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2

Social Movements, the Rise of New Issues, and the Public Agenda

Frank R. Baumgartner and Christine Mahoney

The agenda of the U.S. government has changed dramatically in the period since World War II. Much of the impetus for this change has come from social movements and the organizations they have spawned. Any number of examples can demonstrate the truth of that assertion, from women's rights to the rights of the handicapped, environmental protection, and other areas. Similarly, there is no doubt that public policies channel the future participation and attitudes of established social movements and the organizations that spring from them. But how can we demonstrate these links systematically? To say that social movements often cause large policy changes is certainly not to say that social movements dictate public policy directions, or even that social movements are more important than other causes of policy change. After all, policy changes can be caused by many other sources including business activities, stochastic shocks, the preferences of policy makers, or public opinion. The relative importance of social movements compared to other possible causes of policy change is a large issue beyond the scope of any single chapter-length treatment. In this chapter, we explain an approach to the question and demonstrate its feasibility. The longer-term research agenda of demonstrating the links between social movements and public policy in many areas of interest may now be feasible because of newly available data resources.

This chapter presents an overview of the Policy Agendas Project (see Baumgartner and Jones 2002, 2003).[1] The data sets that comprise the Policy Agendas Project include comprehensive compilations of (1) all congressional hearings; (2) all public laws; (3) all stories in the *Congressional*

Quarterly Almanac; (4) a sample of abstracts taken from the *New York Times Index*; and (5) a consistently coded, inflation-adjusted time series of the federal budget. (Other data resources, including bill introductions, presidential papers, and executive orders, are being added to this resource, and links are also being established to the Spaeth Supreme Court database and the Poole and Rosenthal congressional roll-call voting database.) Each of the data sets covers the time period from 1947 to recent years. Most are coded according to a complex, highly detailed, and historically consistent set of 226 topic and subtopic codes. This allows one to trace government and media attention to such questions as water pollution, inflation, health insurance availability, defense appropriations, or any other topic of government activity over the entire second half of the twentieth century. This new data resource, which is freely available to all users, should be valuable to scholars of public policy and social movements alike.

The data collected as part of the Policy Agendas Project allow one to trace not only the growth of new issues but also the size, composition, and structure of the governmental agenda as a whole. As we will note, the size of the agenda and the areas of activity of the U.S. federal government changed dramatically over the fifty years following World War II. We document the growth of several sets of social movement organizations (SMOs) and their impact on the policy agenda by tracing the growth of women's movement groups, human rights organizations, minority and civil rights groups, environmental groups, and the membership of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). Then we demonstrate that the entire public agenda, the set of all issues attracting the attention of the U.S. government, has been transformed over the past five decades. Some issues have risen in concern and others have declined; overall the diversity of the public agenda has grown dramatically. We close with a discussion of the links between the demands and mobilization of social movements on the one hand and the activities and concerns of government on the other, showing that these are strongly interactive. As social movements of many types have grown, governmental response has been swift. At the same time, social movement organizations are affected by areas of governmental activity, especially after the creation of large new public programs affecting their interests.

Social Movements and Public Policy

What are the links between the growth of social movements and governmental attention? Social movements can be at the core of attracting initial attention and governmental activity in a new area of public life, but once established these governmental programs have strong impacts on the social

movements themselves, especially on the organizations and interest groups related to them.

In *Agendas and Instability in American Politics,* Baumgartner and Jones (1993) argued that government activities and new programs are often the legacies of social movements and agenda-setting processes. In contrast to the Downsian view suggesting that issues rise onto and recede from the public agenda with little long-term impact on government (Downs 1972), they noted that a common reaction in government to the rise of new issues is to create a program, agency, or budget designed to deal with the new issue (or, perhaps more commonly, to create multiple programs, agencies, and budgets). Once these new programs are established they rarely disappear. Rather, they grow into established programs, generating their own constituencies and affecting professionals, service providers, contractors, and beneficiaries. Examples include the Medicare and Medicaid programs, various environmental and pollution control efforts (including the creation of the EPA itself in 1970), conservation and land-use initiatives, civil rights and nondiscrimination policies, and a great range of other programs that were created and cultivated with the encouragement of social movements or communities of professionals and others supporting and typically benefiting from the policy. (It is important to note that the permanence of government programs is by no means a given; many do shrink or disappear over time if they generate no constituency of support or if their constituency itself declines over time; see Baumgartner 2002.)

The American government grew dramatically during the second half of the twentieth century; this was partly due to the efforts of new social movements to place new issues on the federal agenda. These newly mobilized groups, such as women, environmentalists, civil rights workers, human rights activists, and the elderly, succeeded in gaining government attention to their causes. As new programs were established to deal with their concerns, the programs and spending associated with them generated new interests themselves, as affected constituencies, service providers, and others entered into long-term relations with the government officials responsible for these new programs. The result is self-perpetuating and helps explain not only the growth of government but also the growth in the diversity of government activities. At the same time, the increased importance of government in various areas of social life has also affected the organizational fields associated with each of these areas. Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell (1983) describe several reasons why groups in a given organizational field become increasingly similar over time; one of these is the role of the state.

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

In this section we address these issues with a description of five of the most prominent social movements of the post–World War II period. Debra Minkoff (1995) has provided one of the most complete compilations of the growth and development of social movement organizations over time, relying on an analysis of entries listed in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (EA). Her data set includes information, among other variables, on staff size, budget, membership size, tactics, and goals for all civil rights, minority, and women's groups in each year from 1955 to 1988. We use Minkoff's data to trace the growth of SMOs associated with the women's movement as well as those associated with civil rights and racial minorities.[2] Figure 2.1 shows the number of women's organizations active from the period of 1955 to 1989, as well as the number of congressional hearings on women-related issues from 1947 to 1998.[3]

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

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

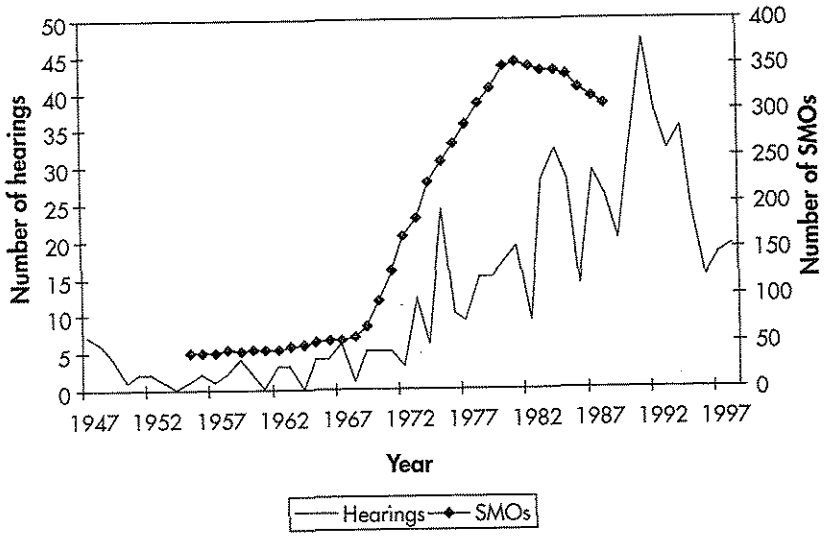

Figure 2.1. Congressional hearings and SMOs on women's issues.

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

The example of the women's movement and its relation with congressional attention is no anomaly. Let us consider the case of the environment. Figure 2.2 shows the number of congressional hearings on environmental matters as well as a count of the number of active environmental interest groups, also taken from the EA. Baumgartner and Jones (1993, ch. 9) identified all groups focusing on environmental or conservation issues[4] listed in the EA at ten-year intervals beginning in 1960. Working from the creation dates of the organizations listed, they calculated estimates of the number of environmental SMOs active in 1961, 1970, 1980, and 1990.[5] Much as in the case of the women's movement, congressional attention to environmental issues was minimal during the period before roughly 1970. In fact, hearings averaged just sixteen per year until 1959 and only twenty per year from 1960 to 1968, and then began a dramatic and steady increase so that by the 1980s and 1990s there were regularly over one hundred hearings per year.

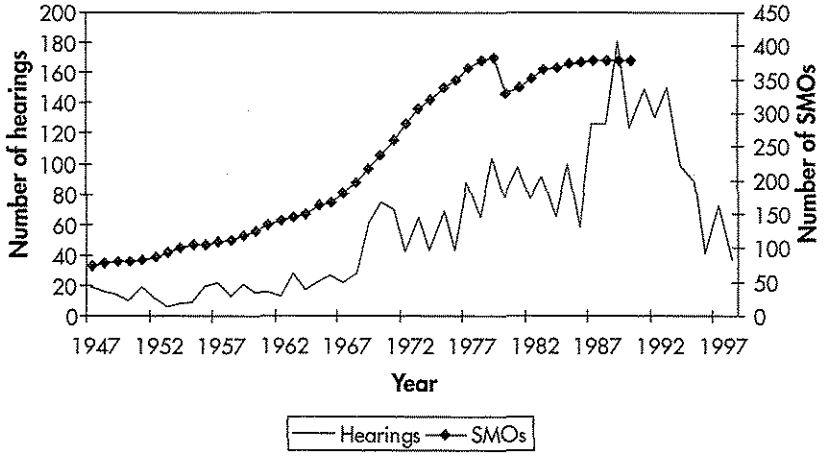

Figure 2.2. Congressional hearings and SMOs on environmental issues.

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

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

The timing of the increase of attention to civil rights is somewhat earlier than that of women's issues and, to a lesser extent, environmental issues, but the correspondence between the growth of the size of the interest-group population active in the area and the amount of congressional attention to the issue is just as striking. Groups focusing on civil rights and minority representation issues grew dramatically during the 1960s and 1970s. Congressional attention surged in the mid- to late 1960s, declined under the Nixon administration, then expanded again in the late 1970s through the late 1980s. The decline of congressional attention since 1987 to issues of discrimination and civil rights has been particularly dramatic; this may be related to the passage of legislation and to the increased controversy and courts-based activity surrounding affirmative action programs. In any case, throughout the period when we have data on both groups and agendas, we see that the growth of groups is strongly related to the growth of congressional attention to the area.[6] Figure 2.4 shows equivalent data in the area of human rights.

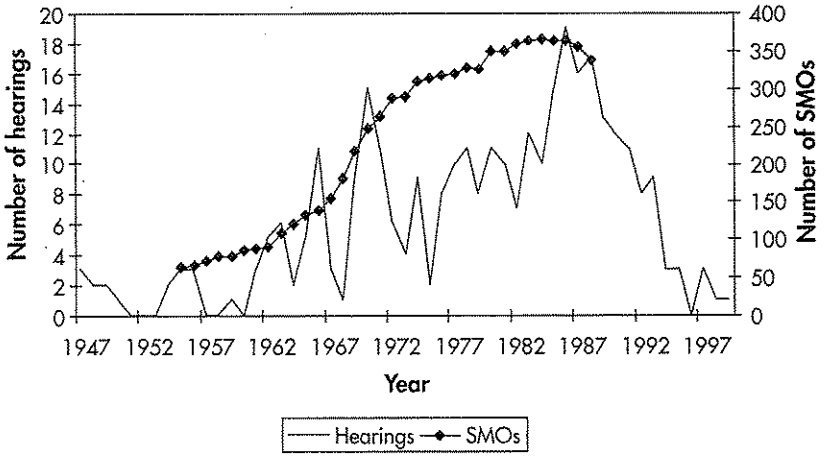

Figure 2.3. Congressional hearings and SMOs on civil rights and minority issues.

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

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

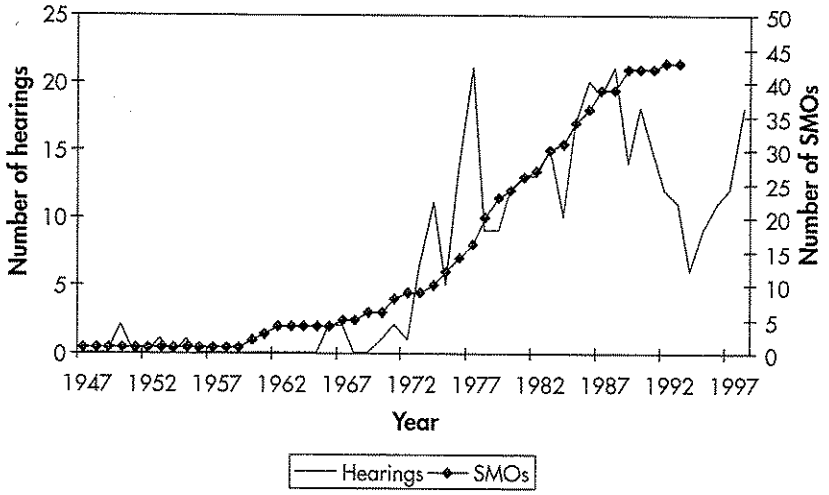

Figure 2.4. Congressional hearings and SMOs on human rights.

new social movement organizations can clearly be seen in the case of the elderly. Congressional attention to issues associated with the elderly began to grow in the early 1960s, especially with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' focus on elderly and aging issues, as in their organization of the White House Conference on Aging (see Walker 1991). Many social organizations took an interest in issues relating to aging and the aged, but the number of interest groups focusing exclusively on representing this segment of the population was not large (perhaps because of the relative poverty of the elderly as compared to the general population at the time, a statistical fact that has long since reversed itself in the intervening years). With the creation of Medicare and the expansion of the Social Security program in the 1960s, government spending on pensions, health care, and other services for the elderly began to skyrocket. As congressional attention (and government spending) to elderly issues rose, so did the membership of the AARP. While a single SMO cannot be said to represent an entire social movement, the AARP is now the largest membership organization representing elderly interests in America; indeed, it is the largest membership group of any type in the country. The growth of the group's membership is therefore a useful indicator of the growth of the organizational component of the elderly movement. As Figure 2.5 shows, this growth clearly followed rather than preceded the growth of congressional attention to elderly issues.[8]

In the next section, we turn our attention to long-term trends and the overall effect of social movements on the government's agenda. As social

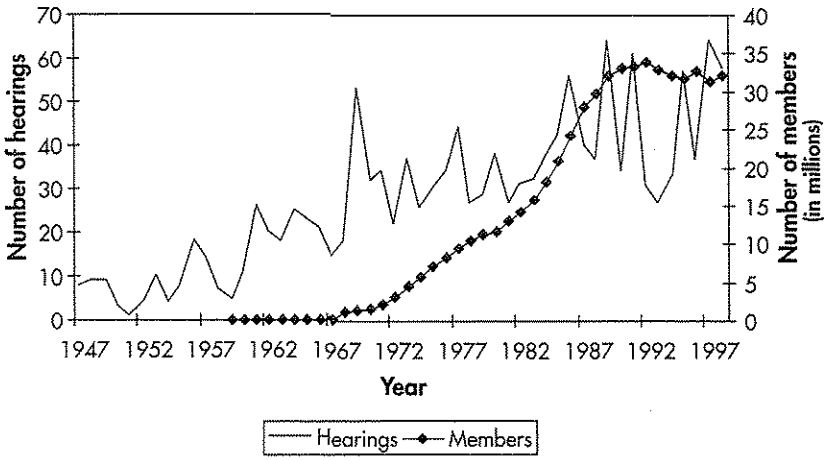

Figure 2.5. Congressional hearings on elderly issues and AARP membership.

movements have been successful in gaining attention, inevitably they have had to pay closer attention to the governmental allies (and opponents) that they helped to create.

The Transformation of the Policy Agenda of the Federal Government

During the period from World War II to the present, the federal government has been transformed. Many have noted these changes, in particular the size of government: we have moved from a minimalist government to a major social welfare state (even if the movement here has been less dramatic than in other Western countries). Employment by government has grown, the size of the federal budget has grown, the number of regulations has grown, the number of federal programs has grown, and all this is well known (see, for example, Light 1995). Of course, state governments employ many more people than the federal government, and their growth over the past fifty years has been even more striking than that at the federal level; further, tax expenditures, outside contracting, privatization of services, and tax subsidies have grown over the decades as federal policy makers have attempted to shield the true size of government (see Light 1999; Howard 1997). No matter how one considers it, government grew and diversified dramatically over the last half of the twentieth century.

Figure 2.6 shows an especially rapid rise in the numbers of hearings between 1960 and 1980; during this period the typical number of hearings in congressional committees of all types virtually doubled, from one thousand

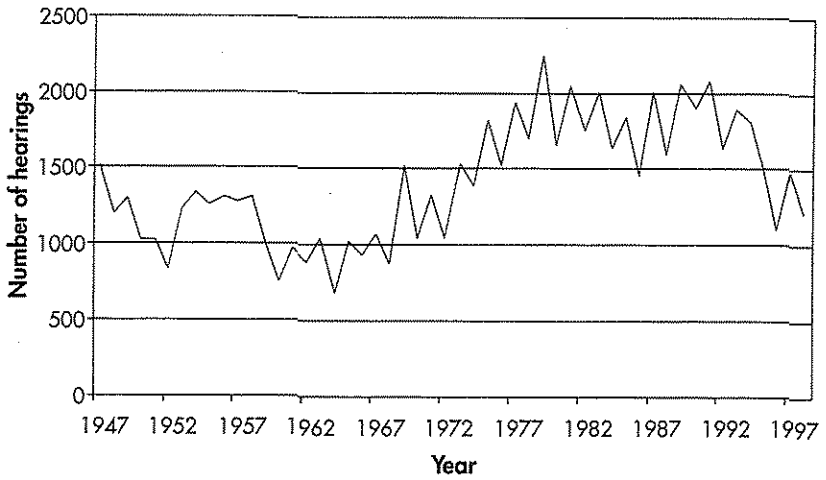

Figure 2.6. Number of congressional hearings by year.

to about two thousand hearings per year. (Note the saw-toothed pattern in the data; Congress typically holds a greater number of hearings in the first year of a two-year electoral cycle, and passes more legislation in the second year while holding fewer hearings.) This dramatic change in levels of congressional activity coincided with the decentralization of Congress; authority shifted from a few power barons chairing the major committees to hundreds of subcommittee chairs—almost every member of Congress was chair or ranking member on at least one subcommittee. This decentralization gave hundreds of members great autonomy within a particular area of public policy. Most important, this shift in congressional organization can be seen as a reaction to the increased workload. Congressional reforms aimed at decentralization were a logical consequence of the dramatic growth in the size and range of activities of the federal government in the period between 1947 and 1980. With more agencies to oversee, more programs to monitor, more money to allocate, more constituent demands to handle, and a greater number of distinct areas of governmental action, these reforms allowed Congress to adapt to a new environment of complexity.

Not only did government grow in size over the period discussed here, but, as many observers have pointed out, it has changed even more dramatically when we consider the diversity of government activities. The government has not only a larger number of activities but a more diverse portfolio of activities. This can be seen in Figure 2.7.

The Policy Agendas Project defines 226 areas of government activity,

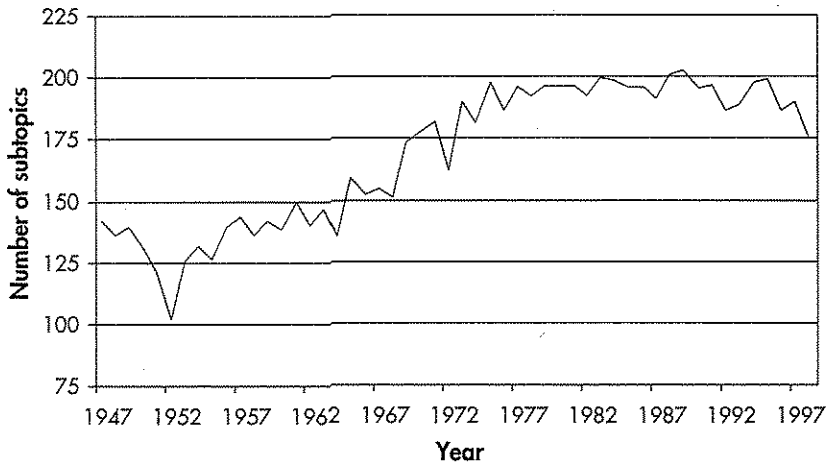

Figure 2.7. The increasing range of congressional attention.

ranging from macroeconomic policies focusing on the inflation rate to medical malpractice issues. Figure 2.7 displays the number of distinct subtopics in the Policy Agendas Project congressional hearings data set on which at least one hearing was held in each year from 1947 to 1997. During the early postwar period Congress was only attentive to an average of about 125 subtopics, but this number changed substantially over time, reaching and maintaining attention to nearly 200 issues from 1970 onward. Scores of activities that we now think of as natural and accepted areas of federal intervention are in fact relatively new areas of federal government activity. For example, in the early postwar period over 50 percent of congressional hearings were on just three topics: defense-related items; government operations themselves; and public lands, Interior Department issues, and water/irrigation projects. Other topics of attention, such as science and technology, housing and community development, foreign trade, transportation, social welfare programs, education, domestic commerce, environment, law enforcement, or health care, received less than 5 percent of attention each. Government under Eisenhower simply did not do very much in many areas of activity. The distribution of issues receiving attention shifted dramatically over time. Figure 2.8 demonstrates that those issues that dominated the agenda in the early postwar period dropped to being the object of only 30 percent of congressional hearings.

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

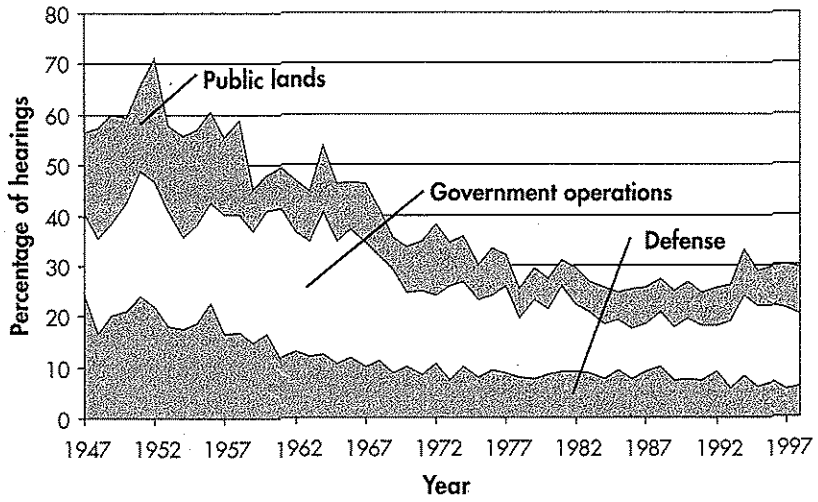

Figure 2.8. The decreasing attention of congressional hearings to old issues.

defense, Interior Department issues and public lands, and government operations themselves. (This last area concerns many "housekeeping" or "management" issues such as dealing with government properties and leases as well as District of Columbia affairs, nominations and appointments, and so on.) Many areas of considerable current attention were simply not on the radar screen at the time: health care before the creation of the Medicare program; environmental issues before the creation of the EPA; space, science, and technology policy before the creation of NASA; foreign trade before the more recent expansion of our integration into the world economy—all these are areas where Congress simply did not pay much attention. Combined, the three areas with greatest attention in the early period declined from a peak of constituting 70 percent of the hearings in 1952 to only about 30 percent during the period since the late 1970s. Congressional hearings in the last three decades show considerable attention to many issue areas virtually absent from the congressional agenda in the early years. Figure 2.9 shows the explosion of attention to five issue areas.

Congressional hearings on environment; health issues; law, crime, and family issues; international affairs and foreign aid; and space, science, technology, and communications burgeoned throughout the last five decades. Constituting less than 10 percent of the agenda space in the late 1940s, these areas together made up 35 percent in 1998. The late 1960s saw a spike

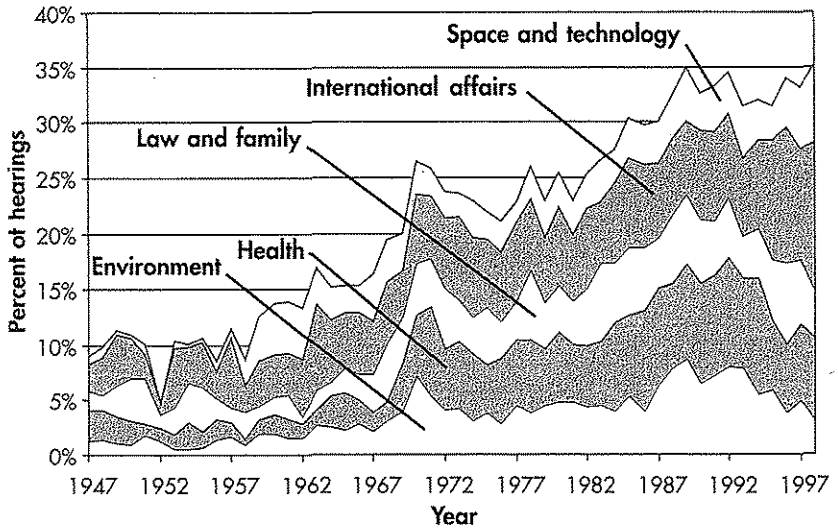

Figure 2.9. The increasing attention of congressional hearings to new issues.

in attention, and the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a steady increase in attention to all five areas as established federal programs demanded and justified continued congressional oversight of them. Together, Figures 2.8 and 2.9 show how great the changes in the nature of the political agenda have been. Though not apparent in this presentation of the data, it is also clear that congressional attention, once dominated by a small number of topics, increasingly is spread among many (on this question see Baumgartner, Jones, and MacLeod 2000; Baumgartner and Jones 2002). Many of the areas of greatest growth in government attention have been those with the most prominent social movements at their cores.

Social Movements and Policy Change

This chapter gives some idea of where we may look for the impacts of social movements on public policy. It also should make clear that social movements are neither the only sources of new public policies nor likely to have an impact on their own. When they have a long-term impact on public policy they interact closely with other groups within their organizational fields. Further, as government activities have grown, often in response to initial demands by social movements, different constituencies have been mobilized and organizational fields themselves have been transformed. Thus, the chain reactions of attention, spending, and vested interest that social movements may put into action can have long-lasting effects on public policy, social movements themselves, and other organizations such as professional and trade groups. The dynamics of public policy ensure that new sets of participants will become active in issue areas as these areas become the objects of considerable state activity, spending, and regulation (see DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Frank, Hironaka, and Shofer 2000). From health care to elderly issues to environmental causes of all kinds, we can see the tremendous impact of various social movements in American politics. Similarly, in the traditional areas of extensive government activity that have not been the objects of social movement mobilizations, we have seen a steady atrophy not only in attention but in spending as well. The agenda of the federal government has been transformed in the post–World War II period in large part (though not exclusively) by the rise of new social movements.

Our discussion of the linkages between organizational mobilization and congressional attention across five areas of social movement activity has shown some consistencies as well as some important differences. The most important consistent feature of the data is the long-term correspondence between the two trends: where social movement organizations develop in great numbers, so too does congressional attention rise. Clearly, social movements

and the organizations they spawn are not the only cause of increased congressional concern with new issues. Public opinion, technological advance, demographic change, and presidential initiatives play a role, among other factors. No matter where the initial surge in attention comes from, however, our five cases all show a consistent pattern in which Washington-based interest groups associated with the social movement develop in great numbers (or with great membership) and act to focus attention on continued government involvement in that issue area. The links between social movements and public policy are not simple or unidirectional, but they are close.

These Washington-based advocates continue to push for congressional attention even when more traditional social movement activities have declined. Minkoff's (1997) research on the civil rights and women's movements shows that while protest events declined over time, SMOs continued to form until the advocacy communities reached a critical density, at which point the formal organizations grew more slowly in numbers, but maintained a high level of organizational presence. Tarrow's (1994) work on cycles of protest provides a model for understanding how the increased collective action of the civil rights movement spread to other issue areas and also how protest activity may decline. The civil rights movement is often seen as the catalyst for the mobilization of numerous subsequent movements including the four others we discuss here. Whether discussed in terms of a change in the opportunity structure or in the introduction of a master frame, the rise of civil rights and minority movements altered the political environment in a manner that facilitated the mobilization of women, peace activists, environmentalists, and antinuclear advocates, among others (McAdam 1996; Snow and Benford 1992). But it is the very nature of a cycle of protest that, over time, the intensity and frequency will decline for both the broader cycle and the specific movements operating within it. While the activity of the movements may ebb, the formalized institutions those movements spawned will go on. This is clearly demonstrated by our data; for all four social movements on which we have the number of SMOs, the number of viable groups that endure far outweighs the number of those that ceased to exist. Further, this growth and subsequent institutionalization far outlasted the period during which the social movements themselves were at their peak of activity and protest.

Traditionally there has been disagreement in the literature over the place of formalized social movement organizations, with some arguing that the challenging nature of social movements required an antisystem approach favoring the use of "outside" tactics. Efforts to alter government institutions preclude the use of institutionalized routes of influence, according to some.

This view has shifted to a general acceptance of the central role of formal SMOs in social movement communities, as seen in nearly all work from the resource mobilization perspective. Diani's (1992) review of numerous conceptualizations of the term "social movement" by some of the most influential scholars working in the subfield arrives at a consensual definition that clearly moves away from viewing social movements only as antisystem actors. It is important to recognize the critical role of formalized SMOs; as discussed, established institutions and organizations working in close relations with allied government agencies can sustain a movement that has lulled in the eyes of its constituents. In addition, as a large body of interest-group literature has shown, insider tactics do not preclude the use of outsider tactics, but the ability to use both offers social movements more opportunities for effective political action (see, for example, Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Walker 1991; Kollman 1998; Baumgartner and Leech 1998). As SMOs associated with a given movement are established, a certain number of these are likely to be institutionalized with staff resources in Washington and to become familiar with institutional processes. As these insider groups develop and grow, the movement also gains access to new and different information, becomes better skilled at using insider strategy, and ultimately more adept at influencing public policy. The establishment of an organization as a player in formal institutions of government does not prohibit the use of outsider tactics by it or by allied organizations drawn from the same general movement (see Minkoff 1995; Kollman 1998). In any case, our five examples make clear that where social movements are successful in gaining government attention, the growth and development of Washington-based interest groups is a logical consequence. This process may transform social movements, to be sure. But the development of a movement should clearly be studied in conjunction with the interest groups it spawns and supports. These groups, more than any unorganized or spontaneous parts of the movement, are likely to be closely tied to the development of government attention, spending, and programs. In turn, their growth helps sustain that government attention. The lasting impact of a social movement on public policy therefore is difficult to assess without careful attention to the formalized organizations that share the goals of the movement.

Many studies in political science and sociology report results similar or analogous to those we report here. Together, this growing body of literature suggests that social movements and the interest-group communities they generate should be studied in close connection with their interactions with government; clearly they are mutually dependent. Further, it appears that this is not peculiar to social movement organizations but can be generalized

to organizations of many types ranging from educational groups to trade associations, business groups, engineering groups, health-care organizations, agriculture organizations, and others. Baumgartner and Beth Leech tracked the growth of different types of organizations in their discussion of changes in the nature of the national interest-group system over time (1998, Table 6.1). They showed that public affairs groups, health-care groups, social welfare organizations (especially service providers), and others that can be linked to many of the areas of growth in government activity were among the fastest growing sectors of the group system, as assessed by the numbers of groups listed in annual volumes of the EA. Veterans' groups and agricultural groups, among others, are among the categories with the slowest growth. Areas of growth and decline in the group system appear to be related to areas of growth and decline in the relative amounts of congressional attention to those same areas of public policy.

Jack Walker's analysis similarly showed different rates of growth among groups in the profit, nonprofit, and citizens' sectors, and he clearly saw these developments as tightly linked to the changing nature of the political agenda (1991; see also 1966). In his 1977 article on agenda setting, Walker explicitly linked new issues on the congressional agendas not only to social movements but also, and perhaps more strongly, to established communities of professionals working in Washington and elsewhere. Jeffrey Berry's (1999) recent analysis of the changing nature of the federal agenda, and the rise of postmaterial issues in particular, clearly points to the importance of new social movements and the institutionalization of the new-left citizens' organizations in Washington over the past several decades.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argued that organizational fields would become increasingly homogeneous to the extent that there was greater state involvement in the field, among other things. Our five cases clearly show an increased Washington-based presence that may be attributed to one of the three causes they identify: mimicry, where groups copy those innovations from others that appear to work; state involvement, most clearly; and professionalization (see also McCarthy, Britt, and Wolfson 1991; they discuss the tendency toward structural uniformity resulting from institutional channeling mechanisms). David John Frank, Ann Hironaka, and Evan Shofer (2000) note the tight interdependencies between the growth of environmental NGOs at the international level and state involvement in environmental issues. As we have noted in the U.S. case, they show how environmental protection has become a normal, bureaucratized, and expected part of the policy portfolio of all governments. A great range of studies therefore point to findings and processes similar to those we describe here.

Another recent project linking group activity with government attention shows that variations in activity levels by lobbyists in Washington as reflected in lobby registration reports in Congress, available over six-month reporting periods and in seventy-four different areas of congressional activity, can best be explained by the long-term congressional interest in that area (see Leech et al. forthcoming). Leech and colleagues conducted a detailed pooled-time-series analysis of the areas in which lobbyists register over time to show that government attention drives lobbying activity and that this relationship is stronger than that for government spending or for indicators of the level of activity in the relevant economic sector. That is to say, public policy creates the demand for lobbying as much as lobbying and social movement activity creates a demand for public policy.

Social movements are clearly at the center of much policy change. However, social movements are not the only sources of new issues; there are many other sources of new topics of attention. Further, there is nothing inevitable about the processes described here. Even when social movements do rise to prominence and achieve government attention, they may or may not spawn well-financed SMOs active in keeping their issues in the limelight. (Berry notes in particular the failure of the conservative organizations of the 1980s to establish the same kind of powerful Washington presence as the liberal groups of the 1960s and 1970s did to great effect.) Perhaps the greatest long-term impact of social movements, among the scenarios that seem apparent here, is that as SMOs develop, they must interact more closely over time with established professional communities, especially among service providers, be they social workers, medical researchers, environmental engineers, or the manufacturers of pollution abatement equipment. Eventually, most groups then become much more closely a part of the Washington policy process, in spite of their "pure" social movement roots. While this trend toward increased bureaucratization is not the only possible transformation, it is a common one. Hanspeter Kriesi discusses this process of institutionalization as including "stabilization of an SMO's resource flow, the development of its internal structure, the moderation of its goals, the conventionalization of its action repertoire, and its integration into established systems of interest intermediation" (1996, 156). Rucht (1996) describes the process as a shift in the type of movement structure over time, from a traditional grassroots model characterized by loose, decentralized structure, engaging in protest activities and dependent on committed adherents, to an institutionalized interest-group or party-oriented model, characterized by reliance on formal organization. Increasing institutionalization, however, need not suggest negative undertones of co-optation and concession.

Becoming part of a Washington policy community, reaching compromises with businesses or service providers seeking to profit from government spending programs, and dealing with questions of policy implementation may seem like the worst fate for a group of idealistic and often ideologically committed activists in their later years. It is apparent from the data presented here, however, that such an outcome may be one of the most important and influential in the long term. As movements or other sources have success in establishing continued government attention to their issues, new programs are often established. Whether these are pension and health insurance programs, environmental protection or antidiscrimination laws with their attendant enforcement mechanisms, or human rights bodies continuously working over the years, these programs and activities spawn and perpetuate further relations with nonprofit organizations, businesses, and other interests concerned with the new policy and the social problem it is designed to address. Thus, social movements, their organizational representatives, and public policies are intertwined in a complex web of mutual interdependence.

More systematic research on these linkages is clearly needed. Certainly much of it will come from detailed analysis of particular policy areas such as those built up around particular social movements. Some of it may also ask the broader question of where new issues come from; some come from social movements, but some do not. In his introduction to this volume, David Meyer makes reference to the "chicken and egg question" concerning the links between social movements and public policy. There can be no doubt about the tight linkages between social movements, social movement organizations, and government, at least in the cases discussed here. We have argued that these links are so strong and their cumulative effect has been so great that the very nature of American government was transformed during a period of active social ferment, from the 1960s to the 1970s. Whether looking at particular policy areas or at the entire federal government, scholars of public policy are well advised to pay close attention to the rise and roles of social movements and the organizations they spawn in constructing theories of public policy. By the same token, we hope to have shown that students of social movements cannot understand the development or impact of the movements they study without also incorporating information about public policy and government response to the movement. While social movements may develop at first in areas far removed from public policy and government agencies, if successful they later find that their activities are tightly linked with the continuation and development of new public policies.

Notes

1. Research for the original data collection was supported by grant SBR–9320922 from the National Science Foundation and continues under grant SBR–0111611. Bryan Jones is codirector with Baumgartner on this larger project; we acknowledge and appreciate the support of Penn State University and the University of Washington, as well as that of NSF. Thanks to John McCarthy and Erik Johnson for comments.

2. We express our appreciation to Professor Minkoff for graciously sharing her data set.

3. To select women-related congressional hearings in the Policy Agendas Project database, we first identified hearings on three topics particularly related to women's issues: gender and sexual orientation discrimination (topic 202); parental leave and child care (508); and family issues, including such things as domestic abuse (1208). These three topics included a total of 417 hearings. Reading through the short descriptions allowed us to discard 58 of these that were related to things other than women (for example, discrimination against homosexuals in topic 202 or abuse against the elderly in topic 1208), leaving 359 women-related hearings in these three topic areas. In addition, we scanned the short descriptions of each hearing for the following words: women, woman, female, girl, pregnan*, mother, maternal, infant, wife, breast, mammo*, domestic violence, sexual harassment, abortion, rape, equal pay, birth, pornography, homemaker, prostit*, cervical, and fertilization. This procedure identified 651 additional hearings. Deleting false hits (e.g., hearings on the "birth" of the nuclear age) and duplicates left us with a total of 944 women-related hearings from 1947 to 1998.

4. Baumgartner and Jones explain their selection procedures as follows: All groups indicating a concern with environmental questions and listed in the EA were included. This included those listed under the keywords "environmental quality," "environmental protection," "wildlife conservation," and "conservation," as well as selected groups listed under "water resources," "ecology," "environmental law," "fishing," "forestry," and "ornithology." In addition, each entry in the entire EA was read to determine if some other groups should be included, even if they had not been listed under the appropriate keyword. Finally, those groups that were clearly tied to industry, such as chemical company consortia conducting environmental research, were deleted. The resulting data set therefore contains all groups primarily concerned with environmental issues in each edition of the EA studied (1961, 1970, 1980, and 1990). See the codebook description and data available at http://polisci.la.psu.edu/faculty/baumgartner/.

5. The number of groups was calculated separately from those groups listed in 1970, 1980, and 1990, and the figure reports the cumulative totals by creation

date, using only those groups still in existence (as reflected by their listing in the EA) at the end of the decade. This explains the decline in 1980; a similar decline in 1970 does not appear because more groups were created in that year than went defunct in the entire previous decade. A total of 461 groups were listed at some point during this period; 378 were still in existence in 1990. Hearings are taken as the full set of hearings on topic 7, environmental issues. There are 2,966 hearings from 1947 to 1998.

6. For civil rights we use Minkoff's data on minority groups and congressional hearings on topic 201, ethnic minority and racial group discrimination; there are 327 hearings in the series.

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

8. Data on AARP membership were provided directly by the AARP; we appreciate their cooperation. Data on congressional hearings about elderly issues were identified in a manner similar to our method for women's issues. First, we gathered data on the following topics: age discrimination (204); Medicare and Medicaid (303); elderly health issues (311); elderly assistance programs/social services for the elderly (1303); and elderly and handicapped housing (1408). Then we searched for the following words in our summaries: elder*, geriatric, Medicare, aging, older, nursing home, retire, social security, senior, and hospice. Deleting false hits (174 cases) and duplicates (2,790 cases) left us with 1,510 hearings on elderly issues from 1947 to 1998.

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3

Velcro Triangles: Elite Mobilization of Local Antidrug Issue Coalitions

John D. McCarthy

Scholars of contemporary U.S. social movements vigorously debate the extent to which movements actually affect specific social policies. Nevertheless, there is a pretty broad consensus among these scholars that much of what citizens groups do as they try to bring about social change is aimed, directly or indirectly, at influencing the behavior of government actors and the content of public policies. Reflecting the key features of historical accounts of the emergence of national social movements in the nineteenth century, social movements have been conceived by most contemporary scholars as consisting of independent groups of citizens who join together to make contentious claims on governments. As a result, the primary relations between governments and citizen actors are seen in their contention over the contents of public policies. The image of independent social movements emerging out of local civil society is consistent with what we know of many U.S. social movements in recent years, resonating especially with accounts of the insurgent actors of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Jenkins and Eckert 1986). Indigenous social actors who heroically rise up against great odds to alter the social landscape are the embodiment of the romantic caricature of social movements.

In contrast to this image, however, extensive evidence exists to suggest that a great deal of local citizen collective action in recent decades in the United States has been sponsored and encouraged by government and elite actors (McCarthy and Zald 2002). Elites mobilize citizens groups to press for social policies they prefer, helping to generate grassroots policy claims on governments and reflecting an interpenetration of the state and civil society