THE EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT, AND FUTURE OF THE FRAMING PERSPECTIVE: 25+ YEARS SINCE "FRAME ALIGNMENT”[*]

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It has been more than twenty-five years since publication of David Snow, Burke Rochford, Steven Worden, and Robert Benford’s article, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation” in the American Sociological Review *(1986). Here we consider the conceptual and empirical origins of the framing perspective, how its introduction fundamentally altered and continues to influence the study of social movements, and where scholarly research on social movement framing is still needed.*

Over twenty-five years ago, David Snow, Burke Rochford, Steven Worden, and Robert Benford published an article in the *American Sociological Review* (1986) titled, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation.” In the years since, this foundational work has altered the direction of social movement research in profound ways. In the following pages, David Snow and Rob Benford describe the inception, emergence, and development of the framing perspective. Holly McCammon charts recent directions in framing scholarship, and Lyndi Hewitt and Scott Fitzgerald point to a number of areas in which framing research continues to need the close attention of scholars.

We see our collective reflection on the trajectory of this major theoretical paradigm as instructive in a number of ways: (1) it reveals the backstage dynamics entailed in the formation of significant intellectual ideas, reminding us that genuine curiosity about human behavior often informs powerful research ideas; (2) it proffers an explanation of the rise and wide reception of the framing perspective; (3) it provides an extensive overview of current empirical research on framing; and (4) it offers us an opportunity to take stock of the framing perspective—to articulate twenty-five years after this seminal work what we do and still do not know.

DAVID SNOW: RESEARCH-BIOGRAPHIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE 1986 FRAME ALIGNMENT ARTICLE

The biography or story of the evolution of scholarly works, particularly those that have achieved some measure of significance or notoriety, is too rarely elaborated. More often than not, it appears that scholarly contributions just materialize. Most scholars know otherwise, however, as their contributions often rest on a quite extensive and sometimes even circuitous biography. Here, I elaborate a problem-oriented, biographically sequential sketch of the

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[*] Our article derives from a panel at the 2012 Southern Sociological Society meetings, New Orleans. Author order reflects the order of the panelists’ presentations and allows us to provide a chronological discussion of the development of the framing perspective.

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© 2014 Mobilization: An International Quarterly 19(1): 23-45

factors contributing to the writing and publication of the 1986 *American Sociological Review* article, which was coauthored with Burke Rochford, Jr., (Middlebury College), Steven K. Worden (University of Arkansas), and Rob Benford (University of South Florida). I begin with various empirically grounded research observations and questions that were not answered satisfactorily at the time by the dominant conceptual and theoretical perspectives within the study of social movements, and then turn to how the idea of frame alignment emerged when it did.

The Problem of Biographic and Experiential Alignment

My interest in what I later came to understand as framing processes dates back to the first half of the 1970s when I was ethnographically studying recruitment and conversion to the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist movement (now called Soka Gakkai International) in the U.S. (Snow 1993). During my research as a full-fledged participant observer for nearly two years, I was intrigued by how individuals who initially had little to no understanding of the movement would come not only to embrace its beliefs and practices, but also to redefine who they were in terms of those very beliefs and practices. Time and again, apparent cultural strangers would come to a meeting, agree to experiment with the practice, and, several months later, not only avow previously foreign religious beliefs but use them and the practices in which they were embedded as the bases for constructing a new or revitalized sense of their biography and self. How this occurred became a topic of gnawing curiosity to me.

There were already a number of social science concepts that named and described this process. For example, it could be described as the adoption of what Burke (1965: 99) called a new "informing point of view," a change in what Mead (1962: 89) called one's "universe of discourse" or Berger's (1963: 61) "meaning system," or what Shibutani (1961) called an "identity transformation." The problem with such concepts is that they named or identified a transformative process without identifying the central mechanisms that affected the changes in question. My own research on the conjoint processes of recruitment to and association with Nichiren Shoshu revealed the importance of network ties among family, friends, and acquaintances in channeling recruitment (Snow 1993; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980), and of conversion processes in affecting participation (Snow and Machalek 1983; Snow and Phillips 1980). But it later became clear to me that these initial analyses also glossed over an important aspect of the affiliation process, namely, the intragroup discursive processes that functioned to align prospective members' biographic understandings with the movement's perspective or informing point of view.

As I reexamined my field notes covering the first time I "gave testimony" to the power of chanting at our chanting-cell meetings, which included other members and invited guests, I found the importance of these discursive processes poignantly underscored. The public rendering of testimonies by rank-and-file members was a routinized feature of these meetings, so it was not terribly surprising to be called upon to give testimony. Even though many members were aware of my research, they treated me first and foremost as a fellow member, I suspect because, as a full-fledged participant observer, I engaged in the repertoire of activities associated with membership adherence, such as individual and collective chanting, attending meetings regularly, going into the streets on recruiting expeditions, and participation in the movement's various peer-group associations. In any case, the following incident graphically illustrates the character and importance of the discursive alignment of individual and group understandings or interpretations, which my colleagues and I (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986) subsequently conceptualized in terms of "frame alignment processes":

> Upon being called by the leader to give testimony, I bounded to my feet and scurried to the front of the room where our leader sat to the side of the alter that contained the "sacred" scroll to which we had just chanted for about 40 minutes. I immediately indicated how I got involved in Nichiren Shoshu, emphasizing my research interests associated with my status as a

> graduate student at UCLA. I indicated that although I chanted and participated in various movement activities, I was "too much of a skeptic" to believe that chanting was the source of the various good things that had happened recently, such as the birth of a healthy daughter within the past several months. Despite this skepticism, I indicated that I would continue to chant so long as I was participating in the movement. "After all," I added, "there is nothing to lose, and maybe I will benefit from chanting."

No sooner had I completed my comments and returned to my spot on the floor than the leader interpreted what I had said so that it was consistent with the movement's claims and recruitment interests. Looking directly at a number of guests that he saw as prospective members, he said:

> See, good things happen to you when you chant…. You don't have to believe in the power of chanting. Dave says he is "too much of a skeptic" to believe that chanting produces various kinds of benefits. But good things have happened to him since he started chanting, and in time he will come to see the connection between chanting and benefit in his life. So like Dave, you don't have to believe in the power and benefits of chanting. So why not give chanting a try? You have nothing to lose!

As I continued to participate in the movement and reexamined my earlier field notes and meeting tape recordings, it became increasingly clear that this particular incident was far from an isolated one. Rather, the "alignment" or "fitting" of prospective and actual members' life experiences and biographies with each other and the movement's informing point of view were salient and ongoing features of the interchange and discourse within movement contexts. In other words, it was clear that a good deal of talk and activity within movement contexts (e.g., between members, and between members and guests) involved this alignment or fitting.

I did not become a committed Nichiren Shoshu adherent, of course, but the accounts and testimonies of member after member provide examples of their reinterpretation—that is, realignment—of aspects of their biographies and how they came to see their presents and futures in ways that were in accord with the movement's informing point of view and associated ritual practices. Typical is the following account of a twenty-six-year-old member:

> Before joining Nichiren Shoshu I blamed any problems I had on other people or on the environment. It was always my parents, or school, or society. But through chanting I discovered the real source of my difficulties: myself. Chanting has helped me to realize that rather than running around blaming others, I am the one who needs to change.

Similarly, another male member, age twenty-five, recounted:

> My karma used to be really bad. It was apparent to most everyone but me. I bounced from one job to another and was really irresponsible. Only I didn't know it then. It was always somebody else's fault, or at least I thought so. It is only recently that I have come to realize that I was having these problems because of me. There is no blaming others now.

Embedded in these accounts is a shift in attributional orientation from externalization of blame to its internalization, which is consistent with the movement's ideology and is thus reflective of the attributional realignment, or fitting, that Benford and I eventually came to understand as a key component of diagnostic framing (Snow and Benford 1988). Yet it was not just the alignment of members' biographies and attributional orientations with the movement's universe of discourse that was regularly evident, but also their transformation into mobilizable agents whose self-interests and daily routines coincided with the movement's cause or mission. As a Nichiren Shoshu convert who aspired to be a nationally ranked tennis player explained, "Before I started to chant, I had no concrete purpose in playing tennis. I used to think of all the troubles other people had and tennis seemed like a joke. But at those last two tennis tournaments I felt like I was playing for world peace," which the movement claimed at that time to be its ultimate aim.

My subsequent discussion of these observations with Burke Rochford revealed that such alignment activity was also a readily observable and ongoing feature of discourse within the Hare Krishna movement in the U.S., which he was studying at the time.[1] These common observations and resultant discussions led to a coauthored paper exploring very generally the relationship between the alignment process and movement recruitment (Snow and Rochford 1983).

As I continued to examine my Nichiren Shoshu field data, and read about participation in other movements, I found that this alignment activity was not all of the same stripe, however. Rather, it took somewhat different forms. In some instances, the alignment involved a fairly dramatic transformation in the interpretation of one's biography, as typically found in cases of religious conversion. In other instances, it involved slight and more nuanced changes in one's understanding or interpretation of aspects of one's biography or some seminal experience. And in still other instances, it involved the extension of the movement's perspective to events in the world or areas of life that were not previously seen as being relevant or were regarded as outside of the movement's interpretive bailiwick. These observations led to a paper on alignment processes and recruitment to and participation in social movements that was presented at a University of Michigan colloquium in 1984.

These various observations and discussions made it clear that the recruitment and participation processes, including conversion processes, in the context of social movements were more complex than typically portrayed in the literature. The problem was that there was no available conceptual apparatus or theoretical perspective within the study of social movements, and collective action more generally, that illuminated these observations or allowed for their theorization. Instead, matters of recruitment and participation were explained in terms of various social psychological propellants, such as relative deprivation, status inconsistency, alienation, spoiled or soiled identities, and the like[2]; attributed to prefigured ideological correspondence; or glossed over or pushed aside as unproblematic by the evolving resource mobilization and political opportunity perspectives.[3] The one exception was Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina's (1982) study of three incidents of "fabricated" micromobilization in which they introduced the concept of injustice frames. Still, while their experimental studies wedged social psychology into the resource mobilization perspective, the analysis did not congeal into a perspective that satisfactorily addressed the questions of concern. Thus, the conceptual and theoretical tool kit within the study of social movements was not very helpful in providing a handle for understanding the alignment processes observed. In short, a conceptual frame was not available for examining and discussing these processes in an analytically useful fashion.[4] However, within the next few years, between 1984 and 1986, such a conceptual edifice began to evolve into what is now referred to as the framing perspective on social movements.

Austin NIMBY Movements and a Seminar on Goffman

In 1984, while I continued to tussle conceptually with the alignment problem in relation to the recruitment and participation processes, Leon Anderson and I began to study the growing problem of homelessness within the Austin, Texas metropolitan area.[5] In Austin, just as in most major U.S. cities in the first half of the 1980s, not only were more and more homeless people appearing in its parks and on its streets, but homelessness was also becoming a major problem for the city. Among the various aspects of the problem that attracted our attention was the escalating tension between neighborhoods and the city's efforts to build and relocate a new Salvation Army facility. The existing facility was not only much too small to help meet some of the many needs of the city's rapidly expanding homeless population, but it was also located on property that was coveted by developers associated with the glittering redevelopment of a then-booming downtown. Consequently, there was a dire need for a new facility in a new location.

The relocation effort proved particularly onerous and contentious, however, as it wound its way through one neighborhood after another. At each prospective site, it engendered strident, organized community opposition that constituted a variant of the "not in my backyard" movements commonly referred to by the NIMBY acronym.[6] One of the central features of these defensive neighborhood movements in Austin was the portrayal of the neighborhood and its residents as being severely threatened by the proximate relocation of the Salvation Army. This was not a simple rhetorical task, however, since the Salvation Army was identified with the values of Christian charity and outreach. Thus, a more negatively evaluated target of opposition was needed, which was provided by the growing number of transient homeless men who had migrated to Austin and were served by the Salvation Army. As one neighborhood activist revealed,

> Everybody believed we couldn't fight the Salvation Army because it is good. But you can make anything look bad. So we focused on the transients, and emphasized how they threatened neighborhood residents, particularly women and children.

And that was, indeed, what the neighborhood activists did, repeatedly framing the homeless as criminally inclined, drunken, sex-crazed men who would infiltrate their neighborhoods and "rob their homes" and "rape the women." As Anderson and I observed,

> In one prospective neighborhood, signs were hung on doors asking, "Do you want your women raped and your children mauled?" In another, residents appeared before the city council carrying placards that read "Vagrance (*sic*) and kids don't mix" and gave testimony highlighting the threat to women and children posed by the homeless. One neighborhood resident emphasized "how the neighborhoods will be unfit for raising children," and another angrily asked the council whether they understood the "impact these womanless men will have on schoolchildren, on women, and on families." The local Catholic university located adjacent to one of the prospective sites joined the resistance, similarly framing its opposition in terms of the danger the homeless posed to its students. As the chairman of the university's board of trustees emphasized on three different occasions at one board meeting: "We have to be able to reassure the thousand coeds on campus, and I don't think we can." (Snow and Anderson 1993: 97)

While these local NIMBY movements were attempting to mobilize citizens and persuade political officials about the dangers of locating facilities for the homeless next to residential neighborhoods, the Salvation Army and its proponents were not sitting by idly. Rather, they proffered their own counterframings that attempted, in some instances, to deflect attention from homeless men to the many poor and homeless women and children the Salvation Army served and, in other instances, to reframe homeless men as victims rather than potential victimizers. Public hearing after public hearing in city council chambers were essentially framing contests between local NIMBY activists and adherents, on the one hand, and advocates for the Salvation Army and its relocation, on the other. In the end, the NIMBY negative framing of the homeless and corresponding mobilization of neighborhood residents won the day, as the Salvation Army was relocated downtown, only blocks from its original site, rather than in the various neighborhoods mobilized against its proximate relocation.

When this was occurring, the framing language had not yet come together into an available and useable conceptual apparatus for grasping and analyzing the signifying activity or meaning construction that is a central feature of such contentious mobilizations.[7] While these mobilizations occurred, I was teaching a graduate seminar at the University of Texas on the work of Erving Goffman. The entire seminar was devoted to reading and discussing Goffman's various works, including his 1974 *Frame Analysis*. It was during discussion of that book that something clicked and it occurred to me that perhaps the frame concept and its extension to the study of social movements might provide the conceptual handle and analytic leverage for which I was looking to address. Framing, I thought, might very will the alignment problem and the signifying, discursive aspects of interaction both within movements and between movements and other relevant organizational actors (e.g., adversaries, elites, control agents, media, public, countermovements). The problem with Goffman's seminal contribution, however, was that it did not provide the mechanisms for affecting changes in frames other than the general idea of "keying." Goffman (1974: 43-44) conceptualized keying as an interpretive transcriptional and transformational mechanism "by which a given activity, one already meaningful in some ordinary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else." The transformation or alteration is "systematic" in that it "radically reconstitute[s] what it is for [participants] that is going on" (Goffman 1974: 45). While keying conceptually and empirically captured the kinds of interpretive transformations associated with what we came to call "frame transformation" (Snow et al. 1986), including conversion, it did not capture the other three alignment processes I had noted.

That concern notwithstanding, I began to link Goffman's treatment of framing to the various kinds of alignment I had observed and shared these evolving thoughts with the seminar, which included two doctoral students, Rob Benford and Steve Worden, who found the ideas particularly relevant to their dissertation interests and who subsequently joined me, along with Burke Rochford, as coauthors of the paper on "frame alignment processes" in relation to movement micromobilization and participation, which was written in 1985 and published a year later (Snow et al. 1986).[8] In looking back at the course of our discussions, it now seems clear that the four alignment processes we identified and named—frame bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation—evolved in an almost abductive fashion, moving from Goffman's general conception of framing through our observational data from four different movements (Nichiren Shoshu, Hare Krishna, nuclear disarmament, urban neighborhood NIMBY mobilization) to agreement on the four named alignment processes as covering terms that sufficiently captured and fit our observations. While we called upon Goffman's *Fame Analysis* for his general conceptualization of framing (and his more specific discussion of keying), rather than using the keying concept, we opted for the term and process of frame transformation because it struck us as being conceptually clearer and terminologically consistent with the other three types of frame alignment.[9]

Shortly after the frame alignment publication, we received two invitations to participate in what now can be considered important social movement conferences—in Amsterdam in 1986 and Ann Arbor in 1988—which provided opportunities to extend and elaborate some of the ideas sketched in the concluding section of the frame alignment article. I invited Benford to join me in both endeavors, thus cementing our collaborative, ongoing contribution to a framing perspective on social movements. This collaboration produced the article "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization" (Snow and Benford 1988), and the 1992 chapter, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest" (Snow and Benford 1992), which were written respectively for the Amsterdam and Ann Arbor conferences. Benford later independently published a number of papers extending and elaborating aspects of the framing perspective with data drawn from his research on the nuclear disarmament movement (Benford 1993a, 1993b), as well as a critical assessment of the evolving perspective and its uses and abuses (Benford 1997). Subsequently, we collaborated on an analysis of the relationship between framing processes and identity fields with Scott Hunt, a former student of Benford's (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994), on framing processes and crossnational diffusion processes (Snow and Benford 1999), on an extensive review of the social movement framing literature (Benford and Snow 2000), and on clarifying the relationship between ideology and framing (Snow and Benford 2000) in response to an essay on the same topic by Oliver and Johnston (2000). Later, I examined the relationship between framing and discursive contexts and ideology (Snow 2004; Snow 2008) and between framing and resonance (Snow and Corrigall-Brown 2005), and have empirically explored with former students the relevance of framing processes to the outcomes of homeless mobilization (Cress and Snow 2000), to the French riots of 2005 (Snow, Vliegenhart, and Corrigall-Brown 2007), and to Islamic terrorist movements (Snow and Byrd 2007). Not all of these extensions and explorations directly examined each of the four frame alignment processes initially elaborated in the 1986 article, but they are all rooted in that article.

ROBERT BENFORD: THE FRAMING PERSPECTIVE'S DEVELOPMENT, DIFFUSION, AND RESONANCE

The social movement framing perspective was not an overnight sensation. Prior to the appearance of the frame alignment paper, several social movement scholars had invoked Goffman's (1974) frame analytic concepts (Gamson et al. 1982; Gitlin 1977, 1980; Moore 1978; Tuchman 1978). However, at the time our paper appeared in print the idea had yet to gain traction among social movement scholars. It was rarely cited by movement scholars during the first five years after the paper was published, averaging only ten citations per year through 1991 (*Google Scholar*, July 17, 2012).[10] While it continued to gain popularity among movement researchers throughout the decade of the 1990s, it was not until 2000, nearly fifteen years after its initial appearance, that the article reached the one-hundred citations per year threshold. Over the past five years it has averaged nearly 300 citations per year. At this writing, it has been cited 3,282 times and remains one of the most frequently cited articles published in the *American Sociological Review* (Jacobs 2005).

What accounts for the movement framing perspective's dramatic ascension and sustained popularity? Or, to couch the question in the language of framing, why did the concepts resonate among so many students of social movements?

The social movement framing perspective was outlined in a trilogy of theoretical papers (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992). The latter two built on the ideas of the initial 1986 article, and each augmented the visibility of the companion pieces. Moreover, each paper was read by both overlapping and distinctive audiences. The 1986 frame alignment paper, given its placement in *ASR*, primarily reached mainstream sociological audiences. The 1988 frame resonance paper, which was initially presented at a conference in Amsterdam and was published in *International Social Movement Research*, contributed to the diffusion of the framing perspective throughout Western Europe. Given that the framing perspective bore a family resemblance to the emerging and, at that juncture, the mostly European New Social Movements perspective, framing concepts were embraced by movement scholars across a number of European countries. The 1992 master frames paper was presented at a large social movements' conference in Ann Arbor in 1988. It was eventually published in a widely adopted, graduate-level collection entitled *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Morris and Mueller (1992). *Frontiers*' popularity contributed to the diffusion of the framing perspective to a much larger audience of graduate students, thereby introducing the ideas to the next generation of social movement researchers. Taken together, the trilogy of papers contributed to the dissemination and apprehension of the social movement framing perspective among wider and wider circles of academic audiences. But it was the initial framing of the framing perspective that opened up the field's opportunity structure, allowing for the dissemination and diffusion of the core ideas and concepts.

We strategically framed the original 1986 article so that it aligned with the resource mobilization and structuralist perspectives that dominated the field throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This was a major factor contributing to the construct's acceptance (at *ASR* and among many of the field's gatekeepers) and its diffusion, and was a source of some initial criticisms (Gamson 1992; Jasper 1997; Kriesi, Koopmans, Dyvendak, and Giugni 1995; Steinberg 1998). Because many viewed the frame alignment process as having a top-down and instrumentalist focus (Benford 1997), it is not surprising that the bulk of early research based on the framing perspective focused on strategic framing rather than on the interactionist, constructionist, and discursive processes associated with collective action and social movement dynamics (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow 2004). Yet, because the paper bridged structural and cultural perspectives on social movements and because it emerged on the wave of linguistic, cultural, and post-positivistic turning tides in the social sciences, it eventually enjoyed widespread acceptance among movement scholars.

The social movement framing perspective lent itself to addressing and synthesizing static and dynamic dimensions of social movements. This was in part due to the linguistic elasticity of the core term which could be employed both as a noun—*frame*—and a verb—*framing*. Hence, analysts could examine the processes by which grievances were constructed, contested, and disseminated (*framing*) as well as describe, assess, and compare the products of those interactions or ideational work (*frame*). This linguistic elasticity also contributed to the perspective's popularity by making the ideas more amenable than other contending constructs, such as ideology, to scholars' desire to talk about and illuminate aspects of both the structure and dynamics of social movements (cf., Oliver and Johnston 2000; Snow and Benford 2000). While the bulk of early research inspired by the frame alignment article focused on the products of ideational work—that is, on specific frames or what I refer to as the "frame name game"—movement scholars subsequently shifted their analytic spotlight to shine on the negotiated and contested dimensions of collective action frames and framing.

Another factor that contributed to the popularity of the social movement framing perspective was the extent to which the concepts were grounded in activists' and movement adherents' everyday discourse. In my study of the nuclear disarmament movement in the 1980s, I was frequently struck by activists' concerns regarding the perceived legitimacy of their claims. Peace activists often engaged in rancorous debates about how to frame the nuclear threat in a fashion that would resonate among their various target audiences. The outcomes of such discussions not only affected the rhetorical strategies and tactics SMOs deployed and their capacity to mobilize, but also helped shape the movement's internal structure, especially the constellation of SMOs and their alignment into various wings and coalitions (Benford 1993a). More importantly for the present discussion, these conversations regarding how best to frame a specific movement's grievances were repeated in virtually every movement that social movement scholars studied. Activists could readily be observed routinely engaging in framing activities. The ubiquity of framing thus presents itself to movement scholars as a steady flow of empirical grist for our mills.

Finally, the resonance of the frame alignment article was amplified by shifting currents in the wider cultural milieux. By the Reagan presidency (1981-88), it became increasingly obvious that "spin" was an important aspect of mainstream politics. Social movement activists found it necessary to develop rhetorical skills that would help them counter the hegemonic discourse of power elites, convert bystanders, and mobilize sympathizers and adherents. This evolving necessity was made all the more essential by technological innovations, particularly in electronic communications. By the 1990s, social movement activists had at their disposal new media for recruiting adherents, mobilizing constituents, and countering opponents. One of several implications of the advent of the Internet and World Wide Web was that the sheer volume of messages yielded exponential increases in collective action frames and framing activities. Consequently, social movement scholars enjoyed a dramatic expansion in accessible, analyzable data, especially data associated with framing activities. That upsurge in the volume of framing activity appears to continue unabated today and helps perpetuate and sustain the utility of the framing perspective.[11]

HOLLY MCCAMMON: RECENT DIRECTIONS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMING RESEARCH

The *American Sociological Review* article on frame alignment that David Snow, Robert Benford, and their colleagues published in 1986 fundamentally changed scholarly research on social movements. The paper, along with their subsequent work (Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992; Benford and Snow 2000), while building on a structural focus, encouraged and convinced social movement scholars to move beyond the utilities of social structure and add to our theoretical repertoire a framing perspective. Such an approach allowed researchers to begin considering the ideational and discursive elements of social activism that until this time had been mostly overlooked. In time, this call to action for social movement scholars spawned (literally) a growth industry within social movement studies. Researchers began to examine, with gusto, the meaning making and claims making that occur in collective action. We can now say that the framing perspective redirected the study of social movements into this cultural and discursive realm. In *Google Scholar* (as of fall 2012), as Benford points out, Snow et al. (1986) has been cited over 3,000 times with citation counts for the other papers following not far behind (see table 1). These high counts not only reveal the framing perspective's significant impact but also place the Snow et al. (1986) article among the most widely cited articles in the discipline of sociology as a whole (Caren 2012; Jacobs 2005). Quite simply, the framing perspective has become a dominant theoretical foundation upon which social movement researchers routinely build their research.

Given the plethora of framing studies, we might ask, what are the directions that empirical social movement framing research has taken in recent years? In an effort to answer this question, I examine publications on social movement framing in six top sociology journals for roughly the last decade, from 2000 through 2011. I include top generalist outlets, specifically, *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, and *Social Problems*, and top social movement specialty journals, *Mobilization* and *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*. I used *Sociological Abstracts* to search for articles with abstracts containing either of the keywords "frame(s)" or "framing," and, for the generalist journals, I specified that the keyword "social movement(s)" must also appear in the abstract along with either "frame(s)" or "framing." From the articles culled from this search, I retained those that were empirical investigations of activist framing efforts.[12] My search turned up 40 articles in these six journals, and I list them in table 2 (and the appendix).[13]

The framing articles are not evenly distributed across the journals. *Mobilization*, the top specialty journal in the study of social movements, has published the largest number, accounting for close to half of the articles over the last decade. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* and *Social Problems* have each published seven framing articles. *American Journal of Sociology* and *Social Forces* have four apiece, and *American Sociological Review* just two. One point of interest, however, is that both specialty and generalist journals are publishing research on social movement framing, revealing that collective action framing is a topic of interest to both specialty and generalist sociological audiences.

Looking more closely at this set of framing studies reveals that, in terms of methods of analysis, most scholarship to date is qualitative rather than quantitative. Only six of the articles listed in table 2 use quantitative (that is, regression-based) methods to examine social movement framing.[14] The remaining studies use qualitative methods, sometimes including qualitative comparative analysis (see Cress and Snow 2000 for an example; see also Ragin 2000). Most qualitative studies describe the frame or frames utilized by activists and provide a narrative account, for instance, of how framing shapes a movement outcome—perhaps how activists use a particular frame successfully to attract new members. This suggests an avenue for further research in social movement framing, one in which scholars utilize quantitative assessments to verify and build upon what we have learned from a rich body of qualitative scholarship. Gathering and analyzing quantitative data on social movement framing is challenging, especially when trying to generate comparable framing measures across a sizeable number of cases. Rigorously conducted content analysis with reliability checks among coders can be a valuable technique in gathering such data.

Table 1. Google Scholar Citation Counts as of Fall 2012

Article	Count
Snow et al. (1986)	3,282
Snow and Benford (1988)	2,049
Snow and Benford (1992)	1,750
Benford and Snow (2000)	2,424

Table 2. Empirical Studies of Movement Framing in Six Sociology Journals, 2000-2011

Cress and Snow 2000 AJS
McCright and Dunlap 2000 SP
Smith 2000 RSMCC
Zwerman et al. 2000 Moby

Buffonge 2001 RSMCC
Fetner 2001 SP
Maney 2001 RSMCC
McCammon et al. 2001 ASR

Cadena-Roa 2002 Moby

Einwohner 2003 AJS
Reese & Newcombe 2003 SP

Hewitt & McCammon 2004 Moby
McVeigh et al. 2004 SF
Schrock et al. 2004 SP
Suh 2004 Moby

Adams & Roscigno 2005 SF
Fujiwara 2005 SP
Funk-Unrau 2005 RSMCC
Stern 2005 Moby

Alimi 2006 Moby
Bosi 2006 Moby
Mika 2006 SF
Pedriana 2006 AJS

McCammon et al. 2007 ASR
Snow & Byrd 2007 Moby
Snow et al. 2007 SF

Nadeem 2008 RSMCC
Trumpy 2008 SP

Fitzgerald 2009 Moby
McCammon 2009 Moby

Dove 2010 RSMCC
Halfmann & Young 2010 Moby
Horton 2010 Moby
Oselin & Corrigall-Brown 2010 Moby
Paschel 2010 AJS
Wetzel 2010 RSMCC
Wooten 2010 Moby

Coe 2011 Moby
Faupel & Werum 2011 Moby
Haydu 2011 SP

Notes: These articles appear in six sociology journals: *American Journal of Sociology* (AJS), *American Sociological Review* (ASR), *Mobilization* (Moby), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* (RSMCC), *Social Forces* (SF), and *Social Problems* (SP).

I identify five types of framing data sources (see table 3 and appendix) used by the authors of the studies examined here. Many of the articles draw on multiple data sources, so some articles appear more than once in table 3. Member/activist-generated discursive materials constitute a major source of information about social movement framing. These discursive materials include documents, speeches, and other articulations provided by movement members (sometimes called "speech acts"). Frames may also be gleaned through a researcher's interviews with activists or participant observation of activists. In these cases the agents doing the framing typically provide the data. The tabulation in table 3 shows that many scholars do draw on these direct sources of framing data. Some research, however, depends on media accounts or research generated by other scholars (that is, secondary sources) to generate framing data, and in such cases a filtering process may operate, excluding certain frames from the account and inaccurately representing others. Such filtering can introduce a problematic element in research on social movement framing. However, much of the time scholars combine framing information drawn from the media or secondary sources with direct social movement sources to assess and counteract the influences of filtering (see appendix). Scholars gathering framing data will do well to remain cognizant of potential sources of bias in their data and to take all available steps to guard against possible distortions in their framing information.

This overview of the framing literature also reveals that among the studies examined here most consider causal relationships involving collective action framing. Table 4 lists four causal configurations evident in the studies and the number of studies in each category: 1) framing as the independent variable, 2) framing as the dependent variable, 3) framing as both independent and dependent variable, and 4) no causal relationship considered. Eight of the 40 studies do not attempt to disentangle causality (see the last category in table 4 and appendix) but instead provide descriptive accounts of the content of movement framing. As Benford (1997) indicates, many of the earliest empirical framing investigations held a "descriptive bias," in that they simply endeavored to define the types of frames deployed by movement participants (the "frame name game"), and he encouraged researchers to take the next step and explore causal relationships. Among our sample of framing studies, one article each in 2000,

Table 3. Types of Data Sources Used in Framing Studies

Type of Data Source	*Articles*
Activist-produced speech acts (e.g., newsletters, speeches, leaflets, websites, etc.)	30
Interviews with activists	15
Participant-observation of activists	8
(Nonactivist) newspapers or other media sources	18
Secondary sources	18

Table 4. Causal Configurations in Social Movement Framing Studies

Causal Configurations	*Number of Articles*
Framing as independent variable (framing → Y)	21
Framing as dependent variable (X → framing)	9
Framing as both independent and dependent variable	2
Framing as neither independent nor dependent variable	8

2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010 provide descriptive accounts without investigating a causal relationship, suggesting that the trend over time is not clearly away from these types of studies. On the other hand, 32 of the 40 articles examine one or more causal processes, although only two of these (Oselin and Corrigall-Brown 2010; Pedriana 2006) explore movement framing as *both* independent and dependent variables, which suggests the need for additional studies that integrate these focuses. The sizeable portion of framing studies examining causal relationships overall, however, indicates that many scholars took Benford's early advice and are now well-immersed in the task of deciphering how frames can influence and be influenced.

The largest category of studies in table 4 situates framing as an exogenous factor, examining framing's influence on political and economic outcomes, movement mobilization, the emotions of social movement participants, movement solidarity, and fundraising by activists (see table 5). The most common dependent variable (when framing is considered as an independent variable) is a political or economic outcome. These studies consider, for example, whether movement frames influence policy or law making, or they might ask, can framing influence corporate action? The second most common dependent variable is movement mobilization, often defined as recruitment of new members. This was Snow et al.'s core research question in their seminal 1986 article and it is intriguing to see how this same question continues to animate framing research today. Moreover, in *all* of the studies presented in table 5, scholars find an important effect of movement framing. Clearly we now

Table 5. When Framing Is the Independent Variable ("Framing → Y"): What Is "Y"?

Dependent Variable (when framing is independent variable)	*% of studies with framing as an independent variable*	**N**
Political or economic outcomes	52	12
Movement mobilization	48	11
Movement emotions	4	1
Movement solidarity	4	1
Movement fundraising	4	1

Notes: Percentages do not sum to 100 because some studies have more than one dependent variable. Twenty-three studies considered framing as an independent variable (including two studies that treat framing as both the independent and dependent variable).

Table 6. When Framing Is the Dependent Variable ("X → Framing"): What Is "X"?

Independent Variable (when framing is dep. variable)	*% of studies with framing as an dependent variable*	**N**
Cultural themes in broader context	45	5
Political opportunities	45	5
Movement collective identity	36	4
Dynamic interactions (within coalitions and between movements and ountermovements)	27	3

Notes: Percentages do not sum to 100 because some studies have more than one independent variable. Eleven studies consider framing as a dependent variable (including two studies that treat framing as both independent and dependent variable).

know that Snow et al. (1986) were correct in their assertion that framing plays a pivotal and influential role in social movement activism and that the meanings articulated by activists and the framing of their core claims have a decisive impact on building movements, winning positive outcomes, and shaping the overall trajectories of movement efforts.

Another cluster of framing studies treats framing as the phenomenon to be explained. I uncovered 11 such studies[16], fewer than those in which framing is the explanatory factor (compare tables 4 and 6). We learn from investigations of framing as the dependent variable that the larger cultural context, political opportunities, movement collective identity, and interactions with other actors in the movement field (such as coalition partners and counter-movements) all matter in shaping activist framing. Many of these studies find that cultural themes in the broader social context or political opportunities shape the sorts of frames proffered by activists. There may be an over-time trend in examining the circumstances shaping social movement framing, in that more of these studies occur in the later years examined here: 9 of the 11 studies that position framing as the dependent variable were published from 2005 to 2011, with only 2 published from 2000 to 2004. Overall, though, one conclusion we can draw from this scholarship is that the social forces shaping movement framing are quite varied. Next steps in research in this area might include discerning more contingent conditions that influence framing. For instance, researchers might consider the sorts of circumstances in which a movement group will base its framing choices squarely on its collective identity, because, as Hunt et al. (1994) discern, framing and collective identity are highly interactive. Also, researchers might consider the circumstances in which broader cultural ideas or movement opponents serve as a primary driver of framing choices. There are exciting new developments in social movement framing research, and here I name just a few lines of research that suggest novel avenues for scholarship. Halfmann and Young (2010; see also Corrigall-Brown 2012) consider visual frames, particularly use of grotesque images and their ability to elicit strong emotions among viewers. Rarely do framing researchers consider visual forms of framing, and yet movement activists often rely on such representations. Such images need not be limited to static portrayals, but could include video and film as well.

Additional recent research also considers the interplay between emotions and movement framing. For example, Schrock, Holden, and Reid (2004) investigate how frames used in the transgender support-group movement help members reduce emotional struggles experienced navigating a society that stigmatizes them. This as well provides an exciting and important new line for social movement framing research.

In another innovative area of research, Wooten (2010) expands our understanding of how frames can be deployed to mobilize resources by considering framing's influence on movement organizational funding. Wooten considers the United Negro College Fund's (UNCF) use of frames designed to appeal to white-elite potential donors, frames that attempted to calm white fear of black unrest by arguing that the UNCF would develop leaders within the black community who would help contain such unrest. However, a consequence of such framing was alienation of black audiences from the UNCF. As Wooten (2010: 385) writes, "Soliciting whites required the use of frames that did not necessarily accord with the desires of blacks." Strategic framing of this sort can have both intended and unintended consequences for movement activists, with contradictory influences for resource mobilization.

LYNDI HEWITT AND SCOTT FITZGERALD: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR FRAMING RESEARCH

The significant impact of the framing perspective on social movement research since the 1980s is undeniable. Since then, considerable gains have been made as researchers debated the analytical utility, theoretical specifications, and empirical evidence illuminating movement framing. If the analysis of frames and framing is to remain a fruitful, future research must continue to explore new directions while remaining connected to the core assumptions and insights of the extant literature.

Various critiques of the framing perspective have identified a range of conceptual and empirical issues that deserve further attention. As discussed throughout this article, subsequent research has incorporated many of the insights gained from both "insider" and "outsider" critiques, but there is still much work to be done. Our effort here is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive of areas where opportunity is particularly rich for advancement of theoretical and practical insights.

Just over a decade after the framing perspective took off, Benford published his "Insider's Critique" (Benford 1997), taking stock of the research that emerged in the wake of early conceptual innovations, and raising thoughtful concerns about its trajectory. Chief among these was the fact that much of the framing scholarship had focused on single cases or had emphasized conceptual discussion at the expense of empirical examination. Although there was and is no shortage of empirical research in general, Benford (1997: 411) lamented the lack of "systematic empirical studies across cases, movements, and time." Moreover, at that time, much of the existing work identified and described various collective action frames, rather than attempting to substantiate causal claims about the role of framing in movement development. Benford also noted that analyses at the descriptive level, in particular, tended to mischaracterize frames as monolithic, static entities rather than as malleable, contested, complex, and evolving social constructions. He provided four suggestions that promised to move us toward a more fruitful analysis of framing in social movements: (1) give greater attention to the context in which framing occurs (such as the multiorganizational field), (2) study movements that transcend nation-state borders, (3) examine framing dynamics over time, so that changing social and political contexts can be taken into account, and (4) "study more carefully negotiation and conflict processes endemic to the development of collective action frames" (Benford 1997: 417).

During the last fifteen years, many scholars have taken up the challenge and moved the field well beyond description to more multilayered analysis. Particular progress has been made in demonstrating how external political and cultural forces influence movement framing (Benford and Hunt 2003; Evans 1997; Ferree 2003; Johnston and Snow 1998; Marullo, Pagnucco, and Smith 1996; McCammon et al. 2007). But in the areas of multicase and process-focused investigations, significant gaps remain.

Movement scholars continue to press for more comparative research in the field, particularly on the topic of frame variation (McCammon 2009; Snow et al. 2007). Snow and his colleagues (2007: 388) write that, "The scant research on frame variation has generally focused on changes in the way an issue or movement is framed from one point in time to another, with even less attention devoted to variation in framing the same event across different actors." Studies that examine multiple movements, multiple actors within a movement industry, and/or the same movement over longer periods of time can use this variation to better isolate factors that influence the creation, maintenance, and outcomes of framing activity. Such an approach also lends itself to revealing how resources and other structural factors relate to the meaning-making activity of individuals and collective actors. Work along these lines may also reveal how the framing activities within movements can sustain long-term commitments to activism among some individuals (Nepstad 2004) and, alternately, provide an explanation as to why others leave. Because of the well-documented role that framing plays in mobilization, it is important to examine whether or not it plays a similar role in demobilization. For example, when activists leave a movement, or otherwise disengage, is it because of changes in the framing activities and resultant collective action frames? If so, what processes account for this "failure of framing"? Future research should employ methodological approaches that treat the efficacy of framing as an empirical question rather than an assumption, and should further explore the linkages between framing processes and multiple dimensions of favorable and unfavorable outcomes.

Another area of tremendous opportunity lies in empirical examinations of frames and framing within transnational social movements. Transnational activism around issues of economic globalization, environmental justice, peace, gender, and human rights has exploded in recent years and, accordingly, has received increasing attention from scholars of social movements and of framing dynamics, more specifically (Benford 2011; della Porta et al. 2006; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Guidry, Kennedy, and Zald 2000; Smith 2008; Smith and Johnston 2002; Bandy and Smith 2005). Frame diffusion across time and space has yet to receive the attention it deserves (but see studies by Snow and Benford 1999; Stobaugh and Snow 2010). Studies of crossnational and crosscultural movements force us to recognize and grapple with the diversity of discourses circulating even within movement industries, and raise new questions about transnational solidarity (Hewitt 2011).

On the whole, the crucial role of framing has been reaffirmed by studies of movements across borders (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Smith 2008). Snow (2004), in fact, suggests the *heightened* importance of shared frames and collective identities for movements seeking transnational coalitions. Not surprisingly, much of the existing empirical work points explicitly to the simultaneous difficulty *and* importance of creating and sustaining shared perspectives among movement participants who vary so widely in their life experiences, social locations, identities, and priorities. For example, della Porta et al. (2006: 74) explain the global justice movement's arduous but successful creation of a master frame that highlighted neoliberalism, noting that the wholesale criticism of neoliberal globalization "allowed a logical connection between the different problems imputed to the same causes." The findings of della Porta and her team echo earlier studies indicating that the mobilizing capacity of frames is dependent in part on the range of problems they address (Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Hewitt and McCammon 2004), but also advance such insights by demonstrating their applicability on a global scale.

Despite growing interest in the discursive politics of transnational social movements, systematic empirical analyses still represent only a small portion of the existing scholarship (e.g., della Porta et al. 2006; Smith 2002). Instead, scholars have devoted much of their attention to building theory (e.g., Tarrow 2005), setting research agendas, and illuminating particular campaigns or movements through case studies (Bandy and Smith 2005; Smith and Johnston 2002). And while such pursuits have been crucial to the development of research on transnational social movements, the rapidly changing, growing nature of empirical realities in transnational activism means that ongoing attention will be required to unpack thoroughly the influences on and impact of discursive practices within globalized social movements. The rise of social media and other Internet communication technologies provides unprecedented opportunity to push forward transnational and cross-case analysis. Data collection across a variety of movement actors (e.g., Ferree and Pudrovska 2006), as well as collaborations between scholars and activists have never been more exciting. In the years to come, we expect that researchers will take advantage of such opportunities to develop more nuanced understandings of the conditions under which framing influences different types of movement outcomes, on multiple scales and over longer periods of time.

The need for greater attention to process also stands out as an area ripe for growth. It is still the case that a significant portion of framing research examines frames as the artifacts of framing processes while devoting comparatively little attention to uncovering the process itself. Ryan (2005: 118) locates the root of this weakness in a more general disconnect between movement scholars and activists:

> *As currently organized*, academic-based framing theory focuses on frames as fossils—the products or remnants of political discourse. Framing theorists rarely involve themselves in a sustained fashion with working framers, the processes framers employ, or the audiences they mobilize. As activists and their constituencies perceive framing theorists' disinterest, the activist-theory gap grows.

It is worth noting here that participatory approaches to social movement research not only go a long way toward illuminating strategic discursive processes among activists—as Snow's earlier account in this article fully reveals—but they also advance theory and sow the seeds for empirical research that is truly useful, or relevant, to those on the front lines of collective action, which we discuss in greater detail below.

The guiding message of this line of research is that framing is a verb—it is something that actors (i.e., people) *do*. As discussed earlier, the development of this perspective is rooted in symbolic interactionist understandings of the process of meaning construction and the ways in which people make sense of their world. When someone attends a protest, when they argue with other activists or with counterprotesters or even family members, and when they follow issue-specific blogs, they are engaged in a process of meaning construction—an ongoing, ever-changing and dynamic process. There is a case to be made that frame analysts should not lose sight of this guiding assumption and that research should focus on the microlevel processes whereby individuals create meaning through social interaction.

However, if we acknowledge that the process of meaning construction is foundational to social movement activity, we must acknowledge that these processes are foundational to *all* forms of human interaction. Therefore, we might do well to ask whether framing (and, by extension, frame analysis) "belong" to the study of social movements? Of course, the concept of framing has been developed in a variety of literatures outside of social movement studies, including psychology (Tversky and Kahneman 1981), communications (Entman 2007), media (Fitzgerald and Rubin 2008), and public opinion (Chong and Druckman 2007). Do we need to be more intentional in our efforts to build on the work from related fields of inquiry?

One possible direction along these lines would be continued attention to conceptual precision and clarifying the relationship between related concepts such as frames, ideology, and schemas. Previous debates (e.g., Oliver and Johnston 2000; Snow and Benford 2000) reveal important differences in conceptualization and operationalization of key concepts. While they have not produced consensus, such conceptual debates encourage scholars to think carefully about how collective action frames relate to culture, public opinion, structure, and power (e.g., Ferree 2003; McCammon et al. 2007; McVeigh, Myers and Sikkink 2004; Steinberg 1999). Is it possible to further synthesize insights from various fields and perspectives?

For example, does a presumption that frames exist only through interaction, rather than being individual-level, psychological constructs, preclude drawing together cultural sociologists' conception of cognitive schemas with media studies and public opinion research that examines "framing effects"—i.e., small changes in the presentation of an issue that can result in changes of opinion? Do these changes reveal something about cultural understandings and power? Are there ways to empirically parse out the independent contributions of schemas, ideologies, opinions, and collective action frames?

Thinking through these and related questions will require further theoretical and especially methodological attention to the notion of cultural resonance. As Ferree (2003) notes, resonance is often still conflated with (successful) outcomes. Studies that (1) operationalize resonance with greater precision, (2) capture intramovement differences and conflict, (3) recognize practices of nonresonant framing along with its antecedents and consequences (but see Snow and Corrigall-Brown 2005), and (4) provide a sustained focus on relational power dynamics will be especially useful to scholars and to activists.

Finally, we discuss a little-noted yet very promising area of opportunity for continued growth in framing research. In recent years, calls have intensified for a renewed commitment to movement scholarship that *matters* (Bevington and Dixon 2005; Flacks 2005). Perhaps one of the greatest strengths of the framing perspective is the degree to which scholars are able to utilize its tools toward movement-relevant research, or research that directly supports movements and their goals (Ryan 2005). Bridging organizations such as the Media Research and Action Project (MRAP), spearheaded by Gamson and Ryan, have led the way in creating models for scholar-activist collaboration around framing. Because framing is a strategic activity over which movement leaders have some measure of control, even if constraints are always present, empirical investigations of framing hold the potential to influence activists' practice toward greater efficacy in mobilizing recruits and gaining media attention. However, in order for movement-relevant insights to be generated and disseminated, researchers must increase their efforts to make such endeavors an explicit goal and adjust their own approaches accordingly. Producing "useable knowledge" does not necessarily require researchers to engage in participatory, qualitative research with contemporary movements, although this is likely the most recognizable approach. On the contrary, large-N quantitative studies revealing patterns across cases can yield valuable findings for activist practice, provided that researchers are grounded in the needs and experiences of contemporary movements.

It has been twenty-five years since publication of "Frame Alignment" (Snow et al. 1986), and social movement scholarship has been fundamentally influenced by the framing perspective first articulated in the 1986 article. We know much more now about how collective actors frame their grievances, goals, and their views of the world, but there remains much more to understand. Having a framing perspective to guide our research and thinking, however, makes our work all that much more straightforward.

NOTES

[1] This research led to the publication of Burke Rochford Jr.'s *Hare Krishna in America* (1985).

[2] For a review and critique of these various social psychological arguments, see Zurcher and Snow (1981: 449-54).

[3] See, for example, McCarthy and Zald's sweeping statement on the ubiquity and constancy of mobilizing grievances in their seminal essay on resource mobilization (1977: 1214-15).

[4] I was familiar with Gitlin's (1980) book on mass media framing of the new left, but it did not directly address participant mobilization. At the time, I had not yet discovered Kahneman and Tversky's (1970) and Tversky and Kahnman's (1981) several works on prospect theory and framing, which have subsequently informed my thinking on related issues. However, there were other works that related more directly to participant mobilization, but at a very general level, and which accented the importation of interpretive processes, such as Turner (1969), Turner and Killian (1972), and Moore (1978), but which did not identify specific interpretive mechanisms or processes. Consequently, these works did not provide the resonant conceptual edifice I was looking for at the time.

[5] This project, which continued for nearly three years, culminated in *Down on Their Luck: A Study of Homeless Street People* (Snow and Anderson 1993).

[6] These NIMBY movements appeared to have surfaced in abundance in the U.S. in the 1980s as the residents of urban and suburban neighborhoods found themselves threatened by the proximate location of facilities for "undesirables," such as group homes, halfway houses, restitution centers, and shelters and soup kitchens.

[7] The concepts of ideology or rhetoric were available, of course. But I did not find either of them to be very helpful analytically, as both glossed over the emergent and highly interactional character of these discursive struggles.

[8] Benford's dissertation (1987) examined framing activity and meaning construction within the nuclear disarmament movement, and Worden's (1987) dissertation examined neighborhood conflicts and movements in Austin from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

[9] Other concepts and processes within Goffman's (1974) *Frame Analysis*, such as the discussions of fabrications and ordinary troubles like ambiguity, framing errors, and disputes, have figured prominently in subsequent articles and chapters by Snow and Benford.

[10] We speculate that the framing perspective's initially slow takeoff was due to a variety of factors, including structuralist hegemony over the field during this period, the paucity of scholarship on ideational and/or interpretive issues related to collective action, and a lack of well-developed interactionist scholarly networks within the social movements subfield.

[11] No doubt there are additional factors beyond the five discussed here which could account for the dramatic ascension of the movement framing perspective. For example, in addition to the aforementioned Amsterdam (1986) and Ann Arbor (1988) conferences, a series of international social movement conferences and workshops contributed to the further elaboration and diffusion of the framing perspective including the Workshop on Culture and Social Movements (San Diego, June 1992), Conference on European/American Perspectives on Social Movements (Washington, D.C., August 1992), First European Conference on Social Movements (Berlin, Germany, October 1992), and the Conference on Cross-National Influences and Social Movement Research (Mont Pélerin, Switzerland, June 1995). Moreover, during this period, there was an expansion in the number of specialty journals focusing on social movements (e.g., *International Social Movement Research*, 1988; *Mobilization*, 1996; *Social Movement Studies*, 2002). Finally, the incorporation of the framing concept by more structural theorists (e.g., Tarrow's 1994 *Power in Movement* and McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald's 1996 *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*) contributed to the framing perspective's legitimacy, acceptance, and diffusion.

[12] For instance, I did not include the *Mobilization* (2000) debate on ideology and framing because the articles did not

offer systematic empirical assessments of social movement framing (see Johnston and Oliver 2005; Oliver and Johnston 2000; Snow and Benford 2000).

[13] The focus on these six journals omits chapters in edited volumes and articles in other journals, including journals in other disciplines. There is evidence that the framing perspective has diffused into other disciplines, such as political science (Javeline 2003) and communication studies (Carragee and Roefs 2006; Entman 1993).

[14] These six studies are: Faupel and Werum (2011), McCammon (2009), Snow et al. (2007), McCammon et al. (2007), Hewitt and McCammon (2004), and McCammon et al. (2001). McVeigh et al. (2004) provide a quantitative analysis, but there is no framing measure in this portion of their paper.

[15] This includes the two studies in which framing is treated as both independent and dependent variable.

APPENDIX: ARTICLES IN AJS, ASR, MOBILIZATION, RSMCC, SF & SP ON FRAMING/FRAME AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, 2002-2011 (INCLUSIVE)

	Types of Data Sources					**Framing as Indep., Dep., Both, Neither**				**Framing as Indep. Variable**					**Framing as Dep. Variable**			
Author(s)	*Activist*	*Interviews*	*Part-obs*	*Media*	*Second*	*Ind*	*Dep*	*Both*	*Neither*	*Pol/Econ*	*Mobil*	*Emotion*	*Solidarity*	*Funds*	*Culture*	*Pol Opp*	*Coll Id*	*Interact*
Adams and Roscigno	x								x									
Alimi				x					x									
Bosi	x	x		x	x		x									x		
Buffonge	x				x	x				x								
Cadena-Roa				x	x				x									
Coe		x	x				x											x
Cress and Snow	x	x		x		x				x								
Dove	x								x									
Einwohner	x				x	x					x							
Faupel and Werum	x						x									x		
Fetner	x						x											x
Fitzgerald	x	x	x	x					x									
Fujiwara		x	x	x		x				x								
Funk-Unrau	x	x	x	x		x					x		x					
Halfmann and Young	x			x		x					x							
Haydu	x						x								x			
Hewitt and McCammon	x			x	x	x					x							
Horton		x		x			x								x		x	
Maney	x			x	x	x				x								
McCammon	x			x		x				x								
McCammon et al. (2001)	x			x	x	x				x								
McCammon et al. (2007)	x				x	x				x								
McCright and Dunlap	x								x									
McVeigh et al.	x				x	x				x	x							
Mika	x					x					x							
Nadeem		x	x						x									
Oselin and Corrigall-Brown	x	x	x					x			x				x	x	x	x
Paschel	x				x	x				x								
Pedriana	x			x	x			x		x	x					x		
Reese and Newcombe	x	x	x	x	x		x								x	x	x	
Schrock et al.	x	x	x			x						x						
Smith (2000)	x	x			x	x				x								
Snow and Byrd				x	x				x									
Snow et al. (2007)					x		x										x	
Stern		x		x	x		x								x			
Suh	x	x			x	x					x							
Trumpy	x			x		x				x								
Wetzel	x					x					x							
Wooten	x					x								x				
Zwerman et al.		x			x	x					x							

Notes: Columns below “framing as indep. variable” represent the categories of the dependent variables. columns below “framing as dep. variable” represent the categories of the independent variables.

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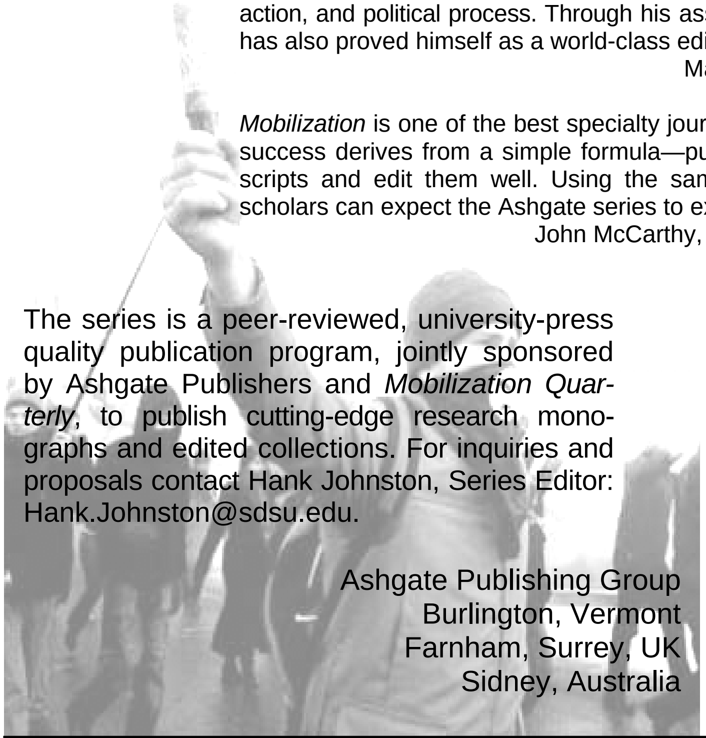

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