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Social Movements, Protest, and Contention Volume 23



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Published by the http://w sinneapolis, Third Avenue University of Minnesota ww.upress.umn.edu MN 55401-2520 South, Suite

ibrary of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

David S. Meyer, Value.

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Includes bibliographical movements, references and index. protest, and contention **.**

lk. paper) ISBN Ċ -8166-4479 (hc : alk. paper) -8166-4480-

States. 1963government-United States. Social movement 4 |-----| |------| |------| Democracy 20th century. 3. Soc ia Ia problems--United United States. Meyer, E 1937-States. Government David S. 5. ? United Political activists policy States-Jenness, United -Politics and

HN65.R68 2005 Ingram,

322.4'4'0973

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Printed in paper

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5. Inside and Outside the State: Movement Insider Status, Tactics, and Public Policy Achievements	 Creating Credible Edibles: The Organic Agriculture Movement and the Emergence of U.S. Federal Organic Standards <i>Mrill Ingram and Helen Ingram</i> 	Part II. The Social Movement—State Nexus: The Structure and Consequences of Interpenetration	3. Velcro Triangles: Elite Mobilization of Local Antidrug Issue Coalitions John D. McCarthy	ial Movem nd the Publ	 Political Contexts, Challenger Strategies, and Mobilization: Explaining the Impact of the Townsend Plan Edwin Amenta 	Part I. Context Matters and Patterns of Influence: Agendas and Alliances	Introduction. Social Movements and Public Policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory David S. Meyer	Acknowledgments
149	121		87	65	29	27	}	

- U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Finances. 1935. Hearings on the Economic Security Act. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- alocchi, Steve. 1990. "The Unemployed Workers' Movement: A Reexamination of the Piven and Cloward Thesis." Social Problems 37: 191–205.
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Social Movements, the Rise of New Issues, and the Public Agenda

Frank R. Baumgariner and Christine Mahone

tions, or izations ongersourc ments and public policy in many are se of newly available data resources. e explain an approach peyond the scope of any sin ges is certainly not to say that social systematically? e participation and attitudes of imples can genda of the U.S. government World War II. Much of the i of policy makers, or publi-ments compared to other areas. movements Ö) f policy change. After all, urces including business a the term research agenda Similarly, there tically? To say that s rights even that social demonstrate the the htts of the handica and the organizations they have spawnedemonstrate the truth of or public the handicapped, environmental S. movements are more important than no possible causes of policy ill, policy them. he gle chapter-length treatment. In this chap-he question and demonstrate its feasibility. many areas of opinion. social movements often cause large policy question activities, doubt demonstrating the links between social has changed dramatically in the period established social But changes that movements dictate public The relative how can that assertion, stochastic shocks, the public interest may demonstrate can be spawned. we demonstrate these policies importance of mov change is caused by many vements and the protection, mow has come from from its Any feasibility. be feasible women's number a large preferpolicy other 22

his chapter presents an ovingartner and Jones 2002, onal hearings; Agendas Project include all an overview of the Policy Agendas 2002, 2003). The data sets that a Ilqnd comprehensive compilations of laws; (3) all stories in the comprise of (1) all c Project (see ongressional all conthe

data topic hich is freely available policy and social movements alike nd subtopic codes. Rosenthal congressional rol eing established to to such questions entire the time period from 194 complex, highly detailed, desense appropriations, (Other

g ucture not ımental the ,squ transfor 7 1 the aff eral sets of social movement of policy agenda by tracing the an rights organizations, minor mobilization of vernmental agenda as a whole areas of activity of the U.S. areas of fected by be nse has been swift. have declined; overall the incerns of government on the rowth of new issues but al l issues attracting the attention of the U.S. d over the past new public programs affecting their interests. AARP). (4) a sample of abstracts taken from the New York) a consistently coded, inflation-adjusted time series t. (Other data resources, including bill introductions, and executive orders, are being added to this resource, ing established to the Spaeth Supreme Court database osenthal congressional roll-call voting database.) Each is the time period from 1947 to recent years. Most are a complex, highly detailed, and historically consistent subtopic codes. This allows one to trace government to such questions as water pollution, inflation, health of defense appropriations, or any other topic of governe entite second half of the twentieth century. This new it is freely available to all users, should be valuable to licy and social movements alike.

ed as part of the Policy Agendas Project allow one to owth of new issues but also the size, composition, and transport of the U.S. federal government changed the fifty years following World War II. We document a sets of social movement organizations (SMOs) and policy agenda by tracing the growth of women's moverights organizations, minority and civil rights groups, and the membership of the American Association AARP). Then we demonstrate that the entire public issues attracting the attention of the U.S. government, dover the past five decades. Some issues have risen in ave declined; overall the diversity of the public agenda ally. We close with a discussion of the links between abilization of social movements on the one hand and acetus of government on the other, showing that these ive. As social movements of many types have grown, se has been swift. At the same time, social movement fifty

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nmental between activity the growth of ements can Ħ, area ial movements and govern strong impacts core of public life, \mathbf{f} attracting initi on the Jud one

> interest groups

eficiaries. munities nondiscrimi declines programs Once and policy. and cultivated more worg over time; Examples with little affecting مع these professionals bу commoniy 9 impor conservation and land-use pollution control efforts (inc term ssionals, shed programs, juej. ımgartner ' the encouragement of d others supporting given; many do create ctivities agendato note that impact on in government are a great range Medicare of service designed to deal multiple established 2002 and andport -setting processes. In contrast government (Downs generating their own conthe and shrink programs, to Baumgartner and Jones programs are often the programs permanence of govern initiatives, civil rights Medicaid other social movements or their constituency with the new issue 1 recede Oľ typically benefit iding the creation rise of new issues rarely disappear. contractors, and disappear over programs that agencies, programs, from the man substitute (1972), and the the

ts in American ant new place causes. programs new and women, term government issues At nent but also the growth onmentalists, partly due constituencies, service pro ograms with guib succeeded life has also w dramatically federal time, sdnoz the associated with self-Paul the Ö agenda. government perpetuating of ij ίij established increased civil rights gaining efforts of during them organizational field the organizational and Walter Powell government importance of a the fficials responsible in the diversity of ınd helps explain viders, and others o deal with their workers, new social the second half of newly mobilized role of the state generated new human attenmovegov

As we will discuss in greater detail, we can clearly see evidence of this in our several cases; groups affect the state, and the state affects the groups.

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In the early postwar period, congressional attention to issues specifically or particularly of concern to women was unusual, sporadic, and unsustained. Figure 2.1 shows that only sixty-one hearings on women's issues occurred prior to 1970, an average of fewer than three hearings per year. Since 1970, attention steadily increased, with an average of over twenty hearings each year, reaching a peak of forty-seven hearings in 1991.

Minkoff's data on the number of SMOs related to the women's move-

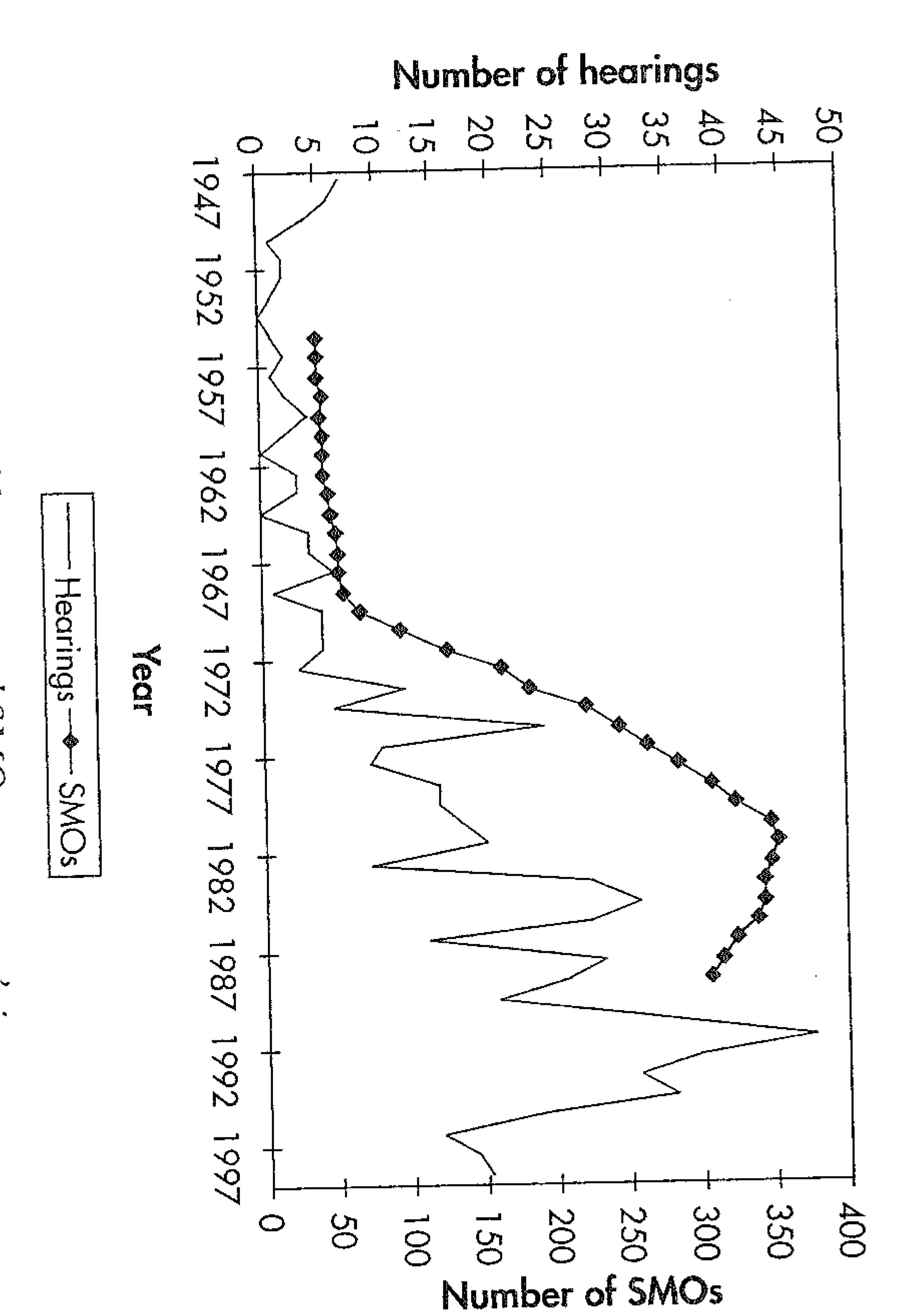


Figure 2.1. Congressional hearings and SMOs on women's issues.

nent show a dramatic increase during this same period, moving from just 57 rganizations in 1968 to 165 groups in 1972, and increasing steadily in the cause after this initial explosion. Certainly, the causes of increased attention Congress to women's issues are not solely related to the growth of interest roups and social movement organizations concerned with these questions. arger numbers of women were elected to the legislature; medical issues of oncern to women rose in congressional interest; public opinion and public nores changed during this period. Still, there is no doubt that the growth in he numbers and resources associated with women's social movement organizations had a dramatic effect on the congressional agenda.

also taken -year the beginning in the period ent, congressional attention dramatic and steady Baumgartner and congressional number of active movement calculated estimat before roughly 1960. and 1980, the case of hearings SJĮ

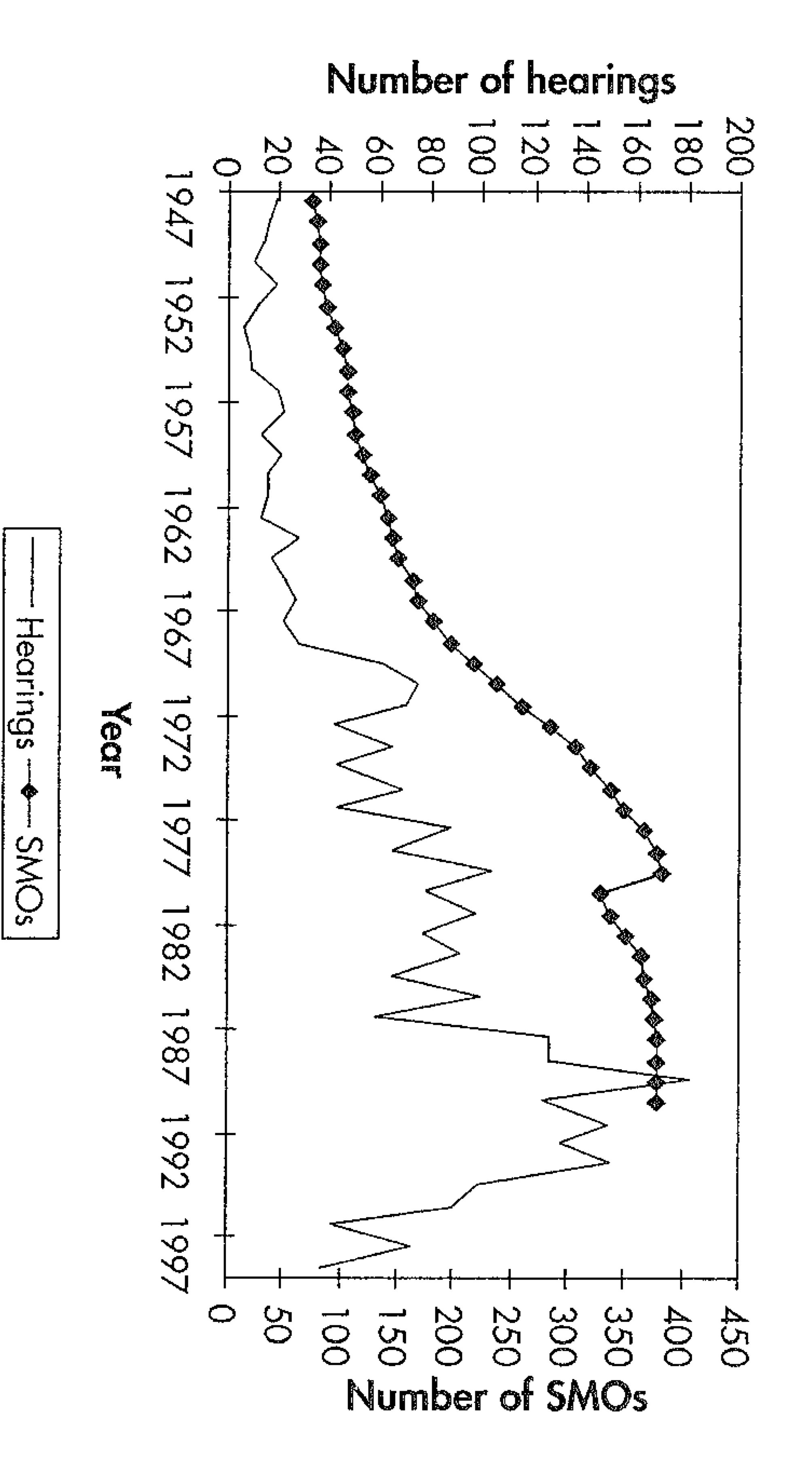
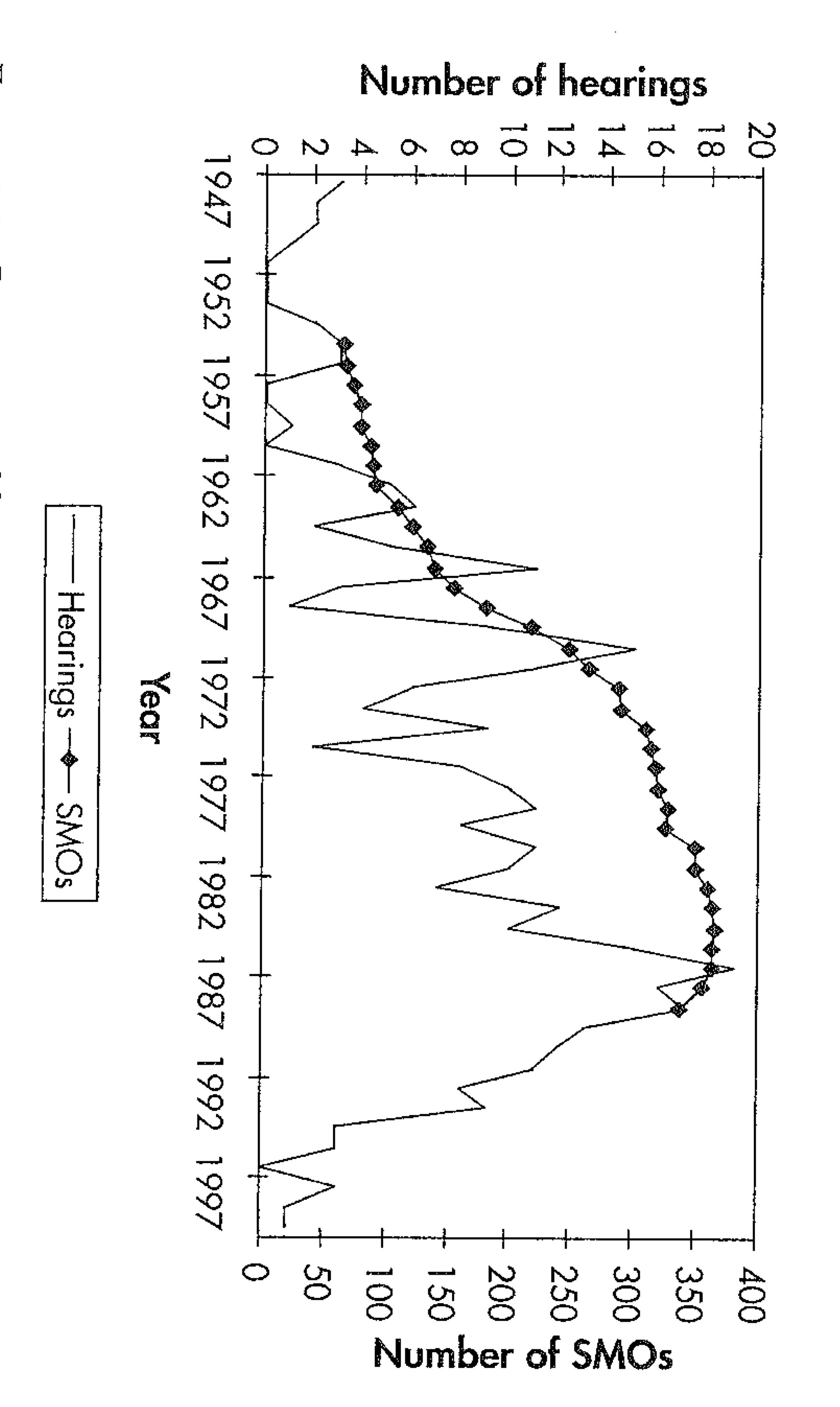


Figure 2.2. Congressional hearings and SMOs on environmental issues

corresponds to a similarly striking increase in the number of interest groups active in pressing environmental demands. As in the case of women's issues, we would not want to assert a monocausal explanation of this increase in congressional attention. There were many reasons for increased congressional attention, not only social movement pressure. Still, it didn't hurt.

Debra Minkoff's study can be used again to trace the growth of organizations active in the area of civil rights and minority affairs; we use these data in Figure 2.3, comparing as before these numbers to a measure of congressional attention to civil rights and discrimination issues.

the timing of the increase of attention to civil rights is somewhat earlier than that of women's issues and, to a lesser extent, environmental issues, but the correspondence between the growth of the size of the interest-group population active in the area and the amount of congressional attention to the issue is just as striking. Groups focusing on civil rights and minority representation issues grew dramatically during the 1960s and 1970s. Congressional attention surged in the mid- to late 1960s, declined under the Nixon administration, then expanded again in the late 1970s through the ate 1980s. The decline of congressional attention since 1987 to issues of discrimination and civil rights has been particularly dramatic; this may be related to the passage of legislation and to the increased controversy and courts-based activity surrounding affirmative action programs. In any case, hroughout the period when we have data on both groups and agendas, we see that the growth of groups is strongly related to the growth of congres-



1.18 are 2.3. Congressional nearings and Mills on civil rights and minority issues.

sional attention to the area. Figure 2.4 shows equivalent data in the area human rights.

Congressional hearings on human rights issues are virtually nonexistent until the mid-1960s and surge particularly in the mid- to late 1970s. 7 It is interesting to note that President Carter did not pull the issue of international human rights abuses out of a complete vacuum; as in other cases, the issue was partially "softened-up" by some preliminary attention to the topic (see especially Kingdon 1984 and Baumgartner and Jones 1993). Still, the Carter administration created an undeniably dramatic surge in attention as it made human rights an especially prominent aspect of its public rhetoric on international affairs. Finally, congressional attention to the issue of international human rights did not decline with the removal of Carter from office in 1980. Rather, attention stabilized at previously unprecedented levels, and the number of interest groups focusing exclusively or predominantly on human rights issues continued to rise throughout the period. While the president played a prominent role in placing international human rights on the congressional agenda in the 1970s, social movement organizations grew in the wake of this increased attention and in turn helped maintain the pressure to ensure that these issues did not disappear from the agenda when that president left office. Here we see, perhaps more strongly than in the other cases, the reciprocal nature of the relations between public policy and social movement organizations.

The ability of new public policies to create or promote the growth of

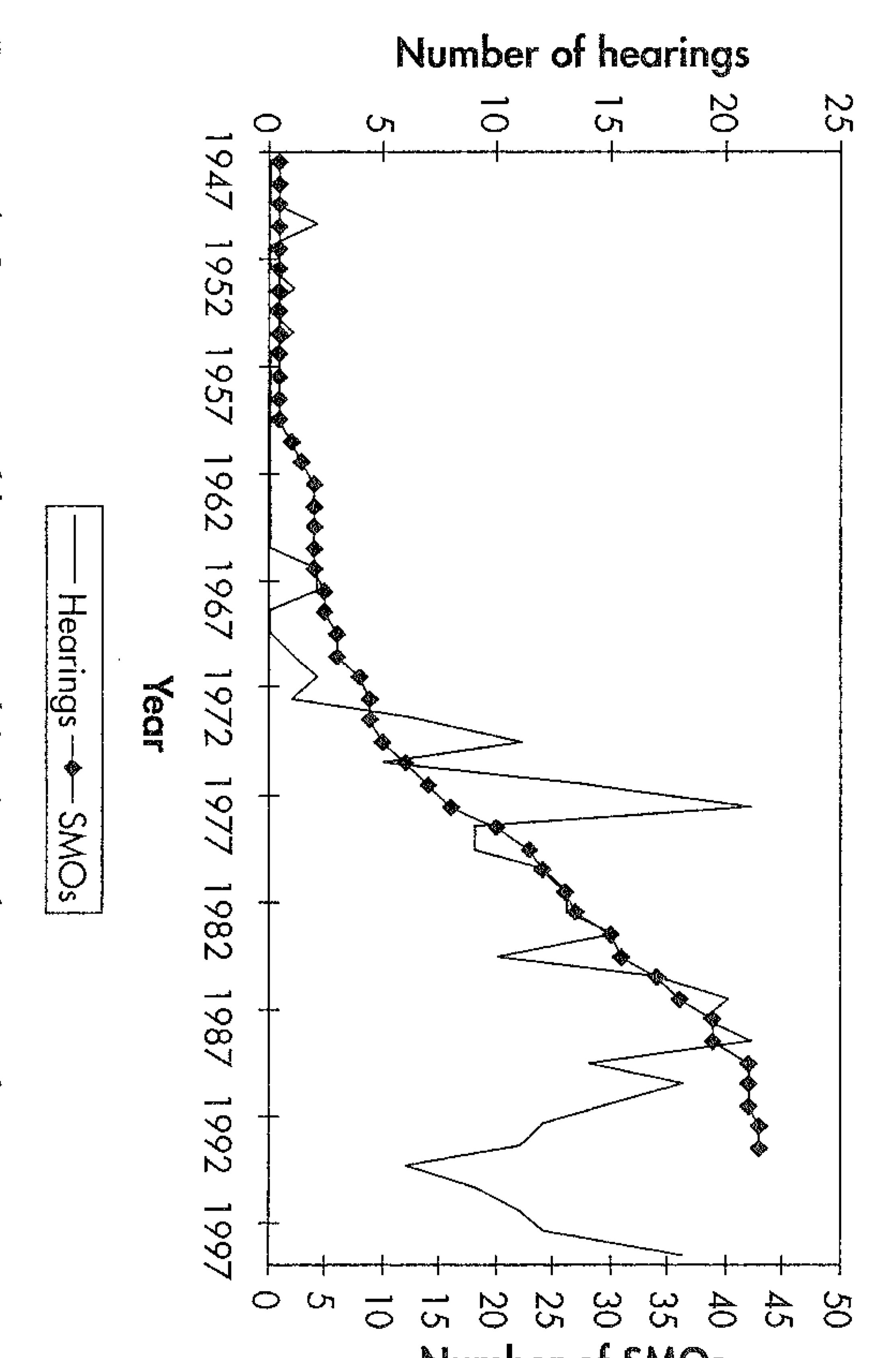
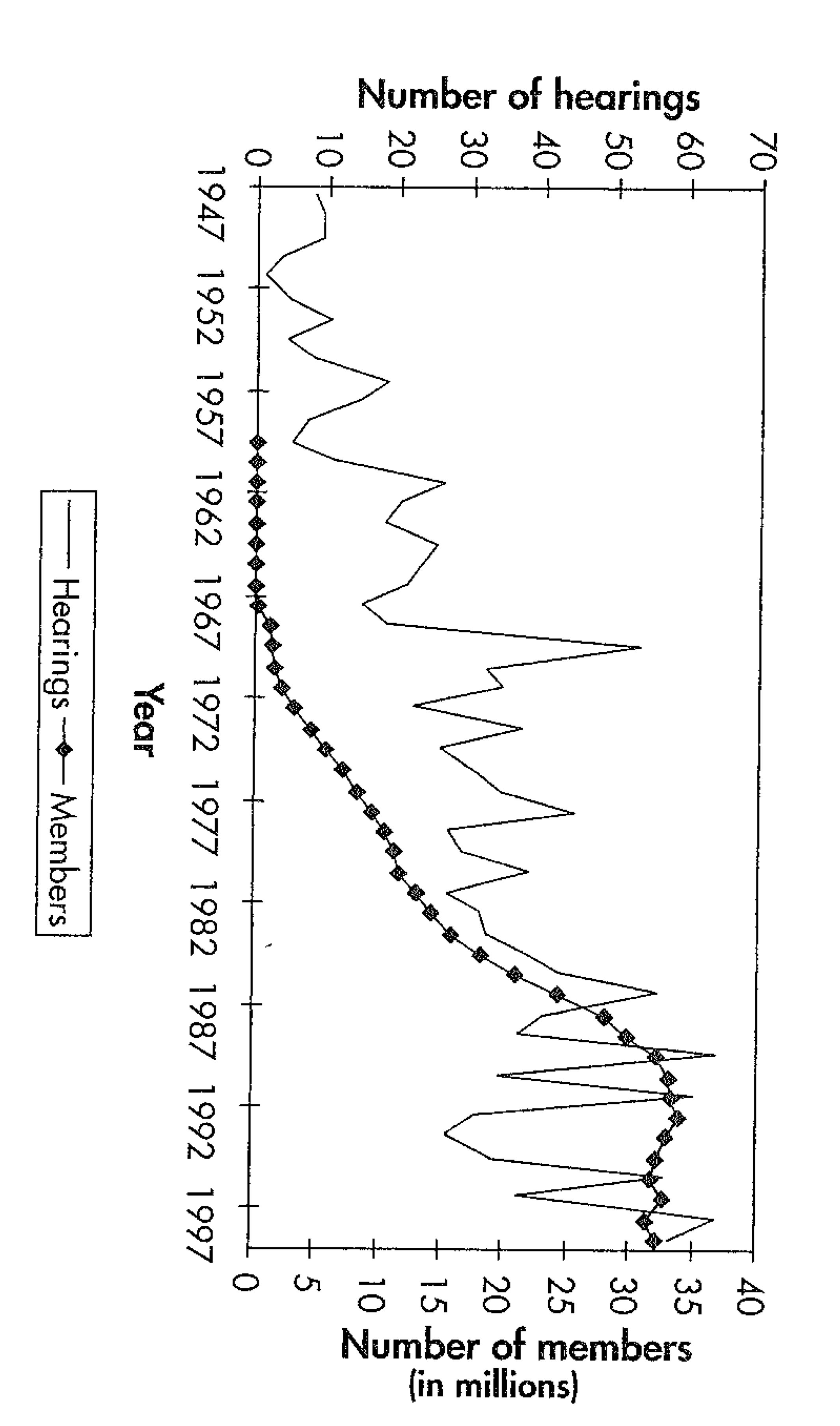


Figure 2.4. Congressional hearings and SMOs on human rights.

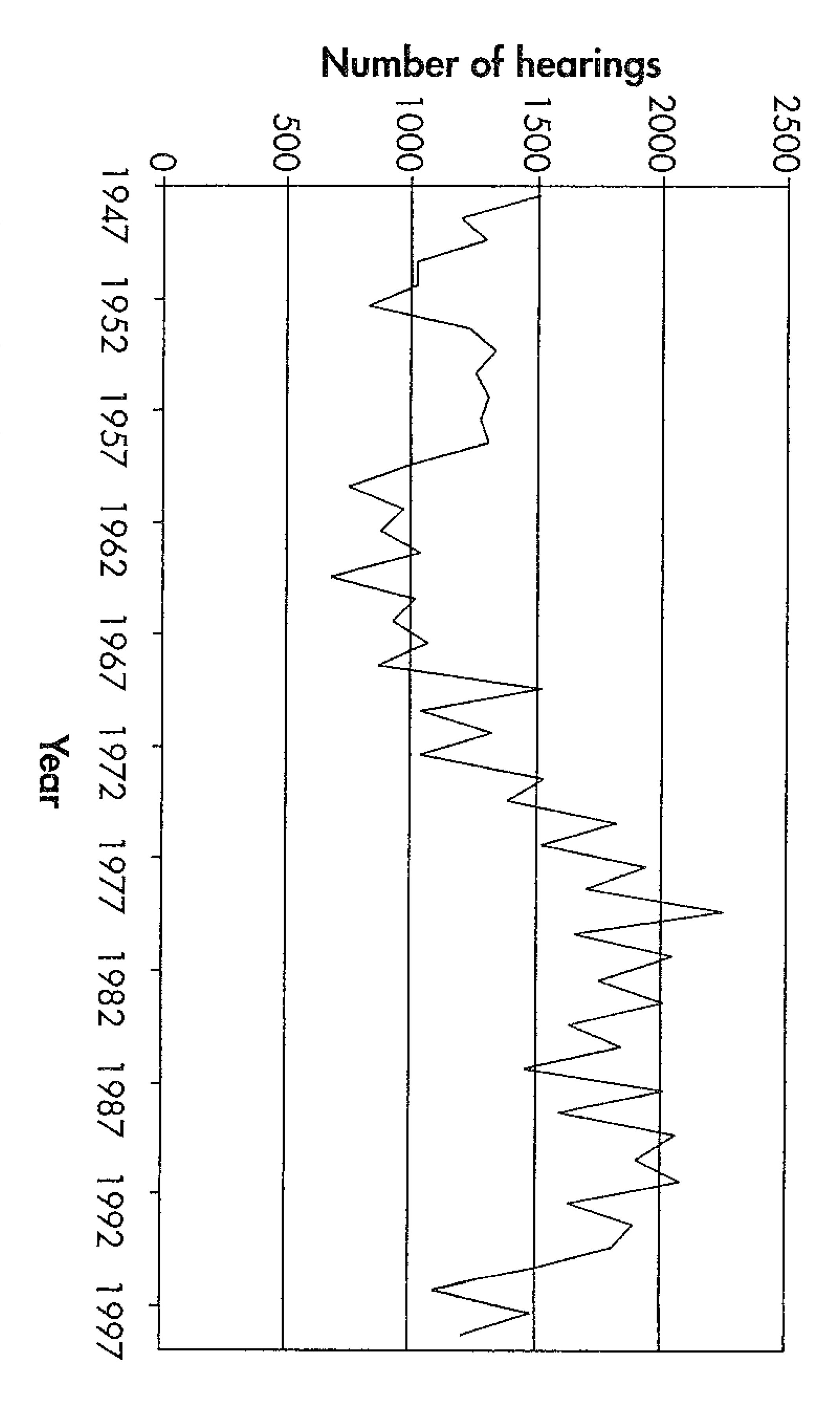
ient spending on pensions interest in issues relating cannot be said and not large skyrocket. shows, issues rose, so especially membership org no expansion general popula ed itself in the and aging Aging (see organizatio group Ç of the character of the



O create. the governmental allies gaining attention, ritably opponents) they have that

subsidies natically over the has than been the <u></u> period people than transformed. number grown the last ha true federal government, countries). nsiders more judget has grown, 1995). the twentieth century. contracting, privatization of if the programs decades government striking than it, government Of course, to noted movement here Employment SB has grown, present, federal these minimalist and thei that changes, ---policy ight and all has zernments employ the growth government federal and 1999; government been ðf federal services, İ makers this regulations diversified particular Digwoid less over govern S. level; draand

1960 2.6 shows an especially rapid period virtually rise in the numbers of hearings number from) one hearings thousand



ypically holds a ironment of complexity. e agencies to oversee, more icreased workload. ncided with the decentralization of (ectoral cycle, and logical consequence wer barons chairing of the federal governmental action, hearings great autonomy constituent this shift in congressional organization can be hearings.) almost every one subcommittee. demands to This passes within member of the the major dramatic change ongressional reforms aimed re legislation dramatic growth programs handle, and This decentralization reforms allowed of Congress was chair or Congress was chair or this decentralization gave particular area of public lorganization can be seen onal reforms aimed at deamatic growth in the size the period between 1947 rograms to monitor, more particular the period Saw hearings toothed ongress; a greater levels in the authority Congress the first of second mun con

rs have pointed out, it has vernment arger number of be seen the diversity of government in Figure grow in size activities changed the a more diverse period activities. even more discussed The dramatiportfolic govern here,

The Policy Agendas Project defines 226 areas of government activity,

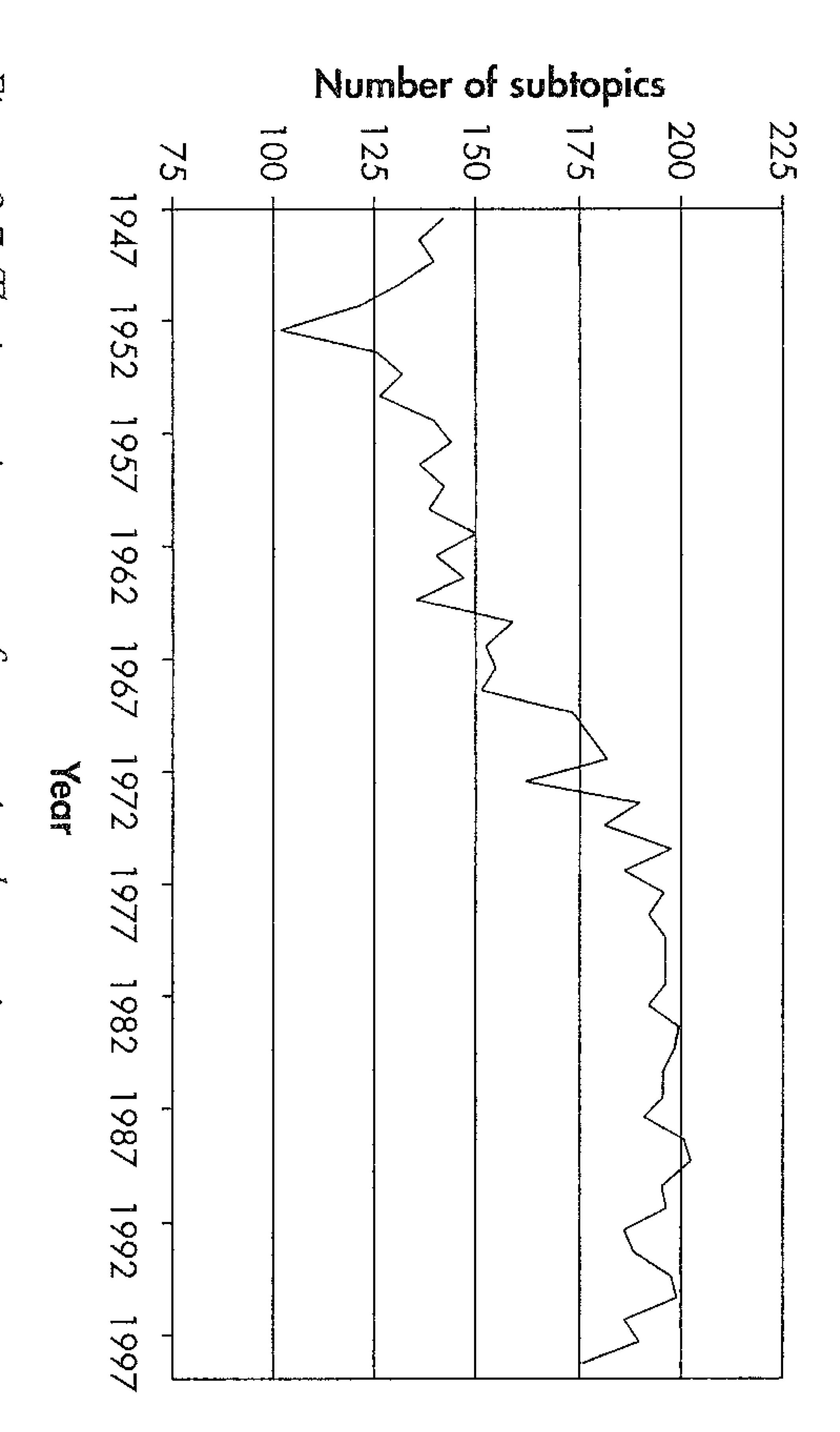


Figure 2./. The increasing range of congressional attention.

gressional ortation, atically over time. displays the number ernment activity. For example, congressional technology, housing 30 percent of congressional hearings. Government 70 onward. enforcement, over water/irrigation proj 1947 activity. social welfare hearings data time, reaching average of federal hearings The distr health care, received Eisenhower were on just three ation rate noitudi: ention are in fact activities that and maintaining community de postwar the early post which 125 subtopics, demonstrates subtopics in and public in the early Other top simply

Congressional attention in the early postwar period was narrowly focused on just a few traditional areas of government activity, in particular

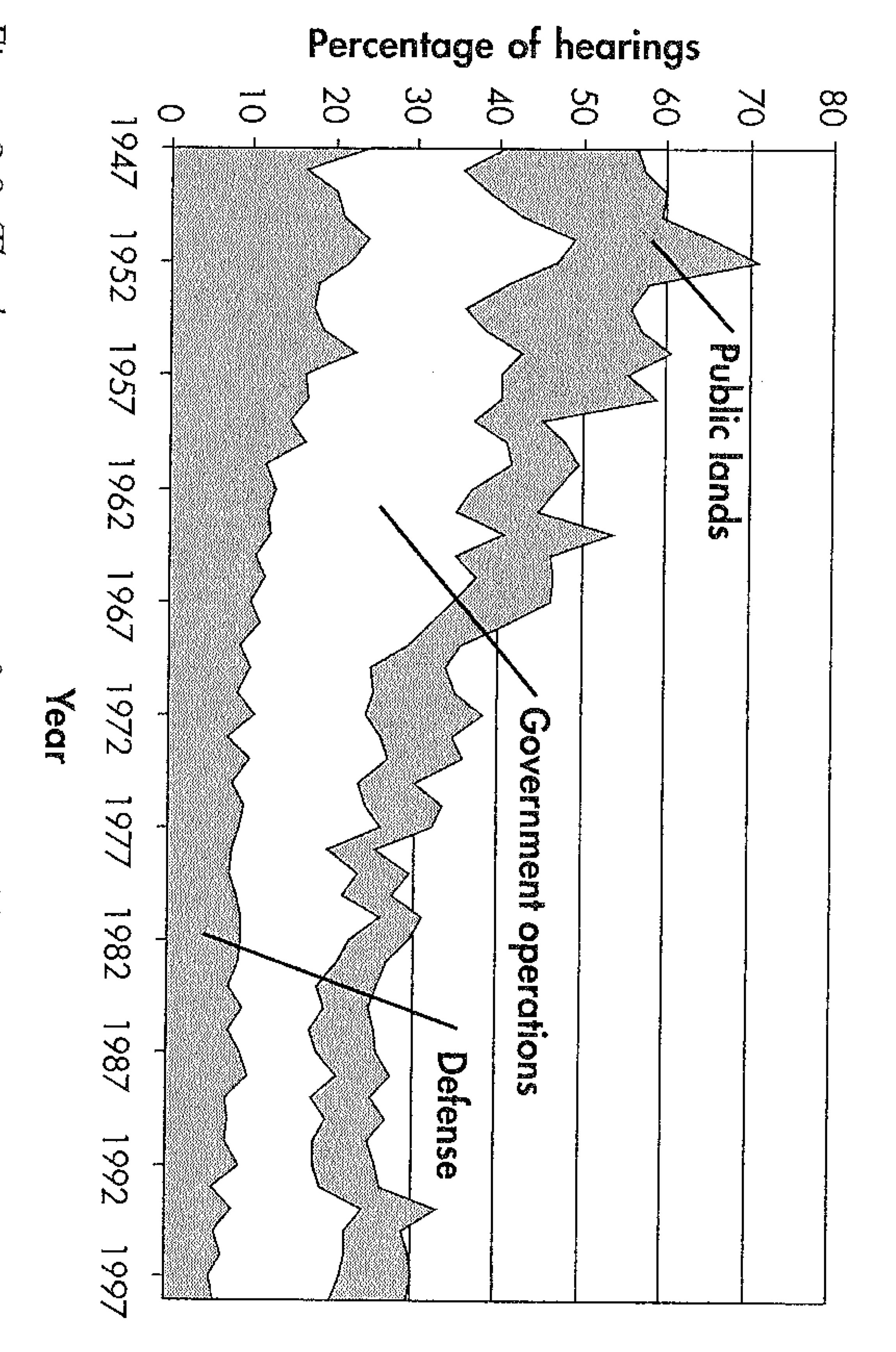
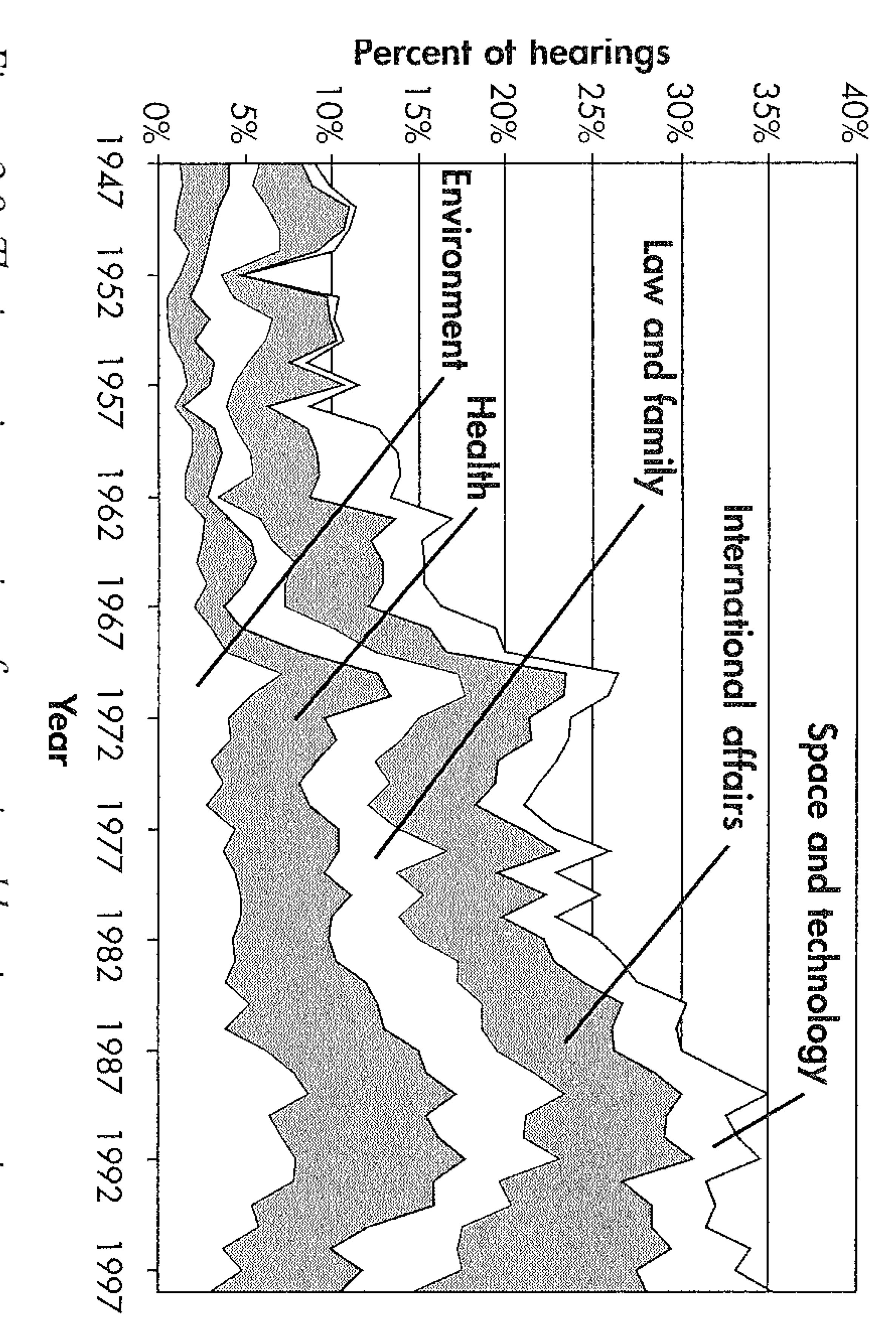


Figure 2.8. The decreasing attention of congressional hearings to old issues.

Ç ations and uch attention. creation ernment years. the issue foreign ands, and &...any "housekeeping" only Figure declined of the properties hearings appointments, areas about trade before Medicare ombined from virtually 30 ment g" or leases leases n the hence, these these d, the ercent e last ly ab-tech-cades. 940s, spike

and spa issues; law, the Ce space, sc last ience, late crime,



congrescreasingly is spread creasingly is spread and MacLeod 20 (greatest growth in prominent social rounds).

Social Movements

This chapter gives movements on pulneither the oneither the one of the oneither the inued congressional oversight of them. ingly is spread how great all five areas apparent in attention, 2000; Baumgar the changes in the movements government among many (on this question see as established federal programs demanded and justified on all oversight of them. Together, Figures 2.8 and 2.9 once at the nature of the political agenda have been. presentation of the data, it is also clear that dominated by a small number of topics, intner and Jones 1980s witnessed attention have 2002). a steady i Many of the areas of those with the most Baumgartner, Jones, ncrease is also clear that in atten-

PERSONAL PROPERTY.

nte nocia ttention but in spending as well. The agenda of the federal government has een transformed in the post–World War II period in large part (though not ttention, nselves, Suc overnment activities have grown, often in response to initial demands by all movements, different constituencies have been mobilized and organinal fields themselves have been transformed. Thus, the chain reactions ronmental ements on public act closely dynamics of public policy action can active in issue areas as movement mobilizations, social movements extensive gov by the rise of and gives spending, and with only causes of all have long-lastin other some idea y sources of new public policies nor likely to have an im-When they have a long-term impact on public policy they h other groups within their organizational fields. Further, policy. rernment , and vested interest that social movements may put ong-lasting effects on public policy, social movements organizations such as professional and trade groups. Ic policy ensure that new sets of participants will be-eas as these areas become the objects of considerable new and regulation (see DiMaggio and Powell 1983; of where we may look for the impacts of social It also should make clear that social movements kinds, American politics. Similarly, social movements. 2000). From health care to elderly issues to inds, we can see the tremendous impact of nerican politics. Similarly, in the traditional activity that have not been the objects of we have seen a steady atrophy not only in impacts of social impact of

Ħ congressional ortant consistent feature of the two some consistencies as discussion trends: attention Эf where the linl linkages between organizational mobilization across five areas of social movement activity has social well as some important differences. The most the data is the long-term correspondence be-rial movement organizations develop in great nal attention rise. social movements

cases Ōį; ds Ci; but they noud

itical the ctiv qui env action inclu until outla ame. the dam old em gaing anding how numerous rights ments operating α rights critical density, mobilization of time, push for it is the formalized Whether the ements altered the other and demonstrated the activ subsequent the women issue gical advance, among other from, however, gton-based ingreat numbers tinued governial movements te close. It congressional vities have density, at which ers, but mainson of work on increased colsument is often squent is often ement is often cy will decline tring within it. ed institutions is strated by our nature of cy will decline ting within it. ed institutionalizations is strated by our nature of those stitutionalizations into themselves.

the use government instituti

This vie SMOs i the reso concept ential schearly in tors. It is cussed, clearly in tors. It is cussed, with allithe eyes erature he but the eyes erature he but the clear than any closely tic secome influenci formal ir tics by it (see Min assess with an any surgests with an analogous suggests suggest Minkoff encing public policy. me familiar with institution mes better any unorganized als of the it or by impact of institutions is important ource ability established instituti the growth and 1991; with with consequence. the development turn, where social the movement be institutionalize mobilization the the interest 1995; away a given movem Kollman constituents. vernment careful allied Ö movement their a social use action insider to recognize the critical role of Kollman growth government does not prohibit moveme This proc agencies Baumgartner and establishment of subfield arrives at a consensi for s it spawns and suppor cess may transform nts are successful in gaining government atoment of Washington-based interest groups is d with staff iddition, as a large body of 998). s it spawns and supports. These groups, more neous parts of the movement, are likely to be gn nal processes. movement should clearly social and organizations working in close relations s can sustain a movement that has lulled in do not government attention, social movements more example, s sustain social movements only drawn from the same general movement access to new and on established, a certain movement" strategy, public policy Diani's (1992) rev preclude the use of outsider tactics, Schlozman and Tierner in and I and I and I are in the second terment in the second term terment in the second terminal terment in the second terminal term that resources in . As these an organization as a player in shibit the use of outsider tacand ultimately more adept at government attention. The by some formalized SMOs; as organizations that share social in Washington and to insider groups develop different information, therefore is difficult to insid nearly all 1998). As SMOs asmovements, to be view of interest-group litaal definition that of e studied in conasnumber of these interest groups is antisystem the most influ role of forma! work from numerous disac.

that to those studies in political clearly nutually ience and Together, this onnection the interest dependent. sociology repoi with quoug-Further, it appears eport results similar or wing body of literature communities they interactions with ın be generalized that

sional ocia! related άã in 910 test frowing sectors of the group system, re of the nowed that public affairs rganizations, hose same areas of public p many types ranging growth and decline in the different types , among others, ; f growth and dec the in annual ps, engineering groups, heath-care organizations, and others. Baumgartner and Beth Leech ent types of organizations in their discussion of national interest-group system over time (1998, hat public affairs groups, health-care groups, (especially service providers), and others that he areas of growth in government activity were sectors of the group system, as assessed by the handle decline in the group system appear to annual volumes of the FA. Veterans' groups tong others, are among the categories with the with and decline in the group system appear to and decline in the relative amounts of congresse areas of public policy.

In his 1977 article on agenda setting, Walker on the congressional agendas not only to social thaps more strongly, to established communitians of the new-left citizens' over the past several decades.

1983) argued that organizational fields would neous to the extent that there was greater state ong other things. Our five cases clearly show assed presence that may be attributed to one tify: mimicry, where groups copy those innover to work; state involvement, most clearly; also McCarthy, Britt, and Wolfson 1991; they structural uniformity resulting from instituents in teredependencies between the growth he international level and state involvement in national interest areas of educational healthgroups organiza 3eth Leec

<u>9</u> pments (19 ostmat ofessio ---9 tightly linked to the also 1966). In his 1977 analysis similarly showed shington over the past seve issues in is of the changing nature nonprofit, and citizens' working in and perhaps more strong vorking in Washington a issues on and the institutionalization particular, clearly

lisc profe hanne th ington-based they identify: I ortfolio iechanisms). field, among Powell (1983) on has become 30s at the international le note the tight on (see also McC that appear homogeneous toward structural have noted in the [of <u>a</u> governments. ы normal, bureaucratized, J.S. case, they show how engreat range of describe studie

> mand for lobbying as muc llysis in the than that for demand for attention drives gnol the areas relevant -term by lobby public government spending or for economic sector. areas congressional interest in nd colleagues conducted a which policy. ailable over six-month lobbying activity and h as lobbying and congressional lobbyists register Washington ernment atten-That is to ac

established nanı same an much 56) more closely a part of powerfui not the only ionalization, mnunities, ttention. lid to great effect.) keeping their issues in discusses this process the at the center of abatement among the scenarios conservative organiza (1996)researchers,) attention, must characterized Washington Further, time, into established resource when adherents, goals, interact especially possible equipment. from social they the much policy change. Hownew is the there is environmental engineers, ipment. Eventually, most Perhaps more Washington policy propresence transformation, it is among service providmovements do sues; there are many the development that seem apparent systems of interest reliance on formal nothing inevitable or may not spawn tions of limelight. gaging in protest entionalization of stitutionalization this trend toward closely over time process as a shift itional grassroots the greatest long. not suggest nega institutionalized as the liberal t T (Berry rise to 1980s بم

ği. here, we influential in the long term. ' influential influential in the long term. ' influential i

gn \rightarrow part of a Washington policy community, reaching combusinesses or service providers seeking to profit from goving programs, and dealing with questions of policy implescent like the worst fate for a group of idealistic and often mmitted activists in their later years. It is apparent from the there, however, that such an outcome may be one of the most influential in the long term. As movements or other sources establishing continued government attention to their issues, are often established. Whether these are pension and health rams, environmental protection or antidiscrimination laws undant enforcement mechanisms, or human rights bodies working over the years, these programs and activities spawn further relations with nonprofit organizations, businesses, sests concerned with the new policy and the social problem it address. Thus, social movements, their organizational reprepublic policies are intertwined in a complex web of mutual indivisor. It is a concerned to the test of particular policy areas such a problem public policies are intertwined in a complex web of mutual indivisor of where new issues come from; some come from question of where new issues come from; some come from public policies are intertwiened in a complex web of mutual indivisor of where new issues come from; some come from a general provements and public policy. There can be no cight linkages between social movements, social movement and government, at least in the cases discussed here. We have see links are so strong and their cumulative effect has been so very nature of American government was transformed duractive social ferment, from the 1960s to the 1970s. Whether icular policy areas or at the entire federal government, schololicy are well advised to pay close attention to the rise and movements and the organizations they spawn in constructing bile policy. By the same token, we hope to have shown that it also be a subject of the same token, we hope to have shown that it are to the social movements of a cativities of the social formation agencies, if continuation

- ohnson for ity of Washington, icknowledge and appreciate the 0111611. Bryan comments Jones Penn orted McCarthy and Erik rersity and the this larger project; inues under bу grant SBRgrant Uni-
- graciously sharing her
- 44 women-related hearings from ernal, infant, wife, breast, fing for the following words: buse against the elderly in short descriptions allowed se (1208). These three topics i nen's issues: hearings on than women (for example, three topic areas. rape, gs on the "birth" of th equal gender care (508); and f pay, birth, the nuclear age) and duplicates left us with a total pornography, homemaker, discrimination against homosexuals in topic pic 1208), leaving 359 women-related hearings ncluded a total of 417 hearings. Reading through ified 651 additional hearings amily issues, including such to discard 58 of these that were related to things women, woman, , domestic scanned female, girl, pregnan*, mother, the short topics particularly related prostit*, cervical, and (topic 202); parental the Policy Agendas descriptions of sexual things as domestic Deleting false hits harassment, each 202 Ç

-)://polisci.la.psu.edu/faculty/b narily concerned with not been listed under the appropriate included. 1970, tied to industry, Baumgartner indicating a concern wit research, were "environmental selected groups listed under 1980, and 1990). This included and Jones e deleted. such and "ornithology." In addition, some other groups should be xplain their select environmental questions "wildlife conservation, keyword, Finally, company under resources, set therefore "ecology," "environmental included, those groups that were and listed in the n of the rds onducting environ. and "conservation, ures as follows: All contains all groups entry in the entire data available "environmental even if they ΕA studied
- those totals by creation groups listed

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- hearings hearings civil
- merged during the from topic X1X Data in. listed or groups existence period went 19%
- cases) dentified in on n 1947 and (1303); Data their the ng only those groups still in existence (as reflected by their listing in the re end of the decade. This explains the docline in 1980; a similar decline loes not appear because more groups were created in that year than went in the entire previous decade. A rotal of 461 groups were listed at some ting this period; 378 were still in existence in 1990. Hearings are taken as cet of hearings on topic 7, environmental issues. There are 2,966 hearings 7 to 1998.

 or civil rights we use Minkoff's data on minority groups and congressional on topic 201, ethnic minority and racial group discrimination; there are ings in the series.

 ara on human rights organizations come from the 1996 edition of the EA. groups were listed under the subject heading of human rights; forty-four listed their creation dates, and these were used to calculate the number of a existence each year. This number therefore excludes those groups that or went defunct during the period before 1996. Congressional data are it 1925, international affairs/human rights. There were 353 such hearings are period.

 Data on AARP membership were provided directly by the AARP; we aphered their cooperation. Data on congressional hearings about elderly issues were in a manner similar to our method for women's issues. First, we gathered the following topics: age discrimination (204); Medicare and Medicaid derly health issues (311); elderly assistance programs/social services for the 303); and elderly and handicapped housing (1408). Then we searched for wing words in our summaries: elder*, geriatric, Medicare, aging, older, thome, retire, social security, senior, and hospice. Deleting false hits (174 and duplicares (2,790 cases) left us with 1,510 hearings on elderly issues to duplicates

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ed In α ocial policies they prefer, helping to generate grassroots great deal of local citizen contrast to this States has been sponsored arthy reflecting and Z image, however, ald 2002). nterpenetration collective and encouraged Elites extensive mobilize citizens action **10** evidence the in by government and elite recent policy exists to suggest and civil society groups decades claims on to press the