

The Emergence of Hybrid Organizational Forms: Combining Identity-Based Service Provision and Political Action

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After the 1960s, women, Blacks, and other ethnic groups mapped political objectives onto a more traditional form of voluntary association, along with investing in direct political protest and advocacy for civil and social rights. One result was the development of a hybrid organizational form that combines advocacy and service provision as its core identity and thus faces distinctive environmental uncertainties and boundary conditions. This article provides a community ecology framework for analyzing the development of the service/advocacy organizational form. The author argues that hybrid forms of organization, by expanding the resource infrastructure and legitimacy available to identity-based organizations, play a critical role in anchoring the continued viability of identity-based service organizations under newly politicized conditions. Data are drawn from a study of national women's and racial and ethnic minority organizations since 1955.

There is a long tradition of racial, ethnic-, and gender-based voluntary associations enhancing the civic, economic, and political participation of marginalized groups in U.S. society through the provision of services and resources directly to group members. In the 1960s, women, Blacks, and other ethnic groups mapped political objectives onto this traditional form of voluntary organization, along with investing in direct political protest and advocacy for civil and social rights. One result was the development of a hybrid organizational form that combines political advocacy and service provision as its core identity. Because of its dual commitment to promoting the interests of women and racial or ethnic minorities through both service provision and advocacy, however, this organizational form faces distinctive environmental uncertainties and boundary conditions.

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This study develops a community ecology framework for analyzing the development of the advocacy/service organizational form, emphasizing its co-evolution with affiliated political and nonpolitical voluntary associations in a multidimensional resource, institutional, and political environment. I address two questions: (a) To what extent is the development of the advocacy/service hybrid form contingent on the development of the traditional and newer organizational forms from which it is derived? and (b) Is this hybrid form buffered from, or more vulnerable to, political turbulence and resource uncertainties as a result of its joint structure? I argue that hybrid forms of organization, by expanding the resource infrastructure and legitimacy available to identity-based organizations, play a critical role in anchoring the continued viability of identity-based service organizations under newly politicized conditions.

SERVICE PROVISION AS A SOCIAL CHANGE STRATEGY

In a society that has historically blocked the full participation of women and racial and ethnic groups in political and civic life, the establishment of national associations committed to providing private goods and services to constituents has been a typical means of addressing inequalities and seeking to improve the status of marginalized groups. Prior to the 1960s, in particular, service and resource provision—defined as offering divisible benefits, or private goods, that may be provided without actual changes in policy or institutional structures (Jenkins, 1987, p. 297)—was the most prevalent form of voluntary associational activity, as women and minorities attempted to gain equal access and integration into dominant society without challenging political institutions directly (Minkoff, 1995).¹ Although there was great diversity in the organizations created to this end, such associations shared relatively common objectives and pursued similar activities. For example, associations such as the National Urban League (est. 1910) and the United Negro College Fund (est. 1944) represent typical national efforts to redistribute resources within the Black community to provide education, leadership, and skills for civic and economic participation. Immigrant ethnic groups, such as Hispanics and Asian Americans, also historically supported a range of mutual aid societies that attempted to provide “services withheld by the larger society” (Estrada, Garcia, Macias, & Maldonado, 1988, p. 52). The Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) (est. 1858) and the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union (est. 1877) represent related efforts by predominantly White, middle-class women at the turn of the century.

National service organizations were also joined by reform organizations such as the well-known National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (est. 1909), the League for United Latin American Citizens (est. 1929), and the Japanese American Citizen’s League (est. 1930) that

advocated for equal opportunity at the national level but also believed that integration and political accommodation were central elements in social progress. The history of women's political involvement is a bit more mixed, with some organizations such as the League of Women Voters (est. 1919) taking a more accommodative stance and the National Woman's Party (est. 1916) fairly radical in its goals for the passage of an equal rights amendment. Such explicitly political organizations, however, were quite circumscribed—both in numbers and political power.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT POLITICS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

The beginning of the 1960s "cycle of protest" (Tarrow, 1994) changed the field for organizational activity by women and racial and ethnic minorities. During this decade, the civil rights movement served as a catalyst for organizational transformation by altering the feasibility of collective action for other constituencies (Minkoff, 1997), providing opportunities for heightened borrowing of tactical models and the diffusion of new movement organizational forms (McAdam, 1995), and influencing state support for civil rights (Burstein, 1985). The passage of such legislation as the 1964 Civil Rights Act also marked a significant change in the institutional climate for identity-based organizing, essentially legitimizing the rights of a wide range of marginalized groups to make demands for equality or inclusion into the polity (Oberschall, 1978).

The funding environment for social change also shifted dramatically during and after the 1960s, with foundations responding to the turbulence of social protest by channeling voluntary action into less confrontational and disruptive forms (Jenkins, 1987). Importantly, even during a period of political retrenchment marked by the election of Richard Nixon in 1968, funding opportunities for interest groups and policy advocates remained strong and even improved in the 1970s (Jenkins, 1987; Walker, 1991). By the 1980s, however, the Reagan administration was explicitly opposed to further civil rights advances and sought to demobilize movements through budget cuts, increases in postal rates, and several challenges to the nonprofit status of a number of groups (Walker, 1991).

The result of these changes in the political and resource environment was a dramatic shift in the available "organizational repertoire" (Clemens, 1993) marked by the expansion of advocacy—broadly defined as changing policies and securing collective goods through routine institutional means (Jenkins, 1987, p. 297)—as the dominant form of national social change activity in the United States (Minkoff, 1994).² Figure 1 depicts the development of national women's and minority organizations since 1955 (see below for a description of the data).³ Consistent with other research (Berry, 1989; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986), there was a rapid expansion of national advocacy organizations after 1970 (notably just a few decades after the decline in associational density at the

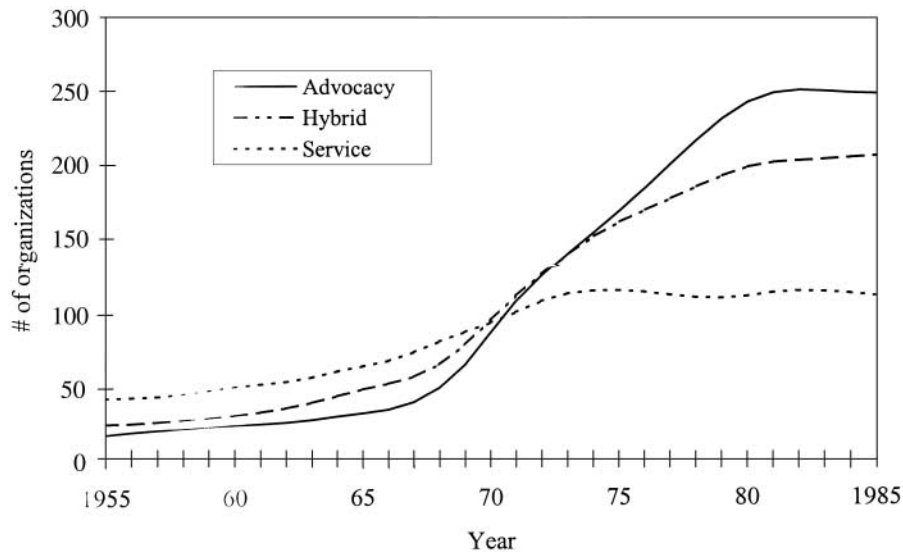


Figure 1. Total Number of Women's and Racial-Ethnic Organizations by Strategy

local level documented by Gamm and Putnam, 1999). At about the same time, the number of service organizations that claimed a national scope leveled off through 1985. Absolutely and proportionately, advocacy replaced service provision as the dominant organizational form: In 1955, women's and racial and ethnic minority service organizations constituted 47% of the 92 active national organizations, compared with 20% representation by advocacy groups; by 1985, the proportion of service and resource organizations decreased to 19% of 572 groups, whereas advocacy represented 43% of the total.

Organizations that combine national advocacy with a commitment to providing resources and services also represent a substantial part of the sector. Their development maps closely the trajectory of advocacy organizations, although after 1972 they expanded at a lower rate of growth. The growth of this combined form of organization is primarily due to the founding of new national organizations committed to both service provision and advocacy beginning in the late 1960s and a relatively low failure rate throughout subsequent years (Minkoff, 1995). Another mechanism of population-level growth is organizational-level change—in this case, either the adoption of an advocacy focus by traditional service organizations or the addition of service provision to an organization's original set of political activities. Overall, however, the prevalence of organizational change is relatively low in this organizational community (Minkoff, 1999).

In the context of the expansion of advocacy groups and the leveling of service organizations, the development of national women's and racial-ethnic

organizations that combine both advocacy and service provision in their organizational identity and activities merits greater attention. It is these organizations that I conceptualize as hybrids: organizations that borrow self-consciously from both traditional and newly emergent social movement organizational forms. This duality places hybrid organizations in a distinctive set of relationships with other social movement organizations, which has implications for the development of the field of women's and racial-ethnic minority social change organizations over time. In the next sections, I expand on my conceptualization of hybrid organization and develop a community ecology approach to understanding the evolution of social change hybrid organizations in the context of other available organizing templates. I then look more systematically at the founding and failure rates of advocacy, service, and hybrid forms of organization, examining mutual dependencies in population growth as well as how variations in political and resource conditions influence organizational dynamics.

CONCEPTUALIZING HYBRID ORGANIZATIONS

Hybrid organizations operate in multiple functional domains (Ruef, 2000) and are subject to distinctive environmental pressures compared with organizations that operate within clearly defined technical and institutional boundaries. In the case that interests me here, hybrid advocacy/service organizations build on the long history of service provision for social change by women and racial-ethnic minorities and the social movement politics that took off in the 1960s. They are similar to what Hyde (1992) terms "social movement agencies," defined as "hybrid organizations in which the explicit pursuit of social change is accomplished through the delivery of services" at the local level (e.g., feminist health centers) (Hyde 1992, p. 122). However, in contrast to Hyde's definition, which emphasizes the "ideational duality" stemming from joint human service and social movement orientations, I conceptualize hybrid organizations as those that combine features derived from distinct organizational forms—in this case national advocacy and service provision. Each of these strategic orientations requires different organizational competencies and has implications for a group's ability to mobilize support from members, sponsors, and authorities (a point on which I elaborate below). Organizational form is here defined in terms of social movement strategy, which represents what Hannan and Freeman (1989) characterize as a core feature of the organization that critically shapes its ability to mobilize support from members, sponsors, and authorities. These dominant strategies also represent a continuum of institutional challenge or conformity to established methods of social and political participation, which confer distinctive levels of legitimacy vis-à-vis established elites and the public (Minkoff, 1994). This use of the term *hybrid* is consistent with McKelvey's (1982) definition of hybridization (see also D'Aunno, Sutton, & Price, 1991).

This conceptualization of hybrids differs from the usage of the term in the literature on nonprofits, where it tends to refer to a combination of different sectoral forms in one organization (e.g., a nonprofit with a for-profit subsidiary or a nonprofit where a board is appointed by a public agency) or the creation of distinct units defined with respect to the tax code (e.g., the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund). D'Aunno et al. (1991) define hybrids in terms of organizations (community mental health centers) that comprise units with different service orientations and clientele (mental health and substance abuse). Others have conceptualized hybrids as organizational arrangements that use resources from more than one organization (Borys & Jemison, 1989), specifically nonmarket, nonbureaucratic arrangements such as joint ventures, strategic alliances, collaborations, and so forth (Powell, 1987) or as combinations of market forms in transition economies (Nee, 1992). In a different approach, Bordt (1997) focuses on the blending of bureaucratic and collectivist decision-making structures in feminist nonprofits. Although there is no consensus on how to define organizational hybrids, these definitions converge on the conceptual point that they are combinations of disparate elements—structural or institutional—that represent modes of more or less formal adaptation to environmental uncertainty. The question motivating the current analysis is how hybrid forms of social movement organization are implicated in the broader development of movement organizational fields.

A COMMUNITY ECOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

A useful approach to understanding the development of organizational fields is a community ecology perspective that emphasizes the interdependence and co-evolution of organizational populations. An organizational community is composed of multiple populations that are at once distinctive with respect to their dominant features and interdependent with respect to resource flows (Romanelli, 1989). Organizational populations are defined by their core attributes or organizational form, that is, the “specific configurations of goals, boundaries, and activities” (Aldrich, 1979, p. 28). Community boundaries are typically delineated according to geographic criteria (typically local) or with respect to functional considerations that “emphasize linkages among regulatory, consumer, supplier, and ancillary organizations that extend well beyond the local context” (Ruef, 2000, p. 662). In the latter case, community boundaries are determined by “the broader functioning of a specific industry system or societal sector” (Ruef, 2000, p. 662) rather than by organizational interdependencies in a local geographic region.

Community ecologists are interested in processes that promote organizational diversity and interdependence (Astley, 1985; Astley & Fombrun, 1987; Romanelli, 1989). Variation is introduced into organizational communities through the founding of new organizations and innovation in existent forms (Astley, 1985; Romanelli, 1989; Swaminathan, 1995). To expand, new

populations require an “ecological opportunity” where competitive selection pressures are relatively minimal and “variant forms are permitted relatively unhampered expression” (Astley, 1985, p. 234). As communities become more dense, competitive saturation inhibits the continued emergence and expansion of new populations (Astley, 1985; Hannan & Freeman, 1989). Saturation tends to promote population homogeneity over diversity, as communities elaborate an internal structure of interdependencies to gain some autonomy from external influences (Astley, 1985).

Relationships between populations in the community can be restrictive, or they may open up the potential for resource expansion and mutualistic development (McKelvey & Aldrich, 1983). Organizational forms evolve in direct response to one another or, more diffusely, in response to multiple populations in the community (Baum & Singh, 1994). Interactions are also asymmetrical in the sense that populations may affect each other’s growth in different ways (e.g., the expansion of one population benefits a second population, but as the second develops it suppresses the first’s growth) (Brittain, 1994; Brittain & Wholey, 1988).

Turbulent events in economic, political, and social environments precipitate the opportunistic conditions that are a precondition for innovation in organizational forms (Astley & Fombrun, 1987; Romanelli, 1989). As Brittain (1994, p. 361) argues, “institutional changes that redefine the feasibility of alternative models of organizing, the impact of patterned variation in the resource environment, and environmental discontinuities that reinforce, and sometimes undermine, existing organizational competencies” are crucial in altering variations in carrying capacity and, by extension, the openness of environmental space and organizing prospects. Carroll, Delacroix, and Goodstein (1988) emphasize the relationship between periods of political uncertainty, the creation of new status orders, and the development of new organizational groupings. These processes ultimately facilitate the appearance of new organizational forms and define the structure of organizational communities (Brittain, 1994; Fombrun, 1986).

NEGOTIATING MIXED ENVIRONMENTS: THE EVOLUTION OF HYBRID FORMS

I want to suggest that hybrid forms of organization develop as an effort to manage environmental uncertainty and episodic change. They represent a reflexive effort to borrow from two dominant models of organizing—one new and one established. In modeling themselves on disparate forms, hybrid populations face unique obstacles to legitimacy building, resource procurement, and effectiveness. They must negotiate a niche that blends population boundaries, finding ways to articulate a multidimensional identity and clarify what are the form’s boundaries and sources of accountability. This has significant

implications for the development of hybrid forms and their relationship to other populations in the community.

Hybrid organizations are subject to contradictory pressures from multiple institutional sectors as they try to establish at least a minimum level of legitimacy within each one (D'Aunno et al., 1991). Organizational actors must also manage conflicts between dominant members of the community, and such conflicts are endemic to unstable environments (Fombrun, 1986; see also Gronbjerg, Harmon, Olkkonen, & Raza, 1996). Authorities, sponsors, and clients or constituencies may be reluctant to commit resources to organizations that deviate from clearly defined models (Scott, 1987). In addition, because there is a greater potential for resource overlap between hybrid and parent populations, hybrid forms face multiple sources of competition from other populations that may inhibit their expansion. Such conflicting pressures are expected to constrain the ability of hybrid forms to garner resources and respond to environmental change (D'Aunno et al., 1991).

An alternative way to conceptualize hybrid forms is as a bridging strategy that minimizes the effects of environmental disruption by building on the legitimacy of established organizational forms and taking advantage of previously institutionalized resource flows (as well as newly created ones), while incorporating innovations in organizing methods. By fusing a legitimate model with a more recently constructed one, hybrid forms may experience positive externalities from the resource procurement and legitimacy-building efforts of other populations (Delacroix & Rao, 1994; Hannan & Carroll, 1992). Hybrid organizations can therefore "ride free" on the resources and legitimacy available to their parent forms, as well as "hedge their bets" against environmental shocks by creating multiple competences and avenues of resource procurement.

As hybrid populations become established, they also influence the direction of community evolution. The growth of hybrid populations may anchor disparate resource flows, ensuring their availability for multiple forms and thus promoting the survival prospects of others. In this respect, hybrid forms present a distinct opportunity for resource expansion (McKelvey & Aldrich, 1983). In addition, because hybrids link innovation with tradition, they may act as carriers of legitimacy for innovative forms and, more speculatively, protect against the deinstitutionalization of traditional ones. Hybrids may therefore become a central force in the process of community closure that solidifies interorganizational relationships and buffers the community against further exogenous shocks (Astley, 1985; Fombrun, 1986).

This discussion suggests the following model of community co-evolution: Parent forms establish a resource infrastructure and baseline of legitimacy for hybrids, which promotes the expansion of the hybrid form. At the same time, hybrid organizational activity may create positive conditions for the continued expansion of traditional and innovative forms: As an integrated strategy, it increases the familiarity of the innovation while offsetting institutional unfamiliarity by maintaining traditional organizational structures. The expansion of

the hybrid form thereby secures resources for new and traditional forms at the community level. With increasing community density, interorganizational dynamics are predominately competitive. Hybrid forms are also subject to multiple institutional and competitive constraints, however, that may make them comparatively vulnerable to environmental contingencies.

THE CO-EVOLUTION OF IDENTITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS: SOME EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS

Identity-based organizations, like other voluntary associations and non-profit organizations, operate in a multidimensional resource, institutional, and political environment (Singh, Tucker, & Meinhard, 1991). In the aggregate, this organizational community is constrained by variations in the political opportunity structure (McAdam, 1982), the availability of resources and members (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; McPherson, 1983), and institutional expectations and regulations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; McCarthy, Britt, & Wolfson, 1991). In this context, hybrid organizations develop distinct relationships to the state, resource providers, and other members of the organizational community, experiencing contradictory pressures from these multiple institutional sources (D'Aunno et al., 1991).

In terms of dominant resource dependencies, service provision is a more resource-intensive strategy than the advocacy alternative. Advocacy groups tend to have "paper" memberships and employ limited staff members, relying on modern technologies of resource mobilization such as direct mail advertising and foundation funding (Jenkins, 1987; Oliver & Marwell, 1992). Service-providing organizations are more likely to need official operating premises, greater investment of volunteer effort, and more professional program personnel. Service organizations are therefore more likely to be dependent on the availability of external sponsorship. Typically (although not necessarily) such organizations are incorporated as charitable (501[c][3]) nonprofits with limits set on the amount of political action they can pursue (advocacy organizations with a direct lobbying component generally incorporate as 501[c][4]s). At the same time, nonprofit service organizations tend to be isomorphic with established agency structures, which provides advantages with respect to external funding opportunities (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; see Ostrander, 1995, for a discussion of progressive funding requirements for grassroots social change groups). Specifically, nonprofit service organizations that eschew political action are eligible for public funding, an increasingly dominant form of external support (Smith & Lipsky, 1993).

Organizations that combine service with advocacy face a number of organizational dilemmas that differentiate them from advocacy or service organizations operating in the same social movement field. First and foremost, funding agencies (the state, foundations, corporations) may be reluctant to support any form of politicized action even if it is combined with more conventional

service activities, thus intensifying the hybrid form's vulnerability to resource uncertainties. Reliance on public funding, in particular, generates internal organizational tensions that are often difficult to resolve. For example, Matthews' (1994) analysis of Los Angeles rape crisis centers demonstrates that grassroots organizations that enter into funding agreements with the state face enormous pressures to formalize their operating procedures and professionalize their approach to service delivery. In many cases, convergence on the more dominant model of service delivery means a trade-off with a commitment to feminist politics and process, but not without a great deal of internal conflict. Those groups that forgo public funds and remain committed to a political approach tend to be less viable in the long run, but in some cases they are able to maintain a dual focus (see also Hyde, 1995). Such dilemmas face women's organizations operating both locally and nationally (Spalter-Roth & Schreiber, 1995).

Hybrid organizations may also find themselves in a contradictory relationship to the political environment. By virtue of their political nature, hybrids may be as vulnerable as advocacy organizations to downturns in political opportunities. As already noted, if they incorporate as nonprofit charitable organizations, they are constrained with respect to extent of political lobbying or advocacy they can pursue. One implication is that they must continually negotiate a balance between service provision and political action, as well as monitor their own activities for compliance with legal and normative expectations. Alternatively, from the perspective of authorities and sponsors, this combination of forms may be seen as an acceptable compromise between traditional service activities and more direct political advocacy. Also, to the extent that public agencies are dependent on identity-based organizations for service provision, such groups are likely to have greater bargaining power and room to pursue advocacy. This implies that the hybrid's service component may provide a buffer against political change.

Such contradictions are reinforced at the community level, influencing the potential diversity in new organizational forms. The model developed in the last section suggests that the evolution of the hybrid form is determined by the expansion of both service and advocacy organizations. These parent forms are expected to bear the costs of establishing a resource infrastructure and legitimizing identity-based activity. The hybrid form may therefore experience a unique advantage inasmuch as it fulfills traditional expectations of legitimate action (as service or resource provision) as well as of newly evolving ones (as advocacy). The expansion of the traditional and new models of service and advocacy is expected to have a supportive influence on the hybrid form. As community density increases, the hybrid form is also likely to face direct competition from both advocacy and service populations as it tries to locate itself in the resource base of each.

With respect to how the expansion of the hybrid form influences the development of service and advocacy forms, I have suggested that hybrids play a central role in institutionalizing resource flows and legitimacy for the community.

This means that the increasing prevalence of the hybrid form promotes the separate development of advocacy and service populations: As they expand, hybrid forms routinize advocacy and maintain service as a viable alternative in a newly politicized environment. In this case as well, competitive relationships are expected to intensify as the density of hybrid organizations expands.

STRATEGIES FOR MODELING CO-EVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS

The co-evolution of organizational populations can be modeled as a process of density-dependent cross-effects (Hannan & Carroll, 1992; Hannan & Freeman, 1989). This approach examines how increases in the size of one population influence the founding or failure rate of a second population, controlling for changes in the external environment (see Hannan & Freeman, 1989; Minkoff, 1994, 1995; and Staber, 1992, for related applications of cross-effects analysis from population and community perspectives). A negative association between density and the founding rate or a positive association between density and the failure rate is evidence of interpopulation competition. Conversely, when density increases the founding rate, or density decreases the failure rate, this indicates interpopulation mutualism, meaning that increases in one organizational form improve the successful activity of another. Theory and research also suggest that there may be a curvilinear relationship between density and organizational founding and survival: Initially density expands organizing prospects until competitive pressures become dominant (Hannan & Carroll, 1992; Hannan & Freeman, 1989).⁴

In the analyses presented below, I focus on the co-evolution of national women's and minority advocacy, service, and hybrid organizations, examining both density-dependent cross-effects and the differential impact of the political and social environment on organizational founding and failure. Empirically, I examine (a) the relationship between the density of national service and advocacy organizations and the founding or survival of hybrid advocacy/service organizations and (b) the impact of the density of hybrid organizations on the founding and survival rates of advocacy and service organizations. I expect that the density of service organizations will have a curvilinear effect on the founding and failure rates of hybrid organizations; the same pattern of results should hold for the relationship between the density of advocacy organizations and the development of hybrid forms. Alternatively, the density of hybrid forms of organization should be positively related to the founding and failure rates of service and advocacy groups. I also examine the influence of resource and political conditions on founding and failure rates across forms. The analysis of organizational failure also provides an opportunity to examine how organizational attributes provide distinct benefits or liabilities for advocacy, service, and hybrid organizational forms.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

I employ a functional conceptualization of the organizational community, specifically with respect to the dominant social change strategies available to social movement actors advocating on behalf of women and racial-ethnic minorities. The range of organizational forms within this community represents a set of theoretically substitutable models for collective action that have been broadly diffused since the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s. As I have suggested, advocacy, service, and hybrid organizations are distinct in terms of their dominant features and interdependent with respect to resource flows, which are two key features of an organizational community (Romanelli, 1989). Such organizational diversity not only provides a potentially effective (and complementary) division of labor but also increases the likelihood of interorganizational competition for members and resources, as well as conflict over the movement's trajectory (McAdam, 1982; McPherson, 1983; Staggenborg, 1991; Zald & McCarthy, 1980). This organizational community is national in scope, and member organizations are subject to common institutional and resource pressures that transcend local boundaries; a further assumption is that they are oriented to other national groups with respect to borrowing available models for action.

The data for this study were collected from the first 23 editions of the *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Vol. 1, National Organizations, published since 1955 by Gale Research Company. The research design includes voluntary associations in the United States that have women, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans as their primary constituencies (although their memberships may extend beyond group boundaries). Their purposes are national in scope and center on gaining equality or promoting equal participation for their constituencies in a variety of institutional arenas, such as politics, education, social welfare, and the media. Importantly, although their activities may be conducted locally, these organizations position themselves as national actors and can thus be conceptualized as operating in a shared social and political space. The encyclopedia provides descriptive information on national membership associations, located primarily through in-house review of periodicals and the use of news-clipping services, voluntary requests for inclusion, and referrals by listed organizations. The directory includes brief descriptions of membership, activities, goals, and organizational structure based on information reported by the organization itself. When new editions are prepared, the most recent entry is returned to the organization for updating. Organizations that become defunct or inactive are listed in the index of all subsequent publications, providing a way to construct a valid time series of organizational activity.

Each edition of the encyclopedia was coded separately, providing the opportunity to update information on single organizations and the organizational population. Data collection efforts identified 941 national membership organizations that represented the interests of women, African Americans,

Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans and were active at some point between 1955 and 1985. I coded the descriptive information available for each organization in each year that an entry appeared in the encyclopedia using a multiple-item instrument (yielding more than 10,000 organization-year spells). I derived the primary categories of organizational strategy—protest, advocacy, service, and cultural action—after a systematic review of entries over the 30-year period; individual organizations were then coded using a matrix that allowed for combined strategies (e.g., protest and advocacy, service and advocacy, advocacy and cultural). The current analysis focuses only on those organizations that report that they conduct advocacy only, service or service provision exclusively, or some combination of both advocacy and service activities (see Minkoff, 1995, for a full description of the study).

Of the 878 organizations for which full information on central variables is available, 306 can be classified as predominantly advocacy, 251 as hybrid advocacy/service, and 163 as exclusively service or resource providers. Some examples of advocacy organizations are the National Organization for Women (NOW), the NAACP, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, and the Asian American Voters' Coalition, as well as such groups as Black Citizens for a Fair Media and the Association of Asian American Pacific Artists. Examples of service or resource providers include traditional service groups such as the United Negro College Fund and the National Urban League, the National Federation of Women's Exchanges, and the Mexican American Opportunity Foundation, as well as such organizations as the SER—Jobs for Progress and the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality. Examples of hybrid organizations are the Displaced Homemakers Network, the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault, the National Caucus and Center on Black Aged, the Southern Coalition for Educational Equity, and the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs.

Although the encyclopedia is the most comprehensive directory of national nonprofit membership associations in print (the current edition contains information on nearly 23,000 organizations), it is likely that very small or short-lived organizations may be underrepresented in this database. It may also be the case that particular types of organizations are not adequately represented, or are even overrepresented, due to the nature of their goals or activities. For example, advocacy organizations may be more widely known than service groups and would therefore be more likely to be listed in the directory. Likewise, advocacy groups may be more likely to claim a national membership base than, for example, service associations that may have a local emphasis even though they pursue a national agenda. This is not so much a limitation of the data but rather a reflection of the nature of national activities, which is the focus of this research. Another limitation is that the encyclopedia excludes government bodies and staff-run, nonprofit organizations such as research centers and operating foundations. Although these structures are important elements of the field of women's and racial-ethnic minority activity, limiting analysis to membership organizations is justified because they face problems

of organizational formation and maintenance that organizations not dependent on members do not share (Knoke, 1989).

METHOD AND MEASURES

Following established research in organizational ecology, I use two separate modeling techniques for the analysis of organizational founding and failure. The founding rate of advocacy, service, and hybrid organizations is modeled using Poisson regression analysis, which is appropriate for use with count data (Barron, 1992; Hannan, 1991). The Poisson model estimates the probability of organizational formation each year, assuming that the probability of event occurrence is constant over the year and independent of all previous events (King, 1989).⁵ The dependent variable is the yearly number of each kind of organization created (based on self-reported year of founding); there are 31 observations corresponding to the years of the study (1955-1985). Analysis was carried out using LIMDEP 7.0 (Greene, 1996).

To analyze the organizational failure rate, I use the maximum-likelihood discrete-time event history method discussed by Allison (1984). This strategy estimates the conditional probability of failure at time(t), given that the organization was active at time($t-1$). The model specifies that variations in the risk of failure occur autonomously with time and may be associated with a vector of explanatory variables. The dependent variable in the failure rate analysis is a dichotomous variable measuring whether the organization is active or defunct in the observation year; an organization becomes defunct by disbanding, becoming formally inactive, or exiting the database because it could no longer be located. This analysis is based on a total of 9,487 observations (or "spells"), corresponding to yearly information on 720 advocacy, service, and hybrid organizations. The logistic regression procedure in LIMDEP 7.0 was used to obtain the estimates of organizational survival.

Population density is measured as the yearly total of active organizations of each form (calculated as density in the prior year, plus new foundings, minus failures). I also test for a curvilinear density effect by including a quadratic density term. The density effects are lagged 1 year.

Drawing on social movement research, I include controls for four dimensions of the political and social context. Variations in political conditions are measured by a dummy variable referencing whether there was a Democratic presidential administration in power, which is expected to act as a favorable opportunity for organizing. I also include a dummy variable distinguishing the pre- and post-1965 periods (coded 1 for years after 1965). McAdam (1982) suggests that 1965 marked the end of the movement's "heyday" and the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act shifted institutional definitions and promoted the organizing opportunities from multiple constituencies. Funding availability is measured by yearly foundation and corporate funding (1982

constant dollars) (American Association of Fund Raising Council, 1988). I also control for conditions in the social welfare environment with a measure of total federal transfer payments (1982 constant dollars) (*Economic Report of the President*, 1989), which influences the demand for voluntary action by economically marginalized groups (Minkoff, 1995). All measures are lagged 1 year.

In the analysis of organizational mortality, I include measures of organization-level attributes that are expected to influence survival chances across organizational forms (see Minkoff, 1993). These include organization age, membership size, number of staff members, goals, and institutional target. I specify a curvilinear age effect, measured by a linear and quadratic age term, to examine differences in liabilities of newness. As suggested by Stinchcombe (1965), younger organizations are at the highest risk of failure because of problems of access to information, resources, and legitimacy; as organizations age, they overcome such liabilities and their survival rates are expected to improve. With respect to membership—a central resource for voluntary associations—those organizations with a large membership base are expected to have more internal resources on which to draw, making them less dependent on external resources and providing a “legitimacy of numbers”—both of which are thought to improve organizational survival rates (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Useem & Zald, 1987). Staff size represents the extent of organizational professionalization, which is expected to improve organizational operation and legitimacy (Staggenborg, 1991). Membership is logged and staff is reported number of paid staff members.⁶ I measure goals with a dummy variable indicating whether the organization seeks to transform social relations and institutions in a fundamental way in contrast to reforming existing policies or enabling participation (coded 1 if radical, 0 otherwise) (McAdam, 1982). Institutional targets are measured by a dummy variable referencing whether the organization operates in the political or legal arenas, as compared with activity in cultural, educational, economic, religious, or social welfare settings (coded 1 for political focus).

Table 1 provides basic descriptive information on the women’s and minority organizations included in the analyses, comparing means and frequencies across advocacy, service, and hybrid organizational forms (based on last recorded observation for each organization). Hybrid organizations resemble the age distribution of advocacy organizations (mean age of 15 and 12 years, respectively, compared with 21 years for service organizations). They tend to have somewhat larger membership (based only on reported data), as well as paid staffs that are, on average, closer to the mean staff size for service organizations (15 and 19, compared with only an average of 3 paid staff members among advocacy groups). Similar percentages of each form pursue radical change, with a marginally higher proportion of hybrid organizations in this category. Likewise, hybrid organizations are more likely to operate in the political arena, compared with equal proportions of advocacy and service

Table 1. Descriptive Information: Advocacy, Service, and Hybrid Organizations

	<i>Advocacy</i> (n = 306)	<i>Service</i> (n = 163)	<i>Hybrid</i> (n = 251)
Means (standard deviation in parentheses)			
Age	12 (12.08)	21 (23.12)	15 (15.28)
Members	11,380 (46,997)	13,706 (53,169)	22,453 (158,868)
Staff	3 (9.86)	19 (98.66)	15 (126.77)
Percentage distributions (number of cases in parentheses)			
Radical goals	4 (12)	5 (8)	6 (15)
Political focus	35 (108)	35 (57)	43 (107)
Defunct	21 (63)	34 (56)	18 (45)

organizations. Importantly, the percentage of defunct organizations is lower for the hybrid population—18%, compared with 21% of advocacy organizations and 34% of voluntary service associations.

RESULTS

Two primary questions guide the analyses presented in this section: (a) To what extent is the development of hybrid forms related to the development of the parent populations from which it is derived (the community-level question)? and (b) To what extent is the hybrid form comparatively vulnerable to political turbulence and resource uncertainties as a result of its integrative form? The results demonstrate that there is a significant degree of interaction in the evolution of advocacy, service, and hybrid organizational forms, in addition to differences across forms with respect to vulnerability to environmental changes. Organization-level attributes also vary with respect to their influence on survival, in ways that reinforce the argument that identity-based organizations negotiate distinct institutional pressures depending on their choice of dominant strategic form.

Table 2 reports Poisson regression estimates for separate models of service, advocacy, and hybrid founding rates. My primary interest is in the pattern of density-dependent cross-effects and differences across forms with respect to the influence of the political and resource environment; I therefore compare the estimated effects across models (presented in columns 1-3). In those cases where adding the quadratic density term did not provide a statistically significant improvement in the fit over the linear specification of the model, I only include the linear density measure (denoted by a dashed line in the table).

Turning first to the relationship between the expansion of service organizations and the founding of both hybrid and advocacy organizations, there is support for the effects predicted by the community ecology perspective developed earlier. As expected, the density of service organizations promotes the

Table 2. The Founding of Advocacy, Service, and Hybrid Organizations, 1955-1985 (Poisson Regression Estimates)

	1	2	3
	<i>Service Founding</i>	<i>Advocacy Founding</i>	<i>Hybrid Founding</i>
Density effects			
Service density _(t-1)	-0.075** (0.038)	0.241*** (0.060)	0.327*** (0.070)
Service density ²	— ^a	-0.129 ^{e-2} *** (0.033 ^{e-2})	-0.147 ^{e-2} *** (0.036 ^{e-2})
Advocacy density _(t-1)	-0.032 (0.023)	-0.236* (0.012)	0.001 (0.015)
Hybrid density _(t-1)	0.137*** (0.042)	0.022 (0.019)	0.006 (0.024)
Hybrid density ²	-0.028 ^{e-2} ** (0.011 ^{e-2})	—	—
Political and resource environment			
Social welfare spending _(t-1)	-0.002 (0.010)	0.007 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.006)
Democratic administration _(t-1)	0.098 (0.243)	-0.247*** (0.059)	0.252 (0.199)
Foundation funding _(t-1)	0.344** (0.173)	-0.181 (0.125)	-0.256 (0.169)
Post-1965 period	-0.470 (0.587)	0.009 (0.510)	-0.636 (0.491)
Constant	-0.066 (0.874)	-8.462*** (1.996)	-10.353*** (2.214)
Log-likelihood	-60.381	76.653	-64.109
Number of cases	31	31	31

a. Denotes variable omitted from model (see text).

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$.

founding rate of hybrid organizational forms, but over time this mutualistic influence becomes competitive (rows 1-2). A similar relationship holds between the expansion of service organizations and the founding rate of advocacy groups. In this case, competition begins to dominate between 1970 and 1971, when the density of the service organization population reaches 99 (the estimated point of inflection [$f = -b_L/2b_Q$] is calculated as 98). The expansion of service organizations depresses the founding of new hybrid organizations slightly later, when the number of active service organizations reaches 110. In contrast, the increase in advocacy organizations has no observed influence on the development of either service or hybrid organizational forms (row 3). This finding can be interpreted as evidence that the longer history of service provision is more determinant in opening up a space for more political groups—whether they focus on advocacy or combine it with a service-providing component (see also Minkoff, 1994).

In a symmetric fashion, the expansion of the hybrid form is only relevant for the trajectory of the traditional service organization form (rows 4-5). In the early phase of hybrid expansion, increases in density promote the founding rate of service organizations. Competitive effects become more dominant between 1974 and 1975, when the density of hybrids increases from 151 to 164 (the calculated point of inflection equals 158). The service form thus appears to benefit from the development of hybrid organizations for a slightly longer

period than the hybrid form benefits from traditional service activity. Service density limits the hybrid founding rate beginning in 1972, whereas hybrid organizations do not constrain the founding of service organizations until 1975.

Table 2 also provides information on how the political and resource environment influences the development of advocacy, service, and hybrid organizational forms. The first point to note is that these variables are not, on balance, significant factors in the process of organizational founding despite the emphasis placed on the political and resource environment by organizational ecologists and social movement researchers (Hannan & Freeman, 1989; McAdam, 1982; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Nonetheless, there is some variation in the impact of environmental constraints on the founding rate of each form. Improvements in external funding are only significant for the development of new national service provision associations, which suggests that these organizations are more dependent on resource availability to launch new efforts. This makes sense given the greater resource intensiveness of such organizations. Incumbency of a Democratic presidential administration is only significant for new advocacy organizations, although such groups are *less* likely to be formed during these years. This variable does not have a significant influence on either the service or hybrid founding rate. Finally, changes in the social welfare environment and developments in the post-civil rights period have no discernable influence on the founding process for any of these groups.

The picture looks somewhat different when considering the survival of organizations over the decades of this study. Table 3 presents models of the failure rate of women's and racial and ethnic minority advocacy, service, and hybrid organizations between 1955 and 1985. Although the expansion of advocacy does not influence the founding of service and hybrid organizations, it does appear to promote their survival (indicated by the significant negative density coefficients in row 1, columns 1 and 2; quadratic density effects did not significantly improve the fit of these models and are excluded from the analysis). These organizations apparently glean some community-level benefit from the expansion of the advocacy form. In contrast, the density of service organizations—which was critical to processes of group formation—has no effect on the failure rates of either of the forms that dominate the community after 1970 (row 2). An increase in the density of hybrid forms does, however, increase the failure rate of service organizations as well as other hybrid groups although they do not influence the survival prospects of advocacy organizations (row 3). Once the community becomes more densely structured, hybrid organizations apparently compete with others that pursue service-related activities—whether they are combined with political action or not.

In general terms, organizational survival seems relatively buffered from environmental shifts: There is no measured impact of political conditions, resource availability, or the institutional changes associated with the civil rights movement on the organizational failure rate. There are, however, important differences with respect to the organizational attributes that have

Table 3. Advocacy, Service, and Hybrid Advocacy/Service Organization Disbanding, 1955-1985 (Logistic Regression Estimates)

	1	2	3
	<i>Advocacy</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Hybrid</i>
Density effects			
Advocacy density _(t-1)	-0.003 (0.021)	-0.063** (0.027)	-0.057** (0.027)
Service density _(t-1)	0.027 (0.030)	0.008 (0.038)	-0.038 (0.040)
Hybrid density _(t-1)	0.007 (0.035)	0.076* (0.044)	0.072* (0.044)
Political and resource environment			
Social welfare spending _(t-1)	0.353 ^{e-2} (0.423 ^{e-2})	0.102 ^{e-1} (0.065 ^{e-1})	0.012 (0.009)
Democratic administration _(t-1)	-0.158 (0.353)	0.490 (0.428)	-0.102 (0.434)
Foundation funding _(t-1)	-0.140 (0.175)	0.188 (0.211)	-0.196 (0.203)
Organizational attributes			
Age	0.090** (0.039)	0.025 (0.023)	0.289*** (0.102)
Age ²	-0.201 ^{e-2} ** (0.092 ^{e-2})	-0.041 ^{e-2} (0.032 ^{e-2})	-0.011** (0.004)
Log (members)	-0.081** (0.039)	-0.125*** (0.043)	-0.098** (0.045)
Number of staff members	-0.053 (0.047)	0.138 ^{e-2} (0.094 ^{e-2})	-0.040* (0.023)
Political focus	0.127 (0.276)	0.554** (0.285)	0.225 (0.307)
Radical goals	1.333*** (0.423)	0.281 (0.543)	0.542 (0.497)
Constant	-5.939*** (1.636)	-10.283*** (2.548)	-4.980** (1.966)
Log-likelihood	-302.832	-242.156	-217.795
Number of events	63	56	45
Number of spells	3,522	2,606	3,359
(Number of groups)	(306)	(163)	(251)

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$.

an impact on survival prospects. The survival of advocacy and hybrid forms is constrained by a liability of newness that does not affect service organizations after 1955. Advocacy and hybrid forms differ, however, in a significant way: The liability of newness “wears off” for hybrid organizations after their 13th year of activity, whereas advocacy organizations must wait 20 years to escape the risks associated with youth. All forms benefit from increased memberships, especially during their growth phase. Hybrid organizations with larger staffs are also more buffered from the risk of failure, a feature that does not appear significant for either of the service or advocacy forms. This could be an institutional effect: For those organizations that mix traditional service with political action, mimicking professionalized service organizations may be necessary to negotiate conflicting expectations (D’Aunno et al., 1991).

Institutional targets and goals also play a role in determining organizational failure. Service organizations that operate within political or legal institutions (e.g., by providing political education or legal services) are significantly more likely to fail than those that do not, an attribute that does not hamper advocacy or hybrid organizations. Even though service organizations

do not engage in activities that put them in direct contact with political or legal institutions, it appears that efforts to provide political resources or empowerment to their constituencies subjects them to additional constraints. This implies that national service organizations are more effective when they remain within a nonpolitical sphere. In a somewhat related fashion, national advocacy organizations have better survival rates if they keep their objectives more moderate. Advocacy organizations that express radical goals are significantly more likely to fail than other, reform-oriented advocacy groups. Somewhat surprisingly, adopting radical change goals does not have a measurable influence on the survival of service or hybrid organizations, even though a commitment to radical change potentially increases their vulnerability to conflicting institutional expectations. This result is even more striking given that each of these forms is equally likely to adopt radical goals, and only a small proportion of them do so (see Table 1).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Voluntary service provision has taken on new meanings since the 1960s, when a traditionally apolitical organizational form was fused with political purpose by feminists and racial and ethnic minority activists. The political turbulence of the 1960s created an open context for the evolution of new movement organizational forms and the continued expansion of traditional models of social action. The historically dominant form of identity-based service provision promoted the development of advocacy, which was a newly emergent, politicized form of identity-based organization, as well as a hybrid form that integrated both new and innovative models of collective organization.

In this article, I have used a community ecology perspective to analyze these developments, emphasizing the co-evolution of organizational forms and the unique contingencies faced by hybrid populations as they contribute to more widespread organizational expansion. The hybrid form, which integrates a traditional and new model of activity, was most significantly influenced by the continued growth of the service form over the course of the 1960s. Initially, hybrid organizations were able to benefit from the legitimacy and resource infrastructure provided by this better established model of social change activity, but as both forms expanded they limited each other's growth. In turn, the hybrid form was able to anchor the expansion of service forms of organization, a beneficial influence that lasted into the mid-1970s. One interpretation of this finding is that hybrid forms of organization open up the potential for resource expansion (McKelvey & Aldrich, 1983) and may consequently protect against the delegitimation of traditional organizational models in the context of early increases in community diversity. Over time, however, the hybrid form delimited further expansion of women's and minority service organizations and made organizational survival marginally more difficult.

The development of advocacy organizations experienced no similar benefits or liabilities from the bridging potential of the hybrid population. Nor was the increasing dominance of advocacy determinant for the founding of hybrid organizations. At the same time, as advocacy organizations expanded at the national level, they did have a supportive effect on the survival of both national service organizations and hybrids. In the process of establishing the viability of identity-based *political* action, then, the space for less political organizations was opened up as well. It is likely that this positive effect also indicates the more expansive environmental conditions over this period, as well as more diffuse institutional channeling effects that support conventional forms of organization over more political ones (Jenkins & Ekert, 1986; McCarthy et al., 1991).

Overall, advocacy organizations were more directly influenced by external political contingencies, particularly shifts in political power at the national level. However, incumbency of a presumably supportive political administration—normally considered a measure of favorable political opportunities—tended to set limits on the expansion of the advocacy organizational form. In contrast, whereas women's and minority service organizations benefit significantly from the increased foundation sponsorship available over these decades, advocacy and hybrid organizations are less vulnerable to shifts in available funding, although early resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977) would posit otherwise.

In terms of the institutional environment, the role of the state in the evolution of this national community of movement-affiliated organizations merits further exploration. In one respect, the state shapes regulations and institutional expectations regarding the legitimacy, and even legality, of identity-based organizational forms (McCarthy et al., 1991). A related issue is the prospects for identity-based service provision in the context of declining state support for social welfare. The results presented in this study suggest that aggregate increases in federal transfer payments do not appear to influence the survival prospects of independent service or advocacy activities at the national level. However, as such government commitments diminish, it is an open question whether identity-based service organizations will be able to step back into their historical role of providing crucial services and resources to their constituencies through coordination at the national level. Recent research on nonprofit organizations documents an increase in contracting relationships between nonprofits and the state (Smith & Lipsky, 1993), but there is good reason to question whether such contracts will go to organizations grounded in a politicized community of associations. And, although political officials (especially at the local level) may face incentives to support identity-based service organizations to win the favor of valued constituencies, the framework developed here suggests that political organizations—even those that may also do service—may not be equally favored by this logic at the national level.

Taken together, the theoretical perspective and empirical results elaborated in this article demonstrate that groups that try to take advantage of newly

opened political and resource opportunities build on multiple models and experience distinctive, and often contradictory, pressures from the institutional environment. In addition, political and social events—in this case linked to a decade of heightened social movement activity—alter definitions of what are legitimate models of organization and who are legitimate actors (Clemens, 1993). Organizers and activists need to remain cognizant of such changes, either to be proactive in seeking out and taking advantage of new models or vigilant in maintaining their organizations in the face of institutional shifts. In this context, hybrid organizations, which self-consciously integrate more traditional modes of service or resource provision and political advocacy, may come to play an even more central role in securing resource expansion and protecting against the delegitimation of identity-based organizational activity, broadly conceived.

Notes

1. Services include tangible goods and/or benefits, such as health care, financial aid, individual legal representation, and vocational training. Resources include intangible goods and/or benefits, such as education about legal issues, referral to welfare services, information about relevant issues, and knowledge of other individuals' experiences. Such service or resource organizations are most likely to be incorporated as 501(c)(3) nonprofits.

2. Typical advocacy activities include conducting or distributing nonpartisan analysis and research to the public, sponsoring discussions or workshops on social and political issues in an effort to influence public opinion, and organizing grassroots campaigns to mobilize the public or their members to influence authorities. Although advocacy organizations may lobby political officials directly (or pay a professional lobbyist to do so), Jenkins's (1987) definition is a more inclusive one. To the extent that political lobbying is central, advocacy organizations are likely to be incorporated as 501(c)(4) nonprofits, although many of such activities would still be permissible for 501(c)(3) charitable nonprofits.

3. In addition to service- and advocacy-related organizations, women's and racial or ethnic groups have also supported national protest groups that challenge discrimination using disruptive tactics such as demonstrations, sit-ins, and boycotts (such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and cultural organizations that focus on the production and distribution of artistic, historical, and symbolic resources and events (such as the Women's History Network). My primary interest in this study is the joint expansion of advocacy, service, and advocacy/service organizational forms.

4. Hannan and Carroll (1992) provide a legitimacy-based interpretation of the nonmonotonic relationship between population density and evolution. They argue that increased density improves the legitimacy of the form. Although I have applied this argument in my earlier work (Minkoff, 1993), such an interpretation is not necessary in a community ecology framework that posits asymmetries in organizational interactions based on different levels of resource control and responsiveness to environmental change (Brittain & Wholey, 1988). See Delacroix and Rao (1994) for a recent critique of legitimacy-based explanations of positive density effects.

5. One limitation of the Poisson formulation is that it fails to account for overdispersion and can result in spuriously small standard errors of the exogenous variables (Barron, 1992; Hannan, 1991). A common correction is to estimate the event count using negative binomial regression, which is a generalization of the Poisson model. Choice of the model is based on standard tests of fit for nested models (King, 1989). In the analyses that follow, including the dispersion term in the

negative binomial specification did not improve the fit of the model. I therefore chose to present the results from the simpler model based on the Poisson specification.

6. There were extensive missing data on membership and staff size. For membership, I assigned a value of 1 for missing data (the natural logarithm of which is 0). For missing data on staff members, I made the assumption that such organizations had no paid staff. Both methods of dealing with missing data are likely to bias the results downward because those organizations with missing data are assumed to be smaller and less professionalized throughout their tenure. Estimates for the effect of membership and staff size should therefore be interpreted with caution.

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