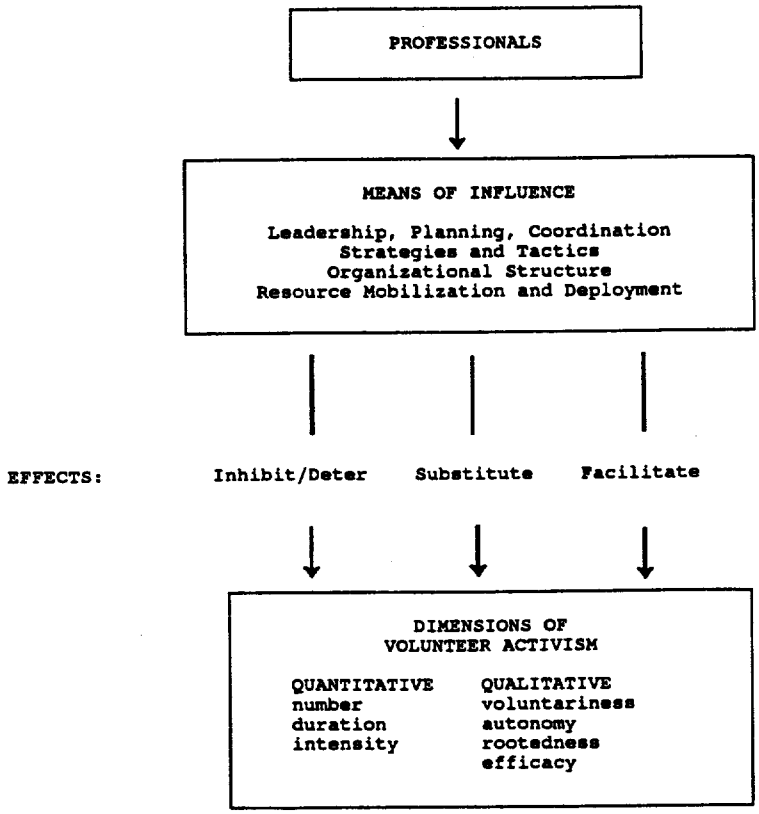

Figure 1 • *Effects of Professionals on Volunteer Activism*

Development and Implementation of Strategies and Tactics

The campaigns' paid staff were instrumental in devising initial campaign strategies and tactics. As the test ban and freeze campaigns progressed, volunteers played an increasing role, but staff remained important. Staff members' actions, of course, are constrained by factors external and internal to movements and organizations, including the structure of political opportunities, the availability of resources and cooptable networks, and dynamic tendencies of movements and organizations. Their preferences and choices are shaped by their purposive, career, and other interests. They are also affected by their goals, values, assessments of strategic options and choices, and the tactical repertoire they draw upon and perhaps change.

The top staff of the EPC believed that public opinion was on their side and that an intensive two-year campaign focused on Congress could maintain and strengthen U.S. neutrality. Consequently, EPC strategy, shaped entirely by top staff, did not call for mobilizing large numbers of activists. Sponsoring organizations also were not willing to commit to more than a two-year campaign, but pacifist groups did make available their major donors who contributed large startup funds. Leaders used this money to hire a large staff to conduct most of the work of the campaign — lobbying, publicity, and mobilizing existing networks such as clergy for limited tasks such as public speeches. The basic tactics of the EPC included use of professional lobbyists and publicists and holding local public meetings, many featuring prominent

speakers on national tour. These strategies and tactics involved the substitution of professional staff, supported by outside resources, for volunteer activism. Consequently the amount and intensity of volunteer activism remained below what was probably the potential of the campaign, given the popularity of the issue and other favorable factors including some elite support. The EPC did, however, mobilize a group of quasi-volunteers to help implement the Campaign's professional-style tactics.

The test ban leaders had fewer initial resources available and a less-favorable political climate, one still shaped by McCarthyism and the cold war. They planned a campaign based mainly on high-level lobbying and some publicity to generate public pressure. Pacifist leaders added a direct-action protest component to the campaign. The rapid and large grassroots response to the campaign was unexpected, but leaders eventually welcomed and nurtured it, although their resources and grassroots experience were limited and some of them tended toward autocratic leadership.

Freeze leaders began with a local, grassroots strategy, believing that national policy could not be reformed from the inside or by quiet lobbying. Many were influenced, directly or indirectly, by the participation ethic of social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. They started with some money for paid staff and an extensive local network of movement and religious activists. The general strategy of the freeze and its early tactics emphasized the development of this grassroots base and proved quite successful. The campaign was envisioned as a "broad front door"[4] whose moderate goals and loose structure would encourage new activists to enter the peace movement.

The early stages of the NWFC provide a sharp contrast to the EPC's substitution of staff for volunteers. The general strategy, devised by staff members of the major peace organizations along with leading volunteers, centered on widespread grassroots mobilization to pressure first local elites then national elites into supporting a nuclear freeze. The key early tactic, the local referendum, proved instrumental in recruiting and motivating volunteer activists. It was unusual but not unprecedented to place matters of foreign and military policy on local ballots. This tactic was introduced to the campaign by a staff person, Randy Kehler. Kehler, who was appointed the first National Coordinator of the NWFC in 1981, had been a draft resister in the Vietnam era (when some local ballot campaigns occurred) and then a staff member of the Traprock Peace Center in western Massachusetts. In 1980 Kehler ran a freeze referendum campaign that passed in 59 of 62 towns in the region despite simultaneous support for Ronald Reagan's successful run for the presidency. This victory for the freeze campaign was one of the few bright spots in the 1980 election for peace and other progressive activists, and helped to attract volunteers who replicated the campaign in their own communities. In Lofland's (1992) terms, the referendum victory was a key focusing event that contributed to the escalation of the citizen surge of the freeze campaign. Freeze campaign strategy and tactics helped raise the number of volunteer activists and the intensity of their work — early successes inspired people to work on their own local efforts. Many of them worked quite intensively until and beyond when the referenda passed.

The grassroots strategy and tactics of the NWFC also increased the rootedness, autonomy, and efficacy of volunteer activism. National staff and leaders encouraged autonomy, stressing to local activists the need to adapt referenda appeals and campaigns to the specificities of local conditions. By working on the local campaigns, activists broadened and deepened existing networks and established new ones, building community roots. They also became, at least temporarily, effective political actors, passing resolutions and referenda and influencing local elites.

4. Ben Senturia (former Political Director, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign), June 20 and July 2, 1991, telephone interview.

Organizational Structure

Organizational dynamics are complex and often reflect tendencies such as those described by Weber and Michels toward bureaucracy and oligarchy. Nevertheless, actors may shape organizational structure, especially at key junctures that help determine future trajectories (Aminzade 1992). This structure, in turn, influences the opportunities for volunteer activism and its shape, scope, and duration.

The campaign organizations were mobilizing structures intended to help maximize rapidly the amount and intensity of peace activism, whether professional or volunteer. The EPC, because of strategy, organizational rivalries, and political differences, was created as a top-down organization with little room for local initiative. Leaders planned the campaign as a fast, emergency mobilization with no time for local base-building. Pacifists feared creating an organizational rival with a greater potential constituency than that for pacifism, while internationalists were ambivalent about neutrality and did not want to create a permanent lobby for it. Consequently, top staff, all of whom remained on the payrolls of their respective core organizations, retained control of the EPC and dissolved it even before its planned two-year run.

The centralized structure of the EPC, with a strong national office, several regional offices, and local contacts whose work was tightly coordinated by these offices, did allow national staff to reach into many communities without having to mobilize large numbers of volunteer activists. This structure did not encourage an increase in volunteer activism in any variable except possibly efficacy, which may have increased because of greater coordination and concentration (although some EPC leaders doubted even that outcome).

SANE and the NWFC experienced organizational trajectories similar to each other but on different scales. Both began as loose networks of local activists coordinated by a national office. SANE actually started as only a national office but quickly developed a local network when activists, some of whom had already started local organizing, responded to early publicity. The loose structure of the NWFC was deliberately designed to accommodate and encourage a quick increase in local volunteer activism. Local activists were encouraged to identify with the NWFC and to draw on its national visibility, but were not burdened with formal affiliation processes or dues. Local volunteer activists contributed to creating this weak federation by resisting any tendencies or efforts toward even moderate levels of hierarchy and centralization. Some local groups did contribute funds to the clearinghouse but others either could not or would not. They enjoyed the advantages of affiliation without bearing the burdens which Oliver and Furman (1990) suggest puts local chapters of federated organizations at a disadvantage relative to freestanding local organizations.

Both SANE and the NWFC changed from a network-like structure into a more formally federated organization, mainly because local activists demanded greater participation in the national campaign's decision making and leadership selection. This created tensions between the local activists and the coalition founders. The tensions were resolved in favor of the local activists. Both organizations moved closer to a federated model in which local chapters, rather than founding coalition members, dominated decision making. The NWFC moved farther in this direction. The NWFC's leaders were more democratically oriented than were those of SANE and its local activists were more numerous.

The federated structures of both SANE and the Freeze seem to have encouraged the growth (in numbers and intensity) of volunteer activism and its rootedness in local communities. This is similar to the findings of Barkan, Whitaker, and Cohn (1988) that activists in a federated organization were more likely to feel strong commitment to a cause and to participate than were activists in isolated organizations. Running local chapters required that at least some volunteers develop new skills that may have contributed to increased efficacy of activism. Federation also appears to have helped extend the duration of volunteer activism, as hypothesized by McCarthy and Zald (1977). They argue that federated structures are more

stable than isolated ones because of the ties formed among local volunteer activists. Even after the national offices of SANE and the Freeze were in decline, many local chapters remained strong and even grew in number of volunteer (and, in the Freeze, paid) activists. In contrast, when the national office of the EPC, an isolated organization, closed, so did all the local chapters.

Mobilization and Deployment of Organizational Resources

The peace groups' staff members raised funds to start the campaigns. The EPC had substantial startup funding, raised by a few pacifist staffers who enjoyed the trust of major Quaker donors. The initiators of the test ban and freeze campaigns had a harder time raising money at first. They did put together enough funds and other support from peace groups and elsewhere to hire a small staff and to publicize the campaign.

Outside resources are often but not always spent to hire professionals. Both the EPC and the NWFC national staff had large amounts of outside resources — the EPC from wealthy Quakers at the start of the campaign, the Freeze from foundations and major individual donors after the campaign gained momentum. EPC leaders used the funding in a traditionally professional way, mainly to hire staff at the national and several regional offices. Freeze staff and leaders emphasized nurturing grassroots activism. While some funds were used to hire new staff at the national office, many of these staff were involved in grassroots mobilization. They mailed informational and organizing material to local chapters and worked directly with local leaders by phone and in person. The mobilization and deployment of resources by the national NWFC seemed to encourage volunteer activism in numbers and in efficacy. Once leading Democratic politicians embraced the freeze proposal, however, the national office of the NWFC directed increasing attention to the national arena and devoted fewer resources (money and staff time) to supporting local groups. After the campaign met with key defeats including Reagan's re-election, foundation and major donor funding dried up and the support for local work from the national office further declined. Many locals had established community roots, however, and survived this period.

SANE's patterns of resource mobilization and allocation were similar to those of the NWFC. The national office for a time managed to bring in outside resources and so did not depend on local groups for financial support. In this way both SANE and the NWFC allowed local chapters to flourish, ultimately at the expense of national offices once outside funding declined. This was not a deliberate decision. Both national offices tried to get local chapters to make greater contributions, but neither was able or willing to act against those that did not or could not. Consequently volunteer activism was facilitated along several dimensions including numbers of activists and duration of activism, and, because of the strength of local chapters, rootedness and autonomy. However, while efficacy was at first strengthened by the rise of local chapters, it was also weakened by the decline of the national organizations, which was caused in part by unstable patterns of resource mobilization.

One cause of this instability was dependence on outside resources. SANE relied on small contributions — what Oliver (1983) calls an "external market." These markets operate somewhat like commercial markets. The "producers" — organizations and movements — compete with each other to attract "consumers," but consumer preferences change, often quickly (McCarthy and Zald 1977). SANE always had to struggle to find funding, but after the limited test ban treaty was ratified contributions dried up almost completely.

Both the EPC and the NWFC were less reliant on markets, as they had access to major donors. The EPC began with large contributions from wealthy Quakers, but EPC staff members feared these sponsors would resist any long-term commitment to the EPC on top of existing commitments to the core pacifist organizations. Even though sponsorship came from within the movement, it was not a stable source of funds over the long term. The Freeze,

after its takeoff, received major funding from foundations and individuals not usually part of the peace movement. This created two problems for volunteer activism. Like those coming from external markets of small contributors, the funds from external sponsors were unstable, declining dramatically after 1984. Second, they may have contributed to the campaign's moderation and institutionalization, which led to some demobilization of volunteer activism. This was not a simple effect — outside funds also enabled the NWFC clearinghouse to increase its help to local groups. However, Cockburn and Ridgeway (1983), Meyer (1990) and others argue that elites affiliated with the Democratic Party and with businesses adversely affected by the Reagan administration's policies became important sponsors of the campaign in key states like California, and nationally. They claim that this sponsorship contributed to the NWFC's increasing moderation of demands and focus on institutionalized strategies and tactics, including a de-emphasis on vigorous grassroots activism. This fits a pattern described by Jenkins (1987), who notes that elite sponsorship stems from a variety of motives, including attempts by segments of the elite to weaken rival elites through temporary alliances with movements. Professionals mediate this process by seeking out and attracting outside funding and then deploying it in ways that do not encourage, and may even discourage, volunteer activism.

Nonmaterial resources are also important. Training, mentioned previously, can be considered an intangible resource that staff can provide to volunteers. Training in organizational and political skills has a direct impact on volunteer effectiveness and has indirect effects on other aspects of volunteer activism. When organizations are effective, they are more likely to attract new volunteers, retain old ones, and motivate more intense activism. The EPC did not invest staff time in volunteer training. SANE's small national staff did not include any organizers, but several national staff members spent part of their time working with local groups and leaders on political and organizational skills. NWFC staff emphasized the importance of volunteer training. The organization employed a small organizing staff including two full-time traveling organizers and two clearinghouse-based field coordinators. Plans to expand the field program were frustrated by limited funds and by decisions to expand Washington, D.C. offices to manage Congressional lobbying. Both the NWFC and Freeze Voter, its associated political action committee, offered a variety of training workshops locally and at national meetings. The national organizations also encouraged local chapters to develop connections with other local activists and experts.

Conclusions

The picture of professional-volunteer relations that emerges from this analysis is more complex than that offered by the Weber-Michels oligarchy/bureaucracy model, Piven and Cloward's institutionalization scenario, the McCarthy and Zald substitution argument, or studies that find only substitution or facilitation. In all three campaign organizations, professionals in some ways facilitated volunteer activism in quality, quantity, or both. Peace movement professionals planned and initiated the campaigns, bringing new activists into the peace movement. In the antinuclear campaigns, volunteer activism was substantially autonomous and locally rooted, partly because of the plans and practices of national staff in terms of strategy, tactics, and resource allocation and distribution. However, through various means at different times in the campaigns, paid staff inhibited or helped erode volunteer activism.

The EPC did not bring many new activists into the peace movement, but it did motivate and enable some to increase the intensity of their activism. The quasi-volunteers who worked in the national office were movement activists who took subsistence jobs so that they could work full time for the EPC. Because of a desire to mobilize rapidly and a fear of creating

new organizational rivals, however, staff members constructed a top-down campaign organization that limited volunteer activism in numbers (new activists were not encouraged to join the campaign); autonomy and rootedness (local chapters were discouraged); and duration (the isolated EPC structure made it unlikely that local activism would continue once the national office closed).

Both SANE and the NWFC did mobilize thousands of volunteers new to peace activism, in part because movement professionals seized upon expanding political opportunities, developed campaigns with wide appeal, and mobilized startup resources. The freeze (as both organization and larger campaign) incorporated a much larger grassroots component than did SANE and the test ban campaign for several reasons. Some involve political opportunity and the state of the social movement sector. Some involve the actions of movement professionals. The peace movement professionals who founded and led SANE did not expect to head a grassroots-based campaign or organization and did not quickly adopt or adapt to grassroots-oriented strategies, tactics, or organizational structures once local activism increased. The founders and leaders (staff and volunteer) of the NWFC had a grassroots strategy from the start and they quickly developed facilitating tactics, organizational structures, and resource flows.

In both SANE and the NWFC, however, staff as well as volunteer actions contributed to an organizational structure best described as an incomplete and weak federation. The fragility of these structures was exposed after the campaigns encountered political setbacks. The ensuing organizational problems contributed to a lack of political efficacy that demoralized and demobilized many volunteer activists. Here, staff actions indirectly led to a loss of numbers and a decline in intensity and ultimately duration. They also had similar effects in more direct fashion — SANE's response to red-baiting, the NWFC's willing incorporation into legislative and electoral politics. Note, however that the decline in numbers, intensity, and duration of grassroots activism was not caused by the rise of organizational oligarchy and bureaucracy, as the Weber-Michels model suggests is usually the case. Nor did volunteer activism decline in autonomy, as one would find in this scenario. After the campaigns peaked, local chapters of the NWFC and SANE (to a lesser extent because of chartering arrangements) were still highly autonomous. In both groups, the network of local chapters provided some check on centralization and bureaucratization.

Paid staff also substituted for volunteer activism, most obviously in the highly-professionalized EPC but to some extent with SANE and the NWFC. In each organization, for example, paid staff did much of the research, publicity, and lobbying. These are tasks that are suited to professional skills and work schedules, but they are not always done by professionals. Some organizations lack the funds to hire staff, others believe that grassroots activists are empowered by learning how to research issues, generate publicity, and lobby policymakers, and that they are ultimately more effective than professionals.

Understanding the complexities of volunteer activism and the variety of ways it is affected by professionalism strengthens the claim that it is more useful to talk not of universal laws but of tendencies and alternatives. In discovering and explaining patterns of professional influence on volunteer activism, one must look not just at organizational tendencies and political constraints but also at the plans and practices of professional and volunteer activists.

Discussion

The preceding observations focus on the dynamics of individual SMOs over single cycles of rising and falling mobilization. The analysis can be extended over both space and time. Spatially, the boundaries between different SMOs and between organizations and the non-organizational elements of social movements are often loose. While certain interactions only

occur within organizations, others go beyond. As discussed, the planning and leadership provided by professionals can have facilitating or inhibiting effects on volunteer activism outside of their specific movement organizations and outside of organizations altogether. This did happen in the peace campaigns, most strongly in the freeze campaign. The NWFC was the central organization of the larger nuclear freeze campaign, but activism went far beyond its bounds. The campaign peaked in the mid-1980s with as many as 10 million participants in 6,000 organizations, and still counted a half-million activists in 7,500 groups by the end of the decade (Lofland, Colwell, and Johnson 1990). From 1980 to 1988, more than 5,000 new peace organizations were established in the United States (Colwell 1989). Not all of this activism can be attributed to the actions of staff members of the peace groups and the NWFC, of course, but along with a favorable political opportunity structure and other factors, these actions certainly had some influence.

The effects of professionalism on volunteer activism may extend over time both within and outside of SMOs. As discussed, many studies have shown that whether or not volunteer activists leave a particular organization or movement, there may be long-term effects in their identities, beliefs, skills, networks, and on the larger culture that may lead to or inhibit future activism. Volunteer and quasi-volunteer activists with the EPC formed the core of the postwar generation of pacifists.[5] Many students who left SANE and the Student Peace Union (SPU) became active in civil rights and student movements in the 1960s. The long-term effects of the nuclear freeze campaign, if any, are yet to be seen. In all these cases, the influences of professionals on volunteer activists extend beyond the decline of the specific campaign.

Because these campaigns represent the peacetime peaks of a movement during a fifty-year period, comparative analysis can also identify continuities and changes over time in professional-volunteer relations. Two key changes across the campaign organizations are the quantitative increase in volunteer activism and a qualitative increase in autonomy and rootedness. Changes in the plans and practices of professionals account for some part of these trends. From the EPC to the test ban campaign, the key facilitating changes in professionalism were in a sense negative ones — those aspects of professionalism that inhibited grassroots activism in the EPC were diminished or absent during the test ban campaign. Peace groups in the mid-1950s were simply too weak to sponsor and to tightly control a major campaign, and so movement professionals left the field open to emerging grassroots activists. From the test ban to the freeze, however, the major facilitating change in professionalism was more positive — professionals were more interested in mobilizing grassroots activism.

McCarthy and Zald (1973) were probably right in noting the growth of outside resources and social movement professionals when they observed an increase in PSMOs. However, another set of trends taking place simultaneously may have contributed to the increased vitality of grassroots activism, which, as this and other studies have shown, is not inimical to a rise in professionalism. A key theme found in the civil rights, New Left, women's, antiwar, community organizing, and other movements of the 1960s was the importance of individual empowerment and participation. A generation of activists was strongly influenced by this theme. Some became movement professionals and continued to look for ways to promote grassroots activism. Some wound up in the core peace groups such as the American Friends Service Committee (Fager 1988) and helped shape the NWFC (Price 1990). Others became active in continuing efforts at community organizing, efforts that Boyte (1980) and others claim may slowly lead to major changes in patterns of political participation and efficacy. A growth in movement professionalism does not necessarily produce a decline in grassroots activism; it may even facilitate an increase along several dimensions of volunteer activism.

5. James Mullin (former Assistant Director, Emergency Peace Campaign), May 5, 1989, Iowa City, Iowa, personal communication.

As these comparisons show, the relations between professionals and volunteers are governed not just by resources or political opportunity, but also by the values and strategies of movement professionals. It is important to identify trends in the numbers of movement professionals and the resources available to them. It is equally important to analyze what they do with these resources and why, and with what effects on volunteer activism. All of these analyses will require recognition of both professionalism and volunteer activism as complex, multidimensional phenomena connected by several means of influence.

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