**Online Appendix Materials for “She Who Shall Not Be Named: The Women that Women’s Organizations Do (and Do Not) Represent in the Rulemaking Process”**

**Appendix 1: Count Model Fit Analysis**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Sexual Orientation Model** | **Gender Identity** **Model** | **Race, Ethnicity, Nationality Model** | **Socioeconomic Status Model** |
| **Number of Zeros** | 849 | 869 | 870 | 758 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Poisson** |  |  |  |  |
|  BIC | 26.96 | -3,290.65 | 439.53 | -3,819.57 |
|  AIC | 6.91 | 3.66 | 7.31 | 3.14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Negative Binomial** |  |  |  |  |
|  BIC | -4,957.79 | -5,512.19 | -5,333.35 | -5,011.79 |
|  AIC | 2.02 | 1.48 | 1.65 | 1.97 |
|  LR Test | 4,991.67\*\*\* | 2,228.47\*\*\* | 5,779.81\*\*\* | 1,199.15\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Zero-Inflated Poisson** |  |  |  |  |
|  BIC | -3,231.98 | -4,086.87 | -3,609.96 | -4,606.42 |
|  AIC | 3.67 | 2.83 | 3.30 | 2.32 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial** |  |  |  |  |
|  BIC | -5,081.11 | NA | -5,279.48 | -5,000.59 |
|  AIC | 1.85 | NA | 1.66 | 1.93 |
|  LR Test | 1,856.06\*\*\* | NA | 1,676.44\*\*\* | 401.10\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| **Selection** | Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial | Negative Binomial | Negative Binomial | Negative Binomial |
| Notes: \*\*\*p≤0.01, \*\*p≤0.05, \*p≤0.10 |

**Appendix 2: Comparison of Socioeconomic Status Models**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Socioeconomic Status** **(Negative Binomial)** | **Socioeconomic Status****(Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial)** |
| **Count Stage** |
| **Commenter Characteristics** |
| Intersectional Constituency | 1.31\*\*\*(0.21) | 1.26\*\*\*(0.24) |
| Conservative Organization | -2.12\*\*\*(0.79) | -2.27\*\*\*(0.76) |
| Coalition | -0.78\*\*\*(0.19) | 0.14(0.25) |
| **Policymaking Context** |
| Intersectional Target Population | 1.39\*\*\*(0.22) | 0.55\*\*(0.24) |
| Received Media Coverage | 0.60\*\*\*(0.18) | 0.19(0.23) |
| Moral Policy Rule | 0.64\*\*\*(0.20) | 0.38(0.24) |
| **Controls** |
| Obama | -0.29(0.22) | -0.91\*\*\*(0.28) |
| Divided Government | 0.36\*(0.22) | -0.40(0.27) |
| Word Count | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) |
| Constant | -1.95\*\*\*(0.34) | -0.08(0.50) |
|  |
| ***Inflate Stage*** |
| **Commenter Characteristics** |
| Intersectional Constituency | NA | 0.33(0.56) |
| Conservative Organization | NA | -17.06(2,443.48) |
| Coalition | NA | 2.93\*\*\*(0.56) |
| **Policymaking Context** |
| Intersectional Target Population | NA | -16.19(588.75) |
| Received Media Coverage | NA | -1.12\*\*(0.49) |
| Moral Policy Rule | NA | -0.47(0.69) |
| **Controls** |
| Obama | NA | -2.03\*\*\*(0.73) |
| Divided Government | NA | -2.02\*\*\*(0.61) |
| Word Count | NA | -0.00004\*\*\*(0.00005) |
| Constant | NA | 2.39\*\*\*(0.85) |
| /ln alpha | 1.29 | 0.79\*\*\* |
| alpha | 3.65 | 2.22 |
| **Log Likelihood** | -993.02 | -963.97 |
| **LR Chi2 (9)** | 182.45\*\*\* | 96.29\*\*\* |
| **N** | 1,021 | 1,021 |
| **NNon-Zero, NZero** | 263, 758 | 263, 758 |
| Notes: \*\*\*p≤0.01, \*\*p≤0.05, \*p≤0.10 |

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**Appendix 3: Comparison of Socioeconomic Status Models with Affordable Care Act Reproductive Rights Rules Removed**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Socioeconomic Status without ACA Reproductive Rights Rules****(Negative Binomial)** | **Socioeconomic Status with ACA Reproductive Rights Rules****(Negative Binomial)** |
| **Count Stage** |
| **Commenter Characteristics** |
| Intersectional Constituency | 1.39\*\*\*(0.22) | 1.31\*\*\*(0.21) |
| Conservative Organization | -3.60\*\*\*(1.28) | -2.12\*\*\*(0.79) |
| Coalition | -0.91\*\*\*(0.21) | -0.78\*\*\*(0.19) |
| **Policymaking Context** |
| Intersectional Target Population | 1.40\*\*\*(0.24). | 1.39\*\*\*(0.22) |
| Received Media Coverage | 0.61\*\*\*(0.19) | 0.60\*\*\*(0.18) |
| Moral Policy Rule | 0.76\*\*\*(0.25) | 0.64\*\*\*(0.20) |
| **Controls** |
| Obama | -0.27(0.23) | -0.29(0.22) |
| Divided Government | 0.40(0.24) | 0.36\*(0.22) |
| Word Count | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) |
| Constant | -1.99\*\*\*(0.37) | -1.95\*\*\*(0.34) |
|  |
| /ln alpha | 1.36 | 0.79\*\*\* |
| alpha | 3.90 | 2.22 |
| **Log Likelihood** | -887.54 | -963.97 |
| **LR Chi2 (9)** | 166.11\*\*\* | 96.29\*\*\* |
| **N** | 928 | 1,021 |
| Notes: \*\*\*p≤0.01, \*\*p≤0.05, \*p≤0.10 |

**Appendix 4: Comparison of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Models with Biasing Rules Removed**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Full****Sexual Orientation Model (Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial)** | **Revised Sexual Orientation Model****(Negative Binomial)** | **Full****Gender Identity Model** **(Negative Binomial)** | **Revised Gender Identity Model****(Negative Binomial)** |
| ***Count Stage*** |
| **Commenter Characteristics** |
| Intersectional Constituency | 1.71\*\*\*(0.21) | 4.37\*\*\*(0.47) | 3.89\*\*\*(0.27) | 4.06\*\*\*(0.28) |
| Conservative Organization | -0.92(1.19) | -18.68(5,292.78) | -27.65(27,848.33) | -23.98(108,031.3) |
| Coalition | -0.004(0.21) | 0.11(0.29) | -0.11(0.22) | -0.43\*(0.24) |
| **Policymaking Context** |
| Intersectional Target Population | 0.62\*\*(0.29) | 0.97\*\*\* (0.38) | 1.66\*\*\*(0.27) | 1.64\*\*\*(0.28) |
| Received Media Coverage | -0.84\*\*\*(0.21) | -0.74\*\*\*(0.28) | -0.68\*\*\*(0.22) | -0.53(0.25) |
| Moral Policy Rule | -0.17(0.44) | -0.32(0.44) | 1.04\*\*\*(0.29) | 0.74\*\*(0.34) |
| **Controls** |
| Obama | 0.86\*(0.51) | 3.45\*\*\* (0.57)  | 1.68\*\*\*(0.39) | 1.69\*\*\*(0.43) |
| Divided Government | -0.49(0.48) | 1.58\*\*\*(0.38) | 0.78\*\*\*(0.31) | 0.89\*\*\*(0.35) |
| Word Count | 0.00003(0.00002) | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00005) | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) | 0.0002\*\*\*(0.00003) |
| Constant | 1.62\*\*(0.80) | -5.46\*\*\*(0.75) | -4.60\*\*\*(0.53) | -4.67\*\*\*(0.58) |
| ***Inflate Stage*** |
| **Commenter Characteristics** |
| Intersectional Constituency | -3.97\*\*\*(0.43) | NA | NA | NA |
| Conservative Organization | 4.32(3.96) | NA | NA | NA |
| Coalition | 0.03(0.27) | NA | NA | NA |
| **Policymaking Context** |
| Intersectional Target Population | -0.69\*\*(0.35) | NA | NA | NA |
| Received Media Coverage | 0.24(0.28) | NA | NA | NA |
| Moral Policy Rule | -1.39\*\*\*(0.42) | NA | NA | NA |
| **Controls** |
| Obama | -1.97\*\*\*(0.58) | NA | NA | NA |
| Divided Government | -1.15\*\*\*(0.38) | NA | NA | NA |
| Word Count | -0.0003\*\*\*(0.00006) | NA | NA | NA |
| Constant | 5.62\*\*\*(0.77) | NA | NA | NA |
| /ln alpha | 0.43\*\*\* | 2.36 | 1.50 | 1.49 |
| alpha | 1.54 | 10.55 | 4.46 | 4.44 |
| **Log Likelihood** | -923.72 | -837.22 | -742.82 | -650.64 |
| **LR Chi2 (9)** | 82.02\*\*\* | 195.29\*\*\* | 368.65\*\*\* | 323.07\*\*\* |
| **N** | 1,021 | 914 | 1,021 | 914 |
| **NNon-Zero, NZero** | 172, 849 | 139, 775 | 152, 869 | 130, 784 |
| Notes: \*\*\*p≤0.01, \*\*p≤0.05, \*p≤0.10 |