

All the SMOs Fit to Print:  
Who, What, When, Where, Why  
Movement Families Appeared  
in the *New York Times* in the Twentieth Century

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

Scholars agree that media attention is critical to the efforts of social movement organizations (SMOs), but there has been no extensive mapping of SMO newspaper coverage—until now. With new data from the *New York Times*, encompassing more than 1200 SMOs, 31 SMO families, and almost 300,000 articles across the twentieth century, we find that the most-covered SMO families were those representing labor and African American civil rights. But veterans', nativist, and many individual SMOs with heydays before the 1960s have received far more coverage than scholarly attention. Through bivariate analyses of measures widely used by scholars, we find that SMO coverage correlates with the “scale” of some large SMO families, but also with “disruption,” dramatic action in a movement family’s early years. We then address why SMO families receive high coverage, employing a disruption argument as well as complementary arguments from resource mobilization and political contextual theories. In fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analyses of 2119 movement-family years, a combination of disruptive activity, organizational presence, a favorable political regime, and an enforced policy best explains why some movement families experienced twice-a-day coverage. For daily coverage, only disruptive activity, organizational presence, and an enforced policy were necessary and together sufficient, and for every-other-day coverage, only organizational presence and an enforced policy.

Scholars agree that the attention of the mass news media is critical to the struggles of social movement organizations (SMOs) and political advocacy organizations<sup>1</sup> (Lipsky 1968; Gitlin 1978, 1980; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson 1992; Berry 1999; Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002; Gamson 2004; Koopmans 2004; Vliegthart, Oegma, and Klandermans 2005). However, there is no long-term, big picture of this coverage, hindering causal analyses of coverage. To fill this major gap, we develop new data on articles in which U.S. SMOs were mentioned in the *New York Times* across the entire twentieth century and with it address several fundamental questions about SMOs and movement families: Which U.S. SMOs and SMO families have received the greatest newspaper coverage at different times across the century? Are they the ones that movement scholarship would lead us to expect? Do newspapers cover SMOs based on their scale and or does coverage selectively report on disruptive events involving SMOs? What accounts for why some movement families receive extensive coverage, whereas others do not? We provide the first big picture of U.S. movement coverage and address well-known theories of social movements and movement consequences to explain why some SMO families are covered more than others.

The newspaper coverage of SMOs 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 (McCarthy and Zald 1977; McAdam 1982; Clemens 1997; Polletta 2002; Skocpol 2003; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo 2005; Gamson 1990; Ganz 2000; Andrews 2004; Amenta 2006), and their media coverage is important to these efforts. Coverage

also constitutes key data in mapping political interests and identities among the politically disadvantaged and provides a measure of discursive presence or influence akin to Gamson's (1990) "acceptance." Thus the coverage of movements may be explained by theories of movements and movement consequences.

In many ways our results confirm the attention of social scientists. We find that by far the most covered SMOs are those associated with organized labor, which has been studied extensively, though not mainly by movement scholars (Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2004). The second-most covered are SMOs associated with African-American civil rights, the empirical basis of key theories of movements (McAdam 1982; Morris 1984; Andrews 2004), with often-studied feminist and environmental movements near the top in coverage. Yet many movement families have received extensive newspaper coverage over the century, but not commensurate attention from scholars, notably veterans' and nativist SMOs. In addition, many understudied U.S. SMOs rose and fell like shooting stars in media attention and faded not only from existence but also from scholarly scrutiny, including many from the 1930s wave of movement activity. In ways consistent with a "scale" model, coverage correlates very closely with some measures of the overall size of SMO industries or families, and moderately highly with some prominent SMOs' membership. But like scholars finding that national newspapers selectively cover "disruption," we find that coverage of SMOs correlates closely with strikes and protest events in the early years of a movement family.

In fuzzy set qualitative comparative analyses (fsQCA) of high coverage across 2119 movement family years, we address why some movement families received extensive coverage, employing arguments from the disruption perspective, the resource

mobilization and political contextual theories. We find that the most extensively covered SMO families, appearing twice a day or more, were involved or threatened disruptive action, but also had other characteristics indicated by resource mobilization and political contextual theories of movements: a large number of organizations in the movement family, a favorable partisan political environment, and an enacted and enforced policy targeting the family's constituency. In our analyses of daily coverage, only disruptive activity, organizational presence, and an enforced policy were necessary and together sufficient, and for every-other-day coverage, only organizational presence and an enforced policy. The results suggest it is possible for many current movements to achieve reasonably high coverage.

#### MOTIVATION AND PREVIOUS WORK

SMOs have been a central aspect of movement research since the early 1970s (Gamson 1990; McCarthy and Zald 1977), helping to fashion interests and build imagined political communities, but very few studies have gone beyond examining one movement or organization (cf. Gamson 1990; Skocpol 2003). Moreover, the mass media have the widest gallery of all forums in the policy-making process (Gamson 2004), and so the attention that SMOs receive in mass media bolsters their position as representatives for the interests and constituencies they claim among elites and the informed public (Ferree *et al.* 2002; Koopmans 2004). The mass media help to legitimize SMOs in a democratic political system in which most organized groups can gain some access to political institutions, and thus media coverage in itself is a kind of impact of SMOs, their acceptance (cf. Gamson 1990). Coverage by the mass media is also claimed to be necessary for movements to be influential (Lipsky 1968). SMOs

seek to transmit their cause to relevant third parties and bystanders (Gamson 2004) and showcase their organizations and cause by offering alternative framings of issues (Ryan 1991; Cress and Snow 2000; Ferree et al. 2002) or discrediting opponents and their framings (Gamson 2004). SMOs that receive newspaper coverage also tend to gain support (Vliegenthart *et al.* 2005) and can gain coverage and influence policy debates in multiple ways aside from protest (Amenta, Caren, and Olasky 2005; Andrews 2004; Amenta 2006). In short, tracking the coverage of SMOs across movements and over time can provide a mapping of an important, if limited, consequence of movements.

Moreover, many prominent longitudinal studies of movements are based on newspaper data on protest events and use the *New York Times* as a source (Kerbo and Shaffer 1992; Jenkins and Eckert 1986; Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McAdam and Su 2002; Soule and Earl 2005). An SMO appears in the paper in different ways, always as a function of the practices of newsgathering organizations, which are concerned with generating “stories” and “news” (see Schudson 2002). Newspapers tend to view their reporting as reflecting main tendencies in social trends (Gans 1979), and if so coverage should select on the scale of SMOs and SMO families. However, studies have found that that newspapers distort the collective action of movements, with selection biases leading to over-reporting of large or violent events and those that draw the participation of larger organizations (McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Oliver and Myers 1999; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004). It seems likely from this point of view that organizations linked to disruptive action will receive more extensive coverage (see also Corbett 1998; Rohlinger 2002).

Although, unlike with protest events (see review in Earl *et al.* 2005), there is no way to compare coverage of SMOs with all their relevant activity or all dimensions of their scale, it is possible to compare SMO coverage with important measures of movement scale, such as membership and organizational density, used by scholars. These comparisons can determine whether coverage reflects patterns in SMOs' development and growth. Also, by comparing coverage of SMOs with protest events and other disruptive activities, it is possible to ascertain whether and the degree to which coverage selectively favors such action. By examining broad patterns in SMO coverage across movements and over time, moreover, it is possible to identify gaps in our knowledge and potential biases in our theorizing, by locating SMOs that have received far more attention from newspapers than from movement scholars. Most important, by comparing across SMO families and over time, it is possible to test theories about social movements and movement consequences to address the question of why some SMO families were able to achieve high coverage.

#### 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, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004), in order to gain a description of which SMOs and types of SMOs have been most publicly prominent throughout the twentieth century. Working from definitions of SMOs by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990), our first step was to attempt to identify the population of national, political SMOs contending in the 20<sup>th</sup> century—no easy task, as until now no one had done so (cf. Brulle, Turner, Carmichael, and Jenkins 2007 on environmental organizations). Then we 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, by their most publicized year, and by decade. We checked the results with data from the *Washington Post*. Then we categorized the organizations into different groupings based on movement type. From there we compared measures of SMO coverage in the *Times* with some other measures of movement scale and activity to see how closely they corresponded to and correlated with coverage figures.

To conceptualize SMOs, we relied on definitions by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990), who refer, respectively, to “social movement organizations” and “challenging groups.” For McCarthy and Zald (1977), SMOs are formal organizations whose goals are allied with those of a social movement and attempts to implement those goals. For Gamson (1990; see also Berry 1999), a challenging group is a formal organization that seeks the mobilization of an unmobilized constituency and has an antagonist in authority outside its constituency. These largely similar definitions include only politically inflected organizations, and like Gamson we relied 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. The McCarthy and Zald/Gamson version of SMO is subsumed by Andrews and Edwards’s (2004) “advocacy organizations,” which also includes 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, the Sierra Club, and other key SMOs once they have done well to mobilize a new constituency.

Needless to say, this definition excludes many organizations. The McCarthy and Zald/Gamson definition of SMO we employ is also not so broad as to include all voluntary mass organizations, as do studies of civic engagement (Putnam 2000; Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001; Skocpol 2003). Standard interest groups are not included. It should be noted that 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 of course generalize to this subset. We understand this is far from the only way to conceptualize movements and organizations (cf. Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004). But we chose this definition because of its widespread currency and because these organizations are the most directly influential in institutional politics and elite debates—an issue we return to in the conclusion.

We started with previous large lists of SMOs (Tilly n.d.; Fountain 2006), work that compares large numbers of organizations (e.g., Gamson 1990; Wilson 1973; Minkoff 1995; Skocpol 2003; Snow et al. 2004), more than 100 monographs on movements, advice from colleagues, and the Encyclopedia of Associations. We also inspected 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, if any, examining some of the articles indicated, and expanding or restricting the search terms for the most accurate count. We cross-checked the coverage of the *Times* against coverage in the *Washington Post* for each of the top 30 SMOs in *Times* coverage and

each of the top 25 SMOs in *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>ii</sup>

We identified 1246 qualifying SMOs in the twentieth century, though only 952 of them had coverage in the *Times*. Altogether we identified 298,951 article mentions of SMOs. It may not ever be possible to identify all qualifying SMOs, but our search methods make us confident that we have located almost all SMOs that received significant national newspaper coverage. We are also confident that the potential future identification of SMOs as yet uncovered will not greatly change the results below. Here we employ individual mentions (cf. Vliegenthart *et al.* 2005) for simplicity's sake and also because, as we will see, among the most-covered SMOs there was little variation in the degree to which they appeared in front-page articles.

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

We find that 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), but the extent of its dominance is surprisingly great, as it receives more than three times as many mentions 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 round out the top five, each appearing in more than eight thousand articles. Labor unions are represented on the top-30 list also by seven other organizations. Other well-known social movements are also 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 in them, including the feminist (League of 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).

[Table 1 about here.]

To confirm these results, we also examine the coverage of the top SMOs in the *Washington Post*. Aside from the mentions of SMOs in the *Post* being lower overall, there are a few important differences. Notably, a few New York-based organizations are far better covered in the *Times*, including the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee, and the Actors Equity Association, with its connections to Broadway, receives a lot of attention in the *Times*, but little in the *Post*. In one instance, for the Grand Army of the Republic, the *Post* provides far more extensive coverage, and veterans' organizations in general receive significantly greater attention from the *Post*. All the same, the correlation between the top-30 lists is .75, with most of the slippage due to the New York-based and veterans organizations.<sup>iii</sup> Among the top 30, moreover, the correlation between overall coverage and appearing in front-page articles in the *Times* is extremely high, .97.

Next we array SMOs according to mentions in their peak year of coverage. Table 2 shows that although many of the best-covered SMOs also were covered extensively in their most popular year, some SMOs were like shooting stars, garnering considerable

attention in a short period of time and then all but disappearing from view. They did not last long, possibly because they had radical goals or relied on disruptive tactics, or both. In some instances, they had limited goals or issue bases, such as opposition to a specific war. In others, they are unconcerned with creating a lasting organization. Shooting stars dot the well-studied 1960s and 1970s, which are generally seen to encompass a major period of protest (Tarrow 1994). Such SMOs include Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, each of which has received extensive attention from scholars. But there are also many examples from another major period of protest, the 1930s, including the Townsend Plan, America First Committee, German American Bund, and American Liberty League, some of which have escaped extensive scrutiny by social movement scholars. Although as organizations these shooting stars do not ever achieve what Gamson (1990) refers to as “full success” often they were part of wider movements that were highly publicized and may have achieved considerable policy gains.<sup>iv</sup>

[Table 2 about here.]

From here we analyze coverage according to broad categories, families, or industries of social movements to ascertain which have received the most coverage across the century. Lacking scholarly consensus in the categories of social movements or 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 “women’s rights/feminist,” for a total of 34 mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Because of the lack of consensus and the small numbers of article counts for some possible movement families, three of these

categories have a residual quality to them. Notably, we employed the categories of “progressive” and “conservative” for SMOs that were largely left or right wing in orientation, but which did not fit neatly into a more coherent movement family, and “civil rights, other” for organizations seeking civil rights for groups, but which did not receive enough coverage to warrant an entire category. We also focus on issues, rather than the demographic makeup of movements, so 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 3 about here.]

Each movement family or industry is arrayed in Table 3 according to the mentions received by the organizations constituting the category. Labor receives by far the most mentions, accounting for 35.4 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 gained 9.7 percent. Labor remains first easily even when individual unions are not counted, with about 18.4 percent of the coverage. (We array the movements also without individual unions because these organizations so dominate coverage.) Behind these two are five SMO families. The veterans’, feminist/women’s rights, nativist/supremacist, and environmental, conservation, and ecology, and SMOs each gained between 4.0 and 7.6 percent of the coverage. These families are followed by Jewish civil rights, civil liberties, anti-war, and residual progressive SMOs, to round out the top 10. The veterans’ and the nativist movement

families place in the top five, and the Jewish civil rights and civil liberties families place in the top 10, but none have received extensive scholarly attention.

[Figure 1 about here.]

Next, we examine the overall trajectory of the top movement families or industries. In Figure 1, we show the coverage for the labor, the 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, though the pattern is similar (results not shown). Labor has a strong newspaper presence throughout the century, though it takes off in the 1930s and 1940s and declines in the 1950s and beyond, though remaining at a significantly high level of coverage. The coverage of the African-American civil rights 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 of the 1930s and 1940s and the civil rights movement was at the center of the wave of the 1960s. Veterans' organizations made great leaps forward during the 1930s and after the Second World War, persisting throughout the century but declining in its last half.

[Figure 2 about here.]

The families next in coverage include SMOs from the feminist, nativist, and the environmental movements. (See Figure 2.) The coverage of feminist movement SMOs, which in this figure also includes abortion/reproductive rights SMOs, shows its expected two waves, with the last one 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 seems to fit the pattern of a new social movement based on quality-of-life concerns, taking off in the 1970s and 1980s and peaking in the 1990s and sustaining high coverage. By contrast, nativist organizations, led mainly by two incarnations of the 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. Yet the labor movement has dominated coverage to a larger extent than scholarship would lead us to believe; it remains the most covered movement family despite the precipitous decline in union membership in the last half of the twentieth century. Similarly, the 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, as well as anti-war movements, but veterans’ and nativist movements were not covered. Although many shooting stars of the 1960s have caught the attention of scholars, similarly covered SMOs of the 1930s seem to have flown under the radar of movement researchers. Generally speaking, SMOs that peaked in media attention before the 1960s and movements with a conservative slant have not gained scholarly attention commensurate with their media attention. The top movement families also show waves of coverage expected from scholarship. But coverage also seems to appear somewhat later than expected from the literature and is sustained longer than the imagery of cycles suggests.

## DOES COVERAGE FOLLOW SCALE, DISRUPTION, OR BOTH? PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The descriptive results lead to the question of why some SMOs and SMO families are better covered than others. There are at least two global alternative approaches to the question. One model, the “scale” model, would expect newspapers simply to report on SMOs according to their size or scale. This model describes to some extent what reporters claim to be doing (Gans 1979). This model, however, is countered by the “disruption” model (McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver and Myers 1999; see review in Earl *et al.* 2004), which suggests that newspapers disproportionately cover events deemed newsworthy, mainly novel, disruptive, or violent activity, and presumably SMOs connected to such events. These accounts may also be inaccurate and veer from the central message and framings sought by SMOs (Gitlin 1980; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn 2001). Scholars have developed measures for some individual SMOs and SMO families that address scale and disruptive activity. To provide a preliminary assessment of these models, we compare newspaper coverage to measures employed in high-profile research on some of the more prominent SMOs and SMO families.<sup>y</sup>

To address the degree to which coverage reflects main aspects of SMO development, we start with two prominent SMOs. The Townsend Plan was one of the most publicized SMOs of the 1930s, with its demands for generous and universal old-age pensions and organizing two million older Americans into Townsend clubs (Amenta *et al.* 2005). It quickly reached heights in membership that only few voluntary associations achieved (Skocpol 2003), but lost most of its following by the 1950s. The correlation between its membership (data courtesy of 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 20<sup>th</sup> century, is by contrast an evergreen in coverage. In examining data on members and revenues from 1947 through 1981 (courtesy of J. Craig Jenkins), we find the relationship between membership and *Times* coverage is fairly strong in this instance, too, with a correlation of .69. Both peak in the mid-1960s. In short, the scale model receives some support in the connection between coverage and membership for these different, prominent SMOs.

[Figure 3 about here.]

We next address the connection between coverage and scale 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 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 each are very strongly and similarly correlated, at .97. (See Figure 3.) Coverage and organizational density both rise dramatically in the middle 1960s and peak around 1980. Despite the large correlation between coverage and organizational density, however, only a small number of 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, but after 1954, after which point unionization declines, the correlation increases to .80. (See Figure 4.) Although the lower correlation in the early years may be due in part to the no-strike pledge during World

War II (Brody 1975), strike activity may have been covered more closely than unionization gains.

[Figure 4 about here.]

To address the disruption model, which posits that coverage will focus on that activity, we begin with strikes, which are dramatic and disruptive, but also routine for the labor movement. (See Figure 4.) The pattern for coverage and strikes works the opposite way from unionization. Although the correlation between the work stoppage measures and coverage is .58 overall, between 1930 and 1947, during the rise of the labor movement, the correlation is .81.<sup>vi</sup> In short, correlations are high for strike activity in the early years of the labor movement and 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 scale in later years.

[Figure 5 about here.]

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), 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, boycotts, 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, and 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 much less protest, suggesting that coverage addressed less dramatic activity in the movement in this most recent period.

All in all, these preliminary bivariate results show some support for each of the global scale and disruption models. Coverage indeed taps something about the overall scale of some movements. 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 suggests that coverage is connected most closely to the scale of entire, influential movement families. Needless to say, the fact that approximately 43 percent of the national SMOs we located gain little or no coverage works against the scale model. Even when overall coverage corresponds to the scale of a movement family, coverage concentrates on the better-known SMOs in that family. There is also strong support for the disruption model. The findings suggest that coverage is related to protest and similar activity in the early days of a movement organization or movement family, especially ones reliant on protest or other large-scale collective action; at later points, coverage is mainly a function of other considerations. For SMOs and SMO families that do not gain organizational footholds after early years of disruptive or dramatic activities, however, the early days are all they have. It seems likely that the bulk of their coverage will be reliant on dramatic or other unusual action, though it should be repeated that our results do not directly specify the type of coverage each SMO and family is receiving.

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

Next we go beyond these preliminary bivariate analyses turn to systematic comparative analyses of coverage across SMO families. Here we seek to identify the determinants of the best-covered SMO families when they received their greatest coverage. To identify potential determinants, we rely on the results above and also on theories regarding the consequences of social movements. In our analyses, we model disruption, but to address the issue of scale we examine propositions derived from the resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977) and political contextual (review in Meyer and Minkoff 2004) perspectives. Although these theories are concerned more with explaining the rise and fall of movements than coverage, these perspectives have been employed to explain the broad consequences of social movements (Cress and Snow 2000; Amenta 2006). As we note above, receiving coverage is a movement consequence related to Gamson's (1990) idea of acceptance (Corbett 1998). Also, as we have seen, coverage correlates with the scale of movements at the family level, and these theories are expected to explain overall patterns in movement scale. In addition, disruption has been claimed to be an important determinant of movement consequences (Piven and Cloward 1977).

### Questions and Measures

We focus on daily coverage, which we define as an SMO family receiving one mention or more per day in the *Times*. Many movement families reached daily coverage for at least one year during the century. These include the anti-alcohol, anti-war, environmental, feminist, old-age, nativist, and veterans' movements. However, 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 coverage from 1919 through 1999 and 1960 through 1981, respectively. Other SMO families that achieved stretches of daily coverage lasting five years or longer include 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 comprise about 80 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.) Also, several SMO families fall slightly, if significantly, 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.

To address why some movement families received extensive coverage in their careers, we employ fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analyses (fsQCA). Relying on set logic, fsQCA is typically employed to 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 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. We expect that high coverage results 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.

In our analyses, we rely on the main macro-sociological theories of social movement development in part because the coverage of SMO families follows in a significant fashion the global scale model. These theories have also been employed to explain the influence of social movements (Gamson 1990; Amenta 2006), with newspaper coverage serving as a partial measure of influence. Thus we include measures from resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977) and political contextual (McAdam 1982; Meyer and Minkoff 2004) theories. Set-theoretical thinking and analyses are especially appropriate here because these theories are often treated as complementary rather than competing (McAdam 1996). We also include a measure from the disruption model, regarding the disruptive capacities and history of the SMO family, given that this sort of action was also closely associated with newspaper coverage. In addition, disruption has been posited (Piven and Cloward 1977) to be associated with the influence of social movements.

We develop measures from four main ideas. The disruption model suggests that SMOs with disruptive or otherwise highly dramatic collective action will receive extensive coverage; similarly, prominent ideas in the literature on the consequences of social movements (Piven and Cloward 1977) suggest that disruption brings influence for movements. The other three ideas are motivated by the fact that SMO family coverage tracks the global “scale” model and are drawn from the two main macro-social theories of social movements. The resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1977) expects that movements with many organizations and capacities, including media-

related ones, will receive extensive coverage (see also Corbett 1998). The political contextual model expects that movements will expand and gain influence with a sympathetic regime in power (Meyer and Minkoff 2004), usually understood in the U.S. context as Democratic regime for movements of the left and a Republican regime for movements of the right. An additional argument from the political contextual perspective is that movements will advance in the wake of major policy changes favoring the movement's constituency, such as pro-labor or civil rights legislation (Berry 1999; Amenta and Young 1999; see also Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Halfmann, Rude, and Ebert 2005). Our expectation is that a combination of three or more of these four conditions may need to occur simultaneously to explain why some movement industries receive extensive coverage when they receive it.

Our unit of analysis is the SMO family-year. Thus each of 31 movement families receives a score for each year of the twentieth century for coverage, measured by number of articles; each independent measure is tracked similarly. Needless to say, not all 31 SMO families were in existence throughout the century, and we considered a family's first appearance to be once two SMOs in it were covered, yielding 2119 family-year observations. *Coverage (C)* scores one for each year in which an SMO family receives daily or more frequent coverage (and thus scores one for 365 or greater mentions). In crisp set fsQCA models, each measure is categorical, with a score of one or zero. Approximately eight (7.9) percent of the 2119 SMO family years experienced daily or greater coverage. In some of the analyses below, we examine longer and shorter spans of coverage.

As for the independent measures, we first address *disruption* (D), both the focus of the disruption model and a prominent argument about the consequences of social movements. A year scores one if any organization in the movement family was engaged in either illegal collective action or disruptive action such as strikes, boycotts, occupations, and unruly mass protests drawing the reaction of authorities, and/or collective action in which violence was involved, whether by the movement, authorities, or opponents of the movement. The scores for this measure were generated from scholarly monographs about the families and Web sites of current organizations.

The other three independent measures are based on the resource mobilization and political contextual theories of social movements and their consequences. For the resource mobilization model, we score one if 20 or more organizations were “active” in a given year. For this measure of *organizations* (O), organizations are considered after any coverage and for ten years after that. We of course cannot use the actual yearly counts of all organizations in SMO families, as they are unknown, but the measure does not mirror the dependent measure in that any given year about a third of “active” SMOs go unmentioned. However, as an added check, in our analyses we also employ a secondary dependent measure that subtracts the number of SMOs mentioned any year. 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, 20.1 percent of the cases are coded positive on disruption, 10.4 on organizations, 27.1 on partisanship, and 35.1 percent on enforced policy.

## Results and Discussion

Set analyses such as fsQCA can identify limited diversity among independent measures in data sets. Ideally, there would be nearly equal distribution across measures treated as independent, but in the non-experimental studies typical in historical social science this condition rarely holds, though researchers often ignore this fact and act as though it were otherwise (Ragin 2000). Because there are four independent measures, the truth table (see Table 4) has 16 (or  $2^4$ ) potential combinations, and although none are completely empty, some have many more cases than others. The largest number of cases (770) falls into the category in which all of independent measures are absent. Similarly, 901 cases fall into the four combinations for which all but one of the independent measures is coded as absent. As we will see below, these five combinations (dope, Dope, dOpe, doPe, and dopE) rarely coincided with extensive newspaper coverage. From the other direction, where the data are sparse, four of 16 combinations comprised fewer than 22 cases, or less than one percent of the cases. Unless otherwise indicated below, we eliminated from the analyses these tiny combinations, thus counting them as negative cases.<sup>vii</sup>

[Table 4 about here.]

As a preliminary to the fsQCA analyses, we ran a random-effects negative binomial regression model of coverage (using raw coverage figures rather than the daily

coverage nominal measure), with the 2119 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. Each is significant at .01 level, except for partisanship, which barely misses. These positive results, however, may largely be a function of the fact that so much of the data pool up in the no cause/no effect 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 .01 level) are positive and eliminate combinations with fewer than one percent of the cases. We employ fsQCA 2.0 (Ragin, Drass, and Davey 2006), augmented by the Stata 10.0 fuzzy command (Longest and Vaisey 2008), which provides probabilistic statistical tests. We locate two combinations for which the positive cases were significantly greater than the negative cases at the .01 level:  $D^*O^*P^*E$ , for which all the independent measures are present and 35 of 39 cases are positive, and  $D^*O^*p^*E$ , for which only the political partisanship measure is absent and 54 of 63 cases score positive. (In fsQCA terminology the presence of a case is indicated by capitals and its absence by lower case; a plus sign (+) indicates the operator “or” and the asterisk (\*) indicates the operator “and.”) 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 87.2 percent. In Boolean or set logic terms, “consistency” means the degree to which the independent measure set (or sets) overlaps or intersects with the dependent measure set. “Coverage” means the percentage of the dependent set that the independent set (or sets) overlaps with. Thus 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 independent measures (D, O, and E) in turn overlaps slightly more than one half with the dependent measure set (C); at the same time less than 13 percent of the combined independent measure set falls outside the dependent measure set.<sup>viii</sup>

We also reran the analyses using fuzzy rather than crisp sets for the dependent measure C and for the independent measure 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 conforms to 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 gained 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 decide a ceiling above which a measure is considered to be “fully in” the set—usually the same as the

cut off point for crisp sets—and a floor below which a measure is considered to be “fully out” of the set, with “direct transformations” (Ragin 2008) used to devise partial membership.<sup>ix</sup> In our case, coverage of once a day or more frequently was as before coded as fully in the set of daily coverage, and coverage of once a week (52) or fewer mentions per year was coded as fully out of the set. As for the organizations measure, a family with 20 or more current organizations counted as fully in the set of high organizations, whereas five organizations or fewer indicated fully out status. The other three independent measures remain categorical.

The fuzzy set results confirm the crisp set results for daily coverage. Again employing the criterion for selection as positive scores being significantly greater than negative scores at the .01 level and eliminating any combinations with fewer than one percent of the cases, we located the same two truth table combinations as for the crisp sets. Thus the reduced result was the same:  $C = D * O * E$ . This solution covers less of the dependent measure set (36.2 percent), but is more consistent with it than the crisp set result (at 93.5 percent). These minor differences are not surprising, as the set of daily coverage expands by making it fuzzy.<sup>x</sup>

To check on these results we also examined two other dependent measures, twice-a-day coverage and every-other-day coverage. Only the labor movement and the African American civil rights movement ever received coverage twice a day. The best solution for both crisp and fuzzy set analyses includes all four of the independent measures:  $C = D * O * P * E$ . The crisp results cover 43.2 percent of the set at a rate of 82.1 consistency, whereas the fuzzy set combination covers 32.8 at 86.0 percent consistency.<sup>xi</sup> The labor movement and the civil rights movement in their heydays

included all of the four determinants of high coverage. They were characterized by disruptive collective action and also by large numbers of organizations. The two families benefited from the Democratic regimes of the 1930s and 1960s, and each gained key concessions during these periods, enacted policies with considerable bureaucratic enforcement. For the labor movement, these policies centered on the so-called Wagner Act of 1935 and the creation of the National Labor Relations Board; for the African American civil rights movement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Finally, we examine every other day coverage. These analyses were prompted by the fact that the labor and civil rights families constitute the bulk of the daily coverage cases; most SMO families can aspire to somewhat less press than that. For crisp sets, an SMO family thus requires 183 days or greater of coverage. For the crisp set analyses, the first result is the same as the daily result:  $C = D * O * E$ . This has somewhat lower coverage (28.4 percent), given that more SMO family years qualify, though its consistency is increased to 97.1 percent. However, two small-N cases were significant at the .01 level, making it more important to use the greater accuracy of fuzzy sets.<sup>xii</sup> For the fuzzy set analyses, the results for every other day coverage are similar, though given their more realistic set coverage, the number of paths is greater.<sup>xiii</sup> The typical standards of significance and numbers produced a parsimonious solution:  $C = O * E$  (33.4 percent coverage, 95.7 percent consistency).<sup>xiv</sup> This indicates that only a large number of organizations and an enforced policy were necessary and together sufficient.

All in all, the results form a consistent pattern. To explain the highest level of coverage, it takes the simultaneous occurrence of all of the independent measures—disruption, organizations, partisan regimes, and enforced policies. For twice a day coverage, all four of the causal conditions were necessary and together sufficient to produce the result. As we move down the ladder to less high levels of coverage, however, some of the four do not matter as much. For daily coverage, the main findings indicated that disruption, organizations, and an enforced policy were necessary and together sufficient. A partisan regime does not matter as much to produce daily coverage. When we dropped the standard to every other day coverage, the greatest amount of coverage available to most non-labor SMO families, organizations and an enforced policy were needed to coincide to produce the result. At this lower level disruption does not matter as much. Thus each of the perspectives receives support from the fsQCA analyses and no one factor is a magic bullet that produces coverage, but the strongest support goes to the resource mobilization theory and political contextual arguments centering on the adoption of policies.

## CONCLUSION

Social movement organizations are crucial to political life, and media coverage of SMOs is key in substantiating their claims to represent groups and possibly other outcomes. But until now no one has been able to document the newspaper coverage received by national U.S. SMOs across organizations, movements, and time. In identifying the most covered national SMOs and SMO families of the twentieth century, our findings correspond in part with previous scholarly attention. Labor movement organizations dominate the rankings, with similarly well-studied African-American civil rights SMOs in

second place. Yet veterans', nativist, and civil liberties SMOs received coverage that far outstrips corresponding scholarship. Also, many individual SMOs receiving intensive newspaper coverage, notably conservative organizations of the 1930s, have not received commensurate attention from scholars of social movements. Generally speaking, at similar levels of coverage SMOs from before the 1960s are not as well researched along with those that are non-left wing, and possibly new theories may be needed to explain them (McVeigh forthcoming).

In our bivariate analyses of measures often used by movement scholars to approximate movement size and activity, we find some support for two different models of movement coverage. The scale model is supported by moderately strong relationships between coverage and membership for two prominent SMOs. Moreover, for two large SMO families, coverage is more closely reflects movement scale when the entire family of SMOs is taken into account. That said, this seems to hold good only for the largest SMOs and most prominent SMO families. Even if coverage tracks the number of organizations in a large movement family that coverage is bestowed far more on some members of that family than others—the larger and better established SMOs. The results also provide support for a disruption model. For the labor and civil rights movement, coverage tracked strikes and protest events during the rise of these movements. Thus coverage seems to track conspicuous collective action in the early years of an SMO or SMO family, which may be the only sort of coverage received by many short-term SMOs, followed by coverage according to scale later for the most successful SMO families. This pattern corresponds to ideas about the

institutionalization of movements (Meyer and Tarrow 1998), but may apply only to those SMO families that achieved permanent leverage in politics.

Our set-theoretical analyses of daily or greater coverage by social movement family or industry shows some support for the disruption model and the main macro-social theories of social movements, the resource mobilization and political contextual models. The results indicated that truly high coverage of the sort achieved by the labor and civil rights movements required four determinants at the same time, including disruptive activity, a large number of organizations, a favorable political regime, and an enforced policy in favor of the SMO family's constituency. This was the case for the labor movement and African American civil rights movements in their heydays. However, to produce significant, but lower levels of coverage, we found that having a favorable political context involving enacted and enforced policies supporting the constituency of a movement family mattered more than short-term partisan contexts. That said, the partisan contexts may have been key to enacting the policies and thus the contexts may play complementary roles. Similarly, for coverage on the order of every other day, disruption was not as important. Only a large number of organizations and an enforced policy were necessary and together sufficient to produce the result. This should be encouraging to movement families hoping to achieve greater discursive influence. Several movement families have both large numbers of organizations and an enforced policy and thus there are perhaps other factors that boost newsworthiness.

Like the initial analyses of the political and policy 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 first

steps in theorizing and analyzing the process of gaining coverage. Analyses of political and policy outcomes moved beyond movement-centered only models and later incorporated interactions between movements and political structures and processes in their models (see Andrews 2004; Amenta 2006). 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.

What is more, coverage is only one measure of influence for SMOs and SMO families and may or may not be related to other outcomes of interest for movements. Notably, raw coverage of the sort examined here neither identifies whether the SMO achieved “standing,” or was quoted, whether the coverage employed frames favorable to the movement, or whether the tone or valence of the coverage was favorable. Also, even where movements were winning the discursive battle in the newspapers, these victories do 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 will be needed to establish the nature of these links.

These results suggest a few new directions in research. Notably, the fact that disruption is not necessary to achieve reasonably high levels of coverage may spur research that goes beyond the current emphasis in the literature on protest events. It would also be revealing to compare the mainstream newspaper coverage of well-studied SMOs to a wide range of their action, 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 disruption and scale on

coverage with various control measures, moreover, it may be possible to devise ways to adjust coverage figures so that they more closely tap aspects of activity or scale of an SMO that are less easily measured, but are of great interest to scholars. These adjusted measures could be valuable in addressing many questions about social movements. Altogether, these lines of research may hasten the day when analyses across movements and over long stretches of time will no longer seem exceptional.

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

	<b>Organization (Year of Founding)</b>	<b><i>Times</i></b>	<b>Front Page</b>	<b><i>Post</i></b>
1	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (1886, 1937, 1955)	41718	6848	21565
2	American Legion (1919)	12650	1441	8561
3	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909)	12616	1707	10631
4	American Civil Liberties Union (1920)	8911	1022	6207
5	Ku Klux Klan (1867)	8067	1119	5279
6	United Mine Workers (1890)	7044	1397	5066
7	League of Women Voters (1920)	6869	461	7033
8	International Ladies Garment Workers (1900)	5875	675	693
9	International Brotherhood of Teamsters (1903)	5216	1848	4117
10	Veterans of Foreign Wars (1936)	4829	480	5840
11	National Education Association (1857)	4725	462	4097
12	Anti-Saloon League (1893)	4581	851	2757
13	United Steelworkers (1942)	4019	392	1107
14	American Jewish Congress (1918)	3849	297	819
15	Grand Army of the Republic (1866)	3492	149	19341
16	Black Panther Party (1966)	3460	394	2049
17	American Jewish Committee (1906)	3317	263	861
18	Actors' Equity Association (1913)	3229	157	212
19	American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1866)	3016	51	552
20	United Auto Workers (1935)	2872	195	3417
21	National Council of Churches (1950)	2649	256	1785
22	Anti-Defamation League (1913)	2618	247	1085
23	Planned Parenthood (1923)	2610	204	1250
24	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (1891)	2541	337	651
25	Sierra Club (1892)	2497	218	1972
26	National Urban League (1910)	2495	300	1125
27	Congress of Racial Equality (1942)	2349	519	497
28	American Federation of Teachers (1916)	2267	325	803
29	International Typographical Union (1852)	2130	165	1169
30	Americans for Democratic Action (1947)	2052	298	2002

Table 2: Top 25 Social Movement Organizations in Coverage in Peak Year, across the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

	<b>Organization (Peak Year)</b>	<b>New York Times</b>	<b>Front Page</b>	<b>Wash. Post</b>
1	American Federation of Labor (1937)	1050	211	476
2	Black Panther Party (1970)	1028	111	617
3	CIO (1937)	786	214	325
4	NAACP (1963)	762	128	446
5	Ku Klux Klan (1924)	672	180	339
6	American Legion (1932)	519	64	200
7	Congress of Racial Equality (1964)	418	146	35
8	Anti-Saloon League (1930)	409	99	91
9	Townsend Plan (1936)	399	67	204
10	Students for a Democratic Society (1969)	381	68	174
11	United Steelworkers (1959)	311	111	114
12	Bonus Army (1932)	304	56	475
13	America First Committee (1941)	280	32	121
14	United Mine Workers (1949)	277	66	166
15	John Birch Society (1964)	255	32	128
16	American Civil Liberties Union (1977)	252	27	107
17	Teamsters (1957)	249	241	367
18	League of Women Voters (1937)	246	4	117
19	International Typographical Union (1948)	238	19	97
20	Moral Majority (1981)	221	10	268
21	Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1968)	215	36	142
22	International Ladies Garment Workers (1940)	201	14	23
23	German American Bund (1939)	200	32	71
24	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (1966)	195	51	76
25	United Auto Workers (1958)	195	20	154

*Notes:* We omitted the results for the AFL-CIO, as both the AFL and CIO peak as separate organizations. Included is the best year for any given SMO; no SMO appears more than once.

Table 3: *Times* Coverage of SMOs by Movement Category

	<b>Issue</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Without Unions*</b>	<b># of Orgs</b>	<b>Top SMO</b>
1.	Labor	36.2	25.7	143	American Federation of Labor
2.	Civil Rights, Black	9.7	11.4	56	National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peo
3.	Veterans	7.5	8.7	16	American Legion
4.	Feminism/Women's Rights	5.5	6.4	128	League of Women Voters
5.	Nativist/Supremacist	4.2	4.9	58	Ku Klux Klan
6.	Environment/Conservation/ Ecology	4.0	4.7	135	Sierra Club
7.	Civil Rights, Jewish	3.7	4.3	7	American Jewish Congress
8.	Civil Liberties	3.1	3.7	6	American Civil Liberties Union
9.	Anti-War	3.0	3.5	85	American Friends Service Committee
10.	Progressive	2.9	3.4	93	National Consumers' League
11.	Conservative	2.7	3.1	99	John Birch Society
12.	Anti-Alcohol	2.4	2.8	24	Anti-Saloon League
13.	Farmers	2.1	2.4	19	American Farm Bureau Federation
14.	Communist Party	1.7	1.9	20	Communist Party USA
15.	Animal Protection/Rights	1.4	1.6	26	American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animal
16.	Abortion/Reproductive Rights	1.3	1.5	28	Planned Parenthood
17.	Civic	1.1	1.3	16	National Civic Federation
18.	Old Age/Senior Rights	0.9	1.1	26	American Association of Retired People
19.	Civil Rights, Other	0.9	1.0	35	Nation of Islam
20.	Children's Rights/Protection	0.9	1.0	13	Citizens Committee for Children
21.	Christian Right	0.8	0.9	35	Moral Majority
22.	Democratic Party-Left	0.7	0.8	5	Americans for Democratic Action
23.	Consumer	0.6	0.7	7	Consumers Union
24.	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender	0.5	0.5	42	Gay Activists Alliance
25.	Anti-Smoking	0.4	0.5	14	American Public Health Association
26.	Anti-Abortion	0.4	0.5	33	National Right to Life Committee
27.	Gun Owners' Rights	0.3	0.4	4	National Rifle Association

28.	Civil Rights, Native American	0.2	0.2	3	American Indian Movement
29.	Welfare Rights	0.2	0.2	12	National Welfare Rights Organization
30.	Civil Rights, Hispanic	0.2	0.2	12	League of United Latin American Citizens
31.	Disability Rights	0.1	0.1	17	National Association for Retarded Children
32.	AIDS	0.1	0.1	5	AIDS Action
33.	Prison Reform/Prisoners' Rights	0.1	0.1	10	National Committee on Prisons
34.	Gun Control	0.1	0.1	13	Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence

Table 4: Four-Measure FsQCATruth Table of Daily Coverage, with Movement Families

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Success</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Movement Families Receiving Daily Coverage</b>
DOPE	35	39	Labor (30); Civil Rights, Black (4); Environment/Conservation (1)
DOPe	3	9	Labor (2); Anti-War (1)
DOpE	54	63	Labor (35); Environment/Conservation (14); Civil Rights, Black (5)
DOPe	15	34	Labor (14); Anti-War (1)
DoPE	5	10	Veterans (4); Civil Rights, Black (1)
DoPe	6	37	Civil Rights, Black (3); Nativist/Supremacist (3)
DopE	1	35	Veterans (1)
Dope	3	201	Civil Rights, Black (3)
dOPE	3	11	Civil Rights, Black (3)
dOPe	0	8	N/A
dOpE	2	31	Civil Rights, Black (2)
dOpe	0	25	N/A
doPE	21	171	Veterans (11); Anti-Alcohol (6); Feminism/Women's Rights (3); Civil Rights, Black (1)
doPe	0	287	N/A
dopE	10	388	Civil Rights, Black (6); Veterans (4)
dope	9	770	Veterans (9)

*Note:* See text for measures.

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

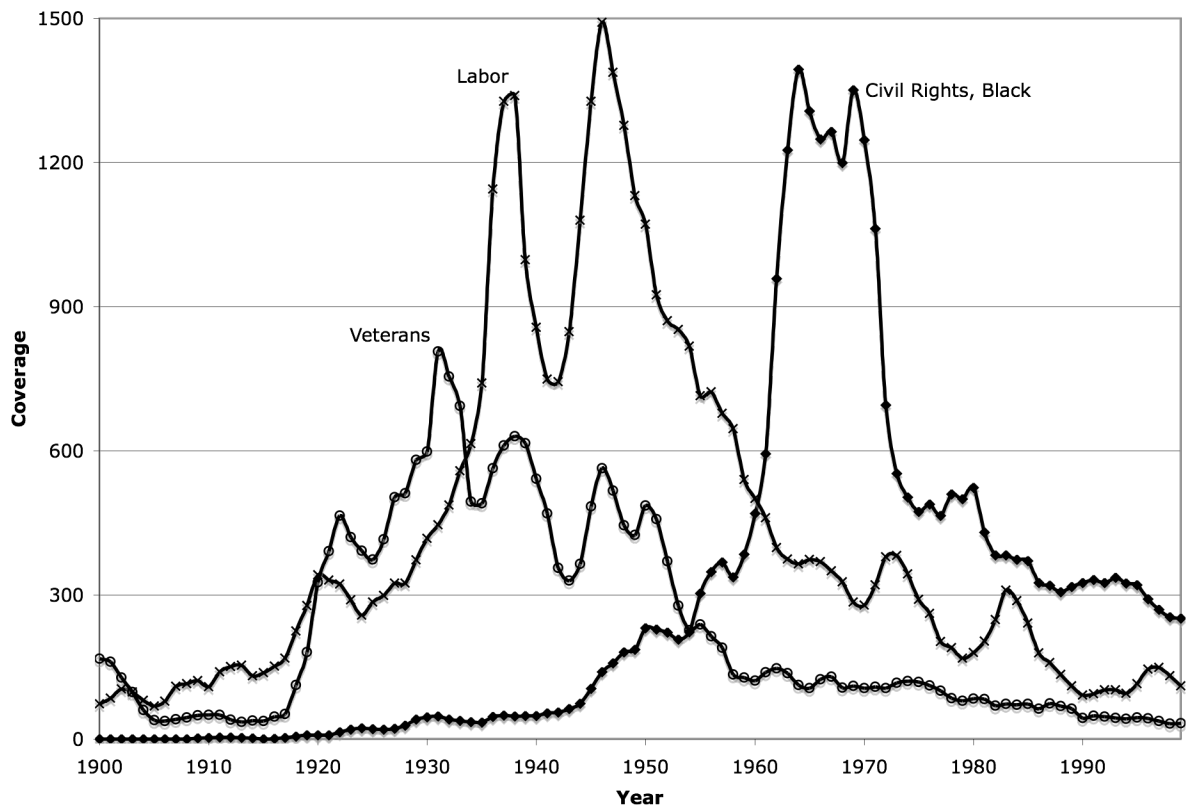


Figure 2: *Times* Coverage of the Nativist/Supremacist, Women's Rights/Abortion Rights, and Environmental/Conservationist SMOs, 1900-1999

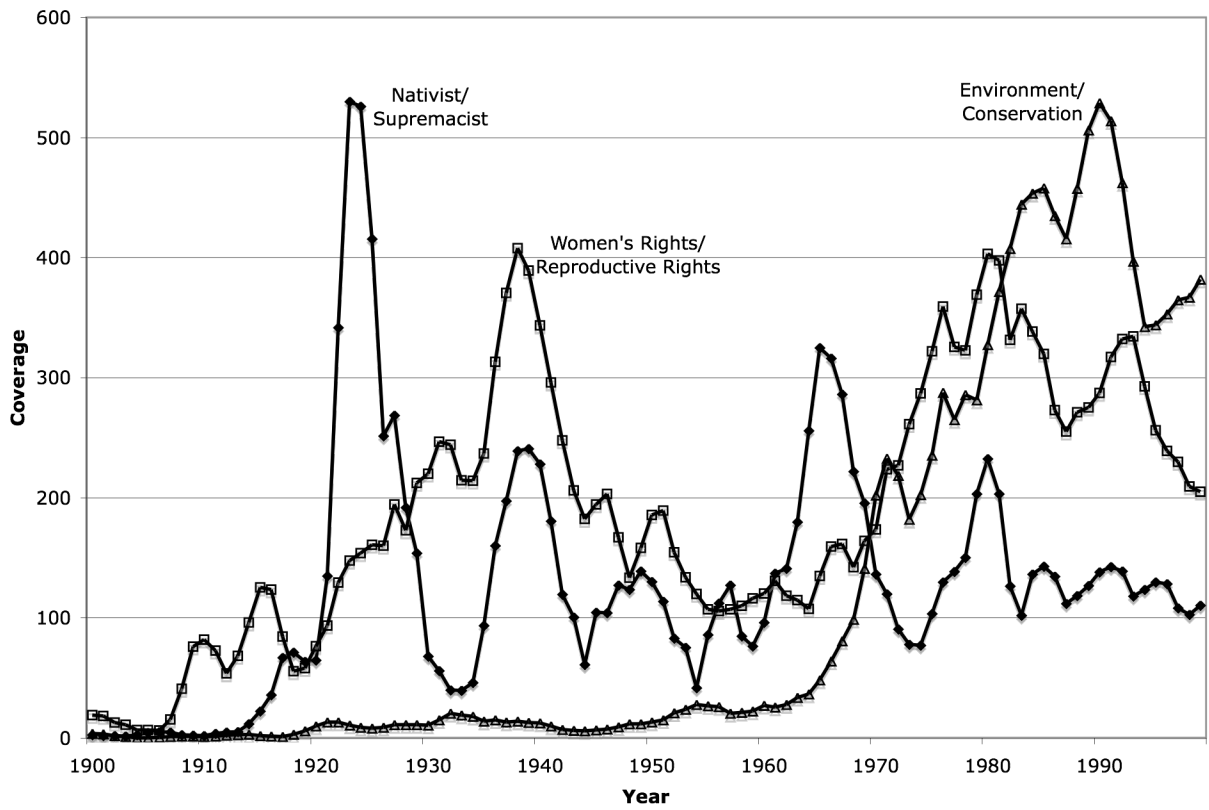


Figure 3: The Density of Women's Rights/Abortion Rights Organizations, By Overall and Protest/Advocacy Organizations, and *Times* Coverage, 1955-1986

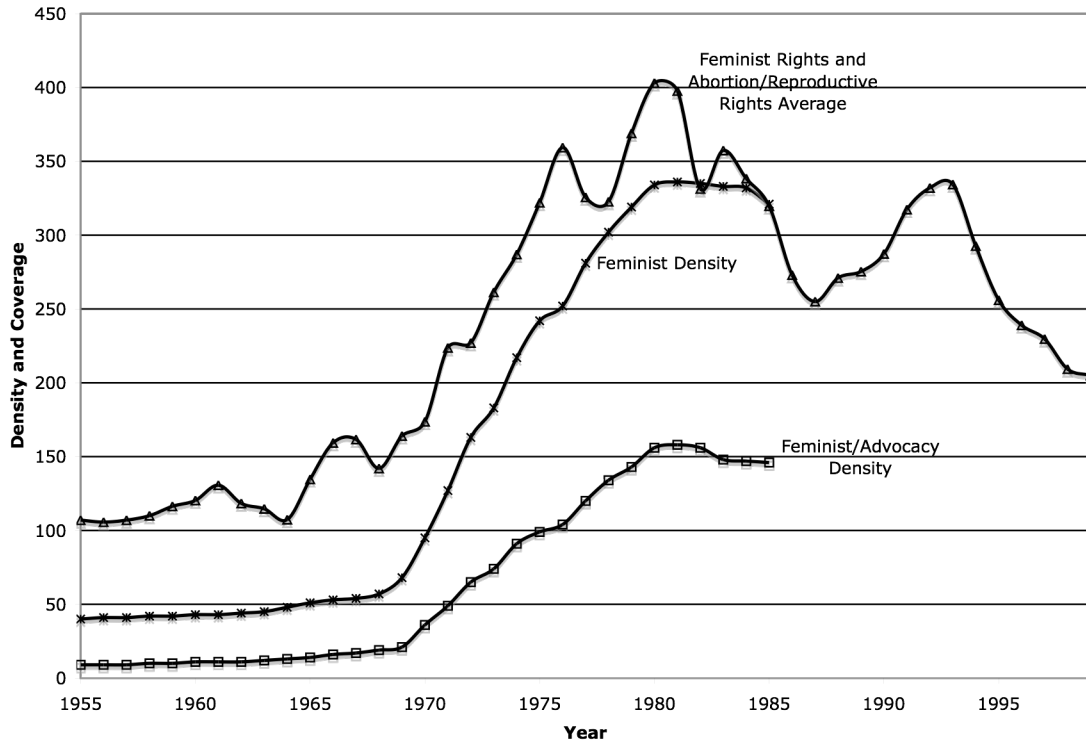


Figure 4: Union Membership, Work Stoppages, and *Times* Labor Movement SMO Coverage, 1930-1999

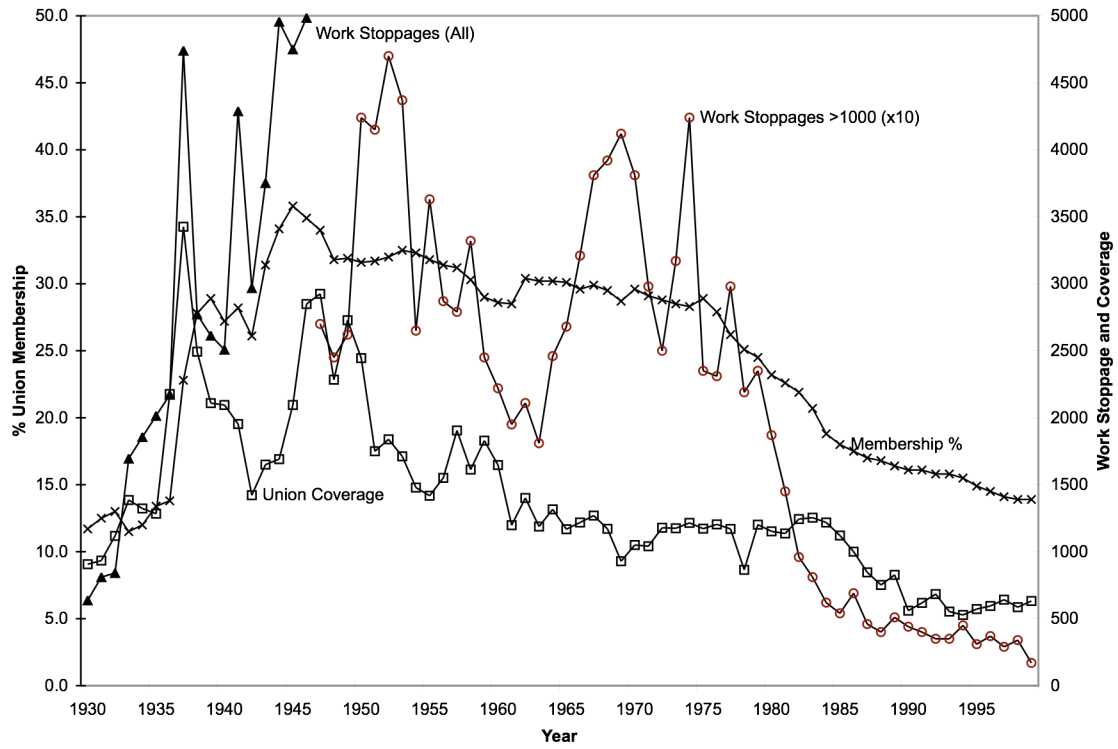
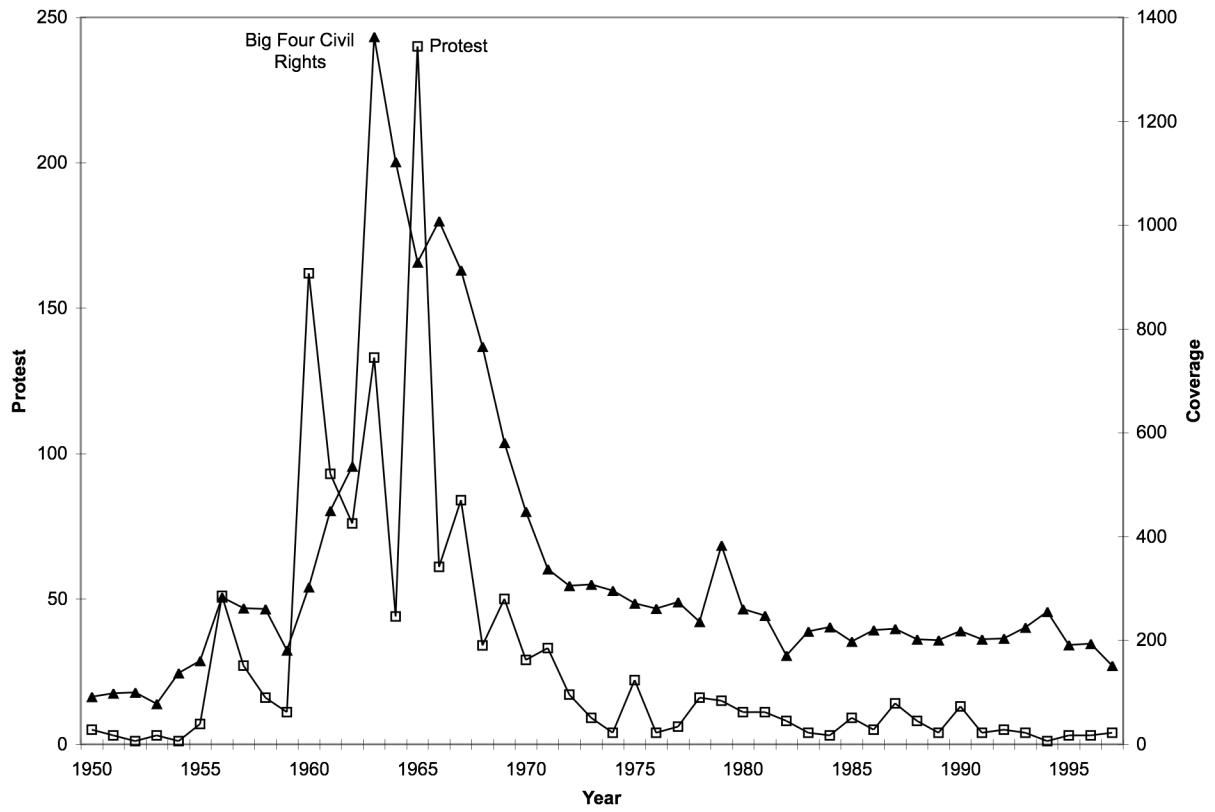


Figure 5: *Times* Coverage of the Big Four African-American Civil Rights SMOs and Protest Events, 1950-1997



## NOTES

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<sup>i</sup> Our conceptualization of social movement organizations also includes national advocacy organizations that make claims on or in behalf of mass constituencies, similar to definitions employed by McCarthy and Zald (1977) and Gamson (1990) and scholars following their work. We employ the term “social movement organization” for simplicity’s sake, though we are cognizant of the fact that other scholars (notably McAdam 1982) reserve the term for organizations that threaten or engage in disruptive collective action, a set of organizations subsumed by our definition. See below for an extensive discussion of our conceptualization.

<sup>ii</sup> The Encyclopedia of Associations data likely makes our list skewed toward the present, especially in term of organizations receiving little or no newspaper attention. Some scholars have employed 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 on-line, locating 80. Of these only the Bowhunting Preservation Alliance was found, barely, to meet our criteria for an SMO, but appeared in no articles in twentieth century. To ensure we captured the coverage of federated organizations, moreover, we often searched for shorted 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

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no individual leaders as a mention of an SMO. Given our concern with coverage, our counts fall far short of providing a complete census of organizations in that any mention of lower-level organization affiliated with a national organization was counted as part of the coverage of the larger federated organization (cf. Brulle et al. 2007)

<sup>iii</sup> In the early decades of the century, the *Post* covers veterans more extensively, possibly because these organizations focused their attention on the capital, although in many instances the coverage relates to affiliations of lawmakers. The *Post* is available via the ProQuest Historical database only through 1989, and we use Lexis-Nexis, which is available from 1980, for 1990 through 1999. For the top 10 covered SMOs of the 1980s, coverage figures for the 1980s produced by searches by ProQuest and Lexis-Nexis are correlated highly at .87, and the number of articles is similar, with the ProQuest unearthing 13,234 articles and Lexis-Nexis 13,752.

<sup>iv</sup> An SMO is counted only once on this list. If double counting were permitted the AFL, CIO, or AFL-CIO would account for 22 of the top 25 positions.

<sup>v</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 this coverage (see review in Earl *et al.* 2004). Factors making events seem more newsworthy include proximity to news organization, size, intensity, presence of violence, counter-demonstrators, or police, or sponsorship by organizations. Unlike some studies of selection bias of protest events (McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver and Myers 1999), however, our preliminary investigations of SMO

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coverage cannot juxtapose all relevant aspects of scale or activity of any SMOs with their coverage, as data on these aspects do not exist.

<sup>vi</sup> In the Bureau of Labor Statistics' data, for the years 1947 to 1999 "work stoppage" includes only those involving at least 1000 workers, whereas earlier data include work stoppages of any number of workers, although in the 15 years in which the two measures overlap, they have a correlation of .96.

<sup>vii</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, of some of the analyses below.

<sup>viii</sup> To check the robustness of the main result we engaged in 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, available). We also subtracted the number of SMOs that appeared in a given year from the dependent measure and the overall solution was the same. Finally, we isolated the postwar years, and the overall solution was the same. (All additional results not shown, available on request.)

<sup>ix</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).

<sup>x</sup> However, the fuzzy set results also suggest a potential secondary alternative route to daily newspaper coverage. One combination—DOPe—was significant at the .05 level, though also had fewer than one percent of the cases. When we count positive this combinations, the reduced result is a two-term solution  $C =$

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$D*O*(P + E)$ . This result indicates that disruption and high numbers of organizations are necessary for daily coverage, but the result also requires one of the two political contextual conditions to be present. This solution provides a total coverage of 41.7 percent with 90.5 percent level of consistency. This solution includes the previous term  $D*O*E$ , which provides the most individual raw coverage (of the daily coverage set) and is the most consistent with it. Thus this remains the main route to daily newspaper coverage. But the other term in the solution,  $D*O*P$ , covers an additional 3.7 percentage points of the dependent measure set, though at a slightly reduced level of consistency.

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

<sup>xii</sup> When we include these two combinations, the result is  $C = O*(D*P + D*E + P*E)$ . This solution, including the terms  $D*O*E$ ,  $D*O*P$ , and  $O*P*E$ , covered 33.9 percent of the cases with a 96.7 level of consistency. The additional paths  $D*O*P$  and  $O*P*E$  add 5.5 percentage points to the coverage level. This result suggests that a high number of organizations matters the most and is a necessary condition, but that any two of the other conditions are also necessary to produce extensive newspaper coverage. Dropping the labor SMO family produces the same overall solution (not shown).

<sup>xiii</sup> For fuzzy sets, every other day coverage (183 days per year) counted as fully in and one day per week (26 days) as fully out of the set, with standard transformations for partial membership.

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<sup>xiv</sup> However, another small-N combination was significantly positive at the .01 level and another larger-N combination was significant at the .05 level. When all were reduced the result was  $C = O*(D + E)$ . This solution covers 45.9 percent of the set at the 89.8 percent level of consistency. The main path was through  $O*E$ , but the  $O*D$  path helped to explain an additional 12.6 percentage points of the coverage, at a similar level of consistency. When the labor family was dropped from coverage, the solution was the same (not shown).