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BLACK LIVES MATTER: (RE)FRAMING THE NEXT WAVE OF BLACK LIBERATION

Amanda D. Clark, Prentiss A. Dantzler and
Ashley E. Nickels

ABSTRACT

The rise of Black Lives Matter (BLM), as an intentionally intersectional movement, challenges us to consider the ways in which BLM is reimagining the lines of Black activism and the Black Liberation Movement. BLM may be considered the “next wave” of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), guiding how and with whom the movement will progress. We use a content analysis of public statements and interviews of the founding members from October 2014 to October 2016 to discuss the ways in which the founders of BLM frame the group’s actions. We bring together the critical feminist concept of intersectionality with framing theory to show how the founders of BLM have strategically framed the movement as one that honors past Black Liberation struggles, but transforms traditional framing of those struggles to include all Black lives inclusive of differences based on gender, sexual orientation, age, nationality, or criminal status.

Keywords: Black Lives Matter; social movement framing; intersectionality; Black Liberation; content analysis; frame transformation

INTRODUCTION

On July 13, 2017, Black Lives Matter (BLM) marked their four-year anniversary; both a momentous and deeply troubling event. BLM’s activism has “mobilized an unprecedented mass movement” against racism and police brutality

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(Chatelain & Asoka, 2015) and systemic oppression, more broadly (Parker, 2016). The organization and movement started as a hashtag in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer in 2013. Initially viewed as just a "blip on the radar of protest movements," BLM has surpassed many scholars' expectations with organized chapters, protests, and events across the United States (Altman, 2015; Sidner & Simon, 2015), receiving widespread awareness across the country according to a recent Pew survey (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016). The deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Freddie Gray, Alton Sterling, Philando Castile, and others have drawn significant attention to the impact of structural [systemic] racism and police brutality, as experienced by Black *men*. BLM has been a significant factor in drawing attention to Black identity in the United States and mobilizing action against police brutality through social media platforms (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2016). In their own words, BLM serves as "an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise" (Garza, 2014).

Yet, as Marcia Chatelain and Kaavya Asoka (2015) point out, "black women—like Rekia Boyd, Michelle Cusseaux, Tanisha Anderson, Shelly Frey, Yvette Smith, Eleanor Bumpurs, and others—have also been killed, assaulted, and victimized by the police. Often, women are targeted in exactly the same ways as men—shootings, police stops, racial profiling. They also experience police violence in distinctly gendered ways, such as sexual harassment and sexual assault." (para. 2)

Jee-Lyn García and Sharif (2015) add: "[...] despite the media's disproportionate focus on cases involving men, intersectional analyses demonstrate that racialized police violence and misconduct are inflicted upon women and transgendered persons of color as well" (para. 1; see also Crenshaw, 2015). How does BLM approach these inconsistencies and address the full struggle for Black Liberation? More specifically, how do they frame their arguments to attract a wider audience, and how do they link resistance to police violence against Blacks to larger structural inequalities impacting Blacks? To answer these questions, this chapter focuses on how the founding members of BLM talk about the movement and their goals of reshaping the Black Liberation Movement.

BLM was founded by three Black women: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. The organization, according to its website, asserts that it is "unapologetically Black," "transgender affirming," "queer affirming," and "intergenerational." The movement is intentionally intersectional and focused on human rights. bell hooks stated that, "to build community requires vigilant awareness of the work we must continually do to undermine all the socialization that leads us to behave in ways that perpetuate domination (2003, p. 36)." In addition to police violence, BLM has been spotlighting other issues that impact the quality of life in the Black community such as high incarceration rates, undocumented immigrants, and Black poverty. BLM has also voiced its support for other groups struggling in the current system. The organization has issued statements of support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement to protest the treatment of Palestinians by the state of Israel and has

announced its solidarity with the protestors at Standing Rock in North Dakota against construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline ([Blacklivesmatter.com](https://blacklivesmatter.com), 2016). In sum, the founders of BLM refute the one-dimensional focus on just police brutality against Black, straight males ([Jackson, 2016](#)).

For one long-time organizer, Mark-Anthony Johnson, the new perspective and their role in movement was welcomed:

"I think they're central," he said. "The character of the folks that we were bringing out I think was really important in terms of having a group that was significantly women, significantly queer, having Black transgender people in the space. And that's possible because of them and the national team that they built up around them." (as cited in [Dalton, 2015](#))

This study aims to uncover the way in which the founders of BLM have framed their messages, not only in introducing the organization itself and its goals, but also challenging the idea that we are in a post-racial time by transforming the way in which police brutality, poverty, and racism are understood by the public. We employ a content analysis of the public statements and interviews of the founding members over a two-year period to discuss the ways in which BLM frames its actions through a critical feminist perspective to reinvent progressive tactics for social change. The importance of and strategy behind message framing in social movements is evident in our research. Despite media linkages of BLM solely to issues of police brutality, BLM has crafted its image and message to embrace all Black lives and all topics relevant to the Black experience, transforming the dominant frames from past movements.

THE NEXT WAVE OF THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

BLM may be considered the "next wave" of the CRM, representing a reframing of how and with whom the movement will progress, much like the women's movement has evolved in cycles ([Reger, 2014](#); see also [Tarrow, 1994](#)). Like the women's movement witnessed a small, but persistent cadre of feminist activists in the 1940s and 1950s that held the women's movement in abeyance ([Taylor, 1989](#)), the CRM never ended, but waned ([McAdam, 1999](#)). The political salience and momentum of the CRM declined as the 1960s came to a close. The decline in the CRM, [McAdam \(1999\)](#) argues, was the internal conflict between movement organizations; "there existed considerable competition among [movement organizations] for the money and publicity needed to sustain their operations and position within the movement" (p. 331).

Research on cycles of protest should therefore address the ways in which events "become turning points in structural change, concentrated moments of political and cultural creativity when the logic of historical development is reconfigured by human action but by no means abolished" ([McAdam & Sewell 2001](#), p. 102). While BLM acknowledges and appreciates prior contributions to the Black Liberation struggle, they are also creating new space for others to join that fight by differentiating their tactics and mission from those prior waves.

BLM has insisted on creating a model of group leadership rooted in ideas of participatory democracy, thereby avoiding the reliance of hierarchical leadership and gender that plagued many civil rights organizations in the 1960s and 1970s (Harris, 2015; Joseph, n.d.). As Frederick Harris (2015) argues, “they are rejecting the charismatic leadership model that has dominated Black politics for the past half century, and for good reason” (para. 8). Sexism was present in both the organizational structure and political agenda of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) in the 1960s. Activists in the earlier CRM served in gendered roles, in which “men led, but women organized” (Payne, 1990, p. 158). As Barnett (1993) highlights, despite being excluded from formal leadership positions, women often fulfilled vital roles in the CRM. Robnett (1996) argues that, “the exclusion of women from formal leadership created exceptionally qualified leadership in the area of micro-mobilization” (p. 1688). Despite the invaluable, and often unrecognized support of Black women in the movement, the gendered structure of leadership demonstrates that sexism and patriarchy were still present in 1960s CRM organizations. As West (2008) argues, “the gender biases about leadership reflect authority structures and traditions found in the church cultures that produced many of those male leaders” (p. 54). The influence of church culture in the CRM created a leadership structure in which “women’s positions were controlled by the belief that male ministers should be the primary source for formal leadership” (Robnett, 1996, p. 1671). Given the organizational power of the church in the CRM of the 1960s (Morris, 1984), this new focus on feminist and transgender activism may have necessitated the break with tradition.

BLM’s deliberate intersectional framing allows the movement to focus on more radical approaches to achieving Black Liberation. Traditionally, the CRM was one of inclusion; inclusion into mainstream White society. Leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and others stressed the need to conform to current social norms so that Blacks could be seen as worthy of acceptance into broader society by racist Whites. This focus on conformity led to an embrace of patriarchal and hetero-normative ideologies (Russell, 2008). However, in many ways, these traditional views on the place of women in the movement, for example, as mothers, and the complete repudiation of homosexuality by leaders in the CRM led to further oppression in sections of the Black community (Russell, 2008, p. 116). In contrast, the BLM Movement is focused on breaking down these harmful intersections of oppression by elevating members of the community that were previously seen as deviant.

While BLM has veered away from the traditional framing of the CRM, it has embraced pieces of the Black Liberation Movement in its direct calls for community control, not just integration into existing power structures. The BLM platform calls for “communities (to) control the laws, institutions, and policies that are meant to serve us—from our schools to our local budgets, economies, police departments, and our land (blacklivesmatter.com).” Community control embraces the experiences and viewpoints of all the members of any particular community, which supports the intersectional framing of BLM’s mission. Moreover, their intentionally intersectional framing of Black Liberation and human rights, more broadly, challenges us to move beyond a siloed gendered or

racial analysis or praxis; it necessitates that we fully embrace the organization's call for "intersectionality," which in its original context, "denote[s] the ways in which race and gender interact" to shape experience (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). This explicit call for an intersectional approach highlights the movements' intentional departure from the framing strategies used by earlier Black Liberation Movement organizers.

Critical Feminist Thought and Intersectionality

Traditional, or liberal, feminism has provided a space for women to fight for gender equity and justice by emphasizing access and rights upheld by the State. Critical feminism, including Black and transnational feminisms, offers a critique or departure from this framework, which is now often referred to as a "White Feminism."¹ It has pushed traditional or liberal feminist theories to grapple more deeply with power structures. As Audre Lorde stated:

some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you; we fear our children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs on the reasons they are dying. (1984, p. 119)

Rather than struggle to be included in State affairs (e.g., representation of women in elected office or rights to abortion under the law), these scholars have heavily critiqued the existence or role of the State, whose values are embedded in and perpetuate White supremacist, anti-Black, classist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, and ableist ideas. Transnational women have also contributed a global perspective, focusing on the impact of imperialism and colonialism on the lives of women and girls (Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991).

Earlier Black feminist works by hooks (1981), Collins ([1990] 2000), Lorde (1984), and others have provided foundational research that interrogates the formation of Black women's representations and identity, intervening as a response to "White Feminism" by addressing the social, political, and cultural politics centering Black women and girls. Black women have been at the forefront of prominent movements throughout the history of the United States, from the women's rights movement to the CRM, both of which undermined the contributions of their labor and leadership. BLM and the other organizations that fall under the umbrella in this present moment have modeled for us Black queer feminist organizing as a praxis. This initiation has proven to be a difficult task; however, one that activists have deemed as non-negotiable. The inclusion of Black women, girls, and queer folks in movement discourse facilitates a broader understanding of state sanctioned violence and the proximity of Black bodies to literal and social death upheld constitutionally.

The concept of intersectionality, initially put forth by Crenshaw (1991), emphasizes how economic, political, and social institutions intersect to shape one's perceptions of society (see also Carbadó, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013; Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Naples, 2009; Whittier, 2016). Moreover, Crenshaw (1991) argued that multiple oppressions

(e.g., racism and sexism) are mutually constitutive and thus, that these oppressions cannot be understood separately. Collins and Bilge (2016), reflecting on the importance intersectionality studies have gained over the last 25 or more years, note that:

Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience [...] When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together to influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves. (p. 2)

An intersectional lens centers the lives of those who have been traditionally marginalized and fosters relational approaches to acknowledging the way our lives interconnect, as well as, the complexities of our lived experiences (Cotera, 2008; Crenshaw, 1991; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015). It is an analytic tool well suited for both empirical analysis and praxis (Cho et al., 2013; Collins & Bilge, 2016). As Collins and Bilge (2016) point out, the need for intersectional perspectives was understood long before the term was adopted. For example, African American women in the 1960s and 1970s regularly felt unwelcome in movements focused on just gender or race or economics; these women wanted to confront the ways in which their multiple identities impacted the social injustice they experienced. As a result, they “confronted the puzzle of how their needs simply fell through the cracks of anti-racist social movements, feminism, and union organizing for workers’ rights” (p. 3). BLM, on the other hand, has explicitly centered women, LGBTQIA+, and other marginalized Black people. The reasons behind BLM’s intersectional strategy to rebuild the Black Liberation Movement are discussed later.

Redrawing the Boundaries of a Broader Movement

Although feminism faces the critique for being exclusive and in some instances oppressive, the work of Black feminists, womanists, queer scholars, and transnational feminists of color have challenged and reshaped feminist discourse by changing the way feminist scholarship and activism is practiced. This is particularly true in the context of community building and social movements. Social movements don’t just appear; they are mobilized over time (Tilly, 1978). Similarly, communities do not just happen; they are organized (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Well-organized communities apply both positive and negative pressures to social movements. Communities can provide a common identity for participants of social movements (Tilly & Wood, [2013] 2016); however, merging different communities into one coherent movement can be problematic. Tensions between value commitments may shape the development of the movement:

the seedbed for collective action is to be found in preexisting social arrangements that provide social capital critical to the success of early mobilizing processes when warmed by sunlight of environmental opportunities that allow members to exploit their capital. (McAdam & Scott, 2005, p. 7)

Beginning with a Twitter hashtag, BLM gained prominence in the media and in policy circles as further violence and other oppressive events continued to occur (Rickford, 2016). Many within the Black community did not feel these events were being addressed adequately by their own leaders. The use of Twitter and the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter was a new mobilization campaign in a technologically driven era of social media; however, the founders knew that they would need more than a trendy hashtag to impact real change on the ground. As Garza noted in an interview:

Twitter can be a vehicle that connects us and helps bring us together to strategize around how we're going to build the kind of power that we need to transform the world that we live in. (Dalton, 2015)

As Harris (2015) asserts, for many young Black Americans, leaders, such as Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, as well as organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League, were no longer the protectors of Black interests and Black issues. Legacy organizations, associated with the CRM of the 1960s, are not only seen as not radical enough to address the issues facing the Black community today; these organizations are not seen as inclusive. Many have argued that the membership in the NAACP is "safe (and) inconsequential" (Harris-Perry, 2017). These organizations have been supplanted by groups like BLM, founded by three Black women, two of whom identify as LGBTQIA+ and one who identifies as an immigrant.

The commitment by BLM to Black queer feminist human rights movement organizing is an ode to Black women of the past and present, moving Black, Latinx, queer, trans, and (dis)abled women the "from the margins to the center" (hooks, 1984). It pays homage to Fannie Lou Hamer for her efforts to mobilizing voting and to Ida B. Wells for exposing lynching laws in the south. In particular, BLM has adopted the Ella Baker community organizing model, which seeks to cultivate an inclusive space for all members to engage in leadership and decision-making processes. Baker's methods of organizing and mobilizing groups reflected intentional, long-term support for social justice versus instantaneous forms of social action. They have embodied her affirmation that "strong people don't need strong leaders" (Baker, as cited in Ransby, 2003, p. 51). Moreover, as Payne (1989) argues, Baker's organizing model emphasized collective consciousness and political agency:

From her perspective, the very idea of leading people to freedom is a contradiction in terms. Freedom requires the people be able to analyze their own social position and understand their collective ability to do something about it without relying on leaders. (p. 893)

BLM's decentralized leadership model is non-hierarchical, creating an innovative approach to community-based, grassroots activism that is national (and global) in scope. It is not leaderless, yet it rejects the notion of establishing a speaker of and for the organization itself (Ransby, 2015). In this way, it serves as a "tactic to (re)build the Black Liberation movement" (Garza, 2014, p. 25). The Black Liberation Movement differed from the CRM in its focus on the

global context of struggle. Black Liberation operated in response to an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle being waged around the world during the 1950s and 1960s (Carmichael, 1967; see also Taylor, 2016). Because of this struggle, the Black Liberation Movement departed from classical theories of organizational structure and social action.

BLM follows a similar path. According to Altman (2015), “the loose structure, as a confederation of local groups, empowers each one to set its own agenda” (para. 12). This has allowed the organization to engage in campaigns as varied as stopping school closures in Detroit (Joseph, n.d.) to the Fight for 15 minimum wage laws (Dean, 2015) to political protests aimed at disrupting presidential candidate speeches (Helsel, 2015; Tynes, 2016) to the physical occupation of public spaces, including highways (Badger, 2016).

Moreover, the use of traditional protest tactics by local BLM groups continues the radical Black tradition of reclaiming public space. Simply being Black and occupying public spaces is a political and radical act in the anti-Black terrains of the US. The occupation of Black people in public space that often gets criminalized as loitering, represents the reclamation of space or of “homeplace” (Haymes, 1995). Black protest that takes to-the-street reiterates the political strategy of reasserting their right to public space and to exist as Black, queer, women, and men. The response of the state to the protest depicts the power of resistance and exposes the role of police in silencing dissenting voices.

Although BLM is a continuation of the Black radical tradition of protest, we must also acknowledge the nuance of their present day organizing and their allegiance to centering Black women and queers in dominant narratives of police brutality, other acts of state violence, and the Black Liberation Movement. BLM’s extensive use of social media both as an educational tool and as an organizing platform allows it to amplify its message. BLM has been successful in increasing the visibility of the intersectional concerns of the movement through the “networked counterpublics which nourish them and the physical shedding of respectability” (Jackson, 2016, p. 377). This success is in part due to the framing strategies employed by the BLM Movement.

Intersectional Framing: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis

BLM’s founders have deliberately crafted the organization’s intersectional message and strategy to draw attention to the plight of Black America. This process can also be called framing. Framing is the practice by which organizations present information to attract (or detract) an audience to an issue; “frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). When applied by groups, framing encompasses four critical points as defined by Entman (1993): frames define a problem, identify causes, pass judgment, and identify solutions. Social movements challenge the status quo and “strategically employ a repertoire of collective action, creating new opportunities, which are used by others in widening cycles of contention” (Tarrow, [1994] 2011, p. 29). For example, both the CRM and the women’s rights movements produced rhetoric that

challenged hegemonic constructions of gender and race (Brush, 1999, p. 123). Cullors stated:

Even though the hashtag was created by two black queer women, myself and Alicia, and one Nigerian-American, Opal Tometi, it was very important from the beginning to say all black lives matter. Opening up the frame around Black Lives Matter being more than just the killings of young black boys, but rather a call for all black lives. (MSNBC, February 20, 2015)

BLM is very direct in its assignment of blame for the status of Blacks in the United States today: the state has perpetrated violence against the Black community by implementing laws and structures that systematically control and destroy the Black community. BLM advocates for freedom for all who are oppressed, but it begins with recognizing that Black lives have been specifically targeted. The framing strategy of BLM is consistent and unapologetic. The creation of the hashtag, #BlackLivesMatter, is a poignant message meant to draw attention to the “virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society” (BlackLivesMatter.com, 2016). This theme and others are prevalent throughout the public speeches and interviews by the founding members of BLM as will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Social movements must create a “linkage of individual and social movement organization interpretative orientations” in order to increase the appeal and salience of the group’s mission to the ideas of the individual being appealed to (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 464). This process is known as frame alignment. Frame alignment is crucial in the case of the BLM Movement for at least three reasons. First, this movement is perceived by many, particularly among Whites, as a threat to their own place, or privilege, in society. Starnes (2016) of Fox News, for example, referred to BLM protests as acts of “domestic terrorism,” calling for protesters to “stop terrorizing *our* cities (emphasis added).” This narrative, coupled with lack of understanding among Whites about BLM and the goals of the movement (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016), has fueled the strong counter narrative that only those that are committing crimes are being arrested and thus it is a myth that Blacks are unfairly targeted by police. Second, many of the groups that BLM includes have traditionally been excluded, or at least, marginalized, from the Black Liberation struggle even from within the Black community. Third, many of the issues that BLM is addressing, that is, economic inequality, extrajudicial killings, and incarceration, have not previously been connected in the mainstream media in a consistent way to the larger frame of racism against Black America and oppression of others worldwide.

Frame alignment takes place in four different ways: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation (Snow et al., 1986). Of these, frame transformation is most relevant to the study at hand. Frame transformation involves completely changing the rhetoric on the current state of affairs and creating new values that had not been considered. Frame transformation has been studied in a variety of social issue areas. Often, frame transformation occurs in counter-movements. Berbrier (1998) examined how White separatist movements in the late 1970s and 1980s changed their message from

one of hate of minorities and racial superiority of Whites to one where Whites were the victims of racial prejudice, merely for expressing pride in their heritage. Guns rights and English only groups have followed the same pattern of appropriating core “American values” into their rhetoric to legitimize and broaden their appeal (Lio, Melzer, & Reese, 2008).

Moving from the constructed view of your group as deviant to oppressed exemplifies frame transformation. Deaf, gay, and White supremacist movements have all taken part in attempts to be recognized as a stigmatized minority whose civil rights are being trampled (Berbrier, 2002; Edwards, 2006). Scholars have also studied intra-movement frame transformation within the pro-life movement (Trumpy, 2014) and environmental movement (Pellow & Brehm, 2015). The attempt by BLM to change the narrative and point out the state’s role in oppression of the Black community, not just everyday racism, is an example of this frame transformation. In addition, BLM is actively lifting up previously marginalized populations within the movement and giving them space and voice; these populations have been regarded as “deviant” in the past. Challenging preconceived notions of the value of Black life, while reiterating the connection of Black life to human rights is a key transformative message for BLM.

This study will examine the language and framing strategies of the BLM Movement. BLM’s deliberate intersectional identity is prominent in the discourses used by the founding members in the early years of the movement. An intersectional approach emphasizes how economic, political, and social institutions intersect to shape one’s perceptions of society (Naples, 2009; Whittier, 2016). As hooks (2003) points out, developing and building community must acknowledge and intentionally undermine mechanisms of privilege and oppression in order to force understanding and change. BLM undermines these mechanisms of privilege by delivering a message to confront the many issues (i.e., poverty, police violence, immigration status, criminalization of Black life, and gentrification) and different communities (women, men, children, transgender, and immigrants) that are impacted by the current power structure.

DATA AND METHODS

Our research aim is to uncover and elaborate on the framing messages of the BLM organization through its founders’ own words. Although the movement is one without a centralized leadership structure, an official BLM website does exist to provide information and guidance as to the purpose of the organization. The founders of BLM have set a high level mission statement that may then be used as guide for local actions by local groups. The movement began in 2013 with a simple hashtag on Twitter. In 2014, the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, prompted the creation of the website. The website developers state that “We’ve partnered with the #BlackLivesMatter Network to bring its vision to the digital world, by transforming the hashtag into a website.”² The use of the word “network” is also illuminating and speaks to the decentralized nature of the organization. We began this study with an analysis of the BLM website, reviewing its stated goals and platform. In addition, we also reviewed

the personal websites of both Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi. Initial codes were developed from these websites. These codes include decentralization and rejection of hierarchical leadership structure present in the 1960s CRM, a deliberate inclusion of all Black lives regardless of gender or sexual orientation, and an appreciation of all issues that intersect with the Black experience in the United States, including incarceration, violence, police brutality, and economic suppression.

Once we created our thematic framework, we set out to gather more data on the thoughts and words of the founders themselves. Using both Lexis Nexis and Google Scholar, we used the search term “Black Lives Matter” and the founders’ names to gather hits on their interviews and speeches. From 2014 to 2016, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi were actively present across the media and policy spectrum. They spoke at colleges and universities. They were interviewed by mass print publications such as *Glamour Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *The Advocate*, as well as major city newspapers, and smaller activist outlets. Our dataset for this chapter includes print and audio/video interviews of the founders, in their own words from October 2014 to October 2016. Newspaper articles, opinion pieces, and other references to BLM outside of the founders’ own presentation are not included. While these additional pieces would be beneficial to a broader understanding of the impact of the BLM Movement, this chapter’s focus is on the framing strategies of the founders. This chapter analyzed 37 print articles and 23 video interviews from a variety of sources (Appendix 1). These documents were uploaded to NVivo, a qualitative software package, which enabled the authors to code the documents electronically and share the same data file.

The different sources of data required a coding scheme that could illuminate themes from short interview answers to longer, prepared speeches. Longer speeches were coded at the paragraph level, while shorter answers were coded at the sentence level. Codes were initially assigned by one author, with a second author reviewing the codes. Short meetings were used to discuss the codes and their applicability, including the creation of new codes if both authors felt it was warranted. Given our interest in the framing strategies of the founders, our initial coding scheme was based on BLM’s stated goals and platform. We searched for themes related to the group’s mission as published on their website. For example, references to transgender rights and the killing (and the lack of attention to those murders) of transgender people were coded under LGBTQIA+ inclusion; references to the impact of gentrification or the plight of Black domestic workers were coded under economic disparity. As the founders were explicit in their description of how state violence against people of color has been perpetrated for centuries, references to state violence and systemic discrimination were coded under structural racism. Other deductive themes included, feminism, intergenerational, intersectionality, justice, oppression of others, and persons with disabilities. We coded for both intersectionality as a concept, as this was a term used by all three founders, and the different ways intersectionality was perceived by the founders. Accordingly, we looked for themes related to

immigrants, the incarcerated, and other intersecting identities and coded them as well.

However, analysis of the documents also uncovered themes that were not explicit to the group's mission. Inductively we found themes of action, Black pride, faith, strategy, and mental health. In addition, the founders were very cognizant of the need to remind the public that #BlackLivesMatter was created by three women. Given the three founders' experience and prior work in organizing, the themes of strategy and action were very present as the founders spoke about tactics and goals of the movement. This analysis speaks to the fact that successful social movements are often carefully planned and executed, despite the sometimes happenstance nature of their birth, like reacting to a poignant post on Facebook with a hashtag. In the Section "Black Lives Matter: Race, Gender and Activism in Their Own Words" we will examine some of these prevalent themes.

BLACK LIVES MATTER: RACE, GENDER AND ACTIVISM IN THEIR OWN WORDS

BLM, which started as a political project, is now a political force. Throughout our analysis, the most prevalent frame was that of the struggle against structural racism. Use of the terms "state violence," "anti-black racism," and "criminalization" are used liberally in the interviews and quotes. BLM's founders believe that racism is embedded in the *culture* of the United States and institutionalized through laws and administrative practice. To fully end racism, we must address the role of the state:

This is a much broader conversation and the conversation around state violence isn't just about the act of murdering a black person, but rather how this country, at every level of government, at every moment, has devalued black lives, whether that's by putting black folks in ghettos, defunding our school systems, over-policing our communities. (Patriisse Cullors, *Neon Tommy* Interview, January 7, 2015)

Opal echoed this perspective:

#BlackLivesMatter is a pushback against the status quo. We are naming that we are not living in a post-racial society. And we decidedly wanted the nation to confront anti-black racism, especially since there's been moves towards more politically correct terms 'people of color', which, to be honest, is an overgeneralization that doesn't get to the heart of the ways in which black people are typically most acutely impacted by injustice. Because our laws don't take into account structural racism. (Opal Tometi, Keynote Speech, Marching in the Arc of Justice Conference, March 7, 2015)

This rhetorical departure from the CRM in the 1960s is one that the founders acknowledge as their contribution to the conversation. While the 1960s movement needed to focus on outright discriminatory laws against people of color, the BLM Movement is actively trying to change cultural and systemic attitudes that may lurk behind laws written to increase security and reduce crime. However, the founders are also very respectful of the contributions of the older

generation to the movement itself, including in its platform a commitment to intergenerational work.

So yes, it is our job to advance what our ancestors and our elders so graciously and so courageously and so boldly fought for in our name. And our next step, right, and this is our challenge to you, is to continue to defect from a system that does not value our lives. (Alicia Garza, Panel Discussion, Catalyst Project, December 14, 2014)

BLM is much more than a movement about the police brutality against straight, Black men; however, justice and the role of the police and the criminal justice system are heavily represented in the data. The BLM founders were very careful in defining justice as a broad category to include all victims and all types of abuse in the criminal justice system. One of the major campaigns supported by the founders of BLM was #SayHerName, which included the lifting up of all cisgender and transgender women and girls killed or harassed at the hands of police.

I think it's important to talk about [the fact that] we've always uplifted black women in our segments, from Renisha McBride to Rekia Boyd to the seven-year-old Aiyana Stanley-Jones, who was killed by Detroit police in a botched raid. The Black Lives Matter movement has always lifted up these stories, and it's just starting now that the media's catching up with that. (Patrisse Cullors, *Public Radio International* Interview, July 17, 2015)

#SayHerName was a project that evolved out of the African American Policy Forum (AAPF), an organization founded by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1996 as a think tank to focus on intersectional activism and research. The organization was founded in response to the Million Man March, which according to co-founder Luke Harris, seemingly left Black women out and “symbolized a vision of racial justice that marginalized and trivialized the concerns of Black women and girls” (AAPF Turns 20, 2017). As Alexander-Floyd (2003) argues, the Black cultural pathology paradigm lay at the center of the Million Man March of 1995, whereby Black nationalists re-asserted the importance of patriarchy in the Black community. While feminists, especially Black feminists, criticized the sexist underpinnings of the March, the March enjoyed broad public support. As Alexander-Floyd (2003) highlights:

the problematic gender politics of the March go beyond questions about whether women were allowed to attend or participate, and are rooted instead in the problematic Black macho imperative that provided the impetus for the March in the first place. (p. 194)

Not only have BLM and the AAPF collaborated on projects such as #SayHerName, the rhetoric of BLM is visible in more recent AAPF materials, such as “Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced and Underprotected,” a report published in 2015.

Two other areas in which this broader issue of justice intersects are poverty and mental illness. Patrisse Cullors, in particular, has long organized against the abuses in the prison system and the way in which the mentally ill are treated. Her organization, Dignity and Power Now, works with law enforcement in the Los Angeles area. Recently, the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department implemented

a permanent civilian review board to combat police abuses against those in custody and to properly assess those with mental illness.

Yes, U.S. jails and prisons are de facto mental health institutions. Los Angeles, Cook County—which is in Chicago—New York City, all three of those jails have the highest rates of folks with mental illness. L.A. County jail is the largest mental health institution inside this country. That is a crisis. And who ends up in those jails with mental illness are mostly black people, are mostly brown people. (Patrisse Cullors, *Democracy Now* Interview, July 24, 2015)

Concern for the mentally ill is a repeated theme throughout the documents, perhaps because of Cullors' work in that area. However, outside of a few interviews that mention health as an overall concern, there is little mention of specific concerns like HIV/AIDS or women's reproductive health, including the high risk of death in childbirth for women of color, and access to abortion and birth control. #BlackLivesMatter did partner with SisterSong, a reproductive rights group for women of color, in February of 2016. However, our data do not show an increase in specific comments related to the partnership or the issue of reproductive rights.

The criminalization of poverty and the impact of gentrification are important frames in the data surrounding justice. While many may not immediately see the connection between policing and economic revitalization projects, the BLM founders are able to frame and link these issues very effectively. Alicia Garza organizes in Oakland, CA, and has worked to protect Black and brown communities from the negative effects of gentrification.

You can't separate police violence from gentrification and displacement because police violence and policing are often used to help bolster those processes. You know, I've been an organizer here in the Bay Area for more than a decade, working on issues of gentrification and displacement, economic justice, gender justice, racial justice and always when a community is undergoing a transformation to try to bring in a new class of people to bolster the economy locally, it comes with an increase in policing. Policing is used then to clear that area, right, of the existing element that is undesirable for the potential new occupants. So, that's one example of how these issues are linked. (Alicia Garza, *Rising Up with Sonali* Interview, June 30, 2016)

The criminalization of poverty, particularly through policies like “broken windows,” is another connection between racism and policies intended to stop crime.

So we saw the emergence of what's known as broken windows policing and this is a theory that in essence says if you see a broken window in the neighborhood you have to police that neighborhood and make sure that crime doesn't happen. And so this is in essence just a way to criminalize poverty, into have police presence in poor communities instead of saying hey what can we do to repair the neighborhood? (Opal Tometi, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Interview, June 4, 2015)

The ways in which the founders of BLM weave together seemingly disparate issues into a broader narrative about justice for the Black community, and thus Black Liberation, is one example of the movement's strategy. State policies, such as cleaning up graffiti and repairing broken windows immediately or using the mere presence of rundown property as a harbinger of criminal activity, paint

a pretty picture of the police responding to petty vandalism with community support. However, BLM calls out this practice as not just about catching real criminals, but making poverty a crime. This attention to the effects of poverty but not the causes does nothing to help the Black community, but further terrorizes it.

The deliberate structuring of this narrative is also present in the way BLM focuses on the inclusion of women and LGBTQIA+ members of the community. The recognition that young, queer women also suffer violence at the hands of police is a vital piece of the larger puzzle for BLM (Chatelain & Asoka, 2015). Prior movements had pushed aside or, at least, minimized the contributions of queer or female people. The BLM platform was deliberately inclusive of these groups, particularly given the fact that two of its founders identify as both queer and female. Protecting and recognizing the origin of the movement itself was a prominent topic in the interviews. All three founders were very deliberate to credit the others when speaking of the movement. In addition, the founders often remarked on the media's lack of attention to the fact that BLM was in fact founded by three Black women.

When you design an event / campaign / et cetera based on the work of queer Black women, don't invite them to participate in shaping it, but ask them to provide materials and ideas for next steps for said event, that is racism in practice. It's also hetero-patriarchal. Straight men, unintentionally or intentionally, have taken the work of queer Black women and erased our contributions. Perhaps if we were the charismatic Black men many are rallying around these days, it would have been a different story, but being Black queer women in this society (and apparently within these movements) tends to equal invisibility and non-relevancy. (Alicia Garza, *Feminist Wire* Opinion Piece by Garza, October 7, 2014)

Patrisse summarized the same sentiment this way:

I believe if Black Lives Matter was created by three Black men, Opal, Alicia and myself wouldn't have to fight so hard to remind people we are the co-founders. (Patrisse Cullors, *Madame Noire* article (quoted), May, 4, 2015)

The connection between Black lives and other human rights concerns is evident in the data as well. Tometi's work with the Black Alliance for Just Immigration and Garza's work with the Domestic Workers' Alliance are indicative of the intersection of economic issues with human rights and with BLM. The work that these two women do for their respective organizations spills into other racial groups; however, being Black *and* an undocumented immigrant or Black *and* a domestic worker opens these victims up to further abuse. As Tometi states:

And oftentimes black immigrants get invisibilized in the larger discourse. But the reality is, if you're black, you're in America, you are being profiled and targeted anyway. And so, we see disproportionate rates of immigration detention and deportation of black immigrants. Similar to the way that sentencing works in this country, we're seeing black immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa cop to plea deals and not know what the consequences really will be. And ultimately, the consequences likely look like them having to leave the country and being forcibly deported. (Opal Tometi, *Democracy Now* Interview, July 24, 2015)

The intersectionality deepens in the line of domestic workers, with many victims of labor abuse within the domestic workers' industry being undocumented, Black, *and* female. Combined with all the other issues these people face, the challenges to living a safe, productive life are evident. Garza summed it up this way,

Domestic workers, in particular the work I do with Black domestic workers, are mothers who are trying to protect their families from state violence. The way that we talk about state violence with #BlackLivesMatter is that state violence equals structural racism. Not only have domestic workers, who are largely Black, been excluded from federal labor protections and now are largely immigrant, but they are mothers who are living in communities that are being terrorized by unaccountable police departments. They are mothers who are living in communities where the schools are failing, where there's a lack of investment, where wages are falling, where there's high unemployment. (Alicia Garza, *The Laura Flanders Show*, Interview, March 24, 2015)

The issues that the Black community faces cannot neatly be summed up by addressing only police violence or only overt racism in housing and hiring practices. All these issues, and how they connect, must be addressed to completely change the environment in which the Black community lives. These issues, however, are not limited to the Black community. Whites, Latinx, Native Americans, and other racial groups suffer from many of these same problems. The ability of BLM to transform the frame in which they are viewed can ultimately help other groups as well.

Even as BLM has called for a broader understanding of these complex issues that impact all communities, but particularly Black ones, they have been criticized and heard the rejoinder "All Lives Matter." The counter narrative that BLM is somehow stating that only BLM is one that the founders have had to repeatedly defend. They have done this by linking the struggle for Black Liberation to liberation for all. For example:

Given the disproportionate impact state violence has on Black lives, we understand that when Black people in this country get free, the benefits will be wide reaching and transformative for society as a whole [...] We're not saying Black lives are more important than other lives, or that other lives are not criminalized and oppressed in various ways. We remain in active solidarity with all oppressed people who are fighting for their liberation and we know that our destinies are intertwined [...] And if we are committed to a world where all lives matter, we are called to support the very movement that inspired and activated so many more. That means supporting and acknowledging Black lives. (Alicia Garza, *Feminist Wire* Opinion Piece by Garza, October 7, 2014)

The transformation of the frames regarding Black Liberation from male-dominated freedom fighters agitating for the revocation of Jim Crow laws to an intersectional struggle against all forms of discrimination (state violence) against the Black community is evident through the words of its three female founders. Cullors, Garza, and Tometi skillfully weave a strong narrative to include injustice against the Black community in education policy, the economy, in the criminal justice system, and in immigration policy. Their inclusion of and, uplifting of, queer and female leaders is a break from the past. While BLM does focus on the Black community, their solidarity and commitment to other oppressed groups is also a unique strategy as evident in the framing of their messages.

CONCLUSION

The founders of BLM, Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi, have deliberately framed a narrative about the injustices suffered by the Black community that far surpasses the narrow view of just combating police brutality against straight, Black men. As Marcia Chatelain posits,

BLM is feminist in its interrogation of state power and its critique of structural inequality. It is also forcing a conversation about gender and racial politics that we need to have — women at the forefront of this movement are articulating that “black lives” does not only mean men’s lives or cisgender lives or respectable lives or the lives that are legitimated by state power or privilege. (Chatelain & Asoka, 2015, para. 16)

The CRM of the mid-twentieth century was focused on inclusion of Blacks into the current system. A focus on conformity and acceptance led to the embrace of hetero-normative ideologies that placed women and homosexuals in oppressed positions even within their own movement. BLM seeks to change that history by including all Black lives in the conversation. In addition, the movement’s focus on intersectionality and community control has allowed for a different organizational structure than past movements. Their organization has rejected the patriarchal and hierarchical structures of many past movements by allowing a decentralized network of organizations to collect under the BLM umbrella. This research has shed light on the frame transformation process occurring within the BLM Movement that illustrates both its harnessing of past Black Liberation efforts and its refuting of certain tactics in favor of a feminist and intersectional approach to community building.

BLM may be considered the “next wave” of CRM, and represents a reframing of how and with whom the movement will progress. Social movements often ebb and flow, moving in cycles or waves (della Porta, 2013). The concept of a cycle or a wave, “has the merit of helping locating single protest events as well as social movements within the broader historical context to which they belong” (della Porta, 2013, p. 3).

As the founders suggested in their interviews and speeches, they saw themselves as both responding to and growing out of the earlier CRM. As Garza noted, “This isn’t the beginning of a movement, this is the continuation of a struggle that’s been happening for at least 400 years” (May 4, 2015, as quoted in *Madame Noire*). Mobilized to action by the Trayvon Martin’s murderer’s acquittal, BLM was more than a short-term campaign. The founders were intentional. The intersectional framing was an organizing strategy that was scaffolded by earlier struggles for Black Liberation, especially the CRM.

Moreover, the founders acknowledge and respond to the legacies of both the integrationist and Black Power wings of the movement. Speaking at Miami University in October, 2015, all three women discuss how their own training and familial background informs their BLM organization. For example, Cullors, whose father was a supporter of the Black Power movement, states:

I’m [a] black woman, I’m queer and it was very important as we develop out the network and this project that those the ways in which our identities intersect. We’re not erased but rather we came forth with it all. Because what we’ve seen in the past and large part when it’s come

to the civil rights movement is a movement that marginalized women, a movement that marginalized queer folks and we did not want to continue with that part of that legacy. So it's important that we were able to develop a new platform, a new way of understanding blackness that included all of our folks. Black folks that are incarcerated, black folks who have convictions, black folks who are immigrants, black LGBT folks and we understood that to develop that framework we have to show up as our full selves as well. (Patrisse Cullors, October 27, 2015)

As Choo and Ferree (2010) argue, intersectionality allows us to give prominence to the particularity of the perspectives and needs of those being studied. While it is not our goal to provide new tools of social action or to critique the effectiveness of BLM's approach, this chapter highlights how BLM has advanced and enhanced the strategies used in the civil rights and Black Liberation struggles of previous decades by pushing the movement toward an intersectional movement; the next wave of the Black Liberation struggle that draws inspiration from the critical feminist literatures of Black and transnational feminisms.

Although the racial climate of the 1960s was dramatically different than today, the issues that BLM addresses do not radically differ. The

decades of the persistence of Black poverty, relative deprivation, and racial injustices before, during, and after the [civil rights movement's] decline stages that precipitated the new generation of Black activists to birth the BLM social movement. (Jones-Eversley, Adedoyin, Robinson, & Moore, 2017, p. 5)

BLM, however, has rejected respectability politics of earlier movements in order to address the underlying discourses and systems that demand Blacks adhere to certain standards in order to be recognized. This is fundamentally reframing the struggle for justice as a question of humanity. As Rasaki (2016) argues:

Where Civil Rights Era groups that practiced respectability politics dressed and behaved in certain ways in order to debunk the Darwinist stereotypes inflicted upon them, BLM challenges the White supremacist underpinnings of those acceptable characterizations of Blackness. (p. 34)

In addition, our findings support the proposition by Cohen and Jackson (2016) that women, and particularly Black women, have not been absent from earlier Black Liberation or social movement struggles, but erased; and that

what's new is the ways in which, at this moment in the Black Lives Matter movement, young, black, often queer women are not just doing the work but are part of a collective leadership.

She continued:

The fact that they are visible and vocal, not just in one organization but across a number of organizations, shaping the direction of this movement—this is something that's new. (Jackson, 2016)

This is a moment I have dreamed of my whole life. Growing up, I learned about the black freedom struggle and the Black Liberation Movement and was told that this was a "lull period" or that it wasn't possible to have black liberation in our lifetime. So I'm just grateful to be alive in this moment where more and more people are saying: we believe it can happen and we're gonna to fight for it. (Alicia Garza, as cited in Smith, 2015)

The limitations of our approach center around the data itself and, perhaps, the research question. First, we are focusing exclusively on the words of the three founders of BLM, Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi. We recognize the irony in analyzing the words of leaders of a non-hierarchical movement. However, the founders and their missions are integral to the organization and wider network. Although our data cover a two-year time period, October 2014 to October 2016, a longer time frame would inevitably provide more rich detail into the messaging strategy as the organization grows.

Finally, this study is a review of the frame transformation strategy of BLM in the words of the founders. This is not a study of media response or receipt of that frame or a study of the various BLM groups across the country. BLM is using feminist and intersectional framing to construct a new social movement organizing strategy. BLM intentionally includes members of the Black community that were pushed aside or excluded from earlier generations of the Black Liberation struggle and seeks to eliminate structural injustice and oppression of Black bodies in all their forms.

The founders have also encouraged and supported local manifestations (chapters) under the BLM umbrella in order to facilitate the inclusion of different forms of (localized) injustice. Given BLM's decentralized format, future studies could examine whether or not that message has been effectively disseminated across chapters. This could be done by comparing the messaging of chapters, perhaps via comparison of Twitter or Facebook posts of different BLM groups from across the country. Such a study could further tease out how unique local context mediate the adoption or rejection of specific aspects of BLM's organizing frame. For example, some BLM groups reside in cities, while others may be closer to rural areas. Although BLM was founded by three black women, how does the gender or sexual orientation of the local chapter leaders impact the message? How do these differences change or challenge the feminist, intersectional framing of BLM goals and strategy? In addition, studies could be designed to study the impact of the messaging across time in the presentation of BLM in the mainstream media. Has the frame transformation strategy been successful? We feel this is a rich body of material and many future studies could illuminate the BLM strategy and its impact on social movement theory.

NOTES

1. White Feminism is a term often associated with second wave feminists and feminist scholarship that marginalizes non-White voices and experiences. As Mariana Ortega notes, White Feminism is about "being lovingly, knowingly ignorant" to the experiences of women of color. White feminism perpetuates the hegemony of whiteness.

2. See <http://hakiocreatives.com/blacklivesmatter/>. Date last accessed October 11, 2016.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF SOURCES

Date	Source	Participants	Type
March 30, 2014	Eqbal Ahmad Lecture, Hampshire College	All	Panel Discussion
October 7, 2014	The Feminist Wire	Alicia Garza	Editorial
November 27, 2014	Al Akhbar English	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
December 14, 2014	Catalyst Project: Black Liberation and White Anti-Racism in the Time of Ferguson	Alicia Garza	Panel Discussion
December 16, 2014	<i>The Guardian</i>	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
January 7, 2015	Neon Tommy-Annenberg Digital News	Patrisse Cullors	Print Interview
February 19, 2015	MSNBC-Nerding Out	Alicia Garza and Opal Tometti	Audio/Video Interview
February 20, 2015	MSNBC: Queemess on the Front Lines-#BlackLivesMatter	Patrice Cullors	Audio/Video Interview
February 27, 2015	KPBS	Alicia Garza	Audio/Video
March 1, 2015	<i>The California Sunday Magazine</i>	All	Quote in Story
March 4, 2015	<i>USA Today</i>	Alicia Garza	Print Interview
March 7, 2015	Marching in the Arc of Justice Conference	Opal Tometi	Speech
March 24, 2015	<i>Laura Flanders Show</i>	Alicia Garza	Audio/Video
March 24, 2015	<i>The Nation</i>	Alicia Garza	Print Interview
March 30, 2015	Mass Live.com	All	Quote in Story
May 4, 2015	Madame Noire	All	Quote in Story
May 19, 2015	<i>Truthout/Laura Flanders Show</i>	Patrisse Cullors	Audio/Video
May 28, 2015	ACLU of California, Keynote Address	Patrisse Cullors	Speech
June 2, 2015	<i>The Nation</i>	Opal Tometi	Print Interview
June 4, 2015	Rosa Luxemburg Foundation	Opal Tometi	Audio/Video
July 13, 2015	Those People	Alicia Garza	Editorial
July 17, 2015	Public Radio International	All	Print Interview

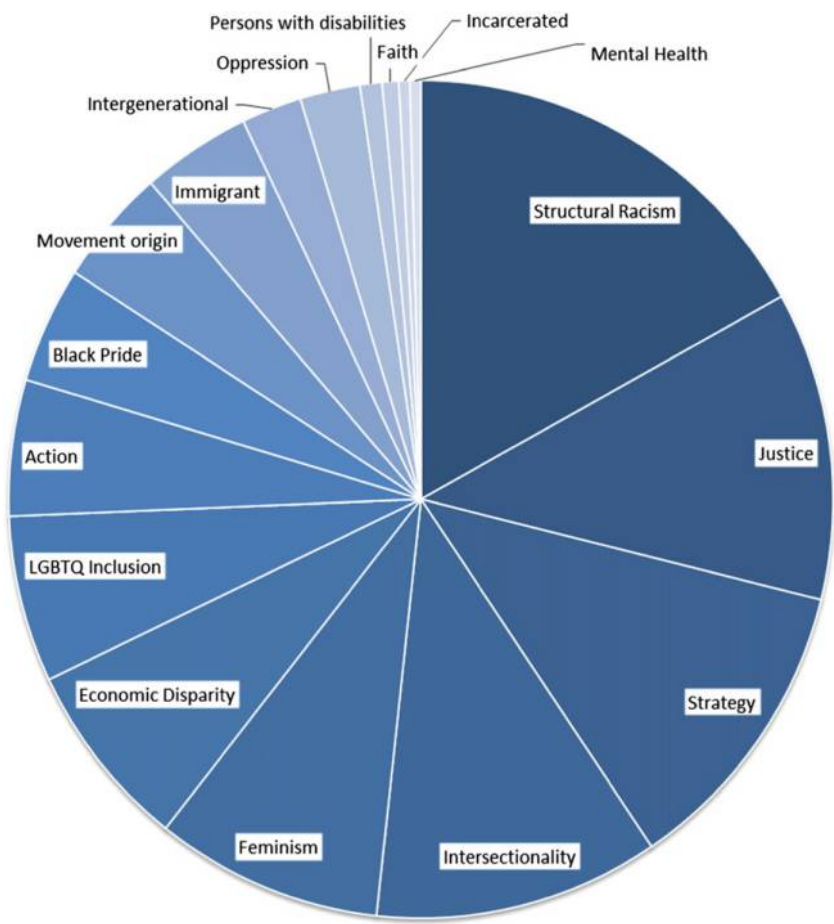
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Date	Source	Participants	Type
July 17, 2015	WNYC	Patrisse Cullors	Print Interview
July 19, 2015	<i>The Guardian</i>	Alicia Garza	Quote in Story
July 24, 2015	<i>Democracy Now</i>	All	Audio/Video
August 4, 2015	Truthout/Laura Flanders Show	Opal Tometi	Audio/Video
August 10, 2015	MSNBC	Alicia Garza	Audio/Video
September 1, 2015	<i>The Chicago Tribune</i>	Alicia Garza	Quote in Story
October 1, 2015	<i>The Atlantic</i>	Opal Tometi	Audio/Video
October 17, 2015	<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	All	Print Interview
October 27, 2015	<i>The Miami Student</i>	All	Quote in Story
October 27, 2015	Miami Television News (Miami University of Ohio)	All	Audio/Video Interview
November 27, 2015	Daily Kos	Patrisse Cullors	Print Interview
November 29, 2015	Rob Bell Podcast	Opal Tometi	Audio/Video
December 4, 2015	Al Jazeera	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
December 8, 2015	<i>The Advocate</i>	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
December 9, 2015	<i>The Advocate</i>	Alicia Garza, Opal	Quote in Story
February 5, 2016	<i>Ithaca Journal</i>	Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi	Quote in Story
February 5, 2016	<i>Ithaca Journal</i>	Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi	Audio/Video
February 18, 2016	On Being	Patrice Cullors	Audio/Video
March 22, 2016	The Blognonian	Opal Tometi	Print Interview
March 24, 2016	<i>Marie Claire</i>	All	Print Interview
April 5, 2016	BET	All	Audio/Video
May 5, 2016	KCAL Channel 9	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
June 27, 2016	<i>Elle Magazine</i>	Alicia Garza	Print Interview

(Continued)

Date	Source	Participants	Type
June 30, 2016	Rising up with Sonali	Alicia Garza	Audio/Video
July 12, 2016	Occupy.com	Alicia Garza	Quote in story
July 12, 2016	United Nations	Opal Tometi	Speech
July 13, 2016	National Public Radio	All	Print Interview
August 1, 2016	Telesur	Patrisse Cullors	Quote in Story
August 4, 2016	Bloomberg	Alicia Garza	Print Interview
September 6, 2016	Al Jazeera	None	Quote in Story
September 21, 2016	Ella Baker Center, 20th Anniversary Panel Discussion	Patrisse Cullors	Audio/Video Interview
September 26, 2016	#EmergingUS	All	Print Interview
October 19, 2016	The Establishment	Patrisse Cullors	Print Interview
October 20, 2016	Mic	Patrisse Cullors	Quote to Story
October 20, 2016	<i>Democracy Now</i>	Alicia Garza	Audio/Video
October 21, 2016	The Root	Patrisse Cullors	Editorial

APPENDIX 2: PREVALENCE OF DEDUCTIVE AND
INDUCTIVE CODES



Key (in order of most to least references)

Code	Description
Structural racism	Reference to systemic or structural racism not recognized by others (especially whites)
Justice	Reference to unlawful incarceration, school to prison pipeline, unfair sentencing and police brutality on the black community
Strategy	Reference to direct strategy of the movement, whether using social media or using protest tactics

(Continued)

Code	Description
Intersectionality	Reference to the idea that people do not just have one identity. Race, age, sexual identity, and gender expression all offer insights into a person's unique experience
Feminism	References to the direct impact of black women on the Black Liberation Movement
Economic disparity	Reference to the economic injustices suffered by the black community, income inequality, etc.
LGBTQ inclusion	References to the LGBTQ community and their inclusion in the struggle for Black Liberation
Action	Reference to a need for direct action, not just solidarity
Black pride	Reference to being proud and not apologetic of being black
Movement origin	Reference to remembering the contributions of the three founders and not pushing the origin story aside, including the fact that they are women, LGBTQ, and immigrant
Immigrant	Reference to those not born in the US
Intergenerational	Reference to the inclusion of all in the struggle, regardless of age
Oppression	Recognition of others who are suppressed and expression of support for other groups suffering
Persons with disabilities	Reference to the inclusion of persons with disabilities in the Black Liberation struggle
Faith	Reference to faith or religion in connection with the movement
Incarcerated	Reference to people in jail currently or with criminal records
Mental health	Reference to mental health and lack of services to address mental health problems