

The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11th Attacks

American Sociological Review
77(6) 855–879
© American Sociological
Association 2012
DOI: 10.1177/0003122412465743
<http://asr.sagepub.com>



Christopher A. Bail^a

Abstract

Numerous studies indicate that civil society organizations create cultural change by deploying mainstream messages that resonate with prevailing discursive themes. Yet these case studies of highly influential organizations obscure the much larger population that have little or no impact. It is therefore unclear whether civil society organizations create cultural change by deploying mainstream discourses or if they become part of the mainstream because of their success. I present an evolutionary theory of how discursive fields settle after major historical ruptures that highlights framing, social networks, and emotional energy. To illustrate this theory, I use plagiarism detection software to compare 1,084 press releases about Muslims produced by 120 civil society organizations to 50,407 newspaper articles and television transcripts produced between 2001 and 2008. Although most organizations deployed pro-Muslim discourses after the September 11th attacks, I show that anti-Muslim fringe organizations dominated the mass media via displays of fear and anger. Institutional amplification of this emotional energy, I argue, created a gravitational pull or “fringe effect” that realigned inter-organizational networks and altered the contours of mainstream discourse itself.

Keywords

collective behavior, culture, emotions, evolution, media, social networks

Since the September 11th attacks, Islam has moved from the background to the foreground of the U.S. public sphere. Debates about the values, beliefs, and allegiances of Muslims have critical implications for domestic and foreign policy, civil liberties, inter-group cohesion, and national identity—to name but a few. Because of the high stakes involved, a diverse collection of civil society organizations has joined the struggle to define Islam over the past decade. These include Muslim advocacy organizations working to remove the violent stigma attached to their

religion; interest groups and think tanks concerned about the treatment of women in Muslim societies; evangelical Christian organizations convinced Muslims are secretly plotting to overthrow the U.S. government; interfaith

^aUniversity of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor

Corresponding Author:

Christopher A. Bail, M2240 SPH II, University of
Michigan, 1420 Washington Heights, Ann Arbor,
MI 48109
E-mail: cbail@umich.edu

foundations that argue terrorism is practiced by people of all faiths; and even a social movement organization that aims to make it illegal to practice Islam in the United States. Together, these organizations are struggling to shift the symbolic boundaries Americans use to differentiate “us” from “them” (Douglas 1966; Lamont 2000; Wimmer 2008).

The mass media is not the only forum where civil society organizations compete to create such cultural change, but it is arguably the most important (Ferree et al. 2002; Hilgartner and Bosk 1988; Jacobs and Townsley 2011; King 2011; Koopmans and Olzak 2004). Numerous case studies suggest civil society organizations shape media discourse by deploying mainstream messages that resonate with prevailing cultural themes (e.g., Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Yet these studies suffer from circular reasoning because they ignore the vast population of civil society organizations that fail to breach the public sphere: Does the mass media gravitate toward civil society organizations because they have mainstream discourses, or do organizations become mainstream precisely because the mass media cover them? As this question implies, inattention to negative cases is not simply a methodological faux pas. Rather, editorial decisions about which movements to cover may guide the evolution of mainstream discourse itself.

In this article, I present an evolutionary theory of how civil society organizations create cultural change following major historical ruptures such as the September 11th attacks. This approach locates the messages of individual civil society organizations within broader discursive fields to differentiate mainstream and “fringe” organizations both in and outside the public sphere (Snow 2004; Steinberg 1999; Wuthnow 1993). Synthesizing theories of framing, social networks, and emotional energy, I argue that fringe organizations focus public attention on their peripheral claims via displays of fear or anger. Institutional amplification of this emotional energy not only makes fringe organizations visible but also creates a gravitational pull on

the mainstream that restructures inter-organizational networks as well as the contours of discursive fields themselves. My theory of this “fringe effect” thus addresses longstanding questions about how discursive fields settle and opens new lines of inquiry about the ecological and evolutionary dynamics of collective behavior and cultural change within the public sphere.

To illustrate this theory, I present a novel mixed-method approach. I use plagiarism detection software to compare 1,084 press releases about Muslims produced by 120 civil society organizations to 50,407 newspaper articles and television transcripts from 2001 to 2008. This new technique measures not only whether but also how much civil society organizations create cultural change. To map the discursive field and identify displays of negative emotion, I use in-depth coding of each press release. Quantitative data from the Internal Revenue Service and Google describe each organization’s financial and social resources and alternative indicators of media influence. I employ regression models to assess these indicators and introduce innovative field graphs that depict the evolution of discursive fields over time. I find that anti-Muslim organizations captivated the mass media via displays of fear and anger after the September 11th attacks, even though the vast majority of civil society organizations deployed pro-Muslim messages. By 2008, these fringe organizations not only permeated the mainstream but also forged vast social networks that consolidated their capacity to create cultural change. I conclude by discussing the implications of these findings for field theory and the cultural consequences of collective behavior more broadly (e.g., Earl 2004; Isaac 2008; Polletta 2008).

UNSETTLED TIMES, CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS, AND DISCURSIVE FIELDS

Cultural and political sociologists have long recognized the transformative potential of

what Swidler (1986:282) calls “unsettled times.” In contrast to settled times, characterized by consensus about how a society should function, unsettled times are the rare historical moments when large-scale crises or unprecedented events create bursts of cultural change (McAdam 1982; Sewell 1996; Wagner-Pacifici 2010; Wuthnow 1987). Recent examples include the September 11th attacks, the Great Recession of 2008, and the Arab Spring. These historical turning points (Abbott 1997) share three common features. First, they create widespread public uncertainty and anxiety because few—if any—people anticipated the unprecedented events (Kurzman 2004). Second, this uncertainty threatens the legitimacy of dominant groups responsible for the reproduction of the social order. Finally, structural instability creates potent opportunities for new or rival factions to steer the course of cultural change. The importance of such opportunities for political change has been widely recognized (e.g., Amenta et al. 2010; Meyer and Minkoff 2004; Soule and Olzak 2004), but very little is known about how cultural change occurs during unsettled times—or how societies settle into a new status quo.

I argue that mass media is a key force in creating cultural change during unsettled times. Within this “master forum” (Ferree et al. 2002), collective actors present competing diagnoses of crises and corresponding solutions to redress them. These media frames provide “a central organizing idea . . . for making sense of relevant events,” and thereby “give meaning to an issue” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:3). The goal of such framing contests is not simply to attract media attention, but to influence the way journalists themselves interpret or classify social issues and “package [them] for efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin 1980:7).¹ The September 11th attacks provoked a multitude of public debates on a variety of issues. In this article, I focus on the struggle to shape media discourse about Islam—specifically, how civil society actors influence media representations of the values, beliefs, and allegiances

of Muslims vis-à-vis broader U.S. society, or the symbolic boundaries these groups use to shape public representations of “us” and “them” (Bail 2008; Lamont 2000; Wimmer 2008).

The concept of media framing was born out of case studies of individual social movement organizations (e.g., Gitlin 1980). Yet a growing chorus of scholars call for greater attention to the broader organizational environment in which media framing contests occur (Best 2012; Evans 1997; Ferree et al. 2002; Koopmans and Olzak 2004; McAdam 1996; McCammon 2012). These environments include not only multiple social movement organizations but also advocacy organizations, think tanks, religious groups, interest groups, voluntary organizations, philanthropic foundations, and academic groups. As numerous scholars note, this organizational mosaic is typically obscured by disciplinary or subdisciplinary divides (Andrews and Edwards 2004; Brulle et al. 2007; Burstein and Linton 2002; Walker, McCarthy, and Baumgartner 2010).² I argue that an ecological perspective on this diverse population reveals how cultural, structural, and emotional relationships between collective actors shape cultural change during unsettled times. Therefore, this article examines media framing contests among all civil society organizations—that is, nonstate and nonprofit organizations vying to influence media discourse about Islam following the September 11th attacks.³

The cornerstone of my theory is the concept of a discursive field (McCammon et al. 2007; Mohr 1998; Snow 2004; Steinberg 1999; Wuthnow 1993). Discursive fields are the “dynamic terrain where meaning contests occur” (Spillman 1995:140), which thereby define the “limits of discussion” on a particular issue (Wuthnow 1993:13). Whereas other variants of field theory explain how broad social relationships pattern institutional logics or organizational routines (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Fligstein 2001), discursive fields are the public battlegrounds where collective actors compete to give meaning to an issue. For my purposes, the concept serves

two important functions. First, it allows me to map the range of media frames used by a population of civil society organizations competing to influence media discourse at a given point in time.⁴ For example, one extreme of the discursive field described below is occupied by organizations that believe all Muslims are obligated to commit violence against nonbelievers. At the other extreme are those who believe Islam is inherently *less* violent than the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Second, the notion of a discursive field enables me to assess the distribution of media frames across civil society organizations to differentiate what I call “mainstream” and “fringe” organizations. I define mainstream organizations as those that regularly deploy one of the most common media frames within a discursive field at a given point in time. Conversely, fringe organizations are those that regularly deploy one of the least popular frames.⁵ Whereas other studies use the term mainstream to refer to organizations that regularly receive media coverage or to describe powerful media outlets themselves, I use the term only to describe the representativeness of a civil society organization’s media frame vis-à-vis the broader discursive field. This distinction is critical because it will enable me to determine whether civil society organizations influence the media by deploying mainstream media frames, or if they become part of the mainstream precisely because they receive media coverage.⁶

Carefully identifying the contours of mainstream discourse is also necessary because of the implicit ecological reasoning in many theories of culture and collective behavior. For example, classic studies in this field emphasize the power of cultural resonance (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Schudson 1989). In this account, certain civil society organizations “have a natural advantage because their ideas and language resonate with larger cultural themes” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:5). Numerous recent studies also highlight the fit between an organization’s framing strategy and its broader discursive environment (Evans 1997; McAdam

1996; Snow 2004; Williams 2004). Together, these studies suggest mainstream organizations will dominate the media during unsettled times because of their central positions within discursive fields. More specifically, mainstream organizations may exert disproportionate influence on the media because their media frames are more easily integrated into broader media narratives because they appear familiar or legitimate.

Yet discursive fields also exhibit the principles of electromagnetism (Bourdieu 1984; Levi-Martin 2003; Wuthnow 1993). The same social forces that bond civil society organizations together around a set of mainstream media frames within a discursive field propel others toward the fringe. Studies of media framing invoke ecological logic to explain cultural resonance, but they have not yet realized a set of complementary predictions that can be borrowed from the literature on organizational niches (e.g., Aldrich 1979; Freeman and Hannan 1983; Levitsky 2007). Namely, media influence may be achieved not only through producing familiar, resonant messages but also through innovation (Lieberson 2000). Novel media frames may be particularly compelling during unsettled times, as people search for new ways to understand unprecedented events (Sewell 1996; Wagner-Pacifici 2010).

Media Frames, Social Networks, and Emotional Energy

This theoretical synthesis demonstrates the promise of an ecological perspective for understanding how discursive fields settle. Yet it is equally important to emphasize that “discourses . . . do not speak for themselves” (Ferree 2003:311). Many previous studies assume framing contests occur in a vacuum—divorcing media frames from the collective actors that produce them and assuming that frames compete based on their own merit (Benford 1997; Steensland 2008). Yet a vast literature suggests the success of media frames depends on the resources of the collective actors that produce them. For example,

wealthy organizations can afford to create dedicated infrastructure for media outreach or fund large-scale advertising campaigns (Andrews and Caren 2010; Bennett 2004; Corbett 1998; Vliegenthart, Oegema, and Klandermans 2005). Similarly, civil society organizations with dense inter-organizational networks can easily mobilize large public protests or letter writing campaigns (Andrews and Biggs 2006; Diani and McAdam 2003; Lee 2002). Financial and social resources not only increase organizations' visibility but also demonstrate their legitimacy before the media (Andrews and Caren 2010).

One of the chief advantages of an ecological perspective of civil society organizations is that it enables analysis of the relationship between an organization's position within a discursive field and the competition for social and financial resources therein. As Bourdieu (1985) famously argued, discourses often become dominant within fields because of the uneven distribution of financial and social resources, or vice versa.⁷ More recent studies have validated this argument in a range of empirical contexts (e.g., Armstrong 2002; Bearman 1993; Ghaziani and Baldassarri 2011; Lamont 1992; Mische 2008; Wimmer 2008), although the direction of causality is not entirely clear. Regardless, these studies suggest mainstream organizations will consolidate social and financial resources because their popular narratives reflect the interests of vast constituencies. In contrast, fringe organizations' peripheral frames may not only lack broad appeal but may also reinforce the dominance of mainstream organizations. For example, Haines (1984) shows that public disdain for the Black Panther Party's peripheral message created a flank effect that facilitated fundraising by mainstream organizations in the Civil Rights Movement (e.g., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).⁸

If fringe organizations lack financial and social resources, how do they publicize their peripheral media frames? To answer this question, I argue that field theory must move beyond Bourdieu's emphasis on resources

and interests toward the performative styles collective actors use to deliver their messages (Alexander 2006; Jacobs and Townsley 2011; Smith 2005). Civil society organizations not only compete for resources within discursive fields but also for attention (DiMaggio 1997). As Collins (2001:27) argues, displays of emotional energy such as fear or anger play a key role in focusing public attention within such "attention spaces." A recent renaissance in the study of social movements suggests emotions play a key role in mobilization processes (Aminzade and McAdam 2001; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Gould 2009; Summers-Effler 2010), and I propose that displays of emotion also have key consequences for the cultural outcomes of collective behavior. This is because emotional bias is deeply embedded within most public institutions (Berezin 2002), and the mass media in particular (Edelman 1964; Gitlin 1980; Hilgartner and Bosk 1988; Lippmann 1922). Moreover, studies indicate the emotional bias of collective attention is heightened after crises when public anxiety is rife (Altheide 2002; Collins 2012; Perrin 2005).

A priori, these literatures suggest displays of emotion should benefit both fringe and mainstream civil society organizations competing to influence the mass media during unsettled times. Yet an ecological perspective of the distribution of emotional energy across discursive fields reveals that displays of negative emotions carry considerable risk for mainstream civil society organizations. As Jasper (2006:127) argues, mainstream organizations face an "extension dilemma." The larger they grow in size, the more diverse their constituencies become. This internal diversity limits the strategies organizations can draw on, because certain tactics—such as displays of emotion—may please some members or allies but estrange others. Such risks are particularly unnecessary if mainstream organizations already have the resources to publicize their messages through conventional channels. Fringe organizations, on the other hand, have little to lose. Indeed, fringe organizations may become emotional precisely because they

are unable to mobilize broad constituencies or attract public attention in the first place.⁹ Or, fringe organizations may display negative emotions strategically to exploit the media's emotional bias.

To review, I argue that an ecological perspective not only illuminates the discursive environments civil society organizations inhabit during unsettled times, but also explains how their positions within this discursive field are related to the distribution of resources and emotional energy across organizations. This theoretical synthesis yields three predictions. First, mainstream civil society organizations create cultural change during unsettled times because their messages resonate with prevailing discursive themes and because they possess the social and financial resources necessary to publicize them. Second, fringe organizations create cultural change by occupying niches within discursive fields. Due to lack of resources, fringe organizations depend on displays of negative emotion—intentional or not—to focus public attention on their peripheral media frames. My theory thus responds to recent calls to integrate cultural, structural, and emotional theories of collective behavior (e.g., Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Polletta 1997; Viterna 2012) by explaining how different configurations of these factors enable civil society organizations to create cultural change.

The Evolution of Discursive Fields

A third and final prediction concerns change over time. To this point, I have described discursive fields as if they are static. Yet numerous studies document the evolutionary dynamics of the public sphere (e.g., Hilgartner and Bosk 1988; Kennedy 2008; Koopmans 2004; Oliver and Myers 2002). Because of the mass media's limited carrying capacity, selection processes create an inevitable distortion of discursive fields. In this way, the mass media is not a democratic forum but a prism that communicates the contours of discursive fields to the public and the civil society organizations that inhabit it. This distortion

may have two consequences for the evolution of discursive fields. First, disproportionate media coverage of mainstream organizations during unsettled times may reinforce their resonance by amplifying their already popular media frames even further across the public sphere. Yet if fringe organizations receive a significant amount of media coverage, these same evolutionary dynamics may alter the contours of mainstream discourse itself. Not unlike White's (1981) description of the emergence of financial markets, this fringe effect may provoke other organizations within the field to alter their framing strategies or inspire still others to enter or exit the discursive field entirely.¹⁰

RESEARCH DESIGN

Evaluating these three predictions about how civil society organizations influence media discourse during unsettled times presents several methodological challenges. Most studies of media framing rely heavily on newspaper data, even though it is well known that the majority of civil society organizations fail to reach the media (Koopmans 2004; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Snyder and Kelley 1977). This selection on the dependent variable has left the literature "plagued by circular claims in which unverifiable causal relationships are implied" (Benford 1997:412). Several studies address this issue by collecting independent samples of civil society organizations and counting the number of times they are mentioned in newspapers (Amenta et al. 2009; Andrews and Caren 2010; Oliver and Maney 2000). Yet studies note media coverage can be cursory or in-depth (Smith et al. 2001) and positive or negative (Gitlin 1980; Sobieraj 2011).

To measure both whether and how much civil society organizations create cultural change, I used plagiarism detection software. More specifically, I used this innovative technique to compare a large sample of press releases about Muslims produced by civil society organizations to an even larger sample

of newspaper articles and television transcripts produced between 2001 and 2008. Alongside disruptive tactics such as protests and strikes, press releases are one of the primary tools civil society organizations use to influence the media (Benford 1993; Klandermans and Gosingla 1996; Koopmans 2004; Sobieraj 2011). According to Bennett (2004), more than half of national news content is derived from press releases or press conferences—and many press releases are verbatim transcripts of press conferences. Most press releases include a target (e.g., the government or a rival organization), a description of an event, and commentary from a civil society organization's leaders. Below, I explain how I used press releases to map the contours of the discursive field of civil society organizations that vied to shape media discourse about Islam after the September 11th attacks.

As with any ecological analysis, defining the boundaries of a discursive field is critical. Brulle and colleagues (2007) show that a multipronged sampling approach minimizes the risk of sampling error in the study of organizational populations. I thus employed three sources to survey the total population of press releases produced by all U.S. civil society organizations vying to influence media discourse about Islam. First, I searched a Lexis-Nexis archive of press releases distributed by seven of the largest U.S. public relations firms for all documents that mentioned the terms "Muslim" or "Islam" or a related set of terms in the seven-year period following September 10, 2001.¹¹ From this source, I obtained 815 press releases from 96 civil society organizations after excluding irrelevant documents.¹²

Because many civil society organizations cannot afford to distribute press releases through media firms, I collected a parallel sample of press releases and organizations using two large databases of nonprofit organizations employed by many previous studies: Guidestar and the Encyclopedia of Associations.¹³ The former lists all organizations that file for nonprofit 501(c)(3) status from the U.S. government. The latter includes many of

the same organizations but adds more comprehensive coverage of regional and local organizations as well as those that have not yet filed for nonprofit status (Andrews, Hunter, and Edwards 2012). I queried these databases to identify civil society organizations working to shape public discourse about Islam using the same search criteria described above. I then visited the websites of each of the organizations identified through this search and downloaded their press releases.¹⁴ The total sample includes 1,084 press releases produced by 120 civil society organizations.¹⁵

Next, I collected media coverage of these 120 civil society organizations from six national media sources. Previous studies of collective behavior and the media have been criticized for relying too heavily on the *New York Times*, which has a well-documented liberal bias (Earl et al. 2004; Ortiz et al. 2005). Therefore, my analysis also includes the centrist *USA Today* and the conservative *Washington Times*.¹⁶ Because television news continues to supplant print media as the most powerful institution within the public sphere (Iyengar and Kinder 1988), I also include transcripts from three major television news networks: CBS News (liberal), CNN (centrist), and Fox News (conservative). In total, I collected 50,407 documents from these six sources produced between 2001 and 2008.¹⁷ Together, these newspaper and television sources provide a well-balanced sample of national media coverage of the field of civil society organizations vying to shape public discourse about Islam.¹⁸

To compare each press release to the media coverage of each organization, I used plagiarism detection software developed by Bloomfield (2011).¹⁹ This software identifies exact and near matches of text between two sets of documents as follows. First, all unique words in each document are replaced with a root word using a thesaurus text file. For example, the word "outstanding" is replaced with the term "excellent." Next, the entire text of both sets of documents is parsed into six-word strings. The software then identifies all cases where four of the six words in a string match.

Table 1. Variable Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics

| Variable | Description | Mean | SD |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------|--------------|
| Media Influence (Outcome) | Number of words in press release reproduced verbatim or paraphrased by six national media sources. | 4.590 | 18.736 |
| Fringe Media Frames | Euclidean distance between five dummy variables describing civil society organization media frames about Islam in each press release and average for all other organizations during the same year. | .913 | .197 |
| Assets | Total assets of organization sponsoring press release at year-end. | 27.0 (mill.) | 68.3 (mill.) |
| Inter-organizational Networks | Closeness centrality of organization within field (constructed using interlocking directorates by year). | .188 | .355 |
| Narrowness of Mission | Dummy variable that describes whether organization's primary goal is influencing media discourse about Islam (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .493 | .500 |
| Displays of Fear or Anger | Dummy variable that describes whether civil society organization displays fear or anger in press release (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .654 | .478 |
| News Cycle | Number of hits for the term "Muslim" or "Islam" on Google News during month the press release was issued. | 8,264 | 2,830 |
| Previous Media Coverage | Dummy variable that describes whether civil society organization issuing the press release previously influenced media discourse about Islam. | .524 | .500 |
| U.S. Government Targeted | Dummy variable that describes whether the press release targets an individual or organization representing the U. S. government (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .283 | .451 |
| Public Interest | Dummy variable that describes whether main event described in the press release was one of the top-10 Google searches during the week it was issued (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .061 | .239 |
| Violence or Disruptive Activity | Dummy variable that describes whether main event described in the press release involved physical violence, strikes, protests, rallies, or boycotts (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .223 | .416 |
| Event in United States | Dummy variable that describes whether main event described in the press release occurred in the United States (1 = yes, 0 = no). | .572 | .450 |

These matches are highlighted in HTML files with hyperlinks that enable a human coder to compare the two documents side-by-side. I inspected each match individually to verify that it described positive influence of the civil society organization that sponsored the press release being analyzed.²⁰ As Table 1 shows, media influence is relatively rare. The mean number of matched or paraphrased words per press release is less than five, and 85 percent of civil society organizations in my sample had no media influence at all.

Identifying Mainstream and Fringe Media Frames in Press Releases

To identify the contours of the discursive field and differentiate mainstream and fringe civil society organizations, I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses of the press releases in my sample. I began by mapping the range of media frames produced by the civil society organizations across all press releases. After three rounds of coding on random samples of press releases with a research

assistant, I identified five media frames.²¹ The *Muslims as victims* frame suggests Muslims should not be blamed for the politically motivated violence of groups inspired by apocryphal interpretations of their religion. Conversely, the *Muslims as enemies* frame depicts all Muslims as potentially violent radicals who have a religious obligation to overthrow Western governments. The *battle for the hearts and minds* frame draws a middle path between these two extremes, suggesting moderate Muslims must be enlisted to root out the extremists among them. The *blurring* frame suggests Muslims should not be judged based on their religion, but on other components of their identity that overlap with non-Muslims such as citizenship or language. Finally, the *Muslim empowerment* frame suggests that Islam is not only inherently opposed to violence, but that it provides more sophisticated theological tenets for the prevention of ethnic violence than do other religions. I describe each of these media frames in greater detail in the online supplement.

Distinguishing mainstream and fringe civil society organizations requires analysis of the distribution of these five media frames across the entire discursive field. Frequency counts of each media frame cannot be used for two reasons. First, many press releases contain multiple media frames.²² Second, my theoretical framework suggests the distribution of media frames may shift over time such that organizations that are in the mainstream during one period may drift toward the fringe of discursive fields over time, or vice versa. To account for the multidimensionality and dynamism of discursive fields, I measured the Euclidean distance from the dummy variables used to describe the media frames in each press release to the average values of these indicators across all organizations during the year in which the press release was distributed.²³ Small Euclidean distance scores represent press releases that deploy mainstream media frames and large scores represent fringe media frames. For example, in a hypothetical year when most press releases deployed one of the first three frames

described earlier, releases that used the latter two would have large Euclidean distance scores that reflect the rarity of these discourses at that point in time.

Financial and Social Resources

To measure each civil society organization's financial and social resources, I used three indicators derived from Internal Revenue Service data in the Guidestar Database.²⁴ I used the log of each organization's total assets at year end to measure its financial resources. To measure each organization's social resources, I constructed a network measure of interlocking board members between them (Mizruchi 1996). First, I created a relational database of every board member affiliated with each organization by year. I then used this dataset to calculate the closeness centrality of each organization within the broader discursive field by year.²⁵ As Gamson (1990) recognized, however, well-endowed or well-networked civil society organizations may not dedicate all of their resources toward a single cause. Therefore, using each organization's mission statement described on IRS form 990, I created a dummy variable that describes whether an organization's principal goal was to shape media discourse about Islam.²⁶

Displays of Fear and Anger

I conducted qualitative coding of each press release to identify displays of fear or anger. Although a number of recent studies of emotions and collective behavior rely on such textual data, no formal measurement approach exists at present in the literature.²⁷ Linguists measure emotional language using quantitative methods that identify patterns of language around keywords such as "hate" or "love" (e.g., Bao et al. 2011). Yet this approach ignores the context of such language, which is needed to identify displays of emotion.²⁸ To capture such context, I developed a preliminary coding scheme to identify displays of fear or anger through inductive qualitative

coding of each press release. Unfortunately, this improved approach still obscures the bodily manifestation of emotions. Fortunately, many press releases in my sample are verbatim transcripts of press conferences available in video format online. I used this visual evidence to triangulate my coding scheme. This revised coding scheme was then applied to the full sample. I then created a dummy variable that describes displays of fear or anger in each press release.

Alternative Explanatory Measures

Finally, I added controls for six additional variables that previous studies have associated with media coverage. First, I included a measure of the news cycle of issues surrounding Muslims, because previous studies suggest media coverage is highly cumulative (Andrews and Caren 2010; McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver and Maney 2000). I derived this measure from the number of times the terms “Muslim” or “Islam” were mentioned in major U.S. media outlets for each week between 2001 and 2008 in the Google News Archive. Second, studies indicate that media coverage of an organization greatly improves an organization’s chances of future coverage (Gans 1979; Seguin 2012). Therefore, I included a dummy variable that describes whether the organization sponsoring the press release previously influenced media discourse about Islam according to my plagiarism detection measure. Studies also suggest that journalists are more likely to cover an event if it involves government actors (Amenta et al. 2009; Oliver and Maney 2000; Rohlinger 2006; Smith et al. 2001). I thus created a dummy variable that describes whether the U.S. government was the target of the press release.

In addition, I developed several measures that describe characteristics of the events described in the press releases themselves. For example, studies indicate that journalists tend to cover issues they believe will be of interest to broad audiences (Clayman and Reisner 1998). I therefore created a dummy variable that is positive if any events described

in the press release were among the top-10 Google searches during the week it was released.²⁹ Studies also indicate that collective violence or disruptive activity attract media attention (Amenta et al. 2009; Myers and Caniglia 2004; Oliver and Myers 1999). I thus created a dummy variable that describes whether the press release describes physical violence, strikes, protests, rallies, or boycotts. It is also well known that geographic proximity of an event is a core news value (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Koopmans and Vliegenthart 2011). I created a dummy variable that is positive if the event described in the press release occurred in the United States.

RESULTS

To identify how the indicators described earlier are associated with media influence of civil society organizations, I employ a cross-sectional negative binomial regression model. This technique accounts for the significant overdispersion of the outcome variable, and has been used by previous studies of collective behavior and the media for the same reason (Amenta et al. 2009; Andrews and Caren 2010; Koopmans and Vliegenthart 2011; McVeigh, Neblett, and Shafiq 2006). Because individual press release observations within the model are clustered across organizations, I employ standard errors that are robust to intra-organizational correlation (Deb, Manning, and Norton 2012; Gelman and Hill 2007; Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2008). The model does not include yearly dummy variables because they are highly correlated with my measure of the news cycle about Islam.³⁰ Instead, I first present the time-invariant model that uses press releases as the unit of analysis and then examine change over time using descriptive measures calculated at the organizational level of analysis.

Table 2 presents my findings in four separate models. Model 1 includes the core indicators of my theoretical framework. Model 2 presents the six alternative explanatory measures of media influence. Model 3 combines the core indicators and the alternative explanatory

Table 2. Coefficients from Negative Binomial Regression Models of Media Influence

| | Model 1. Core Indicators | Model 2. Alternative Explanatory Measures | Model 3. Full Model | Model 4. Full Model with Interactions |
|---|--------------------------------|--|------------------------|--|
| Fringe Media Frames | 1.484** (.177) | | 1.084** (.182) | .731** (.190) |
| Assets (ln) | .101** (.024) | | .051 (.032) | .040 (.034) |
| Inter-organizational Networks | .717** (.099) | | .657** (.103) | .712** (.104) |
| Narrowness of Mission | .587** (.108) | | .071 (.137) | .017 (.154) |
| Displays of Fear or Anger | 1.042** (.078) | | 1.153** (.082) | 1.132** (.083) |
| News Cycle (ln) | | .251* (.113) | .600** (.118) | .626** (.120) |
| Previous Media Coverage | | 1.010** (.088) | .663** (.113) | .643** (.121) |
| U.S. Government Targeted | | .518** (.076) | .410** (.082) | .427** (.084) |
| Public Interest | | .270 (.149) | .425** (.159) | .305 (.166) |
| Violent or Disruptive Event | | .054 (.091) | -.184 (.099) | -.231* (.099) |
| Event in United States | | .539** (.080) | .522** (.085) | .519** (.087) |
| Interactions | | | | |
| Fringe Media Frames x News Cycle | | | | .889 (.647) |
| Fringe Media Frames x Violent or Disruptive Event | | | | .581 (.456) |
| Fringe Media Frames x Displays of Fear or Anger | | | | 2.869** (.412) |
| Fringe Media Frames x Inter- organizational Networks | | | | -1.139* (.512) |

Note: $N = 1,084$ press releases nested within 120 organizations.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests).

measures into a full model. Finally, Model 4 presents the full model with four interaction terms designed to further validate the findings of Model 3 and evaluate the first two predictions of my theoretical framework.

Model 1 includes the following core indicators: position within the discursive field, organizational assets, inter-organizational networks, narrowness of organizational mission vis-à-vis shaping public discourse about Islam, and displays of fear or anger. Recall

that I calculated the measure of position within the discursive field using the Euclidean distance of the discursive variables in each press release from the average of all organizations during the time period in question. Therefore, the greater the Euclidean distance, the more the media frames used in the press releases occupy the fringe of the discursive field. As Table 2 shows, this measure of fringe media frames has a positive and highly significant association with media

influence in Model 1. Displays of fear or anger also have a positive and highly significant association with media influence. Model 1 also suggests that financial and social resources help civil society organizations achieve media influence. Inter-organizational networks, financial assets, and narrowness of organizational mission have positive and significant associations with media influence.

Model 2 presents the six alternative explanatory measures. Four of these measures have a significant relationship with media influence. Previous media coverage is the strongest predictor of the dummy variables in the model. This suggests that previous coverage may help organizations to be perceived as legitimate or to build relationships with individual media outlets as reliable sources. Yet some of this effect may also be the product of omitted variable bias resulting from exclusion of indicators employed in the first model. Press releases that target the U.S. government are more likely to achieve media influence, as are releases that describe an event that occurred within the United States. Finally, civil society organizations that time their press releases within the news cycle about Muslims have an advantage above those that do not. Each of these findings confirms expectations about media influence from previous studies of collective behavior and the media. Press releases that describe violent or disruptive events have a very small positive effect, yet it is almost half the size of the standard error. Press releases that describe high profile events of public interest also have a small positive yet insignificant association with media influence. This may suggest that the media searches for stories from civil society organizations during the regular news cycle but shifts to creating its own narratives after major newsworthy events.

Model 3 combines the first two models to determine whether the core findings from Model 1 are robust to the alternative explanatory measures presented in Model 2. In this full model, displays of fear or anger continue to have a positive and significant association with media influence. Put in real terms using

incidence rate ratios, press releases that display negative emotions increase the number of words matched by a factor of 3.16, holding other variables constant in the model. The relationship between fringe media frames and media influence is also very strong. A one standard deviation increase in the Euclidean distance measure results in 2.96 times the number of words matched between press releases and newspaper articles or television transcripts. Inter-organizational networks also continue to predict media influence. *Ceteris paribus*, each network tie multiplies the number of words matched by 1.92. Yet in the full model, positive effects of organizational assets and narrowness of mission identified in Model 1 are no longer significant.

Turning to the alternative explanatory measures in Model 3, all but one has a positive and significant association with media influence (in the expected directions). The measure of previous media coverage continues to have a positive and significant correlation with media influence, signaling the need to further analyze effects of the other variables over time. The model also reveals modest significant effects for the news cycle, press releases that describe high profile events, events that occur within the United States, and events that target the U.S. government. Interestingly, the indicator of violent or disruptive activity is negative and insignificant in the full model. Previous studies report positive effects for this variable on media coverage (e.g., Amenta et al. 2009), but this result indicates such tactics do not translate into media *influence*.³¹ This finding resonates with previous studies that suggest journalists and other public figures often denigrate organizations that resort to violent or disruptive tactics (Gitlin 1980; Rojas 2006; Sobieraj 2011).

As an additional robustness check, Model 4 adds interaction terms between fringe media frames and two of the alternative explanatory measures. The first term combines fringe media frames with the measure of the news cycle, to investigate the possibility that fringe organizations are merely opportunistic actors

who rely on external events to influence media representations of Islam. Model 4 also adds an interaction term between fringe media frames and violent or disruptive activity to assess whether peripheral organizations that rely on unconventional tactics get attention. Neither of these interaction terms is significant.

Finally, Model 4 includes two interaction terms designed to assess the first two predictions of the theoretical model: fringe civil society organizations should benefit from displays of negative emotion and mainstream civil society organizations should benefit from social resources. To evaluate these predictions, I included interaction terms between fringe media frames and displays of fear or anger, and fringe media frames and inter-organizational networks. The first interaction term has a highly significant positive association with media influence. This finding provides strong support for the first prediction in the theoretical framework: displays of fear or anger benefit fringe organizations more than mainstream organizations. Yet displays of negative emotions may also be of some benefit to mainstream organizations because the main effect of this variable remains positive and significant in this model. The second interaction term also has a significant negative correlation with media influence that supports my second hypothesis that mainstream organizations benefit from social resources more than fringe organizations. Effects of these interactions are consistent even when they are included individually in separate models.

Tracing the Evolution of Discursive Fields

These interaction terms are instructive, but my theoretical framework suggests fringe media frames, inter-organizational networks, and displays of negative emotions may have varied effects across time. Three-way interactions with dummy variables for discrete time periods could be included in the model, but they have several disadvantages. First, they fail to capture how time alters the form of

indicators in the model (Isaac and Griffin 1989). This is important given that the third and final prediction in my model suggests media coverage has evolutionary consequences that will either broaden the number of mainstream organizations or enable fringe organizations to redefine the mainstream. Second, three-way interaction terms fail to capture changing relationships between the organizations themselves, such as the growth of new network ties between organizations or an organization's movement from one part of the discursive field to another. Finally, there is little evidence that cultural change occurs within discrete time periods. To the contrary, numerous studies reveal that public discourse changes in fits—often in response to exogenous events (e.g., Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Sewell 1996). In short, evaluating the final prediction in my theoretical framework requires a methodology that is fundamentally process-oriented (Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005; Hedström and Bearman 2011; Padgett and Powell 2012; Thelen 2004; Wimmer 2008).

To develop such a model, I began by identifying a group of events likely to create abrupt changes within the discursive field. Using the aforementioned data on the top-10 Google searches each week, I identified three time periods defined by six events that involved high-profile discussions about Islam. The first period (2001 to 2003) begins with the September 11th attacks and ends with the invasion of Iraq. The second period (2004 to 2006) begins with the Madrid bombings and ends shortly after the London bombings. The final period (2007 to 2008) begins with the execution of Saddam Hussein and ends with the debate over President Obama's religious background during the 2008 presidential election.³²

To illustrate the changing relationships between fringe media frames, displays of negative emotions, inter-organizational networks, and media influence across these three periods, I introduce what I call "field graphs" (see Figure 1).³³ Circles in each graph represent individual civil society organizations. The circles

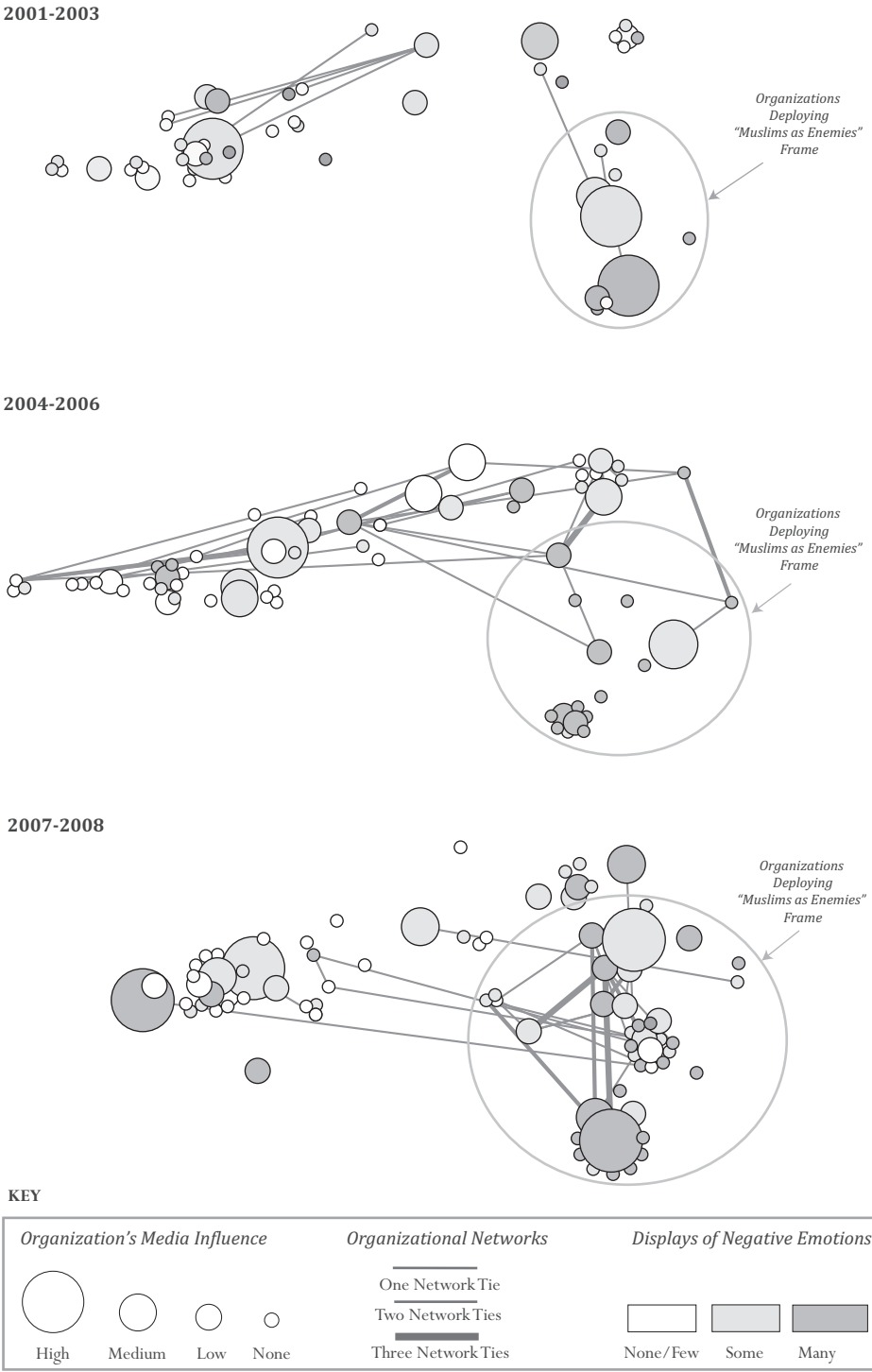


Figure 1. Field of Civil Society Organizations Vying to Influence Media Discourse about Islam, 2001 to 2008

are positioned on the graphs via multidimensional scaling (MDS) of the media frame dummy variables. Organizations near one another on the graph share similar media framing strategies. This technique provides a visual depiction of the measure of fringe media frames I employed earlier, because I used Euclidean distances to perform the MDS. The size of each circle describes that organization's media influence. Straight lines between circles denote organizations that share board members. The thickness of these lines describes the number of shared board members between any two organizations. Finally, the color of each circle describes displays of emotion. Circles with the darkest shade represent organizations that display fear or anger in more than two thirds of their press releases, the lighter shade represents those that do so between one and two thirds of their press releases, and the white circles are organizations that do so in less than one third of their press releases.

This panoramic view of the discursive field also reveals precisely which media frames constitute mainstream and fringe discourse during each period. For example, the first field graph shows that civil society organizations deploying the *Muslims as enemies* frame occupied the fringe of the discursive field between 2001 and 2003. Of the 50 organizations in the field at this time, only 10 deployed this frame. Remarkably, however, Figure 1 shows these fringe organizations were among the most influential in the field during the aftermath of the September 11th attacks. If one ignores the small circles in the graph that describe organizations with no media influence, one finds that five of the ten most influential civil society organizations during this period deployed the *Muslims as enemies* frame. Thus, *a study that ignores the large population of organizations that fail to breach the public sphere would mistake these fringe organizations for part of the mainstream*; they are among the largest groups represented in the media but not in the broader discursive field.

Even more remarkably, Figure 1 reveals that the number of organizations deploying the *Muslims as enemies* frame nearly doubled between the first and second period analyzed—gradually

breaking into the mainstream. As in the first period, the second field graph suggests these organizations influenced media because they regularly displayed fear or anger. Indeed, all of the 16 organizations that deployed this anti-Muslim frame frequently displayed emotions, as evidenced by the circles' darker shade in this region of the field. Interestingly, the second field graph also shows that these organizations began to broaden their social networks during this period. Organizations deploying the *Muslims as enemies* frame shared only two board members in the first period; by the second period, they not only had multiple network ties with each other, but they also had numerous ties to influential mainstream organizations (pictured in the left center of the second field graph).

The final field graph for 2007 to 2008 suggests organizations deploying the *Muslims as enemies* frame expanded their networks even further between the second and third periods. Moreover, the proportion of organizations deploying this frame continued to increase dramatically. Whereas anti-Muslim organizations represented one fifth of all organizations in the discursive field during the first period, they represented nearly two fifths of the field by the final period. In other words, *my analysis suggests that civil society organizations that deployed the Muslims as enemies frame drifted from the fringe of the discursive field to the very center of the mainstream over time*. While they were scarcely connected to other organizations during the first periods, anti-Muslim fringe organizations also continued to reap the benefits of social networks as they entered the mainstream. More than half of the organizations with network ties to other organizations in the field during this period deployed the *Muslims as enemies* frame.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

To review, this study asked how civil society organizations create cultural change during the unsettled times that follow major historical ruptures. To overcome the circular reasoning of previous studies, I presented an evolutionary framework that locates the messages of

individual organizations within broader discursive fields. This ecological perspective, I suggested, illuminates not only the cultural but also the structural and emotional relationships between civil society organizations that determine whether and how civil society organizations breach the public sphere. Previous studies argue that journalists gravitate toward resonant mainstream organizations with the resources necessary to publicize their messages, but I found that angry and fearful fringe organizations not only exerted powerful influence on media discourse about Muslims in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks, but ultimately became some of the most influential mainstream groups in the field. Throughout this process, fringe organizations developed broad inter-organizational networks that further consolidated their capacity to influence the media and challenge the contours of the mainstream. I call this the “fringe effect.”

How did anti-Muslim organizations drift from the fringe of the discursive field into the mainstream? The evolutionary component of my theoretical framework suggests institutions such as the media contribute to the fringe effect within discursive fields during unsettled times. As Figure 1 shows, fringe organizations were heavily overrepresented in the media after the September 11th attacks and mainstream organizations were significantly underrepresented. Because the vast majority of people rely on the media to understand the contours of a discursive field, anti-Muslim fringe organizations were most likely *perceived* as part of the mainstream. This increased standing may have enabled fringe organizations to identify each other and consolidate their resources, or identify new partners from outside their corner of the discursive field. Through these expanding social networks and the inertia of the media echo chamber, my findings suggest institutional amplification of fringe organizations profoundly shaped the contours of the discursive field.

Before concluding that the evolutionary dynamics of the public sphere vaulted anti-Muslim fringe organizations into the mainstream, it will be useful to evaluate several alternative explanations. Until now, I have

assumed that civil society organizations and the mass media are the only actors capable of shaping discursive fields. Yet it is well known that the state exerts enormous influence on discursive fields in the wake of crises (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Not only does the mass media provide a sounding board for the state during such moments, but government statements usually provoke responses from civil society organizations as well. To identify how states shape discursive fields, I analyzed an additional 257 press releases produced by 30 state organizations that were originally excluded from the sample above.³⁴ After coding media frames in each of these documents I recalibrated my Euclidean-distance measure of fringe media frames. The results are nearly identical. In the full model, the coefficient for fringe media frames drops from 1.087 to .950 but remains highly significant.³⁵

A second objection to my interpretation of the results is that discursive fields may be shaped not only by the collective actors who inhabit them and the media that describe them, but also by the broader public that consumes media messages (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Snow 2004). Journalists may be influenced by their audiences' views, and these audiences may also provide civil society organizations with the resources necessary to publicize their frames. Although public opinion data do not capture nuances of the frames described earlier, a crude analysis can be conducted via six cross-sectional surveys of American attitudes toward Muslims conducted by the Pew Foundation between 2000 and 2007. These data reveal only 4.9 percent of Americans held “very unfavorable” views of Muslim Americans in November 2001.³⁶ Yet these numbers increased steadily each year before reaching 9.7 percent of all Americans in 2007. Thus there is little evidence that public opinion enabled the rise of anti-Muslim fringe organizations. To the contrary, it is possible that media amplification of fringe organizations contributed to this rise in negative public opinion of Islam.

A third objection is that the increase in negative public opinion toward Muslims and the dramatic growth of anti-Muslim organizations was simply a response to exogenous

developments outside the discursive field, such as terrorist attacks or collective violence by Muslims. Since the September 11th attacks, however, numerous studies have revealed a marked *decrease* in terrorism by self-described Muslims (e.g., Altheide 2006; Kurzman 2011; Tilly 2004). According to Kurzman, such terrorists accounted for less than .0002 percent of murders in the United States since the September 11th attacks and .0003 percent of deaths each day worldwide. Other studies argue that terrorism has decreased precisely because the September 11th attacks galvanized Muslims against extremist groups such as Al Qaeda (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr 2009). In the United States alone, for example, the Muslim American community is credited with foiling several terrorist plots (Schanzer, Kurzman, and Moosa 2010). These findings indicate that exogenous events do not account for the rise of fringe organizations in and of themselves. Instead, the rise of anti-Muslim organizations may contribute to continued media coverage of these relatively rare events.

Yet another alternative explanation of the dramatic increase in anti-Muslim organizations is that there was a lag effect in the creation of anti-Muslim organizations following the September 11th attacks. That is, anti-Muslim organizations may have formed immediately thereafter but did not develop the organizational infrastructure to produce press releases or register with the Internal Revenue Service until years later. To evaluate this possibility, I used the Guidestar database and the Encyclopedia of Associations to identify the year each civil society organization was founded. Of the 41 civil society organizations that deployed the *Muslims as enemies* frame between 2001 and 2008, only nine were founded after 2001. Moreover, 18 of the 41 organizations deployed other media frames before joining the chorus of anti-Muslim organizations. This finding mirrors White's (1981) argument about how the success of one business creates incentives for mimicry that ultimately structure markets. Yet further studies are needed to determine whether and precisely how civil society organizations

modify framing strategies to resonate with the changing contours of mainstream discourse over time.

For now, my analysis has several important implications for the study of discursive fields, collective behavior, and institutions during unsettled times. First, I identified new interactions between cultural, structural, and emotional processes. Whereas Mische (2008) found that entrepreneurial political organizations can broker partisan network divides by deploying novel discourses, and Wimmer (2008) showed that networks can bridge cultural or ethnic divides, my study identifies how emotional energy enables and constrains such processes. In particular, my findings indicate that public displays of fear or anger enable civil society organizations without resources or resonant messages to achieve resonance. This heightened visibility not only facilitates fringe organizations' accumulation of resources, but it also creates a profound dilemma for mainstream organizations. If mainstream organizations react angrily to the rise of fringe organizations, they may only increase the profile of these once marginal actors. Yet if they do not respond, mainstream organizations risk being ignored.³⁷ Future studies are needed to determine how such exchanges of emotional energy—or lack thereof—contribute to the creoscent momentum of fringe discourse, or the realignment of structural networks such as the widespread defection of mainstream organizations toward the fringe identified above.

Second, this study addresses cutting-edge questions about how social fields evolve (Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Padgett and Powell 2012). Not unlike framing theory, field theory is often castigated for being tautological. That is, field theorists often make a set of assumptions about how social fields reproduce inequality without ever observing the contours of the field itself. My analysis indicates that public institutions such as the media play a key role in these processes by communicating the contours of the field back to the actors who inhabit it. These selective portraits of the playing field change the very

nature of the game. The media's emotional distortion may attenuate the polarity of discursive fields (Wuthnow 1993); shape movement-counter-movement dynamics (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010); or influence the dialogical progress of discursive fields writ large (Steinberg 1999). In brief, media selection processes ensure that within discursive fields, "the ground is [always] in motion" (Emery and Trist 1965:26). Or, in Isaac's (2008) terms, the media facilitates the movement of social movements as they redefine cultural forms in the wake of crises. Combined with my discussion of emotional energy, these findings about the evolutionary consequences of media coverage call for a critical reappraisal of the role of attention, performance, and visibility within social fields.

Finally, this study has important implications for the study of collective behavior outside the media. Civil society organizations are not the only actors who rely on the media to understand the contours of discursive fields. As Koopmans (2004:367) argues, policy makers usually only "react to [civil society organization's] activities *if and as* they are depicted in the mass media" [emphasis added]. Therefore, media coverage may also enable fringe organizations to accomplish their political agendas. Similarly, media coverage may help fringe organizations shape public opinion. As Anderson (1993) argues, media enables us to imagine ourselves as part of vast communities—the entirety of which we can never meet in person. The media are particularly instrumental in the present case because of the immense geographic and linguistic divides that separate most Muslims and non-Muslims. These chasms are particularly deep in the United States, where a majority of people have never met a Muslim—even though Islam is among the fastest growing religions in the country (Read 2007). Although media effects are not always direct (Cerulo 1998; Press and Cole 2001), the emotional resonance of fringe organizations may have a particularly powerful effect on public opinion because of the emotional bias of individual and collective memory (Schacter 2001).

A final issue concerns the generalizability of my theory beyond the study of media discourse about Islam following the September 11th attacks. Future studies are needed to determine whether the fringe effect occurs within other discursive fields transitioning out of unsettled times. My research design cannot address such questions, but a cursory application of my theory to explain how the Tea Party shaped public discourse about the economy after the Great Recession of 2008 yields several intriguing parallels. First, a recent content analysis of Tea Party discourse suggests its core message about government debt was at the fringe of public discourse about the economy until recently (Parker and Barreto 2012). Second, displays of negative emotions were such a prominent component of the Tea Party's first two years that two recent monographs about the movement are titled *Mad as Hell* and *Boiling Mad*. Finally, it appears that media amplification of these emotional messages has created a gravitational pull on mainstream conservatives that has profoundly altered the trajectory of public discourse about the economy (Perrin et al. 2011; Skocpol and Williamson 2012). These initial observations suggest fringe effects might be observed in a variety of discursive fields amidst unsettled times and signal the need for further studies of the evolutionary dynamics of collective behavior and cultural change within the public sphere.

Funding

This research was made possible by grants from the National Science Foundation (#0927031), the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, the Center for American Political Studies, and the Harvard Divinity School.

Acknowledgments

I thank Andy Andrews, Elizabeth Armstrong, Avi Astor, Rachel Best, Bart Bonikowski, Michaela DeSoucey, Charlie Kurzman, Neil Gross, Ron Jacobs, Rob Jansen, Michèle Lamont, Matt Mathias, Rory McVeigh, Orlando Patterson, Andy Perrin, Sarah Sobieraj, Eleanor Townsley, Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Jocelyn Viterna, Mary Waters, Bill Wilson, Andreas Wimmer, Mayer Zald, and the *ASR* reviewers and editors for helpful comments on previous

drafts. Earlier versions of this article were presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the Eastern Sociological Society and the Departments of Sociology at Princeton University, the University of California-Los Angeles, the University of Michigan, Vanderbilt University, Stanford University, Duke University, the University of North Carolina, Emory University, the University of Georgia, the City University of New York, the University of British Columbia, Boston College, the University of Manchester, and Harvard University.

Notes

1. Media frames are thus distinct from collective action frames that are used to mobilize people to join or support social movement organizations or other civil society organizations (Benford and Snow 2003).
2. But see Ferree and colleagues (2002).
3. Civil society organizations constitute a critical subset of all collective actors vying for media influence during unsettled times, but states also exert powerful influence on public discourse because of their unique capacity to provide an official version of events. In the Discussion and Conclusions section, I discuss how this official discourse contributes to cultural change during unsettled times.
4. I use the terms "media influence" and "influence on the media" interchangeably to describe the impact of civil society organizations on media discourse about Islam.
5. Fringe organizations are distinct from radical organizations in two ways. First, fringe organizations are defined only by the representativeness of their media framing strategy, and not by their normative position vis-à-vis powerful or hegemonic actors in the field. Second, radical organizations typically view the media as an enemy or tool of their opponents (Ferree 2003; Katzenstein 1999; Staggenborg 1994; Taylor and Van Dyke 2004), whereas fringe organizations aim to achieve media influence despite their uncommon messages.
6. For example, a study that examines only the range of media frames among civil society organizations that have already breached the public sphere may confuse mainstream and fringe organizations, or vice versa.
7. Several recent studies demonstrate the interpenetration of discourse and structure within fields of civil society organizations. For example, Armstrong (2002) shows that creation of a "coming out" frame led to crystallization of powerful lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) advocacy organizations in the 1970s. Similarly, Ghaziani and Baldassari (2011) introduce the concept of "cultural anchors" to explain the interpenetration of discourses and social networks within the LGBT movement. Conversely, Bartley (2007) argues that the financial resources provided by philanthropic foundations shaped the framing strategies developed by environmental movements by providing the financial and organizational infrastructure to bring disparate organizations together around a shared cause. For a more detailed review, see Armstrong and Bernstein (2008).
8. See also Jasper (2006) and Rohlinger (2006).
9. Both Gould (2009) and Summers-Effler (2002) suggest that emotional arousal within social movement organizations may result from repeated failures to mobilize resources or attract public attention.
10. See also Kennedy (2008) and Powell and colleagues (2005).
11. Media distribution firms included PR Newswire, Targeted Newswire, U.S. Newswire, Ascribe Newswire, Christian Newswire, U.S. Fed News, and U.S. State News. Together, these press release distributors represent more than two thirds of the market in press release distribution according to multiple experts consulted in the field.
12. I excluded press releases for one of the following reasons: (1) the organization did not meet the definition of a civil society organization described earlier (e.g., state agencies and private corporations); (2) Muslims were not the substantive focus of the press release—for example, many press releases were produced by corporations advertising a new product or service in a Muslim majority country; (3) the press release was explicitly directed toward journalists outside the United States; or (4) the organization sponsoring the press release did not produce more than one document about Islam during the seven-year period analyzed.
13. For example, see Brulle and colleagues (2007), Minkoff, Aisenbrey, and Agnone (2008), and Walker and McCarthy (2010).
14. Because many organizations only post recent press releases on their websites, I used the Internet Archive to collect older press releases. The Internet Archive catalogues nearly every website on the web each month so that users can visit the website exactly as it appeared at a previous point in time.
15. These organizations' names are listed in the online supplement (<http://asr.sagepub.com/supplemental>).
16. The ideological biases of media sources were assessed using Groseclose and Milyo's (2005) recent study. This study estimates ideological scores for major U.S. newspapers and television news networks by counting the number of times various think tanks and policy groups are cited in each source, and then comparing this to the number of times members of Congress with different party affiliations cite the same groups.
17. The sampling period was from September 11th, 2001 to September 18th, 2008. I added an extra week to account for potential lagged effects of press

- releases distributed in the final week before September 11th, 2008.
18. A limitation of this study is that I did not include local newspapers or television networks. Although several studies indicate that local media may use different criteria than national media for identifying sources (Andrews and Caren 2010; Oliver and Myers 1999; Perrin and Vaisey 2008; Rohlinger 2007), other studies indicate most national media stories trickle down to the local level (Ferree 2003).
 19. Additional details about plagiarism detection software and other mixed-method techniques designed to analyze large amounts of text are available on the author's website: <http://www.chrisbail.net>. For another application of this technique, see Grimmer (2010).
 20. Individual inspection was also necessary to eliminate matches in which (1) media coverage was either dismissive or critical of text from a press release produced by a civil society organization; (2) matches were based on irrelevant material such as bylines, subject indices, or contact information from press releases; or (3) matches were based on statements made by people outside the civil society organization that sponsored the press release. For example, many press releases contained statements from enemies or targets of the civil society organization that sponsored the release. I only counted matches based on utterances of the civil society organizations that sponsored the press release in question.
 21. The procedures used to code the documents are described in detail in the online supplement. Inter-coder reliability for all variables created via in-depth qualitative coding exceeded appropriate levels of Cohen's Kappa (see Table S2 in the online supplement).
 22. For example, numerous press releases argue that Muslims should not suffer discrimination (*Muslims as victims* frame) because they are U.S. citizens (*blurring* frame).
 23. The Euclidean distance (d) is given by: $d = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^p (p_i - q_i)^2}$. Where p is the set of dummy variables for each of the five media frames for press release i , and q is the average set of scores for the same indicators across all civil society organizations during the same year. Baldassari and Bearman (2007) used a similar approach to measure political polarization in a formal simulation model. Use of alternative measures such as Jaccard or Mahalanobis distances did not produce substantively different results.
 24. Of the organizations in my sample, 10 percent did not file IRS form 990 because they did not have or want 501(c)(3) status, or because they received a religious exemption. I contacted these organizations directly by phone and e-mail to obtain data. For organizations that did not respond, I extracted data from their website. A small number of organizations filed IRS form 990 for some but not all years. I imputed these missing data using linear interpolation. I imputed the remaining missing data using multiple imputation with 15 replications.
 25. The closeness centrality of a civil society organization is defined by the inverse of the average length of the shortest paths to or from all other civil society organizations in the network. Hence, well-networked organizations have high closeness centrality scores. Separate analyses using betweenness centrality or the raw number of network ties of a civil society organization produce very similar results.
 26. For organizations that did not file this form I used their annual reports or websites to establish whether their principal goal was to shape media discourse about Islam.
 27. Half of the empirical chapters in Goodwin and colleagues' (2001) volume and four out of six articles in Aminzade and McAdam's (2001) edited volume on emotions and collective behavior rely exclusively on textual data.
 28. For example, the term "hate" has very different meanings in the following two phrases: "I'd hate to be a president" and "I hate the president."
 29. I extracted data on the top-10 searches for each week from the Google Zeitgeist archive (<http://www.google.com/intl/en/press/zeitgeist/archives.html>).
 30. In separate analyses (not shown) I dropped the news cycle variable and included dummy variables for six of the seven years analyzed. These models produced nearly identical results.
 31. For example, Amenta and colleagues (2009) report that the Ku Klux Klan was among the most heavily covered social movement organizations by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* during the twentieth century. Yet such coverage was presumably very negative, particularly in light of these sources' well-documented liberal bias (Earl et al. 2004; Ortiz et al. 2005).
 32. Unfortunately, sample size limitations prevent me from running separate models for each time period to further evaluate the process model. Instead, I present two tables in the online supplement that include three-way interactions between period dummy variables, fringe media frames, and displays of anger, as well as period dummy variables, fringe media frames, and inter-organizational networks. Results of these analyses mirror the findings of the field graphs. Fringe media frames and displays of negative emotion have significant interactions within the first period that become negative in the second and third periods. Fringe media frames and inter-organizational networks have a strong interaction in the second but not the first or third periods. The interaction is not significant in the final period analyzed because by this time, well-networked fringe organizations have become part of the mainstream.

33. Field graphs were created using a combination of the Gephi network visualization software and Sta-ta's MDS routine. For another application of multi-dimensional scaling for mapping organiza-tional fields, see Mohr and Guerra-Pearson (2010).
34. These organizations span the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the U.S. government as well as political parties and state or local govern-ment bodies. The majority of documents in this sample are press releases from the White House (50 releases), the Department of State (101 releases), and the Department of Justice (21 releases). Because press release archives were incomplete for the White House and Department of Justice for 2001 to 2003, I obtained these documents directly from these organizations.
35. In addition to this analysis of U.S. state organiza-tions, I coded 49 additional press releases produced by 46 corporations and universities that were also excluded from the original sample. Again, inclusion of these additional organizations produced nearly identical results (available from author).
36. See Pew Research Center for the People & The Press, Forum on Religion & Public Life. Data avail-able at <http://www.pewforum.org>.
37. For a more extended discussion of this type of dilemma, see Jasper (2006).

References

- Abbott, Andrew. 1997. "On the Concept of Turning Point." *Comparative Social Research* 16:85–106.
- Adams, Julia, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann Shola Orl-off. 2005. *Remaking Modernity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Aldrich, Howard. 1979. *Organizations and Environ-ments*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2006. *The Civil Sphere*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Altheide, David L. 2002. *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Altheide, David L. 2006. *Terrorism and the Politics of Fear*. Oxford, UK: AltaMira Press.
- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:287–307.
- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Sheera Joy Olasky, and James E. Stobaugh. 2009. "All the Movements Fit to Print: Who, What, When, Where, and Why SMO Families Appeared in the *New York Times* in the Twentieth Century." *American Sociological Review* 74:636–56.
- Aminzade, Ron and Doug McAdam. 2001. "Emotions and Contentious Politics." *Mobilization: An Interna-tional Quarterly* 7:107–109.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1993. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso.
- Andrews, Kenneth and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organiza-tions, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752–77.
- Andrews, Kenneth and Neal Caren. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda." *American Sociological Review* 75:841–66.
- Andrews, Kenneth and Bob Edwards. 2004. "Advocacy Organizations in the U.S. Political Process." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:479–506.
- Andrews, Kenneth, Anne Hunter, and Bob Edwards. 2012. "Methodological Strategies for Examining Populations of Social Movement Organizations." Working paper, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth A. 2002. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Mary Bernstein. 2008. "Cul-ture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements." *Sociologi-cal Theory* 26:74–99.
- Bail, Christopher A. 2008. "The Configuration of Sym-bolic Boundaries against Immigrants in Europe." *American Sociological Review* 73:37–59.
- Bakalian, Anny and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. 2009. *Back-lash 9/11: Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans Respond*, 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baldassarri, Delia and Peter Bearman. 2007. "Dynam-ics of Political Polarization." *American Sociological Review* 72:784–811.
- Bao, Shenghua, Shengliang Xu, Li Zhang, Rong Yan, Zhong Su, Dingyi Han, and Yong Yu. 2011. "Min-ing Social Emotions from Affective Text." *IEEE Transactions on Knowledge and Data Engineering* 24:1658–70.
- Bartley, Tim. 2007. "How Foundations Shape Social Movements: The Construction of an Organizational Field and the Rise of Forest Certification." *Social Problems* 54:229–55.
- Baumgartner, Frank and Bryan Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, 1st ed. Chicago: Uni-versity Of Chicago Press.
- Bearman, Peter. 1993. *Relations into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540–1640*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Benford, Robert D. 1993. "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." *Social Forces* 71:677–701.
- Benford, Robert D. 1997. "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective." *Sociologi-cal Inquiry* 67:409–430.
- Benford, Robert D. and David Snow. 2003. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611–39.
- Bennett, Lance. 2004. *News: The Politics of Illusion*. Washington, DC: Pearson Publishers.

- Berezin, Mabel. 2002. "Secure States: Towards a Political Sociology of Emotion." Pp. 33–50 in *Emotions and Sociology*, edited by J. Barbalet. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Best, Rachel Kahn. 2012. "Disease Politics and Medical Research Funding: Three Ways Advocacy Shapes Policy." *American Sociological Review* 77:780–803.
- Bloomfield, Louis. 2011. "WCOPYFind." <http://plagiarism.bloomfieldmedia.com/z-wordpress/software/wcopyfind/>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups." *Theory and Society* 14:723–44.
- Brulle, Robert, Liesel Turner, Jason Carmichael, and J. Craig Jenkins. 2007. "Measuring Social Movement Organization Populations: A Comprehensive Census of U.S. Environmental Movement Organizations." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12:255–70.
- Burstein, Paul and April Linton. 2002. "The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns." *Social Forces* 81:380–408.
- Cerulo, Karen A. 1998. *Deciphering Violence: The Cognitive Structure of Right and Wrong*, 1st ed. New York: Routledge.
- Clayman, Steven E. and Ann Reisner. 1998. "Gatekeeping in Action: Editorial Conferences and Assessments of Newsworthiness." *American Sociological Review* 63:178–99.
- Collins, Randall. 2001. "Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention." Pp. 27–44 in *Passionate Politics*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Collins, Randall. 2012. "C-Escalation and D-Escalation: A Theory of the Time-Dynamics of Conflict." *American Sociological Review* 77:1–20.
- Corbett, Julia B. 1998. "Media, Bureaucracy, and the Success of Social Protest: Newspaper Coverage of Environmental Movement Groups." *Mass Communication and Society* 1:41–61.
- Deb, Partha, Willard Manning, and Edward Norton. 2012. "Count Models." Working paper, Department of Economics, City University of New York, New York, NY.
- Diani, Mario and Doug McAdam. 2003. *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- DiMaggio, Paul. 1997. "Culture and Cognition." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23:263–88.
- DiMaggio, Paul and Walter Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48:147–60.
- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger.
- Earl, Jennifer. 2004. "The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements." Pp. 508–530 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:65–80.
- Edelman, Murray. 1964. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Emery, F. E. and E. L. Trist. 1965. "The Causal Texture of Organization Environments." *Human Relations* 18:21–32.
- Evans, John H. 1997. "Multi-Organizational Fields and Social Movement Organization Frame Content: The Religious Pro-Choice Movement." *Sociological Inquiry* 67:451–69.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:304–344.
- Ferree, Myra Marx, William Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards, and Dieter Rucht. 2002. *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fligstein, Neil. 2001. "Social Skill and the Theory of Fields." *Sociological Theory* 19:105–125.
- Fligstein, Neil and Doug McAdam. 2012. *A Theory of Fields*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, John and Michael T. Hannan. 1983. "Niche Width and the Dynamics of Organizational Populations." *American Journal of Sociology* 88:1116–45.
- Galtung, Johan and Mari Holmboe Ruge. 1965. "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers." *Journal of Peace Research* 2:64–90.
- Gamson, William. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Boston: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Gamson, William and Andre Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95:1–37.
- Gamson, William and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528:114–25.
- Gans, Herbert. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Vintage.
- Gelman, Andrew and Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data Analysis Using Regression and Multilevel/Hierarchical Models*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ghaziani, Amin and Delia Baldassarri. 2011. "Cultural Anchors and the Organization of Differences." *American Sociological Review* 76:179–206.
- Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Goodwin, Jeff, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gould, Deborah. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Grimmer, Justin. 2010. "A Bayesian Hierarchical Topic Model for Political Texts: Measuring Expressed Agendas in Senate Press Releases." *Political Analysis* 18:1–35.
- Groseclose, Tim and Jeffrey Milyo. 2005. "A Measure of Media Bias." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120:1191–1237.
- Haines, Herbert H. 1984. "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957–1970." *Social Problems* 32:31–43.
- Hedström, Peter and Peter Bearman. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of Analytical Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hilgartner, Stephen and Charles L. Bosk. 1988. "The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model." *American Journal of Sociology* 94:53–78.
- Isaac, Larry. 2008. "Movement of Movements: Culture Moves in the Long Civil Rights Struggle." *Social Forces* 87:33–63.
- Isaac, Larry and Larry J. Griffin. 1989. "Ahistoricism in Time-Series Analyses of Historical Process: Critique, Redirection, and Illustrations from U.S. Labor History." *American Sociological Review* 54:873–90.
- Iyengar, Shanto and Donald R. Kinder. 1988. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobs, Ronald and Eleanor Townsley. 2011. *The Space of Opinion: Media Intellectuals and the Public Sphere*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Jasper, James. 2006. *Getting Your Way: Strategic Dilemmas in the Real World*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod. 1999. *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest Inside the Church and Military*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kennedy, Mark. 2008. "Getting Counted: Markets, Media, and Reality." *American Sociological Review* 73:270–95.
- King, Brayden G. 2011. "The Tactical Disruptiveness of Social Movements: Sources of Market and Mediated Disruption in Corporate Boycotts." *Social Problems* 58:491–517.
- Klandermans, Bert and S. Gosingla. 1996. "Media Discourse, Movement Publicity, and the Generation of Collective Action Frames: Theoretical and Empirical Exercises in Meaning Construction." Pp. 312–37 in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing*, edited by D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. Zald. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2004. "Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere." *Theory and Society* 33:367–91.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Susan Olzak. 2004. "Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:198–230.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Rens Vliegenthart. 2011. "Media Attention as the Outcome of a Diffusion Process: A Theoretical Framework and Cross-National Evidence on Earthquake Coverage." *European Sociological Review* 27:636–53.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2011. *The Missing Martyrs: Why There Are So Few Muslim Terrorists*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamont, Michèle. 2000. *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levi-Martin, John. 2003. "What Is Field Theory?" *American Journal of Sociology* 109:1–49.
- Levitsky, Sandra. 2007. "Niche Activism: Constructing a Unified Movement Identity in a Heterogeneous Organizational Field." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 12:271–86.
- Liebersohn, Stanley. 2000. *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashions, and Culture Change*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lippmann, Walter. 1922. *Public Opinion*. Boston, MA: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*, 1st ed. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug. 1996. "Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, edited by D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. Zald. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McCammon, Holly J. 2012. "Explaining Frame Variation: More Moderate and Radical Demands for Women's Citizenship in the U.S. Women's Jury Movements." *Social Problems* 59:43–69.
- McCammon, Holly J., Courtney Sanders Muse, Harmony D. Newman, and Teresa M. Terrell. 2007. "Movement Framing and Discursive Opportunity Structures: The Political Successes of the U.S. Women's Jury Movements." *American Sociological Review* 72:725–49.
- McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail, and Jackie Smith. 1996. "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991." *American Sociological Review* 61:478–99.
- McVeigh, Rory, Carl Neblett, and Sarah Shafiq. 2006. "Explaining Social Movement Outcomes: Multiorganizational Fields and Hate Crime Reporting." *Mobilization* 11:23–49.

- Meyer, David and Debra Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457-92.
- Minkoff, Debra, Silke Aisenbrey, and Jon Agnone. 2008. "Organizational Diversity in the U.S. Advocacy Sector." *Social Problems* 55:525-48.
- Mische, Ann. 2008. *Partisan Publics: Communication and Contention across Brazilian Youth Activist Networks*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mizruchi, Mark S. 1996. "What Do Interlocks Do? An Analysis, Critique, and Assessment of Research on Interlocking Directorates." *Annual Review of Sociology* 22:271-98.
- Mohr, John W. 1998. "Measuring Meaning Structures." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:345-70.
- Mohr, John W. and Francesca Guerra-Pearson. 2010. "The Duality of Niche and Form: The Differentiation of Institutional Space in New York City, 1888-1917." Pp. 321-68 in *Categories in Markets: Origins and Evolution*, edited by G. Hsu, O. Kocak, and G. Negro. Bradford, UK: Emerald Press.
- Myers, Daniel J. and Beth Schaefer Caniglia. 2004. "All the Rioting That's Fit to Print: Selection Effects in National Newspaper Coverage of Civil Disorders, 1968-1969." *American Sociological Review* 69:519-43.
- Oliver, Pamela and Gregory M. Maney. 2000. "Political Processes and Local Newspaper Coverage of Protest Events: From Selection Bias to Triadic Interactions." *American Journal of Sociology* 106:463-505.
- Oliver, Pamela and Daniel J. Myers. 1999. "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage of Public Events." *American Journal of Sociology* 105:38-87.
- Oliver, Pamela and Daniel J. Myers. 2002. "The Coevolution of Social Movements." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 8:1-24.
- Ortiz, David G., Daniel J. Myers, Eugene N. Walls, and Maria-Elena Diaz. 2005. "Where Do We Stand with Newspaper Data?" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 10:397-419.
- Padgett, John F. and Walter W. Powell. 2012. *The Emergence of Organizations and Markets*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Parker, Christopher and Matt Barreto. 2012. *Will the Real Americans Please Stand Up? The Tea Party and Contemporary Right-Wing Extremism in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Perrin, Andrew J. 2005. "National Threat and Political Culture: Authoritarianism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the September 11 Attacks." *Political Psychology* 26:167-94.
- Perrin, Andrew J., Steven J. Tepper, Neal Caren, and Sarah Morris. 2011. "Cultures of the Tea Party." *Contexts* 10:74-75.
- Perrin, Andrew J. and Stephen B. Vaisey. 2008. "Parallel Public Spheres: Distance and Discourse in Letters to the Editor." *American Journal of Sociology* 114:781-810.
- Polletta, Francesca. 1997. "Culture and Its Discontents: Recent Theorizing on the Cultural Dimensions of Protest." *Sociological Inquiry* 67:431-50.
- Polletta, Francesca. 2008. "Culture and Movements." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 619:78-96.
- Powell, Walter W., Douglas R. White, Kenneth W. Koput, and Jason Owen-Smith. 2005. "Network Dynamics and Field Evolution: The Growth of Interorganizational Collaboration in the Life Sciences." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:1132-1205.
- Press, Andrea and Elizabeth R. Cole. 2001. *Speaking of Abortion: Television and Authority in the Lives of Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rabe-Hesketh, Sophia and Anders Skrondal. 2008. *Multilevel and Longitudinal Modeling Using Stata*. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Read, Jen'nan Ghazal. 2007. "Introduction: The Politics of Veiling in Comparative Perspective." *Sociology of Religion* 68:231-36.
- Rohlinger, Deana A. 2006. "Friends and Foes: Media, Politics, and Tactics in the Abortion War." *Social Problems* 53:537-61.
- Rohlinger, Deana A. 2007. "American Media and Deliberative Democratic Processes." *Sociological Theory* 25:122-48.
- Rojas, Fabio. 2006. "Social Movement Tactics, Organizational Change and the Spread of African-American Studies." *Social Forces* 84:2147-66.
- Schacter, Daniel L. 2001. *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schanzer, David, Charles Kurzman, and Ebrahim Moosa. 2010. "The Anti-Terror Lessons of Muslim-Americans." Working Paper, Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Schudson, Michael. 1989. "How Culture Works: Perspectives From Media Studies on the Efficacy of Symbols." *Theory and Society* 18:153-80.
- Seguin, Charles. 2012. "Avalanches of Attention: Positive Feedback in Media Coverage of Social Movement Organizations." Working paper, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Sewell, William. 1996. "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille." *Theory and Society* 25:841-81.
- Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2012. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Jackie, John D. McCarthy, Clark McPhail, and Boguslaw Augustyn. 2001. "From Protest to Agenda Building: Description Bias in Media Coverage of Protest Events in Washington, D.C." *Social Forces* 79:1397-1423.
- Smith, Philip. 2005. *Why War? The Cultural Logic of Iraq, the Gulf War and Suez*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Snow, David. 2004. "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields." Pp. 380-93 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Snyder, David and William R. Kelley. 1977. "Conflict Intensity, Media Sensitivity and the Validity of Newspaper Data." *American Sociological Review* 42:105–123.
- Sobieraj, Sarah. 2011. *Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*. New York: NYU Press.
- Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. "When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment." *American Sociological Review* 69:473–97.
- Spillman, Lyn. 1995. "Culture, Social Structures and Discursive Fields." *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 15:129–54.
- Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1994. *The Pro-Choice Movement: Organization and Activism in the Abortion Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Steensland, Brian. 2008. "Why do Policy Frames Change? Actor–Idea Coevolution in Debates Over Welfare Reform." *Social Forces* 86:1027–1054.
- Steinberg, Marc W. 1999. "The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among Nineteenth-Century English Cotton Spinners." *American Journal of Sociology* 105:736–80.
- Summers-Effler, Erika. 2002. "The Micro Potential for Social Change: Emotion, Consciousness, and Social Movement Formation." *Sociological Theory* 20:41–60.
- Summers-Effler, Erika. 2010. *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51:273–86.
- Taylor, Verta and Nella Van Dyke. 2004. "Get Up, Stand Up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements." Pp. 262–74 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Thelen, Kathleen. 2004. *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22:5–13.
- Van Dyke, Nella and Holly J. McCammon. 2010. *Strategic Alliances: Coalition Building and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2012. *When Women Wage War: Explaining the Causes and Consequences of Guerrilla Activism in El Salvador*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Vliegenthart, Rens, Dirk Oegema, and Bert Klandermans. 2005. "Media Coverage and Organizational Support in the Dutch Environmental Movement." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 10:365–81.
- Wagner-Pacifici, Robin. 2010. "Theorizing the Restlessness of Events." *American Journal of Sociology* 115:1351–86.
- Walker, Edward and John D. McCarthy. 2010. "Legitimacy, Strategy, and Resources in the Survival of Community-Based Organizations." *Social Problems* 57:315–40.
- Walker, Edward, John D. McCarthy, and Frank Baumgartner. 2010. "Replacing Members with Managers? Mutualism among Membership and Non-membership Advocacy Organizations in the U.S." *American Journal of Sociology* 116:1284–1337.
- White, Harrison C. 1981. "Where Do Markets Come From?" *American Journal of Sociology* 87:517–47.
- Williams, Rhys H. 2004. "The Cultural Contexts of Collective Action: Constraints, Opportunities, and the Symbolic Life of Social Movements." Pp. 91–115 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 113:970–1022.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1987. *Meaning and Moral Order*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1993. *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Christopher A. Bail is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and a Robert Wood Johnson Scholar at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He conducts research on culture, politics, and organizations using mixed-method approaches. His previous work has been published by *American Sociological Review* and *Revue Européenne de Migrations Internationales*. He is currently completing a book manuscript that expands on the research above; an article about how secrecy shaped the evolution of Britain's domestic counterterrorism policy over the past decade; and a new study of how civil society organizations attract attention on the Internet.