

HOW TO ANALYZE THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS WITH QCA: COMBINATIONAL HYPOTHESES, VENN DIAGRAMS, AND MOVEMENTS MAKING BIG NEWS

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ABSTRACT

Under which conditions do social movements receive extensive attention from the mainstream news media? We develop an institutional mediation model that argues that combinations of the news-heightening characteristics of movements, including their disruptive capacities, organizational resources, and political orientation, and political contexts, including partisan regimes and benefiting from national policies, bring extensive attention to movements. It also holds that investigations will draw extensive media attention to movements, and those that have achieved prominence in the news will remain prominent under specific conditions. We appraise these combinational arguments by examining 29 social movements across 100 years in four national newspapers using qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). Researchers typically use QCA to study the consequences of movements when they hypothesize outcomes to result from multiple combinations of conditions. This raises our second main question: How should scholars best address combinational hypotheses using QCA? Here we employ Venn diagrams to identify and illustrate key analytical issues and anomalies, including constrained diversity in observational data, empirical instances when combinations of conditions do not produce the expected outcome, and instances when unexpected combinations of conditions produce a consistent result. We also demonstrate the value of broad comparisons across movements and over time in these analyses.

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Under which conditions do social movements receive extensive attention from the mainstream news media? News coverage is a potential cultural consequence of movements, as movements seek to change modes of thinking, cultural codes, and public discourse, and can do so through the news (Amenta & Polletta, 2019; Earl, 2004; see reviews in Amenta et al., 2017; Caren et al., 2020). Movement organizations provide critical resources to seek social change (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), construct political identities and interests (Skocpol, 1992), survive hard times (Staggenborg, 1988), and spur civic engagement (Sampson et al., 2005). The attention of the mass news media is critical to movement organizations (Ferree et al., 2002; Koopmans, 2004), can heighten their legitimacy (Berry, 1999), increase their support (Banerjee, 2013; Vliegenthart et al., 2005), and provide influence over public opinion and the policy agenda (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Lipsky, 1968; Walgrave et al., 2008). On the other hand, mainstream news treatment can also discredit and harm movement actors (Davenport, 2010).

However, historical patterns in the news coverage of movements pose a series of puzzles for scholars and theories about social movements. Resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) would expect that the best organized or most resourced movements would gain the greatest news attention. Still, movements with relatively meager resources or few organizations, such as the white supremacist and communist movements, sometimes were highly newsworthy. Disruptive action often propels movements in the news (Earl et al., 2004), but some highly disruptive movements, such as the animal rights and anti-abortion movements, failed to gain extensive news treatment. Moreover, political opportunity theory (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004) would expect movements to benefit when their political allies gain political power, but partisan regimes often also provoke great news attention to their *opponents*, as was the case with the Tea Party under Barack Obama and the Resistance to Donald Trump. What is more, a movement often becomes highly newsworthy when its organizations are under political fire. Finally, although movements often gain news attention in the period before their issues reach the political agenda (Downs, 1972), they often are more newsworthy *after* the passage of beneficial legislation, as was the case for both the US labor and Black civil rights movements.

This chapter seeks to answer this question, solve the puzzles, and go beyond previous research in both theory and analysis. The puzzles fall away once movement and political characteristics are examined together from the point of view of news organizations—how they are organized and their news values and routines (Bennett, 2007; Fishman, 1980; Schudson, 2011; Tuchman, 1978). Theoretically, we address the characteristics of movements, political contexts, and newspapers themselves that, in combination, influence the coverage of

movements. We indicate how external political conditions and internal movement characteristics interact with one another and journalistic practices to propel movements into the news in the manner of the political mediation model of movement influence in politics and over corporations (Amenta, 2006; King, 2008). But because the processes generating outputs vary across institutions, we argue that the characteristics and actions of movements that influence news are not always going to be the same as those that influence political, corporate, or other institutional outcomes. Moreover, following historical institutionalists (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002), we argue that news coverage is “sticky”—that movements that gain major news attention tend to stay newsworthy (Seguin, 2016)—but only under certain conditions. In all, we identify several combinations of conditions we expect to lead to the extensive news coverage of movements.

To appraise these arguments, we rely on qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), a set-theoretical mode of analysis that is appropriate when outcomes are expected to have multiple and interactive or combinational causes (Ragin, 2008) and is frequently employed by scholars of the consequences of social movements (Amenta et al., 2005, 2009; Bartley & Child, 2014; Dixon et al., 2016; Giugni & Yamasaki, 2009; McAdam & Boudet, 2012). In these analyses, we employ the Political Organization in the News (PONs) dataset that comprises all articles mentioning national US movement organizations in 29 movements across the twentieth century in four national newspapers (Amenta et al., 2012).

In this chapter, we demonstrate how QCA can help to identify anomalous combinational patterns in the data, notably through Venn diagrams. This advances our knowledge on the best ways to use QCA with such combinational hypotheses, which are at the cutting edge of research in QCA (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Although our analyses strongly support the combinational hypotheses, they do not do so entirely and raise issues that are likely to be common in such analyses. These issues include constrained diversity in observational data, empirical instances when combinations of conditions expected to produce the outcome do not, and empirical instances when unexpected combinations of measures do produce the outcome. We also show how having a wide range of movements and time periods, as are included in the PONs data set, helps to identify different pathways to movement influence that might be missed by focusing on one movement, similar movements, or delimited periods, as is the case in most research on social movements. We conclude by discussing the implications of these arguments and methods for further research on the influence of movements over the news and other institutions, but we turn first to our interactional arguments about what drives the news coverage of social movements.

AN INSTITUTIONAL MEDIATION MODEL OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT NEWS COVERAGE

To address questions regarding the news coverage of movements and develop hypotheses, we build on an institutional mediation model of the quality of news

coverage received by movement actors (Amenta et al., 2019; see also Amenta & Caren, 2022). The model draws two ideas from the political mediation model of movement consequences (Amenta, 2006; Giugni, 2007; King, 2008): that movements' influence over institutions comes from the joint product of key characteristics of movements and the contexts in which movements act and that there are multiple paths to gain influence. However, because news institutions work differently from political ones, the characteristics and actions of movement and political contexts that drive news attention are not expected to be the same as those that drive policy consequences. Second, to modify the model, we rely on insights from the literature on the social organization of the news (Bennett, 2007; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; Schudson, 2011; Tuchman, 1978) regarding the production of news in the professional news media. News organizations are politically oriented, providing information about politics and government, and work from professional standards, news values, and routines regarding what constitutes "news." Third, we adapt ideas from historical institutionalism (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002), which views public policies as "sticky" institutions, with positive feedback loops, to the news coverage of movements.

Although various movement characteristics and aspects of political contexts have been found to aid movements in their bids for influence over the news, news coverage resembles political outcomes importantly in that movement actors have little direct control over them (review in Amenta et al., 2010). Instead, news institutions make decisions about what to cover and how to do so; because news institutions act differently from political ones, the movement characteristics and political contexts that are expected to influence the news are also expected to be different from those that influence politics. Working from the interactions between news institutions, politics, and movement actors, we propose three characteristics of movements and three political contexts that we expect will influence news coverage. We introduce them individually before addressing how we expect them to combine to yield extensive newspaper coverage.

We argue that one characteristic of movements that advances their news coverage is disruption. Although disruption can aid poor peoples' movements (Piven & Cloward, 1977), it frequently backfires for movements seeking broader political influence (review in Amenta et al., 2010). Moreover, research finds that protest-oriented movement organizations are not as well covered in the news as ones that rely on insider tactics and have greater resources (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Elliott et al., 2016). However, disruption and violence are closely attended to by news media (Mencher, 2008), and research on protest finds that more disruptive and violent protests are more likely to be covered (Earl et al., 2004; McCarthy et al., 1996; Oliver & Myers, 1999; see also Gillion, 2020). In addition, disruption by protest-oriented organizations or movement actors can provide occasions for news coverage for more established organizations (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993), whose representatives may be asked to comment, leading to greater news attention at the movement level.

The second internal movement influence over newspaper coverage is common to both mobilization and political influence. We expect newspapers to cover movements according to their size and organizational presence. Journalists seek

to cover extensive social phenomena (Gans, 1979), and so movements with many organizations and members will be covered more frequently. This idea fits resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) and the movement infrastructures (Andrews, 2004) perspective on the political impact of movements, and research finds that protest events are more likely to be covered in newspapers if a large organization is involved in them (Oliver & Maney, 2000). Some movements have many organizations and members, such as the labor movement's unions or the environmental movement's organizational effervescence since 1970. Other movements rely on a smaller number of organizations, often large ones, such as those for consumers', gun owners', or animal rights.

As for political contexts, we start with partisan regimes. Although partisan regimes in the same ideological direction as movements will often aid their political efforts (Amenta, 2006; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004), we argue that the rise to power of unified partisan regimes, of the left *or* right, will boost the news coverage of movements, of the left *or* right. When a partisan regime takes full power, the stakes are raised for all movement actors. These regimes may promise major policy shifts, which will mobilize progressive and conservative groups and draw the attention of the news. There is some anecdotal evidence for this claim. Unified left regimes under Franklin Roosevelt (1935–1938) and Lyndon Johnson (1965–1966) led to increased attention for the labor and Black rights movements, respectively, as might be expected, but also for conservative groups such as the American Liberty League and white supremacists such as the Ku Klux Klan. The unified Democratic regime under Barack Obama (2009–2010) significantly spurred the rightist Tea Party, and the antiwar movement of the early 2000s was spurred when Republicans under George W. Bush (2001–2005) dominated politics (Heaney & Rojas, 2015). We expect these partisan regimes will provoke both movement mobilization and their coverage, given the potential stakes involved for all movements by the rise to power of these regimes. We expect this to be a short-term effect—unless it leads to policy change, which we discuss next.

A longer term political effect on the news coverage of movements is based on the historical institutionalist (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002) insight that policy alters politics. Here we adapt and apply this idea to movements' newspaper coverage. Although the literature on the political impacts of movements focuses on their influence over policy, we argue that once enacted, aspects of the policies themselves will strongly influence movements' news coverage. Policymaking receives a high profile in newspaper coverage, as it often has a great impact on peoples' lives and involves prominent elected officials, whom reporters follow in their beats (Bennett, 2007; Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; Oliver & Maney, 2000; Tuchman, 1978). Policies encourage the mobilization of groups supported by them (Campbell, 2003) and can legitimize advocacy organizations (Amenta, 2006; see also Downs, 1972). In the wake of new policies, often specific organizations become treated as spokespersons for the group or issue, as with the veterans and the American Legion, the elderly and AARP, and civil rights and the NAACP. The enactment of policies helps movement organizations to recruit and gain support and provides them with focal points of contestation. They can press for improvements, such as greater coverage or benefits, in the case of programs that

provide cash benefits, such as veterans, old-age, or unemployment programs, or greater enforcement, as in the case of regulations in anti-discrimination legislation, collective bargaining rights, or environmental protection. We argue that related policies influence movements and their coverage in long-term ways (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Berry, 1999), as any political contention surrounding these policies may draw newspaper attention to movement actors.

As with political mediation models, however, we hypothesize that favorable movement characteristics and political contexts will need to combine to produce extensive news coverage for movements reliably or consistently. Neither internal movement characteristics nor favorable political contexts by themselves are expected to be sufficient to bring extensive coverage for a movement, with extensive congressional investigations being an exception. Movement actors typically face power deficits, and so to have great influence over an institution, they typically require the presence of both internal conditions and actions that are likely to yield influence over a particular institution and characteristics of the institution that will make it more susceptible to movement action or will amplify its influence. For instance, after a policy is enacted, news organizations are expected to frequently cover movements that are well organized or have histories of disruption. When a movement benefits from policies, a new partisan regime in power may propose to augment the policies or threaten to retrench them, but this will likely boost attention to only the best organized or most disruptive movements—those more likely to be in the news for other reasons. Our central expectation is that the co-occurrence of all four of the posited spurs to news attention, movement-related and context-related, would produce the most extensive coverage for movements. Moreover, the movement-related pairs of causes (disruptive capacities and organizational presence) might serve as functional substitutes for each other, as might the political-context-related pairs of causes (a partisan political context and enacted and enforced policies).

H1. The joint occurrence of four of the proposed internal movement and political contextual spurs to coverage will produce the most extensive coverage for movements, and three of four conditions will also be sufficient reliably to produce extensive coverage for movements.

We next address the political orientation of movements. Scholars argue that conservative and right-wing movements or movements have different determinants and paths to influence than progressive ones; notably, right movements are held to seek to prevent policy change by progressive movements and are motivated by policy setbacks (Blee & Creasap, 2010; Martin, 2013; McVeigh, 2009). They also often view the professional news media as politically biased against them and frequently seek policy gains while flying under the radar of news publicity (Hertel-Fernandez, 2019). Often, they prefer to rely on their own media or partisan media (Rohlinger, 2015). We do not expect a boost to movements of the right from policy gains for these reasons.

H2. Right movements will not benefit from policy gains and thus will have fewer recipes to extensive coverage.

A third hypothesized political effect comes from official investigations. Because news organizations focus extensively on both politics and scandal

(Mencher, 2008), we expect extensive coverage for any movements with organizations under official political scrutiny. Throughout US history, congressional inquiries have launched on organizations across the political spectrum, including those in the nativist, old-age, labor, communist, civil rights, and antiwar movements, especially in the middle of the century (Maher et al., 2020; Seguin et al., 2021). These investigations influence the news for movements unrelated to a movements' potential political influence. We expect that investigations will tend to reduce the political influence of movements targeted by them. Moreover, we expect investigations to promote coverage for movements without any other favorable conditions for their news coverage, but we also see this as a short-term effect. When the investigation ends, the coverage should end. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H3. When Congress extensively investigates a movement organization, the movement comprising that organization will be extensively covered in the news.

The historical institutionalist literature shows that policies often have features that will promote their continuation through positive feedback loops (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002), and we argue that something similar happens for movement organizations once they are making major news (Seguin, 2016). Professional journalists have common judgments of newsworthiness that drive them to react similarly to the same events, will have developed contacts with leaders of movement organizations that have been newsworthy and may view them as political representatives for a larger social group or as something like celebrities (Gitlin, 1980). However, scholars positing positive feedback effects in policy also identify supporting conditions needed to achieve these positive returns, such as a broad base of beneficiaries or strong bureaucracies backing a program (Béland, 2007; Campbell, 2003). Similarly, we argue that newsworthy movements will need reinforcement to remain newsworthy. We posit that a newsworthy movement's having organizational strength or policies in favor of its constituents will help keep such movements in the news. Both characteristics play to news values and reinforce newsworthiness.

H4. Movements that have been in the news for a significant period will remain in the news—so long as they are well organized or have policies favoring their constituents.

DATA, METHODS, AND MEASURES

We employ data on 29 US social movements in the twentieth century to appraise these hypotheses and ascertain the determinants of extensive coverage. This dataset includes every mention of 1,514 organizations in four national newspapers, including about 415,000 articles in the *New York Times*, 292,000 in the *Washington Post*, 282,000 in the *L.A. Times*, and 74,000 in the *Wall Street Journal*. These organizations include politically oriented ones with national goals (see Amenta et al., 2012). Each organization was allocated to one of 29 substantive movements or three residual movements—progressive, other; conservative, other; and civil rights, other—a group that is mutually exclusive and

exhaustive (see Appendix).¹ We analyze the total article mentions across the 29 movements over the 100 years of the twentieth century, with 2024 movement-years to analyze. The movement-year correlations between the *New York Times* and the other papers range from 0.80 with the *Washington Post* to 0.71 with the *Wall Street Journal*. The analyses rely on qualitative comparative analyses (QCA), which are especially valuable in addressing arguments that expect both a coincidence of multiple conditions to produce an effect and more than one such combinational recipe to produce an effect (Ragin, 2000)—such as ours.

In carrying out these analyses, we address some methodological issues for scholars employing QCA, especially for those analyzing the consequences of social movements. QCA has often been used to identify combinations of causal conditions that produce outcomes of interest to movements; movements are often expected to require the co-occurrence of multiple favorable conditions to gain major influence over politics, corporations, or the news (Amenta et al., 2005; Bartley & Child, 2014; Dixon et al., 2016; Giugni & Yamasaki, 2009). Here, however, we advance beyond most analyses by hypothesizing combinational influences on outcomes, which is far less prevalent in research employing QCA (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Then we analyze truth tables and Venn diagrams to identify and address three issues prevalent in such research. The first is a lack of diversity in observational data, which is a standard problem in research and has been discussed extensively by QCA methodologists (Ragin, 1987, pp. 104–113; Schneider & Wagemann, 2012, Chapter 6; Schneider & Wagemann, 2013). Here we address some implications of it concerning combinational hypotheses. The other two anomalies occur when combinations of causes that are expected to produce the outcome but do not, and combinations of causes that yield the outcome but were not expected to do so. These anomalies are analogous to what Schneider and Rohlfing (2014) refer to as “deviant cases coverage” and “deviant cases consistency,” but at the level of truth table combinations or Venn diagram spaces.

We also indicate the analytical advantages of employing extensive, historical data that range across different types of movements and time periods. In analyzing the population of major movements across the twentieth century, we can identify patterns of influence that might be missed in more truncated data sets. The data are also widely comparative across types of movements and time periods that are not often analyzed together. For example, most research is on either right movements or more progressive ones, but not usually both, as is the case here. These data make it possible to analyze differences in influence between right and non-right movements. Also, the data set brings back into view movements, such as veterans’ and anti-alcohol movements, that were highly prominent in the first half of the twentieth century but do not frequently appear in scholarship regarding movements (Amenta & Caren, 2022, Chapter 3). Also, the data are historical and provide detailed information about news coverage, including the author, the headline, the length, and, if needed, a pdf of the article. And so, we can dig further into empirical anomalies. That valuable back-and-forth process between theory and data is far more typical of small-N research in QCA than

large-N research. With these data, we have the advantages of both types of research.

The main thing we seek to explain is why movements were extensively covered when they were during the twentieth century. Our outcome measure is based on the number of articles that mention a movement organization in a movement, by year, across the four news outlets, leading to 2024 movement-year observations. For the QCA, extensive coverage news coverage (Coverage or C) is defined as having at least one and a half mentions per day for a calendar year. In practice, this means whether organizations in a movement gained 548 mentions or more across the four newspapers in that year. This measure identifies about 374 “movement-years,” or about 18.5% of the cases, as extensively covered.² By this standard, the labor movement was extensively covered over the entire century, and the women’s rights movement for four-fifths of it. The veterans’ movement crossed the threshold 46 times, the African American rights movement 45 times, the environmental movement 30 times, and the white supremacist/nativist movement 17 times. However, 12 of the 29 movements never gained this sort of extensive coverage even once in the twentieth century, including such notable ones as the animal rights, anti-abortion, gun control, and gun rights movements.

We start with the seven main causal measures that capture internal movement and external political conditions. Three of these measures are categorical, and we convert the other four into categorical (and fuzzy set) measures for the QCA. The first of the three internal movement measures is *Disruptiveness* (Disruptive or D), which is categorical and varies by movement by year. It scores one if any organization in the movement was in the news and engaged in disruptive action such as large protests, strikes, boycotts, occupations, civil disobedience, and protests with violence or drawing the violent reaction of authorities, as reported in scholarly monographs, articles, organizational websites, news accounts, and other data sets (for details, see [Amenta et al., 2009](#) and the Appendix). *Organizational strength* (Organizations or O) is based on the number of organizations in the movement in existence each year. A movement scores 1 on this measure in any year it included 60 organizations, though different cutoff points yield similar results, as does a measure that includes only organizations that appeared in the news that year. Early twentieth-century movements often included very large, federated membership organizations with state chapters with considerable autonomy ([Skocpol, 2003](#)), and movements were given additional organizational credit for these chapters when the largest of US organizations had extensive membership.³ A third measure scores one for each movement of the *political right* (Right or R): the antiabortion, Christian right, gun rights, and nativist/white supremacist movements.

There are four contextual measures. The first political one is the *partisan political context* (Partisan or P), a categorical measure that varies by year and captures unified partisan regimes, whether of the left or right. For the twentieth century, there were two periods of liberal dominance (1935 through 1938 and 1965 through 1966) and two periods of conservative dominance (1921 through 1930 and 1981 through 1982). (See appendix for details.) *Enacted and enforced policy* (Enforced or E) is a time- and movement-varying ordered categorical

variable ranging from 0 to 5 and representing the comprehensiveness of major policies, including court rulings, laws, and bureaucracies to enforce them, regarding the movement's constituency. The measure is based on monographs about the specific movements and related policies, agencies administering policies, and the Policy Agendas Project. (See Appendix for details and scores for each movement.) Any score of three or above counts as a movement benefitting from such policies for the QCA. A third political measure, *congressional investigations* (Investigations or I), is based on the number of days in a year that a movement had an organization under investigation by Congress (Seguin et al., 2021). Here it scores one for movements that had an organization with 17 days or more, though results are similar with different cutoffs. The Communist party was under congressional scrutiny for more than a decade in the middle of the century, and other organizations extensively investigated ranged from the German-American Alliance, Anti-Saloon League, United Auto Workers, and Townsend Plan in the first half of the century to the United Brotherhood of Teamsters, Ku Klux Klan, Black Panther Party, and Students for a Democratic Society in the second half. The last measure addresses whether a movement was extensively in the news (News or N), and it scores one if a movement received extensive coverage for the previous four years. The categorical measures range from scoring one in about 38% of the cases, for E, to around 2%, for I (see Table 1).

FOUR HYPOTHESES AND QCA RESULTS

Crisp-set QCA works by way of truth tables, or tables of combinations, which array data with rows of each possible combination of the presence or absence of hypothesized causal measures. A truth table with two causal measures, for instance, includes four combinations or rows, a truth table with four causal measures includes 16 rows, one with five includes 32 rows, and so on. Each row indicates the number of cases that include that combination of measures and how

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Measures Used in QCA.

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Total	469.092	1057.666
C	0.185	0.388
D	0.234	0.423
O	0.200	0.400
P	0.166	0.372
E	0.377	0.485
R	0.092	0.289
I	0.023	0.151
N	0.144	0.351

many of them display the outcome in question. We present crisp-set analyses for two reasons. First, although fuzzy sets are more accurate for non-categorical measures (Ragin, 2008), the technically less complex crisp sets—involving rows in truth tables rather than vector space corners in fuzzy sets—facilitate the methodological discussions below. Second, the results are largely the same (with fuzzy-set analyses available in the Appendix). In either mode, QCA provides concise “solution terms” or recipes—combinations of causal measures that are highly consistent with the outcome in question—through Boolean minimization procedures. Two important considerations in QCA are consistency and coverage. The percentage of cases that exhibit the outcome in a row is its level of consistency, which is a measure of goodness of fit. In QCA, a high standard is usually set for consistency, with 75 or 80% being frequent (Ragin, 2008); in practice, analysts typically demarcate high consistency by identifying gaps that appear between highly consistent rows near that level and those much less consistent with the outcome (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012). Coverage is the percentage of the outcome set that overlaps with the recipe or solution and thus addresses how much recipes or solutions account for or explain the outcome. Consistency and coverage also apply to overall solutions, including multiple recipes.

We start by appraising the four multicausal, combinational hypotheses. We state them formally and then compare their expectations to the solution terms or recipes and the overall solutions that QCA produces. For the first hypothesis, we expect that the most extensive newspaper coverage will come from the joint occurrence of all four of the measures, as we indicated above. However, we also expect any movement-year, including three of the four causes to be sufficient to produce extensive coverage at a highly consistent rate.

Formally, *H1* reads as follows: $C \leq D*O*E + D*P*E + D*O*P + O*P*E$

The results largely support this hypothesis (see Table 2). In all the analyses, we employ both the QCA application from Charles Ragin’s website and the R package for QCA (Thiem & Duşa, 2014). When the consistency standard is set at 0.70, where there is a major break in the data, the minimization produces three recipes. Two of them— $D*O*E$ and $D*P*E$ —are the same as the first two terms in the hypothesis, and the third— $O*P$ —comprises, or is a superset of, the other two solution terms. The solution covers about 46% of the outcome at a 92% level of consistency.⁴

We turn next to the movements of the right and the second hypothesis. It expects recipes for extensive coverage not to include enforced policies and for there to be fewer recipes overall.

H2 reads as follows: $C \leq D*O*E*r + D*P*E*r + O*P*E*r + D*O*P$

The results also mainly support this hypothesis. There are 32 combinations of measures with five causal measures, and unsurprisingly some of them are missing data. Here we report the “intermediate” results (Ragin, 2000), which incorporate theoretical assumptions for missing rows. There are five recipes in the solution (see Table 2). Of the five recipes, four are exactly the ones expected above. A fifth recipe— $D*P*e*R$ —is unanticipated, however. It includes the presence of the right movement measure, the presence of the disruptive and partisanship measure, and the absence of the enforced policy measure. It suggests an additional

Table 2. QCA Results for Extensive News Coverage With Selected Measures.

Solution Terms/Recipes	Consistency	Coverage	Unique Coverage
<i>Four-measure analysis</i>			
ORGANIZATION*PARTISAN	0.823	0.136	0.088
DISRUPTIVE*ORGANIZATIONS*ENFORCEDPOLICY	1.000	0.326	0.281
DISRUPTIVE*PARTISAN*ENFORCEDPOLICY	0.872	0.091	0.045
Total	0.915	0.463	
<i>Five-measure analysis with right</i>			
ORGANIZATION*PARTISAN*right	0.833	0.120	0.061
DISRUPTIVE*ORGANIZATIONS*ENFORCEDPOLICY*right	1.000	0.313	0.281
DISRUPTIVE*PARTISAN*ENFORCEDPOLICY*right	1.000	0.067	0.035
DISRUPTIVE*ORGANIZATIONS*PARTISAN	0.931	0.072	0.013
DISRUPTIVE*PARTISAN*RIGHT*enforcedpolicy	0.750	0.008	0.008
Total	0.945	0.457	
<i>Five-measure analysis with investigation</i>			
ORGANIZATION*PARTISAN	0.820	0.134	0.088
DISRUPTIVE*ORGANIZATIONS*ENFORCEDPOLICY	1.000	0.326	0.243
DISRUPTIVE*PARTISAN*ENFORCEDPOLICY	0.872	0.091	0.045
INVESTIGATION*DISRUPTIVE	0.914	0.086	0.043
Total	0.908	0.503	
<i>Five-measure analysis with investigation and news</i>			
DISRUPTIVE*ORGANIZATIONS*ENFORCEDPOLICY	1.000	0.326	0.011
INVESTIGATION*DISRUPTIVE	0.914	0.086	0.029
INVESTIGATION*ORGANIZATION	1.000	0.061	0.005
INVESTIGATION*NEWS	0.955	0.056	0.011
NEWS*ORGANIZATIONS	0.996	0.666	0.102
NEWS*ENFORCEDPOLICY	0.995	0.559	0.016
NEWS*DISRUPTIVE	0.983	0.476	0.016
Total	0.978	0.826	

Note: The presence of a measure is indicated by UPPERCASE letters, and the absence of a measure by lowercase ones.

way to gain extensive coverage for right movements. The solution terms do not increase the coverage from the previous result, but they improve the rate of consistency to almost 95%.

Next, we examine congressional investigations (Investigations or I). We expect all but brief investigations to lead to extensive coverage for any movement with organizations under official scrutiny, regardless of the movement’s characteristics or any other political contexts—whether they are well organized, disruptive, benefiting from favorable policies, in a partisan context, or not. In these analyses, we drop the measure of right movements, as they are not expected to have different determinants, and keep the number of measures in the analysis at five to minimize the number of truth table rows with no empirical cases.

H3 reads as follows: $C \leq D*O*P + D*O*E + O*P*E + D*P*E + I$

The results also mainly support this hypothesis, which simply adds a one-cause recipe to the recipes in *H1*. Of the 47 movement years of news coverage in which an organization in a movement was investigated for 17 or more days, 38 of them led to extensive coverage for the movement, or about 81% of the time—which is well above the 19% average of extensive coverage for all 2024 movement years. The intermediate results produce five recipes for extensive coverage. Three are the same as the initial results, which, as we have seen, are also recipes in the above hypothesis. There is also a recipe that includes the measure of Investigations. It is, however, not a standalone recipe but one that is combined with the measure of Disruption: I*D (see Table 2). This solution is consistent with the outcome at 91% and covers about 50% of the cases of extensive news attention, adding more than 4 percentage points of coverage from the initial results at a similar level of consistency.

The fourth hypothesis, regarding path dependence, holds that when a movement gains high news attention, it will remain newsworthy, but only if it also includes either a strong organizational presence or has enforced policies favoring its constituents. Some internal and external conditions may help get movements in the news in the first place, as we have found above. Still, once movements are in the news, they should have an easier time remaining there—if they have the hypothesized reinforcing characteristics. To appraise this hypothesis, we again drop the measure P from the QCA to keep the number of causal measures at five, and because partisanship is not an essential part of the hypothesis. (However, including P does not change the results in any important way—see the Appendix.) As a result of dropping the P measure, the only remaining causal combination from Hypothesis 1 is D*O*E. As with *H3*, we also expect investigations to make a movement newsworthy.

The expectations for *H4* are as follows: $C \leq D*O*E + I + N*O + N*E$.

The intermediate results support this hypothesis as well, producing seven recipes, including three of the four hypothesized ones: D*O*E, N*O, and N*E. The first is the remaining recipe from *H1*, and the other two combine prior newsworthiness with organizational strength and with enforced policy, as expected. Three other recipes in the solution include investigations, which is consistent with the second recipe in the hypothesis, if not exactly the same. Finally, a seventh recipe, N*D, is unexpected, indicating that disruptive capacities also buoy movements' news attention if they are already highly newsworthy. The recipes as a whole cover 82% of the outcome at a 98% rate of consistency—both extremely high figures.

All in all, the results support the hypotheses about the interactive influences of movement characteristics, political contexts, and news organizations on extensive news attention to movements. However, there are anomalous results for each hypothesis, and we turn to address them next.

TRUTH TABLES, VENN DIAGRAMS, DEVIANT COMBINATIONS, AND THE ADVANTAGES OF WIDE COMPARISONS

We dig further into these results by examining truth tables and Venn diagrams to address broader issues surrounding these anomalous results. One frequently occurs in any QCA, notably the lack of diversity in observational data. But we also address two types of deviant results that apply specifically to analyses of combinational hypotheses: combinations of causes that are expected to produce the outcome but do not, and combinations of causes that yield the outcome but were not expected to do so. The results produce each of these situations. We also demonstrate advantages due to our data and comparative strategy. The data are historical and include information beyond just the number of articles, and thus these “cases” can be subjected to further analyses and scrutiny when they fall outside theoretical expectations. The data also range across different types of movements and time periods, making it possible to identify different causal recipes for the outcome that might be missed by more delimited data sets.

We start with the four-measure truth table for the analyses of *HI* (see [Table 3](#)). The 16 rows range from the sparsely populated one in which each causal condition is present (17 “movement-years”) to the highly crowded row in which each condition is absent (739 instances) and each of the 14 possible combinations in between. The table shows that each of the five rows with the presence of three or more of the measures is highly consistent with extensive news attention. In the row with the presence of all four causal measures, each of the 17 cases scores one for extensive attention (see [Table 3](#)). The labor movement had its biggest years of news during the mid-1930s when it had many membership organizations in the field, engaged in extensive disruption, with the Roosevelt administration backed by strong Democratic majorities and supported by new laws protecting labor rights.

Similarly, the environmental movement gained wide attention during the early 1980s, also in the wake of organizational gains, disruptive activity, notably by Greenpeace, during the conservative early Reagan administration, and in the wake of protective policies enacted in the 1970s. Also, the truth table provides little support for one-factor explanations of extensive coverage. The row with organizations only in it scores highest, with a consistency rate of about 50%. Each of the positive cases concerning the women’s rights movement in the middle of the century or the Christian right at the end of the century. The other three score at about 18%, 4%, and below 1%.

Each of the four rows with three of the causal conditions present is also consistent with the extensive coverage at a rate greater than 70%. The most populated row has the presence of the two internal movement conditions—disruptive capacities and high organization—and the enforced policy condition, but the absence of partisan regimes. This row includes 105 cases, each of which exhibits extensive news coverage. Though highly consistent with the outcome, the other three rows include many cases that did not exhibit extensive news coverage. Often it is suggested that these deviant cases for consistency be

Table 3. Four-Measure Truth Table of Extensive Newspaper Coverage With Selected Movements Identified.

Outcome	Success	Total	Cons.	Selected Movements
DOPE	17	17	1.000	<i>Nativist/White Supremacist (5/5)</i> ; Labor (8/8); Environmental (2/2); Black Rights (2/2)
DOPe	105	105	1.000	Women’s Rights (10/10); Veterans’ Rights (2/2); Labor (57/57); Environmental (21/21); Black Rights (15/15)
DOPE	10	12	0.833	Labor (10/10); Anti-War (0/2)
DoPE	17	22	0.773	Veterans’ Rights (11/11); <i>Nativist/White Supremacist (4/9)</i> ; Black Rights (2/2)
dOPe	13	18	0.722	Women’s Rights (12/14); Old Age and Elder Rights (1/2); <i>Anti-Abortion (0/2)</i>
dOPE	10	14	0.714	Women’s Rights (4/4); Veterans’ Rights (1/4); Anti-Alcohol (5/6)
dOpE	62	98	0.633	Women’s Rights (23/23); Veterans’ Rights (22/54); Environmental (1/1); Black Rights (14/14); <i>Christian Right (2/6)</i>
dOpe	33	65	0.508	Women’s Rights (28/31); LGBTQ Rights (1/7); <i>Christian Right (4/4)</i> ; Anti-War (0/5); Anti-Alcohol (0/10); <i>Anti-Abortion (0/8)</i>
DOpe	32	75	0.427	Women’s Rights (3/8); <i>Nativist/White Supremacist (1/6)</i> ; Labor (24/24); Anti-War (4/26); <i>Anti-Abortion (0/11)</i>
DoPe	7	29	0.241	Welfare and Homeless Rights (0/2); Veterans’ Rights (3/3); <i>Nativist/White Supremacist (3/4)</i> ; Disability Rights (0/2); Communist (1/14); Anti-War (0/2)
DopE	13	58	0.224	Veterans’ Rights (5/5); <i>Nativist/White Supremacist (3/29)</i> ; Farmer Advocacy (2/2); Disability Rights (0/1); Native American Rights (0/1); Black Rights (3/3)
Dope	29	155	0.187	Welfare and Homeless Rights (0/23); Veterans’ Rights (1/1); <i>Nativist/White Supremacist (9/47)</i> ; Labor (1/1); LGBTQ Rights (0/8); Disability Rights (0/11)
doPE	2	50	0.040	Old Age and Elder Rights (0/4); Human Rights (0/4); <i>Gun Rights (0/2)</i> ; Farmer Advocacy (0/18); Consumer (0/2); Native American Rights (0/2)
dopE	15	400	0.038	Old Age and Elder Rights (1/46); Human Rights (1/32); <i>Gun Rights (0/25)</i> ; Farmer Advocacy (0/80); Environmental and Conservation (6/6); Disability Rights (0/9)
Dope	7	733	0.010	Communist (4/49); Women’s Rights (0/10); Welfare and Homeless Rights (0/9); Veterans’ Rights (1/20); Old Age and Elder Rights (1/14); LGBTQ Rights (0/19); Gun Control (0/29)
doPe	1	172	0.006	Welfare and Homeless Rights (0/2); Old Age and Elder Rights (0/3); LGBTQ Rights (0/4); Gun Control and Safety (0/2); Environmental and Conservation (0/16); Disability Rights (0/5)

Note: Movements of the right appear in italics.

examined to see if they truly fit (Schneider & Rohlfing, 2014). For the combination DOPe, the antiwar movement does not exhibit high coverage during the Reagan conservative regime (1981–1982). For the combination DoPE, the main cases that fail to exhibit extensive coverage include the nativist movement in parts of the 1920s during the Republican conservative regime of that decade and in the mid-1930s during the Roosevelt reform regime (1921, 1929, 1930, 1935, and 1938). It did, however, have coverage close to the cutoff point in those years. For

the combination dOPE, the outlier is the veterans’ movement during the mid-1960s and early 1980s. Although its news coverage was close to the cutoff point in 1965, its coverage fell well below the standard in the other two years. In short, most of these deviant cases concerning consistency can partly be explained by their being close to the cutoff point. However, a row with only the organizations and partisan regime measures is also highly consistent with extensive coverage—which is unexpected.

We turn to Venn diagrams to dig further into that result, to look at how these diagrams can help appraise combinational hypotheses and suggest amendments to them. We start by comparing the expectations of *H1*, representing the 16 rows of the truth table, five of which include three or more of the causes, with the actual results (see Fig. 1). The figure shows that each area of the diagram includes cases and that each of the five hypothesized combinations is consistent with the outcome. But it shows, too, that one area is unexpectedly consistent with the hypothesis, producing one of the three problems identified above: the appearance of an unexpected combination of measures that is highly consistent with the outcome. This space represents the row dOPE, and of its 19 cases, 14 are positive, almost entirely consisting of the women’s rights movement in the 1920s and 1930s, and the old-age rights movement in the 1930s. This result suggests something about this period made it easier for movements to gain extensive coverage—possibly including the way women’s organizations were covered by way of “soft news” (Tuchman, 1978)—and prompts further attention to that issue.

We turn to the Venn diagrams and results for *H2* (see Fig. 2). The figures are somewhat more complicated, but it is easy to identify the hypotheses and see that the results largely support them. The five hypothesized spaces from figure one reappear

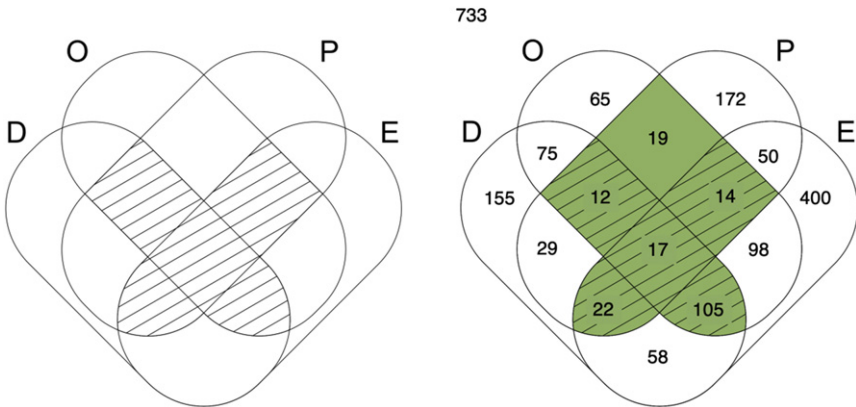


Fig. 1. Venn Diagrams for Extensive Coverage With Measures of Disruptive Capacities (D), Organizational Strength (O), Partisan Regimes (P), and Enforced Policies (E).

Note: Dashed areas indicate where consistent extensive coverage is expected. Grey indicates areas highly consistent with extensive coverage.

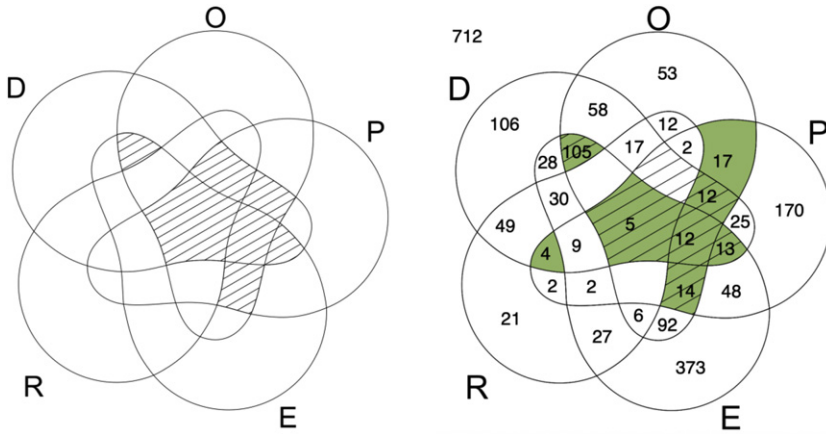


Fig. 2. Venn Diagrams for Extensive Coverage With Disruptive Capacities (D), Organizational Strength (O), Partisan Regimes (P), Enforced Policies (E), and Right-Wing Movements (R).
 Note: Dashed areas indicate where consistent extensive coverage is expected. Grey indicates areas highly consistent with extensive coverage.

(see Fig. 2 (left)). They are the areas that do not overlap with R and include the presence of three or more of the following conditions: D, O, P, and E. In contrast, only two areas in the diagram corresponding to truth table rows are expected to register consistently high coverage for movements of the right. These include the area with all four of the hypothesized spurs to movement coverage and R, and the one in which D, O, and P coincide with R. The Venn diagram with the results shows again that the hypotheses are mainly supported. In each of the six combinations where there are cases corresponding to the hypothesized combinations, the results show high consistency with the outcome (see Fig. 2 (right)).

However, the diagrams also indicate two other sorts of anomalies that need further exploration and discussion. The first type is one from the previous example: two combinations that consistently produce results that were not expected. One is almost the same as the previous one, where O and P are present and the other three conditions, including R, are absent. This combination includes the same highly covered cases in the women’s and old-age rights movements of the 1920s and 1930s. However, there is a second space where R overlaps with D and P, which also exhibits extensive coverage and thus calls for further attention. These cases include the nativist movement from 1965 and 1966, and 1981 and 1982. In the first three years, the movement went over the threshold of extensive coverage. This result suggests that extreme notoriety—possibly due to violent activity—may serve as a functional equivalent of having many organizations in a movement as far as news coverage is concerned. In short, this is another potential hypothesis to be pursued.

The second type of anomaly is due to a lack of diversity in these observational data. This is a well-known case of “logical remainders,” which indicate truth

table rows with no empirical cases and thus require counterfactual analyses (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013). These remainders are generated in this instance mainly because there are 32 potential outcomes and only four movements of the right. This means that no empirical cases correspond to some of the possible combinations that include the measure of right movements, as seen in Fig. 2 (left). These combinations include two combinations expected not to yield consistently extensive coverage as well as one combination that is expected to do so. We focus on the one that is expected to do so. It includes the presence of R, the presence of D, O, and P, and the absence of E. There is every reason to believe that if this combination had existed in the century, it would likely have produced extensive coverage. After all, as we have seen above, a similar combination that did not include the presence of O did indeed lead consistently to the outcome. If the nativist movement during the Johnson and Reagan administrations after their landslide elections had more organizations in them, it seems likely that they would have been highly covered. In addition, the combination that included all five of the measures also was highly consistent with the outcome. That combination was anchored by the highly covered years of the nativist movement in the 1920s when the second Ku Klux Klan was in its heyday. This missing case constitutes what Ragin (1987) calls an “easy” counterfactual or what Schneider and Wagemann (2012, Chapter 8) call a “good” counterfactual and is considered a consistent combination in the QCA minimization processes. However, as we have done here, identifying similar cases helps ensure that the assumption seems realistic.

We turn to the Venn diagrams from *H3*, which includes the measure of investigations and produces each of the previous two anomalies, as well as a third one. As Fig. 3 (left) shows, each of the combinations including the presence of I is

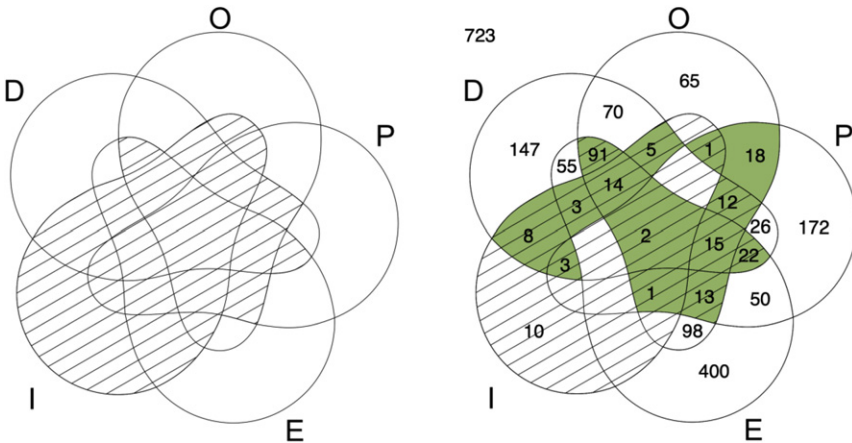


Fig. 3. Venn Diagrams for Extensive Coverage With Disruptive Capacities (D), Organizational Strength (O), Partisan Regimes (P), Enforced Policies (E), and Investigations (I).
Note: Dashed areas indicate where consistent extensive coverage is expected. Grey indicates areas highly consistent with extensive coverage.

expected to yield the outcome extensive coverage. As with the previous analysis, there are areas in the diagram for which there correspond no historical cases. There are seven logical remainders altogether, each including the presence of investigations, which is due in turn to the rarity of this phenomenon. In the QCA, each of these counterfactual combinations is treated in the Boolean minimization as if it would produce extensive coverage had it existed. This assumption is easily justified, as in each instance in the data in which investigations coincide with the presence of any combination of the other four measures, the result is extensive coverage. As in the previous two analyses, a similar unexpected combination—here, the one that includes the presence of O and P and the absence of the other three conditions—is also highly consistent with the outcome.

We turn next to the third type of anomaly that appears in these results—where a combination of conditions is expected to produce the outcome and appears in the data but is not consistent with it. The hypothesis holds that extensive news should consistently follow in any instance in which there is a significant investigation. But as the figure illustrates, this was not the case where investigations were present and each of the other causal conditions was absent. Digging further reveals that each of these 10 cases refers to the communist movement, nine of the years of the 1950s. In 1951–1954, the movement rose above the threshold of extensive coverage. However, it dropped below this level in 1955–1959. Investigations of the Communist Party continued, but their news value decreased. A turning point was the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954, during which anti-communist Senator Joseph McCarthy was discredited. More generally, the results suggest a decreasing return to the influence of investigations on news over time. This was the only movement that had organizations investigated for this length of time.

The fourth hypothesis includes each of the three anomalies. The five measures here include previous newsworthiness, or N, which replaces P in the analyses. Many of the results are similar to those above. Venn diagrams show that almost all the combinations of measures expected to be highly consistent with extensive news coverage are consistent, while almost all the combinations expected not to be consistent with extensive news coverage are not consistent (see Fig. 4). As before, the area in the diagram corresponding to investigations alone indicates that combination does not lead consistently to extensive coverage. As with the previous analyses, the results show several missing combinations of measures, and again, unsurprisingly, most of these, six of seven, concern investigations. However, the seventh is new and includes the situation where only N is present. This corresponds to what Schneider and Wagemann (2012, Chapter 6) call an “impossible” remainder. It is at odds with what we know about the world for a social movement to be in the news for several years without the presence of other factors promoting its newsworthiness in the first place. It is no surprise there are no cases here. Finally, an unexpected combination is consistently associated with extensive coverage: where N and D are present and the other three conditions are absent. This combination accounts for the unexpected recipe $N*D$ in the solution. Digging further, we find it is based on seven cases, six of which are extensively covered, including the Black rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s,

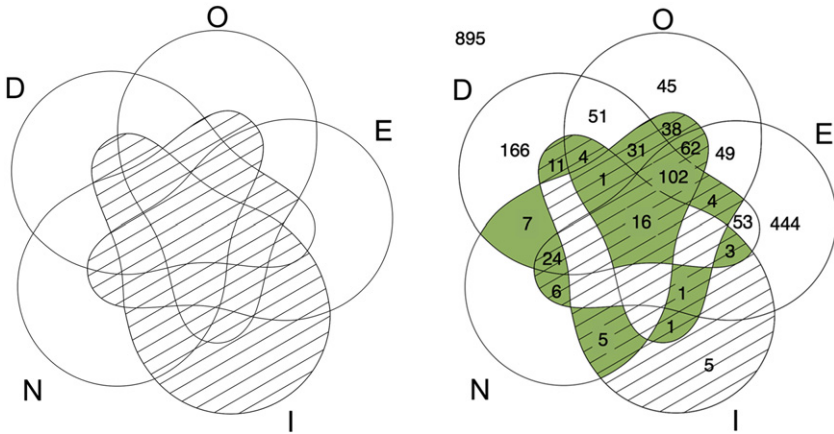


Fig. 4. Venn Diagrams for Extensive Coverage With Disruptive Capacities (D), Organizational Strength (O), Enforced Policies (E), Investigations (I), and Previous Newsworthiness (N).
Note: Dashed areas indicate whether consistent extensive coverage is expected. Grey indicates areas highly consistent with extensive coverage.

and the nativist movement at the end of the 1960s. This result suggests perhaps a new hypothesis that our current measure of disruptiveness cannot appraise. Having disruptive capacities can keep newsworthy movements in the news, though these cases suggest that the effect may depend on the vigorous exercise of those capacities.

Finally, we discuss some of the value of having a data set that compares across many movements and has a long historical sweep. Most US social movement research has been on broadly progressive movements, especially the Black rights, women's rights, labor, environmental, and anti-war movements (Amenta & Caren, 2022, Chapter 3). Moreover, most research has focused on the period since 1960, notably the important research generated from the Dynamics of Collective Action project (McAdam et al., n.d.) covering the period 1960 through 1995. As we have seen, including both progressive movements and movements of the right in the analyses has helped to identify their different routes to extensive coverage. Analyses that included just the non-right movements would have missed the specific recipes for high coverage for movements of the right.

Moreover, analyses that focused simply on the period from 1960 through the end of the century would also miss recipes for extensive coverage that were possible in earlier periods, as we indicate here. The four-measure results from the last four decades of the century identify three combinations of conditions that are consistently associated with extensive coverage (see Fig. 5). These include the combinations where all four causal measures are present and two combinations for which three causal conditions are present: disruptive capacities, organizations, and enforced policies, along with disruptive capacities, partisan contexts, and

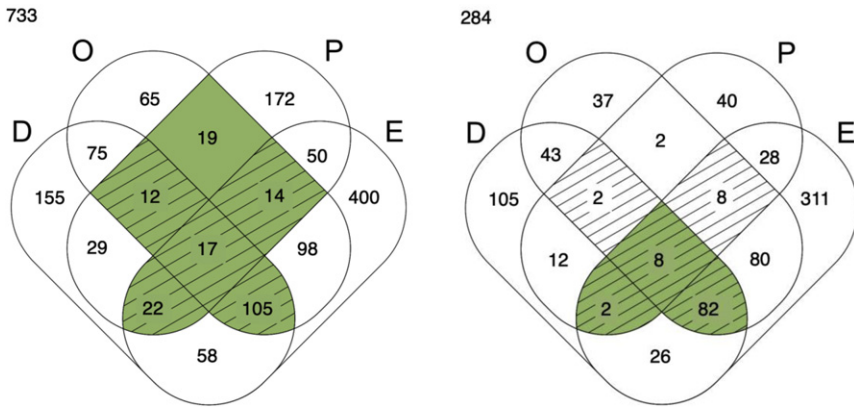


Fig. 5. Venn Diagrams for Extensive Coverage With Measures of Disruptive Capacities (D), Organizational Strength (O), Partisan Regimes (P), and Enforced Policies (E), 1900–1999 and 1960–1999.

Note: Dashed areas indicate where consistent extensive coverage is expected. Grey indicates areas highly consistent with extensive coverage.

enforced policies. However, as we have seen, there are six combinations that consistently lead to extensive coverage when the entire century is analyzed. This finding also suggests that it may have become more difficult for social movements to gain extensive coverage since the 1950s. Again, we do not have room to explore it here, but these results also suggest it would be valuable to pursue further historical research into the differences behind the causes of movement coverage in each period. It is possible that movement actors were covered differently in the wake of the increased professionalization of news institutions after 1960.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Gaining attention in the news is important for social movements because it can help them publicize social problems, influence political agendas and public policy, and affect how people refer to their constituents. In addressing why movements made high-profile national news, we found that 29 social movements were big news for almost 400 years across four nationally oriented newspapers in the twentieth century. To explain why that happened when it did, we built upon an institutional mediation model generated from insights from social movement, political sociology, and sociology of the media literature. Specifically, we argued that such extensive coverage would be driven by way of combinations of internal movement characteristics and political contexts that play into the newsgathering routines and news values of professional news organizations. The internal conditions include organizational strength and disruptive capacities, and the political

conditions include occasional partisan-dominant contexts that can make the major changes demanded by movements of all sorts politically plausible and policy changes that aid movements and can keep them in the news. We argued first that extensive news coverage would happen when a combination of three of those news-promoting factors coincided, with the best case being all four coinciding. Second, we argued that movements of the right, given their often-reactive nature, would not benefit from policy changes as do non-right movements and would have fewer recipes for extensive attention. Third, we argued that significant investigations would thrust movements into the news. Finally, we argued that movements that gained extensive attention for news institutional reasons would retain it—but only so long as they had organizational capacities that would promote their prominence or policies favoring their constituents.

We appraised these ideas by examining the coverage of all national US social movement organizations over a century in four nationally oriented newspapers and employing QCA. We found that when all four of the hypothesized spurs to coverage coincided, the movements in those situations always received extensive news coverage, and other hypothesized combinations of conditions also highly consistently yielded extensive coverage. Movements of the right did indeed have fewer recipes to high attention. In addition, having an organization under a long congressional investigation typically was enough for a movement to appear extensively in the news spotlight. Finally, being highly newsworthy for four years in a row also kept movements in the news the following year—if they had extensive organization, policies favoring their constituents, or maintained disruptive capacities.

We dove deeper into these results to address methodological issues that are likely to recur when scholars employ QCA to appraise combinational hypotheses, such as the ones from the institutional mediation model. Combinational hypotheses and analyses are common in the literature in the consequences of social movements; theories in this area often expect that movement mobilization is rarely sufficient to achieve influence and that other aspects of movements and the contexts are in which they engage are necessary (Amenta et al., 2019). We first addressed the issue of constrained diversity in observational data, a common problem. Here we made suggestions on handling these logical remainders when scholars have theoretical expectations regarding the impact of combinations of conditions (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2012, Chapter 8). We also identified two anomalies likely to appear in this type of research—when theoretically unexpected combinations are highly consistent with the outcome under analysis and when theoretically expected combinations fail to be consistent with the outcome. We suggested using Venn diagrams to identify these issues and ways to address them systematically.

We also showed the value of detailed historical and widely comparative data sets for analyses of the consequences of social movements with QCA. Having a data set like the PONs one, which includes a great deal of information about the movement organizations in the news, helps to identify why some combinations and cases defy theoretical expectations. It is possible to identify which movements unexpectedly were newsworthy or unexpectedly were not. This helps to refine

hypotheses or suggest potential measurement errors, or both. The extensive historical reach of the data also aids research in determining whether patterns of influence are time-bound. Here we found different combinations leading to influence in the period before 1960, which movement scholars do not as frequently analyze. Moreover, the fact that the data set includes a wide range of movements helps to identify potentially different patterns of influence for different types of movements. Here we found somewhat different determinants of extensive news coverage for right-wing movements, which are less analyzed by movement scholars, but as anticipated by previous scholars focusing on these movements.

These analyses and findings leave open many additional questions for research. To assess the boundaries around the theoretical claims would require study across different sorts of newspapers and news organizations. The arguments may apply best to highly professionalized and nationally oriented news organizations we examined here, as well as to countries most similar to the United States in having a liberal form of news media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Additional research should also address the quality of coverage received by organizations. Not all news is good news for movements (Amenta & Caren, 2022; Davenport, 2010). We found that movements and organizations made big news during congressional investigations, which is unlikely to treat them in ways that promote their goals and organizations. Similarly, movements in the news for some types of disruption may be treated less sympathetically and substantively than those in the news for policy-related or electorally focused action, with possible negative effects on their organizations and causes.

The news media have been transformed this century with the rise of partisan news television organizations, notably Fox News and its competitors, 24-hour cable news channels, notably CNN, and the ubiquity of the internet, social media, and disinformation media, along with the decline of print news (Pew Research Center, 2015). And these changes have implications for the coverage of social movements. The new media ecosystem, and especially the rise of right-wing disinformation media centered on Fox News, has provided an alternate route to media attention for movements of the right (Amenta & Caren, 2022, Conclusion; Banerjee, 2013; Benkler et al., 2018), which has often prompted coverage from professional news organizations (Freelon et al., 2020). Despite all the changes, the national professional news organizations remain the central institutions of newsgathering, retain great legitimacy, and have become relatively more important with the decline of local and regional newspapers and news organizations. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* still set the agenda for television network news, and their articles are amplified by aggregating Web sites and social media (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2015). News organizations' coverage has influenced recent European political agendas (Vliegenthart et al., 2016), the mobilization of the Tea Party (Banerjee, 2013), and the discursive impact of Occupy Wall Street (Gaby & Caren, 2016). Moreover, the well-known "balance norm" in professional news (Hallin, 1984), which typically juxtaposes the views of two parties about issues over which they disagree, may provide alternatives for progressive movements to make news;

nowadays, many political debates are between movement actors connected to the Democratic party and more conservative Democrats, as Republicans often oppose policy initiatives as a bloc (Amenta & Caren, 2022).

Finally, our thinking and research suggest that making sense of how movement actors might influence institutions means starting with the targeted institution. In elaborating this institutional mediation model, we started with the organizational forms, routines, and news values of news organizations and thought about how social movement challengers' forms and actions fit with these organizations' routines and approaches to the news—in different political contexts. Similar thinking and mediation ideas have been usefully applied in the study of other institutional targets of movements, including businesses (King, 2008), universities (Arthur, 2011), and news organizations (Elliott et al., 2016). In addressing the influence of movements on different institutions, scholars promise to make the most progress by addressing how those institutions work and what has been shown to influence them, and then to theorize and analyze how movements might intervene in these processes.

NOTES

1. Appendix is available at <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/96tvr/>.
2. However, the results are similar with somewhat different cutoff points, including twice-a-day coverage (730 articles) and once-a-day coverage (365 articles). (See the online Appendix.)
3. Specifically, we count as separate organizations the state chapters of the federal organizations on Skocpol's (2003, pp. 26–28) list of the largest U.S. voluntary membership organizations—each with at least 1% of the U.S. population—when they were at this high level of membership. More for details about these decisions, see the Appendix.
4. The main results are also robust with respect to different calibrations of the outcome and causal measures, as well as to a series of other checks. (See the Appendix.)

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