sunday, February 5, 2012.

Frequency pattern. While Facebook messages were posted in consistent numbers each day, a pattern emerged among Twitter messages. As evidenced by Figure 2, dips in tweet frequency were observed on Saturdays and Sundays. Tweet frequency repeatedly appeared to increase early in the week, peak during mid-week, and decline at weeks’ end.

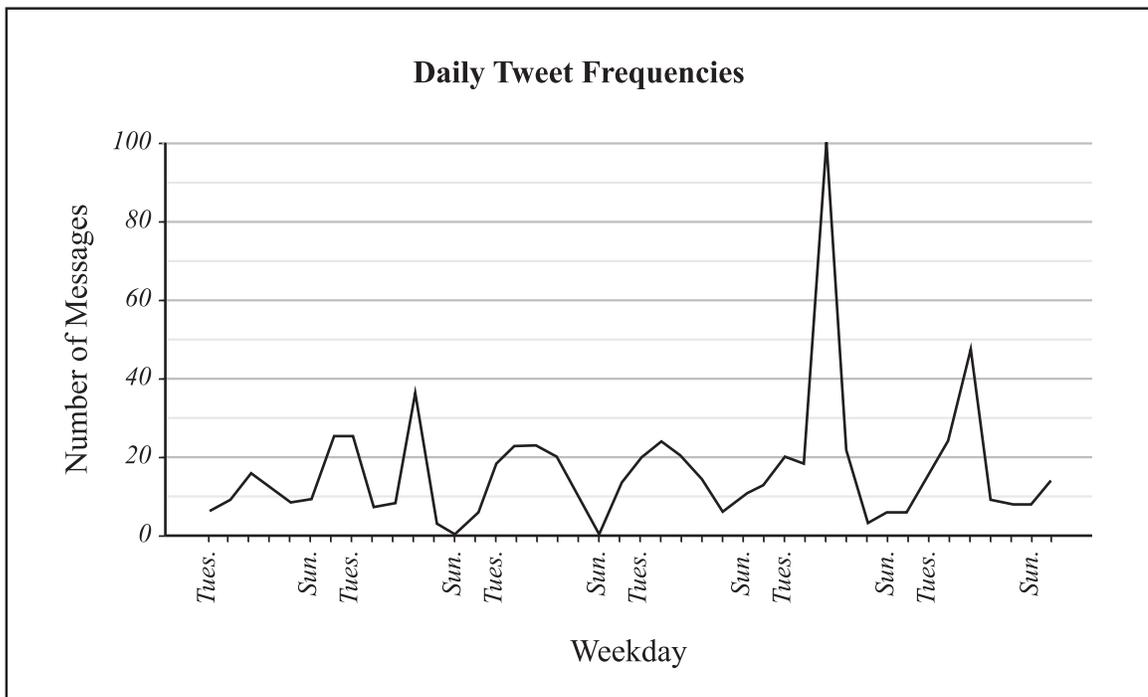


Figure 2. Daily Tweet Frequencies by Weekday

Tweet type. Although the quantities of messages shared in each period varied on Twitter, the types of tweets used were similar. As evidenced by Figure 3, original tweets, retweets, modified tweets, and retweets of *hashtag* responses were used in nearly identical proportions in all study periods. Original tweets were consistently shared most often, followed by retweets, modified tweets, and retweeted *hashtag* responses.

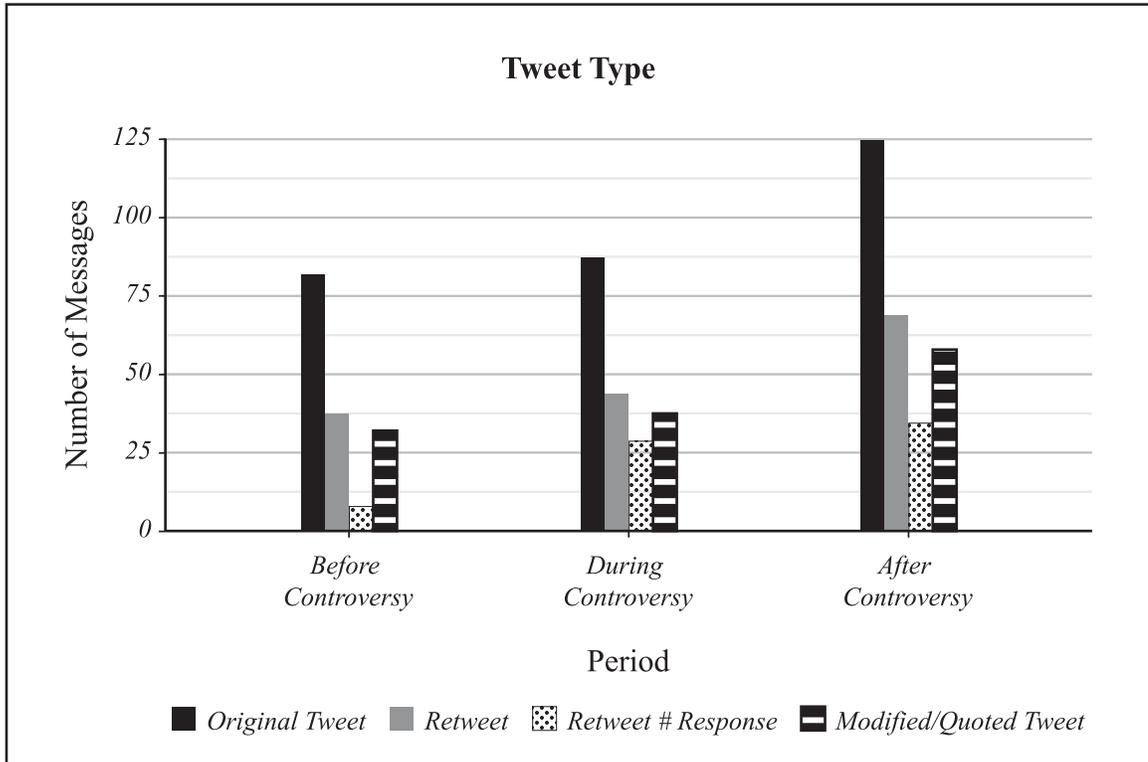


Figure 3. Tweet Type by Controversy Period

Linking. Facebook messages contained a higher percentage of hyperlinks than Twitter messages. On Facebook, 85.5% ($N = 71$) of messages contained links to additional content. These links included links to self-generated news 23.9% ($N = 17$), links to other-generated news 33.8% ($N = 24$), links to news where the generator was unclear 22.5% ($N = 16$), and links to video 19.7% ($N = 14$). (Only one Facebook message

contained text only. The remaining messages without links contained photos.) On Twitter, 51.7% ($N = 353$) of messages contained links to additional content.

Photo and video content. Facebook contained a higher percentage of photo and video messages than Twitter. On Facebook, 13.3% of posts ($N = 11$) contained photos and 16.9% ($N = 14$) contained linked video. Six percent ($N = 41$) of tweets included links specifically said to be to photos and 4.8% ($N = 33$) of tweets included links specifically said to be to videos. (Note that link types on Twitter were coded based on descriptions in text. Links were not followed to determine their content.)

Twitter interactive features. Twitter messages contained an average of .89 ($SD = .821$) *hashtags* per tweet. The least amount of *hashtags* used in a single message was zero and the most used was four. The most commonly used number of *hashtags* in a message was one. Tweets contained an average of 1.00 ($SD = .918$) direct symbols each. The least amount of direct symbols used in a single message was zero and the most used was four. The most commonly used number of direct symbols in a message was one.

Discussion and Conclusions

As exemplified by news events in 2011 and early 2012, it has become increasingly important for public relations practitioners to understand social media activism. For nonprofit organizations, a further understanding of the strategies that help motivate such activism is especially relevant. This study sought to describe how Planned Parenthood successfully turned hot-issue publics into social media activists surrounding the February, 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy. Using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis, its aim was to fill gaps in communication literature in the fields of general social media research, nonprofit social media research, and social media activist research. Through its discussion of the Susan G. Komen case, its goal was to discover new insights into the changing relationship between nonprofit organizations and individual activists on social media.

Key Findings

Results of this study pointed to the following key findings related to evidence of activism, use of activist strategies, variation between Facebook and Twitter, Facebook interactions, and other notable areas:

Evidence of activism.

- With regard to message frequency and the use of activist tactics, the Susan G. Komen funding controversy led to little observable change on Planned Parenthood's social media sites.
- Facebook posts made on key dates within the Komen controversy received significantly more *likes* and *shares* than posts made on other dates within the study. *Comment* levels were not significantly altered on key dates.

Use of activist strategies.

- Meetings and on-the-ground events were not organized on Planned Parenthood's social media sites. Volunteers were also infrequently recruited.
- Especially on key dates within the Komen controversy, requests for donations, requests for *shares* or retweets, petitions, direct conversation about the controversy, and use of the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign were notably increased.
- Planned Parenthood used framing to portray itself and its services as consistently under attack. Audiences were framed as having the power to make a difference in these attacks.
- Both official and unofficial celebrity endorsers were connected to Planned Parenthood through Twitter's retweet and interactive features.
- Humor was a frequent stylistic device used in message content. Twitter messages' humor tended more toward sarcasm than did Facebook messages'.

Variation between Facebook and Twitter.

- While similar types of activist-related themes appeared on Facebook and Twitter, a higher percentage of Facebook messages included at least one theme.
- Discussion of the Susan G. Komen controversy lasted for a longer period on Twitter than on Facebook.
- Conversations about Susan G. Komen took on a more negative tone on Twitter than on Facebook. While no original messages from Planned Parenthood specifically attacked Susan G. Komen on either site, many retweets on Twitter were directly critical.

- Twitter messages framed the Komen controversy as political, while related Facebook messages tended to be apolitical.
- Twitter messages used *hashtags* to solicit and share testimonials. Twitter messages also used testimonial retweets to encourage desired behavior.

Facebook interactions.

- Facebook *likes* were significantly increased on messages that requested donations, broke news, asked questions, mentioned Susan G. Komen, and mentioned the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign.
- Facebook *comments* were significantly increased on messages that asked questions. They were not significantly increased on messages that requested *comments*.
- Facebook *shares* were significantly increased on messages that asked for *shares*, asked questions, and mentioned the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign.
- Photos with captions received significantly more Facebook *likes* and *shares* than other types of messages. Post type did not impact Facebook *comments*.
- Message topic only impacted Facebook *likes* in a significant way.
- Post length only impacted Facebook *shares*. Longer posts received significantly fewer *shares* than shorter posts.
- Messages receiving the highest levels of user interaction tended to break news. Many included all-capital-letter, one-word headlines prior to news messages. Messages related to the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign also received high levels of user interaction.

Additional areas.

- Planned Parenthood posted on both Facebook and Twitter with consistency. Twitter messages were posted least frequently on weekends.
- The majority of Twitter messages were original content, followed in frequency by retweets, modified tweets, and retweets including *hashtag* responses.
- A higher percentage of Facebook messages contained hyperlinks than did Twitter messages. Facebook messages contained more links to photos and videos than Twitter messages.
- The majority of Twitter messages used interactive features: *hashtags* and direct symbols (@). Messages contained more direct symbols on average than *hashtags*.

In the Context of Current Literature

Though few studies have examined cases of social media activism similar to the Susan G. Komen controversy, many comparisons to general social media literature, nonprofit social media literature, and social media activist literature can be drawn. Results from this study were found to both support and contradict the previous work of scholars in these areas.

Evidence of activism. Although by definition activism traditionally requires increased activity (J. E. Grunig, 1997), a surprising finding of this study was that Planned Parenthood's social media use did not appear to increase during the Susan G. Komen controversy. This finding may be explained simply in that Planned Parenthood was consistently engaged in activism on one topic or another, sometimes multiple topics simultaneously, throughout the duration of the study. However this finding may also

simply further support the idea that activists can be best defined by their use of tactics (L. A. Grunig, 1992; Smith & Ferguson, 2001).

With regard to evidence of activism through tactics, strategies discovered on Planned Parenthood's sites were comparable to existing literature on individual activists' use of social media. Scholars have described individual activists as using social media to *live tweet* or break news as a primary tactic (Small, 2011; Vericat, 2012). Supporting previous literature, Planned Parenthood was also found to use this tactic on both Facebook and Twitter. Scholars have pointed to individual activists' use of online petitions (Vericat, 2012). Planned Parenthood was also found to share online petitions on Facebook and Twitter—in relation to both the funding controversy and other prominent issues. Scholars have highlighted *hashtags* as an important way for individual activists to share information on Twitter (Small, 2011). Continuing to support previous literature, Planned Parenthood was found to use both general and branded or unique *hashtags* in relation to a variety of its activist causes, including the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign during the Susan G. Komen controversy.

Photo and video sharing has been held up by scholars as a favorite tactic among individual online activists (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011). However, while this tactic was found to be used by Planned Parenthood during some events within the study, it was not used during the Susan G. Komen issue. A potential explanation for this difference may be that photos and videos are simply not appropriate to every activist event. While discussions in literature have focused on photo and video sharing during political protests, some events—like the Komen controversy—may simply not be visual in nature.

Despite suggestions from literature that social media's greatest potential for activism lies in its ability to organize meetings and on-the-ground events (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011), Planned Parenthood was not found to use its social networking sites for this purpose. One explanation for this absence might be that this study only considered the social media pages of Planned Parenthood's national chapter. It stands to reason that the coordination of meetings might be better suited for local chapters' social media sites. Therefore the strategy cannot be discounted as completely unused by Planned Parenthood. However, the finding implies that Planned Parenthood might have shared more information about local chapters' events on its national pages. Alternately, like the use of photos and videos, organizing events may simply not be relevant to all activist issues, as it was not found to be necessary for success in the Komen case.

Looking beyond Planned Parenthood's own activism to the activism of its followers, this study's findings were in line with literature. Related to the emerging term *slacktivism* (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011), Facebook data in this case suggested that users indeed favored interactions that required lesser amounts of effort. *Likes* and *shares*, which call for only the click of a button, were most popular overall, compared to *comments*, which require higher levels of user engagement (i.e. typing unique messages). However, underscoring the value of *slacktivism* and contradicting the finding of some scholars that *slacktivism* does little to impact outcomes (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011), this case demonstrated that interaction activity of any kind might be enough to reach organizational or activist goals—in this case, the reversal of Susan G. Komen's funding decision.

Use of activist strategies. Beyond the previously discussed strategies related to activist social media literature, Planned Parenthood's strategies in this case were also found to dovetail with literature on nonprofit public relations and nonprofits' use of social media.

As described by Langlois et al. (2009) Planned Parenthood was found to be an *issue network* for women's health on Facebook and Twitter. Discussions of contraception, abortion, breast cancer, and related politics each appealed to activist audiences within this social media group.

Acting as an *issue network*, Planned Parenthood systematically created conditions needed for the development of active publics (J. E. Grunig, 1997). As shown in Figure 4, first, it was found to increase problem recognition by framing itself and women's health as constantly under attack. Next, it was found to reduce constraint recognition by framing its audiences as powerful and able to make change through the use of social media. Finally, it was found to increase its audiences' level of involvement by sharing statistics and individual testimonials.

The importance of stewardship, especially with regard to donor relations, has been held up among nonprofit public relations scholars (Kelly, 2001; Waters, 2009; Worley & Little, 2002). Discovery of the theme, *You Have the Power*, on both sites modeled Kelly's (2002) suggestion that regular reminders of stakeholder value are an important characteristic of stewardship.

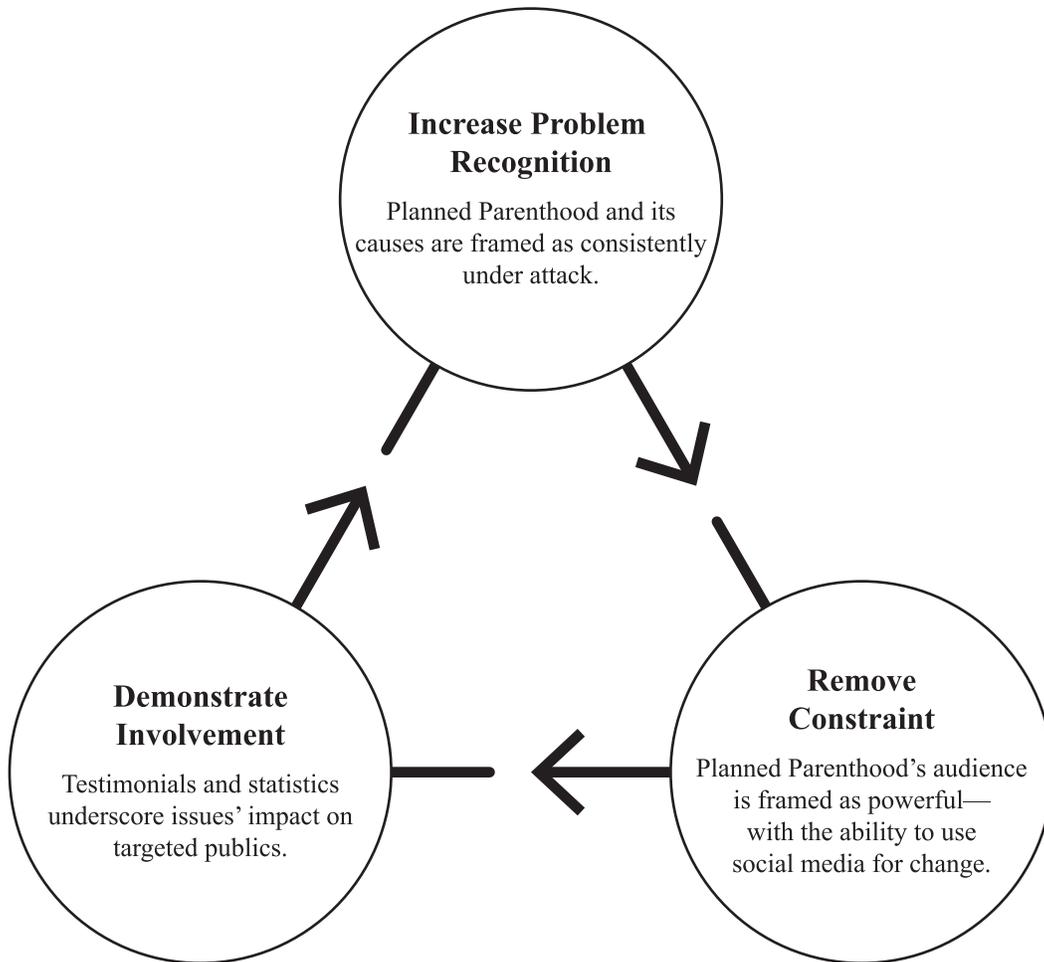


Figure 4. Situational Theory of Publics in Action

Whereas Das (2010) found fewer than 10% of nonprofit organizations to be using Facebook to solicit donations, Planned Parenthood was found to actively ask for donations on both its social media sites. Similarly, Planned Parenthood appeared to take advice from scholars who have suggested targeting both micro- and high-level donors through social media—especially evidenced by discussions of the large donation by Mayor Michael Bloomberg (Livingston, 2009). When asking for donations, Planned Parenthood featured prominent foundations, celebrities, and multiple testimonials from average citizens. This finding also seemed to follow the advice of Livingston (2009) who

noted that credibility of information and trustworthiness of source is important to online donors.

Like other nonprofits Planned Parenthood was not found to use Facebook as a tool to solicit volunteers (Das, 2010). In this case, a potential explanation may be similar to the finding that, unlike many individual activists, Planned Parenthood did not use social media to organize meetings and on-the-ground events. The organization of volunteers might be better suited for local chapters' social media sites. Therefore the strategy also cannot be discounted as completely unused by Planned Parenthood. Alternately, it is possible that volunteers were simply not needed surrounding the Komen case.

Variation between Facebook and Twitter. Discussion of differences between Facebook and Twitter in current literature is limited.

However, as suggested by Ingenhoff & Koelling (2010), Planned Parenthood's social networking sites were each found to be used as a two-way symmetrical communication tool. Two-way symmetrical tactics included directly soliciting *comments*, blog posts and stories, and photos and videos from audiences. Additionally, many posts included open-ended questions.

Although both sites have been studied for their use in political uprisings (McCafferty, 2011, Shirky, 2011) The finding that the Susan G. Komen controversy was discussed as a political issue more so on Twitter than on Facebook coincides with Small's (2011) suggestion that political activists favor Twitter due to site features like *hashtags*.

Facebook interactions. Though literature is limited on the types of messages that solicit high levels of Facebook engagement, notable parallels between individual social

media activists' favorite tactics and high levels of interactions on messages containing those tactics were observed. As individual activists have been said to favor sharing photos (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011), messages that shared photos received significantly higher *likes* and *shares* than other types of content. Likewise, as individual activists have been said to favor breaking news through *live tweeting* (Small, 2011; Vericat, 2012), nearly all of the messages ranked highest in interaction broke or discussed breaking news.

Higher than average levels of interaction were also observed on messages that contained stewardship strategies (Kelly, 2001; Waters, 2009; Worley & Little, 2002). Specifically, it was notable that messages of thanks and celebration of audiences' victories in the Susan G. Komen case were among some of the most *shared* messages in the data set.

Although scholars have indicated that *slacktivism* fails to create an emotional connection leading to donations, this study showed some evidence to the contrary through its interaction data (McCafferty, 2011; Shirky, 2011). While the results of this study don't directly link individuals who clicked *like* and *share* to individuals who donated, messages with links to donation outlets received some of the highest levels of user interaction in this study.

Additional areas. Many of this study's additional findings contradicted previous literature on nonprofits' use of social media or placed Planned Parenthood in the minority of organizations.

If scholars have previously considered organizations sending only three tweets per week to be active Twitter users, Planned Parenthood was found to be an extremely active

user of the site during all time periods (averaging between 16 and 17 tweets per day) (Lovejoy et al. 2012). Although scholars have found that most nonprofits have relied on one-way communication models and do not take advantage of interactive features on Twitter, this was not the case for Planned Parenthood (Lovejoy et al., 2012). While previous studies have shown nonprofits to use retweets in only 16% of their messages, Planned Parenthood was found to use retweets in close to half of its messages during each time period.

Although Waters et al. (2009) found that nonprofit organizations primarily used Facebook as a means to describe themselves and link back to their own websites, Planned Parenthood used Facebook largely as a means to distribute news. Additionally, while Waters et al. (2009) found few nonprofits to share photos, videos, self-promoted public relations efforts, or engagement opportunities on Facebook, Planned Parenthood did so often.

As on Facebook, Planned Parenthood was also found to include links to photos and videos in its Twitter messages more than other nonprofits. Compared to organizations found to share photos in less than 2% of messages, Planned Parenthood included photo links in 6% of messages. Compared to organizations found to neglect video links altogether, Planned Parenthood shared videos in nearly 5% of tweets (Lovejoy et al., 2012).

Theoretical Implications

This study's findings have both theoretical and practical implications for the field of public relations. From a theoretical perspective, results of this study support the Situational Theory of Publics' definition of hot-issue publics on social media sites. Key

news dates in the Susan G. Komen controversy directly corresponded to increased levels of interaction by Planned Parenthood's publics.

However with regard to activism as a whole, this study pointed a potential need to alter or supplement current theory. J. E. Grunig (1997) has defined activism, writing that when publics organize into groups to gain more power and influence, they become known as activist. The findings of this study, and other social media research, begin to challenge the notion that groups are necessary for activism. Instead, when nonprofit organizations function as *issue networks*, unrelated activists are able to reach goals without formal assembly. As previously discussed, this finding may simply point to the importance of defining activists through their use of tactics rather than their organization into groups. However, the overall implication is that traditional definitions of activism may not apply to social media activists; therefore implying new definitions are needed in this area.

This study's findings also make a clear argument for the value of considering individual activist literature alongside that of nonprofits. Its findings showed that social media has allowed individuals and organizations comparable power, with the ability to act in similar ways. In other words, Planned Parenthood was personified by its social media sites and found to act in the same way as individual activists in Arab Spring uprisings. This potentially changes the way scholars should view activist literature in the realm of social media—allowing individuals to become models for organizations in ways they have not been before.

The finding that Planned Parenthood used Twitter to publically thank donors and acknowledge supporters through retweets implies the great potential for social media to

reinforce stewardship strategies. Likewise, the favorable user interaction response on Facebook to messages of thanks also highlights the value of stewardship to online publics, thereby supporting Kelly's (2001) emphasis on the addition of stewardship to traditional public relations models.

Practical Implications

From a practical perspective, this study's description of Planned Parenthood's use of social media creates a blueprint of effective communication for other nonprofit organizations. Findings from this study suggest techniques for various aspects of social media practice, including message frequency, message variety, use of activist strategies, and style. This study's comparison of Facebook and Twitter, as unique and individual social media platforms, suggests best practice use of each site. Lastly, its findings regarding the relationship between Facebook message content and user interactions provide a baseline model for soliciting engagement from Facebook followers.

Among its most notable findings, this study concluded that the Susan G. Komen controversy had little impact on Planned Parenthood's practice of public relations on social media. Although Planned Parenthood was found to engage in activism on the funding issue, little change was observed in the frequency of messages it sent or the variety of activist strategies it employed. Instead, the controversy was found to be one of many events during the study around which Planned Parenthood solicited involvement from hot-issue publics. Viewed through the lens of its success with the Komen issue, this finding points to the importance of including activism as a part of nonprofits' overall communication plans. Planned Parenthood's use of activist strategies before the funding controversy potentially made their use during the issue more successful. With audiences

already engaged and at the ready, simply talking about Susan G. Komen and its funding decision may have been enough to mobilize hot-issue publics into action.

Although this study's results showed some evidence that success with the Komen issue led to an increased amount of activism in the post-controversy period, more research is needed to determine if this finding was sustained. Compared to the period before, Planned Parenthood showed a higher overall message frequency, a higher amount of messages per day, and a greater diversity of activist tactics both during and after the controversy. This was especially true for strategies seeking user engagement: asking for photos and videos, asking for participation in surveys and polls, and asking for petition signatures. While this finding is not conclusive, it implies that even organizations consistently practicing activism should look to individual events as opportunities to reevaluate and fine-tune their strategies.

As previously mentioned, Planned Parenthood was found to act as an *issue network* for women's health surrounding the funding controversy. This finding suggests that to harness the power of online activists, nonprofits might start by actively becoming *issue networks* for relevant publics. In this role, using message framing to create conditions that support the development of active publics, prior to an event like the funding controversy, may also be necessary for activist success.

Looking at the differences between Facebook and Twitter, a notable finding of this study was that Planned Parenthood's strategy varied between sites on the Komen issue. Although Planned Parenthood spoke negatively about politicians and other groups on both Facebook and Twitter, only Twitter contained negative messages about Susan G. Komen. While speculative, one potential explanation for this finding may have been

Planned Parenthood's knowledge of its followers' psychographics on each site. For example, if many of Planned Parenthood's Facebook followers were known to also *like* Susan G. Komen's Facebook page, talking negatively about the organization may not have served to engage hot-issue publics. At the same time, if few of Planned Parenthood's Twitter followers also followed Susan G. Komen, talking negatively about the group may have carried little risk.

An alternate explanation may lie in Twitter's site features. Messages found to negatively target Susan G. Komen on Twitter were not found to be original content. Instead Planned Parenthood used retweets and modified tweets from other users for this purpose. Retweets allowed Planned Parenthood to motivate hot-issue publics to criticize Susan G. Komen without expressly encouraging them to do so. In this way, retweets may have been used to *say it, without saying it*. In other words, Planned Parenthood may have chosen to use retweets to spread disparaging messages about Komen specifically to avoid the potential of being quoted speaking negatively about the group. Regardless of the explanation, the implication of this finding is that when motivating activist publics is a goal, messages on Facebook and Twitter should not be treated the same off-hand. Practicing effective public relations on both sites may require a more advanced knowledge of audiences and their preferences or may require strategic use of each sites' features.

Related to Facebook interactions, another notable finding of this study showed that while messages asking for *shares* received more *shares*, messages asking for *comments* did not receive more *comments*. The finding that users favored *shares* over *comments* overall may be one explanation for this result. In other words, users were

simply more interested in *sharing* any message than in *commenting* on it. Alternately, this finding might be explained by the content of messages requesting *comments*. Although not critically examined in this study, potentially these messages aimed to serve organizational goals rather than appeal to audiences' interests. Where as the goal of asking for *shares* is higher levels of exposure, potentially the goal of asking for *comments* relates to quality over quantity. In other words, since this study did not examine the content of *comments*, it is not known if messages that asked for *comments* could be considered successful. Regardless, the findings of this study imply that asking open-ended questions may generally be preferable to asking for *comments*.

The appearance of the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign among the study's most *liked* and *shared* messages underscores the importance of integrated public relations campaigns on social media. Not only was the campaign discussed on both Facebook and Twitter, its promotion included branded graphics and images designed to be used as followers' Facebook profile photos. Findings related to the use of this campaign imply the potential for integrated campaigns to motivate publics and achieve desired results in a more sophisticated way.

The previously discussed finding that *slacktivism* played an important role in the outcome of this case implies a practical value in seeking *likes* and *shares* from social media audiences—especially as a media tool. For news media, *likes* potentially served as an unofficial approval poll for Planned Parenthood in this case. Similarly, *shares* of Planned Parenthood's messages on the funding decision may have served as an unofficial poll showing disapproval for Susan G. Komen. This finding has practical implications for organizations' strategic crafting of messages during crisis situations, with media in mind.

In addition to relating official celebrity endorsers to its causes, Planned Parenthood drew ties to unofficial backers on Twitter. Again, this finding has practical implications for the strategic use of Twitter to help build organizational credibility—potentially leading to increased donations and other gains. For public relations practitioners at organizations without celebrity spokespeople, finding celebrity messages related to relevant issues and retweeting them with commentary has the potential to create ties with those celebrities—even when no direct affiliation exists.

Methodological Implications

Due in part to the sheer variety of messages evaluated, qualitative content analysis was found to be an important component of this research. As suggested by Kracauer (1953), qualitative analysis revealed some of the study's most interesting findings, which otherwise would have been missed by quantitative coding. These included the tonal difference between Facebook and Twitter messages as well as the similarities in word choice among messages with high levels of user interaction. Likewise, qualitative analysis was important in explaining the lack of variation between study periods by revealing unexpected news events. As noted by Gunter (2000) and McDowell (2004), these findings imply that blended content analysis methods should be preferred in other social media studies with aims similar to the present.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

While good faith efforts were made to ensure accuracy and ethical reporting of all findings, some limitations could not be avoided. The following should be considered when interpreting and applying this study's results, as well as when conducting future research.

A primary limitation to this study is that all coding was conducted by a single researcher. Therefore, intercoder reliability for its quantitative instruments could not be verified. While some scholars have focused on the importance of intercoder reliability primarily for latent or subjective content (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1997), according to Neuendorf (2002) “without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless,” (p.114). As described in this paper’s Method section, detailed coding instructions were used during data collection in an attempt to limit variation. Likewise, data collected from code sheet pretests was compared to final data as a limited check of agreement. Still, as this research acknowledges that the majority of content analyses in the field of mass communication report some measure of intercoder reliability, future studies should reevaluate this study’s data with multiple coder participants (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002).

Also related to measurement instruments, code sheets developed for this study were not found to be exhaustive. Additional message topics and activist strategies were coded as ‘Other’ and therefore not independently evaluated. Current literature on nonprofit public relations, nonprofit social media use, activist tactics, and activist social media use was referenced when developing coding categories in an attempt to limit instances of ‘Other’ strategies. Pretests of both Facebook and Twitter code sheets also sought to reduce the instances of ‘Other’ for both topic and strategy sections. Although ‘Other’ cases were reduced to fewer than 9% of messages for activist strategies, future studies evaluating activism on social media should include additional strategies identified in this paper’s findings in their code sheets.

Because this study evaluated a specific, short-lived activist event and its surrounding periods, sample sizes for many variables were small. This was especially evident in Facebook messages, whose overall population of data was less than one-eighth that of its Twitter counterpart. This small overall sample contributed to unequal sample sizes in tests comparing the absence and presence of activist strategies to Facebook user interaction data. Due to these unequal samples, equal variances could not be assumed in statistical evaluation. In order to compare samples of equal size, verify statistical reliability, and increase the generalizability of findings to larger overall populations, future research might conduct further analysis including additional data in which activist strategies were present.

This study described instances of activism during one particular case, involving one specific nonprofit organization and its social media followers. Therefore it cannot be assumed that its findings apply to other cases, organizations, or audiences. To improve generalizability within the nonprofit sector additional, similar studies are needed. Future research should examine other cases of social media activism, involving nonprofits other than Planned Parenthood, to determine what activist strategies were used, what differences existed between Facebook and Twitter messages, and which messages elicited the greatest numbers of Facebook user interactions.

Likewise, this study only investigated Planned Parenthood's social media activity during the 2012 Susan G. Komen funding controversy. For better understanding of this case in its entirety, future research might evaluate Susan G. Komen's social media use during corresponding time periods. Comparing such results to this study's findings may shed additional light on the variables that contributed to Planned Parenthood's success.

Audience *comments* posted to Facebook during these periods, for both organizations, might also be evaluated to better understand the role of hot-issue publics. While this study focused only on Planned Parenthood's national chapter, future research could evaluate local chapters' social media use. Based on this study's findings, it is unclear what, if any, role local chapters played in the case—or as mentioned in discussion, if local chapters took on the role of organizing meetings and on-the-ground events during the controversy.

As discovered in this study, a limitation to any social media research may be the nature of the technology to update. As previously noted, Facebook made a major change to its interface just following this study's sample period. This alteration impacted both the way messages were viewed and the language used to describe them, thus affecting the appearance of Facebook data collected after the change with unknown impact. Similarly, as revealed by qualitative analysis, Planned Parenthood added additional social media sites to its portfolio during the course of the study. Social media researchers should be mindful of the need to quickly capture data as it appears, both to ensure its availability and to avoid alterations to its original form. Social media researchers should also be mindful of the potential for sites themselves to undergo changes of purpose or content at any instant.

Though this study adds to the body of research on social media, more research is needed to understand not only its use, but also how to best measure its use. Bearing in mind this study's discussion of qualitative findings, future research should continue to investigate the value of both quantitative and qualitative components of content analysis of social media.

Social media researchers wishing to study Twitter through content analysis should be aware of site-specific concerns made evident in this study. First, by nature of Twitter's character count limitation, the subject of individual messages may only be clear when considering the context of surrounding messages. Surrounding messages may also be needed to determine when *live tweeting* is occurring or to determine when a *hashtag* is being presented as a new idea. Coding Twitter messages may also prove challenging in that it is at times difficult to determine who is being referenced by direct Twitter handles. In other words, the direct symbol (@) attached to a name in a Twitter message may not immediately make clear the importance of the individual being referenced. Likewise, though this study did not follow hyperlinks to determine their content, following links may be necessary to more fully consider linked content when coding for photos and videos on Twitter.

Both Facebook and Twitter messages were found to be deeply rooted in cultural context—including references to current events, cultural phenomena, and celebrities/persons of interest. Therefore future research should consider the challenge of interpreting messages' meanings long after they are sent.

Conclusion

The social media model discovered in this study can be summarized by the following suggestions to nonprofit organizations. As illustrated in Figure 5, this model consists of four general components.

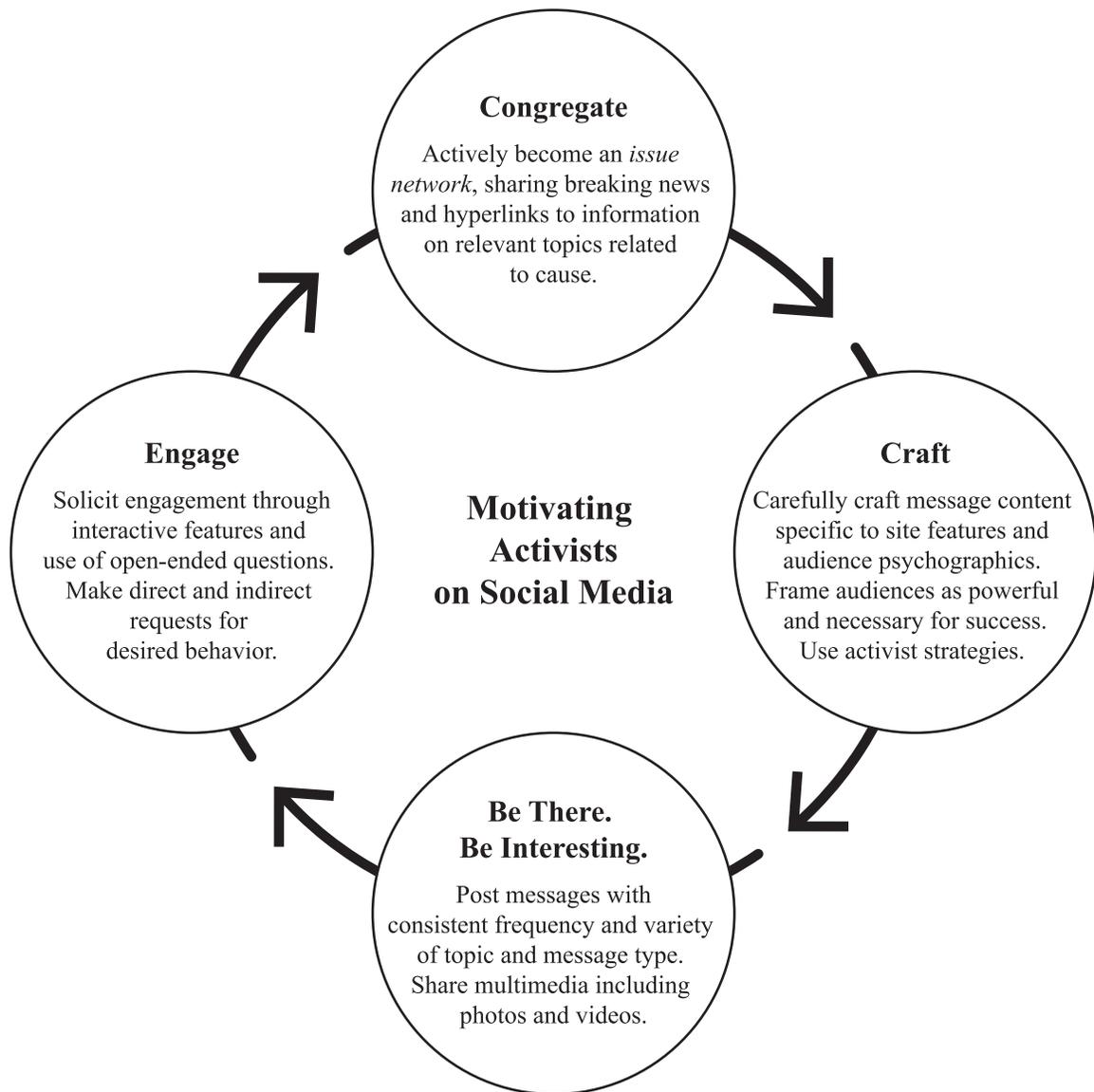


Figure 5. Suggested Model for Motivating Activists on Social Media

Nonprofit organizations seeking to motivate publics into online activism should aim to become *issue networks*. In this role, they should consistently integrate activist strategies into their public relations plan and use framing to create conditions favorable to the formation of hot-issue publics.

Nonprofits should post messages with regular frequency—averaging twice daily on Facebook and up to 17 times daily on Twitter. They should vary the types of messages

sent, including hyperlinks to organizational news, hyperlinks to news from other sources, photos, videos, and hyperlinks to interactive features like surveys and petitions. Within these messages they should make reference to celebrity backers, individual testimonials, and humorous content. Though similar activist tactics may be used on both sites, posts on Twitter and Facebook should not be identical. Understanding the psychographics of followers on each site as well as each site's unique features may be two important factors when creating content.

When soliciting interactions on Twitter, nonprofits should create unique hashtags related to issues and current events and they should regularly use direct (@) mentions to target other Twitter users. When aiming to solicit user interactions on Facebook, they should post important and relevant breaking news updates, ask open ended questions, ask for messages to be shared, leverage integrated public relations campaigns including branded graphics, and consider headlining messages with one-word, all-capital-letter introductions above other strategies. They should also be aware that longer messages may be less likely to be shared than shorter messages.

Appendix A

Table 13

IRS Class Designations for Nonprofit Organizations

Class	Description of Organization
501(c)(1)	Corporations Organized Under Act of Congress (including Federal Credit Unions)
501(c)(2)	Title Holding Corporation for Exempt Organization
501(c)(3)	Religious, Educational, Charitable, Scientific, Literary, Testing for Public Safety, to Foster National or International Amateur Sports Competition, or Prevention of Cruelty to Children or Animals Organizations
501(c)(4)	Civic Leagues, Social Welfare Organizations, and Local Associations of Employees
501(c)(5)	Labor, Agricultural, and Horticultural Organizations
501(c)(6)	Business Leagues, Chambers of Commerce, Real Estate Boards, etc.
501(c)(7)	Social and Recreational Clubs
501(c)(8)	Fraternal Beneficiary Societies and Associations
501(c)(9)	Voluntary Employee Beneficiary Associations
501(c)(10)	Domestic Fraternal Societies and Associations
501(c)(11)	Teachers' Retirement Fund Associations
501(c)(12)	Benevolent Life Insurance Associations, Mutual Ditch or Irrigation Companies, Mutual or Cooperative Telephone Companies, and Like Organizations
501(c)(13)	Cemetery Companies
501(c)(14)	State-Chartered Credit Unions, Mutual Reserve Funds
501(c)(15)	Mutual Insurance Companies or Associations
501(c)(16)	Cooperative Organizations to Finance Crop Operations
501(c)(17)	Supplemental Unemployment Benefit Trusts

- 501(c)(18) Employee Funded Pension Trust (created before June 25, 1959)
 - 501(c)(19) Post or Organization of Past or Present Members of the Armed Forces
 - 501(c)(21) Black Lung Benefit Trusts
 - 501(c)(22) Withdrawal Liability Payment Fund
 - 501(c)(23) Veterans Organization (created before 1880)
 - 501(c)(25) Title Holding Corporations or Trusts with Multiple Parents
 - 501(c)(26) State-Sponsored Organization Providing Health Coverage for High-Risk Individuals
 - 501(c)(27) State-Sponsored Workers' Compensation Reinsurance Organization
 - 501(c)(28) National Railroad Retirement Investment Trust
 - 501(c)(29) CO-OP Health Insurance Issuers
-

Appendix B

Facebook Data Collection Sample: Before *Timeline* Switch

facebook
Search

BIRTH CONTROL
IS BASIC
HEALTH CARE

Planned Parenthood

Planned Parenthood is proud to join more than 50 other organizations in the first-ever Trust Women Week. Together we're letting legislators know that women's health and reproductive rights are essential, and they should trust women to make their own decisions about their bodies. Join us (and thousands nationwide) in this historic online march!

Do you trust women?
pol.moveon.org

People around the country are joining together to show our strength and advocate for women's health and reproductive justice. Join the march now and add your name to our message for Congress and other elected officials.

Like · Comment · Share · January 23 at 6:16pm

1,070 people like this.

View all 182 comments
246 shares

Write a comment...

BIRTH CONTROL
IS BASIC
HEALTH CARE

Planned Parenthood

Every day from now through November we must remind politicians that women are watching where they stand on women's health and rights. We see what they are doing. We hear what they are saying. And we vote.

Women Are Watching On Anniversary of Roe
www.huffingtonpost.com

Last year, anti-women's health politicians across the country launched what was surely the most aggressive assault on women's rights since the Roe decision was handed down.

Like · Comment · Share · January 23 at 11:52am

539 people like this.

View all 139 comments
106 shares

Write a comment...

BIRTH CONTROL
IS BASIC
HEALTH CARE

Planned Parenthood

Happy anniversary! 39 years ago, Roe v. Wade recognized the right of every American woman to make her own personal, private medical decisions and control her body and reproductive health. Tell us what Roe has meant to you: <http://www.sinceroe.com/>.

SINCE
ROE

Since Roe
secure.ppaction.org

On January 22, 1973, Roe v. Wade recognized that the constitutional right to privacy included a woman's right to choose abortion.

Like · Comment · Share · January 22 at 10:38am

2,678 people like this.

Facebook Data Collection Sample: After *Timeline* Switch

and they should trust women to make their own decisions about their bodies. Join us (and thousands nationwide) in this historic online march!



Do you trust women?
bit.ly

People around the country are joining together to show our strength and advocate for women's health and reproductive justice. Join the march now!

Like · Comment · Share 1,069 182 244

 **Planned Parenthood** shared a link.
January 22

Happy anniversary! 39 years ago, Roe v. Wade recognized the right of every American woman to make her own personal, private medical decisions and control her body and reproductive health. Tell us what Roe has meant to you: <http://www.sinceroe.com/>.



Since Roe
bit.ly

On January 22, 1973, Roe v. Wade recognized that the constitutional right to privacy included a woman's right to choose abortion.

Like · Comment · Share 2,675 377 570

luncheon. Cecile: "It's projected that 53 percent of voters in November will be women. Let's celebrate that power – and use it." Yes!



Like · Comment · Share 809 213 75

 **Planned Parenthood** shared a link via Cecile Richards.
January 21

Full birth control coverage matters to women from all

Twitter Data Collection Sample

Tweets

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 30m
MT @ncjw: Hooray! @NancyPelosi holding a hearing on Thursday to allow testimony by @SandraFluke who was barred from #issacircus last week!

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 1h
Women of reproductive age spend 68% more on out-of-pocket health care expenses than men. bit.ly/zyhJaN

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 2h
Jon Stewart at it again. Makes you laugh and question why #birthcontrol is up for debate in 2012. bit.ly/zOAcNW via @TheDailyShow

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 3h
.@MittRomney isn't telling the truth about the #birthcontrol benefit. Churches and places of worship are exempt! bit.ly/xzKW8C

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 4h
Tell us: How much \$\$ is your #birthcontrol? Use this nifty calculator to find out: bit.ly/xMCRdi @motherjones

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 4h
67% oppose @RoyBlunt amendment, say employer personal beliefs shouldn't determine health coverage provided. bit.ly/xDkSKa @dailykos

 **Planned Parenthood** @PPact 5h
MT @pphoustonaction: Texas #PlannedParenthood is the single largest provider of health care within the Women's Health Program #TicTocNoDoc

 **Martin Heinrich** @Heinrich4NM 6h
Thank you for the endorsement @PPact New Mexicans can count on me to continue to stand up for women's health and reproductive rights #NMSen
Retweeted by Planned Parenthood

Appendix C

Code Sheet: Facebook

- 1. Post Number**
- 2. Month**
- 3. Day**
- 4. Day of the Week**
 - 1= Sunday
 - 2= Monday
 - 3= Tuesday
 - 4= Wednesday
 - 5= Thursday
 - 6= Friday
 - 7= Saturday
- 5. Controversy Period**
 - 1= Before Controversy (January 17-30)
 - 2= During Controversy (January 31-February 13)
 - 3= After Controversy (February 14-27)
- 6. Post Length (word count)**
- 7. Post Type**
 - 1= Text Only
 - 2= Link to Self-Generated News/Organization's Own Website
 - 3= Link to Other-Generated News
 - 4= Link to News, Generator Unclear
 - 5= Photo with Caption
 - 6= Video with Caption
 - 7= Shared Post from Other User
 - 8= Other _____

Message Topic

8. Which category best describes the subject of the post?
 - 1= Birth Control/Contraception
 - 2= Breast Cancer
 - 3= Other Cancer
 - 4= STDs
 - 5= Abortion/Choice Debate
 - 6= General Health
 - 7= Non-Health Politics/Politics Only
 - 8= Organizational Information (general)
 - 9= Susan G. Komen Controversy
 - 10= Other _____

Activism Related Themes (answer for all that apply)

1= yes

2= no

9. Does the post encourage donation?
10. Does the post encourage volunteering?
11. Does the post encourage political action (i.e. voting, writing a senator or congressman, etc.)?
12. Does the post attempt to organize a physical meeting between individuals (protest, event, or otherwise)?
13. Does the post share a specific statistic?
14. Does the post break news as a primary source?
15. Does the post ask individuals to share its content?
16. Does the post ask individuals to comment on its content?
17. Does the post ask individuals to add/create photos or videos?
18. Does the post ask individuals to write a blog post/story?
19. Does the post ask individuals to complete a questionnaire or survey or vote in a poll?
20. Does the post ask individuals to sign an online petition?
21. Does the post pose a question?
22. Does the post target an organization, group, or individual positively?
23. Does the post target an organization, group, or individual negatively?
24. Does the post mention Susan G. Komen (directly/by name)?
25. Does the post mention the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign?
26. Does the post reference a politician, political party, law, state or local government, or branch of the federal government?
27. Other themes related to activism _____?

User Interaction

28. How many *likes* did the post receive?
29. How many *comments* did the post receive?
30. How many *shares* did the post receive?

Code Sheet: Twitter

- 1. Tweet Number**
- 2. Month**
- 3. Day**
- 4. Day of the Week**
 - 1= Sunday
 - 2= Monday
 - 3= Tuesday
 - 4= Wednesday
 - 5= Thursday
 - 6= Friday
 - 7= Saturday
- 5. Controversy Period**
 - 1= Before Controversy (January 17-30)
 - 2= During Controversy (January 31-February 13)
 - 3= After Controversy (February 14-27)
- 6. Tweet Length (word count)**
- 7. Tweet Type**
 - 1= Original Tweet
 - 2= Retweet: Original Content (no quote or commentary)
 - 3= Retweet: # Response (no quote or commentary)
 - 4= Modified Tweet or Quoted Tweet with Commentary
 - 5= Direct Tweet (beginning with @)
 - 6= #FF (Follow Friday recommendation)
 - 7= Reply (to previous tweet/direct tweet)
 - 8= Other _____
 - 9= Cannot Code/Unclear

Twitter Interactive Features

8. How many # symbols does the tweet contain?
9. How many @ symbols does the tweet contain?

Message Content Features

- 1= yes
- 2= no
10. Does the tweet contain a hyperlink to news or additional content (including photo or video)?
11. Does the tweet contain a linked photo/visual graphic?
12. Does the tweet contain linked video?

Message Topic

13. Which category best describes the subject of the tweet?

1= Birth Control/Contraception

2= Breast Cancer

3= Other Cancer

4= STDs

5= Abortion/Choice Debate

6= General Health

7= Non-Health Politics/Politics Only

8= Organizational Information (general)

9= Susan G. Komen Controversy

10= Promotes Other Organization or Tweeter

11= Other _____

Activism Related Themes (answer for all that apply)

1= yes

2= no

14. Does the tweet encourage donation?

15. Does the tweet encourage volunteering?

16. Does the tweet encourage political action (i.e. voting, writing a senator or congressman, etc.)?

17. Does the tweet attempt to organize a physical meeting between individuals (protest, event, or otherwise)?

18. Does the tweet share a specific statistic?

19. Does the tweet *live tweet* breaking news as a primary source?

20. Does the tweet ask individuals to retweet its content?

21. Does the tweet ask individuals to tweet a response to its content?

22. Does the tweet ask individuals to add/create photos or videos?

23. Does the tweet ask individuals to write a blog post/story?

24. Does the tweet ask individuals to complete a questionnaire or survey or vote in a poll?

25. Does the post ask individuals to sign an online petition?

26. Does the tweet pose a question?

27. Does the tweet provide specific *hashtags* for other tweeters to use?

28. Does the tweet target an organization, group, or individual positively?

29. Does the tweet target an organization, group, or individual negatively?

30. Does the tweet mention Susan G. Komen (directly/by name)?

31. Does the tweet mention the *I Stand with Planned Parenthood* campaign?

32. Does the tweet reference a politician, political party, law, state or local government, or branch of the federal government?

33. Other theme related to activism _____ ?

Appendix D

Code Sheet Instructions: Facebook

1. Enter the study's assigned entry number.
2. Enter the month of the message's posting.
3. Enter the day of the month (numerical date) of the message's posting.
4. Using a 2012 calendar, determine the day of the week corresponding to the date of the message's posting.
5. Code the study period according to the message's posted date.
6. Record the word count of the message content only. Do not include preview text of linked content (appearing in a box under the main message, usually with an inset photo and link location). Do not include other supplemental text, including any text automatically generated by Facebook to appear in the message window.
7. **Post Type**
 - 1= Text Only: *Code if only text appears in the message body with no supplemental linked information or image following.*
 - 2= Link to Self-Generated News/Organization's Own Website: *Code if linked content clearly points to PlannedParenthood.com or affiliated site for additional content.*
 - 3= Link to Other-Generated News: *Code if linked text clearly points to a site other than PlannedParenthood.com for additional content.*
 - 4= Link to News, Generator Unclear: *Code if the link destination/generator is unclear, specifically when the link is to "bit.ly" and preview image/text does not contain branding.*
 - 5= Photo with Caption: *Code images with captions that are posted as message content. Do not code posts that include an image preview in linked content only (see #6). Captions will appear as message text above posted images. Posted images will appear large, filling the entire width of the message box.*
 - 6= Video with Caption: *Code if the linked image preview includes a "play button." Also code if message text clearly states, "watch this video," with a link to content. "Video with Caption" supersedes coding of #2, #3, and #4—regardless of who generated the video content.*
 - 7= Shared Post from Other User: *Code if the post appears as shared from another Facebook user's wall/Timeline.*
 - 8= Other _____: *Code only posts found not to fit in categories 1-7.*

Message Topic

8. Do not code posts in more than one category. This section is meant to give a general idea of conversation topic only. While many posts may include politics, only posts that mention politics and no other category should be coded as "Non-Health Politics/Politics Only." General political sentiment is coded in activist themes (#26).

Activism Related Themes (answer for all that apply)

9. Include both direct requests as well as posts that commend specific individuals for their donations.
10. Include both direct requests as well as posts that commend specific individuals for their volunteering.
11. Include only direct requests.
12. Do not include posts attempting to organize an "online march".
13. Posts must include a number or claim "FACT:".
14. Include only posts made while news is happening, with the author as the source/reporter. Do not include reposts of breaking news with links to other news sources. Include posts that claim "Breaking" or otherwise suggest news is happening now, without a cited source.
15. Include only direct requests.
16. Include only direct requests.
17. Include only direct requests.
18. Include only direct requests.
19. Include only direct requests.
20. Include only direct requests.
21. Include posts that pose a question to audiences. Do not include rhetorical questions such as, "Is he serious?" or "Are you kidding?"
22. Messages of thanks, support, congratulations, appreciation, etc. of individuals count as positive targeting.
23. Negative targeting includes using words such as "failure," "got it wrong," "is mistaken," "Stop Name from doing XYZ" or generally disparaging the thoughts or actions of an individual or group. It should be clear who is being negatively targeted.
24. Posts can include abbreviations such as "Komen" or "SGK."
25. Also include abbreviations, "I Stand" and "Stand with PP," etc.
26. Included posts must be expressly clear about political connection. Names that are not obviously those of a politician will not be coded as a politician. (Example: Code "Senator Roy Blunt"; Do not code "Roy Blunt".) Exceptions to this rule include Barak Obama, Mitt Romney, and other HIGHLY prominent politicians or political candidates. (Consider the likely knowledge of a general Facebook user of all politicians.) Include Michelle Obama as a politician, as she is a spokesperson for the Obama administration. Include posts mentioning bills and amendments. Include posts discussing elections.
27. Use only when an activist theme not mentioned in questions 9-26 is used.

User Interaction

28. Record the number of *likes* (thumbs up symbol) the post received.
29. Record the number of *comments* (speech bubble symbol) the post received.
30. Record the number of *shares* (piece of paper symbol) the post received.

Code Sheet Instructions: Twitter

1. Enter the study's assigned entry number.
2. Enter the month of the tweet's posting.
3. Enter the day of the month (numerical date) of the tweet's posting.
4. Using a 2012 calendar, determine the day of the week corresponding to the date of the tweet's posting.
5. Code the study period according to the tweet's posted date.
6. Record the word count, including all links, *hashtags*, and direct mentions (@name). Also include "RT," "MT," etc. as an individual word. Do not include Twitter's automatic notes, such as "Retweeted by Planned Parenthood," or "View Video," appearing underneath the tweet text.
7. **Tweet Type:**
 - 1= Original Tweet: *Code if tweet appears as original content, with no "RT," "QT," "MT," or direct reply (@name: ...).*
 - 2= Retweet: Original Content (no quote or commentary): *Code only for retweets that do not include commentary or modification.*
 - 3= Retweet: # Response (no quote or commentary): "Retweet: # Response" is reserved for retweets of messages created to answer a hashtag. (Example: "RT @crazycandiceann: Be a High School Teacher... #creativecontraception" (Data #175))
 - 4= Modified Tweet or Quoted Tweet with Commentary: *Code all tweets that include "MT," "QT," or commentary followed by "RT."*
 - 5= Direct Tweet (beginning with @): *Code only tweets beginning with "@name" that are meant as direct communication. Generally tweets beginning with ".@name" are not direct tweets, rather use "@name" as a subject, not an address. Direct tweets that are specifically in reply to another tweet (as noted under tweet text) should be coded as "Reply."*
 - 6= #FF (Follow Friday recommendation): *Code tweets that begin with "#FF."*
 - 7= Reply (to previous tweet/direct tweet): *Code only tweets with "In reply to..." appearing under tweet text.*
 - 8= Other _____: *Code only tweets found not to fit in categories 1-7.*
 - 9= Cannot Code/Unclear: *Code only tweets whose origin is unclear, i.e. if it is difficult to determine if content is original. (Example: "@name: message text" that does not specify RT or MT.)*

Twitter Interactive Features

8. Record the total number of *hashtags* (#) appearing within the tweet text.
9. Record the total number of @ symbols appearing within the tweet text.

Message Content Features

10. Answer "yes" if any links (other than to @name) are included. Tweets scored with "yes" to the following two questions (#11 and #12) should be scored as "yes" to this question.
11. Answer yes only if clearly specified without first following the link.
12. Answer yes only if clearly specified without first following the link.

Message Topic

13. Do not code tweets in more than one category. This section is meant to give a general idea of conversation topic only. While many tweets may include politics, only tweets that mention politics and no other category should be coded as “Non-Health Politics/Politics Only.” General political sentiment is coded in activist themes (#32).

Activism Related Themes (answer for all that apply)

14. Include retweets from individuals talking about making a donation; i.e. “I donated.” *Retweeting is considered a form of reciprocity/encouragement. Therefore retweeting a statement of action by a follower is considered an act of general user encouragement for all questions in this study.
15. Include retweets from individuals talking about volunteering; i.e. “I volunteered.”
16. Include retweets from individuals talking about engaging in political action; i.e. “I voted.” Do not include encouragement to vote in a poll or survey (see #24). Also include encouragement to watch political debates and to inform oneself about candidates. Include encouragement to tweet or call a politician or politician’s office.
17. Do not include tweets attempting to organize an “online march”.
18. Tweets must include a number or claim “FACT:”.
19. Include only tweets made while news is happening, with the author as the source/reporter. Do not include retweets of primary sources. Do not include tweets with links to other news sources. Include tweets that claim “Breaking” or otherwise suggest news is happening now, without a cited source.
20. Include only direct requests.
21. Include only direct requests.
22. Include only a direct request or encouraging retweet (see note on #14).
23. Include only a direct request or encouraging retweet (see note on #14).
24. Include only a direct request or encouraging retweet (see note on #14).
25. Include only a direct request or encouraging retweet (see note on #14).
26. Include tweets that pose a question to audiences. Do not include rhetorical questions such as, “Is he serious?” or “Are you kidding?”
27. Include only tweets where *hashtags* are presented as new ideas. Users must be directly told to tweet with *hashtags* or direction is strongly implied. (Example: “*Hashtags* for @event...”) Also code if *hashtags* are presented as a question. (Example: What kinds of #creativecontraception would you use?)
28. Positive targeting must be more than an @ mention, retweet, or FF suggestion. Messages of thanks, support, congratulations, appreciation, etc. of individuals count as positive targeting.
29. Negative targeting includes using words such as “failure,” “got it wrong,” “is mistaken,” “Stop @name from doing XYZ” or generally disparaging the thoughts or actions of an individual or group. It should be clear who is being negatively targeted.
30. Tweets can include abbreviations such as “Komen” or “SGK.”
31. Also include abbreviations, “I Stand” and “Stand with PP,” etc.

32. Included tweets must be expressly clear about political connection. “@name” that is not obviously a politician will not be coded as a politician. (Example: Code “Sen. @RoyBlunt”; Do not code “@RoyBlunt”.) Exceptions to this rule include Barak Obama, Mitt Romney, and other HIGHLY prominent politicians or political candidates. (Consider the likely knowledge of a general Twitter user of all politicians’ Twitter handles.) Do not include general political *hashtags*, such as “#women2012” when there is no other accompanying political mention. Include Michelle Obama as a politician, as she is a spokesperson for the Obama administration. Include tweets mentioning bills and amendments. Include tweets discussing elections.
33. Use only when an activist theme not mentioned in questions 14-32 is used.

References

- Anderson, T. & Kanuka, H. (2003). *e-Research: Methods, Strategies and Issues*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Austin, L. L. (2010). Framing diversity: A qualitative content analysis of public relations industry publications. *Public Relations Review*, 36(3), 298-301.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.04.008
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. New York, NY: Hafner.
- Butcher, L. (2009). Nonprofit organizations outpace businesses in use of social media. *Oncology Times*, 31(21), 39-40.
- Carroll, C. E., Lee, S. Y., & Huang, N. C. L. (2009). The syntax of 'tactic(s)' in public relations research. *Public Relations Review*, 35, 419-421.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.07.006
- CBS News. (2012, February 12). The Internet revolutionizing revolutions. Retrieved from <http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=7398424n>
- Clarke-Roland, Q. (2010). Facebook fundraising: LCT raises money, profile with Chase Community Giving. *Southern Theatre*, 51(4), 11.
- Curtis, L., Edwards, C., Fraser, K. L., Gudelsky, S., Holmquist, J., Thornton, K., & Sweetser, K. D. (2010). Adoption of social media for public relations by nonprofit organizations. *Public Relations Review*, 36(1), 90-92.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.10.003
- Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., & Broom, G. M. (1994). *Effective public relations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Crary, D. (2012a, January 31). Cancer charity halts grants to Planned Parenthood. *The Associated Press*.
- Crary, D. (2012b, February 3). Komen drops plans to cut Planned Parenthood grants. *The Associated Press*.
- Crutchfield, L. R., & Grant, H. M. (2008). *Forces for good: The six practices of high-impact nonprofits*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Das, A. (2010, June). *Facebook and nonprofit organizations: A content analysis*. Paper presented at the 60th Annual International Communication Association Conference, Singapore.
- Das, E., Kerkhof, P., & Kuiper, J. (2008). Improving the effectiveness of fundraising messages: The impact of charity goal attainment, message framing, and evidence on persuasion. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 36, 161-175.
doi:10.1080/00909880801922854
- Derville, T. (2005). Radical activist tactics: Overturning public relations conceptualizations. *Public Relations Review*, 31, 527-533.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2005.08.012
- Dye, J. F., Schatz, I. M., Rosenberg, B. A., & Coleman, S. T. (2000). Constant comparison method: A kaleidoscope of data. *The Qualitative Report*, 4(1/2).
Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-4/dye.html>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x
- Feinglass, A. (2005). *The public relations handbook for nonprofits: A comprehensive and practical guide*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Facebook. (2012a). *Glossary*. Retrieved from <http://www.facebook.com/help/glossary>

Facebook. (2012b). *Newsroom*. Retrieved from

<http://newsroom.fb.com/content/default.aspx?NewsAreaId=22>

Gunter, B. (2000). *Media research methods*. London: Sage.

Grunig, J. E. (1997). A situational theory of publics: Conceptual history, recent challenges and new research. In D. Moss, T. MacManus, & D. Vercic (Eds.), *Public relations research: An international perspective* (pp. 3–48). London: International Thomson Business.

Grunig, J. E., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Grunig, J. E. & Repper, F. C. (1992). Strategic management, publics, and issues. In J. E. Grunig (Ed.), *Excellence in public relations and communication management* (pp. 117–157). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grunig, L. A. (1992). Activism: How it limits the effectiveness of organizations and how excellent public relations departments respond. In J. E. Grunig (Ed.), *Excellence in public relations and communication management* (pp. 503–530). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Harris, T. L., & Kotler, P. (1999). *Value-added public relations: The secret weapon of integrated marketing*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Professional.

Hendrix, J. A. (2000). *Public relations cases*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Henry, R. (2012, February 7). Komen exec quits after Planned Parenthood flap. *The Associated Press*.

Hopkins, B. R. (2001). *Starting and managing a nonprofit organization: A legal guide*.

New York: J. Wiley & Sons.

Hum, N. J., Chamberlin, P.E., Hambright B.L., Portwood, A. C., Schat, A. C., Bevan, J.

L., (2011). A picture is worth a thousand words: A content analysis of Facebook profile photographs. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 27(5), 1828-1833.

doi:10.1016/j.chb.2011.04.003

Ingenhoff, D., & Koelling, A. (2010). Web sites as a dialogic tool for charitable

fundraising NPOs: A comparative study. *International Journal of Strategic*

Communication, 4(3), 171-188. doi:10.1080/1553118X.2010.489499

IRS. (2011). *Tax-exempt status for your organization*. Publication 557, Cat. No 46573C,

pp. 65-66. Retrieved from <http://www.usa.gov/Business/Nonprofit.shtml>

Jensen, K. B. (1991). Introduction: The qualitative turn. In N. W. Jankowski & K. B.

Jensen (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (pp. 1-11). New York, NY: Routledge.

Karlberg, M. (1996). Remembering the public in public relations research: From

theoretical to operational symmetry. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 8, 263-278.

Kassarjian, H. H. (1977). Content Analysis in Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer*

Research, 4(1), 8-18.

Kendall, R. (1999). *Public relations campaign strategies: Planning for implementation*.

New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Kelly, K. S. (2001). Stewardship: The missing step in the public relations process. In R.

L. Heath (Ed.), *Handbook of public relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Kracauer, S. (1952). The Challenge of qualitative content analysis. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 16(4), 631-642.
- Kristof, N. (2012, February 5). After recess: Change the world. *The New York Times*, p. SR11.
- Langlois, G., Elmer, G., McKelvey, F., & Devereaux, Z. (2009). Networked publics: The double articulation of code and politics on Facebook. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 34(3), 415-434.
- Larsen, P. (1991). Media contents: Textual analysis of fictional media content. In N. W. Jankowski & K. B. Jensen (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (pp. 121-134). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content analysis in mass communication: Assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28, 587-604.
- Lim, J., & Jones, L. (2010). A baseline summary of framing research in public relations from 1990 to 2009. *Public Relations Review*, 36(3), 292-297.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.05.003
- Livingston, G. (2009). High-dollar non-profit donors would embrace social media. *Journal of New Communications Research*, 4(1), 87-94.
- Lovejoy, K., Waters, R. D., Saxton, G. D. (2012). Engaging stakeholders through Twitter - How nonprofit organizations are getting more out of 140 characters or less. *Public Relations Review*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1016/j.pubrev.2012.01.005
- Marston, J. E. (1979). *Modern public relations*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

- McDowell, W. S. (2004). Selling the niche: A qualitative content analysis of cable network business-to-business advertising. *JMM: The International Journal on Media Management*, 6(3/4), 217-225. doi:10.1207/s14241250ijmm0603&4_10
- McCafferty, D. (2011). Activism vs. slacktivism. *Communications of the ACM*, 54(12), 17-19. doi:10.1145/2043174.2043182
- Milli, A. (2012). *Facebook, activism, and women's health NPOs: The case of Planned Parenthood versus Susan G. Komen*. Unpublished manuscript, Towson University.
- National Center for Charitable Statistics. (2011). *US nonprofit sector*. Retrieved from <http://nccs.urban.org/statistics/index.cfm>
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Planned Parenthood. (2010). Annual report. Retrieved from <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/annual-report-4661.htm>
- Planned Parenthood. (2012a). *About us*. Retrieved from <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/who-we-are/planned-parenthood-glance-5552.htm>
- Planned Parenthood. (2012b). *About*. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/PlannedParenthood/info>
- Planned Parenthood. (2012c). *Who we are*. Retrieved from <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/who-we-are-4648.htm>
- Potter, W. J., & Levine-Donnerstein, D. (1999). Rethinking validity and reliability in content analysis. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 27(3), 258-284. doi:10.1080/00909889909365539

- Powell, W. W., & Steinberg R. (2006). *The non-profit sector: A research handbook*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Public Relations Society of America. (2012). *Communicating public relations' value*. Retrieved from http://www.prsa.org/Intelligence/BusinessCase/Communicating_Public_Relations_Value
- Rodino, V. & DeLuca, K. (1999, June). *Unruly relations: Not managing communication in the construction of the activist model of public relations*. Paper presented at the PRSA Educator Academy Second Annual Research Conference, College Park, MD.
- Sagawa, S., & Jospin, D. (2009). *The charismatic organization*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Shannon, C. E., & Weaver, W. (1998). *The mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Shirky, C. (2011). The political power of social media. *Foreign Affairs*, 90(1), 28-41.
- Schwarz, A., & Pforr, F. (2011). The crisis communication preparedness of nonprofit organizations: The case of German interest groups. *Public Relations Review*, 37, 68-70.
- Small, T. A. (2011). What the hashtag?. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6), 872-895. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572
- Smith, M., & Ferguson, D. (2001). Activism. In R. Heath (Ed.), *Handbook of public relations* (pp. 291-300). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sun, L. H., & Kliff, S. (2012, February 5). Komen aims to restore its credibility. *The Washington Post*, p. A3.

- Susan G. Komen. (2012). *About us*. Retrieved from <http://ww5.komen.org/AboutUs/AboutUs.html>
- Swift, M (2012, March 31). Anger over Facebook's new format; Some companies are getting an earful after their mandatory switch to Timeline. *Los Angeles Times*, p. B3.
- Teegarden, P. H., Hinden, D. R., & Sturm, P. (2011). *The nonprofit organizational culture guide*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Twitter. (2012). *200 million tweets per day*. Retrieved from <http://blog.twitter.com/2011/06/200-million-tweets-per-day.html>
- Vericat, J. (2010). Accidental activists: Using Facebook to drive change. *Journal of International Affairs*, 64(1), 177-180.
- Waters, R. (2008). Applying relationship management theory to the fundraising process for individual donors. *Journal of Communication Management*, 12(1), 73-87.
doi:10.1108/13632540810854244
- Waters, R. D. (2009). Measuring stewardship in public relations: A test exploring impact on the fundraising relationship. *Public Relations Review*, 35(2), 113-119.
doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.012
- Waters, R. D., Burnett, E., Lamm, A., & Lucas J. (2009). Engaging stakeholders through social networking: How nonprofit organizations are using Facebook. *Public Relations Review*, 35, 102-106.
- Waters, R. D. (2011). Redefining stewardship: Examining how Fortune 100 organizations use stewardship with virtual stakeholders. *Public Relations Review*, 37(2), 129-136.

- Weaver, C. K. (2010). Carnavalesque activism as a public relations genre: A case study of the New Zealand group Mothers Against Genetic Engineering. *Public Relations Review, 36*, 35-41. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.09.001
- Wester, F., Pleijter, A., & Renckstorf, K. (2004). Exploring newspapers' portrayals: A logic for interpretive content analysis. *Communications: The European Journal Of Communication Research, 29*(4), 495-513.
- Worley, D. A., & Little, J. K. (2002). The critical role of stewardship in fund raising: The Coaches vs. Cancer campaign. *Public Relations Review, 28*(1), 99–112.
doi:10.1016/S0363-8111(02)00113-3
- Wortham, J. (2012, January 19). Public outcry over antipiracy bills began as grass-roots grumbling. *The New York Times*, p. B1.
- YouTube. (2012). *Statistics*. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/t/press_statistics

CURRICULUM VITA

NAME: Annie M. Milli

PERMANENT ADDRESS: 913 E 37th Street, Baltimore MD, 21218

PROGRAM OF STUDY: Communication Management

DEGREE AND DATE TO BE CONFERRED: Master of Science, January 2013

<u>Collegiate Institutions Attended</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Date of Degree</u>
Columbus College of Art and Design	9/1999 – 5/2003	BFA	5/2003
Major: Advertising and Graphic Design			
Towson University	6/2010 – 12/2012	MS	1/2013
Major: Communication Management			

Professional positions held:

Owner
Annie Milli Marketing
913 E 37th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218

Art Director
Siquis, Ltd.
1340 Smith Avenue, Suite 300
Baltimore, MD 21209

Art Director
Eisner Communications (*no longer in business*)
(*previously*) 509 S Exeter Street
Baltimore, MD 21202

Graphic Designer
The Associated: Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore
101 W Mount Royal Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21201

