within the constraints of the student role. Increased discretion over time allocation makes larger and more concentrated blocks of time available. As the off-campus non-student bohemian community expands, discontinuity in activities can be minimized and the accumulated experience base increased, allowing more efficient utilization of the available student manpower.

Discretionary Time and the Professionals

Earlier we noted that the upper occupational groups are not working fewer hours; indeed, they may be working more, though there are variations. For instance, the self-employed and selected managerial and professional categories exhibit this pattern, while employed engineers do not [Wilensky 1961]. But many upper occupations do substantially free their members from time-space constraint, even though the decrease in self-employment over time may mean that greater numbers of the college-educated adult population find themselves subject to disciplined schedules. For instance, professors, lawyers, corporate divisional managers, and settlement house directors have freedom to "arrange" their schedules to fit their priorities. If their view of occupational responsibilities commits them to social movement engagements, at least for some time periods, they can arrange their schedules to accommodate such involvement. One of the most striking manifestations of this possibility occurred following the Cambodian invasion in the spring of 1970. Literally thousands of professors, from hundreds of campuses, cancelled classes for two or three days to travel to Washington to express their discontent. (Note also that the costs of getting to Washington and arranging lodging and food were easily borne by these professors and their colleagues.) Any occupation whose members are not tied to specific and sharply delineated time and work spaces may arrange their work loads to increase participation in social movements. Though we have no systematic evidence here, we expect that such discretionary involvement is widespread. If discretionary time is widespread, it blunts somewhat the impact of occupational differences in non-work time available.

Transitory Teams

Many social movements in modern society are composed of a small cadre and an amorphous though not unstructured collection of sympathizers and supporters. The existence of discretionary time and the increasing incomes of sympathizers make it possible for groups to be mobilized at relatively low cost for short periods of time. Students and professionals are especially available for such activities. The inability of

sympathetic individuals from other occupational groups to participate in the recent anti-war moratoria illustrates these variations in constraints. Ad hoc committees are created, newspaper ads are financed, protests are arranged by groups of people with previous experience in organizational activity (reducing experience costs) who come together for specific events and maintain only loose ties after the event. Full-time organizers and cadres may relate to these groups, but these relations, too, may be transitory.

It is probably the case that social movements have always built upon transitory teams. Only the medieval Crusades, revolutionary wars, and full-time conspiratorial social movement organizations dispense with transitory teams. The difference is that the relative coordination costs have gone down as discretionary income and time have increased and as experience with many organizations has increased. As the skills for mobilizing groups (whether the Boy Scouts or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) become widespread, as people have money for travel or for taking out ads in newspapers, and as they have some free time to do what they wish, transitory teams are easily mounted.

In this part we have examined trends in modern society that would make available individual time and money to social movements. The idea that an increase in leisure time in general has recently made available more time for participation by individuals has been rejected. On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that changes in American society have encouraged individual participation in three basic ways: (1) An increase in per capita income permits individuals to contribute money and join organizations that are compatible with their values; (2) Student life in an affluent society permits a life style and a network of contacts conducive to social movement involvement; (3) An increase in professional and managerial jobs leads to many more people being able to arrange their time schedules to participate episodically.

The data have not shown directly that individuals actually do use time for movement participation. For instance, it would be possible to use discretionary time or money for flower growing as well as social participation. Only the data in table 5 directly bear on the question of middle-class participation in political and public regarding activities. Although the middle-class participates more than any other class in public-regarding activity, it is more likely to participate in cultural and other activities, as well.

The next section shows that the basic structure of institutions and careers has been changing in such a way as to facilitate an efflorescence of social movement activity.

Institutional Funding and Career Supports

The 1960s was a period of increased social movement activity. It was also a period in which institutional support for social movement organizations became increasingly available and in which life careers in movements were more and more likely to be combined with established professional roles. Organizations not usually thought of as social movement supporters—e.g., foundations, churches, business corporations—began to support social movement activities. At the same time established professions and government itself became bases for social movement activity.

Church and Foundation Support

Although charitable trusts and foundations are not unique to the United States, they have been encouraged to a greater extent here than elsewhere. The structure of estate tax laws had led capitalists to establish foundations. Foundations date back to the nineteenth century, and by 1967 there were some 18,000 of them. The major growth of foundations has come since 1940, however. Information gathered in 1962 about the establishment of foundations with assets over $100,000 shows that most of the foundations (88 percent) had come into existence since 1940 (*U.S. Treasury Department Report on Private Foundations* 1965, p. 82). It is also apparent that the larger foundations were, by and large, founded before 1950.

More important than the sheer number of foundations is the growth in foundation assets. The growth in assets determines the ability of foundations to support voluntary organizations, including social movements. The massive increase (approximately 1500 percent) in total assets of foundations between 1930 and 1962 has become a fertile source of social movement support.

The major purpose of foundations is to support worthy causes. Worthy causes are very broadly defined, from feeding the hungry to supporting the studies of scholars. Their assets are not supposed to be used for the personal benefit of the founding contributors or their families, nor can they be used to finance political campaigns (although they are explicitly allowed to participate in voter registration campaigns), nor can they support illegal activities, such as blowing up banks, nor can they be used to finance profit-making activities. Beyond these restrictions their scope is wide.

How have foundations actually expended their funds? We have coded all grants listed in the *Foundation News* over the period 1963–1970. Because this source reports items by three categories on a rotating basis, our data actually reflect many grants given as much as one year earlier. Also it lists only grants of $10,000 or more and only those of which they are notified. We suspect that this evidence reflects the grants of the larger foundations more than the smaller ones. (It may also under-report a rise in social movement grants, which may not be publicized. We were informed of a large foundation grant of $60,000 to the first 1969 anti-war moratorium in Washington. We have not been able to trace this grant in published sources.)

This evidence shows an increase from $315 million to $677 million in foundation grants from 1962–1969. It also shows that education and international activities began to receive less support by the end of the decade. One must keep in mind that the apparent pattern may not reflect long range trends, for they can be influenced by the year to year activities of single organizations (e.g., the Ford Foundation). The growth of social participation grants—for instance, grants to community groups working on open-housing legislation, and sometimes directly to major social movement organizations such as NAACP, CORE, SNCC, or the Sierra Club—is dramatic. These grants made up 1.1 percent ($3.7 million) of total reported grants in 1962 and 8.1 percent ($54.9 million) of such grants in 1969. The increases were especially large in the areas of race relations, urban problems, and poverty problems.

While it is difficult with these data to demonstrate the exact increase that is allocated to social movement organizations, our point is clear. Foundations have become an important factor in the funding of social movements.

At the same time that foundations have become increasingly involved in social movement funding, so, too, have churches. The involvement of the Northern liberal clergy in social action is well known and documented [see, for instance Hadden 1969]. It is not a new phenomenon. What appears a new departure are trends in social action related projects for three of the *more conservative* Protestant churches, the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Baptist Convention, and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Attention to the 1963–1969 period for these churches shows social action allocations increasing from $265,000 to $785,000. There is no question that evidence from the more liberal denominations would reveal an even more dramatic picture, both in terms of the absolute amount of money involved and the rates of increase. Again, the evidence does not directly demonstrate increased funding of social movements, but it strongly suggests dramatic increases in the possibilities of such funding.

Government Funding of Social Movements

The government itself has been involved in the business of supporting social movement organizations. While the federal government may be rapidly withdrawing such support, it is clear that its support was crucial in the latter half of the 1960s. Such support has been both direct and indirect. In terms of direct support the Community Action Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity have been most important, as have been some of the Model Cities Agencies. Other programs such as Volunteers in Service to America (Vista) and the legal service program for the poor indirectly have funded social movement staff. These programs provided the financial resources to support large staffs for social movement organizations at the local level. Many such organizations have had few members, though they have tried to cultivate the notion that they represent the interests (or desires) of a large group of citizens. The federal government's withdrawal from the encouragement and funding of these community movements is well documented [see Donovan 1970].

The government also has funded social movement activities indirectly. Groups such as the National Welfare Rights Organization have been given program grants for manpower training programs and adult education. Although the funds are not directly for social movement activity, they provide a sustenance basis for a social movement cadre. Moreover, whenever the government funds a program whose staff are likely to have strong commitments to social movement purposes, discretionary time and limited surveillance may lead to a situation in which government resources are diverted to social movement purposes. Mimeograph machines, meeting rooms, postage, and consultation by staff are available for allocation to groups and purposes related to, but formally outside of, agency goals [Gilbert 1970].

Finally, there is a third and even more indirect way that government programs create social movement participation. By requiring bureaucratic consultation with citizen "representatives" on an ad hoc or permanent basis, these programs create a visible focus for the aggregation and articulation of grievances. In some cases government programs create funded citizens groups. Even when operating program facilities and funds are not allocated for citizens groups, a program contingent upon consultation creates the opportunity for social movement activity and the emergence of leaders.[8]

8. Note that the political trials of the Nixon Administration have served a similar function. Several observers have remarked that there was no conspiracy in 1968, but there was after the trial.

The increasing support of social movement activity by foundations, the churches, government, and individual donation has led, we believe, to a massive increase in "funded social movement organizations." Most of these organizations employ staff with varying degrees of commitment to movement goals.

Managerial and Staff Personnel

Traditionally three lines of analysis have dominated thinking about the origins of the leadership and staff of social movements. First, leaders might be charismatic members of the suffering group who have emerged to articulate group needs. Second, intellectual leaders emerge from different backgrounds and, by reason of personality and specific experience, come to identify with the oppressed or deprived groups. A third perspective is that as movements become routinized and oligarchical, leaders become more and more distant from the group whose interests they presumably represent.

None of these lines of analysis allows us to address the possibility of an institutionalization of social movement staff careers independent of specific movement organizations. Yet the changed funding patterns we have discussed have caused and have been accompanied by a change in the structure of staff careers and of career aspirations that facilitate the staffing of social movements, on a part-time basis, for interim periods, and for life careers.

Part-time Participation

Many corporations have traditionally encouraged their executive personnel to participate in community activities. Indeed, successful participation in community activities has been weighted into the criteria of evaluation for promotion [Ross 1954]. Moreover, lawyers and other professionals have often offered services free of charge. More and more corporations are encouraging participation in reforming organizations, as compared to the previous involvement in consensus philanthropic activities such as the YMCA, the local hospital board, or the Red Feather Drive. Business corporations have increasingly become "involved" both by direct financial support and staff involvement.

Jules Cohen reports an interview study of 247 of *Fortune* magazine's top 500 firms [1970]. He found that 201, or 81 per cent, of the firms had some type of program for social action. Only four of these programs were operating in 1965.

The programs focused on the "urban crises," which business saw as black ghettos, enclaves of poverty, unemployment, under-employment, and racial ten-

sion. The average amount granted by these corporations to local and national groups was $175,000 each year. The study found that the organizations benefiting most from increased or redirected funding were the Urban Coalition, National Alliance of Businessmen, NAACP, United Negro College Fund, and Urban League. Twenty-five per cent of the firms had added one of the last three to its donation list since 1967. Only three first contributed to CORE, SNCC, or the National Welfare Rights Organization, which businessmen considered to be more militant. Twenty percent of the firms indicated making a special effort to contribute to local grass-roots self-help programs. One San Francisco executive's feelings were, "Let's contribute neighborhood-wise and avoid the kind of demonstrations that have hurt a few competitors." Twenty-seven companies indicated that they had sought out community groups to ask if they would accept donations.

Such funding reflects the behavior of the churches and foundations, but of particular importance here is the donation of staff time. Twenty-five percent of the firms studied donated staff and facilities under their programs. Many had one or more executives on a community board, working with Urban Coalition, advising on an anti-poverty council, working with the Model Cities program, or helping black businessmen with management problems. Some teach and others lead youth groups. About 40 percent of the companies encouraged their staff to help with community programs, and half of these firms allowed this work to be on company time. With some exceptions, community based firms that need good local community relations tend more uniformly to make donations and be involved in community activities.

Whether businesses continue to donate personnel and money and have special training and hiring programs is partly dependent upon the incentives for doing so—the perception of success, the encouragement and tax benefits offered by government, and the like. One of the benefits accruing to some businesses will be their ability to attract managerial talent, though the relative tightness of the labor market ought to reduce such competition for talent. For instance, *Business Week* (March 1970, p. 107) reports that a group of graduate students at Stanford Business School had established an evaluation of what corporations were doing about social problems. Some students said they would consult the list before joining the firm.

It may seem fanciful to believe that corporate participation in social problems would be a major determinant of job choice of business school graduates, but it is less fanciful to believe that law students will take such considerations seriously. A report in *Fortune* [Zalaznick 1969] indicates that young lawyers joining elite firms not only expect to be allowed to spend one paid day a week on social problem law, but they expect their senior partners to donate their efforts as well. Assuming (1) continuing concern with causes related to social movements and (2) a scarcity of top talent, corporations and law firms can expect to continue to be pressed for movement involvement and to continue to provide some part-time staff personnel to such movements.

Though we do not have figures demonstrating increases in the allocations of church personnel to social movement activity, we suspect that this institutional sector has increased such allocations. The recent heavy involvement of priests and nuns in both full and part-time capacities in movement-related activity, sometimes through church projects and sometimes through the outright allocation of personnel, has been much noted. Churches may face the same problem that law firms and corporations have had to face: The continued recruitment and retention of top talent may require more and more willingness to allow issue action on both a temporary and full-time basis.

Temporary Full-time Positions

A number of programs and positions have recently been developed in which individuals devote temporary periods up to two years to worthy causes. These programs include alternatives to military service, VISTA, and the Peace Corps. The goals of these programs do not require their participants to be activists, but their goals are often compatible with activist persuasions. Furthermore, the positions are often turned into activist adjuncts. It is our impression that many sponsoring local organizations maintain only loose control over these assignees, possibly because the organizations receive these services gratis. Two examples we have observed: (1) a technician fulfilling his alternative service in a local hospital who is allowed to arrange his job schedule around his major commitment: fighting urban renewal and pollution; (2) a conscientious objector fulfilling his alternative service with the Unitarian-Universalist church who is assigned full-time to a social movement organization working against "repressive legislation." The importance of such programs and positions is twofold. On the one hand, the positions swell the cadres of social movements (by some admittedly unknown factor). As important, the program becomes a mechanism for reinforcing the values and life commitments of participants.

VISTA had over 4,000 volunteers in the field in late 1970 and some 48 percent of those who had been enrolled for one year extended their stays, reenrolling for another year. A large proportion of VISTA alumni

go into the helping professions or back to collegiate education. VISTA claims that, of those returning to school, roughly half participate in part-time volunteer work.

These temporary programs, as well as the many volunteer programs of universities, are important not only because they organize a large pool of manpower for current social movement participation but because they are a reinforcing and channeling mechanism for young adults whose unease with American society has not formed into specific career choices and political ideologies. We suspect that such programs serve as a training ground for those who would make social movement activity a life career, while at the same time suggesting the possibility of such careers.

The many possibilities available for these temporary and part-time careers is reflected in a perusal of any issue of *Vocations for Social Change*.[9] Published bimonthly by a California commune, *Vocations* lists a wide variety of staff and line positions open in community and national organizations. The following sample of positions was advertised in a recent issue:

> A community-elected corporation needs a program planner director.
>
> SUDCIC (Syracuse University Draft Counseling and Information Center) is presently looking for a full-time *draft counselor* to run their draft counseling center at Syracuse U.;
>
> The World Without War Council has opening in the peace intern program . . . ;
>
> American Friends Service Committee . . . *Interns* work in teams of two in specific communities in the New York City area . . . Salary is $4500 per year. [*Vocations for Social Change* 1970]

This institutionalization of employment information for social movement organizations probably will become more widespread, unless traditional channels of employment information step in to meet the demand for such service.

Full-time Careers

Although the growth of university ghetto subculture, the emergence of communal living, and the growth of temporary programs such as VISTA all contribute to a manpower pool available for social movement activities, they do not reflect what may be the major change influencing the careers of social movement leadership: the growing institutionalization of dissent.

Briefly stated, as a result of the massive growth in funding, it has become possible for a larger number of professionals to earn a respectable income committing themselves full-time to activities related to social

9. V.S.C., Inc., Box 13, Canyon, California 94516.

movements. To put this proposition in perspective, contrast the situation today with the 1930s. Then the liberal or radical college student could attempt to enter the labor movement (e.g., Walter Reuther), become a labor lawyer, or join a government agency. The labor question was the major social movement issue. We suspect that the actual number of college graduates joining the labor movement was really quite small. The Walter Reuthers were rare exceptions. To become a full-time advocate of social change, saintliness was required and vows of poverty would have only reflected reality.

We are not the first, however, to identify the growth in such career opportunities in post–World War II America. Wilensky [1956, 1964] has called attention to the "program professional," who is a highly competent expert in a particular social policy such as public assistance or race relations. This professional moves in and out of government agencies, private agencies, community organizations, foundations, and universities. His commitment is to specific programs and policies rather than to any specific organization. Program professionals have been able to pursue successfully such careers for some time. It is the recently expanding opportunities for such careers that we wish to note here.

A number of relatively well-financed occupations that support such social change commitments have emerged in modern America. Within law, poverty law, consumer law, and civil rights law have each developed substantial funding claims. While most of the efforts of these lawyers are devoted to specific cases, an important part of these agencies' functioning involves making visible social problems and changing the structure and operation of government. These lawyers have helped organize community action groups, consumer cooperatives, housing groups, and so on. The annual budget for legal services (OEO) for instance, increased from $25 million in 1966 to $42 million in 1969. In 1967, 1200 lawyers were employed by this program [Levitan 1969]; there were roughly 2,000 in 1969. Possibly more important than the numbers of lawyers are their educational backgrounds. Leading law schools find that their best students are the most committed to activism.

Similar processes have occurred in the social work profession. Historically social work has consisted of three major branches: community organization, casework, and group work. Other subdivisions, sometimes cross-cutting the above, are administration and medical social work, psychiatric casework, and so on. Community organization, however, has not always attached itself to social change functions. It has been related predominantly to both community fund raising and inter-agency coordination. Social workers have traditionally been sympathetic to reform movements,

but the structure of job opportunities has meant that public assistance casework has been the dominant job category [Wilensky and Lebeaux 1965]. In 1950, for instance, only 4 percent of American social workers were categorized as primarily involved in community organization [U.S. Department of Labor 1951]. Even in 1956 only 2.5 percent of the graduates of two-year schools in social work were placed in community organization positions [*Statistics on Social Work Education* 1956].

But in the 1960s, community organization was increasingly seen as a viable professional route to social change if one observes the recent trend in community organization enrollments in schools of social work. Whether you use a narrow or broad definition of community organization practitioners, between 1965 and 1969 there was well over a 300 percent absolute increase and a 200 percent relative increase in the yearly supply of community organization practitioners graduating with masters degrees in social work [*Statistics on Social Work Education* 1965–1969, tables 254, 255]. When finished with their training these professionals might be employed in OEO Community Action Programs, Model Cities planning agencies, foundation-funded neighborhood projects, job training programs, community-based delinquency programs, and the like. In one case with which we are familiar, a white community organizer with a bachelor's degree from an Ivy League school became the business advisor to the Vice Lords, a confederation of black youth gangs in Chicago.

Besides legal and community organization positions related to social movements, a variety of consulting organizations and established social action agencies have provided career options to activists. For example, an ex-Unitarian minister may become an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) development officer, an urban church may set up a community development center, a group of black college graduates may form a consulting firm to advise Model Cities groups and business corporations. It is impossible to estimate the number of positions involved. Many of these consulting firms seem to be short-lived, lasting a year or two at best.

We have investigated one source of evidence that may reflect this trend, though it is frought with problems: staffing trends in different types of national non-profit organizations listed in Gales' *Encyclopedia of Associations* [1964, 1969].[10] The major measurement problem here is that some of the movement organiza-

tions with which we are most concerned appear to be underreported in these volumes. Only national organizations are reported and short-lived ones do not appear. We, therefore, would expect this source to underestimate any trend. Nevertheless, the evidence is instructive in two respects. First, besides the category of associations we have termed task-related,[11] the public affairs and the health, education and welfare categories seem to be growing at the greatest rate in terms of absolute numbers of organizations. Second, the health, education and welfare category exhibits a dramatic increase in average staff size, a far greater increase than in any other category. Those categories that are most likely to reflect social cause organizational proliferation show above-average increases in both number of organizations and staff size. Of course, not all staff in the social issue-related associations are social movement activists. Many are clerks, secretaries, and bookkeepers with only minimal attachment to organizational goals. In spite of their problematic nature, however, these data reveal a rather substantial growth in the absolute number of organization staff positions. This trend supports our observation that it is becoming increasingly possible for a committed individual to carve out a career of social issue-related movement leadership without financial sacrifice. Further, as these staff positions multiply, the necessity of linking a career to a single movement or organization is reduced.

Let us summarize our reasoning to this point. We have accepted the observation of an appearance of dramatic increases in socio-political and social movement activity. Though no dramatic increase in the level of time and energy participation among the general citizenry is apparent—the phenomenon, if it exists, is not *general*—we have continued to search for a way of accounting for appearances. We have looked at students and professionals in this light and concluded that they are relatively free for bursts of participation in the short run, whether or not they have increasing amounts of leisure time available in the long run. Finally, we have looked into the flow of resources from several large sectors of the society, especially the foundations, organized religion, and the affluent classes through discretionary personal income and concluded that there has been a dramatic increase in both the direct and indirect flow of such resources to social movement organizations. This state of affairs has increased the possibility of both short and long range careers as social movement organization leaders.

To this point we have focused primarily upon changes in individual and institutional support for the growth of social movement organizations. In the following section we focus upon the way in which these changes influence modern social movements and the

10. The first edition of this encyclopedia was published in 1959. It seemed clear to us that the 1959 volume was quite incomplete as a result of non-reporting of organizations. The 1964 edition appeared to reflect more comprehensive coverage, so we examined the 1965–69 time period rather than the 1959–69 period, which we would have preferred.

11. Horticulture, Hobby and Avocational, and Athletic.

applicability of the classical model of social movements to the changed circumstances.

The Classical Model and Modern Social Movements

Scholars as disparate in conceptual focus as Smelser [1963], Turner and Killian [1957], and Zald and Ash [1966] have shared certain assumptions about the nature of social movements. These assumptions about motivations to participate, the conditions favoring group formation, and the natural history of movements, we label the classical model. This model is classical in two senses: It summarizes a long tradition, and it is now seriously out of date

Traditional analysis of social movement organizations begins with (1) an analysis of a class, category, or group of individuals who have a common grievance or who are subject to common strains. Indeed, without such a mass the classical model could hardly conceive of a social movement taking form. The mere existence of a social category with a common grievance, however, does not determine the birth of a social movement. (2) Communication among the members of the group is seen as crucial to later common effort. (3) Environmental factors impinge upon the group, molding the possibilities for effective communication of common grievances and the possibilities for group action. Literacy, residential patterns, the structure of working conditions, discontinuities in personal experience, and the existence of charismatic leaders are a few of the conditions that are important in determining the likelihood of communications and its effectiveness in mobilizing the members [Burks 1961, Street and Leggett 1961]. (4) If communication is more or less effective, the group is more likely to take some concerted action to rectify the grievances. (5) In the early stages, however, the classical model teaches us to expect ill-organized, somewhat random responses designed to redress grievances. (6) Only after a well-defined leadership emerges do we find well-defined group action. (7) As emergent leaders confront the common problems of the group, they help to define them and devise explanations for their occurrence—i.e., they develop an ideology. The ideology helps to direct action toward specific targets and helps the leadership define legitimate organizational forms designed to make efficient use of the mass base.

Such an image of the genesis and development of social movement organizations makes several other assumptions, often implicit, which must be brought to the fore. (8) The membership or mass base provides the resources—money and manpower—that allow the movement to survive and carry out its program. Financial resources are needed to support the propaganda apparatus of the movement, to support organizers and

leaders, and to procure equipment—from mimeograph machines to arms. The mass base may or may not provide manpower for the program of redress; often it does not provide the leadership cadres, but it must provide manpower for cells, and an army and the mass must be mobilizable for demonstrations and electoral participation.

(9) The size and intensity of social movement organizations is thought to reflect the existence or nonexistence of grievances that must be dealt with by the political leadership of the society in question. (10) Once the problems that formed the initial basis for concerted action have been solved, the mass base will be satiated, and the movement may disappear since the grievances upon which it was based have disappeared. Or, as more frequently happens, such a movement is transformed and institutionalized. Following the work of Weber [1947] and Michels [1949] modern analysis of social movements has been heavily focused upon such processes of institutionalization and the implications of such changes for goals, tactics, and the internal structure of movements.

An important characteristic of this model prior to transformation and institutionalization is its focus upon the psychological state of the member or potential member attempting to account for his motives for involvement. "Tension," "frustration," and "relative deprivation" are key terms in such an account. Even as the interdependence of the movement with environmental forces beyond its support base are analyzed, the psychological state of the support base remains crucial [Zald and Ash 1966]. (11) The leadership of the movement must be sensitive to the membership as well. Since its ability to mobilize resources and energies for concerted action depends upon the feelings of the membership, its existence as a leadership presumably depends upon its ability to sense the membership's needs.

The utility of this model for the analysis of some movements cannot be questioned. However, for reasons related to the argument above, we believe that it does not accurately describe the genesis of many modern movements. Nor does it seem to present a valid picture of the genesis of many earlier movements.

The limits of the classical model can best be demonstrated by illustrating how leaders of many modern movements operate independently of a membership during the earliest stages of organizational growth. We will then examine an alternative model, the professional movement model, and document instances where it is applicable.

The Declining Functions of the Membership Base

To repeat, in the classical model the membership base provides money, voluntary manpower, and

leadership. Modern movements can increasingly find these resources outside of self-interested memberships concerned with personally held grievances. Of course, membership base and beneficiary base (those who will personally benefit from movement success) have never been necessarily synonymous with movement organizations, though the classical model's stress upon self-interested action has tended to obscure this point. Early civil rights organizations, for instance, were heavily peopled by whites, while the prime beneficiaries of any successful civil rights action were black. One must remember this distinction in what follows, since we will argue both that the likelihood of disjunction between movement organizations and beneficiary bases has increased and that the meaning of membership for many movement organizations has been altered by the trends we have reviewed above.[12]

The Separation of Funding and Leaders from the Base

Due to the funding patterns described in the last part, it is increasingly possible that the financial support for a movement organization could be totally separate from its presumed beneficiaries. Consequently the base lacks any control over the leadership of the movement organization. The separation of funding from base probably increases the likelihood that the movement organization will survive beneficiary satiation. We would expect a movement organization leadership to have an interest in preserving the organization even after the aggrieved group has been satisfied.[13] If base and resources are sharply separated, the organization may survive without serious attempts to redefine its goals. (If the movement organization is funded by foundations, churches, and donors external to the presumed beneficiaries, leaders, in lieu of goal transformation, may have to renew their moral credentials in the eyes of their financial supporters. A leader with unimpeachable dedication to cause does not have to resort to exotic means of demonstrating

his leadership position. But where the leader has primarily emerged in a situation of separation between funding and beneficiary base demonstration of credentials can take bizarre forms.)

Gordon Tullock [1966] has argued that the "efficient" altruistic agency is one that uses its resources to maximize donor utility. If the agency uses any funds to actually alleviate problems of the population, it does so only to insure credibility in the "eyes" of the donors. For instance, since donors cannot observe their largesse being given to the starving children of Pakistan, the most important product is before-after photographs (even if made in a New York studio). Tullock's cynical argument makes an important point: The growth and maintenance of organizations whose formal goals are aimed at helping one population but who depend on a different population for funding is ultimately more dependent upon the latter than the former. Outside financial support, indeed, means that a membership in the classical sense is almost dispensable. Outside funding allows a leadership to replace volunteer manpower drawn from the base with paid staff members chosen upon criteria of skills and experience.

Mass Media and Movement Organizations

Though we will not treat the use of mass media by modern movement organizations in any systematic detail here, we must mention several characteristics of this important fact of movement organization behavior. Since the invention of printing and the growth of widespread literacy, social movement organizations have employed mass communications to build membership commitment, to garner support for movement goals, and to influence decision makers. The advent of photogravure was an important development allowing the widespread portrayal of human suffering to viewers with no direct experience of distant events. Early efforts were restricted to pamphlets and newspaper coverage, but the modern era has seen the near-universal availability of radio and television. The tremendous communication potential of these new forms cannot be controlled directly by movement organizations in the same way that pamphlet content could be controlled. The universality and immediacy of these new forms, however, allow movement organization leaders to attempt to manipulate images of social problems with far greater impact. As well, these forms permit the mobilization of sentiment without direct personal contact. It is thus possible for a well-financed movement organization to parlay a group's grievances into the appearance of seething discontent while bypassing the political processes of the classical model.

In the classical model the size and the amount of activity of a movement and its corresponding move-

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12. We may overstate the meaning of membership for the classical model. The often hazy distinction between social movement and social movement organization in this literature may cloud an understanding of the term membership. Certainly much of the individual behavior discussed within the framework of the classical model is episodic, exhibiting only minimal commitment. Traditional analysis appears to assume that the only qualification for membership in a social movement is sentiment sympathy. Organizational membership seems to be another matter but, as we will argue, may require no more.

13. See David L. Sills [1957] for an illustration of this process, normally termed goal succession, for The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Success in eradicating infantile paralysis required the development of new goals to justify continued organizational life.

ment organizations are presumably a tip-off to a political elite that some action on its part is necessary, be it repressive or ameliorative. Size and amount of activity are likely to energize what Lipsky [1968] calls *reference publics* of elite decision makers—those groups to whom the decision makers are most sensitive. If these publics can be convinced of widespread grievances, they may act on elite decision makers directly in favor of the goals of the movement. But the public's perception of a movement's intensity of action may reflect media coverage rather than the actual membership strength or the scope and intensity of grievances. A movement may *appear* to command a large membership in the classical sense, while in fact the membership may be nonexistent or exist only on paper. If such a state of affairs can mobilize reference publics sympathetic to movement goals, we may speak of manipulating the elite's perception of the necessity for action.

Attempts to manipulate elite perceptions of the necessity of action occur in two stages. The first addresses sectors of the elite who are most involved in funding movement organizations. Such financial support depends upon a perception by some funding source of a disparity between present reality and the proper state of the world. Once funding is secure, the movement organization can focus upon imparting this same sense of disparity to political decision makers and their reference publics. (Though these two stages can be separated analytically, in practice they are not always distinct.)

Television is well suited to portraying disparities between real and ideal conditions. First, few American homes today lack at least one television set. In 1969 95 percent of American homes had a television set [*Final Report of the National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence* 1970]. Second, the scope of coverage and the immediacy of dissemination mean that events in any area of the nation are directly observable. Occurrences on the streets in Selma, Alabama, and Roxbury, Massachusetts—indeed, anywhere on the globe—can be seen almost as they happen. This would not necessarily affect perceptions of real-ideal disparities, since coverage could be restricted to tornadoes, murders, religious observances, and the latest in clothing styles; but for one reason or another social movement activity based on real-ideal disparities receives extensive coverage on television—this material is good copy. Television has clearly created new opportunities for social movement leaders [Hubbard 1968]. By knowing which events make good television copy, movement organization leaders have used the medium to create the impression of widespread activity and grievance.

Many recent movement leaders have utilized the media in this manner. For instance, Stokely Carmichael, who during his "Black Power" phase was always good copy, received widespread coverage. The impression he clearly sought to impart was "spokesman for the American black community." The movement that he headed at the time, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), never possessed a large membership and did not attempt to recruit one [Zinn 1964]. Further, the majority of a representative sample of black respondents apparently did not approve or were unaware of Carmichael's views [Marx 1967]. But by becoming good copy Carmichael was able to gain extensive coverage and therefore appear to be speaking for a broad constituency. Of course, elites and authorities are sophisticated; they listen to the folks back home, read their mail, keep an ear open to their constituencies [Lindblom 1968]. Thus, television by itself hardly *controls* the images that elites perceive. It may have more effect upon elites indirectly through reference publics.

But at the same time that television communicates an impression of the state of the world to elite and policy makers, it also affects social movement mass support and opposition. Involvement, pro or con, becomes less dependent upon personal experience and immediate situational context and more dependent upon image and impression, which are, in great part, filtered *through* the medium. At the same time that the media shape perception, they select the events and problems to be defined [Warner 1971]. What a radical or a college professor believes is *the* problem, the media may reject. The mass media present news and problems that they define as of interest to the masses. It is possible that some issues that *ought* to generate social movements get short-changed in the process.

The Growing Trend to Inclusive Organizations

Because television can involve in a problem people who do not have direct contact with the events or problems, a larger pool of potential supporters is created. (TV news can be seen as advertisements for social causes.) Combined with increasing disposable income and the use of mailed requests for funds, the inclusive form of social movement organization is likely to characterize newly formed organizations.

Some writers, using the classical model of social movement organizations, assume what has been termed exclusive membership. That is, membership is seen as reflecting a strong commitment to the organization as the sole agency for rectifying problems. Inclusive membership, on the other hand, means partial commitment and relatively little in the way of member-