

# All the Movements Fit to Print: Who, What, When, Where, and Why SMO Families Appeared in the *New York Times* in the Twentieth Century

Edwin Amenta  
*University of California-Irvine*

Neal Caren  
*University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill*

Sheera Joy Olasky  
*New York University*

James E. Stobaugh  
*University of California-Irvine*

*Why did some social movement organization (SMO) families receive extensive media coverage? In this article, we elaborate and appraise four core arguments in the literature on movements and their consequences: disruption, resource mobilization, political partisanship, and whether a movement benefits from an enforced policy. Our fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analyses (fsQCA) draw on new, unique data from the New York Times across the twentieth century on more than 1,200 SMOs and 34 SMO families. At the SMO family level, coverage correlates highly with common measures of the size and disruptive activity of movements, with the labor and African American civil rights movements receiving the most coverage. Addressing why some movement families experienced daily coverage, fsQCA indicates that disruption, resource mobilization, and an enforced policy are jointly sufficient; partisanship, the standard form of “political opportunity,” is not part of the solution. Our results support the main perspectives, while also suggesting that movement scholars may need to reexamine their ideas of favorable political contexts.*

Gaining the mass news media’s attention is critical to the struggles of political advocacy and social movement organizations (SMOs);<sup>1</sup> gaining coverage is a measure of an

SMO’s cultural influence (Berry 1999; Ferree et al. 2002; Gamson 2004; Gamson et al. 1992; Gitlin 1978, 1980; Koopmans 2004; Lipsky 1968; Vliegthart, Oegma, and Klandermans

---

Direct correspondence to Edwin Amenta, Department of Sociology, University of California, 3151 Social Science Plaza, Irvine, CA 92697-5100 (ea3@uci.edu). We thank Rogers Brubaker, Bobby Chen, Elizabeth Chiarello, Nitsan Chorev, Stephanie Joy Dialto, Thomas Elliott, Jeff Goodwin, Drew Halfmann, Francesca Polletta, Kelsy Kretschmer, Rory McVeigh, Michael Mann, Andrew Martin, David S. Meyer, Natasha Miric, Ziad Munson, Charles Ragin, Kelly Ramsey, William G. Roy, Rens Vliegthart, Roger Waldinger, Owen Whooley, and the members of the NYU Department of Sociology PPP Workshop, the UCI Social Justice and Social Movement Workshop, the UCLA Comparative and Historical Workshop, the *ASR* editors, and seven

---

anonymous reviewers for comments on previous versions. We thank J. Craig Jenkins, Debra C. Minkoff, and Judith Stepan-Norris for sharing data. This research was supported in part by National Science Foundation Grant SES-0752571.

<sup>1</sup> Our conceptualization of SMOs includes national advocacy organizations that make claims on or on behalf of mass constituencies, similar to definitions used by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990) and scholars following their work. We use the term “social movement organization” for simplicity’s sake, although we are cognizant of the fact that other scholars (notably McAdam 1982) reserve the term for organizations that threaten or engage in disruptive col-

2005; review in Earl 2004). In this study, we address why some SMO families receive extensive newspaper coverage by developing new data on *New York Times* articles that mentioned U.S. SMOs across the twentieth century. We first identify which U.S. SMOs and SMO families have received the greatest newspaper coverage; we then use this information to systematically address why some movement families receive extensive coverage, appraising well-known theories of social movements and movement consequences.

Explaining newspapers' SMO coverage is important for several reasons. SMOs seek to promote many sorts of social change, from creating interests and identities to spurring political participation and civic engagement to winning political goals (Amenta 2006; Andrews 2004; Clemens 1997; Gamson 1990; Ganz 2000; McAdam 1982; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Polletta 2002; Sampson et al. 2005; Skocpol 2003), and media coverage is important to these efforts. Coverage also constitutes key data in mapping political interests and identities among the politically disadvantaged; it provides a measure of discursive presence or influence in the production of culture akin to Gamson's (1990, 1998) "acceptance" (Earl 2004). Using fuzzy set qualitative comparative analyses (fsQCA) across 2,153 movement family years, we explore why some movement families received extensive coverage, employing arguments from the disruption perspective and the resource mobilization and political contextual theories. We also develop a relatively new political contextual argument: enforced policies for a movement's constituency will spur movements and their coverage.

## MOTIVATION, PREVIOUS WORK, AND MODELS OF MOVEMENT INFLUENCE

### *COVERAGE AS A CULTURAL CONSEQUENCE OF MOVEMENTS*

SMOs have been central to movement research since the early 1970s (Gamson 1990; McCarthy and Zald 1977), but few studies go beyond examining one movement (cf. Gamson 1990;

Skocpol 2003). Moreover, the mass news media have the widest gallery of all forums in the policy-making process (Gamson 2004), so the attention SMOs receive in the mass media bolsters their positions as representatives for the interests and constituencies they claim (Ferree et al. 2002; Koopmans 2004). The mass media help legitimize SMOs in a democratic political system in which most organized groups can gain some access to political institutions; media coverage itself is a demonstration of SMOs' impact, or acceptance (cf. Gamson 1990). Many also see mass media coverage as necessary for movements to be influential (Lipsky 1968). SMOs seek to showcase and transmit their causes to relevant third parties and bystanders (Gamson 2004) by offering alternative framings of issues (Cress and Snow 2000; Ferree et al. 2002; Ryan 1991) or discrediting opponents and their framings (Gamson 2004). SMOs can gain coverage and influence policy debates in multiple ways aside from protest (Amenta 2006; Amenta, Caren, and Olasky 2005; Andrews 2004), and those that receive coverage also tend to gain support (Vliegthart et al. 2005). In short, media coverage of SMOs across movements and over time is an important, if limited, consequence of movements.

SMOs appear in newspapers in different ways, but always as a function of the practices of newsgathering organizations, which are concerned with generating "stories" and "news" (see Schudson 2002). Unlike with protest events (see review in Earl et al. 2004), there is no way to compare coverage of SMOs with all their relevant activity or all dimensions of their size. It is possible, however, to compare SMO coverage with important measures of movement size, such as membership and organizational density, and with protest events and other disruptive activities. Most important, by comparing across all SMO families over a century, we can test theories about social movements and movement consequences to explore why some SMO families achieved high coverage.

### *FOUR THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO EXPLAINING MOVEMENTS AND OUTCOMES*

Prominent ideas in the literature on the consequences of social movements suggest, first, that disruption brings influence for movements. In the classic view (Piven and Cloward 1977),

---

lective action, a set of organizations subsumed by our definition.

mass turmoil is expected to influence political leaders by creating a threat to the social order. This point of view dovetails with the literature on newspaper coverage. Newspapers are more likely to report on large and violent events (Earl et al. 2004; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Oliver and Myers 1999), so organizations linked to disruptive action will likely receive more extensive coverage (see also Corbett 1998; Rohlinger 2002).

The resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1977; Zald and McCarthy 2002) expects movements with many organizations and capacities to be the best mobilized and to exert influence of many different sorts, including media related. SMOs and SMO families with the most extensive resources would thus be expected to receive extensive coverage (see also Corbett 1998). Newspapers tend to view their reporting as reflecting main tendencies in social trends (Gans 1979), so coverage may be determined in part by the size of SMOs and SMO families. Studies of newspaper coverage of collective action events indicate that coverage focuses on events that draw the participation of large organizations (Earl et al. 2004). Research identifies many different aspects of movements as resources to appraise this approach, including membership in SMOs and SMO families (Zald and McCarthy 2002), particularly the number of SMOs in the family available to be covered (Minkoff 2002). From this perspective, the expectation is that the more members and the greater the number of organizations available for coverage in an SMO family, the greater the coverage.

Along with these two theories, our research here also addresses two political contextual models that seek to explain movements and their consequences. The most prominent argument in the literature on political contexts, or "opportunities," expects movements to expand and gain influence with a sympathetic regime in power (Meyer and Minkoff 2004). This is typically understood and modeled in the U.S. context as a Democratic regime for movements of the left and a Republican regime for movements of the right. In this view, ideologically similar regimes should both stimulate movements and promote consequences favorable to them.

An additional, although less prominent, argument from the political context perspective is

that movements will advance in the wake of major policy changes favoring the movement's constituency (Amenta and Young 1999; Berry 1999; see also Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Halfmann, Rude, and Ebert 2005). In this view, movements are sustained politically through policies related to their constituencies. Movements are shaped by the rhythms of state building (Skocpol 2003; Tilly 2005) and policy making (Baumgartner and Jones 1993), which alter politics and often work in a self-reinforcing way (Pierson 2000). These policies should bolster movements and help promote further outcomes favorable to them.

## CONCEPTUALIZATIONS, DATA, AND METHODS

We examined the coverage of all national U.S. SMOs in articles in the *New York Times*, following a longstanding practice in newspaper studies of movements (see Earl et al. 2004), to determine which SMOs and SMO families have been most publicly prominent in every year of the twentieth century. Many prominent longitudinal studies of movements are based on newspaper data on protest events and use the *New York Times*, with its national focus, as a source (Jenkins and Eckert 1986; Kerbo and Shaffer 1992; McAdam and Su 2002; Soule and Earl 2005).

Working from definitions of SMOs by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990), our first step was to identify the population of national, political SMOs contending in the twentieth century—no easy task, as until now no one has done so (cf. Brulle et al. [2007] on environmental organizations). We then searched the *New York Times* using ProQuest Historical Newspapers for mentions of these SMOs in articles. Next, we arrayed the data, listing organizations according to their overall mentions. We checked the results with data from the *Washington Post*. We then categorized the organizations into different groupings based on movement type. From there, we compared measures of SMO coverage in the *Times* with other measures of movement size and activity to see how closely they corresponded to and correlated with coverage figures. Finally, we used fsQCA analyses to ascertain why some movement families received extensive coverage, employing four theories of movement outcomes.

To conceptualize SMOs, we rely on definitions by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990), who refer, respectively, to “social movement organizations” and “challenging groups.” For McCarthy and Zald, SMOs are formal organizations whose goals are allied with those of a social movement. For Gamson (see also Berry 1999), a challenging group is a formal organization that seeks to mobilize an unmobilized constituency and has an antagonist in authority outside its constituency. These largely similar definitions include only politically inflected organizations; like Gamson, we rely on organizations with national goals. These definitions also include most of what today are called political advocacy organizations. For instance, Gamson’s large sample netted such institutional-tactic-reliant organizations as the American Association of University Professors, the Proportional Representation League, and the League of American Wheelmen. Andrews and Edwards’s (2004) “advocacy organizations” are similar to the McCarthy and Zald/Gamson version of SMOs, but they also include “interest groups” (Granados and Knoke 2005). We also include what McCarthy and Zald refer to as “established” SMOs, or mobilized challenging groups. That is, we do not stop including organizations, such as the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, NOW, and the Sierra Club, once they have mobilized a new constituency.

Needless to say, this definition excludes many organizations. The McCarthy and Zald/Gamson definition of SMOs we employ does not include all voluntary mass organizations, as do studies of civic engagement (Putnam 2000; Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001; Skocpol 2003). We do not include standard interest groups, such as Chambers of Commerce, think tanks, and professional associations. SMOs that engage in or threaten non-institutional or transgressive action (McAdam 1982; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001) form a distinct subset; our results do not generalize to this subset. We also exclude the main political parties. Unlike in Europe, U.S. SMOs in the twentieth century have not “graduated” to become significant national political parties, and they are not mainly concerned with nominating and electing candidates to political offices. There are many other ways to conceptualize movements and organizations (see Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004), but we chose this definition because of its wide-

spread currency and because these organizations are the most directly influential in institutional politics and elite debates.

We started with previous large lists of SMOs (Fountain 2006; Tilly N.d.), work that compares large numbers of organizations (e.g., Gamson 1990; Minkoff 1997; Skocpol 2003; Snow et al. 2004; Wilson 1973), many articles and more than 100 monographs on movements, advice from colleagues, and the Encyclopedia of Associations. We also inspected newspaper articles with the words “groups” and “organizations” in the headline to identify further candidates for inclusion. We then searched for all articles mentioning the SMOs through ProQuest, using the official name of the organization and its acronyms. We examined some of the articles indicated and expanded or restricted the search terms for the most accurate count. We cross-checked the *Times*’ coverage against coverage in the *Washington Post* for each of the top 30 SMOs in the *Times*’ coverage overall, as well as the top 25 SMOs in the *Times*’ coverage for a given year (see below). All four authors coded, led by the senior scholars of the team, and pairwise reliability scores were always above 90 percent.<sup>2</sup>

We identified 1,247 qualifying SMOs in the twentieth century, although only 947 had coverage in the *Times*. Altogether, we identified 298,359 article mentions of SMOs. It may not ever be possible to identify all qualifying SMOs, but our search methods make us confident that we located almost all qualifying SMOs that received significant national newspaper cover-

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars use the IRS’s list of tax-exempt organizations (notably, Brulle et al. 2007), which, in December 2006, numbered 677,043. We took a random sampling of 100 organizations from this list and searched for them online, locating 80. Of these, only the Bowhunting Preservation Alliance was found, barely, to meet our criteria for an SMO, but appeared in no articles. To ensure we captured the coverage of federated organizations, we often searched for shortened versions of official names, such as “woman’s suffrage association” for the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association. We also searched for alternatives such as “woman suffrage association” and “women’s suffrage association.” We counted any mention of a lower-level organization as part of the coverage of the national organization (cf. Brulle et al. 2007).

age. We are also confident that the potential future identification of SMOs as yet uncovered will not greatly change the results below. We employ individual mentions (cf. Vliegenthart et al. 2005) for simplicity's sake, and also because there was little variation among the most covered SMOs in the degree to which they appeared in front-page articles.

### WHICH SMOS AND MOVEMENTS RECEIVED THE MOST COVERAGE?

Which SMOs and movements received the greatest coverage? The SMO with the most coverage overall is, unsurprisingly, the AFL-CIO (including coverage of the AFL and CIO individually before they merged in 1953). The extent of its dominance is surprising, however, as it receives more than three times as many men-

tions as the next SMO, the American Legion (see Table 1). The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a close third, and the American Civil Liberties Union and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) round out the top five, each appearing in more than 8,000 articles. The top-30 list also includes seven other labor-union organizations. Other well-known social movements are well represented in the top 30, including four additional SMOs relating to African American civil rights: the National Council of Churches, the National Urban League, the Black Panther Party, and the Congress of Racial Equality. Two additional veterans organizations—the Grand Army of the Republic and the Veterans of Foreign Wars—rank in the top 30 as well. Other movement families are represented by longstanding organizations, including the feminist (League of

**Table 1.** Top 30 SMOs with the Most *New York Times* Coverage in the Twentieth Century, with Coverage from the *Washington Post*

| Rank | Organization (Year of Founding)  | <i>Times</i> | Front Page | <i>Post</i> |
|------|--|--------------|------------|-------------|
| 1    | American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (1886, 1937, 1955) | 41,718       | 6,848      | 33,690      |
| 2    | American Legion (1919)   | 12,650       | 1,441      | 9,262       |
| 3    | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909)                    | 12,616       | 1,707      | 12,247      |
| 4    | American Civil Liberties Union (1920)  | 8,911        | 1,022      | 7,431       |
| 5    | Ku Klux Klan (1867)  | 8,067        | 1,119      | 5,879       |
| 6    | United Mine Workers (1890)   | 7,044        | 1,397      | 6,560       |
| 7    | League of Women Voters (1920)  | 6,869        | 461        | 7,647       |
| 8    | International Ladies Garment Workers (1900)  | 5,875        | 675        | 601         |
| 9    | International Brotherhood of Teamsters (1903)  | 5,216        | 1,848      | 8,864       |
| 10   | Veterans of Foreign Wars (1936)  | 4,829        | 480        | 6,419       |
| 11   | National Education Association (1857)  | 4,725        | 462        | 4,616       |
| 12   | Anti-Saloon League (1893)  | 4,581        | 851        | 2,533       |
| 13   | United Steelworkers (1942)   | 4,019        | 392        | 1,777       |
| 14   | American Jewish Congress (1918)  | 3,849        | 297        | 876         |
| 15   | Grand Army of the Republic (1866)  | 3,492        | 149        | 2,853       |
| 16   | Black Panther Party (1966)   | 3,460        | 394        | 2,333       |
| 17   | American Jewish Committee (1906)   | 3,317        | 263        | 1,074       |
| 18   | Actors' Equity Association (1913)  | 3,229        | 157        | 216         |
| 19   | American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1866)                     | 3,016        | 51         | 213         |
| 20   | United Auto Workers (1935)   | 2,872        | 195        | 5,257       |
| 21   | National Council of Churches (1950)  | 2,649        | 256        | 1,919       |
| 22   | Anti-Defamation League (1913)  | 2,618        | 247        | 1,424       |
| 23   | Planned Parenthood (1923)  | 2,610        | 204        | 2,199       |
| 24   | International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (1891)                               | 2,541        | 337        | 781         |
| 25   | Sierra Club (1892)   | 2,497        | 218        | 2,822       |
| 26   | National Urban League (1910)   | 2,495        | 300        | 1,203       |
| 27   | Congress of Racial Equality (1942)   | 2,349        | 519        | 540         |
| 28   | American Federation of Teachers (1916)   | 2,267        | 325        | 1,063       |
| 29   | International Typographical Union (1852)   | 2,130        | 165        | 1,180       |
| 30   | Americans for Democratic Action (1947)   | 2,052        | 298        | 2,076       |

Women Voters), anti-alcohol (the Anti-Saloon League), animal protection/rights (American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), environmental (Sierra Club), and reproductive rights movements (Planned Parenthood).

We also examine the coverage of the top SMOs in the *Washington Post*. Aside from mentions of SMOs in the *Post* being lower overall, there are a few important differences. A few New York-based organizations are far better covered in the *Times*, including the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee; the Actors Equity Association, with its connections to Broadway, receives a lot of attention in the *Times*, but little in the *Post*. All the same, the correlation between the top-30 lists is .96, with most of the slippage due to the New York-based organizations.<sup>3</sup> Among the top 30, moreover, the correlation between overall coverage and appearing in front-page articles in the *Times* is extremely high (.97).

From here, we analyze coverage according to broad categories, families, or industries of social movements to ascertain which received the most coverage across the century. Lacking scholarly consensus in both the categories of social movements and allocating SMOs to them, we employ frequently used, if somewhat broad, movement families—including labor; African American civil rights; environmental, conservation, and ecology; veterans; and feminist/women's rights—for a total of 34 mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Due to the lack of consensus and the small numbers of article counts for some possible movement families, three of these categories have a residual quality. We categorized SMOs that were large-

ly left- or right-wing in orientation, but that did not fit neatly into a more coherent movement family, as “progressive, other” and “conservative, other”; SMOs seeking civil rights for specific groups, but that did not receive enough coverage to warrant an entire category, are categorized as “civil rights, other.” We also focus on issues, rather than movements’ demographic makeups; organizations largely or exclusively consisting of women might find themselves as part of the feminist, anti-alcohol, or children’s rights movements, for instance, and organizations of students might be part of anti-war, civil rights, conservative, or progressive SMO families.

Table 2 lists each movement family or industry according to the mentions received by the organizations constituting the category. Labor received by far the most mentions, accounting for 36.3 percent of articles in which SMOs were mentioned, more than three times as much as its closest competitor, the African American civil rights movement, which had 9.8 percent. Labor remains first easily even when individual unions are not counted, with about 18.9 percent of the coverage. (We also list the movements without individual unions because these organizations so dominate coverage.) Behind these two are four SMO families; the veterans, feminist/women’s rights, nativist/supremacist, and environmental, conservation, and ecology SMOs each had between 4.0 and 7.6 percent of the coverage. Jewish civil rights, civil liberties, anti-war, and residual conservative SMOs round out the top 10. Although the veterans and nativist movement families place in the top five, and the Jewish civil rights and civil liberties families place in the top 10, none have received extensive scholarly attention.

Next, we examine the overall trajectory of the top movement families or industries. Figure 1 shows the coverage for the labor, African American civil rights, and veterans SMO families (in three-year moving averages to smooth out arbitrary year-to-year variations). For reasons of scale, we include the labor movement without individual unions, although the pattern is similar (results not shown). Labor has a strong newspaper presence throughout the century, taking off in the 1930s and 1940s and declining in the 1950s and beyond, although remaining at a significantly high level of coverage. Coverage of the African American civil rights

<sup>3</sup> In the early decades of the century, the *Post* covered veterans more extensively, possibly because these organizations focused their attention on the capital, although the coverage often relates to lawmakers’ affiliations. The *Post* is available via the ProQuest Historical database only through 1992, so we use Lexis-Nexis, which is available from 1977, for 1993 through 1999. For the top-10 covered SMOs of the 1980s, coverage figures produced by ProQuest and Lexis-Nexis searches are correlated highly at .99, and the number of articles is similar, with ProQuest unearthing 13,694 articles and Lexis-Nexis 13,618.

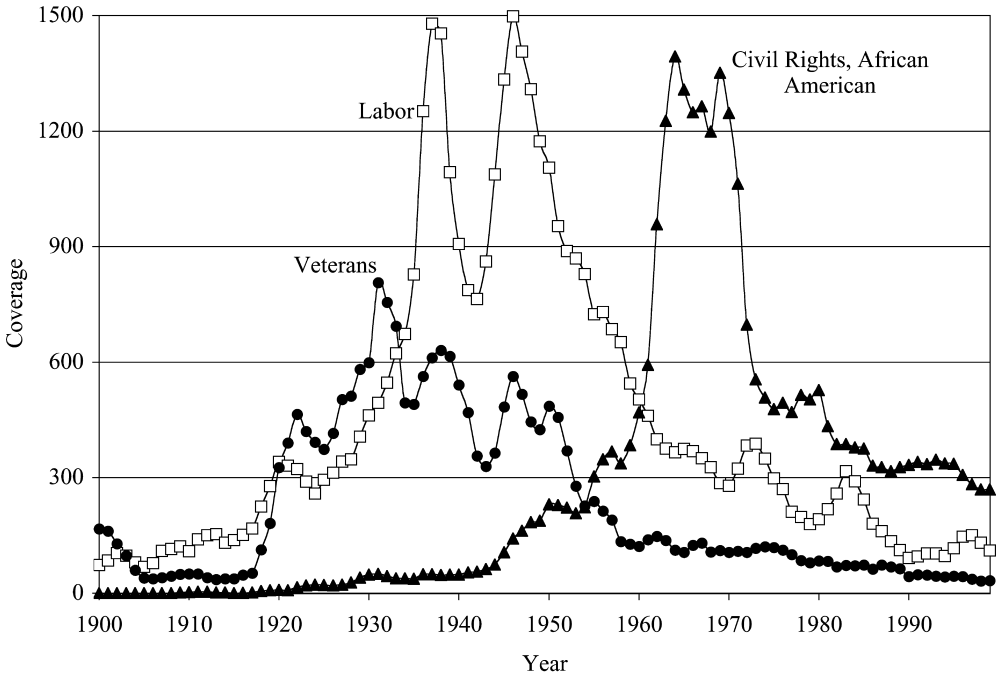
**Table 2.** *Times* Coverage of SMOs by Movement Families

| Rank | Family Title                            | Percent | Without Unions | # of SMOs | Most Highly Covered SMO                                    |
|------|---|---------|----------------|-----------|--|
| 1    | Labor                                   | 36.3    | 18.9           | 141       | American Federation of Labor                               |
| 2    | Civil Rights, African American          | 9.8     | 12.4           | 62        | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People |
| 3    | Veterans                                | 7.6     | 9.7            | 17        | American Legion  |
| 4    | Feminist/Women's Rights                 | 5.5     | 7.0            | 124       | League of Women Voters                                     |
| 5    | Nativist/Supremacist                    | 4.2     | 5.4            | 63        | Ku Klux Klan   |
| 6    | Environment/Conservation/<br>Ecology    | 4.0     | 5.1            | 132       | Sierra Club  |
| 7    | Civil Rights, Jewish                    | 3.7     | 4.7            | 7         | American Jewish Congress                                   |
| 8    | Civil Liberties                         | 3.1     | 4.0            | 6         | American Civil Liberties Union                             |
| 9    | Anti-war                                | 2.8     | 3.6            | 79        | American Friends Service Committee                         |
| 10   | Conservative, Other                     | 2.6     | 3.3            | 98        | John Birch Society   |
| 11   | Progressive, Other                      | 2.5     | 3.2            | 92        | National Council of Jewish Women                           |
| 12   | Anti-alcohol                            | 2.4     | 3.0            | 21        | Anti-Saloon League   |
| 13   | Farmers                                 | 2.1     | 2.6            | 18        | American Farm Bureau Federation                            |
| 14   | Communist                               | 1.7     | 2.1            | 20        | Communist Party USA  |
| 15   | Animal Protection/Rights                | 1.4     | 1.8            | 26        | American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals  |
| 16   | Abortion/Reproductive Rights            | 1.3     | 1.6            | 27        | Planned Parenthood   |
| 17   | Civic                                   | 1.1     | 1.5            | 16        | National Civic Federation                                  |
| 18   | Consumer                                | 1.1     | 1.4            | 8         | National Consumers' League                                 |
| 19   | Old Age/Senior Rights                   | .9      | 1.2            | 26        | American Association of Retired People                     |
| 20   | Christian Right                         | .9      | 1.2            | 36        | Moral Majority   |
| 21   | Civil Rights, Other                     | .9      | 1.1            | 34        | Nation of Islam  |
| 22   | Children's Rights/Protection            | .9      | 1.1            | 13        | Child Welfare League                                       |
| 23   | Liberal, General                        | .9      | .9             | 5         | Americans for Democratic Action                            |
| 24   | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender | .5      | .6             | 47        | Gay Men's Health Crisis                                    |
| 25   | Anti-smoking                            | .4      | .5             | 13        | American Public Health Association                         |
| 26   | Anti-abortion                           | .4      | .5             | 33        | National Right to Life Committee                           |
| 27   | Gun Owners' Rights                      | .3      | .4             | 11        | National Rifle Association                                 |
| 28   | Civil Rights, Native American           | .2      | .3             | 3         | American Indian Movement                                   |
| 29   | Welfare Rights                          | .2      | .2             | 12        | National Welfare Rights Organization                       |
| 30   | Civil Rights, Hispanic                  | .2      | .2             | 12        | League of United Latin American Citizens                   |
| 31   | Disability Rights                       | .1      | .1             | 16        | National Association for Retarded Children                 |
| 32   | AIDS                                    | .1      | .1             | 5         | AIDS Action  |
| 33   | Prison Reform/Prisoners' Rights         | .1      | .1             | 10        | National Committee on Prisons                              |
| 34   | Gun Control                             | .1      | .1             | 14        | Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence                     |

movement takes off in the 1960s, after making gains in the late 1950s, and does not decline until the mid-1970s. If social movements have moved in waves (Tarrow 1994), labor was at the center of the wave in the 1930s and 1940s, and the civil rights movement was at the center of the wave in the 1960s. Veterans organizations made great leaps forward during the 1930s and after World War II, persisting throughout the century but declining during the last half.

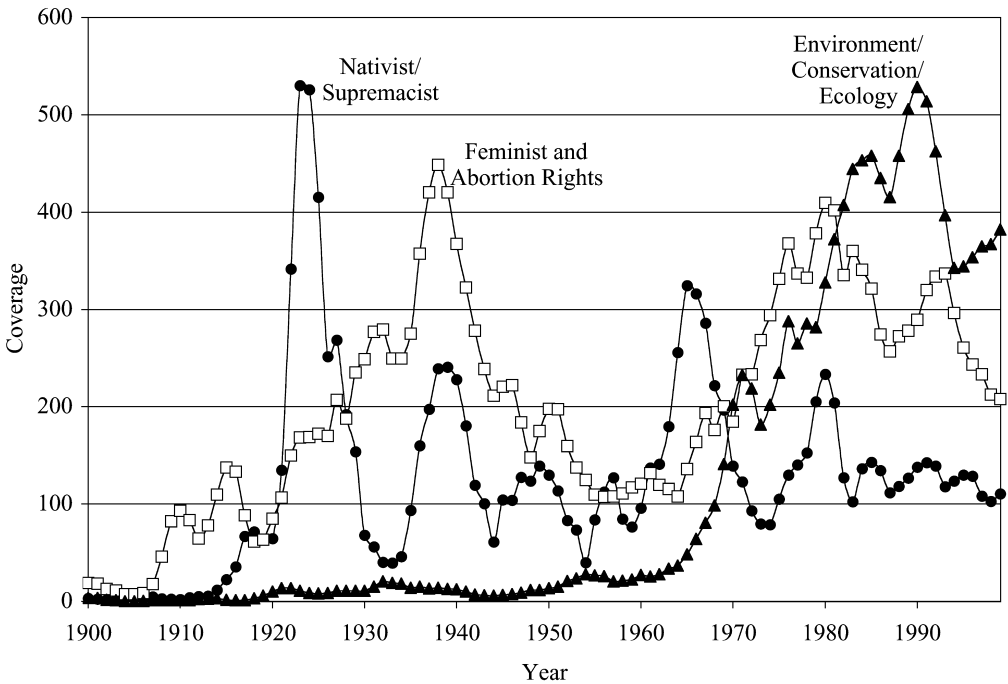
The families next in coverage include SMOs from the feminist, nativist, and environmental movements (see Figure 2). The coverage of

feminist movement SMOs, which in Figure 2 also includes abortion/reproductive rights SMOs, shows the expected two waves, with the second wave beginning largely in the 1970s. The waves are fairly gentle, however, and there is a "middle" wave of coverage in the 1930s. The coverage of environmental SMOs fits the pattern of a new social movement based on quality-of-life concerns, taking off in the 1970s and 1980s, peaking in the 1990s, and sustaining high coverage. By contrast, nativist organizations, led mainly by two incarnations of the



**Figure 1.** *Times* Coverage of Labor Movement, African American Civil Rights Movement, and Veterans SMOs, 1900 to 1999

Delivered by Ingenta to :  
 University of Wisconsin-Madison  
 Wed, 28 Oct 2009 03:59:26



**Figure 2.** *Times* Coverage of the Nativist/Supremacist, Feminist and Abortion Rights, and Environmental/Conservation/Ecology SMOs, 1900 to 1999



KKK, had a peak in coverage in the 1920s, with a secondary peak in the 1960s.

Across the twentieth century, national newspaper coverage of SMOs focused on the labor and civil rights movements, and scholarship has followed (e.g., Andrews 2004; Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2004; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984). The labor movement has dominated coverage; it remains the most covered movement family, despite the precipitous decline in union membership in the last half of the twentieth century. Similarly, the African American civil rights, feminist, and environmental families of SMOs rank expectedly high in coverage. In a recent handbook (Snow et al. 2004), a section on "major" social movements included reviews of the labor, environmental, and feminist movements, and ethnic mobilization, encompassing African American civil rights, and anti-war movements, but veterans and nativist movements were not covered. Generally speaking, SMOs that peaked in media attention before the 1960s, and movements with a conservative slant, have not received scholarly attention commensurate with their media attention. While the top movement families also show waves of coverage, as would be expected, the coverage appears somewhat later than expected and is sustained longer than the imagery of cycles suggests.

### SIZE, DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITY, AND COVERAGE: PRELIMINARY RESULTS

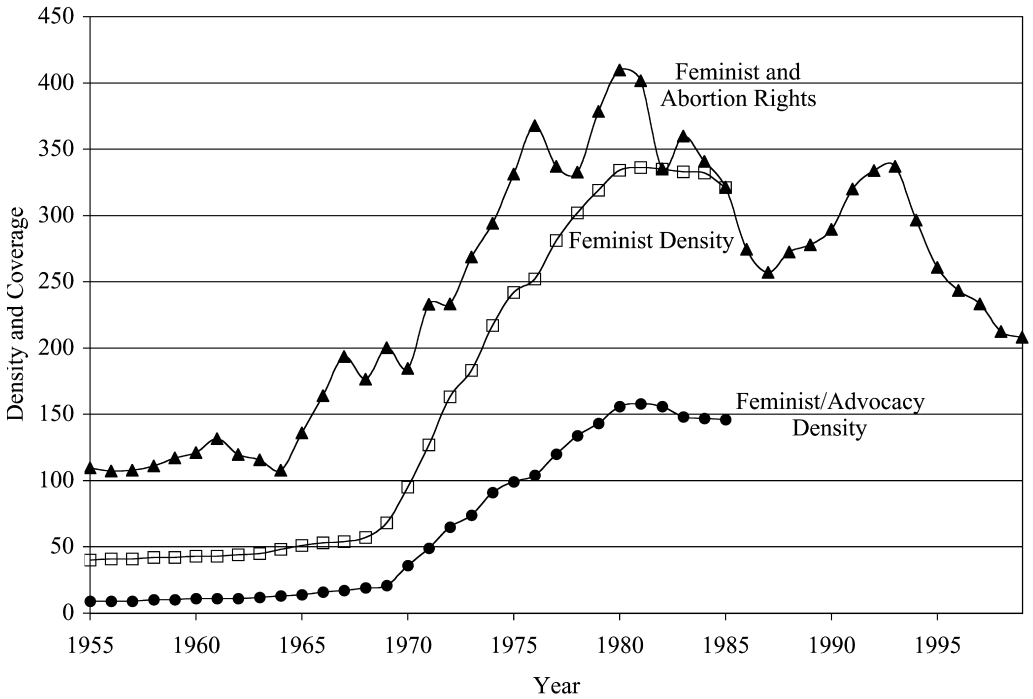
The descriptive results lead to the following question: Why are some SMOs and SMO families better covered than others? As noted earlier, two approaches to the question are related to the scale of the movement and its activity. One view is that newspapers disproportionately cover events that are disruptive or violent (McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver and Myers 1999; see review in Earl et al. 2004), and presumably SMOs connected to such events. This view is connected to the classic argument that disruption leads to influence for social movements (Piven and Cloward 1977). One might also expect newspapers simply to report on SMOs according to their size. To some extent, this is what reporters claim to be doing (Gans 1979) and is consistent with the resource mobilization view of the impact of social movements (Zald and McCarthy 2002). Movements are expected to

have influence in relation to available resources, including the members and organizations in the movement family or industry. These two aspects of the scale of movements, their size and dramatic activity, are frequently used to summarize or operationalize the presence of movements and SMOs in quantitative research on movements. To provide a preliminary assessment of these models, we compare newspaper coverage with measures employed in high-profile research on some of the more prominent SMOs and SMO families.<sup>4</sup>

To address the degree to which coverage reflects the main aspects of SMO size, we start with two prominent SMOs. The Townsend Plan was one of the most publicized SMOs of the 1930s; it demanded generous and universal old-age pensions and organized 2 million older Americans into Townsend clubs (Amenta et al. 2005). It quickly reached membership levels that few voluntary associations achieve (Skocpol 2003), but it lost most of its following by the 1950s. The correlation between its membership (data from Amenta et al. 2005) and coverage from 1934 to 1953 is .62. The NAACP, a key organization in the most prominent movement of the second half of the twentieth century, is, by contrast, an evergreen in coverage. In examining data from 1947 through 1981 (courtesy of J. Craig Jenkins), we find the relationship between its membership and *Times* coverage is fairly strong, too, with a correlation of .69. Membership and coverage both peak in the mid-1960s.

We next address the connection between coverage and size for two of the most prominent SMO families, beginning with organizational density in the women's rights/abortion rights movements from 1955 through 1986 (with data

<sup>4</sup> These models are similar to debates in the literature on newspaper coverage of protest events, which seek to uncover selection and description biases in the coverage (see review in Earl et al. 2004). Factors making events seem more newsworthy include proximity to news organizations, size, intensity, presence of violence, counter-demonstrators, police, and sponsorship by organizations. Unlike some studies of selection bias of protest events (McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver and Myers 1999), our preliminary investigations of SMO coverage cannot juxtapose all relevant aspects of size or activity of SMOs with their coverage, as data on these aspects do not exist.



**Figure 3.** The Density of Feminist and Abortion Rights Organizations, by Overall and Protest/Advocacy Organizations, and *Times* Coverage, 1955 to 1986

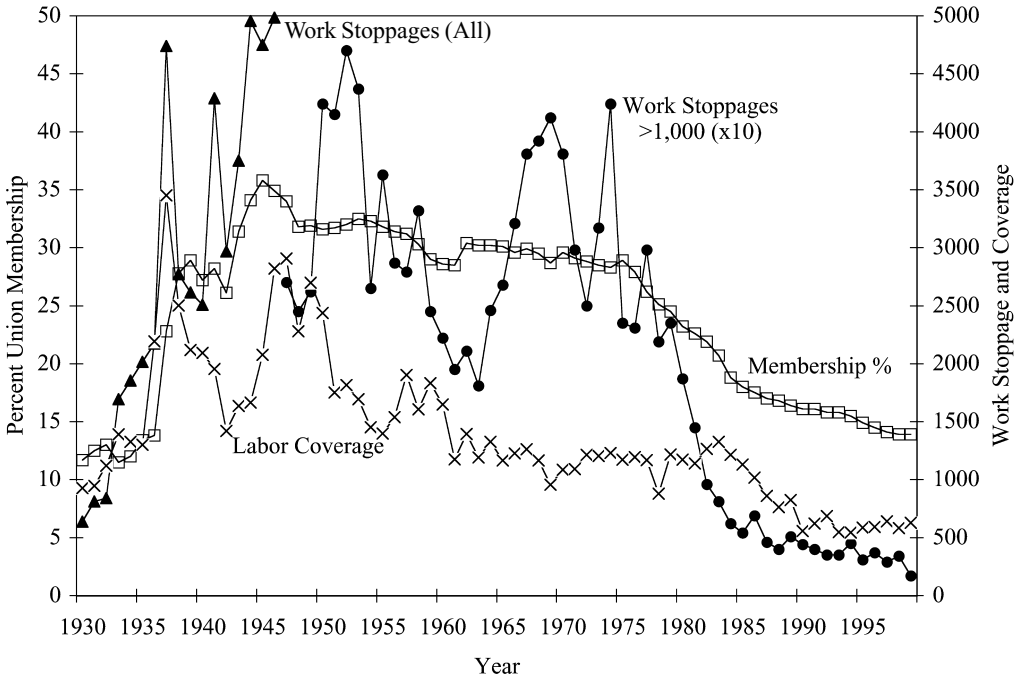
courtesy of Debra C. Minkoff). A plot of SMO coverage, in a three-year moving average, against the organizational density of total organizations and the subset of “protest and advocacy” organizations in the women’s rights movement shows that they are very strongly and similarly correlated (.97) (see Figure 3). Coverage and organizational density both rise dramatically in the mid-1960s and peak around 1980. Despite the large correlation between coverage and organizational density, however, only a few SMOs received the bulk of the coverage. As for the most prominent family, a comparison of the *Times* coverage of the labor movement from 1930 to 1999 with unionization shows a correlation of .59; after 1954, however, when unionization declines, the correlation increases to .80 (see Figure 4).

Next, we turn to bivariate assessments of whether coverage is closely connected to disruptive activity. We begin with labor strikes, the standard disruptive activity of the labor movement (see Figure 4). The pattern for coverage and strikes works in the opposite direction from unionization. Although the correlation between the work stoppage measures and cov-

erage is .58 overall, between 1930 and 1947, during the rise of the labor movement, the correlation is .81.<sup>5</sup> In short, correlations are high for strike activity in the early years of the labor movement and high for unionization in later years. Coverage may generally result from disruptive action in the early years of a largely successful movement, and from aspects of its size in later years.

Next, we assess the connection between coverage and protest events in the African American civil rights movement, the second most covered movement family. Jenkins, Jacobs, and Agnone (2003:286), extending McAdam’s (1982) data for 1950 through 1997, define protest events as “nonviolent protest by African Americans, including public demonstrations and marches, sit-ins, rallies, freedom rides, boy-

<sup>5</sup> In the Bureau of Labor Statistics’ data, for the years 1947 to 1999 “work stoppage” includes only those involving at least 1,000 workers, whereas earlier data include work stoppages of any number of workers. In the 15 years in which the two measures overlap, they have a correlation of .96.



**Figure 4.** Union Membership, Work Stoppages, and *Times* Labor Movement SMO Coverage, 1930 to 1999

cotts, and other protest actions.” We compare this measure with coverage of the so-called Big Four civil rights organizations, the NAACP, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). As Figure 5 shows, the two have the same general pattern, with small increases in the late 1950s, followed by larger increases in the 1960s, and a relatively constant and low level of activity starting in the 1980s; they are correlated at .66. Although both coverage and protest events level out after the early 1970s, coverage has remained at a fairly high level, despite far fewer protests.

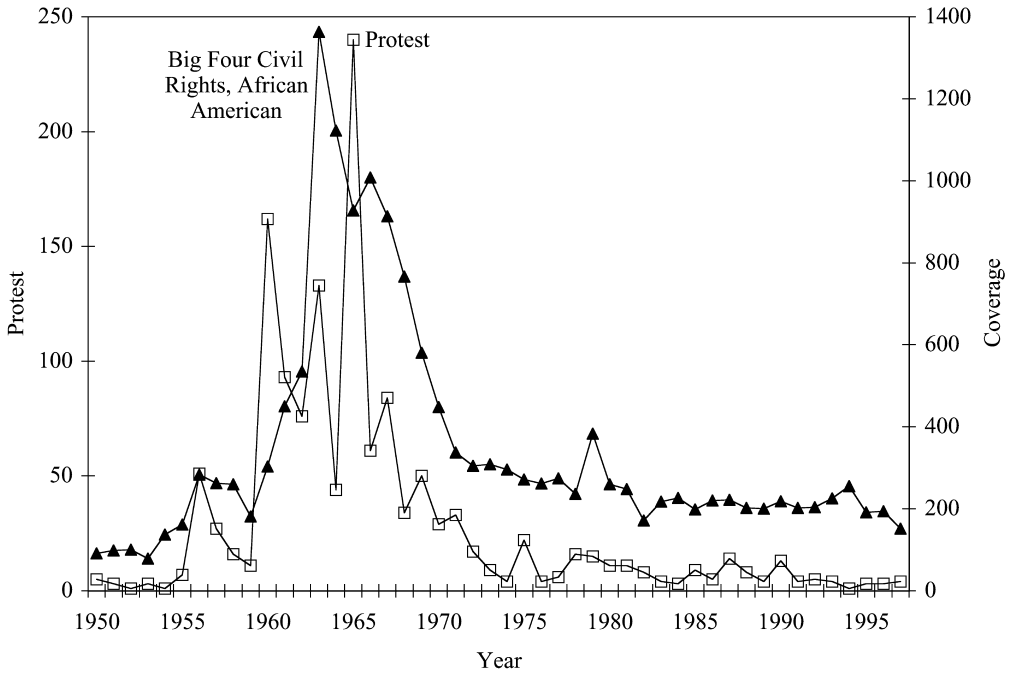
All in all, these preliminary bivariate results show that coverage tracks to some degree SMO and SMO family size, as well as disruption and dramatic activity. The medium high correlations between coverage and individual membership for two prominent SMOs, in conjunction with higher correlations with union density and a very high correlation with feminist SMOs, suggest that coverage is connected most closely to the size of entire, influential movement families. Approximately 43 percent of the national SMOs we located, typically small

Delivered by Ingenta to :  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Document generated on 2009-09-24 10:58:42

organizations, gain little or no coverage. This suggests that size matters; coverage generally concentrates on the better-known SMOs in movement families. These findings are consistent with the resource mobilization view of movements’ impact. Coverage is also related to protest and similar activity, especially in the early days of a movement organization or family. For SMOs and SMO families that do not gain organizational footholds after early years of disruptive or dramatic activities, the early days are all they have. In short, the preliminary results indicate some support for both disruption and resource mobilization explanations of movement outcomes. These two views, however, are not inconsistent with each other, and we further test them below.

**WHY ARE SOME SMO FAMILIES BETTER COVERED THAN OTHERS?**

We now turn to systematic comparative analyses of coverage across SMO families. To address why some movement families received extensive coverage in their careers, we employ fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA). Relying on set logic, fsQCA is typically used to



**Figure 5.** *Times* Coverage of the African American Civil Rights Big Four SMOs and Protest Events, 1950 to 1997

*Note:* The African American civil rights Big Four SMOs are the NAACP, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

examine unusual occurrences (see Ragin 1987, 2000). Instead of focusing on how much a given measure adds to explained variance, fsQCA addresses the possibility that causes are conjunctural—that is, two or more conditions must occur simultaneously to produce a result. It also addresses the possibility of multiple causation—that more than one conjunctural causal path will lead to a result. High coverage is indeed an unusual occurrence, and we expect high coverage to result from multiple causes. We seek to develop an explanation inductively by using ideas and measures from the main macro theories of the development and impact of social movements. Set-theoretical thinking and analyses are especially appropriate here because these theories are often treated as complementary rather than competing (McAdam 1996).

To identify potential determinants of coverage at the SMO family level, we go beyond the disruption and resource mobilization models and address two arguments about the influence of political contexts on movements and the outcomes they seek to affect. The first concerns the

impact of political partisanship, the central political context most often held to influence movements and their consequences (Meyer and Minkoff 2004). We also address a second and less frequently analyzed political context, whether an SMO family benefits from an enforced national policy benefiting its constituents (Amenta and Young 1999; Berry 1999; see also Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Halfmann et al. 2005).

### OUTCOME AND CAUSAL MEASURES

We focus on daily coverage, an SMO family receiving one mention or more per day in the *New York Times*. Among the movement families reaching daily coverage for at least one year during the past century are the anti-alcohol, anti-war, environmental, feminist, old-age, nativist, and veterans movements. Most incidences of yearly daily coverage involve the two most publicized movement families—the labor movement and the African American civil rights movement, which received at least daily cover-

age from 1919 through 1999 and 1960 through 1981, respectively. These two movements were also the only ones ever to achieve coverage twice a day, a level we analyze separately. Three other SMO families achieved stretches of daily coverage lasting five years or longer: the veterans movement (1921 through 1941, 1945 through 1952), the anti-alcohol movement (1926 through 1931), and the environmental movement (1982 through 1993). These strings of coverage make up about 90 percent of the cases (movement-family-years) of daily coverage. These families also come close to achieving daily coverage before and after their strings of daily coverage. (To smooth out spikes in coverage, we measure it by way of a three-year moving average.) Several SMO families fall somewhat short of ever receiving daily coverage, including the farmers in the 1930s; Communist SMOs in the 1930s; Jewish civil rights in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s; civil liberties in the 1970s and 1980s; and the Christian right in the 1990s. Many of these SMO families did, however, achieve coverage every other day, which is still very high and which we analyze separately.

Our unit of analysis is the SMO family-year. Each of the 31 movement families receives a score for each year of the twentieth century for coverage, measured by number of articles; each causal measure is tracked similarly. Needless to say, not all 31 SMO families were in existence throughout the century. We consider a family's first appearance to have occurred once two SMOs in it were founded, yielding 2,153 family-year observations. *Coverage* (C) scores one for each year in which an SMO family received daily or more frequent coverage (i.e., scores one for 365 or greater mentions). In crisp set fsQCA models, each measure is categorical, with a score of one or zero. Approximately 7.6 percent of the 2,153 SMO family years experienced daily or greater coverage. In some of the analyses, however, we examine twice-per-day coverage (3.4 percent of the cases achieve 730 or greater mentions) and every-other-day coverage (16.1 percent achieve 182.5 or greater mentions).

As for the causal conditions, we develop measures from the four main perspectives outlined above. We expect that a combination of three or more of these four conditions may need to occur simultaneously to explain why and

when some movement industries receive extensive coverage. For *disruption* (D), a family year scores one if any organization in the SMO family was engaged in either illegal collective action or disruptive action such as strikes, boycotts, occupations, and unruly mass protests that drew the reaction of authorities, or collective action in which violence was involved, whether by the movement, authorities, or opponents of the movement. We generated the scores from scholarly monographs about the families and Web sites of current organizations. For the resource mobilization model, we score one if 30 or more organizations were "active" in a given year. For this measure of *organizations* (O), organizations are considered active after their date of birth, which we established from scholarly monographs and Web sites of current organizations. The actual yearly counts of all organizations in all SMO families are of course unknown, but the measure is not derived from coverage figures and includes many organizations never covered.

The first political contextual measure, *partisanship* (P), scores one for non-conservative SMO families each year in which a Democrat was president with a Democratic majority in Congress; for conservative movement families, this measure scores one for Republican presidents with Republican majorities (Poole and Rosenthal 2008). A second political contextual measure, *enacted and enforced policy* (E), scores one for years after the enactment of a major policy in favor of the movement family's issue or main constituency, provided that a national bureau or department was in place to enforce or administer the law (Aberbach and Peterson 2005; Baumgartner and Jones 2008). In all, 15.9 percent of the cases are coded positive on disruption, 10.9 on organizations, 29.2 on partisanship, and 32.1 percent on enforced policy.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Set analyses such as fsQCA can identify limited diversity among causal conditions in data sets. Ideally, there would be nearly equal distribution across causally relevant measures, but this condition rarely holds in the non-experimental studies typical in historical social science, although researchers often act as though it were otherwise (Ragin 2000, 2008). Because

**Table 3.** Four-Measure fsQCA Crisp Outcomes and Top SMO Families by Combination

| Outcome | Success | Total | Most Prominent SMO Families (successes/total cases)   |
|---------|---------|-------|---|
| DOPE    | 35      | 39    | Labor (30/30); CR-African American (4/4); Environment (1/5)   |
| DOPe    | 54      | 63    | Labor (35/35), Environment (14/17); Feminist (0/6); Anti-abortion (0/6); CR-African American (5/5)                                      |
| DoPE    | 5       | 7     | Veterans (4/4); AIDS (0/2); CR-African American (1/1)   |
| DOPe    | 3       | 6     | Anti-war (1/4); Labor (2/2)   |
| dOPE    | 4       | 16    | Feminist (0/9); CR-African American (4/6); Environment (0/1)  |
| DOpe    | 15      | 42    | Nativist/Supremacist (0/21); Labor (14/14); Anti-war (1/7)  |
| dOpE    | 8       | 39    | CR-African American (8/20); Feminist (0/19)   |
| DoPe    | 6       | 41    | Nativist/Supremacist (0/21); CR-Jewish (0/7); Labor (0/4); CR-African American (3/3); Animal Protection/Rights (0/2)                    |
| doPE    | 20      | 157   | Farmers (0/36); Old Age (0/30); Veterans (11/28); Feminist (3/23); Anti-alcohol (6/12)  |
| DopE    | 1       | 31    | Anti-abortion (0/11); AIDS (0/8); CR-American Indian (0/6); CR-Hispanic (0/5); Veterans (1/1)   |
| dOPe    | 0       | 11    | Anti-war (0/10); LGBT Rights (0/1)  |
| Dope    | 3       | 118   | Nativist/Supremacist (0/54); CR-Jewish (0/25); Labor (0/15); Animal Protection/Rights (0/8); CR-African American (3/6)                  |
| dopE    | 4       | 349   | Children's Rights (0/88); Farmers (0/64); Veterans (4/37); Old Age (0/35); Feminist (0/23); Consumer (0/22)                             |
| dOpe    | 0       | 23    | Anti-war (0/18); LGBT Rights (0/5)  |
| doPe    | 0       | 361   | Animal Protection/Rights (0/34); Communist (0/32); Environment (0/30); CR-Jewish (0/29); Disability Rights (0/29); Prison Reform (0/29) |
| dope    | 9       | 881   | Civic (0/100); Anti-smoking (0/92); Anti-alcohol (0/74); Christian Right (0/65); Animal Protection/Rights (0/56); Communist (0/48)      |

*Note:* CR = civil rights. "D" is a measure of disruptive capacity, "O" is a measure of organizations, "P" is a measure of partisan political context, and "E" is a measure of enforced policy. See text for operationalizations.

Wed, 28 Oct 2009 03:59:26

there are four causal conditions, the truth table (see Table 3) has 16 (or  $2^4$ ) potential combinations. None are completely empty, but some have many more cases than others. The largest number of cases, 881, falls into the category in which all causal conditions are absent. Similarly, 851 cases fall into the four combinations for which all but one of the causal conditions is coded as absent. As we will see, these five combinations (dope, Dope, dOpe, doPe, and dopE) rarely coincided with extensive newspaper coverage at any of the three levels. From the other direction, where the data are sparse, three of 16 combinations (DOPe, DoPE, dOPe) made up fewer than 22 cases, or less than 1 percent of the cases. Unless otherwise indicated, we eliminated from the analyses these very low frequency combinations, treating them as negative cases.<sup>6</sup>

As a preliminary to the fsQCA analyses, we ran a random-effects negative binomial regression model of coverage (using raw coverage figures), with the 2,153 issue-years serving as the units of analysis, on the four major measures, plus dummy measures for each year (Greene 2007; Long and Freese 2005; Wooldridge 2002). The results (not shown, available on request) indicate that each of the independent measures has a positive effect on coverage. Coefficients for each are significant at the .01 level. These positive results, however, may largely be a function of the fact that so many of the cases reside in the no cause/no outcome cells. Also, we expect the factors to work largely in combination to produce high coverage.

To address the combinations of characteristics that led to daily coverage for movement families, we examine the rows of the truth table in which all or a significant majority of the cases (at the .05 level) are positive; we eliminate combinations with less than 1 percent of the cases. We employ fsQCA 2.0 (Ragin, Drass, and Davey 2006), augmented by the

<sup>6</sup> In none of the four small-N combinations here are the high-coverage cases greater in number than the non-high-coverage cases. This is not true, however, for some of the analyses below.

Stata 10.1 fuzzy command (Longest and Vaisey 2008), which provides probabilistic statistical tests. We also adjust standard errors for intra-movement correlations. We locate two combinations for which the positive cases are significantly greater than the negative cases at the .05 level: DOPE, for which all the independent measures are present and 36 of 39 cases are positive, and DOPe, for which only the political partisanship measure is absent and 54 of 63 cases score positive. (In fsQCA terminology, the presence of a causal condition is indicated by upper case and its absence by lower case; a plus sign [+] indicates the operator “or” or set union and an asterisk [\*] indicates the operator “and” or set intersection.) Through the use of Boolean algebra, these combinations reduce to the following result,  $C = D*O*E$ .

This result means that daily coverage is explained by the joint presence of disruption, organizations, and an enforced policy. Partisan alignment is not part of the solution, and there is no additional solution. The solution is conjunctural, but not multiple. This solution “covers” 53.3 percent of the dependent measure cases with a “consistency” of 87.3 percent. In Boolean or set logic terms, “consistency” means the degree to which cases with a given combination of causal conditions constitute a subset of the cases with the outcome. “Coverage” indicates the degree of overlap between the cases with the causal combination and the cases with the outcome. For our result above, one can imagine a Venn diagram in which a set formed by the intersection or overlap of the sets of the three causal measures (D, O, and E) in turn overlaps slightly more than one half with the outcome set (C); at the same time, less than 13 percent of the cases with the causal combination fall outside the set of cases with the outcome. To deploy a more graphic, if gruesome, U.S. example, very similar to the results above, using a gun in a suicide attempt is “consistent” with achieving a “successful” suicide at a rate of about 89 percent; gun-initiated suicides also accounted for, or “covered,” about 54 percent of suicides in 2005 (Anderson 2008).

We also reran the analyses using fuzzy rather than crisp sets for the outcome measure C and for causal condition O, the number of active organizations. There are many analytical advantages to fuzzy sets (Ragin 2000). Unlike crisp

sets, which employ categorical measures, fuzzy sets indicate the degree to which a case has membership in a set; using the same set logic, fuzzy sets can exploit greater variance in measures to designate degrees of membership in sets. For instance, in the crisp set analyses, any SMO family that had 364 days of coverage in a given year would be considered completely outside the set of daily coverage. With fuzzy sets, however, this family year would be considered almost entirely inside the set of daily coverage. This matters, because SMO families often scored just below achieving daily coverage before and after their strings of daily coverage, and, as noted, several SMO families sometimes scored close to daily coverage. To devise fuzzy sets, researchers must choose a ceiling above which a measure is considered to be “fully in” the set—usually the same as the cutoff point for crisp sets—and a floor below which a measure is considered to be “fully out” of the set. Here, we use the “direct method” for deriving partial membership scores (Ragin 2008).<sup>7</sup> In our case, we code coverage of once a day or more frequently as fully in the set of daily coverage, and coverage of once a week (52) or fewer mentions per year as fully out of the set. As for the organizations measure, we count a family with 30 or more organizations in existence as fully in the set of high organizations, while five organizations or fewer indicate fully out status. The other three independent measures remain categorical.

The fuzzy set results confirm the crisp set results for daily coverage. Again using the criterion for selection as positive scores being significantly greater than negative scores at the .05 level, and eliminating any combinations with less than 1 percent of the cases, we locate the same two truth table combinations as for the crisp sets. The reduced result is the same:  $C = D*O*E$ . This solution covers less of the fuzzy set outcome (22 percent) but is more consistent with it than the crisp set result (at 91.3 percent). These differences are not surprising, as the set of daily coverage expands by making it fuzzy. The results support the disruption and resource mobilization arguments, as well as the

<sup>7</sup> This means that partial membership scores in the set are computed based on deviations from these thresholds on a log odds scale (Ragin 2008).

political contextual theory invoking enforced policies.

We also checked whether the results hold for the post-World War II period, when the *New York Times* sought to be a truly national newspaper. Using the same standards as before, the solution is the same:  $C = D * O * E$ . In each case, the solution has similar levels of consistency, although with increased rates of coverage. For the crisp set analyses, the level of consistency is approximately the same, at 85.9 percent, whereas the coverage increases to 73.1 percent. For the fuzzy set analyses, the solution consistency is approximately the same at 90.4 percent, and the coverage increases similarly to 28.8 percent.<sup>8</sup> In short, the results hold for the postwar period and provide a better fit.

With fsQCA it is also possible to explain negative cases, that is, movement family years when coverage was not extensive. Unlike regression methods, set theoretical analyses do not assume that the causes of negative and positive outcomes are parallel (Ragin 2008). Using the same standards of significance as above, we find that 10 truth table combinations have significantly negative scores. Solving for the negative combinations for the crisp sets yields:  $c = d * o + d * p + d * e + o * p + o * e$ . The solution covers 30.5 percent of the cases at a solution consistency of 97.5 percent. This result can be better understood as  $c = d * (o + p + e) + o * (d + p + e)$ . This means that the absence of disruptive capacities and the absence of any one of the other three conditions lead to non-daily coverage; so too does the absence of a high number of organizations and the absence of any one of the other three conditions. For the fuzzy set analyses, this same solution covers 59.2 percent of the cases at 85.6 percent consistency.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> To check the robustness of the main result we engaged in a series of other analyses. Using raw coverage does not change the overall result—the consistency is the same and the coverage is slightly higher—and neither does eliminating any single movement family (not shown, results available on request). The only movement family whose removal influences the results is labor, largely because of a loss of cases in the cells where many of the causal conditions are present. The results, however, remain consistent (not shown, results available on request).

<sup>9</sup> For the fuzzy sets, however, one of the combinations is not significant at the .10 level. When this one is elim-

We also examined two other outcome measures, twice-a-day coverage and every-other-day coverage. Only the labor, African American civil rights, and veterans movements ever received the extremely high rate of coverage. The best solution for both crisp and fuzzy set analyses includes all four of the causal conditions:  $C = D * O * P * E$ . The crisp results cover 43.2 percent of the set at a rate of 82.1 consistency, whereas the fuzzy set combination covers 18 percent at 91.4 percent consistency.<sup>10</sup> For the fuzzy set analyses, however, the combination  $DOpE$  is positive and falls just short of significance. If this is treated as a positive combination, the solution is the familiar  $C = D * O * E$ , which covers 42.3 percent of the outcome cases at a 79.8 percent level of consistency. In their heydays, the labor and civil rights movements included all of the four determinants of high coverage. These families were characterized by disruptive collective action and large numbers of organizations, and each benefited from the Democratic regimes of the 1930s and 1960s. Each also gained key concessions during these periods; favorable policies were enacted with considerable bureaucratic enforcement.

Finally, we examined every-other-day coverage. These analyses were prompted by the fact that the bulk of SMO families can reasonably aspire to somewhat less press than daily coverage. For crisp sets, an SMO family requires 182.5 days or greater of coverage, and the first result is the same as the daily result:  $C = D * O * E$ . This has somewhat lower coverage (28.5 percent), given that more SMO family years qualify, although its consistency increases to 97.1 percent.<sup>11</sup> For the more accurate fuzzy

---

inated, the solution becomes  $c = d * p + d * e + o * p + o * e$ . This solution, which can be rewritten as  $c = d * (p + e) + o * (p + e)$ , covers 50 percent of the cases at 87.0 percent consistency. In this instance, one set of paths goes through the absence of disruption and the absence of either of the political contextual measures; the second set involves the absence of organizations and the absence of either of the political contextual measures.

<sup>10</sup> For fuzzy sets, 730 days of coverage counts as fully in the set, and five days per week coverage (260 days) counts as fully out, with “direct transformations” for partial membership.

<sup>11</sup> Two small-N combinations, however, are significant at the .10 level. When we include these two com-



**Table 4.** Four-Measure FsQCA Solutions for Extensive Coverage by Amount of Coverage and Type of Analysis

| Amount of Coverage | Type of Analysis | True Combinations | Reduced Solution | Solution Coverage | Solution Consistency |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Daily              | Crisp            | DOPE DOpE         | D*O*E            | .533              | .873                 |
| Daily              | Fuzzy            | DOPE DOpE         | D*O*E            | .220              | .913                 |
| Daily (Postwar)    | Crisp            | DOPE DOpE         | D*O*E            | .731              | .859                 |
| Daily (Postwar)    | Fuzzy            | DOPE DOpE         | D*O*E            | .288              | .904                 |
| Twice Per Day      | Crisp            | DOPE              | D*O*P*E          | .432              | .821                 |
| Twice Per Day      | Fuzzy            | DOPE              | D*O*P*E          | .180              | .914                 |
| Every Other Day    | Crisp            | DOPE DOpE         | D*O*E            | .285              | .971                 |
| Every Other Day    | Fuzzy            | DOPE dOpE         | D*O*E + D*O*p    | .354              | .849                 |

Note: See text for operationalizations, significance levels, and additional results.

set analyses, the results are similar.<sup>12</sup> The typical standards of significance and numbers of cases produce the following solution:  $C = D*O*E + D*O*p$ . As with the crisp set results, the greatest amount of coverage is provided by the  $D*O*E$  term (16.1 percent coverage, 94.6 percent consistency), with the solution as a whole providing 28.0 percent coverage at an 86.7 percent level of consistency. In this last solution, disruption and a high number of organizations appear in both terms.

All in all, the results form a consistent pattern, as Table 4 indicates. For daily coverage, the

binations, the result is  $C = O*(D*E + D*P + P*E)$ . This solution includes the standard term  $D*O*E$ , plus the terms  $D*O*P$  and  $O*P*E$ , and covers 33.4 percent of the cases with a 93.5 level of consistency. The paths  $D*O*P$  and  $O*P*E$  thus add 4.9 percentage points to the coverage. This result suggests that a high number of organizations matter the most and appear in each of the three solutions, but any two of the other conditions are also required.

<sup>12</sup> For fuzzy sets, every-other-day coverage (182.5 days per year) counts as fully in, and one day per week (26 days) counts as fully out of the set, with standard transformations for partial membership.

<sup>13</sup> A small-N combination is significantly positive at the .05 level, an additional larger-N combination is significant at the .10 level, and yet another small-N combination has a much higher “yes” consistency than “no” consistency. When entering all but the last case as true and treating that one as “don’t care” (Ragin 2008), the solution is  $C = D*O + O*P*E$ . This solution covers 37.7 percent at an 84.8 percent level of consistency. As before, a large number of organizations are a part of each element of the solution, with one path including disruption and the other the

main findings indicate that disruption, organizations, and an enforced policy are together sufficient. These findings are strengthened when we confine the period of coverage to the postwar period, when the *Times* became more devoted to national issues. To explain the highest level of coverage, the solution includes the simultaneous occurrence of all the causal conditions—disruption, organizations, partisan regimes, and enforced policies. When we reduce the standard to every-other-day coverage, this solution of disruption, organizations, and enforced policy remains the dominant one. Each of the perspectives receives support from the fsQCA analyses, and no one factor is a magic bullet that produces coverage. The strongest support goes to the resource mobilization theory. Moreover, disruption appears in almost all solutions, as does the enforced policy measure, based on political contextual arguments centering on the adoption of policies. The partisan alignment factor, however, figures only in the solution for the highest amount of coverage.

## CONCLUSIONS

Social movement organizations are crucial to political life, and media coverage of SMOs is key to both substantiating their claims to represent groups and developing important cultural outcomes. This article documents the national newspaper coverage received by nation-

combined influence of the political contextual conditions.

al U.S. SMOs and families in the twentieth century as a prelude to explaining why some families were extensively covered. Our analyses provide the first test of the main social movement theories, including those regarding disruption, resource mobilization, and political contexts, across all movements on a measure of the cultural influence of movements.

Our fsQCA analyses of daily or greater coverage by social movement families or industries show some support for the main macro-social theories of social movements and their consequences. The results indicate that extremely high coverage, at the level of twice a day, is best explained by each of the four determinants—disruptive activity, a large number of organizations, a favorable political regime, and an enforced policy in favor of the SMO family’s constituency—occurring at the same time. In their heydays, the labor and African American civil rights movements had this sort of saturation coverage. To produce daily coverage, we find that short-term partisan contexts are not important; the main solution includes only disruption, large numbers of organizations, and an enforced policy. This combination is also a main part of the solution for every-other-day coverage. Most solutions include disruption and a large number of organizations in existence. In combination with the bivariate analyses, these set-theoretic results provide strong support for the resource mobilization and disruption arguments, which seem to work in tandem to influence coverage.

The results also suggest, though, that scholars need to rethink their ideas regarding what constitutes a favorable political context for movements. Enforced policies seem to matter more, for coverage at least, than do favorable partisan circumstances. It is possible, however, that these causes work sequentially, and that highly partisan contexts are critical for the development of new policies in favor of movements’ constituencies. The Democrats’ partisan dominance in the mid-1930s and 1960s was closely connected to new policy developments. For the labor movement, these policies centered on the Wagner Act of 1935 and the creation of the National Labor Relations Board; the African American civil rights movement saw the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Similarly, dramatic action may have been important in spurring these sorts of poli-

cies, which provided SMOs with both political and cultural leverage. Policy-related controversies may help keep SMO families in the news and in public discourse long after their disruptive peaks.

Like the initial analyses of the political consequences of social movements, however, our analyses and results, which examine the broadest macro perspectives about the causes and consequences of social movements, are only the first steps in theorizing and analyzing the process of gaining coverage. Analyses of political outcomes have moved beyond movement-centered models and theorized more extensively interactions between movements and political structures and processes (see Amenta 2006; Andrews 2004). Similarly, more complete theorizing of interactions between movements and media structures and processes will likely provide more compelling theoretical claims and more accurate analyses of SMO coverage. Moreover, coverage is a limited measure of influence for SMOs and SMO families. Raw coverage does not identify whether an SMO achieved “standing,” nor whether articles included frames favorable to a movement or if the tone or valence of coverage was favorable. Also, winning discursive battles in newspapers does not necessarily translate into favorable policy outcomes for social movements (Ferree et al. 2002). Examining coverage in a more refined way, and connecting it with thinking and analyses of policy outcomes, is needed to establish the nature of these links.

Our descriptive and bivariate findings also have implications for further inquiry. Coverage of movements corresponds, in part, with previous scholarly attention to movements. Labor movement organizations and similarly well-studied African American civil rights SMOs are best covered. Yet veterans, nativist, and civil liberties SMOs received coverage that far outstrips corresponding scholarship, and, generally speaking, SMOs from before the 1960s and non-left SMOs (see McVeigh 2009) are not as well researched as they are covered. Possibly different theoretical claims will apply to them. In bivariate analyses, we find that newspaper coverage closely reflects movement size at the SMO family level for the prominent labor and feminist movements, and larger SMOs receive far more coverage. The results also show that coverage tracked strikes and protest events dur-

ing the rise of the labor and African American civil rights movements. Coverage thus seems to track conspicuous collective action in the early years of an SMO or SMO family, followed by coverage according to size for older organizations, at least for some highly influential SMO families. This pattern corresponds to ideas about the institutionalization of movements (Meyer and Tarrow 1998), but it may apply only to SMO families that achieve permanent leverage in politics.

These results suggest a few additional new directions in research. It would be revealing to compare the newspaper coverage of well-studied SMOs with a wide range of their actions, analogous to work on protest and its coverage, to ascertain which activities and characteristics of SMOs tend to lead to coverage and which do not. In regressing measures of size and activity on coverage with various control measures, moreover, it may be possible to devise ways to adjust coverage figures so that they more closely tap these less-easily measured aspects of SMOs and SMO families. These adjusted measures could be valuable in addressing many questions about social movements, and this line of research may hasten the day when analyses across movements and over time will no longer seem exceptional.

**Edwin Amenta** is Professor of Sociology and History at the University of California-Irvine. He is the author most recently of *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security* (Princeton 2008, paperback) and *Professor Baseball: Searching for Redemption and the Perfect Lineup on the Softball Diamonds of Central Park* (Chicago 2007).

**Neal Caren** is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. His research interests center on the quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis of protest and social movements; the intersection of place and political action; and the environmental justice movement and pollution disparities.

**Sheera Joy Olasky** is a PhD candidate in sociology at New York University. Her research interests are centered on political sociology and social movements. She is coauthor (with Edwin Amenta and Neal Caren) of "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy," *ASR*, 2005.

**James E. Stobaugh** is a PhD candidate in sociology at the University of California-Irvine. His interests are in social movements and political sociology,

and his research addresses the intersection of religion, law, and society. His master's thesis examines the framing of the creationist and intelligent design movements. His other research examines the media coverage of U.S. social movements.

## REFERENCES

- Aberbach, Joel D. and Mark Peterson. 2005. *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Amenta, Edwin. 2006. *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky. 2005. "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70:516–38.
- Amenta, Edwin and Michael P. Young. 1999. "Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses." *Social Problems* 46:153–68.
- Anderson, Scott. 2008. "The Urge to End It All: Is Suicide the Deadly Result of a Deep Psychological Condition—or a Fleeting Impulse Brought on by Opportunity?" *New York Times Magazine*, July 6, pp. 38–43.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Bob Edwards. 2004. "Advocacy Organizations in the U.S. Political Process." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:479–506.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2008. Center for American Politics and Public Policy's Policy Agendas Project (<http://www.policyagendas.org/>).
- Berry, Jeffrey M. 1999. *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Brulle, Robert, Liesel Hall Turner, Jason Carmichael, and J. Craig Jenkins. 2007. "Measuring Social Movement Organization Populations: A Comprehensive Census of U.S. Environmental Movement Organizations." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 12:255–70.
- Clemens, Elisabeth S. 1997. *The People's Lobby*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Corbett, Julia B. 1998. "Media, Bureaucracy, and the Success of Social Protest: Newspaper Coverage of Environmental Movement Groups." *Mass Communications and Society* 1:41–61.
- Cress, Daniel and David A. Snow. 2000. "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political

- Mediation, and Framing.” *American Journal of Sociology* 105:1063–1104.
- Earl, Jennifer. 2004. “Cultural Consequences of Social Movements.” Pp. 508–30 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. “The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:65–80.
- Fantasia, Rick and Judith Stepan-Norris. 2004. “The Labor Movement in Motion.” Pp. 555–75 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William Anthony Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fountain, Kathi Carlisle. 2006. “Political Advocacy Groups, Alphabetic List” (<http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/fac/kfountain/>).
- Gamson, William A. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- . 1998. “Social Movements and Cultural Change.” Pp. 57–77 in *From Contention to Democracy*, edited by M. G. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly. Landham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- . 2004. “Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media.” Pp. 242–61 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gamson, William A., David Croteau, William Hoynes, and Theodore Sasson. 1992. “Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 18:373–93.
- Gans, Herbert. 1979. *Deciding What’s News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ganz, Marshall. 2000. “Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959–1966.” *American Sociological Review* 105:1003–1062.
- Gitlin, Todd. 1978. “Media Sociology: The Dominant Paradigm.” *Theory and Society* 6:205–53.
- . 1980. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Granados, Francisco J. and David Knoke. 2005. “Organized Interest Groups and Policy Networks.” Pp. 287–309 in *Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*, edited by T. Janoski, R. R. Alford, A. M. Hicks, and M. A. Schwartz. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, William H. 2007. *Econometric Analysis*. 6th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Halfmann, Drew, Jesse Rude, and Kim Ebert. 2005. “The Biomedical Legacy in Minority Health Policy-Making, 1975–2002.” *Research in the Sociology of Health Care* 23:245–75.
- Jenkins, J. Craig and Craig Eckert. 1986. “Challenging Black Insurgency: Elite Patronage and Professional Social Movement Organizations in the Development of the Black Movement.” *American Sociological Review* 51:812–29.
- Jenkins, J. Craig, David Jacobs, and Jon Agnone. 2003. “Political Opportunities and African-American Protest, 1948–1997.” *American Journal of Sociology* 109:277–303.
- Kerbo, Harold R. and Richard A. Shaffer. 1992. “Lower Class Insurgency and the Political Process: The Response of the U.S. Unemployed, 1890–1940.” *Social Problems* 39:139–54.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2004. “Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere.” *Theory and Society* 33:367–91.
- Lipsky, Michael. 1968. “Protest as a Political Resource.” *The American Political Science Review* 62:1144–58.
- Long, J. Scott and Jeremy Freese. 2005. *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using Stata*. 2nd ed. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Longest, Kyle C. and Stephen Vaisey. 2008. “Fuzzy: A Program for Performing Qualitative Comparative Analyses (QCA) in Stata.” *The Stata Journal* 8:79–104.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1996. “Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions.” Pp. 23–40 in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, edited by D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, Doug and Yang Su. 2002. “The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973.” *American Sociological Review* 67:696–721.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail, and Jackie Smith. 1996. “Images of Protest: Estimating Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982–1991.” *American Sociological Review* 61:478–99.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A

- Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212–39.
- McVeigh, Rory. 2009. *The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Meyer, David S. and Debra Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457–92.
- Meyer, David S. and Sidney Tarrow. 1998. *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 62:779–99.
- . 2002. "Macro-Organizational Analysis." Pp. 260–85 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Morris, Aldon. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Free Press.
- Myers, Daniel J. and Beth Schaefer Caniglia. 2004. "All the Rioting That's Fit to Print: Selection Effects in National Newspaper Coverage of Civil Disorders, 1968–1969." *American Sociological Review* 69:519–43.
- Oliver, Pamela E. and Daniel J. Myers. 1999. "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events." *American Journal of Sociology* 105:38–87.
- Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 94:251–67.
- Piven, Frances F. and Richard A. Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage.
- Polletta, Francesca. 2002. *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Poole, Keith T. and Howard Rosenthal. 2008. *Nominate Data*. Retrieved March 25, 2008 (<http://www.voteview.com/>).
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- . 2000. *Fuzzy-Set Social Science*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2008. *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ragin, Charles C., Kriss A. Drass, and Sean Davey. 2006. *Fuzzy-Set/Qualitative Comparative Analysis 2.0*. Department of Sociology, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.
- Rohlinger, Deana A. 2002. "Framing the Abortion Debate: Organizational Resources, Media Strategies, and Movement-Countermovement Dynamics." *The Sociological Quarterly* 43:479–507.
- Ryan, Charlotte. 1991. *Prime Time Activism: Media Strategies for Grassroots Organizing*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Sampson, Robert J., Heather MacIndoe, Doug McAdam, and Simon Weffer-Elizondo. 2005. "Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111:673–714.
- Schofer, Evan and Marion Fourcade-Gourinchas. 2001. "The Structural Context of Civic Engagement: Voluntary Association Membership in Comparative Context." *American Sociological Review* 66:806–28.
- Schudson, Michael. 2002. "The News Media as Political Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:249–69.
- Skocpol, Theda. 2003. *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. 2004. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Soule, Sarah A. and Jennifer Earl. 2005. "A Movement Society Evaluated: Collective Protest in the United States, 1960–1986." *Mobilization* 10:345–64.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1994. *Power in Movement*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 2005. "Regimes and Contention." Pp. 423–40 in *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*, edited by T. Janoski, R. R. Alford, A. M. Hicks, and M. A. Schwartz. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . N.d. "North American Social Movement Organizations, 1600–1999." Columbia University, New York.
- Vliegenthart, Rens, Dirk Oegema, and Bert Klandermans. 2005. "Media Coverage and Organizational Support in the Dutch Environmental Movement." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 10:365–81.
- Wilson, James Q. 1973. *Political Organizations*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wooldridge, Jeffrey M. 2002. *Econometric Analysis of Cross Section and Panel Data*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zald, Mayer N. and John D. McCarthy. 2002. "The Resource Mobilization Research Program: Progress, Challenge, and Transformation." Pp. 147–71 in *New Directions in Contemporary Sociological Theory*, edited by J. Berger and M. Zelditch. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.