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March Like A Girl: A Case Study of the Women's Movements in Spain and the United States

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Abstract

Between 2017 and 2018, the gender equality movement exploded in Spain and the United States due to two independent catalysts. In each respective country, there was one main grassroots coalition that channeled public outrage into a coherent display of protest. As the initial passion from the catalyst events diminished, these coalitions did not fade away. Instead, they grew into their nation's face of women's advocacy. Given the comparable set of circumstances in Spain and the U.S., I identify how two temporary, newborn coalitions were able to capitalize on a burst of fame and develop into leading organizations. This paper examines the role of the latest grassroots mobilization tactics in gender-based protests and how they translate to the qualities of a successful social movement. I show that a combination of inclusive framing, coalition building, social media use, and decentralized structure are utilized by both Women's March and Comisión 8M and explain the rapid ascent to national prominence and the power to move millions of people.

Acknowledgement

I. Introduction

Women's rights are human rights. The year 2020 marks the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage in the United States. The 19th Amendment, which "guarantees all American women the right to vote" was a groundbreaking accomplishment for women everywhere. This victory took decades of lobbying, lecturing, acts of civil disobedience, picketing, and other methods of grassroots mobilization (Ourdocuments.gov). Achieving gender equality will benefit not only women, but all of society. Hundreds of studies have proved that empowering women and men equally leads to greater social, economic, and political success (UN Women, 2018). Not only is it important to understand the current women's movements to demonstrate how far we have come as a society, but also in order to determine how much we have still to achieve.

Today, there is a huge focus on evening the playing field for women through economic means. A recent study sponsored by the Oak Foundation suggests an alternative, "integrated approach" to addressing the human rights issues that contribute to gender equality (Wesely and Dubon, 2018). This strategy requires the institution of eight "building blocks", or sources of empowerment, that incorporate "access to equitable and safe employment, [...] voice in society and policy influence, [...] access to and control over reproductive health and family formation, [...] [and] social protection and childcare" (Wesely and Dubon, 2018). Instead of pouring all resources into economic aid for women, systemic, sustainable change must also address social, cultural, legal, and political barricades to total gender equality.

One method of implementing this approach is through the activities of grassroots women's organizations (GWOs). There are hundreds of GWOs globally that are devoted

to empowering women in a social, political, legal, cultural, and economic sense. Many of these organizations provide women with training on legal rights, opportunity for political participation, coaching on economic empowerment, access to reproductive and maternal health care, collective saving and credit programs, and sexual violence and property rights advocacy.

In order to understand whether the current increase in GWO's will be successful in helping countries progress toward the ultimate goal of comprehensive gender equality, we must analyze the current feminist movements. The purpose of this study is to reveal if and how the current techniques employed by the women's movements are affecting protest participation levels. This will provide an opportunity for revision and adaptation. The Women's March and Comisión 8M are two of the organizations that could contribute to a genuine shift in gender norms and unequal policy in ways that extend beyond the world of politics and business.

The revival of the women's movement in each country erupted after two catalyst events in the last five years. What allowed these organizations to continue to thrive one year after the initial spark? Based on my analysis, I show that a combination of inclusive framing, coalition building, social media use, and decentralized structure are utilized by both Women's March and Comisión 8M and explain the rapid ascent to national prominence and the power to move millions of people.

II. Background

The recent revival in protest activity in Spain and the United States present a similar set of circumstances. In 2017 and 2018, Spain and the U.S. experienced two of

the largest protests recorded in their respective nation's histories. The Women's March

on Washington on January 21st, 2017 was the largest single-day demonstration in

recorded U.S. history, drawing out over 4 million people (Chenoweth & Pressman,

2019). Since then, it has been the leading organization for encouraging and directly

supporting gender-based protests in the United States. It initiated the second and third

anniversaries of the January protest, and has also supported hundreds of other gender-

and minority-based demonstrations (Women's March, Inc., 2019). A little over a year

later, to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8th, 2018, over 5 million people

protested across Spain against gender inequality and sexual discrimination. Prior to this

demonstration, there had not been a general protest in Spain for over six years (Left

Voice, 2018).

A protest of this size was unprecedented in both countries. The circumstances

pose the question: what changed in 2017 and 2018? The answer to this question lies

outside of the actions of the movements. Both protests were a direct response to a catalyst

event that triggered a wave of outcry for feminist and minority rights.

The American protest was a reaction to the presidential election of Donald

Trump, who had repeatedly spoken ill of women, immigrants, and people of color. At the

same time, Americans watched as former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the first

woman to win the presidential nomination of a major political party, won the popular

vote but lost the race to Donald Trump due to the power of the electoral college. Trump

received 45.9% of the popular vote and 306 electoral college votes, while Hillary earned

48% of the popular vote and just 232 electoral college votes (NY Times, 2017). The 2017

Women's March turned into a comprehensive expression for many liberal issues that

Donald Trump pledged to oppose, from immigration to minority rights. However, the

central message was its largest magnet: a demand for equal treatment of women due to

the a.) misogynistic treatment of Clinton throughout her campaign and b.) chauvinist

behavior of Trump both prior to and during his campaign.

In Spain, the five men convicted of sexual abuse of an 18-year-old woman at the

Festival of San Fermín became a source of national outrage. In what was nicknamed the

"La Manada" case, or "the pack", the Court found the men guilty of sexual abuse instead

of what many argued should have been a sexual assault conviction. Sexual assault carries

a much higher penalty than sexual abuse, which many believed fit the nature of the crime.

These actions made it possible to connect protests against male and sexual violence with

a denunciation of the patriarchal Spanish justice system, which charged the attackers with

sexual abuse rather than rape (Local/AFP, T., 2019). This series of actions, centered on

women's right to make decisions over our own bodies and opposition to male violence,

was crucial to the development of the modern Spanish feminist movement as it allowed a

new generation of young women to join the feminist struggle. Women and men across

Spain were infuriated that the Court's decision sends a troubling message to women that

sexual assault claims would be subject to intense scrutiny, and the message to society that

sexual harrassment victims were not taken seriously. Moreover, the decision to let the

attackers off with a relatively light sentencing reveals the patriarchal nature and sexist

stereotyping that remain very much alive in the Spanish criminal justice system. The

subsequent protest reflected anger at that specific situation, as well as sexual violence,

gender inequality, and the patriarchal, *machismo* nature of the Spanish government. The

outrage in both situations fueled the creation of Women's March and Comisión 8M.

What began as loosely-organized groups of people devoted to assembling a singular protest has blossomed into two large networks of activists lobbying for a number of issues. 8M has leaders in every major region of Spain, and is similar to Women's March in many aspects. The name commemorates March 8, 1908, a day in which 129 female workers were killed in a New York factory strike, which later became International Women's Day. Members of the movements can be found encouraging citizens to get out the vote, raising their voice to say #MeToo, and supporting a record number of women in their campaigns for office, as well as engaging in outreach in many other areas (UN Women, 2018). It appears that both 8M and Women's March have gained substantial following since 2017 and 2018, respectively, and are among the leaders of the women's movements in Spain and the U.S.

III. Literature Review: Social Movements in Context

Drawing on the literature, three components for successful social movements emerge. This literature review covers the importance of framing, recruitment, and organizational structure as critical success or failure points. These three aspects are controlled by those who organize the movement. Thus, my study of the Spanish and American women's movements also includes a detailed analysis of these three elements.

Ted Gurr explains that the motives for social mobilization are a function of an individual's grievances and anger. He claims that relative deprivation motivates people to organize. This occurs when an individual senses inequality between themselves and a neighbor, or relative to their own expectations. In this instance, they will support social movements because their expectations surpass their reality (Gurr, 1968; 1970).

Frustration, and thus motivation, only grows as the gap between value expectation and attainment widens. This gap is heavily dependent on the value attainment of those within proximal distance to the individual. If everyone around them experiences the same low level of value attainment, then relative deprivation will not be present (Gurr, 1970). While Gurr is right that relative deprivation helps explain the origin of movements, there are many frustrated groups that have not generated lasting social movements. Thus, to understand the evolution of movements you cannot stop at relative deprivation and other external shocks. Previous literature on social movements includes studies on why some movements fail while others succeed. Effective framing, recruitment, and organization have emerged as three dominant factors that can essentially make or break a movement.

Framing

The term 'framing' refers to the active process of meaning construction used by social movement actors, or 'an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction' (Benford and Snow, 2000). Framing Analysis theory, which was first introduced by Erving Goffman, argues that framing tells the audience what information to think about and how to think about it (Goffman, 1974). Building upon this theory, Fairhurst and Sarr put forth seven techniques by which to identify framing: metaphor; stories; tradition; slogan, jargon, and catchphrase; artifact; contrast; and spin (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). Metaphors frame one idea through comparison to another that is similar. Stories include myths and legends to frame a topic through a more narrative, memorable route. Tradition consists of rituals and ceremonies that add cultural significance to the ideas. Slogan, jargon, and catchphrases associate a

topic with a catchy phrase. Similarly to tradition, artifacts associate symbolic objects with

ideas in order to add cultural meaning to them. Contrast works by describing an object or

idea in terms of what it is unlike. Lastly, spinning presents a concept in a way that

requires positive or negative value judgement in order to create an inherent bias by

definition. The way in which a movement capitalizes on these seven techniques

corresponds directly to its public perception. The key is the ability to employ any

combination of these techniques in order to communicate the issue, solutions, and

necessary action.

Collective action frames should build upon a shared meaning of the movement in

order to mobilize participants. There are three major tasks that a collective action frame

must achieve: diagnostic framing (in which the issue and its source are collectively

understood and linked); prognostic framing (in which the strategies for the solution to the

issue are put forth); and motivational framing (in which participants are effectively

persuaded that collective action is necessary). There are various frames that have proven

effective for the last task. One of the most successful motivational framing themes is

those related to the idea of justice (Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina, 1982). These scholars

argue that feelings of injustice are advantageous to persuasive diagnostic and prognostic

framing because of their ability to resonate with a wide variety of people. Sarah Rennick

adds to this claim, arguing that the Arab Spring benefitted from a frame alignment that

was based on the cultural norm of social justice (Rennick, 2013). She argues that during

the pre-mobilization phase of the movement, collective action was built due to the

strategic frame alignment undertaken by activists. This frame, she claims, highlighted the

movement's struggle and objectives in a clear, persuasive tone that convinced people to take action (Rennick, 2013).

Bennett and Segerberg name a second type of framing that has recently emerged as important to social movements. In addition to collective action framing, the rise of social media has allowed personal framing to contribute to the macro-level perception of a movement. They argue that social media tools such as Facebook allow individuals to share personal grievances and values as they relate to the movement. The unlimited and instantaneous nature of the sharing allows for these personal frames to often be more prevalent than collective action frames. This leads to two major changes within social movements. First, personal action framing supports a much wider inclusion of activists than more traditional collective action methods. As a result, movements become less radical, less political, and require less personal identification or dedication to a cause. Secondly, Benkler supports Bennett and Segerberg's conclusion that the critical mechanism of personal sharing is that it is self-motivated and easily recognized by others. By allowing non-traditional actors to easily add to the message of the movement, the free-rider issue that so often poses problems for social movements is greatly diminished (Bencher 2006; Bennett and Segerberg 2012) The free-rider dilemma posits that rational, self-interested individuals are more likely to abstain from collective action, even though they will benefit from its achievements (Weismuller, 2012). This poses a potential problem for collective action efforts to mobilize demonstrators. Online presence for social movements decreases the risk and effort of participating in collective action, which encourages engagement.

Scholars have studied the importance of frames in a variety of settings, including feminist organizations. Luna identifies framing as the single most important factor for social movement success. Her research explores the process of developing coalition frames when there are a diverse range of interests, and how framing changes after formal coalition ends. She focuses mainly on the frame shift for the 2004 March for Women's Lives (MWL) protest. At its inception, this event and its four national co-sponsors were centralized around the idea of achieving womens' reproductive rights through policy change. As support for the march and the ideas it stood for grew, so too did the popularity of the organization. It quickly adjusted to become a coalition for reproductive justice. Luna concludes that the change in framing was prompted by a reproductive justice organization that approached March for Women's Lives with an interest in pairing up to gain attention. After agreeing to share resources until they accomplished their goal, MWL reframed their message so as to include not only policy changes, but also to ensure that reproductive rights were shared equally among all women. This change is characteristic of many social movements, who find that their original grievances are often too narrow to attract the attention and aid of the general public. By banding together with other movements whose grievances are similar in nature, social movements have often found more success in achieving broad change (Luna, 2010).

Furthermore, Luna investigates how this shift affected the impact of MWL and the women's movement as a whole. She argues that the coalition's new, unified frame created positive lasting changes for the collective issue of reproductive justice and gender equality. She finds that these effects remained present even after the formal coalition was dissolved, and lasted despite other existing tensions within the movement (Luna, 2010).

Building on this assertion, Banaszak declares the issue of framing to be the most important in understanding why the United States achieved success so much earlier than Switzerland (Banaszak, 1996).

In her research on the late twentieth century women's movements in Chile, Lisa Baldez also argues that framing is the most important of three major factors that persuade women to mobilize for gender related issues. To validate this theory, Baldez analyzes two very different women's movements in Chile: the feminist movement against President Salvador Allende (1970-1973) and the women's movement against General Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). The women against socialist Allende supported replacing the democratically-elected leader through the means of a military coup. On the other hand, the women against the conservative Pinochet were fighting for a democratic election to decide their new leader. As Baldez points out, both movements framed their grievances in terms of women's exclusion from political participation. The opposite nature of the demands in these movements, yet striking similarity in framing is the basis for Baldez's argument in proving that this factor is significant. Baldez's work is significant to this study because it shows that framing a movement as a women's issue gives it a greater chance of success.

In summation, there are numerous framing techniques that are utilized to control how the public views a social movement. An effective frame is one that sends a clear, persuasive message and tells the audience what the problem is, how to fix it, and why it is beneficial to them to get involved.

Recruitment

The way in which social movements invite individuals to partake is highly important in their turnout. People are unlikely to participate in protest or other forms of collective action if they are not invited to (Rosenstone & Hursch, 1982; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Traditional recruitment revolves around face to face or via organization membership networks. Charles Tilly argues that the interaction between individuals is historically the primary driving force of social movements. (Tilly, 1984). However, individuals are only likely to participate in collective action when they believe that their membership is important to the movement (Wright, 2001). In other words, people are much more willing to support a social movement if someone asks them to, and if they believe their voice will be heard. Stekelenburg and Klandermans take this claim one step further by concluding that the degree of group identification is a key predictor of level of collective participation (Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2007). The degree of group identification is directly created by communication between individuals. As a result, social movements rely on social networks to create an initial base of supporters that can spread their discontent to less strongly tied individuals (Lim, 2012).

In recent years, more of this recruitment is accomplished via online social networking and mass media. Newspapers, radio, television, and unlimited access to discussion on the Internet provides critical spaces for citizens to learn and debate public matters. These avenues have given citizens greater capacity than ever to generate public sympathy for the issues they care about. Modern day social movements now depend on this free press from individual Internet discussions to stay relevant (Butsch, 2007).

Studies on U.S. progressive activism of the latter half of the twentieth century highlight the importance of personal ties and organizations (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980; McAdam, 1988), but more recent research reveals that other sources may now be just as, if not more, significant. In U.S. protests against the Iraq War, less than one-tenth of demonstrators learned about them through a formal organization (Walgrave and Klandermans, 2010). Instead, the media was increasingly responsible for spreading information. Advertisements, flyers, posters, the Internet, and other outlets were found to be equally as significant - at roughly one-third each - as personal networks in this case. Despite the presence of social media as an important tool, traditional media managed to remain significant, as around one-fifth of publicizing efforts were through this route.

In the place of personal and organizational ties, traditional media and social media/the Internet are the top ways to attract participants. In the 2004 anti-Bush protest at the Republican National Convention, neither organizational ties nor personal ties were cited as the largest reasons for individual participation (Fisher 2010). The 2007 Step it Up National Day of Climate Action demonstrations highlighted the same results (Fisher 2010; Fisher and Boekkooi 2010). Instead of personal ties, both instances credited traditional media and social media/the Internet as the top recruitment sources. Traditional media also played a large role in the mobilization for the 2006 May Day Chicago immigrant rights march. Over 50% of demonstrators reported that they had learned about the event through traditional media channels (Pallares and Flores-González 2010).

As the age of the Internet and social media have taken over other aspects of society, social movement organizers, volunteers, and activists have been quick to catch on and use these tools to their advantage. Social media, mainly Twitter, Instagram, and

Facebook, as well as the ability by anyone to produce a website, have quickly become

vital tools for building the platforms of today's social movements. With regard to social

media, polls of a number of feminist groups on a variety of college campuses and found

that social media, particularly Facebook, played the largest role in their recruitment

efforts (Bailo and Vromen, 2017). Their small budgets (less than $20 annually) made

social media an attractive option because it is virtually free. Although significant, the

Internet and social media have not completely replaced traditional methods of

recruitment (Earl, 2011; Tufekci and Wilson, 2012; Bailo and Vromen, 2017). Instead, it

appears we are in an age where both traditional and new age recruitment methods play

important roles in recruitment.

Research on recruitment and participation in collective action reveals gender-

based differences that are essential to understanding social movement organizations.

Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson highlight two components of recruitment for social

movements: perception of grievance and flexibility for participation. People are more

likely to engage in social protest if their perception of grievance is strong and their

flexibility for participation is high. They also assert the importance of recruitment

through pre-existing social ties, whether it be through family, friends, or acquaintances.

They find that women are generally more active than men in recruiting through networks,

and that these relationships are grounded in self-disclosure and assistance. The

differences in social movement participation between men and women are a product of

the recruitment processes. Women connect with one another based on their historical

status as political outsiders, whereas men, especially caucasian men, do not have this

connection (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980). Building on this theory, Burke

Rochford determines that men are typically recruited into social movements through strangers in public places, while women generally know someone in the movement who invites them to participate. Therefore, the recruitment process is generally different across genders (Rochford, 1985).

A more current study in the Middle East and northern Africa by Gheytanchi and Valentine demonstrates how women's cyber activism, their citizen journalism, and their self-organization 'both contribute to and reflect the social and political changes that have occurred in the region'. They examine four cases based on Iran's Green Protests and its feminist movement; the 2011 political revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, and women's campaigns since then; and the gradualist movement in Morocco for women's rights and democratization. They conclude that new information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as mobile phones, satellite television, and social media, have given a voice to women who were previously without one. These new platforms have allowed women to communicate with each other and raise awareness about the issues they face, creating a multitude of agents for social and political change.

During the Middle East's mass social protests of 2009 and 2011, the authors have identified two distinct features that marked them differently from past instances of social protests in this area: the substantial presence of ICTs and the participation of women either in a specific feminist context or as general protestors of the status quo. This second factor reflects a broader change in women's movements, where women have begun to align themselves with broader social movements in order to gather more support from a wider base of citizens. This change in organization and framing supports the findings in

Luna's studies on how the March for Women's Lives coalition in the United States

expanded their campaign issues in order to include more of those affected.

Recruitment trends are important to understanding how gendered social

movements operate and how they can maximize their outreach. Effective recruiting is one

of the steps to establishing and maintaining a powerful social movement. Today, we see

that traditional media, digital media, and social connections all play a significant role in

recruiting people to engage in collective action and social movements, as well as

appealing to a broad base of demonstrators and so successful movements will rely on

multiple modes of recruitment.

Organizational Structures

Several studies show that organizational structures are hugely significant in

mobilizing effective demonstration events (McAdam, 1999; McCarthy and Zald, 1977;

Morris, 1984; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo, 2005). If a

movement is to sustain its success for an extended period of time, some form of

organization is required. This is generally manifested in leadership, administrative

structure, incentives for participation, and a means for acquiring resources (Zald and

McCarthy, 1987). The National Study of Protest Events found that some sort of formally

or informally-organized coalition was involved with ⅓ of all demonstration events

(Beyerlein et al., 2018). As time goes on and social movements mature, or become more

"professionalized" (Everett, 1992; McCarthy and Zald, 1977), the number of

organizations aiding social movements has decreased. Those that remain become bigger

and more widely recognized, and therefore are considered more legitimate. As social

movements become more prevalent, the number of protests with at least one or more formally developed coalitions increases (Soule and Earl, 2005).

Dyke and Amos evaluate what allows coalitions to form, maintain their influence, and achieve their goals. They assert that social movements need coalitions to help organize the large groups of participants necessary for success. They identify conducive organizational structures, meaning those that allow flexibility for change, are most influential to movement survival, mainly through coalition form and the nature of institutional targets. In addition to these factors, they contend that communication is vital to establishing coalition formation and survival. The variables associated with this include communication technology, access to physical and virtual communication centers, and interaction (Dyke and Amos, 2017).

Lee Ann Banaszak dives deep into the question of why some women's movements have succeeded in some places, and failed in others. She compares the struggle to attain women's suffrage in the United States and Switzerland, contending that they are similar states in many respects, and yet, differ so greatly in terms of when women achieved the right to vote. She examines several factors that either played a role or were insignificant in determining the success of the women's movements in each respective country. She seeks to answer three questions about the two nations: why American women gained suffrage much earlier than Swiss women, why some U.S. states and certain regions in Switzerland acquire voting rights before other parts of their nation, and why some of the earlier suffrage movements initially failed but saw great success later in time (Banaszak, 1996).

Banaszak finds that formal organizations, typically ones that are registered as a 501(c)(3) public charity or 501(4)(c) organization, encourages governments to take the movement seriously. Agreeing with the statements of Luna in this regard, she maintains that success in this social movement was extremely limited without formal coalitions. She also asserts that the resources of power, money, and organization size are not significant in achieving success. Instead, organizational, lobbying, and confrontational tactics employed by activists were all associated with success early on.

Gheytanchi and Valentine comment on what appears to be emerging as the typical organization style of women's rights movements. They observe a growing trend of self-organizing women's rights groups that are unique in their model of 'loose networks'. Unlike other operations that operate under centralized or hierarchical settings, many of the women's movement groups that have emerged in the last decade choose a more decentralized and "leader-less" approach. These groups generally advocate for women's equality, participation, and rights. This article cites the Green Protests and Arab Spring protests as examples of this management. However, this is also cited by Luna about the March for Women's Lives coalition and in Baldez's review of the women's movements against Allende and Pinochet in Chile. Thus, it is agreed upon by several authors in the literature that women's movements have largely become loose social networks of activists who share information and resources but are not led by an elite group. Gheytanchi and Valentine claim that this structuring has occurred because of increased knowledge of democratic principles, the demand to "bypass the state" in an authoritarian context, and the diffusion of ICTs around the world. The claims made by Kaplan in her study of the women's protests in the early twentieth century Barcelona also demonstrate

how closely social welfare, female political consciousness, and the fight for women's rights are linked. Given the literature, it appears that this restructuring has made it easier for equal rights groups to emerge and has increased overall engagement.

To recap the three major techniques, existing literature on social movements and women's mass mobilization tend to agree on the importance of issue framing as one of the significant factors in executing a successful social movement. Furthermore, most researchers have agreed upon the current trend of framing women's rights as human rights, and aligning the women's movement with broader social issues in order to initiate widespread change. Research also illustrates the importance of proper recruitment tools, of which social media has recently emerged as an important component. Lastly, the way in which coalitions organize is crucial to their success. We have seen through a variety of studies that both grassroots, loosely-organized efforts and also formal institutions contribute to the success of social movements. Therefore, an ideal organization could combine both of these aspects in order to attract individuals and gain legitimacy.

The assembly of current literature on social movements is essential to the analysis of the current women's movements because it provides the theories by which these social movements can be understood. My research will add a fresh perspective to both how social movements and coalitions can be successful and what characteristics of the current major organizations are contributing to its success. Since the revival of the women's movement in the U.S. and Spain, existing research has not yet analyzed the Women's March or 8M as organizations using existing knowledge on social movements. In this paper, I establish which factors contribute to the current revival of the women's movement specifically in the United States and Spain.

IV. Research Design

In terms of outcomes, I will specify what constitutes a 'successful' social movement. Success can only occur with visible alteration in the status quo in favor of the movement's goals. This can appear in a variety of contexts, such as a change in attitudes, laws and regulations, elected officials, or voter turnout, to name a few. However, for my research purposes, I will measure success in terms of the status of Women's March and Comisión 8M as organizations, which can be measured through their protest turnout.

In order to control for opportunity structure, I compare two democratic countries. According to the 2019 Human Freedom Index, Spain and the U.S. are both ranked in the top fifth of the world's most 'free' countries (The Human Freedom Index 2019). Both are decentralized countries with two main political parties, although Spain has seen new populist parties on the right and left emerge in recent years while the U.S. has seen these populist movements emerge inside the traditional parties. Additionally, I control for the types of grievances by limiting them to those explicitly stated as regarding gender equality. With the same opportunity structures and grievances, the question of whether the movement grows and evolves or dies out turns on the choices the movement makes. Using this approach, I ensure that changes in its status are due to the efforts of the movement, specifically its framing, recruitment, and organization choices, instead of outside forces.

I compare the women's movements in the United States and Spain because they are most similar cases that present comparable characteristics as states and in the status of women in society. Primarily, they are both relatively rich democracies. According to the

International Monetary Fund's World Economic Outlook for April 2019, Spain and the

U.S. are both ranked in the top 20% of the world's richest countries ranked by GDP. As

part of the 2010 Human Development Report, the United Nations Development

Programme introduced the Gender Inequality Index as a measure of a country's gender

disparity. In its most recent assessment, Spain and the U.S. were ranked in the 'Very

High Human Development' category out of 'Very High', 'High', 'Medium', and 'Low'

(United Nations Development Programme, 2019).

       Additionally, the presence and status of women in the workforce is similar in both

countries. The labor force participation rate for women is 55.7% in the United States and

52.2% in Spain. The Spanish gender pay gap stands at 14.9% (and the average gender

pay gap in the European Union is 16.3%), while the gender overall earnings gap stands at

35.7%. The pay gap describes the discrepancy in hourly wages between men and women.

The earnings gap takes into account this factor along with the fact that women work

fewer hours in paid jobs and are employed at lower rates overall to create a broader

picture of inequality (European Union, 2018). This means that on average, Spanish

women are paid about 85 cents for every dollar that men are paid for working the same

job. Women in Spain are paid 13% less in public sectors and 19% less in private sectors

(European Union, 2018). In the United States, women encounter a similar situation -- the

gender pay gap is 18%. In other words, females who work full-time, year-round earn only

82 cents on the dollar as compared with men. An Institute for Women's Policy Research

study of women's and men's earnings over 15 years found that women made just half

(49%) of what men earned in the same amount of time due to the gender pay gap

(Lacarte, V., Hess, C., & Hegewisch, A., 2019). For women in both countries, it is clear

that the glass ceiling persists, and occupational segregation—clustering women in some

professions and men in others—remains a perverse feature of the U.S. and Spanish labor

markets (Hegewisch et al., 2010). Sources in both countries attribute the gender pay gap

to lower hourly earnings, working fewer hours in paid jobs, and lower employment rates

with more interruptions (most commonly from childbirth).

With regard to assistance received from the government for childrearing,

healthcare, and abortion, the United States and Spain have many laws in place intended to

protect women. However, often these laws are ignored or misused in practice and have

comparable policy weaknesses. In the U.S., paid maternity leave is not currently

mandated. The 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) provides employees who

have worked for a company of fifty workers or more for over a year with 12 weeks of

unpaid, job-protected leave to care for newborns or seriously ill family members.

Although helpful to some, this law excludes about 40% of the workforce. On top of that,

research shows that a large portion of people who qualify for this leave elect not to take it

because they cannot afford to go 12 weeks without pay (Brainerd, 2017). Private

companies may offer paid maternity leave to their employees, but these opportunities are

far from accessible for many.

In Spain, mothers are entitled to receive federal support if they have paid social

security for a variety of situations regarding childcare. New mothers may apply for

contributory maternity benefit, available to all employees who interrupt their work to

become mothers; benefit for risk during pregnancy, available to all pregnant women who

have to stop working due to a risk for their health or that of the unborn child; benefit for

risk during breastfeeding, available to all working mothers who have to stop working

while breastfeeding, due to a risk for their health; or non-contributory maternity benefit,

available to all female employees who have not paid enough social security contributions

(European Union, 2019). All new mothers are allowed 16 weeks of leave which can be

taken either the first day the baby is born, or up to 10 weeks prior to the due date per the

request of the mother. Regardless of when and how much time is taken off, at least 6

weeks must be taken by every mother. During this leave, every mother is guaranteed

100% of their regular salary, which is paid by the Spanish Social Security and the

company's contribution to normal employer social contributions (E.U., 2019). In the

U.S., the only way for mothers to receive Social Security benefits is if they are the

surviving spouse or surviving divorced spouse of an insured worker (Social Security

Administration, 2019).

Furthermore, American women do not have full access to abortion. Since 1973,

Roe v. Wade granted constitutional protection over abortion rights, but abortion laws

fluctuate across states. Currently, forty-five states allow private health care providers to

refuse to perform an abortion and forty-three states prohibit abortions, except when

necessary to protect the life of the mother, after a certain number of weeks into the

pregnancy. Moreover, forty-two states allow institutions to refuse to perform abortions.

(Guttmacher Institute, 2019). In Spain, women face comparable treatment. Similar to in

the States, abortions are technically legal as mandated by federal law, but have been

severely restricted in certain areas by local governments. Parental notification and

authorization is required in the case of a minor requesting an abortion, and the gestational

limit is 14 weeks (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2019). Paid maternity leave and

abortion are two of the largest components of reproductive rights and workplace rights,

both of which are considered crucial to protect for both the Spanish and American women's movements.

Domestic violence, especially violence against women, is a major grievance for both women's movements. Almost one third of all women in Spain - 32 percent - report feeling sexually harassed at least once in their lifetime, a figure that rises to 47 percent among women in the 18-34-age bracket. Similarly, one-third of women in the U.S. have experienced some form of physical violence by their partner (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2019).

While roughly comparable, the two cases do differ in important ways. One significant difference between the two is their level of democratic experience. The U.S. had been a democracy for over 200 years before Spain transitioned in 1978 (Bailey, 2004). This explains why Spain has relatively recently taken steps to increase gender equality. This is a significant difference in their histories, but not one that makes them incomparable. There are also minor differences in their gender-based policies. In certain fields, the Spanish government has implemented more progressive policies, while in others they are more equal. Nevertheless, the similarities between the current state of each nation provide enough homogeneity to outweigh the factors that separate them. The case similarities and minor differences augment the robustness of my findings by demonstrating how the same factors help women's movements succeed in different political and social contexts. This also contributes to the point that the recent revival of women's movements is not solely based on the election of Donald Trump in the American presidency, but rather represents a broader global trend.

The limits of this method of analysis are few, but important to note. I examine two cases, and while my analysis will explore an in-depth reading of both countries and their women's movements, they are only two out of 191 countries. It is possible that the trends revealed in my case studies do not extend to the broader social sphere. It is also likely that the factors significant to Spain and the United States will be different for poorer or less democratic countries. In order to prevent an invalid extension of my findings to other countries where they may not necessarily be true, I specify in my conclusion that the results of my research are only a reflection of the two countries which have been studied and should only be compared with other most similar cases. Additionally, in an effort to produce content that is as current as possible, I recognize that I am analyzing data that is relatively new. For this reason, some of the effects of the WM and 8M may not be reflected in the protest numbers yet. As time goes on, we may see that the popularity of the women's movement increases or decreases, and that these organizations either leave a lasting effect on the movement as a whole or become irrelevant in the future. Lastly, there may be outside factors that convince people to join protests that are completely separate from the influence of the organizations that support them. This would deplete the accuracy of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. In order to alleviate this, I am only counting the protests led by 8M and WM. I assume that protesters would not join a rally led by an organization that they did not support even if they supported the cause of the rally.

The literature suggests that three factors are consistently linked to success in social movements: framing, recruitment styles, and organizational structure. Issue framing has proven to be critical to the success of a social movement. Framing is the way

a problem is presented to the public, and identifies the issue, who is impacted, what

exacerbates the problem, and what contributes to the solution. Framing is extremely

important because it determines how the public receives the issue, which either

encourages or discourages support.

In order to operationalize the concepts of framing, recruitment, and organization, I

identify how each of these factors have made a direct impact on the movement. With

regard to framing, I examine how the movements are formally and informally framed.

Formal framing occurs on the organization's website, pamphlets, press releases or

speeches, social media, and through other official statements made by the organization as

a whole. Informal framing is how individual members view the movement and how it is

portrayed in the media. This kind of framing relies on news articles that are not official

statements of the movement and statistics on how non-members understand the framing

of the movements. I also analyze the conversation of the movements on Twitter,

Instagram, and Facebook by tracking the frequency of posts and overall social media

engagement.

I do not look at merely whether or not the organizations frame their issues, as it is

clear that both employ techniques to shape the way the public is informed. Instead, I

analyze the characteristics of the framing themselves. I discuss how inclusive they are,

what kind of tone they evoke, how disruptive to society they portray themselves as,

whether they align with one political side over another, and other related characteristics.

For example, is the women's movement framed in a positive light, emphasizing the

evolutionary nature of humanity and how gender equality will only elevate us as an

already high society? Or, is the movement cast in a negative light, declaring that society

is backwards and wrong, declaring the women's movement as just one part of a large-scale revolution? Clearly, both frames evoke different emotions within people and therefore will contribute to their overall success. I hypothesize that the more similar the formal and informal framing of a movement are, the more impact it has on social movement success.

Given the findings on modern recruitment styles to 8M and WM, social and traditional media are likely to be the main platforms through which organizers publicized the January 21, 2017 and March 8, 2018 demonstrations. Below these two, I expect organizational connections and informal advertising to be the next most popular method of spreading information. I analyze the data on the ways people heard about the American and Spanish march. I will also look at the content of the organizations' social media posts as a primary source of their methods. I hypothesize that both organizations use highly similar methods for recruitment.

In order to operationalize the concept of 'organizational structure', I analyze the size, membership demographics, and available positions for 8M and WM. I also look at any associated organizations, coalition memberships, donor organizations, and vendors to analyze what kind of outside formal groups are supporting them. This information can be found on the website of the organizations, which also provide access to the official websites of the outside groups as well. In addition to this, I determine whether there are components of both grassroots organizations and formal institutions. Formal institutions are registered non-profits and typically operate under centralized leadership. However, elements of grassroots mobilization, which typically spreads leadership around in a decentralized manner, may also be present through the other organizations they support

and through the kinds of actions they encourage followers to engage in. Information on the formal registration of the groups as non-profits is tracked by InfluenceWatch.org, a Capital Research Center watch-dog project that provides accurate, fact-checked information on the influencers of public policy issues. Information on the grassroots nature of the coalitions will be collected through a study of the nature of the events they promote and organize, the specific calls to action that are given to their following through their social media and their email list (which are the main ways through which they communicate with supporting activists), and through their official statements of the types of action they promote.

There is much information to be found on the dates, length, activities, and participation demographics of protests. I will collect this information through the data found on Crowd Counting Consortium, cross-referenced with media coverage of the events from newspapers, videos, and information released by the event coordinators. Crowd Counting Consortium collects data on the sizes of political crowds in the United States including marches, protests, strikes, demonstrations, riots, and other similar events from January 2017 to the present. The Consortium does not exclusively collect data on gender-based protests, but has identified which numbers are explicitly related to the Women's March. To identify the Spanish protest outcomes, I cross-reference data from eleven news articles that report on the 2018 and 2019 demonstrations and emerge with an averaged number. I assume that an increase in the number and/or frequency of protests is indicative of success, as it shows the movement itself has gained resources and support.

Using this framework, I gain a strong understanding of how to judge the current women's movements and gain a strong understanding of how successful they have been

up to this point. I theorize that if the Women's March and 8M employ similar tactics with

regard to framing and emotion as those used in past successful social movements, the

record of success is more likely. These concepts are a strong way to measure the current

women's movements because they have proven to be fundamental to past successful

social movements. Therefore, it is highly likely that they are still relevant predictors of

social movement success today.

V. Protest Data

In this section, I will detail the results of my investigation and provide the protest

data from January 2017 to January 2018 for the United States and March 2018 to March

2019 for Spain. On January 21, 2017, approximately 4,157,894 women marched across

654 towns and cities in the United States under the leadership of the newborn Women's

March organization. Approximately 725,000 of those people marched in Washington,

D.C. between Independence Avenue and Third Street SW (Crowd Counting Consortium,

2018). To this day, this protest remains the largest single-day demonstration in recorded

U.S. history (Chenoweth & Pressman, 2019).

On the one year anniversary of the historic 2017 march, this number dropped to

about 1,809,719 participants across the United States. While this illustrates a significant

drop from the first demonstration, there remains reason to believe this is a success. An

entire year had passed since the catalyst event that was the inauguration of President

Trump. For almost 2 million people to remain committed to the same idea that brought

them out in the first place is remarkable. Furthermore, despite a decrease by about half in

overall protest numbers, many cities experienced an increase in attendance from the 2017

protest. In Chicago, at least 300,000 marched in 2018, while attendance was estimated to be about 250,000 in 2017 (Olumhense & Leventis Lourgos, 2018).

Additionally, low protest numbers in 2018 can be accounted for in other places. While attendance decreased from the first to the second march, the D.C. protest still hosted between 50,000 and 75,000 attendees in 2018 (Crowd Counting Consortium, 2018). The 2018 numbers demonstrate a cross-country spread of the ideas that were promulgated in 2017. Marches were held in 407 locations around the United States (Chenoweth and Pressman 2018). Women's March leaders at the local level helped to motivate participators across the nation to become involved in bringing the marches to cities outside D.C. in order to increase accessibility to women across the nation. In addition to the January 21 protest, Women's March hosted a number of additional events, or "Sister Actions" throughout 2018 that can contribute to their overall 'protest numbers' that are not currently reflected in the 2018 numbers. These Sister Actions included the Impeachment Marches, also known as the Impeach Trump protests, that were demonstrations specifically against President Trump asking Congress to impeach him (Impeachment March, 2018). Research by Beyerlein and colleagues show that sister marches to the March on Washington draw an average of 6,000 participants. The national average for protest event turnout is 61 people. This reveals that sister marches attracted a hundredfold more demonstrators than an average protest in the U.S. (Beyerlein et al., 2018).

A little over a year later, feminism in Spain saw a similar rejuvenation. On March 8, 2018, International Women's Day, Spain experienced a historic turnout of women going on strike to protest the unfair treatment of women in several areas of Spanish life.

This strike was organized mainly by an organization called Comisión 8M in conjunction

with Spain's two main trade unions, Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras

(CCOO) and Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and eight smaller unions. Across the

country, it is estimated that 5.3 million Spanairds in 120 cities participated in the strike.

Madrid and Barcelona, Spain's two largest cities, witnessed the highest numbers.

According to police, there were over 170,000 people reported in Madrid, and 200,000 in

Barcelona (Terol, 2019). The demonstration was meant to be a 24-hour strike, where

women were asked to not go into their workplace and also ignore their usual household

chores for a full day. 8M encouraged women to "stop working, stop attending classes, to

cease to undertake care work and to avoid consuming" (James, 2018). Across Spain,

millions of women shouted and held signs that read, "if we stop, the world stops" (El

País, 2019).

On the anniversary of the first strike, the March 2019 strike broke its own record

with an estimated 6 million participants across 500 cities and towns (CCOO, 2019).

Demonstrations were hosted in all major cities across Spain. In Madrid, 375,000 people

were reported, and Barcelona once again saw 200,000 demonstrators (Rodrigo and

Romero, 2019). Once again, the strike was backed by CCOO and UGT, who encouraged

women to leave work and provided them with job protections. This time, the mayors of

Madrid and Barcelona, Manuela Carmena and Ada Colau, along with other government

leaders, publicly announced their support for the marches. CCOO and UGT pledged to

support their female workers to participate in the strike for at least two hours. Several

smaller unions, including CNT, CGT and Confederación Intersindical supported a full

24-hour walkout. Many women in these unions participated in the movement. A large

number of female university students, health care workers, and educators were also

present.

In conclusion, protest attendance from 2017 to 2018 highlights Women's March's

success and attendance from 2018 to 2019 demonstrates Comisión 8M's success in

keeping their organizations alive past the initial wave of passion over the catalyst events.

VI. Analysis

An in-depth exploration of the framing, recruitment, and organizational structure

will reveal similarities in the techniques of Women's March and Comisión 8M that

allowed them to survive past the initial period of passion derived from the catalyst events.

Framing

The initial Women's March organizers convinced supporters to rally around the

idea of feminism and gender inequality in the United States. The name "Women's March

on Washington" was a strategic play on the civil rights era "March on Washington for

Jobs and Freedom". This 1963 event advocated for the civil and economic rights of

African Americans, and became one of the most significant demonstrations of the civil

rights movement (NAACP, n/d). The name of an organization creates a subconscious

frame. When an individual hears the name, they make a judgement based on their

impression. The decision to link the organization's name with the civil rights movement

was meant to give the impression that this movement would be similar in certain aspects.

The crowds in every Women's March demonstration have been peaceful, like those of the

civil rights movement. No arrests were made in D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, New York

City, or Seattle, where a total of two million participants marched (Capps, 2017). The official website has released a statement saying that they strive to follow the practices of "the nonviolent ideology of the Civil Rights movement" (Women's March, 2020). The organization has even received the blessing of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s youngest daughter, Bernice King (Agrawal, 2017). By modeling their movement after another that was such a powerful force and stirs up passion for many Americans today, the Women's March name appeals to their audience's emotions.

The formal framing of the March has never been explicitly anti-Trump. This has never been included in its official messaging, online posts, or statements to the media. Rather, the official wording has always been more centered around feminism. However, the informal framing, or the way that it is portrayed outside of official organization, has been about Trump since the inception of the 2017 March on Washington. It is easy to understand this discrepancy. The idea for the 2017 March was shared the day after Trump was elected into office. The protest was held on the day after his inauguration in Washington, D.C., and media coverage of the March compared attendance with Inauguration Day attendance, as if to say that the two were opponents (Wallace & Parlapiano, 2017). Everything from aerial photos, public transportation ridership statistics, bus permits, to D.C. police estimates were shared to compare the traffic in D.C. on those two days (Frostenson & Zarracina, 2017). While Trump's election was the clear trigger for the Women's March on Washington, the formal framing of the organization has become much bigger than fighting any singular person, the implication being that the movement will outlast his presidency.

For the second annual march, a new theme was disseminated. The 2018 march was led by the phrase "March to the Polls." This adjustment attracted attention to the March, and shifted the frame. The new topic for discussion was voting. This became part of Women's March's effort to bring one million voters to the midterm elections in 2018. Organizers reported that in 2018 they were spending more time focusing on the change that could come from the upcoming midterm elections (Olumhense & Leventis Lourgos, 2018). The shift in this formal frame effectively spilled into the informal framing. One participant, Ann Dee Allen, told the Chicago Tribune, "I feel differently about it this year. Last year, I just felt kind of angry and impassioned. This year, I feel like I'm in it for the long haul" (Olumhense & Leventis Lourgos, 2018). While some wondered if momentum might diminish over time, many protestors credited cultural movements like the #MeToo and Time's Up campaigns against sexual misconduct, in addition to President Trump's evolving policies, as increasing their fervor in 2018 demonstrations (Olumhense & Leventis Lourgos, 2018).

As the March continued to grow, the group was increasingly scolded for needing to have a more inclusive message. The 2017 March on Washington hosted mostly white, cis-gender, and upper-middle-class women (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018). During the first few weeks of planning, Teresa Shook accepted the help of the first few women who offered assistance. As the organization's national popularity increased, criticism arose that the initial leaders were all white women. In addition, a growing sense that social justice areas are interrelated prompted Women's March to zoom out their frame. Vanessa Wruble, a member of the original leadership team, described Women's March as "about feminism [...] But it's about more than that: It's about basic equality for all people"

(Felsenthal, 2017). In order to secure the support of as many followers as possible,

Women's March went through an enormous effort to expand its areas of activism. Their

Unity Principles page on their website reveals the many areas that guide their current

work. These include Ending Violence, Reproductive Rights, LGBTQIA Rights, Workers

Rights, Civil Rights, Disability Rights, Immigrant Rights, and Environmental Justice

Rights. The purpose of these principles are to highlight the "connected nature of our

struggles and a vision of our collective liberation" (Women's March, 2020).

The logo of Women's March plays perhaps a more subconscious, but crucial, part

of its frame. The logo consists of the side profile of three heads. The heads are very

nondescript; they do not reveal any singular race, ethnicity, or other part of an identity.

They do not have long hair, so as not to exclude women and men who have different

physical appearances. The colors on the image are red, white, and blue -- the same colors

as those on the American flag. These two factors are meant to create the impression that

every American can see themselves as one of the heads on the logo.

8M has also framed their movement as one that intends to help women in all

aspects of life. The first walk-out in 2018 encouraged women to abandon their household

chores and their careers for a full day. This was intended to emphasize two points: a.)

how much of the workforce women truly represent; and b.) the level of work done

outside their traditional jobs that goes unnoticed and unpaid (Comisión 8M, 2020). There

are three pillars to the strike: care, labor, and consumer, which are elaborated in the 29-

page Manifesto that was published after the 2018 strike. The Manifesto states that,

> We are the ones that reproduce life. The domestic and care work that women do is
> essential to sustain life. That it is mostly free or undervalued is a trap in the
> development of capitalism. Today, with the **care strike** in the family and in
> society, we give visibility to a job that nobody wants to recognize, be it at home,

poorly paid or as a shadow economy. We demand that care work be recognized as a first-rate social asset, and we demand the redistribution of this type of task (Comisión 8M, 2020)

In addition to domestic work, the strikes protest against the alarmingly high domestic violence levels in Spain and the 'machismo' values that are deeply rooted in Spanish culture and history. In the 2018 Manifesto they explicitly state, "Because machismo violence is a form of domination; it is intolerable that we cannot be autonomous" (Comisión 8M, 2020). Essentially, machismo is the idea that a man must prove his masculinity by asserting his dominance over women. A woman has no independence, and her sole purpose is to satisfy the needs of her husband and keep the domestic sphere in order. To connect this to their frame, 8M commits itself to fighting against machismo values. Every woman in Spain is familiar with this concept. By framing the movement in the context of a familiar social issue, 8M can attract the attention of a wider group of people.

A secondary pillar of their strike protests against the unfair wage gap, glass ceiling, and job insecurity that women, but not men, have to face. Further along in the Manifesto, 8M writes,

> We do not accept to be subjected to worse working conditions, nor to pay less than men for the same work. For this reason, today we also have **a labor strike**. Strike against the glass ceilings and job insecurity, because the jobs we managed to access are marked by temporality, uncertainty, low wages and unwanted part-time work [...] We demand that [...] pregnancy or care cannot be subject to dismissal or marginalization from work, nor should they undermine our personal or professional expectations. (Comisión 8M, 2020).

The last pillar of their strike is the consumer strike. Organizers of 8M assert that,

> We demand to be protagonists of our lives, our health and our bodies, without any aesthetic pressure. Our bodies are not merchandise or objects, and for that reason,

we also **go on a consumer strike**. Enough of being used as a claim! (Comisión 8M, 2020).

The official website of 8M states that they aim to "generate changes that transform society into a feminist, putting life and care in the center" (Comisión 8M, 2020). They aim to be as inclusive as possible, stating:

> Our identity is multiple, we are diverse. We live in rural and urban settings, we work in the workplace and in care. We are clowns, gypsies, migrated and racialized. Our ages are all and we know we are lesbian, trans, bisexual, inter, queer, straight ... We are the ones who are not there: we are the murdered, we are the prisoners. We are ALL (Comisión 8M, 2020).

However, the rise of the far-right political party, Vox, has stirred up fear among many that their progress will be reversed. When Spain's conservative Partido Popular began to crack under pressure from corruption scandals in 2018, the extreme right movement began to emerge. In November of 2018, Vox had zero seats in parliament. By April 2019, they had 24; then, in November 2019 they reached 52 (Caparrós, 2019). Vox, whose voter base is predominantly male, has publicly denounced the Spanish feminist movement, claiming that the country was being taken over by "radical feminism" (Urra, 2019). One of Vox's main goals is to repeal gender-violence legislation, which it claims is biased and unfair. Another extremely conservative Catholic organization, Hazte Oír, has begun touring the country in a bus that displays Hitler's face on the side and likens groups like 8M to "feminazis" (Urra, 2019). Groups like these skew the framing of 8M and portray it as much more radical than it is. Supporters of 8M have been made aware of these claims, and responded with signs directed to shut them down during the 2019 strike. In Barcelona, dozens of protestors marched with signs that read "I'm a feminist. I don't hate men. I hate Vox and friends." (Reuters, 2019). Regardless of the response, the

discrepancy between the framing of the movement from within and counter-framing from

outside has already done damage to the movement's reputation. Spain's center-leaning

conservative party, Partido Popular, refused to support the 2019 strike despite formal

support from other governmental figures, arguing that it had become too politicized by

the left (Reuters, 2019).

8M appeals to women of many different industries. Most obviously, female

members of labor unions were among the first to pledge their support for the strike

because of UGT and CCOO's role in organizing. In 2019, other industries followed the

lead of the trade unions and supported participation from their employees. Of particularly

high involvement were the education and health care sectors, which traditionally employ

more women than other fields. According to CCOO estimates, more than 80% of

professors at the university level, 61% of teachers at the high school level, and 42% at the

elementary and pre-school level took part in the 2019 strike (Colpisa, 2019). Although

not excused from school, over two million students skipped class to go on strike. Many

universities across the country reported "almost total" or "very high" absences. In the

health sector, around 60% of workers went on strike (Colpisa, 2019).

The logo for 8M depicts three women standing with arms linked. The logo is

purple, which is the international symbol for justice and women, and has evolved to also

represent global feminist movements (International Women's Day, n.d.). The logo

represents a more conventional female, with different haircuts that include those with

longer hair. This relates to their framing strategy because the logo conveys what the

movement is all about in one picture. It piques the interest of outsiders, differentiates it

from other movements, and facilitates brand recognition. This logo appeals directly to

females, shown through the conventional female figures depicted, and seeks to align the movement with the global movement for gender equality with its use of the color purple.

In summary, 8M has created an inclusive frame that seeks to tackle gender inequality in three major areas -- care, labor, and consumer. While initially supported mainly by women who were members of labor unions, the organization has sought to expand its reach to encourage women of all professions to participate in the strike. Lastly, the logo appeals to conventional women and seeks to connect itself with the international gender equality movement.

Recruitment

Women's March recruited followers in three different ways. First, they planned multiple events throughout the year in order to provide numerous opportunities for engagement. Second, their partnerships with other organizations increased their publicity and drew in more supporters. Lastly, their social media engagement was crucial to communicating with Americans and attracting followers.

Once Women's March organizers gained national attention after the success of January 2017, they held it tight within their grasp. Knowing that their following would get distracted and disappear if they were silent until the next January, a variety of events were planned to engage followers for the rest of the year. These included the Impeachment Marches, numerous Women's Conventions, and 10 Actions 100 Days Program, the last of which was shared immediately after the 2017 march in order to keep the ball rolling (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018).

Secondly, unity between Women's March and preexisting social justice groups greatly expedited the former's following. Support came from a variety of groups, and thus, brought a wide range of people to the organization. Pro-Hillary Clinton political action committees accompanied both centrist and progressive wings of the Democratic Party. These supporters were more familiar with facilitating institutional changes, such as engaging in electoral politics. As such, they were able to share this knowledge and social ties with Women's March organizers.

Support also came from multiple feminist organizations such as Planned Parenthood, Emily's List, and the National Organization for Women (Women's March, 2020). Endorsement from groups such as these were incredibly beneficial to Women's March, as many of them had been established in the U.S. for decades. This support awarded Women's March legitimacy and credibility. Additionally, support came from progressive, left-leaning organizations that had originally pledged their allegiance to Democratic candidate Bernie Sanders. When he lost the nomination for the Democratic nominee after the 2016 primaries, these groups noticed the opportunity to further their agenda through the Women's March (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018). Much of this area of support came from labor organizations, including divisions of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and the National Union of Healthcare Workers. The second half of these progressive groups were social movement organizations such as Occupy Wall Street. Yet another group, this one involving less-institutionalized, grassroots social justice organizations, emerged as a supporter of Women's March. These groups campaigned for a number of interests -- Black Lives Matter for racial injustice, United We Dream for immigrant justice, Fight for $15 for

labor conditions, Standing Rock Sioux for indigenous rights, and GreenPeace for climate action -- and brought the passion and knowledge of grassroots movements to the Women's March. Endorsement from this assortment of groups gave Women's March validity and inspired engagement and "provided the mass participation and, for many of the sister marchers, the local-level organizational work" (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018).

Research shows that experienced activists are most likely to be recruited through formal organizations (Saunders et al., 2012). All of the leaders of these organizations were able to call upon their followers to contribute to the collective action of the Women's March (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018). In another demonstration of support for the Women's March, dozens of Black Lives Matter activists created human barricades to block the entry points of President Trump's inauguration ceremony, while Democracy Spring and CODEPINK activists repeatedly interrupted Trump's presidential oath of office (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018). These acts of protest were not directly sponsored by Women's March, but these protestors voiced their support for Women's March when engaging in these actions. Many of these protestors were also found at the January 21, 2017 protest the next day. Directly following the first march in 2017, several partners including Planned Parenthood and Emily's List hosted workshops meant to give women the tools for civic engagement, with an emphasis on how to run for office (History, 2018). In this way, Women's March benefited by having experienced activists from other organizations act in their support.

Social media is another of their recruiting techniques. As an event, the Women's March on Washington was conceived on Facebook. Teresa Shook's post went viral almost overnight. Just twelve hours after it was posted, her Facebook post exploded from

40 to 10,000 participants (Stein & Somashekhar, 2017). The rate at which this idea

received national support would be extremely difficult to manifest without the use of the

Internet. As an organization, Women's March utilized the same platform as its main

source of recruitment, especially in the first few months. In addition to Facebook,

Women's March immediately set up their website, www.womensmarch.com. The

Washington March was streamed live on YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter in order for

those who were unable to physically attend to feel connected to the movement (Women's

March, 2020). The livestream from Democracy Now! reached almost 4 million views

(Democracy Now!, 2017). From the ABC News YouTube channel, 887,000 people were

reached (ABC News, 2017).

During the rest of the year, Women's March utilizes these platforms, as well as

Instagram, to frequently engage their followers. The official Women's March Instagram

(@womensmarch) has 1.3 million followers and posts on average once per day. The

group's Twitter account with the same handle has almost 640,000 followers and posts on

average 5-7 times per day. The Facebook page (@womensmarchonwash) posts an

average of 1-2 times per day (Women's March, 2020). Social media introduces newer or

potential activists to the movement and allows them to explore it before committing to a

higher level of engagement. This consistent, low-risk engagement allows Women's

March to share itself with strangers and ingrain itself in the daily life of its followers.

Sharing their specific strategy on each platform, organizer Carmen Perez states,

"Instagram is inspirational but less interactive. Think posts with messages like "Resist.

Rest. Repeat." Twitter is a good spot to share what partner organizations are up to, and

Facebook serves as peak interaction. It's impossible to talk to everyone, everyone, all the

time-- but Facebook helps" (Carson, 2017).

The event reached far and wide on the Internet. On the day of the protest alone,

the event had a total of 7,378,442 social media mentions (Garrison, 2019). To add to the

discussion, demonstrators spread the hashtag #WhyIMarch on Twitter and Instagram to

share their motivations for participating. On January 24, 2017, just three days after the

first annual March on Washington, the hashtag had been used 200,000 times on social

media platforms (Garrison, 2019). Online presence of the movement also allowed people

to participate in the march who may not have been able to otherwise. Data from the 2017

march reveals that 45,000 protestors with disabilities were able to go to the march

because they used the social media pages to connect with organizers and ensure that they

would be accessible (Carson, 2017).

Dozens of individuals have credited social media for getting them involved.

Washington D.C. marcher Shel Horowitz said, "Facebook was definitely a factor in our

decision [to go to the march]" (Garrison, 2019). Ambar Januel, another D.C. marcher,

said, "I was influenced by seeing hundreds of thousands of women speaking up through

social media about our disappointments in our new president. I absolutely knew that I

needed to be involved and that I would also share my voice with others to hopefully

include them as well" (Garrison, 2019).

Similarly, 8M relies on allegiance with well-established organizations, and social

media for effective recruiting. CCOO and UGT have supported 8M's strikes and

encouraged members to participate since the first demonstration in 2018. The support of

the two largest trade unions has been crucial to increasing attendance. In 2018, UGT and

CCOO pledged to provide support for workers who took two hours off, and eight other smaller trade unions followed this lead in the second annual march (European Public Service Union, 2018). In 2019, the education and health care sectors also committed to protecting their workers who decided to participate (Colpisa, 2019). The feeling of security allowed more workers to engage, which led to an increase in attendance of an estimated 700,000 people during the second annual march (Colpisa, 2019). Unlike Women's March, 8M does not appear to have ties with many other organizations that are strong enough to publicize. The trade unions in Spain are powerful enough that they are the only partner necessary to mobilize the workforce.

Comisión 8M also relies heavily on the Internet. Their messages are shared across the same forms of social media as Women's March: Facebook, Youtube, Instagram, and Twitter. Their Twitter is the most active, with 23,800 followers and posting averaging about three to five times per day (@HuelgaFeminista). A large portion of their tweets include photos of crowds that have mobilized as part of a feminist coalition. This platform gives them the opportunity to show off their successes. Every time an account retweets one of their photos, 8M is being shared with potential new activists.

Social media allowed both Women's March and 8M to maintain visibility in front of a national audience that perpetuated the movements. These platforms greatly facilitated the spread of demonstration information, related news, sister march registration, guidance for local chapters, protest art, and more. Social media presence permitted the diffusion of relevant information across a variety of avenues (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018).

Organizational Structure

Women's March built a national reputation in a very short span of time. The movement began as a Facebook post from Teresa Shook, a retired attorney from Hawaii, who proposed the idea of marching in Washington out of anger and frustration on November 9th, the day after Donald Trump won the 2016 presidential election. The group quickly attracted the support of thousands of people, and Shook turned to more experienced activists to help her turn her idea into a reality. She contacted Evvie Harmon, Fontaine Pearson, Bob Bland, Breanne Butler, and numerous others, who created the official Women's March on Washington (Stein & Somashekhar, 2017).

Once it became clear that there was a strong interest across the nation for such an event, these original organizers chose a diverse group of veteran female activists to help lead the operation. Co-founder Vanessa Wruble, then co-president of Okayafrica, began as Head of Campaign Operations. Wruble enlisted Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour to serve as National Co-Chairs alongside Bob Bland. Former Miss New Jersey USA Janaye Ingram was chosen as Head of Logistics. Lastly Paola Mendoze was asked to be the Artistic Director as well as a National Organizer (Felsenthal, 2017). They also registered as a 501(c)(4) non-profit (Influence Watch, n.d.).

The new leadership team secured a permit to march in Washington, D.C., fundraised almost $2 million, and formed partnerships with numerous reputable organizations. It is these partnerships that were the first part of their plan for success. The team used its coalition building ability to make a household name out of Women's March by the time the 2017 January protest was held. Today, the organization boasts 7 brand partners, 28 co-creators, and 135 other partners (Women's March, 2020). According to

the website, co-creators are "organizations with deep movement and institutional

knowledge in the issue areas that will be our focus for 2020: Reproductive Health, Rights

and Justice, Climate Justice and Immigration" (Women's March, 2020). In exchange for

time, publicity, and resources -- mainly financial contributions-- these co-creators are

allowed to shape the agenda to a certain extent for the next annual Women's March. The

march is then "supported and uplifted by general and brand partners" (Women's March,

2020). Their website provides an inviting link to apply to be a partner, and leaves an

encouraging message for those interested.

Without the support from outside organizations and businesses, Women's March

would have never achieved the same level of national recognition or maintained the

success after the 2017 protest that it did. In its first year, Women's March raised $2.5

million, with the majority of financial support derived from partnerships (Kucinich,

2018). In order to preserve such lucrative partnerships, the group commits itself to

sending support in the form of humans to events supporting its partners. This contributes

to its classification as more of an umbrella coalition rather than an independent

organization. Women's March has sent thousands of people to support events related to

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), LGBTQIA (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual,

Transgender, Queer, Intersexual, Asexual) Pride, A Day without an Immigrant on

February 21, 2017, and dozens of others (Berry & Chenoweth, 2018). This exemplifies

the substantial give and take that Women's March employs in order to thrive.

Women's March encouraged grassroots, individual movements. The website

states the goal of the national chapter to act as an umbrella organization that provides

"entry points for new grassroots activists & organizers to engage in their local

communities" (Women's March, 2020). There is a National Team that consists of a

Board of Directors and Staff, and "Affiliates" are listed as Women's March Network,

Youth Empower, and State Chapters. The national organization shared resources on how

to build a movement, but does not share financial resources with these local events. On

its website, one of the main tabs is 'Find A Sister March', which leads to a link that

allows one to either sign up for a local event or host one by entering in a few simple

pieces of information. The page where one can sign up to 'Host A Sister Action' provides

a link to set up a Facebook page for the event, and encourages the host to invite

community groups to partner. In addition to this information, the page informs the host

that more "resources to help you have a successful event" will be sent after the page is

created (Women's March, 2020).

     This decentralized structure works in favor of both the national organization and

local branches. As long as the smaller events were tied to the Women's March name,

they gained the support from donors and activists that was needed for success.

Additionally, since all local events were funded independent of the national chapter, they

were allowed a certain degree of individuality and freedom to make the event tailored to

its organizers' personal preferences. Each 'Sister Action', as they are referred to on the

official website, is advertised by the national chapter. This boosts attendance at each

event. More importantly for the national chapter, it provides great publicity for the

organization as a whole every time a local event is added (Women's March, 2020).

     After witnessing the global success of the 2017 International Women's Strike, and

still reeling from rage inspired by the La Manada case, leaders from regions across Spain

began to brainstorm an organized strike for 2018. Comisión 8M organizers began

compiling a league of supporters during the summer of 2017. At the beginning, local

feminist groups from all areas of Spain began sharing the idea of a national strike to be

held on the next International Women's Day and gaining supporters. During that same

summer, there was a meeting held in Madrid by leaders of these local feminist

organizations to discuss logistics. In October of 2017, a meeting in Alicante of about two

hundred feminist leaders created the platform "Hacia la Huelga Feminista" ("Towards the

Feminist Strike"). This was the platform that united all of the local feminist groups under

the national organization Comisión 8M. Since then, all local leaders of 8M have focused

on the task of maintaining constant contact with the national structure while also building

grassroots enthusiasm.

    As an organization, it operates in a similar fashion to Women's March. The local

chapters are the major actors of the organization in terms of rallying people for strike

attendance. These regional chapters are given a bit more guidance by the national leaders

than are the regional Women's March chapters. The commission member assemblies, as

groups of local leaders are called, work in a "horizontal network of mutual support"

(Comisión 8M, 2020). Two people from each region are elected to act as a liaison

between the local and national groups. These groups meet and communicate frequently in

order to maintain unity and work toward the same agenda. When coming to decisions, the

national leaders value the opinions of local organizers, and so attempt to reach every

decision by mutual consensus. For example, national leaders depend on commissions to

make smaller decisions, which are made up of two people from each region of the

country (Comisión 8M, 2020). This allows participation to be representative of the

diversity among regions. Commissions, together with national leaders, will make

decisions on how to engage the most people and effectively include their principles

(Comisión 8M, 2020). Additionally, the national chapter does not provide financial

support to local chapters. Instead, they are given a handbook and other resources as a

guide, but are encouraged to raise their own funds.

  The work at the regional level is split into six commissions: communication;

organizing future meetings; education; international; migration and anti-racism; and

coordination. Each group is responsible for a different role in the organization and

communicating with each other and the national chapter. This structure allows the

national group to control a specific range of issues, while leaving room for local chapters

to have autonomy on recruitment and smaller events. While there are already defined

local chapters, 8M continues to encourage members to take initiative at the grassroots

level. The website provides a link that allows one to search through all of the planned

demonstrations, and one to create a new demonstration.

  8M is similar to Women's March in the amount that the organization leans on

outside sponsors. Without the support of the trade unions, 8M could not have enjoyed the

same level of success because the labor unions gave over two million workers permission

to leave work without fear of being penalized (Colpisa, 2019). This was essential for 8M

to appear legitimate, and for workers to feel secure enough to attend.

  Organizational structure is where the two groups appear to be the most similar.

Both Women's March and 8M are structured in a manner that allows them to thrive at the

national level while promoting change at the local level. The decentralized leadership

with strong local chapters encourages grassroots participation throughout the country.

They both lean on the support of outside partnerships to gain supporters and financial resources.

VII. Conclusion

Given these points, there are clear commonalities in the strategies of Women's March and Comisión 8M that have contributed to their lasting success. A fusion of inclusive framing, coalition building, utilization of both online and traditional recruitment, and decentralized organizational structure have proven beneficial to building the strength of these groups.

It is important to note that over the course of the last two years, Women's March has lost significant support and credibility due to controversy surrounding antisemitic statements allegedly made by the organization's creators. This has opened the door to increased scrutiny of the possible mishandling of funds, criticism on the movement's inclusivity, and ability to deliver results on the issues for which it promises to be an advocate (Crispin, 2019). Due to these concerns, it appears that the reign of Women's March as the most visible women's advocacy group may be over. This is relevant because it shows that the success of this organization is largely dependent on the decisions that it makes as a group, which was also the point I wanted to make in my thesis. The motivation behind the movement is still there, but the group made mistakes that led to its demise.

However, this does not take away from the national recognition that the group was able to build between 2017 and 2018. The organization was led by a shrewd group of women who created a household name from what originated as a Facebook event. This alone is a remarkable accomplishment. Women's March organized the largest single-day

protest in United States history, raised millions of dollars, hosted thousands of events,

gained the support of dozens of celebrities, and secured numerous partnerships from

reputable, well-established organizations. This was accomplished through the strategic

efforts of the Women's March operation. Everything -- from the particular way in which

they framed the issues that the coalition stood for, to the channels they used to recruit

people to participate, to the management of the organization itself -- was carefully

constructed in order to build a historic national movement.

   Many people say that the success of Women's March is fueled by a hatred for

Donald Trump, especially after the Access Hollywood Tape was released. Although I

agree that this was a factor in gaining initial attention to the March, the maintained

success of the group was not all due to Trump. The movement's focus on expanding their

range of interests into things like disability rights, reproductive rights, and civil rights

allowed them to maintain followers over the next year. They secured partnerships and

funding from a wider range of organizations that were also interested in these issues. This

could not have happened if they had only focused on a hatred for Trump.

   Yet the ongoing protests of the 8M movement in Spain shows that the dynamics

that sparked the protests in the United States are not unique to that context nor tied to a

specific political event. Across societies, women face significant economic, political, and

cultural barriers that generate frustration and calls for change. These two examples show

that when groups are able to develop a properly inclusive framing strategy, can recruit

broadly, and can build an effective organization, these latent frustrations can be

mobilized. The recent declines of the Women's March shows what can happen, in

contrast, when that frame becomes less inclusive or attempts to encompass too many

issues. With Women's Marches twelve Unity Principles, there is also a possibility that the main message of the movement gets lost under the newer areas of interest.

On another note, there are numerous manners in which to quantify 'success'. In the context of this paper, I quantify success through the use of protest attendance numbers. However, there are many other ways to define the success or failure of a social movement. For example, convincing people to engage in any part of the political process, from registering to vote to running for office, can be indicative of success. On another front, the amount of money an organization raises may be another token of success. While Women's March failed to maintain its protest numbers, it could be defined as a successful movement through 2020 by many of these other measures. I chose to measure march turnout because marching shows solidarity, focused energy, and is very visible to those in power and those at home. These are elements that can be tracked in the short run. Yet in the long run, for these groups to be a success they need to generate specific policy changes. Sustained political organization is necessary for this to occur.

Moreover, I recognize the limitations of this research. While the Internet is littered with data, analysis, personal accounts, and opinion pieces on Women's March, there is significantly less information available on Comisión 8M. The Spanish women's movement would benefit significantly from the same level of exposure that Women's March has received. One area for future research could be building this repertoire of data for 8M. For example, a database similar to Crowd Counting Consortium for Spanish protests would have been incredibly useful for this project. Since this has not yet been created, I relied on accounts from as many Internet sources as possible. While this is as close as I was able to get to protest numbers, a database would lead to increased accuracy

in attendance reporting. Future research could also include a study on the retention rates

of the 2017 to 2018 protests in both Spain and the United States, as this is another area

that can determine the movement's success.

Regardless of these notes, the conclusion of this research remains clear. Protest

numbers from 2017 to 2019 reveal the successes that both organizations earned during

their first years of operation. Women's March and Comisión 8M began as small

grassroots women's organizations. These groups formed movements that inspired

millions of activists to engage in the fight for gender equality. No matter their current

status, there is no doubt that these two organizations figured out how to capitalize on the

catalyst events that triggered a wave of feminist passion, and use this fire to create a

nationally-recognized name in under one year.

In conclusion, there are fewer similarities about the two cases than I had

originally hoped to find. However, we can draw a few similarities between the efforts of

both organizations. My analysis of the framing, recruitment, and organizational structure

strategies of each revealed that a combination of inclusive framing, coalition building,

social media use, and decentralized structure are utilized by both Women's March and

Comisión 8M. These factors explain the rapid ascent to national prominence and their

power to move millions of people to resist the patriarchy and fight for equality. They

allowed both organizations to turn a single-day protest into a broader social justice

movement.

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