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The frequent resort to protest activity by relatively powerless groups in recent American politics suggests that protest represents an important aspect of minority group and low income group politics.[1] At the same time that Negro civil rights strategists have recognized the problem of using protest as a meaningful political instrument,[2] groups associated with the "war on poverty" have increasingly received publicity for protest activity. Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, for example, continues to receive invitations to help organize low income communities because of its ability to mobilize poor people around the tactic of protest.[3] The riots which dominated urban affairs in the summer of 1967 appear not to have diminished the dependence of some groups on protest as a mode of political activity.

This article provides a theoretical perspective on protest activity as a political resource. The discussion is concentrated on the limitations inherent in protest which occur because of the need of protest leaders to appeal to four constituencies at the same time. As the concept of protest is developed here, it will be argued that protest-leaders must nurture and sustain an organization comprised of people with whom they may or may not share common values. They must articulate goals and choose strategies so as to maximize their public exposure through communications media. They must maximize the impact of third parties in the political conflict. Finally, they must try to maximize chances of success among those capable of granting goals. The tensions inherent in manipulating these four constituencies at the same time form the basis of this discussion of protest as a political process. It is intended to place aspects of the civil rights movement

in a framework which suggests links between protest organizations and
the general political processes in which such organizations operate.

I

Protest activity as it has been adopted by elements of the civil
rights movement and others has not been studied extensively by social
scientists. Some of the most suggestive writings have been done as
case studies of protest movements in single southern cities.[4] These
works generally lack a framework or theoretical focus which would
encourage generalization from the cases. More systematic efforts have
been attempted in approaching the dynamics of biracial committees in
the South,[5] and comprehensively assessing the efficacy of Negro polit-
ical involvement in Durham, N. C. and Philadelphia, Pa.[6] In their
excellent assessment of Negro politics in the South, Matthews and
Prothro have presented a thorough profile of Southern Negro students
and their participation in civil rights activities.[7] Protest is also
discussed in passing in recent explorations of the social-psychological
dimensions of Negro ghetto politics[8] and the still highly suggestive,
although pre-1960's, work on Negro political leadership by James Q.
Wilson.[9] These and other less systematic works on contemporary Negro
politics,[10] for all of their intuitive insights and valuable documen-
tation, offer no theoretical formulations which encourage conceptuali-
zation about the interaction between recent Negro political activity
and the political process.

Heretofore the best attempt to place Negro protest activity in a
framework which would generate additional insights has been that of

James Q. Wilson.[11] Wilson has suggested that protest activity be con-
ceived as a problem of bargaining in which the basic problem is that
Negro groups lack political resources to exchange. Wilson called this
"the problem of the powerless."[12]

While many of Wilson's insights remain valid, his approach is
limited in applicability because it defines protest in terms of mass
action or response and as utilizing exclusively negative inducements
in the bargaining process. Negative inducements are defined as induce-
ments which are not absolutely preferred but are preferred over alterna-
tive possibilities.[13] Yet it might be argued that protest designed
to appeal to groups which oppose suffering and exploitation, for exam-
ple, might be offering positive inducements in bargaining. A few Negro
students sitting at a lunch counter might be engaged in what would be
called protest, and by their actions might be trying to appeal to
other groups in the system with positive inducements. Additionally,
Wilson's concentration on Negro civic action, and his exclusive interest
in exploring the protest process to explain Negro civic action, tend
to obscure comparison with protest activity which does not necessarily
arise within the Negro community.

Assuming a somewhat different focus, protest activity is defined
as a mode of political action oriented toward objection to one or more
policies or conditions, characterized by showmanship or display of an
unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political
or economic systems while working within the systems. The "problem
of the powerless" in protest activity is to activate "third parties"
to enter the implicit or explicit bargaining arena in ways favorable

to the protesters. This is one of the few ways in which they can "create" bargaining resources. It is intuitively unconvincing to suggest that fifteen people sitting uninvited in the Mayor's office have the power to move City Hall. A better formulation would suggest that the people sitting-in may be able to appeal to a wider public to which the city administration is sensitive. Thus in successful protest activity the reference publics of protest targets may be conceived as explicitly or implicitly reacting to protest in such a way that target groups or individuals respond in ways favorable to the protesters.[14]

It should be emphasized that the focus here is on protest by relatively powerless groups. Illustrations can be summoned, for example, of activity designated as "protest" involving high status pressure groups or hundreds of thousands of people. While such instances may share some of the characteristics of protest activity, they may not represent examples of developing political resources by relatively powerless groups because the protesting groups may already command political resources by virtue of status, numbers or cohesion.

It is appropriate also to distinguish between the relatively restricted use of the concept of protest adopted here and closely related political strategies which are often designated as "protest" in popular usage. Where groups already possess sufficient resources with which to bargain, as in the case of some economic boycotts and labor strikes, they may be said to engage in "direct confrontation."[15] Similarly, protest which represents efforts to "activate reference publics" should be distinguished from "alliance formation," where third parties are induced to join the conflict, but where the value orienta-

tions of third parties are sufficiently similar to those of the pro-
testing group that concerted or coordinated action is possible.
Alliance formation is particularly desirable for relatively powerless
groups if they seek to join the decision-making process as participants.

The distinction between activating reference publics and alliance
formation is made on the assumption that where goal orientations
among protest groups and the reference publics of target groups are
similar, the political dynamics of petitioning target groups are
different than when such goal orientations are relatively divergent.
Clearly the more similar the goal orientations, the greater the likeli-
hood of protest success, other things being equal. This discussion
is intended to highlight, however, those instances where goal orienta-
tions of reference publics depart significantly, in direction or inten-
sity, from the goals of protest groups.

Say that to protest some situation, A would like to enter a
bargaining situation with B. But A has nothing which B wants, and
thus cannot bargain. A then attempts to create political resources
by activating other groups to enter the conflict. A then organizes
to take action against B with respect to certain goals. Information
concerning these goals must be conveyed through communications media
(C, D, and E) to F, G, and H, which are B's reference publics. In
response to the reactions of F, G, and H, or in anticipation of their
reactions, B responds, in some way, to the protesters' demands. This
formulation requires the conceptualization of protest activity when
undertaken to create bargaining resources as a political process
which requires communication and is characterized by a multiplicity
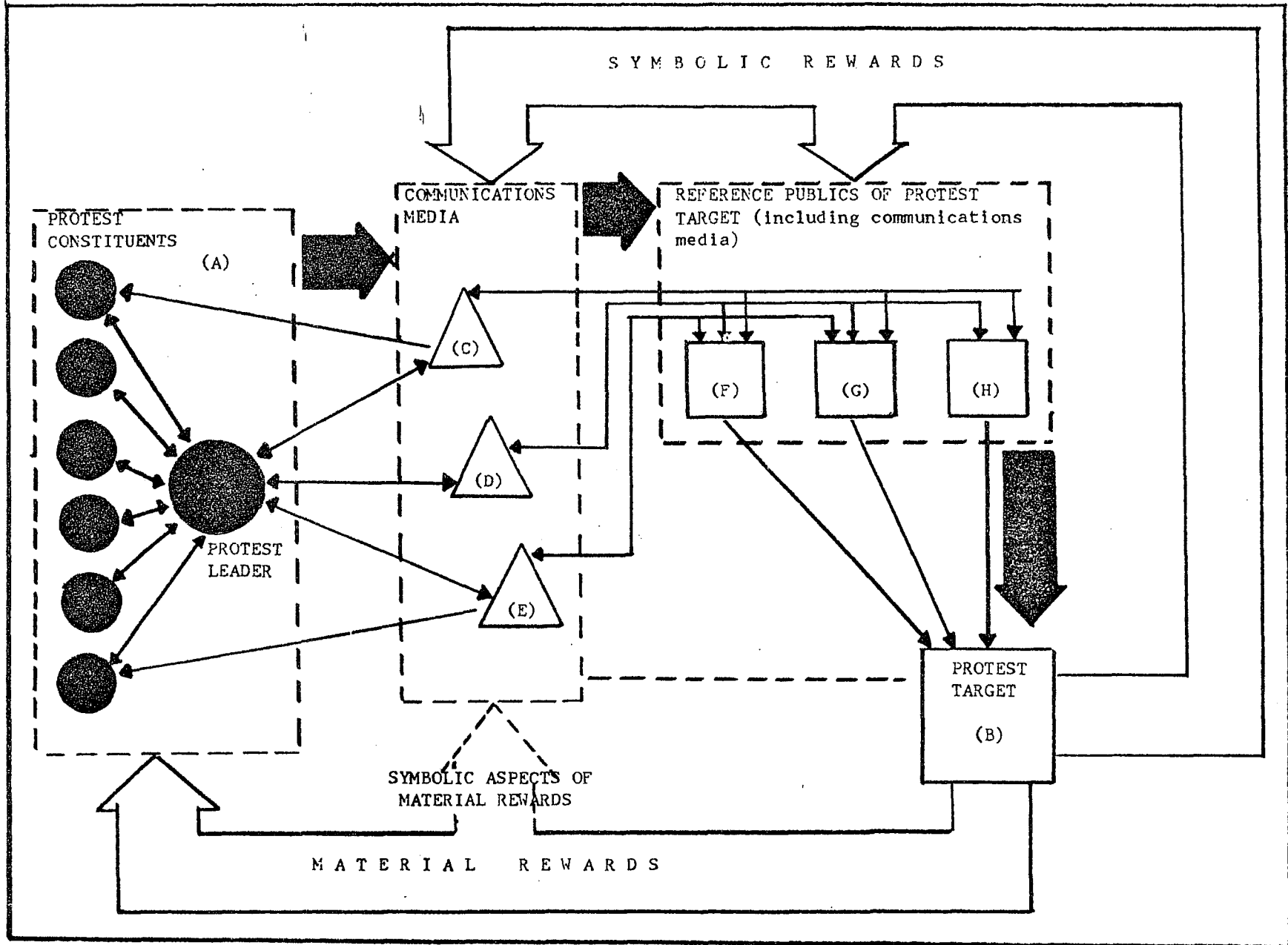of constituencies for protest leadership.

A schematic representation of the process of protest as utilized by relatively powerless groups is presented in Figure 1. In contrast to a simplistic pressure group model which would posit a direct relationship between pressure group and pressured, the following discussion is guided by the assumption (derived from observation) that protest is a highly indirect process in which communications media and the reference publics of protest targets play critical roles. It is also a process characterized by reciprocal relations, in which protest leaders frame strategies according to their perception of the needs of (many) other actors.

In this view protest constituents limit the options of protest leaders at the same time that the protest leader influences their perception of the strategies and rhetoric which they will support. Protest activity is filtered through the communications media in influencing the perceptions of the reference publics of protest targets. To the extent that the influence of reference publics is supportive of protest goals, target groups will dispense symbolic or material rewards. Material rewards are communicated directly to protest constituents. Symbolic rewards are communicated in part to protest constituents, but primarily are communicated to the reference publics of target groups, who provide the major stimuli for public policy pronouncements.

The study of protest as adopted by relatively powerless groups should provide insights into the structure and behavior of groups involved in civil rights politics and associated with the "war on poverty." It should direct attention toward the ways in which administrative agencies respond to "crises." Additionally, the study of protest as a political resource should influence some general conceptualizations of American political pluralism. Robert Dahl, for example, describes the "normal American political process" as

> one in which there is a high probability that an active
> and legitimate group in the population can make itself
> heard effectively at some crucial stage in the process
> of decision.[16]

SYMBOLIC REWARDS

COMMUNICATIONS
MEDIA

REFERENCE PUBLICS OF PROTEST
TARGET (including communications
media)

PROTEST
CONSTITUENTS

(A)

(C)

(D)

(F)   (G)   (H)

PROTEST
LEADER

(E)

PROTEST
TARGET

(B)

SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF
MATERIAL REWARDS

MATERIAL REWARDS

Although he agrees that control over decisions is unevenly divided in

the population, Dahl writes:

> When I say that a group is heard 'effectively' I
> mean more than the simple fact that it makes a
> noise; I mean that one or more officials are not
> only ready to listen to the noise, but expect to
> suffer in some significant way if they do not
> placate the group, its leaders, or its most vocif-
> erous members. To satisfy the group may require
> one or more of a great variety of actions by the
> responsive leader: pressure for substantive poli-
> cies, appointments, graft, respect, expression of
> the appropriate emotions, or the right combination
> of reciprocal noises.[17]

These statements, which in some ways resemble Truman's discussion

of the power of "potential groups,"[18] can be illuminated by the study

of protest activity in three ways. First, what are the probabilities

that relatively powerless groups can make themselves heard effectively?

In what ways will such groups be heard or "steadily appeased"?[19] Con-

centration on the process of protest activity may reveal the extent

to which, and the conditions under which, relatively powerless groups

are likely to prove effective. Protest undertaken to obstruct policy

decisions, for example, may enjoy greater success probabilities than

protest undertaken in an effort to evoke constructive policy innova-

tions.[20]

Second, does it make sense to suggest that all groups which make

noises will receive responses from public officials? Perhaps the groups

which make noises do not have to be satisfied at all, but it is other

groups which receive assurances or recognition. Third, what are the

probabilities that groups which make noises will receive tangible

rewards, rather than symbolic assurances?[21] Dahl lumps these rewards

together in the same paragraph, but dispensation of tangible rewards clearly has a different impact upon groups than the dispensation of symbolic rewards. Dahl is undoubtedly correct when he suggests that the relative fluidity of American politics is a critical characteristic of the American political system.[22] But he is less precise and less convincing when it comes to analyzing the extent to which the system is indeed responsive to the relatively powerless groups of the "average citizen."[23]

The following sections are an attempt to demonstrate the utility of the conceptualization of the protest process presented above. This will be done by exploring the problems encountered and the strains generated by protest leaders in interacting with four constituencies. It will be useful to concentrate attention on the maintenance and enhancement needs not only of the large formal organizations which dominate city politics,[24] but also of the ad hoc protest groups which engage them in civic controversy. It will also prove rewarding to examine the role requirements of individuals in leadership positions as they perceive the problems of constituency manipulation. In concluding remarks some implications of the study of protest for the pluralist description of American politics will be suggested.[25]

II

Protest Leadership and Organizational Base. The organizational maintenance needs of relatively powerless, low income, ad hoc protest groups center around the tension generated by the need for leadership to offer symbolic and intangible inducements to protest participation

when immediate, material rewards cannot be anticipated, and the need
to provide at least the promise of material rewards for protest partici-
pation. Protest leaders must try to evoke responses from other actors
in the political process, at the same time that they pay attention to
participant organizational needs. Thus relatively deprived groups in
the political system not only receive symbolic reassurance while
material rewards from the system are withheld[26] but protest leaders
have a stake in perpetuating the notion that relatively powerless
groups retain political efficacy despite what in many cases is obvious
evidence to the contrary.

The tension embraced by protest leaders over the nature of induce-
ments toward protest participation accounts in part for the style
adopted and goals selected by protest leaders. Groups which seek
psychological gratification from politics, but cannot or do not
anticipate material political rewards, may be attracted to militant
protest leaders. To these groups, angry rhetoric may prove a desirable
quality in the short run. Where groups depend upon the political system
for tangible benefits, or where participation in the system provides
intangible benefits, moderate leadership is likely to prevail. Wilson
has observed similar tendencies among Negro leaders of large, formal
organizations.[27] It is no less true for leadership of protest groups.
Groups whose members derive tangible satisfactions from political
participation will not condone leaders who are stubborn in compromise
or appear to question the foundations of the system. This coincides
with Truman's observation:

> Violation of the 'rules of the game' normally will
> weaken a group's cohesion, reduce its status in the
> community, and expose it to the claims of other
> groups.[28]

On the other hand, the cohesion of relatively powerless groups may be strengthened by militant, ideological leadership which questions the rules of the game and challenges their legitimacy.

Cohesion is particularly important when protest leaders bargain directly with target groups. In that situation, leaders' ability to control protest constituents and guarantee their behavior represents a bargaining strength.[29] For this reason Wilson stressed the bargaining difficulties of Negro leaders who cannot guarantee constituent behavior, and pointed out the significance of the strategy of projecting the image of group solidarity when the reality of cohesion is a fiction.[30] Cohesion is less significant at other times. Divided leadership may prove productive by bargaining in tandem,[31] or by minimizing strain among groups in the protest process. Further, community divisions may prove less detrimental to protest aims when strong third parties have entered the dispute originally generated by protest organizations.

The intangible rewards of assuming certain postures toward the political system may not be sufficient to sustain an organizational base. It may be necessary to renew constantly the intangible rewards of participation. And to the extent that people participate in order to achieve tangible benefits, their interest in a protest organization may depend upon the organization's relative material success. Protest leaders may have to tailor their style to present participants with tangible successes, or with the appearance of success. Leaders may have to define the issues with concern for increasing their ability to sustain organizations. The potential for protest among protest group members may have to be manipulated by leadership if the group is to be sustained.[32]

The participants in protest organizations limit the flexibility
of protest leadership. This obtains for two reasons. They restrict
public actions by leaders who must continue to solicit active partici-
pant support, and they place restraints on the kinds of activities
which can be considered appropriate for protest purposes. Poor
participants cannot commonly be asked to engage in protest requiring
air transportation. Participants may have anxieties related to their
environment or historical situation which discourages engagement in
some activities.[33] They may be afraid of job losses, beatings by the
police, or summary evictions. Negro protest in the Deep South has
been inhibited by realistic expectations of retribution. Protest over
slum housing conditions are undermined by tenants who expect landlord
retaliation for engaging in tenant organizing activity.[34] Political
or ethical mores may conflict with a proposed course of action, dimin-
ishing participation.[35]

On the other hand, to the extent that fears are real, or that the
larger community perceives protest participants as subject to these
fears, protest may actually be strengthened. Communications media
and potential allies will consider more soberly the complaints of
people who are understood to be placing themselves in jeopardy. When
young children and their parents made the arduous bus trip from
Mississippi to Washington, D.C. to protest the jeopardizing of Head
Start funds, the courage and expense represented by their effort
created a respect and visibility for their position which might not
have been achieved by local protest efforts.[36]

Protest activity may be undertaken by organizations with estab-
lished relationship patterns, behavior norms, and role expectations.

These organizations are likely to have greater access to other groups in the political system, and a demonstrated capacity to maintain themselves. Other protest groups, however, may be ad hoc arrangements without demonstrated internal or external relationship patterns. These groups will have different organizational problems, in response to which it is necessary to engage in different kinds of protest activity.

The scarcity of organizational resources also places limits upon the ability of relatively powerless groups to maintain the foundations upon which protest organizations develop. Relatively powerless groups, to engage in political activity of any kind, must command at least some resources. This is not tautological. Referring again to a continuum on which political groups are placed according to their relative command of resources, one may draw a line somewhere along the continuum representing a "threshold of civic group political participation." Clearly some groups along the continuum will possess some political resources (enough, say, to emerge for inspection) but not enough to exercise influence in civic affairs. Relatively powerless groups, to be influential, must cross the "threshold" to engage in politics. Although the availability of group resources is a critical consideration at all stages of the protest process, it is particularly important in explaining why some groups seem to "surface" with sufficient strength to command attention. The following discussion of some critical organizational resources should illuminate this point.

Skilled professionals frequently must be available to protest organizations. Lawyers, for example, play extremely important roles in enabling protest groups to utilize the judicial process and avail

themselves of adequate preparation of court cases. Organizational
reputation may depend upon a combination of ability to threaten the
conventional political system and of exercising statutory rights in
court. Availability of lawyers depends upon ability to pay fees and/
or the attractiveness to lawyers of participation in protest group
activity. Volunteer professional assistance may not prove adequate.
One night a week volunteered by an aspiring politician in a housing
clinic cannot satisfy the needs of a chaotic political movement.[37]
The need for skilled professionals is not restricted to lawyers. For
example, a group seeking to protest an urban renewal policy might
require the services of architects and city planners in order to
present a viable alternative to a city proposal.

Financial resources not only purchase legal assistance, but enable
relatively powerless groups to conduct a minimum program of political
activities. To the extent that constituents are unable or unwilling
to pay even small membership dues, then financing the cost of mimeo-
graphing flyers, purchasing supplies, maintaining telephone service,
paying rent, and meeting a modest payroll become major organizational
problems. And to the extent that group finances are supplied by out-
side individual contributions or government or foundation grants, the
long-term options of the group are sharply constrained by the necessity
of orienting group goals and tactics to anticipate the potential ob-
jections of financial supporters.

Some dependence upon even minimal financial resources can be waived
if organizations evoke passionate support from constituents. Secretarial
help and block organizers will come forward to work without compensa-

tion if they support the cause of neighborhood organizations or gain intangible benefits based upon association with the group. Protest organizations may also depend upon skilled non-professionals, such as college students, whose access to people and political and economic institutions often assist protest groups in cutting across income lines seeing to seek support. Experience with ad hoc political groups, however, suggests that this assistance is sporadic and undependable. Transient assistance is particularly typical of skilled, educated, and employable volunteers whose abilities can be applied widely. The die-hards of ad hoc political groups are often those people who have no place else to go, nothing else to do.

Constituent support will be affected by the nature of the protest target and whether protest activity is directed toward defensive or assertive goals. Obstructing specific public policies may be easier than successfully recommending constructive policy changes. Orientations toward defensive goals may require less constituent energy, and less command over resources of money, expertise and status.[38]

III

Protest Leadership and Communications Media. The communications media are extremely powerful in city politics. In granting or withholding publicity, in determining what information most people will have on most issues, and what alternatives they will consider in response to issues, the media truly, as Norton Long has put it, "set . . . the civic agenda."[39] To the extent that successful protest activity depends upon appealing to, and/or threatening, other groups in the community,

the communications media set the limits of protest action. If protest

tactics are not considered significant by the media, or if newspapers

and television reporters or editors decide to overlook protest tactics,

protest organizations will not succeed. Like the tree falling unheard

in the forest, there is no protest unless protest is perceived and

projected.

A number of writers have noticed that the success of protest

activity seems directly related to the amount of publicity it receives

outside the immediate arena in which protest takes place. This view

has not been stated systematically, but hints can be found in many

sources. In the literature on civil rights politics, the relevance

of publicity represents one of the few hypotheses available concerning

the dynamics of successful protest activity.[40]

When protest tactics do receive coverage in the communications

media, the way in which they are presented will influence all other

actors in the system, including the protesters themselves. Conformity

to standards of newsworthiness in political style, and knowledge of

the prejudices and desires of the individuals who determine media

coverage in political skills, represent crucial determinants of leader-

ship effectiveness.

The organizational behavior of newspapers can partly be understood

by examining the maintenance and enhancement needs which direct them

toward projects of civic betterment and impressions of accomplishment.[41]

But insight may also be gained by analyzing the role requirements of

reporters, editors, and others who determine newspaper policy. Reporters,

for example, are frequently motivated by the desire to contribute to

civic affairs by their "objective" reporting of significant events; by the premium they place on accuracy; and by the credit which they receive for sensationalism and "scoops."

These requirements may be difficult to accommodate at the same time. Reporters demand newsworthiness of their subjects in the short run, but also require reliability and verifiability in the longer run. Factual accuracy may dampen newsworthiness. Sensationalism, attractive to some newspaper editors, may be inconsistent with reliable, verifiable narration of events. Newspapers at first may be attracted to sensationalism, and later demand verifiability in the interests of community harmony (and adherence to professional journalistic standards).

Most big city newspapers have reporters whose assignments permit them to cover aspects of city politics with some regularity. These reporters, whose "beats" may consist of "civil rights" or "poverty," sometimes develop close relationships with their news subjects. These relationships may develop symbiotic overtones because of the mutuality of interest between the reporter and the news subject. Reporters require fresh information on protest developments, while protest leaders have a vital interest in obtaining as much press coverage as possible.

Inflated reports of protest success may be understood in part by examining this relationship between reporter and protest leader. Both have role oriented interests in projecting images of protest strength and threat. In circumstances of great excitement, when competition from other news media representatives is high, a reporter may find that he is less governed by the role requirement of verification and reliability than he is by his editor's demand for "scoops" and news with high audience appeal.[42]

On the other hand, the demands of the media may conflict with the
needs of protest group maintenance. Consider the leader whose con-
stituents are attracted solely by pragmatic statements not exceeding
what they consider political "good taste." He is constrained from
making militant demands which would isolate him from constituents.
This constraint may cost him appeal in the press.[43] However, the
leader whose organizing appeal requires militant rhetoric may obtain
eager press coverage only to find that his inflamatory statements lead
to alienation of potential allies and exclusion from the explicit bar-
gaining process.[44]

News media do not report events in the same way. Television may
select for broadcast only thirty seconds of a half-hour news conference.
This coverage will probably focus on immediate events, without back-
ground or explanatory material. Newspapers may give more complete
accounts of the same event. The most complete account may appear in
the weekly edition of a neighborhood or ethnic newspaper. Differential
coverage by news media, and differential new media habits in the
general population,[45] are significant factors in permitting protest
leaders to juggle conflicting demands of groups in the protest process.

Similar tensions exist in the leader's relationships with protest
targets. Ideological postures may gain press coverage and constituency
approval, but may alienate target groups with whom it would be desirable
to bargain explicitly. Exclusion from the councils of decision-making
may have important consequences, since the results of target group
deliberations may satisfy activated reference publics without responding
to protest goals. If activated reference publics are required to

increase the bargaining position of the protest group, protest efforts thereafter will have diminished chances of success.

IV

Protest Leadership and "Third Parties." The argument here has been that the essence of political protest consists of activating third parties to participate in controversy in ways favorable to protest goals. In previous sections we have attempted to analyze some of the tensions which result from protest leaders' attempts to activate reference publics of protest targets at the same time that they must retain the interest and support of protest organization participants. This phenomenon is in evidence when Negro leaders, recognized as such by public officials, find their support eroded in the Negro community because they have engaged in explicit bargaining situations with politicians. Negro leaders are thus faced with the dilemma that when they behave like other ethnic group representatives they are faced with loss of support from those whose intense activism has been aroused in the Negro community, yet whose support is vital if they are to remain credible as leaders to public officials.

The tensions resulting from conflicting maintenance needs of protest organizations and activated third parties present difficulties for protest leaders. One way in which these tensions can be minimized is by dividing leadership responsibilities. If more than one group is engaged in protest activity, protest leaders can, in effect, divide up public roles so as to reduce as much as possible the gap between the implicit demands of different groups for appropriate rhetoric, and

what in fact is said. Thus divided leadership may perform the latent function of minimizing tensions among elements in the protest process by permitting different groups to listen selectively to protest spokesmen.[46]

Another way in which strain among different groups can be minimized is through successful public relations. Minimization of strain may depend upon ambiguity of action or statement, deception, or upon effective inter-group communication. Failure to clarify meaning, or falsification, may increase protest effectiveness. Effective intra-group communication may increase the likelihood that protest constituents will "understand" that ambiguous or false public statements have "special meaning" and need not be taken seriously. The Machiavellian circle is complete when we observe that although lying may be prudent, the appearance of integrity and forthrightness is desirable for public relations, since these values are widely shared.

It has been observed that "[t]he militant displays an unwillingness to perform those administrative tasks which are necessary to operate an organization. Probably the skills of the agitator and the skills of the administrator . . . are not incompatible, but few men can do both well."[47] These skills may or may not be incompatible as personality traits, but they indeed represent conflicting role demands on protest leadership. When a protest leader exhausts time and energy conducting frequent press conferences, arranging for politicians and celebrities to appear at rallies, delivering speeches to sympathetic local groups, college symposia and other forums, constantly picketing for publicity and generally making "contacts," he is unable to pursue

the direction of office routine, clerical tasks, research and analysis, and other chores.

The difficulties of delegating routine tasks is probably directly related to the skill levels and previous administrative experiences of group members. In addition, to the extent that involvement in protest organizations is a function of rewards received or expected by individuals because of the excitement or entertainment value of participation, then the difficulties of delegating routine, relatively uninteresting chores to group members will be increased. Yet attention to such details affects the perception of protest groups by organizations whose support or assistance may be desired in the future. These considerations add to the protest leader's problem of risking alienation of protest participants because of potentially unpopular cooperation with the "power structure."

In the protest paradigm developed here, "third parties" refers both to the reference publics of target groups and, more narrowly, to the interest groups whose regular interaction with protest targets tend to develop into patterns of influence.[48] We have already discussed some of the problems associated with activating the reference publics of target groups. In discussing the constraints placed upon protest, attention may be focused upon the likelihood that groups seeking to create political resources through protest will be included in the explicit bargaining process with other pressure groups. For protest groups, these constraints are those which occur because of class and political style, status, and organizational resources.

The established civic groups most likely to be concerned with the

problems raised by relatively powerless groups are those devoted to service in the public welfare and those "liberally" oriented groups whose potential constituents are either drawn from the same class as the protest groups (such as some trade unions), or whose potential constituents are attracted to policies which appear to serve the interest of the lower class or minority groups (such as some reform political clubs).[49] These civic groups have frequently cultivated clientele relationships with city agencies over long periods. Their efforts have been reciprocated by agency officials anxious to develop constituencies to support and defend agency administrative and budgetary policies. In addition, clientele groups are expected to endorse and legitimize agency aggrandizement. These relationships have been developed by agency officials and civic groups for mutual benefit, and cannot be destroyed, abridged or avoided without cost.

Protest groups may well be able to raise the saliency of issues on the civic agenda through utilization of communications media and successful appeals or threats to wider publics, but admission to policy-making councils is frequently barred because of the angry, militant rhetorical style adopted by protest leaders. People in power do not like to sit down with rogues. Protest leaders are likely to have phrased demands in ways unacceptable to lawyers and other civic activists whose cautious attitude toward public policy may reflect not only their good intentions but their concern for property rights, due process, pragmatic legislating or judicial precedent.

Relatively powerless groups lack participation of individuals with high status whose endorsement of specific proposals lend them increased

legitimacy. Good causes may always attract the support of high status individuals. But such individuals' willingness to devote time toward promotion of specific proposals is less likely than the one-shot endorsements which these people distribute more readily.

Similarly, protest organizations often lack the resources on which entry into the policy-making process depends. These resources include maintenance of a staff with expertise and experience in the policy area. This expertise may be in the areas of the law, planning and architecture, proposal writing, accounting, educational policy, federal grantsmanship or publicity. Combining experience with expertise is one way to create status in issue areas. The dispensing of information by interest groups has been widely noted as a major source of influence. Over time the experts develop status in their areas of competence somewhat independent of the influence which adheres to them as information-providers. Groups which cannot or do not engage lawyers to assist in proposing legislation, and do not engage in collecting reliable data, cannot participate in policy deliberations or consult in these matters. Protest oriented groups, whose primary talents are in dramatizing issues, cannot credibly attempt to present data considered "objective" or suggestions considered "responsible" by public officials. Few can be convincing as both advocate and arbiter at the same time.

V

Protest Leadership and Target Groups. The probability of protest success may be approached by examining the maintenance needs of organizations likely to be designated as target groups.[50] For the sake of

clarity, and because protest activity increasingly is directed toward government, I shall refer in the following paragraphs exclusively to government agencies at the municipal level. The assumption is retained, however, that the following generalizations are applicable to other potential target groups.

Some of the constraints placed on protest leadership in influencing target groups have already been mentioned in preceding sections. The lack of status and resources that inhibit protest groups from partici‐ pating in policy‐making conferences, for example, also helps prevent explicit bargaining between protest leaders and city officials. The strain between rhetoric which appeals to protest participants and public statements to which communications media and "third parties" respond favorably also exists with reference to target groups.

Yet there is a distinguishing feature of the maintenance needs and strategies of city agencies which specifically constrain protest organizations. This is the agency director's need to protect "the jurisdiction and income of his organization [by] . . . [m]anipulation of the external environment."[51] In so doing he may satisfy his reference groups without responding to protest group demands. At least six tactics are available to protest targets who are motivated to respond in some way to protest activity but seek primarily to satisfy their reference publics. These tactics may be employed whether or not target groups are "sincere" in responding to protest demands.

1. Target groups may dispense symbolic satisfactions. Appearances

of activity and commitment to problems substitute for, or supplement, resource allocation and policy innovations which would constitute tangible responses to protest activity. If symbolic responses supplement tangible pay-offs, they are frequently coincidental, rather than intimately linked, to projection of response by protest targets. Typical in city politics of the symbolic response is the ribbon cutting, street corner ceremony or the walking tour press conference. These occasions are utilized not only to build agency constituencies,[52] but to satisfy agency reference publics that attention is being directed to problems of civic concern. In this sense publicist tactics may be seen as defensive maneuvers. Symbolic aspects of the actions of public officials can also be recognized in the commissioning of expensive studies and the rhetorical flourishes with which "massive attacks," "comprehensive programs," and "coordinated planning" are frequently promoted.

City agencies establish distinct apparatus and procedures for dealing with crises which may be provoked by protest groups. Housing-related departments in New York City may be cited for illustration. It is usually the case in these agencies that the Commissioner or a chief deputy, a press secretary and one or two other officials devote whatever time is necessary to collect information, determine policy and respond quickly to reports of "crises." This is functional for tenants, who, if they can generate enough concern, may be able to obtain shortcuts through lengthy agency procedures. It is also functional for officials who want to project images of action rather than merely receiving com-

plaints. Concentrating attemtion on tho maintenance needs of city poli-
ticians during protest crises suggests that pronouncements of public
officials serve purposes independent of their dedication to allevia-
tion of slum conditions.[53]

Independent of dispensation of tangible benefits to protest groups,
public officials continue to respond primarily to their own reference
publics. Murray Edelman has suggested that:

> Tangible resources and benefits are frequently not
> distributed to unorganized political group interests
> as promised in regulatory statutes and the propaganda
> attending their enactment.[54]

His analysis may be supplemented by suggesting that symbolic dispen-
sations may not only serve to reassure unorganized political group
interests, but may also contribute to reducing the anxiety level of
organized interests and wider publics which are only tangentially
involved in the issues.

2. Target groups may dispense token material satisfactions. When
city agencies respond, with much publicity, to cases brought to their
attention representing examples of the needs dramatized by protest
organizations, they may appear to respond to protest demands while in
fact only responding on a case basis, instead of a general basis. For
the protesters served by agencies in this fashion it is of considerable
advantage that agencies can be influenced by protest action. Yet it
should not be ignored that in handling the "crisis" cases, public
officials give the appearance of response to their reference publics,
while mitigating demands for an expensive, complex general assault
on problems represented by the cases to which responses are given.
Token responses, whether or not accompanied by more general responses,

are particularly attractive to reporters and television news directors, who are able to dramatize individual cases convincingly, but who may be unable to "capture" the essence of general deprivation or of general efforts to alleviate conditions of deprivation.

3. Target groups may organize and innovate internally in order to blunt the impetus of protest efforts. This tactic is closely related to No. 2 (above). If target groups can act constructively in the worst cases, they will then be able to pre-empt protest efforts by responding to the cases which best dramatize protest demands. Alternatively, they may designate all efforts which jeopardize agency reputations as "worst" cases, and devote extensive resources to these cases. In some ways extraordinary city efforts are precisely consistent with protest goals. At the same time extraordinary efforts in the most heavily dramatized cases or the most extreme cases effectively wear down the "cutting-edges" of protest efforts.

Many New York City agencies develop informal "crisis" arrangements not only to project publicity, as previously indicated, but to mobilize energies toward solving "crisis" cases. They may also develop policy innovations which allow them to respond more quickly to "crisis" situations. This seems to have been one of the effects of two New York City innovations which permitted housing officials to enter the worst buildings and actually make repairs and exterminate rats. These may represent important innovations for low income city residents, to whom the problems of dealing with city bureaucracies can prove insurmountable. It might be said, in fact, that the goals of protest are to influence city agencies to handle every case with the same resources that characterize their dispatch of "crisis" cases.[55]

But such policies would demand major revenue inputs. This kind of qualitative policy change is difficult to achieve. Meanwhile, internal reallocation of resources only means that routine services must be neglected so that the "crisis" programs can be enhanced. If all cases are expedited, as in a typical "crisis" response, then none can be. Thus for purposes of general solutions, "crisis" resolving can be self-defeating unless accompanied by significantly greater resource allocation. It is not self-defeating, however, to the extent that the organizational goals of city agencies are to serve a clientele while minimizing negative publicity concerning agency vigilance and responsiveness.

4. Target groups may appear to be constrained in their ability to grant protest goals.[56] This may be directed toward making the protesters appear to be unreasonable in their demands, or to be well-meaning individuals who "just don't understand how complex running a city really is." Target groups may extend sympathy but claim that they lack resources, a mandate from constituents, and/or authority to respond to protest demands. Target groups may also evade protest demands by arguing that "If-I-give-it-to-you-I-have-to-give-it-to-everyone."

The tactic of appearing constrained is particularly effective with established civic groups because there is an undeniable element of truth to it. Everyone knows that cities are financially undernourished. Established civic groups expend great energies lobbying for higher levels of funding for their pet city agencies. Thus they recognize the validity of this constraint when posed by city officials. But it

is not inconsistent to point out that funds for specific, relatively inexpensive programs, or for the expansion of existing programs, can often be found if pressure is increased. While constraints on city government flexibility may be extensive, they are not absolute. Protest targets nonetheless attempt to diminish the impact of protest demands by claiming relative impotence.

5. Target groups may use their extensive resources to discredit protest leaders and organizations. Utilizing their excellent access to the press, public officials may state or imply that leaders are unreliable, ineffective as leaders ("they don't really have the people behind them"), guilty of criminal behavior, potentially guilty of such behavior, or are some shade of "left-wing." Any of these allegations may serve to diminish the appeal of protest groups to potentially sympathetic third parties. City officials, in their frequent social and informal business interaction with leaders of established civic groups, may also communicate derogatory information concerning protest groups. Discrediting of protest groups may be undertaken by some city officials while others appear (perhaps authentically) to remain sympathetic to protest demands. These tactics may be engaged in by public officials whether or not there is any validity to the allegations.

6. Target groups may postpone action. The effect of postponement, if accompanied by symbolic assurances, is to remove immediate pressure and delay specific commitments to a future date. This familiar tactic is particularly effective in dealing with protest groups because of their inherent instability. Protest groups are usually comprised of individuals whose intense political activity cannot be sustained except

in rare circumstances. Further, to the extent that protest depends

upon activating reference publics through strategies which have some

"shock" value, it becomes increasingly difficult to activate these

groups. Additionally, protest activity is inherently unstable because

of the strains placed upon protest leaders who must attempt to manage

four constituencies (as described herein).

The most frequent method of postponing action is to commit a

subject to "study." For the many reasons elaborated in these para-

graphs, it is likely that ad hoc protest groups will not be around to

review the recommendations which emerge from study. The greater the

expertise and the greater the status of the group making the study,

the less will protest groups be able to influence whatever policy

emerges. Protest groups lack the skills and resource personnel to

challenge expert recommendations effectively.

Sometimes surveys and special research are undertaken in part to

evade immediate pressures. Sometimes not. Research efforts are

particularly necessary to secure the support of established civic

groups, which place high priority on orderly procedure and policy

emerging from independent analysis. Yet it must be recognized that

postponing policy commitments has a distinct impact on the nature of the

pressures focused on policy-makers.

VI

In this analysis I have agreed with James Q. Wilson that protest

is correctly conceived as a strategy utilized by relatively powerless

groups in order to increase their bargaining ability. As such, I

have argued, it is successful to the extent that the reference publics

of protest targets can be activated to enter the conflict in ways

favorable to protest goals. I have suggested a model of the protest

process which may assist in ordering data and indicating the

salience for research of a number of aspects of protest. These include

the critical role of communications media, the differential impact

of material and symbolic rewards on "feedback" in protest activity,

and the reciprocal relationships of actors in the protest process.

An estimation of the limits to protest efficacy, I have argued

further, can be gained by recognizing the problems encountered by

protest leaders who somehow must balance the conflicting maintenance

needs of four groups in the protest process. This approach transcends

a focus devoted primarily to characterization of group goals and tar-

gets, by suggesting that even in an environment which is relatively

favorable to specific protest goals, the tensions which must be embraced

by protest leadership may ultimately overwhelm protest activity.

At the outset of this essay, it was held that conceptualizing the

American political system as "slack" or "fluid," in the manner of

Robert Dahl, appears inadequate because of (1) a vagueness centering

on the likelihood that any group can make itself heard; (2) a

possible confusion as to which groups tend to receive satisfaction from

the rewards dispensed by public officials; and (3) a lumping together

as equally relevant rewards which are tangible and those which are

symbolic. To the extent that protest is engaged in by relatively

powerless groups which must create resources with which to bargain,

the analysis here suggests a number of reservations concerning the

pluralist conceptualization of the "fluidity" of the American political system.

Relatively powerless groups cannot use protest with a high probability of success. They lack organizational resources, by definition. But even to create bargaining resources through activating third parties, some resources are necessary to sustain organization. More importantly, relatively powerless protest groups are constrained by the unresolvable conflicts which are forced upon protest leaders who must appeal simultaneously to four constituencies which place upon them antithetical demands.

When public officials recognize the legitimacy of protest activity, they may not direct public policy toward protest groups at all. Rather, public officials are likely to aim responses at the reference publics from which they originally take their cues. Edelman has suggested that regulatory policy in practice often consists of reassuring mass publics while at the same time dispensing specific, tangible values to narrow interest groups. It is suggested here that symbolic reassurances are dispensed as much to wide, potentially concerned publics which are not directly affected by regulatory policy, as they are to wide publics comprised of the downtrodden and the deprived, in whose name policy is often written.

Complementing Edelman, it is proposed here that in the process of protest symbolic reassurances are dispensed in large measure because these are the public policy outcomes and actions desired by the constituencies to which public officials are most responsive. Satisfying these wider publics, city officials can avoid pressures toward other policies placed upon them by protest organizations.

Not only should there be some doubt as to which groups receive
the symbolic recognitions which Dahl describes, but in failing to dis-
tinguish between the kinds of rewards available to groups in the poli-
tical system, Dahl avoids a fundamental question. It is literally
fundamental because the kinds of rewards which can be obtained from
politics, one might hypothesize, will have an impact upon the realistic
appraisal of the efficacy of political activity. If among the groups
least capable of organizing for political activity there is a history
of organizing for protest, and if that activity, once engaged in, is
rewarded primarily by the dispensation of symbolic gestures without
perceptible changes in material conditions, then rational behavior might
lead to expressions of apathy and lack of interest in politics or a
rejection of conventional political channels as a meaningful arena of
activity. In this sense this discussion of protest politics is con-
sistent with Kenneth Clark's observations that the image of power,
unaccompanied by material and observable rewards, leads to impressions
of helplessness and reinforces political apathy in the ghetto.[57]

Recent commentary by political scientists and others regarding
riots in American cities seem to focus in part on the extent to which
relatively deprived groups may seek redress of legitimate grievances.
Future research should continue assessment of the relationship between
riots and the conditions under which access to the political system
has been limited. In such research assessment of the ways in which
access to public officials is obtained by relatively powerless groups
through the protest process might be one important research focus.

The instability of protest activity outlined in this article also

should inform contemporary political strategies. If the arguments
presented here have been persuasive, civil rights leaders who insist
that protest activity is a shallow foundation on which to seek long-
term, concrete gains may be judged essentially correct. But the argu-
ments concerning the fickleness of the white liberal, or the ease of
changing discriminatory laws relative to changing discriminatory insti-
tutions, only in part explain the instability of protest movements.
An explanation which derives its strength from analysis of the political
process suggests concentration on the problems of managing protest
constituencies. Accordingly, Alinsky is probably on soundest ground
when he prescribes protest for the purpose of building organization.
Ultimately, relatively powerless groups in most instances cannot
depend upon activating other actors in the political process. Long-
run success will depend upon the acquisition of stable political
resources which do not rely for their use on third parties.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This article is an attempt to develop and explore the implications of a conceptual scheme for analyzing protest activity. It is based upon the author's studies of protest organizations in New York City, Washington, D.C., Chicago, San Francisco, and Mississippi, as well as extensive examination of written accounts of protest among low-income and Negro civil rights groups.

"Relatively powerless groups" may be defined as those groups which, relatively speaking, are lacking in conventional political resources. For the purposes of community studies, Robert Dahl has compiled a useful comprehensive list. See Dahl, "The Analysis of Influence in Local Communities," Social Science and Community Action, Charles R. Adrian, ed. (East Lansing, Michigan, 1960), p. 32. The difficulty in studying such groups is that relative powerlessness only becomes apparent under certain conditions. Extremely powerless groups not only lack political resources, but are also characterized by a minimal sense of political efficacy, upon which in part successful political organization depends. For reviews of the literature linking orientations of political efficacy to socioeconomic status, see Robert Lane, Political Life (New York, 1959), ch. 16; and Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago, 1965), ch. 5.

Further, to the extent that group cohesion is recognized as a necessary requisite for organized political action, then extremely powerless groups, lacking cohesion, will not even appear for observation. Hence the necessity of selecting for intensive study a protest movement where there can be some confidence that observable processes and results can be analyzed. Thus, if one conceives of a continuum on which political groups are placed according to their relative command of resources, the focus of this essay is on those groups which are near, but not at, the pole of powerlessness.

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[2] See, e.g., Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," Commentary (February, 1965), pp. 25-31; and Stokely Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," The Massachusetts Review, Autumn, 1966.

[3] On Alinsky's philosophy of community organization, see Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals (Chicago, 1945); Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York, 1964), ch. 10.

[4] See, e.g., Jack L. Walker, "Protest and Negotiation: A Case Study of Negro Leadership in Atlanta, Georgia," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VII, 2 (May, 1963), pp. 99-124; Jack L. Walker, Sit-Ins in Atlanta: A Study in the Negro Protest, Eagleton Institute Case Studies, No. 34 (New York, 1964); John Ehle, The Free Men (New York, 1965) [Chapel Hill]; Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963) [New Orleans]; M. Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962) [Durham].

[5] Lewis Killian and Charles Grigg, Racial Crisis in America: Leadership in Conflict (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964)

[6] William Keech, "The Negro Vote as a Political Resource: The Case of Durham," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1966; John H. Strange, "The Negro in Philadelphia Politics 1963-65," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1966.

[7] Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York, 1966). Considerable insight on these data is provided in John Orbell, "Protest Participation among Southern Negro College Students," American Political Science Review, 61, 2 (June, 1967), pp. 446-56.

[8] Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York, 1965).

[9] Negro Politics (New York, 1960).

[10] A complete list would be voluminous. See, e.g., Nat Hentoff, The New Equality (New York, 1964); Arthur Waskow, From Race Riot to Sit-in (New York, 1966).

[11] "The Strategy of Protest: Problems of Negro Civic Action," Journal of Conflict Resolution, V. 3 (September, 1961), pp. 291-303. The reader will recognize the author's debt to this highly suggestive article, not least Wilson's recognition of the utility of the bargaining framework for examining protest activity.

[12] Ibid., p. 291.

[13] See Ibid., p. 291-2.

[14] See E. E. Schattschneider's discussion of expanding the scope of the conflict, The Semisovereign People (New York, 1960).
Another way in which bargaining resources may be "created" is to increase the relative cohesion of groups, or to increase the perception of group solidarity as a precondition to greater cohesion. This appears to be the primary goal of political activity which is generally designated "community organization." Negro activists appear to recognize the utility of this strategy in their advocacy of "black power." In some instances protest activity in part may be designed to accomplish this goal in addition to activating reference publics.

[15]For an example of "direct confrontation," one might study the three month Negro boycott of white merchants in Natchez, Miss., which resulted in capitulation to boycott demands by city government leaders. See *The New York Times*, December 4, 1965, p. 1.

[16]*A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 145-6.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*The Governmental Process* (New York, 1951), p. 104.

[19]See Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, p. 146.

[20]Observations that all groups can influence public policy at some stage of the political process are frequently made about the role of "veto groups" in American politics. See *Ibid.*, pp. 104ff. See also David Reisman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 211ff., for an earlier discussion of veto group politics. Yet protest should be evaluated when it is adopted to obtain assertive as well as defensive goals.

[21]See Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana, Ill., 1964), ch. 2.

[22]See Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven, 1961), pp. 305ff.

[23]In a recent formulation, Dahl reiterates the theme of wide dispersion of influence. "More than other systems, [democracies] . . . try to disperse influence widely to their citizens by means of the suffrage, elections, freedom of speech, press, and assembly, the right of opponents to criticize the conduct of government, the right to organize political parties, and in other ways." *Pluralist Democracy in the United States* (Chicago, 1967), p. 373. Here, however, he concentrates more on the availability of options to all groups in the system, rather than on the relative probabilities that all groups in fact have access to the political process. See pp. 372ff.

[24]See Edward Banfield, *Political Influence* (New York, 1961), p. 263. The analysis of organizational incentive structure which heavily influences Banfield's formulation is Chester Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).

[25]In the following attempt to develop the implications of this conceptualization of protest activity, I have drawn upon extensive field observations and bibliographical research. Undoubtedly, however, individual assertions, while representing my best judgment concerning the available evidence, in the future may require modification as the result of further empirical research.

[26]As Edelman suggests, cited previously.

[27]*Negro Politics*, p. 290.

[28] *The Governmental Process*, p. 513.

[29] But cf. Thomas Schelling's discussion of "binding oneself," *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 22ff.

[30] "The Strategy of Protest," p. 297.

[31] This is suggested by Wilson, "The Strategy of Protest," p. 298; St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York, 1962 [revised edition]), p. 731; Walker, "Protest and Negotiation," p. 122. Authors who argue that divided leadership is dysfunctional have been Clark, p. 156; and Tilman Cothran, "The Negro Protest Against Segregation in the South," *The Annals*, 357 (January, 1965), p. 72.

[32] This observation is confirmed by a student of the Southern civil rights movement:

> Negroes demand of protest leaders constant progress. The combination of long-standing discontent and a new-found belief in the possibility of change produces a constant state of tension and aggressiveness in the Negro community. But this discontent is vague and diffuse, not specific; the masses do not define the issues around which action shall revolve. This the leader must do.

Lewis Killian, "Leadership in the Desegregation Crises: An Institutional Analysis," in Muzafer Sherif, ed., *Intergroup Relations and Leadership* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 159.

[33] Southern Negro students who actively participated in the early phases of the sit-in movement "tended to be unusually optimistic about race relations and tolerant of whites [when compared with inactive Negro students]. They not only _were_ better off, objectively speaking, than other Negroes but _felt_ better off." Matthews and Prothro, p. 424.

[34] This is particularly the case in cities such as Washington, D.C., where landlord-tenant laws offer little protection against retaliatory eviction. See, e.g., Robert Schoshinski, "Remedies of the Indigent Tenant: Proposal for Change," *Georgetown Law Journal*, 54, 2 (Winter, 1966), pp. 541ff.

[35] Wilson regarded this as a chief reason for lack of protest activity in 1961. He wrote: ". . . some of the goals now being sought by Negroes are least applicable to those groups of Negroes most suited to protest action. Protest action involving such tactics as mass meetings, picketing, boycotts, and strikes rarely find enthusiastic participants among upper-income and higher status individuals." "The Strategy of Protest," p. 296.

[36] See, *The New York Times*, February 12, 1966, p. 56.

[37] On housing clinic services provided by political clubs, see James Q. Wilson, *The Amateur Democrat: Club Politics in Three Cities* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 63-4, 176. On the need for lawyers among low

income people, see e.g., The Extension of Legal Services to the Poor,
Conference Proceedings (Washington, D.C., n.d.), esp. pp. 51-60;
"Neighborhood Law Offices: The New Wave in Legal Services for the Poor,"
Harvard Law Review, 80, 4 (February, 1967), pp. 805-50.

[38]An illustration of low income group protest organization mobi-
lized for veto purposes is provided by Dahl in "The Case of the Metal
Houses." See Who Governs?, pp. 192ff.

[39]Norton Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," in
Long, The Polity, Charles Press, ed. (Chicago, 1962), p. 153. See pp.
152-4. See also Roscoe C. Martin, Frank J. Munger, et al., Decisions
in Syracuse: A Metropolitan Action Study (Garden City, N.Y., 1965)
(originally published: 1961), pp. 326-7.

[40]See, e.g., Thompson, p. 134, and passim; Martin Oppenheimer,
"The Southern Student Movement: Year I," Journal of Negro Education,
XXXIII, 4 (Fall, 1964), p. 397; Cothran, p. 72; Pauli Murray, "Protest
Against the Legal Status of the Negro," The Annals, 357 (January, 1965),
p. 63; Allan P. Sindler, "Protest Against the Political Status of the
Negroes," The Annals, 357 (January, 1965), p. 50.

[41]See Banfield, p. 275.

[42]For a case study of the interaction between protest leaders and
newspaper reporters, see Michael Lipsky, "Rent Strikes in New York City:
Protest Politics and the Power of the Poor," Unpublished Ph.D. diss.,
Princeton University, 1967, pp. 139-49. Bernard Cohen has analyzed
the impact of the press on foreign policy from the perspective of
reporters' role requirements. See his The Press and Foreign Policy
(Princeton, N.J., 1963), esp. chs. 2-3.

[43]An example of a protest conducted by middle-class women engaged
in pragmatic protest over salvaging park space is provided in John B.
Keeley, Moses on the Green, Inter-University Case Program, No. 45
(University, Ala., 1959).

[44]This was the complaint of Floyd McKissick, National Director of
the Congress of Racial Equality, when he charged that ". . . there are
only two kinds of statements a black man can make and expect that the
white press will report. . . . First . . . is an attack on another
black man. . . . The second is a statement that sounds radical, violent,
extreme--the verbal equivalent of a riot. . . . [T]he Negro is being
rewarded by the public media only if he turns on another Negro and uses
his tongue as a switchblade, or only if he sounds outlandish, extremist
or psychotic." Statement at the Convention of the American Society of
Newspaper Editors, April 20, 1967, Washington, D.C., as reported in
The New York Times, April 21, 1967, p. 22. See also the remarks of
journalist Ted Poston, Ibid., April 26, 1965, p. 26.

[45]Matthews and Prothro found, for example, that in their south-wide
Negro population sample, 38 percent read Negro-oriented magazines and

17 percent read newspapers written for Negroes. These media treat news of interest to Negroes more completely and sympathetically than do the general media. See pp. 248ff.

[46]See footnote 31 above.

[47]Wilson, Negro Politics, p. 225.

[48]See Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, Governing New York City (New York, 1960), pp. 257ff. Also see Banfield, p. 267.

[49]See Wilson, The Amateur Democrats, previously cited. These groups are most likely to be characterized by broad scope of political interest and frequent intervention in politics. See Sayre and Kaufman, p. 79.

[50]Another approach, persuasively presented by Wilson, concentrates on protest success as a function of the relative unity and vulnerability of targets. See "The Strategy of Protest," pp. 293ff. This insight helps explain, for example, why protest against housing segregation commonly takes the form of action directed against government (a unified target) rather than against individual homeowners (who present a dispersed target).

One problem with this approach is that it tends to obscure the possibility that targets, as collections of individuals, may be divided in evaluation of and sympathy for protest demands. Indeed, city agency administrators under some circumstances act as partisans in protest conflicts. As such, they frequently appear ambivalent toward protest goals: sympathetic to the ends while concerned that the means employed in protest reflect negatively on their agencies.

[51]Sayre and Kaufman, p. 253.

[52]See Ibid., pp. 253ff.

[53]See Lipsky, chs. 5-6. The appearance of responsiveness may be given by city officials in anticipation of protest activity. This seems to have been the strategy of Mayor Richard Daley in his reaction to the announcement of Martin Luther King's plans to focus civil rights efforts on Chicago. See The New York Times, February 1, 1966, p. 11.

[54]Edelman, p. 23.

[55]See Lipsky, pp. 156, 249ff.

[56]On the strategy of appearing constrained, see Schelling, pp. 22ff.

[57]Clark, pp. 154ff.