

REPRO, BUT MAKE IT FASHION
DISCOURSES ON SEX, SEXUALITY, AND REPRODUCTION IN *TEEN VOGUE*
MAGAZINE

by

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ABSTRACT

There are many possible sources for youth to become educated about sexuality and reproduction, however the media are cited as particularly powerful and prominent sources of information (Jaworski, 2009). Particularly in an era in which abstinence-only messaging dominates sex education, media become a source to which young people turn and where they receive much of their sex-based messaging. Due to backlash over problematic content that perpetuates gender stereotypes and relays harmful messages about sex and sexuality, some magazines, including *Teen Vogue*, have attempted to shift towards more feminist-minded content (Keller, 2011, Milkie, 2002). This study is a qualitative critical feminist media analysis that examined the framing of sex, sexuality, and reproduction content in a sample of 60 *Teen Vogue* articles, an online publication that targets adolescents and young adults. The analysis revealed that overall, articles conveyed positive representations of sexuality, advocating for affirming and evidence-based sex education, self-empowerment through knowledge, and comprehensive reproductive healthcare for all. However, contradictory frames of sex stigmatization and a reproductive rights framework that advocates primarily for abortion rights were still highly prevalent in the data. Considering media is a significant component of the sexual socialization of youth, Sex Positive framing of sexuality which prioritizes pleasure, healthy relationships and sexual dynamics, and inclusive and affirmative sex education helps to create new narratives in media concerning how sex is viewed. These messages may have positive impacts by creating healthier sexual scripts and becoming dominant narratives in the future. However, articles in the data also utilized fear-mongering tactics that are notoriously used in abstinence-only sex education. These messages aid

in further stigmatizing young people not only for having sex but also for not being informed of the potential associated risks, creating a harmful paradox that may counteract the goals of sexual health and sex positivity. Additionally, reproductive rights and reproductive justice messaging and the presentation of policy updates relevant to young readers has the potential to inform and socialize young people to be better informed about sex and sexuality, which may, in turn, lead to greater sexual empowerment. Such messaging may also empower youth activists in a time of political turmoil, connecting teen readers to what is going on around them, and providing concrete actions they can take to create political change.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Women's and teen magazines have long been criticized for their vapid content in general, but also particularly their sexist, heteronormative, and all-around troubling messaging around topics of sex, reproduction, gender expectations, and sexual scripts (Keller 2011; Milkie 2002; Redcross 2014). Magazines as a form of media hold a significant amount of power when it comes to the socialization of young people, and teens look to them as a trusted source of information (Arnett, 2014). Feminist media research shows that gendered ideologies in mainstream texts can tell us something about the dominant ideologies of the culture of origin, and at the same time content of mainstream texts can change over time (Cuklanz and McIntosh, 2014). Due to backlash over problematic content that perpetuates gender stereotypes and harmful messages about sex and sexuality, some magazines have attempted a shift towards more feminist-minded content (Keller, 2011, Milkie, 2002). Academic literature has shown, however, that while many publications have attempted to make the shift towards more inclusive and unproblematic content, most have failed, and there is a significant misalignment and hypocrisy present in the messaging the magazines and their advertisements produce (Keller, 2011, Milkie, 2002).

When teens turn to other sources of sexual information, such as teen magazines, to fill in the blanks left by abstinence only sex education, they often find muddy and confusing information (Medley-Rath, 2007). One such magazine is *Teen Vogue*, a US magazine that launched in 2004 as a sister publication to *Vogue* and today runs an online-only operation,

targeted at teens and young women. Unlike many teen magazines, *Teen Vogue* has made a notable shift in their content that has led them to being praised over their journalistic integrity and socio-politically minded content (McDuffie, 2017, Roy, 2017). *Teen Vogue* has rebranded itself as an intentionally “woke,” or socially conscious, publication that is seen as carrying journalistic integrity and can be enjoyed by people of varying demographics without losing its primarily teen girl audience and catering to her first. *Teen Vogue* may be blurring the lines between traditional teen content and serious political journalism by showing that political advocacy and teen content are not mutually exclusive, and this is something worth investigating.

This study is a qualitative content analysis that uses qualitative critical feminist media analysis to examine representations of sex, sexuality, and reproduction in a sample of 60 *Teen Vogue* articles. Given that *Teen Vogue* has become a noted progressive publication that young people turn to, and knowing the history of other publications’ failed attempts at producing feminist content, it is important to understand what *Teen Vogue* is saying on topics of sex, sexuality, and reproduction.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Media as a Form of Adolescent Socialization

Research shows that adolescents use media as a form of self-socialization, finding that teens look to media as a source of identity formation, information on sexuality, and sexual scripts (Arnett, 2014). Media, including magazines, serve as a source of adolescent socialization that is near equivalent to peer socialization (Arnett, 2014). Magazines, and teen magazines, in particular, serve as materials for adolescents to cite concerning topics of fashion and beauty, sex and dating, and lifestyle and are a common ground for all adolescents to point to (Arnett, 2014).

Research on women's and teen magazines shows that magazines are a site for the development of expected gendered behavior and expression, and this is seen particularly in magazines aimed at adolescent girls (Arnett, 2014). Adolescents look to media like magazines, television, and music for images and emotions they use to construct gendered, racial, and sexual identities (Eder and Nenga, 2006). While teens may use media to reinforce conventional ideas of heterosexuality and gender, others may use media as a path to resistance and the creation of new identities (Eder and Nenga, 2006).

While the media is not necessarily perceived to be more accurate than parents or sex education teachers, it is consistently ranked among parents, peers, and sex education teachers as providing the most information about dating, sex, and sexual health (Wood et al. 2002; Somers and Surmann 2005). In fact, in a study conducted by the Kaiser Family Foundation, researchers

found that young teens rated the media as their number one source of information about sexuality and sexual health (Kaiser Family Foundation and Children Now 1997 cited in Ward 2003).

Sexual Scripts in Adolescent Magazines

Magazines are a media source that entertain and disseminate information, including sexual information (Medley-Rath, 2007). Sociological literature has found that adolescent magazines are a site for adolescent socialization, serving as a source of sexual and romantic scripts for teenagers (Farvid and Braun, 2006, Jackson, 2005, Kim and Ward, 2004, Medley-Rath, 2007, and Zaragoza, 2012,). The focus on sex, sexuality, dating, relationships, and romance in teen media is supported by prior literature on teen and women magazines (Farvid and Braun, 2006). The prioritization of men's sexuality, a focus on heteronormativity, and an overall perpetuation of binary gender expectations is presented in many magazines targeted to adolescent girls and women (Farvid & Braun, 2006). While publications are quick to offer sexual scripts, they do very little to offer adolescents information on preventing pregnancy or the transmissions of sexually transmitted infections (Zaragoza, 2012).

Research has found that consumption of magazines targeted at adult women is associated with a weaker support of sex stereotypes about men and belief of sex as being risky, while reading magazines targeted at teenagers was associated with stronger endorsement of masculine sexual stereotypes (Kim and Ward, 2004). Farvid and Braun's (2006) article on sexuality in teen magazines found that teen boys sexuality is prioritized, only heterosexual penetrative intercourse is seen as "real" sex, men are presented as being easily aroused and satisfied, with a need for

“great” sex, while women are placed with the burden of concern over developing “great” sexual skills, focused on pleasing and performance, in order to keep men from “straying.”

A study of adolescent publications including *Cosmo Girl*, *Teen*, and *Seventeen* found an emphasis on heteronormativity, an unequal distribution of responsibility over sexual health between male and female partners, a perpetuation of gender norms and a presentation of men as aggressors and women as subordinate in sexual and romantic interactions (Zaragoza, 2012). Zaragoza (2012), finds that a common thread in the discourse in online teen magazines is sexuality as a function of heterosexual romantic relationships. Additionally, there is a lack of sex education present in these publications with very little to no information regarding sexual health, pregnancy prevention, STI prevention, testing, or treatment as a sexually active young person (Zaragoza, 2012).

Bay-Cheng’s (2010) research finds that abstinence only and abstinence centered curriculum dominate school-based sex education. School based sex education focuses on the dangers and risks of teen sex by overstating claims of harmful physical and psychological effects with a complete exclusion of any positive outcomes (Bay-Cheng, 2010). This problem-based approach is biased and inaccurate and operates on a curriculum that is fear and morality based. Additionally, in most curriculums sex is defined only as heterosexual and coital, and do not consider the interplays between gender, race, class, and sexuality which produced sexist, racist, and classist messaging on sexuality (Bay-Cheng, 2010).

While teens turn to other sources of sexual information, such as teen magazines, to fill in the blanks left by abstinence only sex education they often find muddy and confusing information (Medley-Rath, 2007). They find unspecified definitions of what counts as sex, double standards on virginity, and stating abstinence as a way to prevent pregnancy and STI's but never clearly defining what abstinence means (Medley-Rath, 2007). A qualitative content analyses conducted on the sexuality and health advice in *Seventeen* magazine explored the construction of sex and sexuality norms and 'what counts as sex', presented in their teen advice columns. This study found a perpetuation of heteronormativity by presenting only penile-vaginal intercourse as sex and 'virginity loss' as well as presenting a double standard that places sexual responsibility on the female adolescents and not their male partners (Medley-Rath, 2007). Analysis of sex advice columns in teen magazines find that sex is framed as painful, dangerous, and not safe, while letters seeking counseling are signed off by "worried" and "scared" teen readers (Jackson, 2005).

Magazine Editors and Social / Feminist Responsibility

"These magazines are created for teens, so they will read them, believe what they read, and in some cases, base their decisions on the advice of certain articles" (Redcross, 2014).

Magazines serve as a trusted source for many of their teenage readers and research has shown that adolescents can be negatively influenced by the media, including teen magazines (Redcross, 2014). These magazines, Keller finds, have long been critiqued for having "limited substance and traditional views of femininity" (Keller, 2011: 1) While there has been research done on the *content* of these magazines, others have focused on the *gatekeepers* – the editors and

producers of the teen magazines adolescents read and trust so much (Keller, 2011, Milkie, 2002). Redcross (2014), Keller (2011), and Milkie (2002) ask why teen magazine editors continue to produce content that is harmful to girls even as they realize the influence and impact they have on young girls and their perceptions of self, social and sexual scripts, and messages about sex and dating. The producers of teen magazines seem to move beyond the question of what their teen girl audience wants and instead asks themselves, what does the teen girl as a *consumer* need?

As Redcross (2014) and Keller (2011) state, teen magazine editors are in a powerful position of influence over teen girls because they are the producers of the content that young readers read, trust, and believe. Because of this position, they can impact the lives of their young girl readers by shifting the content that is shared and produced. Magazine editors claim that girls are much more mature today than they were three decades ago, and because of this they attempt to move with the times and provide more mature content in the teen magazines (Redcross, 2014). Yet, it appears, according to the literature, that the beauty, appearance, and boy-centered content that dominated teen magazines in decades prior continue to do so today (Redcross, 2014). Additionally, it is noted that only few of the magazines who shift to attempting a balance between entertaining and educational content have succeeded and what appears to be most popular amongst the readers are topics focused on celebrity gossip, fashion, beauty, dating, and socialization (Redcross, 2014).

While images presented to young girls in magazines today continue to focus on superficial aspects of life, Redcross believes that resisting images presented in teen magazines is

essential for the healthy physical, social, and psychological development of adolescent youth, namely young girls (2014). When teen girl readers do so, by requesting images of “real girls” in the magazines they consume, they get a myriad of responses. Gatekeepers of teen magazines offer contradicting opinions and actions when it comes to the content they see young women requesting. Teen magazine editors acknowledge the need for more informative, news and current events-based content but they also feel responsible for producing content that they believe girls want when reading teen magazines and what they believe will sell (Milkie, 2002).

While magazine editors and producers understand the social responsibility that comes along with the power they hold over millions of young women and girls and their socialization, the gatekeepers backtrack and place responsibility instead on the readers. Gatekeepers simultaneously recognize and acknowledge the girls' critiques as valid and delegitimize girls' critiques by stating the responsibility is on them (Milkie, 2002). According to them, teen girl readers are expected to be informed enough to “know better,” yet they receive their information from their publications.

Keller (2011) finds contradictions in editors of teen magazines identifying as feminists – exactly what kind of feminism is unclear – but producing content that is deemed un-feminist. Teetering between what the girl reader expects and what the corporations that payroll them expect, magazines end up producing a form of watered-down feminism that keeps them from being labeled sexist while pleasing the advertisers and corporations that fund them. There is an acknowledgment on the part of the gatekeepers that they should change the content but claim that they can't. Responding to requests for representations of normal girls – natural-looking, not

overly make up-ed, scantily clad, or sexualized – editors and producers deflect and place the blame on industry photographers who won't photograph "unattractive" girls and only work with "beautiful" models and advertisers who don't want to sell products by using images of "unattractive and overweight" girls (Milkie, 2002). They claim that their teen readers who are requesting images and representations of teen girls misunderstand how real girls would look, that they misread the intent, and misread the overall message of magazines and their advertisements – a message that is "empowering" yet a "fantasy" (Milkie, 2002).

Teen Vogue

Teen Vogue is a US magazine that launched in 2004 as a sister publication to *Vogue*, targeted at teens and young women. The website and print magazine combine beauty tips and features on teen celebrities with stories about young activists, feminist issues, and LGBT rights (North, 2016). While the teen magazine once had a more standard approach to adolescent content, primarily focused on fashion, beauty, and style, the August 2015 issue brought along with it a significant shift in the publication's content (Gilbert, 2016). This shift has been sustained and has led the publication's leadership into moving the magazine significantly towards covering politics, feminism, identity, and activism.

While some publications have been noted for attempting and perhaps failing at producing more feminist-minded content, *Teen Vogue* has been noted for its intent to produce more intersectional content and "meaning more to the girls" (Warrington, 2017). There has been media coverage of *Teen Vogue*'s content shift, most notably their increase in political coverage, from publications like *The New York Times*, *NPR*, and *The Washington Post*, among others (North,

2016, Folkenflik, 2016, Mettler, 2016). Nilanjana Roy of *The Financial Times* stated that she now follows *Teen Vogue* online avidly for its “smart, ahead-of-the-curve, liberal and unselfconsciously feminist political coverage” (Roy, 2017).

In November 2017, *Teen Vogue* announced that they would cease publication of their print magazines, and instead continue focusing on their non-print media (Wertheim, 2017). Most other teen girl magazine favorites like *CosmoGirl*, *Teen People*, and *Elle Girl* have long gone and *Teen Vogue* was one of the last mainstream print lifestyle magazines targeted at teenage girls, it now leaves behind only *Seventeen* and *J-14* (Wertheim, 2017). The fact that print magazines have been scaling back is not new, and magazines have been inventing creative ways to produce and share content. This is seen primarily via a shift towards producing more online content and an overall rise in the popularity of online magazines (Zaragoza, 2012).

With *Teen Vogue*'s increase in political coverage, widespread media attention, and significant increase in readership, it has become evident that *Teen Vogue* isn't just for teens. When asked about *Teen Vogue*'s readership in an interview for *The Guardian* in February 2017 Elaine Welteroth said, “Our sweet spot is 18-24,” also describing her readership as “genderless”, she explains that “it's more about a sensibility. This is somebody who is sophisticated, conscious. We say ‘woke’ here. We're a woke brand, and our readers are woke, too.” Welteroth goes on to state that she is an activist and that she thinks the readers the publication reaches would all consider themselves activists, too.

Recent research has shown that a majority of young people still use magazines for information and entertainment, and with the increasing popularity of the online medium, online teen magazines and content are likely to become a preferred source of entertainment and information. (Zaragoza, 2012). *Teen Vogue* was chosen as the site and subject for this study because there are very few positive representations of teen magazines and the media and messaging they produce. Considering that, I have found it is worth investigating a publication that has been noted for producing progressive content with journalistic integrity (McDuffie, 2017).

Research Purpose

Teen Vogue may be blurring the lines between traditional teen content and serious political journalism by showing that political advocacy and teen content are not mutually exclusive, and this is something worth investigating. *Teen Vogue* is being recognized for producing “woke,” or socially-conscious, content and young people are going to *Teen Vogue* to get “woke” content, so what kind of messages are they sending about issues of sex, sexuality, and reproduction?

One method for examining the shaping of attitudes and perceptions and their potential impact on policy is to study how particular issues are framed. Although there are many possible sources of reproductive information (e.g. parents, peers, political figures, and the government), the media are cited by youth as particularly powerful and prominent sources (Jaworski, 2009). Particularly in an era in which abstinence only messaging dominates sex education, media

become a source to which young people turn and where they receive much of their sex-based messaging.

Hesse-Biber, editor of *Feminist Research Practice*, describes feminist research as research that centers gender as a lens through which to focus on social issues (Hesse-Biber, 2014). By studying reproductive justice and girls studies through a gendered lens and centering marginalized perspectives, this study is feminist research. Beyond research studies that narrowly explore the negative framing of sex education, sexual scripts, and sexualization in teen magazines, this study also analyzes the way sex, sexuality, and reproduction content from a teenage online news and media perspective has the potential to inform and socialize young people to be better informed about sex and sexuality as well as to empower youth activists in a time of political turmoil, connecting the teen girl reader to what is going on around her.

Teen Vogue is a point of research interest because young women and girls are rarely framed as knowledge producers and consumers of subjugated knowledge (Hesse-Biber, 2014). Just as there are androcentric biases in sciences and social sciences (Hesse-Biber, 2014) there are also androcentric biases in the way in which popular media, news and politics, and topics of sex and reproduction are presented and to who they are presented, shaping just who gets to engage with certain knowledge and how.

Media frames are incredibly valuable to look at because they help researchers understand the narratives that media has surrounding reproductive justice and sexual rights issues. By understanding media through an intersectional feminist lens, we are capable of more critically interpreting meaning from texts and images. In the same way that it is important to understand

attitudes and beliefs about reproductive justice issues, it is equally important to look at the media frames that help shape the audience's beliefs. The creation of informative and inclusive media for young people is worth investigating because it tells researchers a lot about the messaging present in the content used to inform a generation and may have effects on the political socialization of youth.

It is important to look at the content aimed at young people because, to better understand young people's motivations for and experiences with activism surrounding reproductive justice and sexual rights issues, which then help influence policy, we must look to content that may help shape those experiences. It is also specifically important to look at content that has been traditionally aimed at young women and girls, especially when the content has turned increasingly political and may have important messages surrounding sex, reproduction, and the sexual and political empowerment of young women and girls. This is particularly essential to understanding current mainstream feminist ideologies present in youth media and the current landscape of narratives of sex, sexuality, and reproduction during this time.

There is currently limited research on feminist media framing of reproductive justice topics and no current academic analysis of *Teen Vogue*'s recent content shift, reproductive justice or not. Understanding attitudes and perceptions related to women's reproduction, and the relationship of these beliefs to public opinion and social policies, is extremely important to prevent further erosion of women's rights, as well as to promote them (Jaworski, 2009).

Statement of Reflexivity

I have conducted a qualitative critical feminist content analysis that was dependent on my analysis as a feminist social scientist researcher. Because of my position in this and all research processes and my positions in the world, an acknowledgment of reflexivity is important. According to Harding's (1995) work on feminist standpoint theory, Strong Objectivity is a concept in which research is strengthened by acknowledging positionality. According to Harding, biases can never be removed because we are not value-free researchers, research is not value-neutral, and any attempts to achieve value-neutral research actually weakens objectivity. My life experiences, values, lived realities, and standpoint affect the way I view and move through the world, and therefore also affects the lens through which I view and conduct my research. According to Harding, acknowledging positionality through reflexivity strengthens objectivity.

I must acknowledge my standpoint when conducting a feminist critical analysis of a teen magazine as a 22-year-old young queer woman of color who reads *Teen Vogue* and was brought to the research question by way of hearing praise about its content. My research as a feminist sociologist focuses on social inequalities and uses intersectionality as a theoretical framework with which to approach feminist research; this means I use a lens that considers the intersections of multiple axes of identity and systems of oppression. There are many personal background and identity factors that influence my research process, from selecting my research topic to conducting my research. Primarily would be my identity as a young queer woman of color who

sees research and the world through a lens of intersectionality. My university education at the undergraduate and graduate levels in areas of gender and sociology and access to feminist online blogging as a young person also contributed to me coming to this research.

The subject of my research is a youth magazine and I am a member of this magazine's targeted demographic. As a 22-year-old woman born in 1997, I straddle the line between the Millennial Generation (Generation Y) and Generation Z. Because of this, I can better understand nuances in the presentation of the content, particularly the content that is more connected to popular, internet, and youth cultures while also understanding socio-historical contexts that brought us to today. Additionally, because I am a member of the targeted demographic and am interested in feminist and social justice content I have been drawn to the magazine as a reader and that has led me to develop the research questions and study.

As someone who in addition to conducting academic feminist research works in reproductive justice community organizing, I bring a deeper understanding of reproductive health, rights, and justice advocacy, activism, and organizing. I have experience in sexual health education that will further allow me to determine what is accurate sex education content and have familiarity with many ways in which it is presented. I have personal experiences that have led me to become interested in this area of research and framework in the first place.

As an activist, advocate, and organizer, I am drawn to further understand content that raises issues of news and politics and encourages civic engagement, political education, and overall involvement in political processes. Additionally, as someone who has had the privilege to be as politically active and civically engaged as I have, I understand on a deeper level the

political processes that are mentioned in the text I am analyzing. I have familiarity with the harmful anti-reproductive health legislation referenced in the content, I have lobbied, testified, organized rallies and marches, and have been impacted in response to the specific legislation and social issues referenced and discussed.

All of this affects the way I conduct my research and I was aware of my position as I moved forward with coding and analysis. Not only does my position in the world affect the way I approach my research analysis but also how I even decide to select my research topic, the kind of questions I ask, and the ways I conduct it. My values, attitudes, and beliefs affect my research question, as I am interested in it as an intersectional feminist, as a young person, as a reader of *Teen Vogue*, as a Reproductive Justice activist and organizer.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

In order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of *Teen Vogue's* coverage and messaging on topics of sex, sexuality, and reproduction, I conducted a qualitative critical feminist media analysis to identify and examine the frames present in the discussion of these topics in *Teen Vogue's* online articles. The research questions for this study are:

RQ1) Which topics concerning sex, sexuality and reproduction are most prevalent in Teen Vogue's content?

RQ2) How are issues of sex, sexuality, and reproduction presented in Teen Vogue's content and which populations are included?

RQ2) Which discourses and ideological frames can be identified in Teen Vogue's presentation of these topics?

Sample

To create a sample from the larger dataset of *Teen Vogue* articles available online and produce a more focused analysis, I identified articles on the topics of sex, sexuality, and reproduction and coded them into these three categories prior to conducting further analysis. Articles were selected that discuss sex, sexuality, reproduction, sexual education, birth control, abortion, pregnancy, birth, related topics, and related legislation and activism. A sample of 60 articles was created by using *Teen Vogue's* site-wide search engine and quote searching the broad-scope term "Reproductive." On their website, articles can be sorted by date and relevancy, but there are no other advanced search options. From the search, I generated an initial sample of 570 articles that were dated from April 2015 (when *Teen Vogue's* new leadership and

progressive approach was first noted, and consistent publications on these topics began) to the end of December 2018.

From this larger sample, I began preliminary coding of the articles. Articles were coded #AB if they covered abortion, #BC if they covered birth control, #SE if they covered Sex Education, and so on. Articles that did not focus on or discuss any topics of sex, sexuality, and reproduction or relevant issues were coded #X and removed from the sample. The final sample consisted of 507 articles. In total, all articles were coded into 7 different categories. Some articles could have been coded into more than one category based on overlap, such as Activism overlapping with Abortion or News and Politics, and some articles covered multiple topics, such as birth control, abortion, and sex education. When articles covered overlapping or multiple topics, I coded them into the single category that was most prevalent or received the greatest coverage in the article. The Reproductive Rights tag is determined by explicit mention of or reference to the term “reproductive rights” in the article title.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Table 1: Number of Articles in Each Topic

PRIMARY TOPICS	NUMBER OF EACH TOPIC
News and Politics	144
Abortion - #AB -	106
Health Care - #HC	88
Activism - #ACT	43
Birth Control - #BC	39
LGBTQ+	38
Sex Education	37

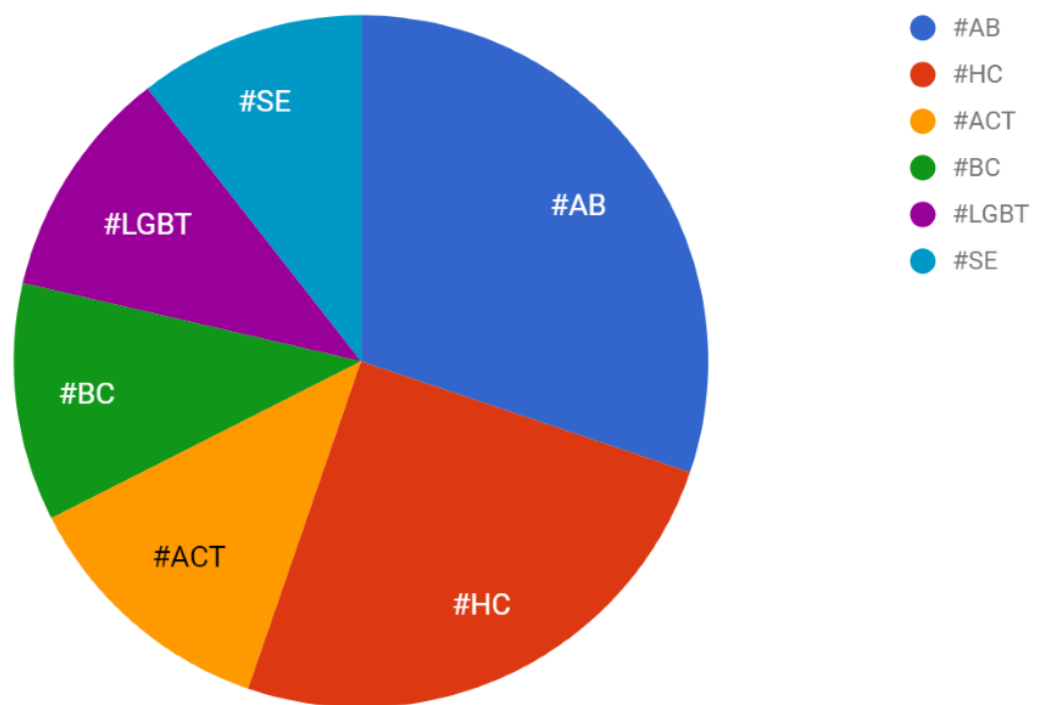


Figure 1: Proportions of Articles in Each Category in the Sample

Once all of the articles were coded with a preliminary tag, I proceeded to categorize all of the articles into 2 main categories of analysis in order to collect a proportionate sample of the articles which vary in topics but can be grouped into 2 primary content categories. Category 1, or C1 includes articles on policy, government, religion, social institutions, and the state. This category includes any articles about politics and politicians, legislation, activism, voting, running for office, and the Supreme Court. There are 291 articles in Category 1. Category 2, or C2 includes articles on sex education, sexual and reproductive issues, personal narratives, and experiences. This category includes articles that cover sex education, personal stories and

experiences, information about birth control, abortion, and other reproductive topics. There are a total of 216 articles in this category.

After preliminary topic and category coding of the articles, I determined a proportional percentage of articles to choose from each category (C1 or C2) in order to create a smaller sample of 60 articles that are reflective of the larger sample of 507 articles. I numbered all the articles in C1, 1-291 and numbered all the articles in C2 1-216. The proportional percentage math led me to selecting 35 articles from C1 and 25 Articles from C2. I used Google's Random Number Generator tool set to 1-291 for C1 and 1-216 for C2 to determine which articles to pull for the sample by running it 35 (C1) and then 25 (C2) times. I separated the sample of 60 articles for more detailed, critical analysis.

Data Analysis

This study does not analyze the merits and drawbacks of *Teen Vogue* as a publication broadly but instead performs a narrower analysis of the sex, sexuality, and reproduction content with an exploration of the frames used to present these topics. Discourse is a system of meaning created by a combination of images, texts, and the social practices that inform them (Cuklanz and McIntosh, 2014). In this research, I use Feminist Critical Theory, which focuses on how power and inequalities are present in ideologies and discourse, to ask how does “for-girls” content and knowledge frame issues of sex, sexuality, and reproduction along axes of oppression and identities. By examining and deconstructing messages, we can also further understand power, oppression, and inequalities present in, perpetuated by and protested through discourse by mainstream texts into mainstream society (Cuklanz and McIntosh, 2014).

This qualitative critical feminist analysis used a constructivist grounded theory approach to analyze the content of each article, meaning the analysis grew and shifted as frames were identified in the content and the research progressed. The analysis examined the existence and frequency of concepts within the texts and an analysis of the content, seeking to understand the meanings behind the messages conveyed. This approach requires detailed and systematic procedures for data collection and its analysis. Data analysis began with initial open coding, through which I was able to identify broader frames present in both the content of the articles and the ways topics were presented and discussed.

After initial open coding, I began line-by-line coding of articles in the sample to identify conceptual frames in the text and categorize the codes into analytical categories. As frames were identified and consistencies throughout the data became clearer, I grouped smaller frames into larger frames that all of the data could fit under, this became the results. The larger frames were then used to pull specific examples from the sample where the frames were present and counterexamples where opposite frames were noted. Many of the articles had multiple frames present, however, much like articles that discussed multiple topics, I categorized them into the frame they primarily exemplified. I then continued analyzing the content using Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theory approach as well as Schreier's (2012) guide to qualitative content analysis.

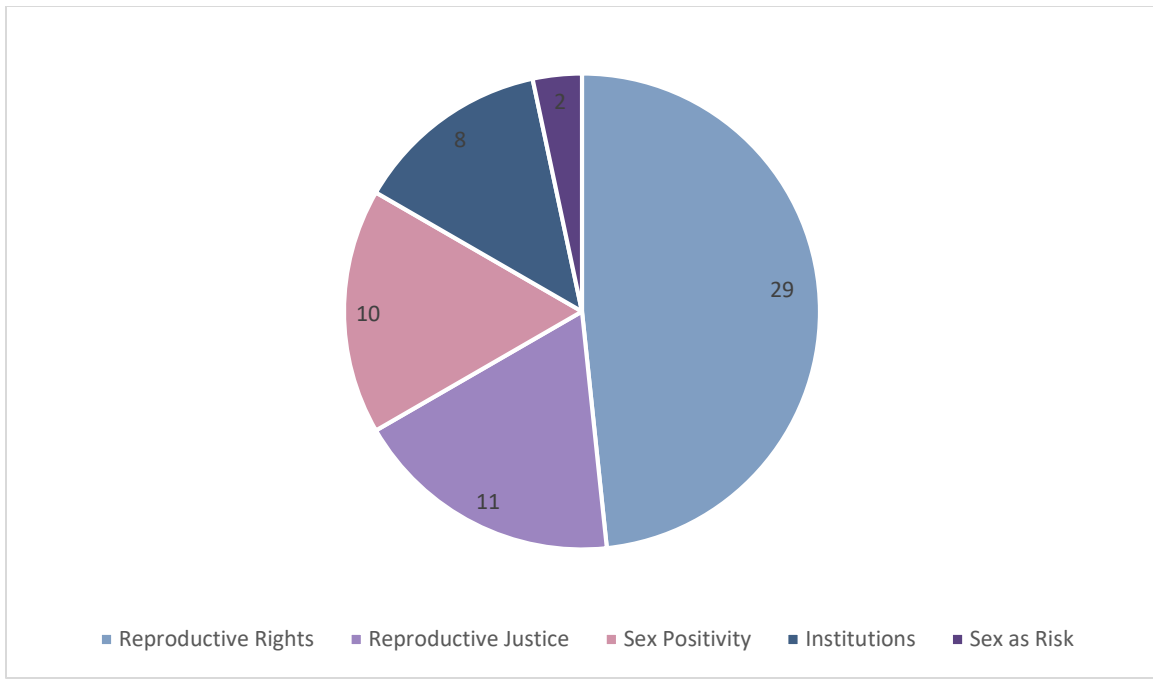


Figure 2: Frequency of Frames in the Sample

Sex Positivity

Frames present among articles in the sample that focused on sex and sexuality include sex positivity, sexual pleasure, and critique of purity culture. Sex positivity is a framework that opposes the dominant ideology of “risk” in sex that is common in abstinence-based sex education, which acknowledges sex as developmentally normative and healthy, values sexual pleasure and satisfaction, and includes freedom from pain and negative feelings regarding sex and sexuality (Harden, 2014). This framework is achieved in the sample through an acknowledgment of sexual pleasure as a right and a component of health, a critique of purity culture through abstinence-only sex education, and a demand for inclusive, affirming, and

science-based sex education. This frame intersects with other frames of analysis in the sample. For example, reproductive rights and justice articles also affirm healthy sexuality and accurate information and would also be considered to be employing a frame of sex positivity. However, for the purpose of analysis, sex positive framing is present as the primary frame in 10 articles in the sample, or 16% of the sample.

A critique of the overemphasis on the prevention of sexually transmitted infections and pregnancy as the basis of sex education, and the lack of discussion of consent or pleasure is a frame present in this frame. Additionally, embodying a Sex Positive framework, engaging in sex and having it be a “pleasurable experience” is framed as a “right” and as an integral component to sexual health.

Whether the topic is condom use, sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, or contraception, [sexual] messaging for young people tends to focus on the prevention of disease and pregnancy rather than consent or pleasure. How does someone have sex? How do they enjoy it? How do you ask for what you want?

(Dr. Tlaleng Mofokeng, “I’m a Doctor and I Believe Sexual Pleasure is a Human Right”)

Questioning sex education that leaves young people’s questions about sex unanswered and includes no mention of pleasure, the importance of young people having their questions answered and access to “evidence-based resources” concerning topics of sex and sexuality is a

message prevalent throughout articles in the data set, and it is interconnected with the notion that “knowledge is power.” Articles within the category of sex positivity call for an updating of the language used to talk about virginity and to question who is best served by traditional ideas of “purity.” Purity culture is a dominant ideology that values the concept of virginity and remaining “chaste” until marriage. Challenging concepts of virginity and the failings of purity culture is present throughout the sample, including critiquing a common frame of stigma being associated with women experiencing and talking about their own sexual pleasure. Sexual pleasure here is framed as something women experience being “terrified” to show or discuss with a partner for fears of being associated with negative stigma, including being labeled a “slut” for enjoying or having previously had sex, something that according to messaging found in the data could be countered by including pleasure in sex education.

This frame is exemplified and further discussed in an article titled “How I’m Managing Life After Purity Culture” (Galo, 2015). Referencing the abstinence-only sex education she received in her childhood, the author critiques the lack of mention of the labia or clitoris in the models of reproductive organs she was shown in class. By calling attention to and negatively framing the lack of a discussion of body parts related to pleasure in abstinence-only sex education curriculum, the author critiques the lack of, and therefore positively frames, informative and pleasure affirming sex education. The importance of knowing one’s own body is valued and receiving shaming abstinence-only sex education is something to be unlearned and “managed.” In this case, abstinence-only education is presented as sex education that doesn’t discuss sex but instead topics peripheral to sex.

Additionally, there is a framing of Clean v. Dirty presented in sex education contexts, a rhetoric that stigmatizes STIs and sends harmful messages about sex. The author recalls a tape-and glitter on your hands exercise in an abstinence-only sex education course to demonstrate how easily STIs are spread and as a metaphor for how the bodies are “dirty after sex” and not as able to “stick to someone else.” “It was purity culture, and it taught us nothing” (Galo, 2015). Purity culture through abstinence-only sex education that “teaches nothing” is negatively framed against inclusive, affirming, and science-based sex education that discusses pleasure and healthy relationships as something to strive for.

Further critiques of abstinence-only sex education are present throughout the sample by utilizing scientific research to counteract false statements present in abstinence-only education about the “harmful psychological and physical effects” of premarital sex and reproduction outside of marriage, a point additionally framed as “problematic” and something to try to change. Additionally, there is a negative framing to the way abstinence only sex education programs frame sex as something to feel worried or guilty about, stating that the programs are based on “fear and shame.”

By citing journal articles and current research, this frame is further supported through the utilization of evidence-based research on sex education to debunk the efficacy claims made by federally funded abstinence-only programs, a message present throughout the data. Citing a 2017 article in the *Journal of Adolescent Health*, data in the sample informs and assures readers that abstinence-only programs are “ineffective at preventing sexual activity, pregnancy, and sexually

transmitted infections.” Furthermore, it cites a study published that same year in the *Journal of Adolescence* that found that “young people who participate in abstinence-only sex education programs are at higher risks for engaging in unprotected sex.” Presenting evidence-based research to show that abstinence only education is ineffective further supports a framing of access to accurate sexual and reproductive information as valuable.

Further pointing out the failings of abstinence-only sex education and calling for medically accurate and culturally appropriate sex education, the article that breaks down the proposed abstinence-only education budget cites Dr. Terez Yonan, a California-based adolescent medicine physician and fellow with Physicians for Reproductive Health, who states that the programs are “stigmatizing” and “isolating” due to them being built on a heteronormative framework that “both marginalizes and ostracizes LGBTQ teens.” Affirming and inclusive sex education is framed as “critical” to sexual health and development, specifically referencing an unmet need of LGBTQ youth. Once again going beyond a narrow focus on prevention of pregnancy and STIs, the article states that sex education “goes beyond intercourse” and should also focus on healthy relationships and preventing intimate partner violence.

Sex as Risk

In contrast to articles that present sex through positive framing, the framing of sex as something that is dangerous and risky, while minor, was also present in the data. While much of the content focused on framing sex and sexuality in a non-stigmatizing way, there were also 2 articles that contradicted messaging in the publication concerning how one is supposed to feel

about sex. This helps to model contradictory ideas about sex, on one hand, it is a positive and pleasurable experience and on another, it is a near-death risk one should worry about.

The framing of sex as risky, emphasis on the importance of monitoring oneself, and being informed about potential dangers of sex is present in 3% of the sample. Whereas many articles in the Sex Positivity frame critique the utilization of fear-mongering tactics notoriously used in school-based sex education, such as framing of sex and STIs as clean vs dirty, articles in this category do just that by employing the STI-stigmatizing language. An article titled “Here are 5 STDs That You’ve Probably Never Heard Of” (Papisova, 2015) states that “If you’re totally clean, that’s great, but that doesn’t mean you’re off the hook.” Framing STI’s as something one is on or off the hook for frames STIs, and sex, as trouble. Additionally, the article sends a messaging of monitoring and responsibility, one must not only consider one’s own STI status but also consider that of their partners. Stating that it is best to be informed stresses the importance of monitoring one’s own sexual health status, as well as the health of partners. While the article offers practical advice to get tested at least once a year and every time the reader has a new sexual partner, it is sandwiched in stigmatizing and punishing language.

The aforementioned article delivers a menacing overview of 5 rare STIs that are often asymptomatic until they begin expressing catastrophic symptoms later in life and are incurable; Cytomegalovirus is “undetectable.” 80% of the population are carriers, symptoms can range from fever to seizures and blindness, “Oh, and by the way, there’s no cure.” Further, STIs discussed include symptoms that are “like the bubonic plague,” intestinal parasites, chronic

genital ulcers, and a virus that can cause cancer. This framing uses scare tactics through “education” to frame sex and STIs as troublesome, emphasizing the importance of monitoring oneself, and praising the virtues of being informed. The article ends with “and that’s why you should wear a condom,” a message echoed throughout the data. While this is common and practical advice for safer sex, it is the menacing tone utilized in the closing statement of an STI stigmatizing article that makes the message sex-negative. “Not using a condom once or twice might not seem like a big deal, but it is” is additionally present in article titled “Depression and Unsafe Sex Are Officially the Biggest Health Risks for Anyone Under 24” (McNamara, 2016). The article starts off with a similar knowing tone to the article that warns about the dangers of rare STIs and is subheaded “Every Parent’s Worst Nightmare,” messaging that stigmatizes sexual behavior and removes autonomy from young readers.

Conflicting Institutions

Present as a primary frame in 8 articles, or 13% of the sample, is a frame of conflicting institutions that values positivist knowledge through science, medicine, and doctors, alongside the valuing of subjugated knowledge through personal experience narratives and storytelling of people who seek reproductive health services. This is framed in contrast to critiques of unscientific and religious anti-choice ideology presented through politicians and the legislation they write, who are framed as far removed from the women they seek to enact policies on. Alternatively, there is also a message of abortion-affirming Christianity present throughout the

sample, presenting a frame of both intersecting and conflicting institutions of medicine, legislation, politics, and religion.

The frame that values science, facts and evidence-based research is exemplified through the reporting on social scientific research and reports from medical doctors that explain and debunk anti-reproductive health “myths” throughout the data. Anti-choice politicians and the anti-choice policies they enact are framed alongside misinformation and “junk science” on which their messaging and legislation is based. Science, facts, and evidence-based research are held to high regard over ideology with no medical basis, which is framed as harmful.

The framing of medical professionals as opposite to politicians when it comes to matters of reproductive health is present in an article (Nickalls, 2017) in which Dr. Grossman, one of many abortion providers present in the data, discusses people wanting to hear from a medical professional rather than an elected official in regards to reproductive health. He writes, “As a physician, I find it frustrating when elected officials decide to legislate the practice of medicine without consulting experts in our field”. Additionally in the data is the debunking of anti-choice myths about the “dangers” of abortion that have no basis in science, affirming that abortion procedures are very safe, and sending a message that if “safety” and “protecting women” are concerns, that there are other legislative priorities and public health issues politicians could be focusing on, like improving maternal mortality.

The valuing of both positivist and subjugated knowledge is present in the data.

I have been practicing medicine for more than 20 years, have advanced postgraduate training in this area, and pride myself in the fact that my work is rooted in evidence, facts, and the human stories of the patients I serve. (Dr. Willie Parker, “I’m a Christian Abortion Provider and This Is Why I’m Against the 20-Week Abortion Ban”)

The integration of scientific and experiential knowledge is exemplified by Parker’s statement, saying that his work is rooted in evidence, facts, and the human stories of the patients he serves. There is also an acknowledgment and appreciation by doctors for those who “speak up and speak out” about their reproductive healthcare experiences, particularly their abortion stories. Firsthand experiences of women who seek abortion care and the doctors that provide them are framed in contrast to male politicians who have the power to make legislative decisions that affect women’s lives. This is a common feminist frame, particularly present in the abortion debate in the United States, which is identified throughout data. Stating that politicians will never be in a doctor’s position in the examining room, nor will they ever be in the position of a woman who needs an abortion, presents a narrative of abortion being a decision to be made between a person seeking an abortion and their doctor.

Continuing with an informed citizen narrative that emphasizes evidence-based knowledge as power, the sample includes discussions of and information about Crisis Pregnancy Centers (CPCs), which are religious anti-choice institutions, often government-supported and funded, that falsely pose as legitimate reproductive health centers. This frame is present

throughout articles in the sample that informs readers of the reality that government institutions are funding religious institutions to misinform people about their reproductive health and futures.

The framing of reproductive health clinics and their workers as compassionate, ethical, and even sanctimonious is a rhetorical frame that is present throughout the sample, particularly in the context of abortion care. This framing is further emphasized when presented as opposite to CPCs, which, despite being religious institutions, are presented as “deceptive,” “illegitimate,” and “coercive.” “CPCs masquerade as abortion clinics and healthcare providers—and lure pregnant women in the door with deception” (Madsen, 2017).

Alternately, present in the sample is a frame that utilizes religion to make moral arguments for comprehensive reproductive health care. While religion is framed as a rhetorical tool being used to oppose reproductive health access, the frame of progressive abortion-affirming Christianity is also present amongst the data. In an article titled “I Am a Priest and This is Why I am Pro Choice,” Rev. Greer (2017) states that supporting the defunding of Planned Parenthood may seem like a noble cause, citing the “Save the Babies” rhetoric utilized by anti-choice Christians, but that it “actually ends up hurting more people than it helps.” In “I’m a Christian Abortion Provider and This Is Why I’m Against the 20-Week Abortion Ban” (Parker, 2017), the framing of medical and moral positioning from a religious OB/GYN on a “medically unnecessary abortion ban” is present. This frame is consistent with science and religion framed

in support of pro-choice and pro-reproductive health care access rhetoric that can be identified in the sample, but

Reproductive Rights

Reproductive rights framing are achieved in the data through the presence of articles that provide legislative updates on policies “threatening” reproductive health care access, as well as those that support reproductive healthcare access, and activism that supports reproductive rights. With an emphasis on access to abortion care and birth control, articles in the data give space to reproductive rights advocacy groups and discuss the disparity of legality and access to reproductive health care within a constitutional rights frame.

Framing 2018, namely the political climate, as “a nightmare,” and rollbacks on reproductive rights as a “reason to worry” are frames present in the data. Citing a NARAL Pro-Choice America report titled “Who Decides? The Status of Women’s Reproductive Rights in the United States,” articles in the sample frame findings on what the U.S. looked like in 2016 when it came to abortion restrictions as “particularly troubling” (Belle, 2018). Elaborating, the data depict a “grim picture” of the state of reproductive health, and anticipate incoming legislation under a Trump Administration, providing a negative framing of proposed anti-choice policies that are framed as making women “worse off.”

Covered within the sample are a broad range of updates to access in reproductive healthcare across the United States, and disparity in access to reproductive health services is

most apparent here. While some states continue to enact more and more restrictions on abortion care and broader reproductive health care, other states offer over-the-counter contraceptives. Articles in the sample provide updates on the “good” and the “bad” of legislation affecting reproductive rights. An article titled “Scary Statistics About Reproductive Freedom in the United States” (Uffaluss, 2017) outlines legislation that passed in 2016 that restricted abortion access framed as “troubling” and a cause for “worry” over how “bad things could get” for reproductive rights under a Trump administration. Alternatively, an article titled “404 Bills to Protect Birth Control, Sex Ed, and Abortion Access Have Been Introduced in 2018” provides information about legislation that could help make abortion, birth control, prenatal care, sex education, and support for parents and families more accessible, which frames pro-reproductive health legislation positively.

Further embodying a reproductive rights narrative, a language of constitutional rights in reference to abortion is present in the data, as exemplified by an article titled “How Jane Helped 11,000 Women Get Abortions When The Procedure Was Outlawed” (Crabb, 2017) and others that reference advocacy groups such as the ACLU, Planned Parenthood Action Fund, and NARAL Pro-Choice America. Additionally, there is a consistent frame throughout the sample in reference to the landscape of reproductive rights prior to *Roe v. Wade*, citing an importance of understanding the role of the Supreme Court protections that are “under attack” and learning about times before *Roe* as an integral component of reproductive rights history, but also as something to not “go back” to.

Intersectionality & Reproductive Justice

Present in the sample are sociological and intersectional approaches to coverage of birth control abortion restrictions and reproductive health issues. Beyond legislative updates on reproductive healthcare restrictions and sexual education pieces, the sample included coverage of reproductive health issues at the intersections of race, class, and immigration, among others, presenting a Reproductive Justice narrative. This frame is achieved in 11 articles in the sample, or 18% of data, by including direct references to a Reproductive Justice framework, showing how black women are being most affected by harmful policies, directly citing reproductive justice organizations led by black women, and the discussion of topics beyond abortion and birth control as reproductive justice concerns.

Present in the data is a crediting of SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective, the sample provides the black women-led activist organization's definition of Reproductive Justice as "the human right to maintain bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and healthy communities." Further acknowledging the history of the movement and framework, articles in the data inform readers that black women started the movement more than 20 years ago, and that it "situates reproductive rights within the larger context of the well-being of not just women, but also their families and communities" (Orgill and Smith, 2018).

Intersectionality is present in the data through discussions of how structural inequalities intersect to shape varying reproductive experiences, framing the issue in the context of reproductive justice. Throughout the data is the message that young women, women of color,

low-income women, and immigrant women are “disproportionately affected” by policies that seek to restrict access to reproductive health, in reference to CPCs, anti-choice laws, and other Trump administration anti-reproductive health policies, which are framed as having the potential to further deepen the inequalities. Additionally, reproductive justice narratives are presented by addressing a broader spectrum of reproductive justice concerns: enacting policies that support healthy pregnancies, reduce maternal mortality and pregnancy risk faced in higher proportions by black women, and addressing the varying needs of women seeking abortion care.

Furthermore, there is a presence of issues like immigration, incarceration, and gun violence framed alongside reproductive health as a “critical” reproductive justice issues. An article titled “Gun Violence Is a Reproductive Health Issue” addresses one of the main premises of reproductive justice, to be able to raise families safely and with dignity. Written by Sheldon Orgill and Kurtis Smith, peer educators with Planned Parenthood, gun reform activists, and black teens living in New York City, the authors state that this is an issue they feel could affect them and their families, stating that the constant fear of gun violence “violates [parents’] fundamental right to raise their children in a safe and healthy environment, and it violates our right to live in one.” Articles in this category advocate not just for the reproductive justice of parents of children, but for their own right to exist as young people, and particularly people of color.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This study sought to reveal which reproductive topics and frames were present in *Teen Vogue*'s sex and reproduction content through a feminist critical discourse analysis conducted on 60 of its articles. Overall, articles conveyed positive representations of sexuality, advocating for affirming and evidence-based sex education, self-empowerment through knowledge, and comprehensive reproductive healthcare for all. However, contradictory frames of sex stigmatization, and a reproductive rights framework that advocates primarily for abortion rights were still highly prevalent in the data.

Particular thematic findings include the presence of a Sex Positivity frame achieved through sexual pleasure framed as a right and an integral component of sexual health, the questioning, critiquing, and debunking of Purity Culture disseminated through abstinence-only sex education, and through providing and demanding inclusive, affirming, and science-based sex education. Additionally, the framing of Sex as Risk was found in some of the data through the perpetuation of stigmatizing language, which contradicted the majority of the articles that took a sex positive approach. The framing of both intersecting and conflicting institutions of medicine, legislation, politics, and religion is achieved through the valuing of evidence-based knowledge of science, medicine, and doctors alongside personal experience and storytelling over unscientific, anti-choice ideology presented by politicians and the legislation they write. Within this broader category, there is also the presence of abortion-affirming Christianity. Finally, there were articles within the dataset that presented Reproductive Rights narratives through a focus on policy, legislation, and rights while others featured intersectional and Reproductive Justice perspectives

which centered marginalized reproductive health experiences at the intersections of race, class, and immigration, the discussion of topics beyond abortion and birth control as reproductive justice concerns, and centering of black women as the most impacted by harmful policies.

Considering media is a significant component to the sexual socialization of youth, Sex Positive framing of sexuality that prioritizes pleasure, healthy relationships and sexual dynamics, and inclusive and affirmative sex education helps to create new narratives in media concerning how sex is viewed, which can have positive impacts by creating healthier sexual scripts, and eventually become dominant narratives. Providing evidence-based information about sex and reproduction, as well as debunking anti-choice rhetoric and legislation surrounding dominant narratives framed as harmful raises cause for the importance of media for young women and teenagers in a world where policy and news media is dominated by men. To this point, *Teen Vogue* is doing important work, creating space in media and serving as a medium for young people's access to vital information. Additionally, framing reproductive health care, in particular, abortion care, as ethical and compassionate is a narrative opposite of the narrative heard from conservative religious groups and supporters of anti-reproductive health policies. However, the articles in the data that utilize fear-mongering tactics notoriously used in abstinence-only sex education aid in further stigmatizing young people not only for having sex but also for not being informed of the potential associated risks is a harmful paradox that does more to prevent people from talking about their STI status, getting tested, receiving treatment, and preventing transmission.

The framing of legislation and social issues concerning sex and reproduction as either Reproductive Rights or Reproductive Justice has the possibility of impacting the growth of timely and burgeoning sex and reproduction social movements as ones that will continue utilizing reproductive rights frames, or reproductive justice frames that center the issues and experiences faced by most marginalized communities. As it stands currently, while *Teen Vogue* does utilize inclusive, intersectional, and reproductive justice perspectives, the content analyzed primarily presents topics and issues most relevant to a reproductive rights framework. Finally, *Teen Vogue* is directly addressing issues of narrative and representation of sex and reproduction within the content they produce and through the content they produce, which places them in a position to create a significant impact. It is particularly interesting to consider the Donald Trump / teenage girl dichotomy that has occurred when a publication targeted at teenage girls has taken upon itself to inform and empower its readers on the harms and troubles of his administration, encouraging young readers to take action through activism, holding influence in the political socialization of youth. There are also concerns about the corporate co-optation of feminism, social justice, and progressive politics through the *Conde Nast* owned publication's shift in this direction.

My suggestions for future research include conducting a more extensive analysis of topics of sex and reproduction present in the media, including online media, television, and film. Additionally, I suggest an exploration of *Teen Vogue* and similar for-youth media's impact on the sexual and political socialization of youth, as well as young people's motivations for and experiences with activism, specifically, surrounding reproductive justice and sexual rights issues.

Finally, I suggest a broader analysis of news media's coverage of issues of sex and reproduction, testing for positive and negative framing as well as for reproductive rights and reproductive justice messaging.

APPENDIX: LIST OF ARTICLES IN THE SAMPLE

Title	Author	Date of Publication
How the 20-Week Abortion Ban Would Hurt Teen Girls	Claire Lampen	10/6/2017
People Are Putting Hangers on the Statehouse Fence Over Ohio's <u>New Abortion Bill</u>	Brittany McNamara	12/13/2016
Abortion Restrictions Could Be Making Poor Women Poorer	Brittany McNamara	01/18/2018
I'm a Christian Abortion Provider and This Is Why I'm Against the <u>20-Week Abortion Ban</u>	Dr. Willie Parker	10/6/2017
This Doctor SHUT DOWN the Bad Science Behind the <u>20-Week Abortion Ban</u>	Sammy Nickalls	10/5/2017
8 Terrifying Ways People Restrict Abortion	Lily Puckett	12/22/2016
Texas Teen Abortion Rate Increased After Cuts to Planned <u>Parenthood Funding</u>	Brittany McNamara	7/13/2017
The Trump Administration Has Been Banning Abortion for Teens in <u>Immigration Custody for Months</u>	Sammy Nickalls	10/25/2017
Ohio Is Once Again Trying to Pass a "Heartbeat" Abortion Ban	Emma Sarran Webster	11/16/2018
I'm Trying to Make Medication Abortions Available on California <u>Public University Campuses</u>	Marandah Rain Field-Elliott	2/22/2018
Ireland Has Voted to End Its Restrictive Abortion Ban	De Elizabeth	5/26/2018
Nearly Half of Abortions Worldwide Considered Unsafe	Sammy Nickalls	9/28/2016
TV News Programs Make Inaccurate Statements About Abortion, <u>Study Finds</u>	Brittney McNamara	4/18/2017
Self-Induced Abortion Shouldn't Be Criminalized, American <u>Gynecologists Say</u>	Brittney McNamara	1/5/2018
How Jane Helped 11,000 Women Get Abortions When The <u>Procedure Was Outlawed</u>	Cindy Crabb	7/1/2017
Emma Watson Wrote a Powerful Letter to a Woman Who Died in <u>Ireland After Being Denied an Abortion</u>	De Elizabeth	9/30/2018
What I Wish I Knew Before Having an Abortion	Lily Puckett	2/8/2017
Why It's Not OK That Perez Hilton Said Kylie Jenner Should Get an <u>Abortion</u>	Brittney McNamara	9/25/2017
People Are Invoicing Donald Trump for Their Birth Control	Sammy Nickalls	10/25/2017
You Can Now Get Birth Control Over the Counter in Oregon	Kate Dwyer	1/4/2016
Trump's Religious Freedom Order Could Affect Birth Control Access	Brittney McNamara	5/4/2017
Policy-Makers Speak Out About Tom Price's Stance on Women's <u>Healthcare</u>	Jennifer Gerson Uffalussy	2/1/2017
There Are 900% More Women Getting IUDs Since the Election	Brittney McNamara	1/10/2017
The Rate of U.S. Teens Giving Birth Has Hit an All-Time Low	Suzannah Weiss	7/1/2017
Exactly What to Ask Your Doctor Before Going on Birth Control	Lena Solow	3/5/2017
Why Women Are Considering Getting IUDs Before Trump Becomes <u>President</u>	Brittney McNamara	11/9/2016

What You MUST Know Before You Quit Taking the Pill	Erin Magner	8/4/2016
Crisis Pregnancy Centers: What to Know	Nikki Madsen	6/21/2017
Halsey Said She's Freezing Her Eggs Because of Endometriosis	Brittney McNamara	4/27/2018
Naya Rivera Says She Wants to Help End Abortion Stigma	Brittany McNamara	9/14/2016
How the Senate GOP Health Bill Would Affect Young People	Anna Gorman And Kellen	6/27/2017
5 Ways the GOP Healthcare Bill Could Affect Women	Brittany McNamara	5/5/2017
404 Bills to Protect Birth Control, Sex Ed, and Abortion Access Have Been Introduced in 2018	Elly Belle	7/17/2018
Supreme Court Rules in Favor of Crisis Pregnancy Centers in NIFLA v. Becerra	Elly Belle	6/26/2018
What the Jane Doe Abortion Case Says About Parental Involvement Laws	Mariko Miki And Jessica Goldberg	10/24/2017
You Don't Need to Be Sick to Deserve Birth Control	Meghan Racklin	11/13/2017
Kylie Jenner's Privilege Helped Her Avoid the Stigma Other Pregnant People Can't Escape	Lara Witt	2/7/2018
Women's Healthcare in Jeopardy — House Votes to Freeze Funding to Planned Parenthood	Hanna Howard	9/18/2015
Trump's Federal Family Planning Pick Teresa Manning is An Anti-Abortion Activist	Brittney McNamara	5/2/2017
Katy Perry Donated \$10,000 to Planned Parenthood	Lauren Duca	11/12/2016
14 Seriously Scary Stats About the State of Reproductive Freedom in the U.S	Jennifer Gerson Uffalussy	1/18/2017
What Defunding Planned Parenthood Means	Avital Norman Nathman	3/14/2017
Planned Parenthood's President Wants You to Change the World by Getting in Trouble	Aura Stampler	5/18/2016
Gun Violence Is a Reproductive Health Issue	Sheldon Orgill And Kurtis Smith	3/26/2018
What Trump's Abstinence-Only Education Budget Means for Young People	Bartie Scott	10/10/2018
I Am a Priest, and This Is Why I'm Pro-Choice	Rev. Broderick L. Greer	2/1/2017
New Abortion Amendments in Alabama and West Virginia Show Need for Reproductive Rights Activism	Dr. Yashica Robinson	11/9/2018
The House Just Made a Move That Could Lead to Defunding Planned Parenthood	Jennifer Gerson Uffalussy	2/17/2017
France Banned Anti-Abortion Websites From Spreading False Information	Brittney McNamara	1/3/2017
Abortion Funds Can Help Preserve Reproductive Rights With or Without the Supreme Court	Yamani Hernandez	7/12/2018
Courts Force Trump Administration to Fund Sex Ed Research	Bartie Scott	08/10/2018
15 People Share How Roe v. Wade Changed Their Lives	Adryan Corcione	1/22/2018
Depression and Unsafe Sex Are Officially the Biggest Health Risks for Anyone Under 24	Brittney McNamara	5/20/2016

A Teacher Got Fired After She Said THIS Word	Lily Herman	4/27/2016
I'm a Doctor and I Believe Sexual Pleasure Is a Human Right	Dr. Tlaleng Mofokeng	9/24/2018
How I'm Managing Life After Purity Culture	Sarah Galo	7/24/2015
Here Are 5 STDs That You've Probably Never Heard Of	Vera Papisova	11/5/2015
I'm an Abortion Provider. Here's Why Judge Kavanaugh Should Be Blocked From SCOTUS	Dr. Willie Parker	7/18/2018
These Formerly Incarcerated Women Are Trying to Change the Prison System	Araceli Cruz	10/11/2017
Planned Parenthood Volunteers Blocked From Delivering 87,000 Petitions to Paul Ryan	Jennifer Gerson Uffalussy	1/6/2017

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