

**Dynamics and Consequences of Movement Campaigns:
Protest and Desegregation in the US South***

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ABSTRACT

Protest and movement activity occurs in the context of campaigns - “temporally bounded and strategically linked series of events and interactions directed at common goals” (Staggenborg and Lecomte 2009, p. 164). However, scholars routinely study events, organizations and participants outside of the context in which events occur and actors mobilize. We argue that the study of movements and conflict more broadly can benefit from conceptualizing and studying protest campaigns systematically. We demonstrate the viability of documenting and comparing campaigns, and we show that this approach can generate new insights into basic conflict processes such as escalation, repression, and impact. In this paper, we make three interrelated contributions. First, we develop a theoretical framework for analyzing movement campaigns. Then, we identify the major methodological implications and the way this approach differs other approaches to studying protest and conflict. Finally, we present findings from our research on civil rights campaigns in Southern cities in the period before the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Specifically, we examine 43 campaigns that occurred during episodes in 10 cities in North Carolina and South Carolina. We focus on the emergence, scope and consequences by using our dataset of local campaigns. Building on this analysis, we argue that there is a modest relationship between structural characteristics (such as the political opportunity structure) of cities and the intensity and scope of local campaigns. Instead, the sequencing of prior episodes matters for the intensity, scope, and elite response to protest.

Civil Rights as a Movement of Movements

In 1963, 500 parents, residents, students and members of North Carolina College's NAACP and CORE chapters picketed East End Elementary School in Durham, North Carolina. The protests followed earlier events where a student at East End lit a fire that destroyed a large part of the school, and, instead of relocating the students at the school, the school board forced students to continue their courses in the less damaged portions of the school. The school board also implemented split sessions and eliminated lunch and recess. School officials informed parents that students would have to do extra homework to make up for the shorter school days, ignoring suggestions that the students be relocated to another school or that they be allowed to share classrooms with white students in a nearby school. Eventually, the school issue was filed as part of a legal motion to reject court-ordered school desegregation.

So how do we understand the escalation of a small school fire into a large protest and eventually a lawsuit? First, we must consider that the events occurred in a series of back and forth interactions between school board officials, movement activists, and other state actors. Second, it is important to consider the other events that occurred around the East End Elementary protest. For example, in the month leading up to the protest, several white employers who, in an earlier period, hired black employees fired them. Simultaneously, students organized a boycott of 16 downtown stores, demanding that store hire at least two blacks to non-menial positions. Eleven of the 16 stores targeted complied with protester demands. We argue that these events along with several others that directly surround them constitute episodes of contention, or what we refer to as campaigns. Despite the different targets of the two protest events, they exist in a continuous period of action and reaction between the Durham civil rights movement and outside actors.

If we move beyond this specific campaign in Durham to think about the broader conflicts unfolding across the South raises. First, why were some more sustained and contentious than others, spilling over across multiple institutions and targets and mobilizing greater numbers of people? Second; how did authorities interact with and respond to movement challenges? These questions emerge from our comparative focus across cities and campaigns.

Our approach differs from popular historical accounts that characterize the civil rights movement as a single, coherent campaign orchestrated by a small number of organizations and leaders. Many social scientists have studied the civil rights movement as if it was a single movement targeting federal changes (Burstein 1985; Burstein 1993; Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone 2003; Meyer and Minkoff 2004; Olzak and Ryo 2007; Santoro 2002). By contrast, other scholars understand the civil rights movement as a 'movement of movements' – comprised of competing goals, purposes, strategies, organizations, and leaders with far more complexity than the dominant narrative allows (Isaac 2008; Luders 2010; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984). To understand this broader movement and movements in general, we examine the emergence, development, and impact of numerous local campaigns. Although the dozens of local histories have been produced since the 1980s, a comparative perspective is lacking.

In this paper, we make three interrelated contributions. First, we develop a theoretical framework for analyzing movement campaigns. Then, we identify the major methodological implications and the way this approach differs other approaches to studying protest and conflict. Finally, we

present findings from our research on civil rights campaigns in Southern cities in the period before the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Protest and movement activity occurs in the context of campaigns - “temporally bounded and strategically linked series of events and interactions directed at common goals” (Staggenborg and Lecomte 2009, p. 164). However, scholars routinely study events, organizations and participants outside of the context in which events occur and actors mobilize. We argue that the study of movements and conflict more broadly can benefit from conceptualizing and studying protest campaigns systematically. We demonstrate the viability of documenting and comparing campaigns, and we show that this approach can generate new insights into basic conflict processes such as escalation, repression, and impact. As defined here, campaigns are more delimited than what scholars typically mean by social movements, which entail many distinct and overlapping campaigns. In fact, we argue that movements are constituted by the occurrence of many campaigns spanning broad territories and over longer time periods. One obstacle for incorporating a campaign-centered perspective into the study of social movements is the lack of clear research strategies which we attempt to address here.

We describe our relational campaign strategy as a complementary approach that addresses key limitations of event catalogs and opens new questions for scholars. Our strategy differs from the dominant strategy for studying conflict by sociologists and political scientists -- the creation of event catalogs derived from news articles or qualitative accounts. Building on the earlier work of William Gamson and Randy Hodson, we develop a new strategy in which campaigns are the primary unit of analysis. We overcome some of the well-known limitations of event catalogs by (1) locating events within a broader campaign and social context, (2) tracing the sequential dynamics of campaigns, (3) documenting the characteristics and behavior of actors in greater detail and (4) linking actors to events.

This theoretical and methodological approach allows us to advance understanding of the civil rights movement. Specifically, we examine 43 campaigns that occurred in 10 cities. We focus on the emergence, scope and consequences by using our dataset of local campaigns. Building on this analysis, we argue that there is a modest relationship between structural characteristics of cities and the intensity and scope of local campaigns. Instead, the sequencing of prior campaigns matters for the intensity, scope, and elite response to protest.

Theoretical and Methodological Rationale: Movement Campaigns and Impact

The comparative analysis of movement campaigns provides an important and underutilized strategy for examining social movements. As periods of sustained mobilization, local campaigns emerge from and often transform what scholars have called “mobilizing structures”, “local movement centers”, or “social movement communities” (Morris 1984; Staggenborg 1998; Tarrow 1998).

Movements are marked by periods of heightened mobilization when numerous campaigns emerge in close temporal proximity (Almeida 2003; McAdam 1983; McAdam and Sewell 2001; Tarrow 1998). These periods have particular historical and theoretical significance as sources of innovation and rapid social change. This volatility shapes the dynamics of campaigns as

activists learn from and are inspired by one another through activist networks and movement organizations or by tracking the progress of campaigns elsewhere through the mass media or informal networks. Methodologically, the large number of campaigns launched during a movement heyday allows for comparative analysis.

Studying campaigns comparatively has important advantages allowing scholars to focus on the dynamic or interactive aspects of campaigns such as escalation, repression, tactical adaptation, negotiation and bargaining (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001). Most explanatory approaches focus on the way that variation in exogenous factors such as the political context or prior organization influence the onset and dynamics of protest. However, critics point to cases where protest increases dramatically without evident changes in the broader context or organizational resources (Biggs 2005; Kurzman 1996). Similarly, scholars have long been puzzled by the fact that repression sometimes dampens and at other times escalates mobilization (Davenport 2007; Earl 2003). Examining repression in the context of campaigns allows one to observe how activists respond to threats, violence, or arrests in temporal context. Campaigns may be vulnerable to repression at particular moments in their development such as the initiation of activity or after sustained mobilization has yielded few concessions (Andrews 1997; Brockett 1993). Finally, although movement impact has often been characterized as part of a bargaining process (Burstein, Einwohner and Hollander 1995; Wilson 1961), most studies do not examine the interaction between movements and targets. Focusing on campaigns allows scholars to observe possible mechanisms of influence in greater detail to distinguish alternative pathways of influence such as threat or persuasion.

In recent years, scholars have proposed various frameworks for conceptualizing the success or consequences of social movements (Amenta et al. 2010; Andrews 2004; Gamson 1990; Giugni 1998). In general, research has moved from goal attainment frameworks toward more complex understandings that accommodate unintended consequences and the contested and shifting targets and goals within movements. We focus on three key outcomes: agenda setting, negotiation, and institutional change (Andrews and Edwards 2004; Andrews et al. 2010). The concept of agenda setting has been central to most recent work on movement consequences where it has been incorporated from studies of the legislative process (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Burstein, Bricher and Einwohner 1995; Kingdon 1995; McCarthy, Smith and Zald 1996). *Agenda setting* occurs when movement-defined grievances and demands are treated as legitimate and salient concerns by the news media, political authorities, and economic elites. *Negotiation* outcomes include interactions between movement representatives and other community leaders around the movement's grievances and demands. *Institutional change* refers to durable changes in rules and practices that impact a movement's constituency. This framework synthesizes the insights of prior models and is especially relevant where movements seek changes in businesses and other economic targets (Bronfenbrenner and Hickey 2004; Fiorito, Jarley and Delaney 1995; King and Soule 2007; Martin 2008; Walker, Martin and McCarthy 2008).

Methodological Foundations

Our theoretical understanding of movements is deeply linked to the methods and analytic techniques we use in our research. Scholars studying protest, movements, and conflict have developed a wide range of tools, and these tools have greatly advanced scholarship. This innovation is especially impressive because movement scholars cannot easily utilize

conventional tools of the discipline such as standard probability sampling and surveying of individuals. This is, of course, because movement activity is rare across individuals and volatile over time and across societies. These challenges pose significant constraints for understanding the sources of variation of movement activity across time and place.

Several strategies have been used to study movements systematically, the most central strategy is the construction of event datasets or what Tilly calls “event catalogs” (Tilly 2002).¹ Developed in the 1970s, the method was used to trace the historical patterns of strikes and other forms of collective action. The innovation allowed for systematic comparisons across long time periods and multiple societies. Building on Tilly’s work, scholars began employing similar strategies to document other movements. In the 1970s, Charles Perrow’s launched a study using the *New York Times Index* to develop parallel studies of US social movements (Perrow 1979). The key studies that emerged from the project included Jenkins study of farm worker protest, Buechler’s study of second wave feminism, and McAdam’s study of the black civil rights movement. As the first published study from the project, Jenkins and Perrow used the annual count of farmworker protest to demonstrate the key differences in aggregate protest between the 1930s and 1960s. The explanation for the different patterns was traced to changes in the broader political and economic system. Scholars quickly adopted and innovated on the event catalog design to examine many other periods of social conflict. The key advantage includes public traces over long time periods, the ability to compare across issues, countries, and so forth, and the ability to deploy powerful statistical modeling strategies.

Paying attention to campaigns reveals important limitations associated with event catalogs. The central problems stem from the aggregation of event data to standardized temporal and spatial units. In most analyses scholars group events to ask questions such as “why do some years have more protest events than others?”. This approach imposes strong assumptions about the possible causal factors driving the amount of protest. Organizing event data this way directs attention to possible causal explanations at the level of aggregation – so, annual changes, or changes in national political institutions (Abbott 1988). See, for example, Figure 1 from Jenkins et al’s (2003) analysis of change in black protest.

[Figure 1 About Here]

Moreover, aggregation fails to address the underlying spatial and temporal dependence in event data because events are nested in many distinct (and sometimes overlapping) campaigns. Although it is possible to use event data to trace the formation and dissolution of campaigns, this requires shifting the way we analyze event catalogs. However, even if we can construct the spatial and temporal clustering of events in campaigns, another significant challenge concerns the strategic linkages and interactions that constitute campaigns because these processes are typically beyond the attention of news media, police, or others catalogs of public events.

Sit-ins, Local Campaigns, and Desegregation

¹ Perhaps the most enduring strategy is the case study. In addition, scholars have employed in-depth interviews, individual surveys, and organizational surveys to pursue wide-ranging questions.

Before turning to our data and analysis, we place our study in the larger context of scholarship about the civil rights movement. We focus on campaigns regarding desegregation. Most of the mass protest associated with the Southern civil rights movement occurred during campaigns to desegregate public accommodations (Wright 2008). Consider the iconic events and campaigns of the Southern movement such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-1956), the Sit-ins (1960), the Freedom Rides (1961), the Albany Campaign (1962), and the Birmingham Campaign (1963).² These were all coordinated assaults on segregation in public settings. This focus on challenging segregation extends beyond the peak events to protest that occurred in numerous cities. For example, in 1963 alone there were an estimated 930 demonstrations in over 115 cities with thousands of arrests (Morris 1993). Although some protest was sporadic, many cities experienced sustained demonstrations and boycotts. By contrast, school desegregation unfolded through litigation, and voting disfranchisement was challenged using community organizing and voter registration campaigns rather than protest (Andrews 2004; Payne 1995).

This lack of attention may stem from the assumption that desegregation was achieved through the enforcement of Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If so, the assumption is flawed in two important ways. First, establishments were desegregated in many Southern cities prior to passage or implementation of the Civil Rights Act. The Justice Department tracked desegregation of theaters, restaurants, hotels, and lunch counters through the early 1960s and found substantial increases in the percentage of cities with desegregated facilities. For example, cities with desegregated restaurants rose from 25.2% in May 1963 to 53.2% by February 1964 (Oberschall 1973, p. 225). Second, the idea that desegregation occurred with minimal conflict is undermined by the intense resistance and counter-mobilization that occurred in response to protest and the contestation around the public accommodations component of the civil rights bill. Advocates working to build support for the Civil Rights Act were concerned, in fact, that the provisions regarding segregation in public accommodation would undercut support for the bill exactly because the issue was so controversial and resistance was so fierce (Jeong, Miller and Sened 2009; Whalen and Whalen 1985; Wright 2008).

Escalated Protest: 1960-1964

Although we consider campaigns from the mid-1950s forward, our primary attention is the period from the 1960 sit-ins through passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Sit-ins marked a distinct and especially assertive strategy involving the physical occupation of segregated public spaces that challenged and disrupted the normal operation of business. The sit-in tactic was pioneered in the 1940s and 1950s by activists associated with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the NAACP, and deployed primarily in the Border States and in the North until 1960 (Meier and Rudwick 1975; Morris 1981). Campaigns to desegregate public accommodations have a long history dating back at least to early 20th century challenges to segregated street cars (Meier and Rudwick 1976). Although desegregation campaigns including sit-ins at lunch counters had occurred many times before 1960, these earlier protest campaigns were typically isolated to one or a small number of cities, and most occurred outside of the core Southern states where segregation was most fully institutionalized. The Montgomery bus boycott and its forerunners demonstrated the viability of organizing a mass movement to challenge segregation in the Deep South, but there were few protest campaigns between 1956

²The two other iconic events of the Southern civil rights movement - Freedom Summer (1964) and Selma Campaign (1965) focused primarily on voting rights.

and the beginning of the Greensboro sit-ins on February 1, 1960 (Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone 2003). This changed quickly as college students throughout the South became involved in direct action protest. Thus, the 1960 sit-ins are credited with revitalizing the Southern civil rights struggle, politicizing college students, and pioneering the use of protest tactics. Moreover, the sit-ins led to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that played a critical role in shaping the civil rights movement.

The initiating event occurred when four students at Greensboro's North Carolina A&T began their protest on February 1, 1960 (Chafe 1980; Wolff 1970). Following Greensboro, protest spread to nearby cities with large numbers of black college students. By mid-April sit-in campaigns had been launched in more than 60 cities in every Southern state except Mississippi (Andrews and Biggs 2006). Thousands of college students who had little or no prior activist experience joined the sit-ins or related picket lines, demonstrations and marches – an estimated 25% of students at historically black colleges in the South (Biggs 2006). Many more black Southerners participated in the movement by attending mass meetings, contributing to protest organizations, or supporting economic boycotts. The initial sit-in protest set in motion campaigns that unfolded over many months leading in most cases to broad mobilization and protracted negotiations with white leaders across the region. For example, in Tallahassee protest continued off and on over the entire period punctuated by arrests, violence, periodic reprieves, and minor concessions (Rabby 1999). Most prior scholarship on the sit-ins and desegregation campaigns has concerned their origins and spread with a focus on the relative importance of spontaneity and organization (Andrews and Biggs 2006; Killian 1984; McAdam 1983; Morris 1981; Oberschall 1989; Polletta 1998). The broader campaigns have received less attention. The development and continuity of local campaigns varied greatly, with a second major wave of campaign activity occurring in the spring of 1963 coinciding with the SCLC campaign in Birmingham, Alabama.

Dismantling Formal Segregation

How was segregation dismantled and what role, if any, did the civil rights movement play? Most accounts focus on the 1964 Civil Rights Act as the key legislative victory that brought an end to segregation (Grofman 2000). The civil rights movement plays a critical but narrow role in this narrative. Movements may generate “focusing events” that increase attention to an issue (Burstein 1993). In their legislative history of the Civil Rights Act, Whalen and Whalen argue that “Birmingham lit a fuse...Birmingham had swept John Kennedy into the maelstrom” (Whalen and Whalen 1985, pp. xx-xxi). Although this national legislative victory is a critical component of the larger story, this study focuses on the successes and failures of local campaigns prior to passage of the Civil Rights Act. Many social movements that secured major national policies have done so following protracted struggles to secure local and state victories – consider, for example, social security and related policies for the aged (Amenta 2006), women’s suffrage (McCammon et al. 2001), and prohibition (Szymanski 2003).

Although some parts of the South would resist desegregation well after the Civil Rights Act, hundreds of restaurants, movie theaters, hotels, and lunch counters were desegregated before 1964. For example, the Nashville movement achieved one of the earliest victories in the desegregation of lunch counters on May 11, 1960 followed by other cities including Winston-Salem on May 25 and Greensboro on July 25 (Oppenheimer 1963; Wolff 1970). In a small

number of cities, establishments were desegregated with minimal protest. For example, several variety and drug stores in San Antonio desegregated following an “ultimatum conference” between black and white community leaders (Southern Regional Council 1960). Other cities such as Memphis and Atlanta resisted desegregation even in the face of ongoing protest and sporadic negotiation (Jones and Long 1965; Oppenheimer 1963).

Although numerous histories have been written about the campaigns in specific cities or states, we lack systematic comparative analysis that can uncover the formation, dynamics and consequences of campaigns. By developing a comparative database on desegregation campaigns, we revisit enduring historical questions about the forces that shaped the emergence of campaigns and the ways that campaigns built on and transformed local movements. By examining the differential impact of these campaigns, these data allow us to examine why some campaigns are more successful than others.

Research Design

To document the origins, development and impact of local desegregation campaigns, we use historical accounts to examine the characteristics and behavior of major actors, events, and the broader community. We define desegregation campaigns as sustained collective action that included protest carried out over at least one month that sought to end segregation in public facilities. Protest includes sit-ins as well as picket lines, boycotts, marches, and demonstrations. Key actors include movement organizations, political authorities (local elected officials, law enforcement), allies, opponents, and economic actors that the movement interacts with or targets. The prior history of civil rights activity in a community is documented as well to understand the ways that prior struggles shape subsequent campaigns. In this section, we describe the data collection and analysis process, including the identification of desegregation campaigns and historical accounts as well as case selection. Then, we explain the coding process, key measures, and efforts to establish validity and reliability.

Our approach build on a design employed by Gamson’s *Strategy of Social Protest* ([1975] 1990), one of the most influential in social movement studies and the focus of subsequent debate and re-analyses (Frey, Dietz and Kalof 1992; Goldstone 1980; Ragin 1989). Gamson developed a list of approximately 4,500 “challenging groups” that were active in the United States between 1800 and 1945. He took a random sample of those groups and used historical accounts (supplemented with archival materials) to code characteristics of 53 challenging groups and responses to each. More recently, Hodson employed a similar strategy to code ethnographic studies of workplaces including unionization and strike activity, and he has written more broadly on the methodological foundations of coding documentary accounts (Dixon, Roscigno and Hodson 2004; Hodson 1999; Hodson 2001; Roscigno and Hodson 2004). Key strengths of coding historical accounts include maintaining the rich detail and sequences contained in narrative descriptions, identifying patterns across a broader set of cases, statistical forms of analysis not available for studies of one or a few cases, and the possibility for extension, replication, and revision.³ In principle, movement scholars have used a similar strategy to collect newspaper accounts of protest and related forms of collective action. Although newspapers may seem like an appropriate source for this study and have been used to study movement outcomes (Giugni

³ Note, for example, the debates between Gamson and his critics regarding the coding of key cases Gamson, William. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont: Wadsworth..

2007; McAdam and Su 2002), newspapers rarely report on many of the more complex aspects of campaigns that are the focus of this study.⁴

Although Gamson and Hodson's studies have been enormously influential, coding documentary accounts has not been used widely in political sociology or movement studies. The study of desegregation campaigns is an ideal setting to employ this strategy. Since the early 1980s, historians have produced dozens of local histories of civil rights struggles. Certainly, key questions have changed and different scholars pursue unique questions or themes (Eagles 2000). Nevertheless, there is a high level of continuity in the primary questions, types of evidence, and approach to support systematic comparison. Chafe (1980), Colburn (1985), and Norrell (1986) provide key exemplars that established the prototype for local civil rights histories. Common themes include a focus on major events, leaders, and organizations that predate the movement heyday, connections between local and national civil rights organizations, responses by the white community including violence, arrests and so forth, and the description of negotiation and local desegregation outcomes. In short, historical accounts include the relevant information to measure variables of theoretical interest.

Identifying Desegregation Campaigns and Sources

To begin, we selected cases based on a broader database of desegregation campaigns that identified the presence of campaigns (and many other characteristics) of 334 Southern cities (with population greater than 10,000). This database allowed for purposive sampling by identifying cases where campaigns occurred and which had viable secondary data sources that would allow us to code the campaigns. Developing the list of campaigns and source materials required two steps: (1) identifying cities that had sustained desegregation campaigns and (2) locating at least one comprehensive source for each campaign. To identify cities that had sustained desegregation campaigns in the early 1960s, we constructed a list of cities that were “at-risk” for having campaigns using two primary strategies. First, we used indicators of civil rights activity from Andrews and Biggs dataset of Southern cities, event listings from the Southern Regional Council, the Justice Department, and the FBI, and from McAdam, McCarthy, Olzak and Soule’s “Dynamics of Collective Action” dataset from the *New York Times*. From these sources we compiled a list of all cities with traces of civil rights protest activity. Second, we identified cities with a high likelihood of protest from prior analyses of sit-in diffusion (which includes measures of civil rights organization, black population characteristics, and the city’s social, economic and political characteristics). From the dataset of 334 cities, we examined 108 cities with traces of protest activity and/or high predicted probability for sit-ins in 1960 and attempted to determine whether a campaign had occurred using newspaper coverage, archival materials, published accounts, and so forth. Through these steps, we identified 85 cities where confirmed desegregation campaigns occurred between 1960 and 1964. Although our list of cities was largely drawn from this work, we also took additional steps to ensure that major campaigns were not overlooked, including searching more extensively on cities with lower probabilities. Thus, we are confident that our list of cities has encompassed the major campaigns in Southern cities.

⁴ We examined coverage of the 1960 sit-ins for newspapers in Atlanta, Charlotte, Houston and Miami. Each newspaper reported at least once on most sit-ins that occurred in the same state, but the depth of coverage was limited.

[Figure 2 About Here]

Next, we determined whether a viable historical account was available for each city. Figure 2 shows the location of cities and distinguishes between the 70 campaigns where we identified coverage and 15 campaigns that do not have coverage at this point. Along with a research assistant, we searched major databases such as WorldCat and Proquest for books, journal articles, and dissertations.⁵ We reviewed each source to assess the depth of coverage in three major areas: civil rights and race relations prior to 1960, civil rights activity during the early 1960s, and the response of key actors to the movement. Although we sought book-length, published manuscripts on a single city, for some cities our sources include articles, book chapters, dissertations, or masters papers.

Appendix Table 1 (below) presents selected characteristics of the covered campaign cities, non-covered campaign cities, and all 334 cities. Not surprisingly, cities that had desegregation campaigns between 1960 and 1964 have much greater movement organization and community resources to support protest. However, desegregation campaigns occurred in cities that were, if anything, politically unfavorable in terms of voting for strict segregationists in recent gubernatorial elections, the presence of segregationist organizations, prior violence, and lower levels of black voter registration. Campaigns were more likely in cities with affiliates of the Southern Regional Council, an organization led primarily by white “moderates” and sympathetic to civil rights goals. Economically, the differences between cities with campaigns and without are modest with the most important difference being the greater presence of unions in campaign cities. Most important, historical coverage is associated with the number and size of civil rights organizations and the city’s population size. This snapshot shows some of the key variables associated with the presence of desegregation campaigns, illustrates a small portion of the data we collected, and shows the differences between covered and non-covered campaign cities.

Although this study is part of a larger project that involves an expansive coding of all desegregation campaigns in the south, for the purposes of this paper we focus on campaigns in North and South Carolina. This focus is driven by past research that indicates the likelihood that a special dimension was influential in the trajectory of movement campaigns. By limiting our lens to North and South Carolina, we are able to capture a great deal of variation within each state and across the two states as well, while allowing for the possibility that the geographical proximity of the two states influenced the trajectory of the campaigns.

Relational Database

In conjunction with the case selection and evaluation process, we also built a customized relational database using Filemaker Pro 11. A relational database is a structure that allows for information to be linked across multiple tables. For the purposes of detailing complex desegregation campaigns, our database has a variety of different tables that are linked together: city, campaign, event, and actors. Filemaker essentially allows for the creation of nested tables, such that the macro-level table is city, and then campaigns are nested within city, events within campaigns, actors within events, and so forth. With this relational approach, we are able to capture variation within and across cities as well as within and across campaigns, while

⁵ The types of sources used to confirm campaigns were broader than the sources for coding (e.g., autobiographies or newspaper articles could confirm campaigns but would be insufficient to document the campaign for coding).

maintaining detailed analyses of the events themselves and capturing which actors are present at which events and across which campaigns or cities. A relational database is a powerful tool that is suited for this sort of analyses because of the levels of complexity that it can simultaneously account for at several levels of analysis.

The data for this project comes from secondary sources for each city of interest. The sources were systematically hand coded and then translated into the Filemaker database tables accordingly. The goal with the coding scheme is to capture relevant information to construct measures of protest, movement organizations, and the demands and claims that the movement makes. In addition, we coded interactions with political and economic actors and the claims made about the movement and its demands. Coding these elements allows flexibility in constructing measures to examine theoretical debates.

There are three major areas of the coding scheme that contain the information about a given desegregation campaign: campaign, event, and actor (including individuals and organizations). Campaigns represent the macro level of analysis as they encapsulate several events that occur in periods of contention. The events themselves are entered for each individual interaction that occurs. *Events* include protest as well as meetings, arrests, court cases, speeches, press conferences, and so forth during the period from 1954 to 1964. These elements were coded in relation to specific sources and when they occur. Each component is relational in that event, for example, it may be linked to particular actors. *Actors* include the various individuals and groups that mobilize in support of desegregation as well as those that respond to, support, and challenge the campaign. Actors are coded in terms of their type, resources, purposes, constituency and relationship to other actors. This relational quality of the data allows us to construct complex measures of the movement and response to it. For instance, a Woolworth's lunch counter sit-in that is followed by a statement from Woolworth's managerial staff about not caving to the pressure of protest would count as two separate events, because each occurs individually. However, both events could be included in a campaign that spanned the 3 months surrounding a series of sit-ins meant to pressure local businesses. In addition, we code each individual actor and organization that appears in the original source during our time period. While we capture a great deal of data about these actors, we provide analytical leverage by linking actors to events. For example, if the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized the Woolworth's sit-in mentioned above, we would link both Woolworth's and CORE to the sit-in event.

Within each event, we also collect data on the claims. *Claims* are the statements made by movement, political and economic actors about the movement, segregation, desegregation, and the possible consequences of change. These could be thought of as the demands as well as the interpretive frames concerning major problems and solutions (Benford and Snow 2000). We consider the demands, targets of the demands, and the response of targets when conceptualizing movement claims. These considerations help to inform cross-city comparisons. For example, by identifying the prevalence of claims for and against desegregation by economic actors in each city, we can measure differences across cities in the receptivity to movement demands and the relationship of these responses to characteristics of a city's business community. We can also examine key features of the protest including the duration of protest, scope of demands, and breadth of tactics. Desegregation outcomes are measured by event and in relation to the way

political and economic actors respond to protest (agenda setting), interact with movement leaders (negotiation), and the timing and scope of desegregation (institutional change). In addition, the relational quality of the data will allow us to trace connections between cities for events that occur in multiple cities (e.g., the Freedom Rides) or through leaders and organizations that participate in or respond to multiple campaigns.

After coding the relevant events, actors, and claims, we also coded four additional sections with questions for each city's campaign. The first element is a *brief narrative*, descriptions to provide a convenient summary focusing on pre-1960 civil rights activity, the scope and duration of protest, the characteristics of movement organizations, and the response to movement activity and demands. We also included *overview variables* are closed ended questions that measure characteristics of each campaign including the extent of mobilization, counter-mobilization, repression, allies, business resistance, media attention, and desegregation outcomes. *We also included source variables* provide information to assess possible sources of bias or limitations in the source and cite the underlying evidence. Finally, we captured *coder variables* include identifying information for the coder (e.g., name, experience).

With coding historical accounts, there are several methodological concerns to be addressed. The first is whether different historical accounts of the same campaign generate comparable information on the variables of interest. For this study, there are a significant number of cities with more than one historical account. To address this concern we will independently code multiple historical accounts for five cities. These observations are, of course, not independent in that subsequent histories are informed by prior scholarship. Given that studies must differentiate themselves from earlier ones in terms of focus and interpretation, coding multiple sources should provide a conservative test for the reliability of historical accounts. Moreover, the fact that the data (and sources) will be publicly available introduces a high level of transparency. Finally, historians differ in the skills and resources brought to the research, and historical accounts vary in their depth and quality. This raises concerns about missing data and about the comparability of accounts. Our review of the historical accounts has reassured us that missing data is not biasing our results. As an additional check on variation in the quality of accounts, we coded characteristic of each manuscript and author to test for differences associated with training and quality of the research (e.g., range of sources, awards received, depth of narrative) (Hodson 1999).

Supplementary Data

In addition to the data discussed above, we collected supplemental data which examines the onset and diffusion of protest (Andrews and Biggs 2006). Using event history models, we traced the spread of sit-ins across the U.S. South during the spring of 1960. Our dataset and models included measures of prior civil rights organization (e.g., NAACP, SCLC, CORE), media networks, and each city's social, economic, and political characteristics for 334 cities. We included cities that had a population of 10,000 or greater and non-white populations of 1,000 or more in 1960. Cities that meet these criteria encompass the vast majority of locations where sit-ins occurred. Undoubtedly, civil rights activity occurred in smaller cities, but sustained desegregation campaigns were much less common. In two subsequent papers we have examined the impacts of the sit-ins on the founding and growth of civil rights organizations in the early 1960s (Biggs and Andrews 2010) and on the desegregation of lunch counters (Andrews and

Biggs 2010). Thus, we have incorporated additional measures of organizational characteristics and limited measures of desegregation outcomes. For this paper, we examine the subset of cities where desegregation campaigns occurred. Our prior research is useful in at least three major ways: (1) the population data helped in identifying where campaigns occurred and how these cities differed from those without sustained protest, (2) because historical accounts do not exist for some cities that had desegregation campaigns, we are able to address possible selection issues in the data, and (3) we amassed a large body of archival materials and developed expertise with these collections.

Analysis and Findings

The data lend themselves to several analytic strategies. Here, we utilize descriptive techniques that allow us to consider both the characteristics of the cities before our period of interest as well as the characteristics of the campaigns and events. Specifically, we are interested in whether variation in the onset, duration, intensity, and consequences of campaigns was simply a reflection of pre-existing characteristics of a city such as favorable political or economic characteristics or pre-existing movement organizations. Obviously, we select on the subset of cities that had protest campaigns. However, cities vary considerably on the scope and intensity of movement activity and the way targets responded to protest.

Within each city, we also consider the features of the campaigns with a focus on the three major areas: agenda setting, negotiations, and institutional change. We first consider the length of the campaign as well as the number of events contained within it and the amount of protest that occurs over the course of that campaign. We then compare these campaigns across factors such as the degree to which they receive recognition by the state through repression or negotiations. We also focus on the extent to which these campaigns actually resulted in instances of desegregation.

Structural Characteristics and Protest Campaigns

Structural characteristics have been conceptualized as influential factors that lead to variation in protest. Scholars have argued that protest and its consequences can be explained by pre-existing movement organizations (Morris 1981; Morris 1993), political opportunities for black participation (Barkan 1984; Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone 2003), and economic opportunities (Luders 2006; Luders 2010) that render targets vulnerable to protest. In addition, demographic characteristics are argued to be important including the absolute and relative size of the black population. While cities with favorable conditions for blacks were expected to see less protest and desegregate without as much contention, those more restrictive to black participation and with stronger organizational infrastructure are expected to experience more protest and movement activity. In Tables 1 and 2, we examine the sociodemographic characteristics and movement organizations (table 1) and political and economic opportunity (table 2) across our cities of interest.

In Table 1 we present variables that represent the sociodemographic components of each city. The variables included in this table are the total number of nonwhites in the population, nonwhites as a percentage of the total population, total population, and a count of nonwhite college students. We also include several measures of civil rights organizations including a count of adult NAACP members, a count of the total number of protest organizations including SCLC,

CORE, and the NAACP college and youth chapters, and a count of black organizations in the city base don the presence of black civic associations. All of these measures are based on the late 1950s. Table 1 presents no consistent patterns for the influence of demographic characteristics or movement organization resources in driving protest.

We also consider a variety of political and economic opportunity variables that are expected to influence protest. The political opportunity variables presented in table 2 includes a count of white race organizations such as the Citizen's Council and KKK, a count of the incidences of violence, and the percentage of voters who voted for segregationist candidates. Together, these three variables capture threat and resistance to movement activity. Also included are three measures that represent favorable political conditions for movement activity. They are a count of black elected officials, a dichotomous variable identifying the presence of the Southern Regional Council in the city (which represents white moderates), and the percentage of nonwhites registered to vote. We find no clear relationship between either favorable or disadvantageous political opportunities and protest.

Additional variables are also included for considering economic opportunities. We utilize three measures of economic vulnerability; the proportion of workers in the population that are employees of large national corporations, union local per 1000 employed in the economy, and percent of retail workers. These measures account for the relationship between city-level protest and a connection to the national economy. Theory would suggest that national corporations will be vulnerable to protest because of its reputational harm, and cities with these national corporate connections have a strong incentive to avoid protest. In other words, ties to national markets make cities more vulnerable because companies would be more likely to capitulate protestors. We also have two measures that capture the economic position of black in these cities; median income and proportion of workers in middle-class professions (professionals and technology workers). Table 2 shows no relationship between economic vulnerability or opportunity and protest. Again, all measures in table 2 are based on the late 1950s.

Campaign Intensity and Sequencing

Although we do not find a relationship between city-level characteristics and protest, we find within city patterns across campaigns. In table 3, we present the campaigns that occur in each city beginning with the earliest chronological campaign. We find that campaigns within cities function on two patterns: 1) campaigns become more intense over time, and 2) campaigns do not confirm to chronological variations in intensity. We find that half of the cities we consider have follow the first pattern, with campaigns increasing in intensity over time. For example, campaigns in Rock Hill began with a few events and no protest, and then the number of events increased over time, as did the number of protests. A similar pattern can be seen in Durham, Greensboro, Charleston, and Greenville.

In addition to considering the general trend of campaigns within cities, we also analyze outcomes such as repression, response to the movement of any kind, peer-to-peer bargaining over movement demands, and desegregation. We find that repression occurs across cities irrespective of context or other outcomes. We find at least some form of repression whether based on arrests or violence in each of the cities we consider. We also find that response to the movement occurs following multiple campaigns and generally at the latter portion of the time period. Although not

all cities have peer-to-peer bargaining, we find a similar pattern for those cities where bargaining exists. Although the trend is less ubiquitous, desegregation also tends to occur following multiple campaigns. While these are preliminary findings, they indicate that increasing intensity of movement activity results in cities becoming attentive to the movement and even produces concessions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Campaigns across North and South Carolina vary greatly in their intensity, duration, and outcomes. These variations have often been attributed to structural characteristics such as political opportunities, demographic characteristics, or economic opportunities. From this theoretical perspective, cities with favorable conditions for blacks would be expected to have less protest and desegregate without much strife, while those that restricted black participation would be likely to have more protest in a more contentious setting. Yet, these characteristics do not seem to lead to the expected outcomes. Neither economic vulnerability or opportunity or favorable or disadvantageous political opportunities have a clear relationship with protest intensity or duration. Instead, more meaningful patterns exist across campaigns within cities. This is not to say that city-level characteristics never matter for outcomes of protest, but rather that a theory explaining protest focused on structural characteristics falls short of explaining the cases in this study.

Our objective in this study is to look beyond structural city characteristics to determine the factors that influence the extent of protest and outcomes of protest in cities in North and South Carolina. In doing so, we find that campaigns within cities either become more intense over time (in about half of the cases) or do not vary in intensity in any clear chronological pattern. We also find that repression is common across cities and does not conform to expected patterns based on city or campaign characteristics, with each city experiencing some degree of repression. We also find that the sequencing of campaigns is meaningful. For example, response to the movement generally occurs after several campaigns and at the latter part of the time period we consider. We find that desegregation generally occurs after multiple campaigns. In general, the findings from this study indicate that as the amount and intensity of movement activity increases, authorities are more likely to respond to movement demands and even to provide concessions.

Although our findings are robust across the campaigns and cities we consider in North and South Carolina, one shortcoming of this study is our limited sample size. In order to elaborate on our findings that campaign characteristics are more influential in determining protest than city-level characteristics, future research should consider utilizing a similar approach across a larger number of cases. Additionally, since our data is drawn from historical accounts of desegregation campaigns, we were limited in our understanding of events and campaigns by what the authors whose work we used presented. We completed several sensitivity tests to account for any systematic bias that may have been present across our data. Regardless of these potential issues, we show that events should not be considered in isolation, because this severely reduces the analytical power of understanding desegregation or other complex sequences of events and should instead be considered as part of larger campaigns that may be connected to each other across time. Further, this study indicates that the way we conceptualize factors that lead to protest needs to be reconsidered to move away from a focus on structural factors and towards the inclusion of a broader role for the sequencing of movements.

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Table 1: City Characteristics, Movement Organizations and Episode Events

City	Nonwhite				Black				
	Nonwhite	College Students	Nonwhite (%)	Population	NAACP members	Protest Orgs	Org. (1950s)	Episode Events	Protest Events
Rocky Mount	11320	32	35.21	32147	64	1	0	3	0
Columbia	29644	1155	30.43	97433	195	3	1	27	5
Greenville	19717	56	29.79	66188	100	2	0	42	7
Fayetteville	16891	545	35.86	47106	111	1	0	44	16
Charleston	33612	47	50.99	65925	596	2	0	125	18
Chapel Hill	1341	39	10.67	12573	0	0	0	53	20
Orangeburg	5500	1286	39.71	13852	82	1	0	104	20
Durham	28405	1527	36.28	78302	541	3	1	106	23
Rock Hill	7199	201	24.48	29404	107	3	0	83	24
Greensboro	31130	2392	26.03	119574	1124	2	1	157	32

Table 2: Political and Economic Opportunity by City, 1950s

City	White				Black				National Corp					
	Race	Org	Elected	Violence	Nonwhite	Seg.	Employees		Nonwhi	Nonwhite	Episode	Protest	Events	Events
	(1950s)	Off.	(1950s)	SRC	Voters (%)	(1950s)	(per 1000 emp.)	Union Locals	Retail (%)	te Med. Income	Prof/Tech Workers	Events	Events	
Rocky Mount	0	1	0	1	15.0	45.0	0.01	1.96	16	1814	5.11	3	0	
Columbia	1	3	3	1	10.2	54.7	0.02	0.81	14.1	1783	4.40	27	5	
Greenville	0	0	2	1	10.9	66.5	0.05	1.20	13.4	1808	2.26	42	7	
Fayetteville	0	2	0	1	10.2	21.9	0.01	0.28	20.6	2063	6.76	44	16	
Charleston	1	2	2	1	9.2	68.4	0.04	1.82	13.2	1932	3.58	125	18	
Chapel Hill	0	2	0	1	15.0	32.1	0.01	0.00	9.3	1943	5.77	53	20	
Orangeburg	1	0	1	1	5.4	43.0	0.06	0.19	17.2	889	5.84	104	20	
Durham	1	2	2	1	33.9	41.2	0.07	1.56	11.1	2138	5.51	106	23	
Rock Hill	0	1	1	1	10.7	33.9	0.05	0.53	10.5	1698	4.84	83	24	
Greensboro	1	3	3	0	15.0	22.9	0.08	0.83	13.5	2194	5.81	157	32	

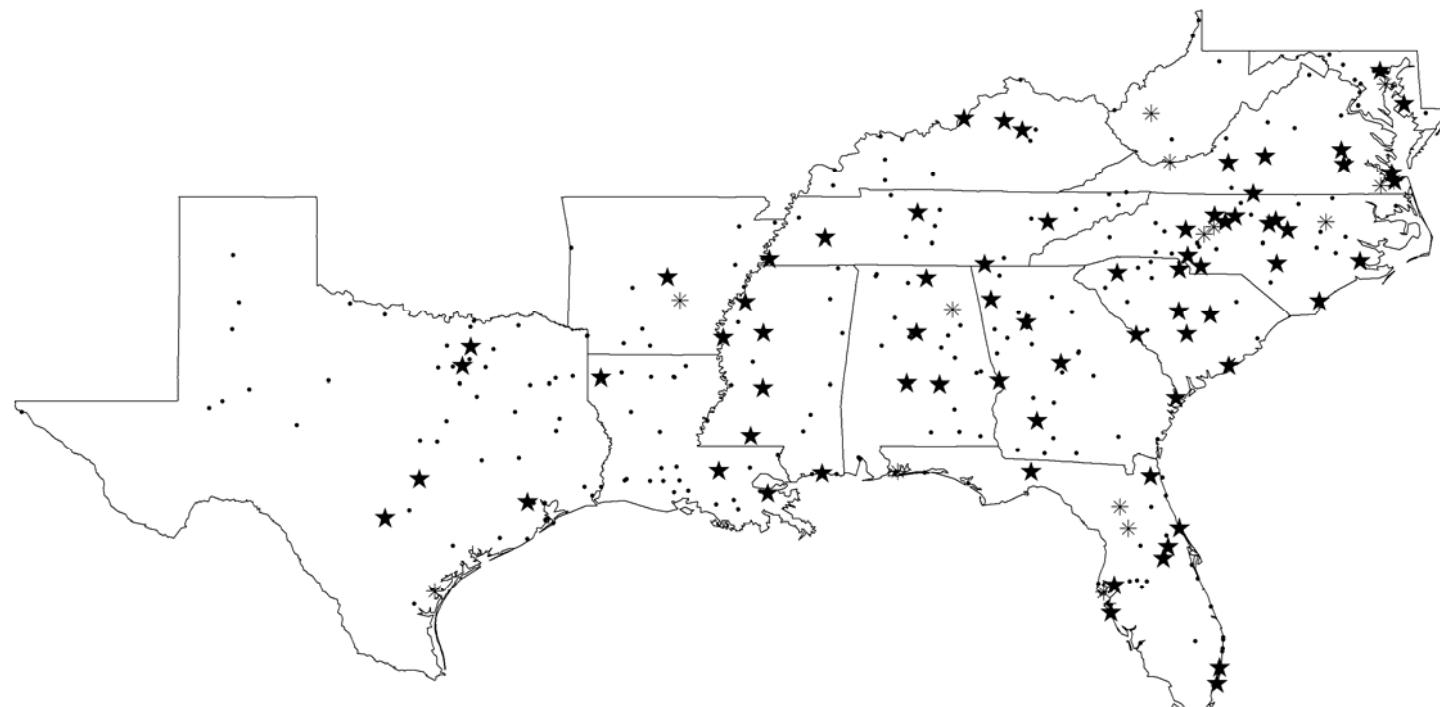
Table 3: Episodes 1954-1964 by City and Date

City	Episode	Start Date	Events	Duration	Protest
Chapel Hill	Spring/Summer 1960 Lunch Counter and Theate	Feb-60	13	182	5
Chapel Hill	Demonstrations at theaters and other business	Feb-61	15	273	4
Chapel Hill	Desegregation Protest 1963	Apr-63	15	122	4
Chapel Hill	Escalated Protest 1964	Jan-64	10	91	7
Durham	Durham Responds to Brown	Jun-54	12	823	0
Durham	Durham Responds to Brown II	Jun-55	7	61	3
Durham	Durham Education	Jan-58	8	974	0
Durham	1960 Protests	Feb-60	24	151	4
Durham	Durham Early 60s Movement Expands	Jan-61	11	120	3
Durham	Picket Arrests and Response	Jul-62	13	62	5
Durham	1963 Demonstrations	Apr-63	31	91	8
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Feb 1960 Direct Action	Feb-60	4	0	3
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Negotiation Attempt and Pressure	May-63	36	31	11
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Movement Gains Momentum	May-63	4	31	2
Greensboro	Education Desegregation	May-54	40	2345	2
Greensboro	Hodges Starts a Protest	Sep-55	4	0	1
Greensboro	Sit-ins	Feb-60	46	151	10
Greensboro	Demonstrations and Occupations	Mar-63	67	92	19
Rocky Mount	NAACP Action and Reaction	Jul-55	3	31	0
Charleston	School Petition and Black intimidation	Jul-55	13	670	2
Charleston	Golf Access	Oct-58	11	943	1
Charleston	School desegregation attempt	Oct-60	12	61	3
Charleston	Boycott and Pressure	Mar-62	9	245	1
Charleston	Charleston movement direct action	Jun-63	41	30	10
Charleston	Charleston movement committee/DeCosta acti	Jul-63	39	31	1
Columbia	Student protests	Mar-60	12	0	5
Columbia	Columbia's desegregation	Apr-63	15	153	0
Greenville	Airport series	Feb-59	7	731	1
Greenville	Library series	Mar-60	6	184	2
Greenville	Protest/violence series	Jul-60	7	215	3
Greenville	Desegregation series	Jul-61	22	1005	1
Orangeburg	School petition	Jul-55	7	31	2
Orangeburg	Economic cold war	Jul-55	18	458	2
Orangeburg	SCSC protest and investigation	Feb-56	27	243	5
Orangeburg	Business protests	Feb-60	39	90	7
Orangeburg	Student March and Protest	Oct-60	6	31	2
Orangeburg	Negotiations	Apr-61	2	214	0
Orangeburg	Demonstrations Resume	Sep-63	5	0	2
Rock Hill	Rise and fall of RHCHR	Feb-54	7	1216	0
Rock Hill	Museum litigation	Jul-56	4	243	0
Rock Hill	Bus Boycotts	Jul-57	12	31	2
Rock Hill	Rock Hill sit-Ins	Oct-59	22	123	8
Rock Hill	Rock Hill protest series	Mar-60	6	92	4
Rock Hill	Rock Hill jail-ins	Dec-60	32	62	10

Table 4: Episodes, Repression and Outcomes, 1960-1964

City	Episode Name	Start Date	Arrests	Violence Response	Bargaining	Desegregation
Chapel Hill	Spring/Summer 1960 Lunch Counter and Theater Protests	Feb-60	0	0	5	1
Chapel Hill	Demonstrations at theaters and other businesses	Feb-61	0	0	6	1
Chapel Hill	Desegregation Protest 1963	Apr-63	1	0	8	1
Chapel Hill	Escalated Protest 1964	Jan-64	5	1	2	0
Durham	1960 Protests	Feb-60	0	0	14	2
Durham	Durham Early 60s Movement Expands	Jan-61	0	0	4	0
Durham	Picket Arrests and Response	Jul-62	1	1	2	0
Durham	1963 Demonstrations	Apr-63	5	8	13	6
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Feb 1960 Direct Action	Feb-60	0	0	1	0
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Movement Gains Momentum	May-63	0	0	1	0
Fayetteville	Fayetteville Negotiation Attempt and Pressure Built	May-63	5	3	11	3
Greensboro	Sit-ins	Feb-60	1	0	12	3
Greensboro	Demonstrations and Occupations	Mar-63	10	2	33	0
Charleston	School desegregation attempt	Oct-60	0	0	5	0
Charleston	Boycott and Pressure	Mar-62	0	0	3	0
Charleston	Charleston movement direct action	Jun-63	5	3	4	0
Charleston	Charleston movement committee/DeCosta action	Jul-63	0	0	27	13
Columbia	Student protests	Mar-60	2	0	5	0
Columbia	Columbia's desegregation	Apr-63	0	0	11	2
Greenville	Library series	Mar-60	1	0	3	0
Greenville	Protest/violence series	Jul-60	3	2	2	0
Greenville	Desegregation series	Jul-61	1	0	16	3
Orangeburg	Business protests	Feb-60	2	4	5	0
Orangeburg	Student March and Protest	Oct-60	2	0	1	0
Orangeburg	Negotiations	Apr-61	0	0	2	1
Orangeburg	Demonstrations Resume	Sep-63	2	0	0	0
Rock Hill	Rock Hill protest series	Mar-60	2	0	1	0
Rock Hill	Rock Hill jail-ins	Dec-60	4	1	7	0

Figure 1: Map of Campaigns and Coverage Status



Legend

- No Campaign
- ★ Campaign (covered)
- * Campaign (not covered)

Appendix Table 1: Selected City Characteristics by Campaign and Coverage Status (mean values)

	All Cities	Campaigns (covered)	Campaigns (not covered)	No Campaign	Descriptions
Civil Rights Organizations					
NAACP Branch Members	192.18	716.76	236.58	49.65	Members reported in 1957 and 1959, see Andrews and Biggs 2006
NAACP Youth Council	35.03	75.71	53.33	22.49	Percentage with Youth Council in 1958 or 1959
NAACP College Chapter	4.49	21.43	0.0	0.0	Percentage with College Chapter in 1958 or 1959
SCLC	6.59	27.14	6.67	.8	Percentage with SCLC Affiliate of Board Member, February 1960
CORE	3.59	14.29	6.67	.4	Percentage with CORE Chapter, 1960
SNCC	11.68	40.	6.67	4.02	Percentage with Delegates to SNCC Founding Conference
HBCUs	19.8	53.85	16.67	10.18	Percentage with Histocially Black College or University
Political Characteristics					
Segregationist Voting	57.86	64.69	57.82	55.9	Percent vote for segregationist gubernatorial candidates (from ICPSR 0071)
White Racial Organization	35.64	52.31	25.	31.42	Percentage with white segregationist organization
Violence	28.05	49.23	33.33	21.68	Percentage with violence against civil rights activity, 1956-1959
Southern Regional Council	26.95	70.	53.33	13.25	Percentage with SRC affiliate, 1955
Black voters registered	14.99	12.96	16.16	15.48	Percentage black registered of voting age, 1960
Economic Characteristics					
Nonwhite Median Income (male)	1,960.11	2,015.75	2,167.5	1,935.42	Median individual income of nonwhite males, 1959
Income ratio (nonwhite to white)	.52	.55	.52	.52	Ratio of nonwhite to white male income (estimated), 1959
Black Unemployed	8.45	8.13	9.13	8.5	Unemployed nonwhite males as percentage of nonwhite civilian labor force
Retail employment	14.7	14.38	15.31	14.76	Retail employment as percentage of employed
Unions	18.23	50.15	22.67	9.48	Number of AFL locals
Employees of major corporations	4.14	3.44	3.49	4.38	Employees of major corporations/total county population, 1966
City Characteristics					
Black Population	14,188.56	44,867.85	14,009.33	5,983.68	Nonwhite population, 1960
Black College Students	160.66	626.26	179.75	35.1	Nonwhites enrolled in college, 1960
Black Population (%)	24.75	30.12	27.08	23.2	Percentage of population nonwhite, 1960
Population	57,092.18	156,680.3	61,019.17	30,245.27	Population size, 1960
Number of cities	334	70	15	251	