

CERTIFICATION PAGE

Certification for Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant:

By signing and submitting this proposal, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant is: (1) certifying that statements made herein are true and complete to the best of his/her knowledge; and (2) agreeing to accept the obligation to comply with NSF award terms and conditions if an award is made as a result of this application. Further, the applicant is hereby providing certifications regarding debarment and suspension, drug-free workplace, and lobbying activities (see below), nondiscrimination, and flood hazard insurance (when applicable) as set forth in the NSF Proposal & Award Policies & Procedures Guide, Part I: the Grant Proposal Guide (GPG) (NSF 07-140). Willful provision of false information in this application and its supporting documents or in reports required under an ensuing award is a criminal offense (U. S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001).

Conflict of Interest Certification

In addition, if the applicant institution employs more than fifty persons, by electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative of the applicant institution is certifying that the institution has implemented a written and enforced conflict of interest policy that is consistent with the provisions of the NSF Proposal & Award Policies & Procedures Guide, Part II, Award & Administration Guide (AAG) Chapter IV.A; that to the best of his/her knowledge, all financial disclosures required by that conflict of interest policy have been made; and that all identified conflicts of interest will have been satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated prior to the institution's expenditure of any funds under the award, in accordance with the institution's conflict of interest policy. Conflicts which cannot be satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated must be disclosed to NSF.

Drug Free Work Place Certification

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant is providing the Drug Free Work Place Certification contained in Exhibit II-3 of the Grant Proposal Guide.

Debarment and Suspension Certification

(If answer "yes", please provide explanation.)

Is the organization or its principals presently debarred, suspended, proposed for debarment, declared ineligible, or voluntarily excluded from covered transactions by any Federal department or agency?

Yes

No

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant is providing the Debarment and Suspension Certification contained in Exhibit II-4 of the Grant Proposal Guide.

Certification Regarding Lobbying

The following certification is required for an award of a Federal contract, grant, or cooperative agreement exceeding \$100,000 and for an award of a Federal loan or a commitment providing for the United States to insure or guarantee a loan exceeding \$150,000.

Certification for Contracts, Grants, Loans and Cooperative Agreements

The undersigned certifies, to the best of his or her knowledge and belief, that:

- (1) No federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid, by or on behalf of the undersigned, to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with the awarding of any federal contract, the making of any Federal grant, the making of any Federal loan, the entering into of any cooperative agreement, and the extension, continuation, renewal, amendment, or modification of any Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement.
- (2) If any funds other than Federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with this Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement, the undersigned shall complete and submit Standard Form-LLL, "Disclosure of Lobbying Activities," in accordance with its instructions.
- (3) The undersigned shall require that the language of this certification be included in the award documents for all subawards at all tiers including subcontracts, subgrants, and contracts under grants, loans, and cooperative agreements and that all subrecipients shall certify and disclose accordingly.

This certification is a material representation of fact upon which reliance was placed when this transaction was made or entered into. Submission of this certification is a prerequisite for making or entering into this transaction imposed by section 1352, Title 31, U.S. Code. Any person who fails to file the required certification shall be subject to a civil penalty of not less than \$10,000 and not more than \$100,000 for each such failure.

Certification Regarding Nondiscrimination

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative is providing the Certification Regarding Nondiscrimination contained in Exhibit II-6 of the Grant Proposal Guide.

Certification Regarding Flood Hazard Insurance

Two sections of the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968 (42 USC §4012a and §4106) bar Federal agencies from giving financial assistance for acquisition or construction purposes in any area identified by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) as having special flood hazards unless the:

- (1) community in which that area is located participates in the national flood insurance program; and
- (2) building (and any related equipment) is covered by adequate flood insurance.

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant located in FEMA-designated special flood hazard areas is certifying that adequate flood insurance has been or will be obtained in the following situations:

- (1) for NSF grants for the construction of a building or facility, regardless of the dollar amount of the grant; and
- (2) for other NSF Grants when more than \$25,000 has been budgeted in the proposal for repair, alteration or improvement (construction) of a building or facility.

AUTHORIZED ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE		SIGNATURE		DATE	
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*SUBMISSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS IS VOLUNTARY AND WILL NOT AFFECT THE ORGANIZATION'S ELIGIBILITY FOR AN AWARD. HOWEVER, THEY ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE INFORMATION SYSTEM AND ASSIST IN PROCESSING THE PROPOSAL. SSN SOLICITED UNDER NSF ACT OF 1950, AS AMENDED.

Project Summary: SMOs in the Newspaper: A New Approach to Understanding Social Movements

(1) The Intellectual Merit of the Project:

To understand social movements and the politics of the disadvantaged one needs to understand social movement organizations and political advocacy organizations (SMOs being used as an abbreviation for both) and their media coverage. Scholars argue that SMOs provide critical resources to seek social change (McCarthy and Zald 1977), help to construct political identities and interests (Skocpol 1992; Clemens 1997), allow challenges to survive hard times (Gamson 1975/1990; Staggenborg 1988), provide sites for civic engagement (Skocpol 2003) and spur collective civic engagement (Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo 2005), or, alternatively, inhibit social change (Piven and Cloward 1977). Similarly, whether one sees the news media as necessary to achieve movements' aims (Lipsky 1968) or inimical to them (Gitlin 1980), scholars agree that the attention of the mass news media is critical to the struggles of challengers (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002; Gamson 2004; Koopmans 2004). Gaining coverage is also a mark of the influence of SMOs—a measure of their success in being treated as legitimate spokespersons for the groups or causes they claim to represent (Gamson 1990; Berry 1999)—and increases their support (Vliegthart, Oegma, and Klandermans 2005). Although movement scholars have generated important data on SMOs and political advocacy organizations, including the membership and revenues for prominent SMOs, unionization, surveys of unconventional political participation, strikes, and protest events, there is no big empirical picture of any aspect of the rise, decline, and persistence of SMOs across movements and over time. Data on movements through newspapers on protest events are limited in time and capture only a fraction of the ways that SMOs might be covered.

To fill this major gap, we propose to collect new data on articles in which U.S. SMOs were mentioned in national newspapers—the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times*—since the populist movement of the 1890s and address several fundamental questions about SMOs and movement families: Which U.S. SMOs and allied movement families have received the greatest newspaper coverage in the century? Are they the ones that movement scholarship would lead us to expect? How has the coverage changed over time overall and across movements? How does coverage compare to standard, limited measures of SMO scale or activity, such as organizational density, membership, resource mobilization, or protest events? Are there systematic biases in coverage of SMOs similar to those surrounding the coverage of protest events? Can coverage figures serve as a partial substitute for data much less easily generated? Are the historical trajectories of coverage consistent with the main theories of social movements, including resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977), new social movement (Kriesi et al. 1995; Berry 1999), and political process/protest cycle (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1994) theories? Each of these theories has been employed to explain many outcomes associated with social movements, including their impact (see reviews in Andrews 2002; Amenta 2006), and newspaper coverage is one (and perhaps the only) measure of influence that can be analyzed across so many movements and over long stretches of time. We will assess these models both through historical investigation and time-series regression analyses.

(2) The Broader Impacts of the Project:

One of the most important impacts of the project will be the first long-term mapping of the SMOs and movements that have made the greatest imprints on the public imagination and consciousness over the century. This will be of considerable interest to the general public and policymakers. In doing so, the project will also promote greater understanding of today's social movements in comparison with those of the past. The project will also produce several scholarly articles and a scholarly monograph, for which the University of Chicago and Princeton University Presses have expressed interest. The project will also result in the training of graduate students and the development of their skills as young scholars.

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To understand social movements and the politics of the disadvantaged one needs to understand social movement and political advocacy organizations (SMOs being used here as an abbreviation for both) and their media coverage. Scholars argue that SMOs provide critical resources to seek social change (McCarthy and Zald 1977), help to construct political identities and interests (Skocpol 1992; Clemens 1997), allow challenges to survive hard times (Gamson 1975/1990; Staggenborg 1988), provide sites for civic engagement (Skocpol 2003) and spur collective civic engagement (Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo 2005), or, alternatively, inhibit social change (Piven and Cloward 1977). Similarly, whether one sees the news media as necessary to achieve movements' aims (Lipsky 1968) or inimical to them (Gitlin 1980), scholars agree that the attention of the mass news media is critical to the struggles of challengers (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002; Gamson 2004; Koopmans 2004). Gaining coverage is also a measure of the influence of SMOs—a measure of their success in being treated as legitimate spokespersons for the groups or causes they claim to represent (Gamson 1975/1990; Berry 1999)—and increases their support (Vliegenthart, Oegma, and Klandermans 2005). Although movement scholars have generated important data on SMOs and political advocacy organizations, including the membership and revenues for prominent SMOs, unionization, surveys of unconventional political participation, strikes, and protest events, there is no big empirical picture of any aspect of the rise, decline, and persistence of SMOs across movements and over time. Data on movements through newspapers on protest events are limited in time and capture only a fraction of the ways that SMOs might be covered.

To fill this major gap, we propose to collect new data on articles in which U.S. SMOs were mentioned in national newspapers—the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times*—from the populist movement of the 1890s through 2007 and address several fundamental questions about SMOs and movement families: Which U.S. SMOs and allied movement families have received the greatest newspaper coverage? Are they the ones that movement scholarship would lead us to expect? How has the coverage changed over time and across movements? How does coverage compare to standard, limited measures of SMO scale or activity, such as organizational density, membership, resources, or protest events? Are there systematic biases in coverage of SMOs similar to those surrounding the coverage of protest events? Are the historical trajectories of coverage consistent with the main theories of social movements, including resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977), new social movement (Kriesi et al. 1995; Berry 1999), and political process/protest cycle (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1994) theories? Each of these theories has been employed to explain many outcomes associated with social movements, including their impact (see reviews in Andrews 2002; Amenta 2006); newspaper coverage is one (and perhaps the only) measure of influence that can be analyzed across so many movements and over long stretches of time. We will assess these models both through historical investigation and time-series regression analyses, bearing in mind that this is just one movement consequence or outcome, at the macro level, and that these theories have implications for many outcomes aside from this one. Also, once the data are collected, we intend to make them widely available through the PI's Web site, opening up lines of research especially for scholars with detailed knowledge of and data on movement families or SMOs to examine questions about newspaper coverage and their connections to different aspects of organizations, and their scale and activity.

MOTIVATION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The literature on social movements is mainly a literature of case studies. Studies of a sample or population of a theoretically delimited set of organizations or events for long periods have been limited (Gamson 1975/1990; Skocpol 2003). Although the field has seen tremendous gains over the last two decades (see review in Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004), the emphases in the field have produced only partial pictures of movement scale and activity, and most work is at the micro and meso levels of analysis. Perhaps the most extensive work comparing movement activity in the U.S. context has been the project on protest events by McAdam, McCarthy, and colleagues (e.g.,

McAdam and Su 2002; Soule and Earl 2005), which can address questions about the impact of protest and the transition to a social movement society in the period from 1960 to 1990.

Moreover, they focus on events rather than SMOs, which have been a central aspect of movement research since the early 1970s (Gamson 1975/1990; McCarthy and Zald 1977). SMOs not only help to fashion interests and build imagined political communities, but also constitute a central means by which elected officials and the public come to understand these interests and communities. 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, such as appearing before a congressional committee or regulatory board, and thus media coverage in itself is a kind of success or impact for SMOs, their acceptance (cf. Gamson 1975/1990). Because of their power deficits in seeking influence (Lipsky 1968), SMOs need to transmit their cause to relevant third parties and bystanders (Gamson 2004). To gain purchase in discursive contests, SMOs typically take action to showcase their organizations and cause and to offer alternative framings of social problems and issues (Ryan 1990; Cress and Snow 2000; Ferree et al. 2002), or to discredit opponents (Gamson 2004; Fine 2006). SMOs that receive newspaper coverage also tend to gain support (Vliegenthart et al. 2005), and SMOs can win coverage and influence policy debates in multiple ways aside from protest (Bernstein 2001; Szymanski 2003; Andrews 2004; Amenta 2006).

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). Studies, however, find that newspapers have selection biases, over-reporting collective action that is large or violent or draws the participation of larger groups (McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Oliver and Maney 2000; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004). Similarly, we do not expect coverage of SMOs to be a simple reflection of their scale or activity (see review in Schudson 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” (Gans 1979). Challengers hope to exploit these practices to achieve their goals. Because they are generated through the standard procedures of news organizations, smaller SMOs are likely underreported (Corbett 1998), with possible biases toward more middle-class SMOs, as well as toward SMOs with public relations personnel (Rohlinger 2002).

The overall coverage of SMOs will also relate to a far wider range of SMO activity than protest. And there is no reason to assume that coverage arising from testimony, a press conference, or a lawsuit—to take a few examples of non-protesting political activity—will distort the message of SMOs more so than coverage of protest events or be less influential in policy and discursive battles. The same is likely true of coverage of an opponent’s action, a political appointment, a candidate’s campaign, a crisis, a leadership controversy, a feature story, or a news analysis—a few examples of non-SMO-instigated coverage. The latter sort of coverage is important, if rarely remarked upon. Environmental SMOs in 1992 received about 40 percent of their coverage in national newspapers by way of events that they did not initiate (Corbett 1998). We return to these empirical questions. Unfortunately, unlike with protest events (Oliver and Myers 1999; Smith et al. 2001), there is no way to compare coverage of SMOs with all politically relevant activity or all dimensions of the scale of SMOs, even if there were a scholarly consensus on what constitutes such activity or scale. However, below we compare coverage to other measures of social movement activity and scale used in the literature to ascertain tendencies and biases. By examining SMO coverage, moreover, it is possible to probe gaps in our knowledge and potential biases in our theorizing, both by addressing macro level issues and by locating SMOs that have received far more attention from newspapers than from movement scholars.

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS AND PRELIMINARY DATA

We have so far 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, in order to gain a description of which SMOs and types of SMOs have been most prominent in the twentieth century. Our first step was to attempt to identify the population of national, political SMOs contending in the 20th century—no easy task, as until now no one had tried to do so. Then we searched the *New York Times* using ProQuest Historical Newspapers for mentions of these SMOs in articles, and we categorized the organizations into different groupings based on movement type. This produced information on coverage according to SMO and allied movement families. From there we compared measures of SMO coverage in the *Times* with measures of movement scale and activity to see how closely they corresponded to and correlated, and made some preliminary assessments of major theories of social movements based on these data.

To conceptualize SMOs, an issue on which there is no academic consensus, we focused on national and political ones (Amenta and Caren 2004) and employ a conceptualization similar to McCarthy and Zald's (1977) "social movement organization" or Gamson's (1990/1975) "challenging group." The latter includes only politically inflected organizations and such institutional-tactic-reliant ones as the American Association of University Professors, the Proportional Representation League, and the League of American Wheelmen. We understand this is far from the only way to conceptualize social movements and organizations and includes many political advocacy organizations, while omitting organizations that challenge authority and institutions aside from the state, as well as wider ranging and non-organized activities challenging cultural codes (cf. Snow et al. 2004 and below). We understand that any definition will have advantages and disadvantages and chose this large if limited group because of previous literature and the likelihood that its members might be more likely to have similar causes and consequences and be the directly influential in politics and elite debates—subjects for research that we return to below. We follow a substantial portion of the literature in steering a middle course between the relatively few political organizations of the disadvantaged employing disruptive, non-institutional, or transgressive tactics (McAdam et al. 2001), which are incorporated in the definition, and the large number of "interest organizations" encompassing all political interest groups and parties (Burstein and Linton 2002) and the even larger set of all voluntary associations (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003). For scholars interested in wider sets of organizations, these could be later added to the data set and their coverage examined as research questions indicate.

We see SMOs as constituting a fuzzy set (Ragin 2000) that encompasses those organizations that are mainly or completely in the ideal type set as defined above. Although we excluded major political parties and interest groups as being different types of organizations from SMOs (Schwartz and Lawson 2005; Granados and Knoke 2005), we included almost all so-called "third" parties (see Gamson 1975) and conceptualized excluded interest groups narrowly, as those representing elite or professional constituencies and business organizations. Also excluded were think tanks and foundations. Although we excluded most fraternal, service, and recreational organizations, because their purposes and actions are not primarily political, we included veterans' organizations because of their explicitly political aims, as well as peak associations of labor organizations and national unions. Non-political religious fellowship organizations, such as the Knights of Columbus, were out, as were utopian religious groups and cults such as the ill-fated Peoples' Temple and Heaven's Gate; the explicitly political Moral Majority and Christian Coalition were included, as were the anti-war American Friends Service Committee and the civil rights organization the National Council of Churches. Finally, we excluded small paramilitary organizations that claimed to seek mass support, but gained instead notoriety, such as the Weather Underground Organization, Black Liberation Army, and Symbionese Liberation Army.

To generate our population of SMOs, we started with previous large lists of politically engaged organizations (Tilly n.d.; Fountain 2006), work that compares large numbers of organizations (e.g., Gamson 1975/1990; Wilson 1973; Minkoff 1995; Skocpol 2003; Snow et al.

2004), examined more than 100 monographs on movements and advocacy organizations, and the Encyclopedia of Associations. We filled gaps with the advice of colleagues and by way of inspecting articles with the words “groups” and “organizations” in the headline to identify 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 the articles indicated, and expanding or restricting the search terms for a more accurate count. So far, we have been able to identify 951 SMOs with coverage in the *Times* in the twentieth century. Of these, 239 had five or fewer appearances. We also located another 290 organizations that qualified, but had no *Times* coverage whatsoever, for 1231 SMOs in all. Altogether we identified almost 300,000 article mentions of SMOs. Given the large numbers, minor alterations in the qualifying criteria or the identification of SMOs as yet uncovered—we are still working through research monographs and follow any leads—will not greatly change the results below.

IMAGES AND THEORIES OF MOVEMENTS AND SMO COVERAGE

Scholars have not much addressed what accounts for the large-scale changes in the public profile of social movements. Many scholars, however, have offered images of and, sometimes, causal claims about the historical trajectory of social movements, their organizations, their form, their activities, and their consequences, notably resource mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977), new social movement (Kriesi et al. 1995; Berry 1999), and political opportunity and protest cycle (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1994) models. Although neither the resource mobilization theory nor the political process/political cycle theory makes explicit predictions about newspaper coverage, these theories have been deployed to explain the success or consequences of social movements (Andrews 2004; Amenta 2006) and gaining coverage is a key success on one of Gamson’s (1975/1990) two dimensions: acceptance. We propose to determine whether these perspectives and arguments—which have proved useful in explaining many movement outcomes—also explain trends and patterns in coverage. The coverage of SMOs is important to explain in itself. Also, as we have seen, there is some close connections between coverage and some important forms of SMO scale and activity.

The resource mobilization perspective expects increasing numbers of and specialization among social movement organizations as disposable income rises and citizens use it to seek social change by contributing to causes (McCarthy and Zald 1977). As income rises, SMOs are expected to appear and compete to fill niches within social movement sectors, filling in the social movement industry as a whole. The imagery is of ever-larger numbers of organizations and associated activity as conscience constituents gain increasing means to act on their beliefs. These expectations largely correspond with the growth of different types of advocacy groups as appearing in successive volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Associations*, as income has risen throughout the postwar period. It would be consistent with the imagery that organizations would receive attention commensurate with their ability to attract members and resources.

Some images and claims of new social movement theory (Kriesi et al. 1995; Berry 1999) may fill in gaps in resource mobilization theory about the direction of change in movement orientation. New social movements were to act on preferences for social change based on post-industrial values and eventually displace more materialistic movements (Inglehart 1977; Melucci 1980). These scholars expect that as post-industrial economies transform social values away from materialism and toward the quality of life, labor, veterans, and pensioners movements and the like will be eclipsed by identity, peace, and environmental movements. To put it in terms of resource mobilization theory, scholars focusing on new social movements expect that conscience constituencies would turn their attention and increasingly larger incomes toward contributing to social change in line with their new, post-material values.

As with many other issues in this literature, there is no consensus on what constitutes a new social movement or SMO. If new SMOs are understood as being seeking the transformation of cultural codes or personal reform, the United States has had them throughout its history (Calhoun 1993; Young 2002). More typical, however, is a restrictive view, corresponding to the

rise of post-industrial values (Inglehart 1977) in the West in the 1960s and 1970s. Proponents of this idea identify left-libertarian causes (Kitschelt 1985), such as the environment, peace, gay rights, and animal rights (Kriesi et al. 1995; Giugni 2004) as being central new social movements. Excluded are longstanding SMOs concerned with cultural codes, such as temperance groups, longstanding civil rights organizations, as well as more recent conservative SMOs (cf. Berry 1999), such as those in the Christian right and the anti-abortion movement.

Third, there are the political process theory and the related idea of protest cycles. These arguments hold that variations in movement activity, typically protests, will correspond not to socio-economic influences, but to changes in political contexts related to social movements. These contexts have some stable elements, but they also vary dynamically (McAdam 1996; Tarrow 1996). From this point of view, movements are expected to take the form of cycles, in which changes in political contexts spur some movements, which in turn encourage others, and then all eventually recede as political opportunities narrow (Tarrow 1994). There is agreement on broad factors that constitute political opportunities and also that the 1930s and then the late 1950s and 1960s produced cycles of movement activity. Labor and unemployed worker “popular front” protest is expected to be at the core of the 1930s wave, and the civil rights movement beginning in the late 1950s is expected to be at the center of the second wave, providing a boost to other movements, especially student activism (Tarrow 1994:166-67; McAdam 1982).

It would also be expected that social movement activity and coverage would move according to the main dynamics of political process arguments, which focuses on the opening and closing of political opportunities or changes in political contexts. Although political opportunity concepts have been criticized as being difficult to operationalize (Goodwin and Jasper 1999), systemic political opportunity has been understood in ways that scholars frequently agree upon—by way of political formations and contexts favorable to the claims of left movements (Jenkins et al. 2003; Soule and Olzak 2004; Meyer and Minkoff 2004; see also Amenta et al. 2005).

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS I: MOST COVERED AND COMMON MEASURES

We find that the SMO with the most coverage overall is the AFL-CIO (including coverage of the AFL and CIO individually before they merged in 1953), which receives more than three times as many mentions as the next SMO, the NAACP. (See Table 1 on next page.) The American Civil Liberties Union, the Ku Klux Klan, and the United Mine Workers round out the top five, each appearing in well over 5000 articles. Labor unions permeate the top-30 list, represented also by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, United Steelworkers, and United Auto Workers. The list includes several SMOs, aside from the NAACP, relating to African-American civil rights: the National Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Also represented are SMOs focused on feminism and women’s rights, the League of Women Voters and the National Organization for Women, ranging across both the first and second “waves” of the movement. Veterans’ organizations, including the GAR, the VFW, and the American Legion, also rank in the top 30.

From here we analyze coverage according to broad categories, families, or industries of SMOs (McCarthy and Zald 1977). There is no scholarly consensus in the categories of social movements or allocating SMOs to them, and we employ frequently used, if somewhat broad categories, including “labor,” “African-American civil rights,” “environmental, conservation, and ecology,” “veterans,” and “women’s rights/feminist,” for a total of 27 mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Because of the lack of consensus and the low counts for some possible movement families, a few of the categories are residual. 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 larger movement family, and “civil rights, other” for organizations seeking civil rights for groups like the disabled or native Americans, but which did not draw enough coverage to warrant an entire category. Also, we focus on broader issues typically, rather than the demographic makeup of the movement, so organizations largely or even 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 movements (see Amenta et al. 2006). Once the data set is complete, however, it would be straightforward for scholars with different conceptualizations and theoretical approaches to group the information accordingly and address research questions.

Table 1: Top 30 Social Movement Organizations in the 20th Century, by Total Coverage in the *New York Times*

Organization (year of founding)	Articles	Organization (year of founding)	Articles
1. AFL-CIO* (1886, 1937, 1955)	41718	16. Black Panthers (1966)	3460
2. NAACP (1909)	12616	17. AJCommittee (1906)	3317
3. ACLU (1920)	8911	18. Actors Equity Association (1913)	3229
4. KKK (1867)	8067	19. ASPCA (1866)	3016
5. UMW (1890)	7044	20. UAW (1935)	2872
6. LWV (1920)	6869	21. National Council of Churches (1950)	2649
7. American Legion (1919)	6631	22. Anti-Defamation League (1913)	2618
8. ILGWU (1900)	5875	23. Planned Parenthood (1923)	2610
9. Teamsters (1903)	5216	24. IBEW (1891)	2541
10. VFW (1936)	4829	25. Sierra Club (1892)	2497
11. NEA (1857)	4725	26. NUL (1910)	2495
12. Anti-Saloon League (1893)	4581	27. CORE (1942)	2349
13. United Steelworkers (1942)	4019	28. AFT (1916)	2267
14. AJCongress (1918)	3849	29. ITU (1852)	2130
15. GAR (1866)	3492	30. ADA (1947)	2052

Note: Abbreviated Groups Include: American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Teachers, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Congress of Industrial Organizations/ Committee for Industrial Organization, Congress of Racial Equality, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, International Typographical Union, Ku Klux Klan, League of Women Voters, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Education Association, National Urban League, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and Veterans of Foreign Wars.
* This number represents the number of articles for the AFL and CIO individually through 1954, and for the AFL-CIO combined afterward.

Unsurprisingly, given the individual SMO results, labor receives by far the most mentions, accounting for 37 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 about 10 percent. Labor remains first easily even when individual unions are not counted, with 20 percent of the coverage. Behind the Big Two are five more closely bunched movement families. The environmental, conservation, and ecology, veterans', feminist/women's rights, and nativist/supremacist SMOs each gained between 4.1 and 5.6 percent of the coverage, with the residual "progressive family" of movements gaining 6.6 percent. Although the feminist movement comes in fifth place overall, if one were to add in the abortion/reproductive rights SMOs, as we plan to do for some analyses, this wider grouping would place third with approximately 6.6 percent of the coverage. These families are followed by Jewish civil rights, civil liberties, and anti-war SMOs.

How does the newspaper coverage of SMOs compare to other measures of SMO scale—membership, resources, and organizational density--and movement activity—strikes and protest events--typically used by scholars to describe movements appraise theories? There are two main alternative approaches. One model, the reflection model, would expect that newspapers simply to report on SMOs according to their scale and level of activity. This model describes to some extent what newspapers and reporters claim to be doing (see Gans 1979). This model, however,

is countered by the distortion model (Gitlin 1980), which suggests that newspaper disproportionately cover organizations and events deemed newsworthy, mainly . Thus novel, disruptive, or violent activity would tend to be covered. Several scholars have developed different measures for either individual SMOs or movement families that address either scale or disruptive activity. For the reflection model to have support, coverage should be closely connected to movement scale. For the refraction/distortion model to gain support, coverage should be closely connected to disruptive or similarly usual activity. In these analyses we are constrained to examine measures collected by other scholars on projects designed with different questions in mind, and so the results are preliminary.

In examining the scale of SMOs, 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). The correlation between membership and coverage from 1934 to 1953 is .62. For the NAACP, a key organization in the most prominent movement of the second half of the 20th century, the correlation between members from 1947 through 1981 and *Times* coverage is .70. For neither organization, however, does coverage come close to reflecting revenues, as the correlations are almost zero. 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 coverage and union membership of .59, but after 1954, after which point unionization declines, the correlation increases to .80. Next we examine organizational density in the feminist movement, comparing the coverage received by all the main SMOs with organizational density figures from 1960 through 1985 (Minkoff 1997). The two are very closely correlated at .89.

Next we compare coverage of SMOs and two measures from the Big Two movements, strike activity and protest events, to see whether the coverage of SMOs is connected mainly to their most dramatic activities. Although the correlation between the work stoppage measures and articles is .58 over all years examined, between 1930 and 1947, during the rise of the labor movement, the correlation is .80. Finally, protest events for the civil rights movement (Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone 2003; McAdam 1982) for 1950 through 1997 are compared with the coverage of the Big Four civil rights organizations. The two have the same 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.

The results show some support for each of the models. The middling high correlations between coverage and individual SMO membership in conjunction with higher correlations with labor coverage and union density and a very high correlation between coverage and feminist SMOs suggests that coverage is connected more closely to the scale of movement families than to individual SMOs, even extremely prominent ones. If anything, coverage reflects best overall scale. However, aspects of scale such as resource generation is likely to slip through the cracks, and the model does not say a great deal about which SMOs within a given movement might be covered. As for the distortion/refraction model, there is also support. 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 less closely connected to this sort of activity. In short, coverage does not result automatically from scale or strikes or protest activity, though it is connected in different ways to each; coverage likely has determinants that include factors specific to newspapers as well as to individual SMOs. We propose to follow up these initial analyses with further examinations of the connections between coverage and movement scale and activity (see below).

PRELIMINARY RESULTS II: THEORIES OF MOVEMENTS AND COVERAGE

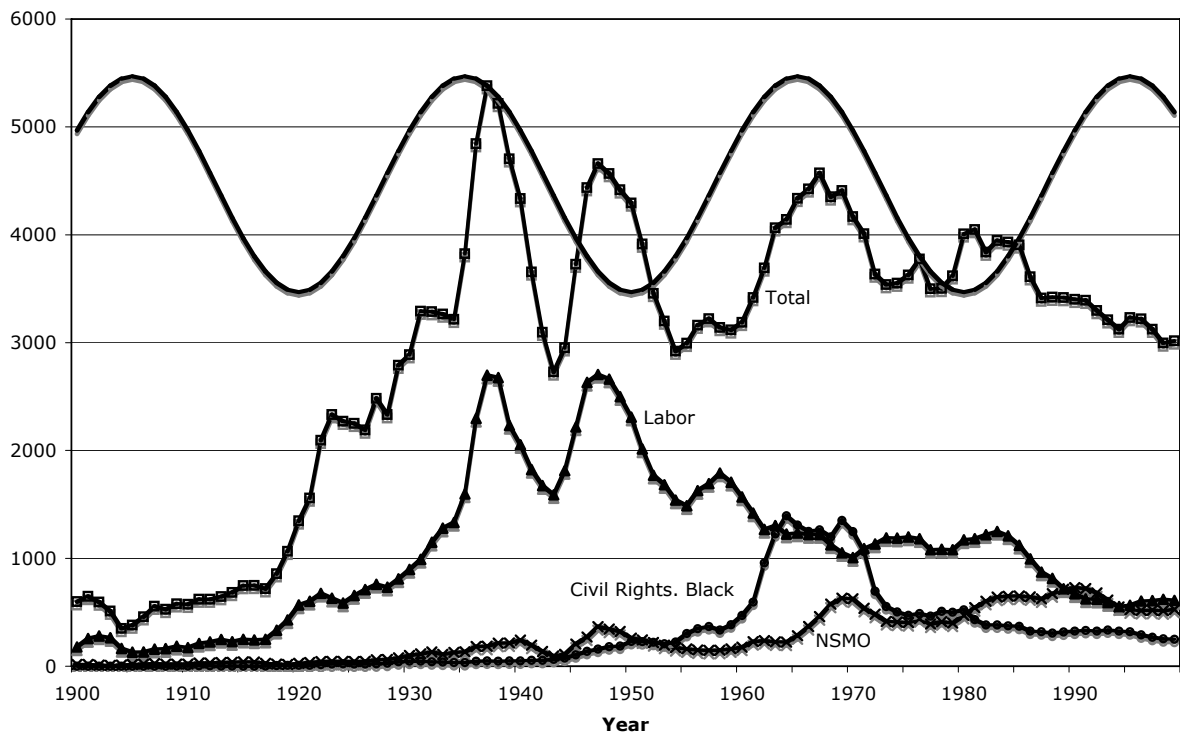
We turn next to preliminary appraisals of the main theories, bearing in mind that these theories have implications that go beyond newspaper coverage and that any complete model to explain coverage would have to address other factors, including those related to conditions of and changes in the process of newsgathering (see below). These appraisals are designed to see

whether these largely successful theoretical arguments can be extended to another important movement outcome. Initial analyses of the dispersion of coverage provide some support for resource mobilization theory. For most of the century, the top three and top ten SMOs accounted for a very high percentage of all coverage in a given year or decade (results not shown). In the 1990s, less than half of the SMO coverage is of the top 10, indicating that coverage is being spread more widely. Somewhat in conflict with the theoretical expectations, however, the coverage of social movements is not closely connected to the growth of disposable income, even after the Second World War. Income has been trending upward, whereas SMO coverage has been in a certain, if erratic, decline since the early 1970s (results not shown, but see figure one below).

The evidence would fit a hybrid resource mobilization/new social movement perspective if an overall decline in movement coverage were a result of the drop-off in the coverage of old-line SMOs, masking an upward climb of new SMOs. Labor remained at the top of the charts from 1900s through the 1950's, before losing its place, a result not unexpected by new social movement theory. Also as expected, SMOs from veterans, temperance, consumer, and farmer movements declined in the second half of the twentieth century. However, in the 1960s, labor lost its top spot to African American civil rights SMOs, and then returned to the top in subsequent decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, environmental and conservationist organizations were able only to claim third place. But new SMOs defined in the strictest sense gained only 19 percent of *Times* coverage of SMOs in the 1990s (see Figure 1 below). Newspaper coverage of new SMOs as a percentage of SMO coverage for the post-World War II period is correlated .70 with percentage of the labor force in the service sector, and both trend upward. A more expansive view of new SMOs as being post-World War II and oriented toward values or cultural change (Berry 1999) encompasses the black civil rights movement, the second wave of the feminist movement, the abortion-rights and anti-abortion movements, and the Christian right. In the last decade of the 20th century these new movement families have outdistanced in coverage the older movement families (results not shown). In short, new SMOs understood in these latter two ways have made great gains in coverage in recent decades and have tended to increase along with economic transformations, but far from dominate SMO coverage.

To provide a preliminary assessment of the cycle imagery and to give an overall picture of SMO coverage, Figure 1 shows the entire historical profile of coverage across the 20th century, in a three-year moving average juxtaposed to a hypothetical curve of 30-year waves. The big picture is in many ways congruent with the political process/protest cycle imagery. There are, as expected by these proponents, identifiable coverage waves, one apparently peaking in the 1930s and another around 30 years later. The first is associated with the labor movement and the second with the civil rights movements. Nonetheless, the overall pattern also diverges with expectations. There is no wave in coverage before the 1930s and none after the 1960s. Moreover, the initial cycle of coverage peaked later than expected, in the late 1930s, lasted a long time, with a hiatus for World War II, before ending in the early 1950s. Also, the 1960s wave peaked later than portrayed, in the early 1970s, and carried on until the early 1980s, with, unexpectedly, a brief upsurge during a right-wing regime. In addition, there is no early century cycle of coverage, but this may be related to the fact that so far we have collected data only for the 20th century, missing the possibility of large-scale coverage of the populist movement of the 1890s (Sanders 1999).

Figure 1. Trends in SMO Coverage



A correlation analysis with a measure of the partisan makeup of Congress and the D-W nominate score provides some support for the political opportunity argument. The overall coverage of SMOs across the century is fairly highly correlated with each measure (.52 with percent left-leaning Congresses, .50 with median ideology); the correlation between overall coverage of non-right SMOs and these measures is even higher (.56 each), as would be expected by political process scholars. By contrast, also not unexpectedly, there are only insignificant correlations between these measures and the coverage of right-wing SMOs (see McVeigh 2004). However, a rolling correlation, examining the relationship between Congress and coverage for 25-year periods shows that the correlation is historically variable. For example, between 1921 and 1945, liberal congressional ideology and social movements articles have a .76 correlation. During other periods, there is no significant relationship, and during periods at the beginning (1910-1935) and end of the century (1970-1995), the relationship is negative. In our discussion below, we propose to provide further and more rigorous tests of these arguments and to address these anomalies.

THE COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT

My collaborators and I have managed to push the project this far forward in our spare time over the past few years and by way of discretionary university research funds, creating the list of SMOs, locating and downloading every article in which an SMO appears in the *New York Times* across the twentieth century. We have also made comparisons with other measures used by prominent scholarship in the field, and provided the first long-term, if preliminary, appraisals, of the main theoretical accounts of movements (see Amenta et al. 2006; Amenta et al. 2007). During the granting period, we hope to go well beyond these initial findings and appraisals to produce a new data set that will be of tremendous use for scholars in two ways: in mapping SMO coverage across movements over a long stretch of time and answering basic empirical questions, and for testing theories of the rise and fall of social movements and their consequences, the two

main questions in the literature. We also plan to engage in some key mappings and appraisals, along with contributions to the analysis of civic engagement trends and newspaper coverage patterns. With its long-term coverage, the data set will complement other sources of data on social movements, including major projects on protest events and organizational demography, which largely focus on the 1960s and beyond. We conclude with a discussion of our plans. For reasons of space the data analyses are not as specified in as much detail as they might be (but see Amenta et al 2007 for additional specifics), and we focus on the possibilities for use of these data for future projects by us and social movement scholars with detailed knowledge of specific SMOs and movements.

The projects on our agenda range from gaining more accurate and useful measures of newspaper coverage to theorizing about what causes it and appraising these theoretical claims. This primarily entails data newspaper data collection, supplemented with additional data on SMOs attributes and additional data on non-SMO factors theorized to be related to SMO patterns. The next empirical steps include ways to provide more accurate or revealing pictures of the newspaper coverage of SMOs. We propose to add the coverage of the other main newspapers, the *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times*. These results will allow us to ensure that movements with a western base, but with national foci, are not discounted as well as to overcome a bias toward eastern-based SMOs as appear in the *New York Times*. For instance, preliminary analyses of the top 30 indicate that five SMOs with national goals but New York bases of operations do not have nearly as much coverage in the *Post*. Similarly, the top feminist and veterans' SMOs are counted less by the *Times* than the *Post*, possibly because of their Washington bases. In addition, we seek to update the study through 2007 and push it back to the 1890s to examine the populist wave of coverage. We would also like to expand our controls for patterns of coverage, collecting measures on the total number of articles published and the total number of political articles published in each paper to provide additional controls for overall newspaper trends. We would also like collect measures of article length and placement in order to employ weighting schemes that take this factors critical to prominence into account article (Vliegenthart et al. 2005)—such sharpening may make coverage more closely correspond to other indicators of movement scale and activity used by scholars.

Beyond that we plan to collect additional data on a sample of articles to examine how the SMOs were covered (Ferree et al. 2002; Gamson 2004). We will focus on three major categories: how positive or negative the coverage, the degree to which an SMO achieve “standing,” or being quoted by a spokesperson, and the appearance of the SMO’s preferred framing of an issue. Specifically, we will code articles based on context (the degree to which the article was primarily about the social movement, coded on a five point scale); initiative (whether the article was a result of the SMO’s actions, or commenting on a target's or a countermobilization; coded as an ordinal variable); quoted, or standing (a dichotomous variable); issue (e.g. was a substantive issue related to the SMO mentioned; a dichotomous variable); and tone (e.g. was the overall tone of the article favorable, neutral, or dismissive of the SMO; coded on a five point scale). It is also particularly important to know about the type of actions being covered. We will break down coverage by types of initiated action, including unconventional action, such as violence, civil disobedience, and demonstration, institutional protest and claims-making, such as electioneering, testifying at hearings, press conferences, and litigation. There are also important distinctions to be made among non-initiated occasions for coverage, including reactions to counter-movement organizations, proposals by institutional actors, crises, and other newsworthy events. Coding will be done by trained graduate students working off a detailed code sheet that will be developed after a pilot examination of a sample of articles. The final sample will include 1,200 articles, including 100 from each decade with each movement type proportionally represented by decade.

This in-depth examination of SMO coverage will give scholars unique insight into how SMOs enter the news and patterns in media coverage. It is a standard assumption (Lipsky 1968) in the literature that newspaper coverage of SMOs is closely related to protest (cf. Meyer and

Minkoff 2004). Research on recent environmental SMOs (Corbett 1998), however, suggests that the bulk of their coverage comes not from non-institutional action on their part, but through institutional action and in reaction to events initiated by others. We propose to examine more closely the relationship between coverage and SMO actions and reactions, and the extent to which the relationship changes across the century, across types of SMOs and across the life course of SMOs. The results of this investigation will also make it possible to assess the influence of protest on both discursive and policy battles in which social movements are engaged. In addition, using this information we will seek to categorize SMOs into types and configurations of coverage, along the lines of our preliminary analysis which has focused on the annual counts.

A related part of the research agenda is to examine more closely the occasions for coverage of SMOs. It would be of considerable theoretical and practical interest to know which occasions for coverage lead most frequently to gaining standing for the SMO or favorable framings of an issue. It will be possible as well to identify standard discursive problems that arise from coverage of non-institutional or unconventional action. Such examinations may help to uncover the conditions under which SMOs can best achieve standing or gain a friendly frame without the same article also including standing or framing from a countervailing or “balancing” organization. This data would also allow us to examine those SMOs engaging in or threatening unconventional or non-institutional tactics to ascertain their historical trajectory and to see whether scholars’ concern with “’60s-style” protest has been overstated in political claims-making among SMOs (Sampson et al. 2005). Aside from giving alternative pictures of the scale of SMOs in political discourse, it would also be possible to see if standing and favorable framing adhered more to one type or another.

In addition to our census of SMO articles and our random sample of coverage, we also plan to compare the newspaper coverage of a few well-studied SMOs to a wide range of their action, analogous to work on protest and its coverage. It is worth finding out which activities and characteristics of SMOs tend to lead to coverage and which do not, with the working hypothesis that coverage of activities other than protest would work similarly to the processes that lead to coverage of protest. While the first two types of data will be instructive in researching what gets covered, this analysis will supplement it by including data on SMO activities and resources that did not make the papers, allowing for a more complete picture of how SMO coverage operates. This line of research would involve making intensive comparisons of very well documented organizations, their protest and other activities, and the coverage they received. Although it would tend to suffer the same small-N problems as most social movement research, the results would be useful and build on those regarding the coverage of protest. In regressing measures of activity 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 have been of great interest to scholars. These adjusted measures could be valuable in addressing many questions about social movements. Altogether, the new information available about SMOs may hasten the day when research across movements and over long stretches of time will no longer seem exceptional.

Similarly, it would be possible for well researched movement families to ascertain which characteristics of organizations lead more frequently to coverage, whether it has do with size (Corbett 1998), resources (Andrews 2004), or resourcefulness (Ganz 2000) and for the connection between individual SMOs and their coverage. We do not have extensive research planned for this issue, as it would require extensive knowledge and data sets pertaining to the characteristics of movement families, but the data set on coverage will allow scholars with such knowledge of and data on a specific family to engage in such research. We do plan one case study of this sort—for the Townsend Plan, an old-age challenger for which the PI has comprehensive information (see Amenta 2006). This study, which will compare all known actions taken by the movement organization with mainstream coverage will provide a first cut and a preliminary test of reasons that an individual organization gains coverage and as subject or object.

A second major area of interest, we also plan to employ the data on coverage to provide stronger tests of the main theories of social movements. Here we plan to employ yearly time series analyses to assess the comparative abilities of resource mobilization and political process/protest cycle theories to explain annual variation in the social movement coverage. We operationalize resource mobilization theory using a variety of measures. To capture a sense of personal wealth available to support movements, we will include per capita disposable income available from the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (various dates). To focus on extra income available to the poor, we would include several measures of poverty, minimum wage and income transfers (the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (various dates). As a measure of the human capital component of resource mobilization, we will include measures of educational attainment as both an annual average, but also for the least well off using Census data. We also plan to operationalize elite monetary support, by include measures of foundation funding from the IRS.

We operationalize the political process model's favorable opportunities using the percentage of House representatives who are left-leaning, defined as not being Republicans or southern Democrats, and the median representative ideology score of each Congress (Poole and Rosenthal 2005), or the DW-Nominate score, based on roll call votes. We will also include data on Supreme Court rulings to provide measures of movement specific opportunities (Jones Wilkerson and Baumgartner 2007). To test theories of protest cycles, we will include the relationship between SMO coverage and the sine wave functions with varying peaks and angular frequency.

In these analyses, we will also include a number of control measures, mainly related to the practices and activities of newsgathering. As we have seen, coverage is related in part to the number and scale of SMOs and in part related to more disruptive activities, especially in an SMO's early years. As a basic measure of changes in reporting, we include the total number of articles published. We also include the number of mentions of the Democratic and Republican parties in the paper, as a measure of institutional political coverage.

We will also appraise some of the claims of some versions of new social movement theory. Of course, some varieties of new social movement theory focus not on organizations and on challenges that are not national and political, but on cultural codes (see review in Snow et al. 2004), but as noted above some scholars focusing on SMOs also employ new social movement theory arguments (e.g., Berry 1999; Giugni 2004; Kriesi et al. 1995). In these analyses we plan to employ three different dependent measures of new SMOs: a restrictive view that includes only SMOs that challenge post-industrial values, including the environmental, anti-war, gay rights, and animal rights movement organization families (Kriesi et al.); a broader notion that includes these groups plus civil rights, the second wave of women's rights, anti-abortion and Christian right organizations (Berry 1999); and a still broad group that includes any organizations at any time that challenged cultural codes such as the prohibition movement (Calhoun 1993).

These relationships will be modeled several ways, including time-series analysis of individual SMOs, families of SMOs, dividing SMOs by political leaning, and total SMO coverage, along with cross-sectional time-series analysis of SMOs coverage. Analysis of this kind presents a number of complications, but we believe the problems are manageable. Under the assumption that the errors follow a first-order autoregressive process, which we will test, we employ a Prais-Winsten regression on our annual time-series data; otherwise, the more flexible ARIMA model will be employed (Wooldridge 2006). For the cross-sectional time-series analysis, we will employ a feasible generalized least squares model specifying an AR(1) correlation to capture the autoregressive process. To check the robustness of these results we will also employ a first order difference approach (Greene 2005). Where the data is skewed and residuals violate normality assumptions, we will address this by either logging the counts or by using methods appropriate for count data such as poisson and negative binomial regression. Any missing data will be multiple-imputed.

A key theoretical task for the future is to address more thoroughly the role of newspapers in the coverage of SMOs. Any complete model of coverage of SMOs will have to address newspapers as both sites of cultural production and nodes of political power (Schudson 2005; Ryan 1990) and go beyond simple models and controls. Most theories of the state-related consequences of movements theorize about their political mediation, incorporating structural and dynamic aspects of politics into models, specifying interactions between the characteristics of SMOs, their strategies, and the changing political contexts they face (see Amenta and Caren 2004). Addressing theoretically the mediating influence of news organizations and specifying similar interactions between political contexts, organizations, strategies, and changes in the structure and practices of newsgathering will be key to explain fully the coverage of SMOs. The professionalization of journalism and concomitant changes in the organization of the work of covering the news, for example, likely mediate the influence of the larger political context, the structure and goals of organizations, and their strategies on the amount and character of coverage received. Future research is planned to explore multivariate analyses across movement categories and newspapers, simultaneously including all the measures employed in the preliminary analyses above, plus other control measures that might explain coverage, including those above, and ones developed regarding newsgathering structures and practices.

One important task is to theorize and compare the coverage of SMOs by the more liberal press with those of different political slants, such as the staunchly conservative *Chicago Tribune*, both of which are covered by ProQuest. The political stance of the paper's ownership has always shaped its coverage of institutional politics and thus likely influences its coverage of SMOs. For example, conservative papers might highlight disorder under liberal regimes in order to discredit their political opponents, and ignore disorder on the watch of conservative governments, perhaps leading to a differential coverage of SMOs. Similarly, liberal papers may gain provide standing and alternative framings of liberal and progressive SMOs, whereas conservative papers seem likely to grant standing to and employ the frames of conservative or Christian right SMOs.

In addition to these examinations of major theories of the life course of SMOs, further investigations into newspaper coverage can help to address current questions in the literature on civic engagement through more sophisticated codings of movement and advocacy organizations. Identifying membership organizations and comparing their coverage with that of “checkbook” or “memberless” advocacy organizations can aid in understanding the decline of membership organizations, including in discursive battles, and the reasons for it (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003). Specifically, we will be to analysis trends in coverage of membership-based SMOs compared to SMOs not rooted in a broad membership or those SMOs where member participation is trivial. Using the *Encyclopedia of Associations* supplemented with monographs on specific SMOs, we will categorize each SMOs based on the presence of membership, and the role in the organization. Importantly, we allow this variable to vary over time, as organizations may shift their focus over time. Additionally, rather than view this as dichotomous, we recognize the fuzzy nature of participation, and will code each SMO for each year along a four-point scale. Preliminary analyses, using time-invariant measures of membership, suggest that membership SMOs did indeed dominate newspaper coverage before the 1960s, and that non-membership and partial-membership SMOs have steadily gained ground since the 1950s (results not shown). But further analyses will see whether this holds up once organizations are analyzed over time.

Finally, we propose to use these data to help address the second key question of social movement research—the consequences of social movements. Theories about the consequences of movements often concern influence gained through attention by the mass media (Lipsky 1968; Giugni 2004). We hope to be able to appraise these arguments by examining the political campaigns of SMOs and the amounts and types of coverage they were able to generate. The relationship between SMO coverage and federal action provides an excellent opportunity to test of movement influence through coverage. For the dependent variable, we will use data from the NSF-supported Policy Agendas Project (PAP) directed by Bryan Jones and John Wilkerson of the

University of Washington and Frank Baumgartner of Pennsylvania State University. Specifically, we will examine whether SMOs in specific policy realms effected Congressional hearings, Executive Orders, Public Laws, and the federal budget related to that realm. PAP data is already coded with a similar scheme to the one used in this preliminary analysis, such as civil rights, labor, veterans, and the environment, which cover most of publicized SMOs in our study. While previous social movement analysis has often looked at one organization or movement, this analysis would provide a broader test of social movement impacts on a variety of federal actions. We will perform a series of cross-sectional time-series analysis looking at how changes in the amount and type of coverage for each type of social movement impacts changes in the number of congressional hearings (using a zero-inflated negative binomial model); number of executive orders (a zero-inflated negative binomial model); public laws (a zero-inflated negative binomial model) and percent of federal budget (a linear model).

It also seems worth comparing the influence of the different sorts of coverage SMOs generate with the influence of the more widely studied protest event. Preliminary analysis has five major studies that used protest event data as key causal measures of SMO influence. We intend to reanalyze these studies with the addition of our new measure of coverage measures, and expect coverage would either function independently from or as a mediator of the SMO indicator used. Soule, McAdam, McCarthy, and Su (1999) examine the women's movement impact on Congressional hearings and roll call votes using annual data for 1956-1979 finding little impact of mobilization. Jacobs and Helms (2001) model the impact of civil rights events on the redistributive character of the tax system from 1949-1989 finding an impact under specific political configurations. Our reanalyses would model the impact of both civil rights coverage and the broader category of progressive organizations. McAdam and Su (2002) examine the impact of anti-war protests on Congressional roll call votes using monthly data for 1965 to 1973 with mixed findings; Meyer and Minkoff (2004) examine the role of civil rights protests on the size of the Commission on Civil Rights budget finding little effect. King, Bentele, and Soule (2005) find that protest is positively associated with the number of hearings for the civil rights movement. In this way we hope to extend the work of these scholars by comparing the influence of different types of coverage, as from that generated from protest, on key policy changes.

The "starting time" of the project is January 1, 2008, although the work will continue slowly until then. A preliminary report of findings was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (Amenta et al. 2006) and at the Pacific Sociological Association (Amenta et al. 2007), and one paper with initial results is under review with a "revise and resubmit" in a prominent journal. During the two years of the grant, the principal investigator will supervise the gathering and coding of the coverage data with research assistance, as well as coordinate the collection, downloading, coding, and matching of data for the inferential statistical analyses. Neal Caren, now Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, will consult on the statistical analyses. A graduate student will be hired to code the data in the first year, with a second added to help collection and coding during the summer of the first year, and one will be employed to assess the data in the second year. The second year will see the completion and publication of reviewed papers from the project and the production of a scholarly manuscript. Also planned are presentations of papers, requiring travel and support, including the Annual Meetings of the ASA, APSA, and the SSHA. Support is requested only for the ASA meetings. I expect that articles will continue to be published after the end of the grant period (see results from previous grants below). Some equipment and software are requested. The coding would be greatly facilitated by a having a desktop computer, and we seek site licenses for SPSS 16 for Windows and Stata 10.

The project will produce several important pedagogical and scholarly results. One of the most important will be the new data set and the descriptive results it will provide and the resource it will be for scholars. The social movement area is one that has lacked long-term mapping that compares across movements, hindering the testing of hypotheses. We hope to link up with and

other large-scale projects supported by the NSF that have begun to develop mappings of social movements, advocacy organizations, and their political and discursive activities. These include the detailed examinations of protest event coverage since the 1960s by McAdam, McCarthy, and Soule, the comprehensive mappings of the environmental movement by Jenkins and Brulle and of labor unions by Stepan-Norris et al., and the policy agenda project noted above by Baumgartner et al. The hope is to join in a wider analytical project to facilitate testing hypotheses across movement industries and movement organizations, and over time.

The project will also produce several scholarly articles that go beyond mappings and seek to explain movement coverage and its consequences, and a scholarly monograph. The PI has published with the University of Chicago and Princeton University Presses and there is interest from each in the project. The project will also result in the training of graduate students (see below). In previous research the PI has successfully collaborated with and enhanced the training of a series of students for almost two decades. The list below includes NSF-grant-related research from the last decade.

Edwin Amenta, *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky, "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70 (2005): 516-38.

Edwin Amenta and Neal Caren, "The Legislative, Organizational, and Beneficiary Consequences of State-Oriented Challengers." Chapter 20 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

Edwin Amenta, "What We Know about Social Policy: Comparative and Historical Research in Comparative and Historical Perspective." Chapter 3 in *Comparative and Historical Analysis*, eds. Dietrich Rueschemeyer and James Mahoney. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, Tina Fetner, and Michael P. Young, "Challengers and States: Toward a Political Sociology of Social Movements." *Research in Political Sociology* 10 (2002): 47-83.

Edwin Amenta, Chris Bonastia, and Neal Caren, "U.S. Social Policy in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Concepts, Images, Arguments, and Research Strategies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001): 213-34.

Edwin Amenta and Drew Halfmann, "Wage Wars: Institutional Politics, the WPA, and the Struggle for U.S. Social Policy." *American Sociological Review* 64 (2000): 506-28.

Edwin Amenta and Michael P. Young, "Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses." *Social Problems* 57 (1999): 153-68.

Edwin Amenta and Michael P. Young, "Making an Impact: The Conceptual and Methodological Implications of the Collective Benefits Criterion." Chapter 2 in *How Movements Matter: Theoretical and Comparative Studies on the Consequences of Social Movements*, eds., Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

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AB. Sociology, Indiana University, 1979.

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PhD. Sociology, University of Chicago, 1989.

B. Appointments:

September 1989 through August 1995: *Assistant Professor of Sociology, New York University (NYU).*

September 1995 through August 2005: *Associate Professor to Professor of Sociology, NYU.*

September 2005 to present, *Professor of Sociology, University of California, Irvine.*

C. Selected Publications

I. Five most relevant to proposed research:

Edwin Amenta, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein, "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's Share Our Wealth, Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal." *American Sociological Review* 59 (1994): 678-702.

Edwin Amenta and Michael P. Young, "Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses." *Social Problems* 57 (1999): 153-68.

Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, Tina Fetner, and Michael P. Young, "Challengers and States: Toward a Political Sociology of Social Movements." *Research in Political Sociology* 10 (2002): 47-83.

Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky, "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70 (2005): 516-38.

Edwin Amenta, *When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

II. Five additional publications:

Edwin Amenta, Bruce G. Carruthers, and Yvonne Zylan, "A Hero For the Aged? The Townsend Movement, The Political Mediation Model, and U.S. Old-Age Policy, 1934-1950." *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1992): 308-39.

Edwin Amenta and Jane D. Poulsen, "Social Politics in Context: The Institutional Politics Theory and State-Level U.S. Social Spending Policies at the End of the New Deal." *Social Forces* 75 (1996): 33-60.

Edwin Amenta, **Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy** (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Edwin Amenta and Drew Halfmann, "Wage Wars: Institutional Politics, the WPA, and the Struggle for U.S. Social Policy." *American Sociological Review* 65 (2000): 506-28.

Edwin Amenta, Chris Bonastia, and Neal Caren, "U.S. Social Policy in Comparative and Historical Perspective: Concepts, Images, Arguments, and Research Strategies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001): 213-34.

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