

Selected Readings on Social Movements (12/17/03)

Amenta, Edwin, Drew Halfmann & Michael P. Young (1999): "The Strategies and Contexts of Social Protest: Political Mediation and the Impact of the Townsend Movement in California," *Mobilization* 4: 1-24.

Aminzade, Ron & Doug McAdam (2002): eds., "Special Issue: Emotions and Contentious Politics," *Mobilization* vol 7, no. 2.

Andrews, Kenneth T. (2001): "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971," *American Sociological Review* 66: 71-95.

Anheier, Helmut K., Friedhelm Neidhardt & Wolfgang Vorkamp (1998): "Movement Cycles and the Nazi Party. Activities of the Munich NSDAP, 1925-1930," *American Behavioral Scientist* 41: 1262-1281.

d'Anjou, Leo (1996): *Social Movements and Cultural Change. The First Abolition Campaign Revisited*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter. Max Weber updated as a guide to the cultural impact of social movements.

Ansell, Christopher K. (2001): *Schism and Solidarity in Social Movements. The Politics of Labor in the French Third Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Organizational schism occurs, Ansell argues with ample evidence, when communal groups move toward closure.

Ash, Roberta (1972): *Social Movements in America*. Chicago: Markham. Pioneering survey, from colonial times to the recent past.

Astin, Alexander W., et al. (1975): *The Power of Protest*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Careful, broadly-documented, untheoretical review of campus conflicts and their participants in the U.S., 1964-1972.

Avritzer, Leonardo (2002): *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Literally how uses of urban space interact with democratic practices.

Ayres, Jeffrey M. (1998): *Defying Conventional Wisdom. Political Movements and Popular Contention against North American Free Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. How changing political opportunities -- national and international -- affect movement politics.

Barber, Lucy G. (2002): *Marching on Washington. The Forging of an American Political Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press. From Coxey's Army (1894) to the recent past, how Washington became available for popularly-initiated mass demonstrations.

Bárcena, Iñaki, Pedro Ibarra & Mario Zubiaga (1995): *Nacionalismo y ecología. Conflicto y institucionalización en el movimiento ecologista vasco*. Madrid: Libros de la Catarata. The Basque ecological movement described and theorized.

Beckwith, Karen (2001): "Women's Movements at Century's End: Excavation and Advances in Political Science," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 371-390.

Beissinger, Mark (2001): *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Event analysis goes big time, and proves illuminating.

Benford, Robert D. & Scott A. Hunt (1992): "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power," *Sociological Inquiry* 62: 35-55.

Benford, Robert D. & David A. Snow (2000): "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.

Bennani-Chraïbi, Mounia & Olivier Fillieule (2003): eds., *Résistances et protestations dans les sociétés musulmanes*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po. Concentrating on North Africa and the Middle East, these specialists try hard to end the theoretical ghettoization of contention in Islamic countries.

Berbrier, Mitch (2002): "Making Minorities: Cultural Space, Stigma Transformation Frames, and the Categorical Status Claims of Deaf, Gay, and White Supremacist Activists in Late Twentieth Century America," *Sociological Forum* 17: 553-592.

Bernstein, Mary (1997): "Celebration and Suppression: the Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 103: 531-565.

Binder, Amy J. (2002): *Contentious Curricula. Afrocentrism and Creationism in American Public Schools*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Two different ways by which outsiders make an impression on public school programs, and educational professionals blunt that impression.

Boggs, Carl (1986): *Social Movements and Political Power. Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Boudreau, Vincent (2001): *Grass Roots and Cadre in the Protest Movement*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press. Against the background of turbulent and incomplete democratization, a socialist alliance forms and disintegrates.

Bowen, Roger W. (1980): *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan. A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Structural bases of uprisings and social movements.

Brass, Tom (1991): "Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re-)Emergence of a (Post-) Modernized (Middle) Peasant," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 18: 173-205.

Bright, Charles & Susan Harding (1984): ed., *Statemaking and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Historians and social scientists try to put social movements squarely into connection with the changing forms of states.

Buechler, Steven M. (1990): *Women's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Parallels and continuities from the 19th century to the 20th. (2000): *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism. The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press. Well informed survey.

Burke, Edmund III (1988): ed., *Global Crises and Social Movements. Artisans, Peasants, Populists, and the World Economy*. Boulder: Westview. Eclectic, lively essays on links between world-economic fluctuations and particular forms of struggle.

Calhoun, Craig (1995): "New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century" in Mark Traugott, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Carden, Maren Lockwood (1974): *The New Feminist Movement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Emphasizes the division between segmented women's liberation and large-scale women's rights groups.

Casquette, Jesús (1998): *Política, cultura y movimientos sociales*. Bilbao: Bakeaz. Compact, lucid survey of recent culturalist and structuralist analyses of social movements.

Castells, Manuel (1983): *The City and the Grassroots. A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press. The "theory" is a conceptual jumble, but the varied studies of urban mobilization are rich and insightful.

Cattacin, Sandro & Florence Passy (1993): "Der Niedergang von Bewegungsorganisationen. Zur Analyse von organisatorischen Laufbahnen," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 45: 419-438.

Chabot, Sean (2000): "Transnational Diffusion and the African-American Reinvention of the Gandhian Repertoire," *Mobilization* 5: 201-216.

Chabot, Sean & Jan Willem Duyvendak (2002): "Globalization and transnational diffusion between social movements: Reconceptualizing the dissemination of the Gandhian repertoire and the 'coming out' routine," *Theory and Society* 31: 697-740.

Chazel, François (1993): ed., *Action collective et mouvements sociaux*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. The encounter of French analysts with foreign work on social movements and collective action.

Clark, S.D. (1959): *Movements of Social Protest in Canada, 1640-1840*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Social history, as done by a sociologist.

Clark, Samuel D., J. Paul Grayson, & Linda M. Grayson (1975): ed., *Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada*. Toronto: Gage. A modest, useful compilation.

Cohen, Jean (1985): "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements," *Social Research* 52: 663-716.

Cohen, Jean L. & Andrew Arato (1992): *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Exhaustive review of ideas concerning "civil society" as a preface to Habermasian normative theory.

Conell, Carol & Kim Voss (1990): "Formal Organization and the Fate of Social Movements: Craft Association and Class Alliance in the Knights of Labor," *American Sociological Review* 55: 255-269.

Costain, Anne N. & Andrew S. McFarland (1998): eds., *Social Movements and American Political Institutions*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield. Political scientists, amply represented here, see more interdependence between routine interest politics and social movements than their sociological neighbors do.

Dauvin, Pascal & Johanna Siméant (2002): *Le travail humanitaire. Les acteurs des ONG, du siège au terrain*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po. As distinguished from their self-images, how humanitarian non-governmental organizations actually recruit and act.

Davis, Diane E. (1999): "The Power of Distance: Re-theorizing Social Movements in Latin America," *Theory and Society* 28: 585-638.

Davis, Gerald F. & Tracy A. Thompson (1994): "A Social Movement Perspective on Corporate Control," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39: 141-173.

Deng, Fang (1997): "Information Gaps and Unintended Outcomes of Social Movements: The 1989 Chinese Student Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 102: 1085-1112.

Diani, Mario (1988): *Isole nell'arcipelago. Il movimento ecologista in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino. (1992): "The concept of social movement," *The Sociological Review* 40: 1-25. Eclectic efforts to connect New Social Movements with political-process analyses. (1995): *Green Networks. A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. How organizations connect and coordinate in social-movement mobilization and, for that matter, demobilization.

Diani, Mario & Doug McAdam (2003): eds., *Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The subtitle tells you better than the title on what the varied essays in the book pivot.

Dickinson, Torry D. & Robert K. Schaeffer (2001): *Fast Forward. Work, Gender, and Protest in a Changing World*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Breathless worldwide tour of contemporary changes in work and movements related to those changes.

Downs, Anthony (1972): "Up and Down with Ecology - the 'Issue-Attention Cycle'," *The Public Interest* 28 (Summer): 38-50.

Duyvendak, Jan Willem (1994): *Le poids du politique. Nouveaux mouvements sociaux en France*. Paris: L'Harmattan. New social movements and Political Opportunity Structure integrated, then compared with other countries.

Duyvendak, Jan Willem, Hein-Anton van der Heijden, Ruud Koopmans & Luuk Wijmans (1992): eds., *Tussen Verbeelding en Macht. 25 jaar nieuwe social bewegingen in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Sua. Dutch social movements since 1968, as seen by experts.

Ekiert, Grzegorz & Jan Kubik (1999): *Rebellious Civil Society. Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989-1993*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. How and why public protest occurred differently in Poland than elsewhere.

Edelman, Marc (1999): *Peasants Against Globalization. Rural Social Movements in Costa Rica*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. How to use theory as a scalpel rather than a bludgeon. (2001): "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 285-317.

Ennis, James G. (1987): "Fields of Action: Structure in Movements' Tactical Repertoires," *Sociological Forum* 2: 520-533.

Esherick, Joseph W. & Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (1990): "Acting Out Democracy: Political Theater in Modern China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 49: 835-865.

Eyerman, Ron & Andrew Jamison (1991): *Social Movements. A Cognitive Approach*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. Confused, misinformed, but often stimulating effort to get at the cognitions of participants in social movements as well as their analysts. (1998): *Music and Social Movements. Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Concrete review of forms and practices.

Favre, Pierre (1990): ed., *La Manifestation*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. Well-documented articles on the origins and political uses of the demonstration in France.

Fendrich, James Max (2003): "The Forgotten Movement: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement," *Sociological Inquiry* 73: 338-358.

Fernandez, Roberto & Doug McAdam (1988): "Social Networks and Social Movements: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Mississippi Freedom Summer," *Sociological Forum* 3: 357-382.

Feuer, Lewis S. (1969): *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements*. New York: Basic Books. Psychologizing social movements on the way to denigrating them.

Fillieule, Olivier (1997): *Stratégies de la rue. Les manifestations en France*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. Exhaustive catalogs of demonstrations in Nantes and Marseille at different times between 1975 and 1993, with more general analyses of how demonstrations work.

Fish, M. Steven (1995): *Democracy from Scratch. Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Russian politics under Gorbachev as a series of

social movements under the influence of a rapidly-changing state-shaped political opportunity structure.

Fredrickson, George M. (1997): *The Comparative Imagination. On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Parallels between ideologies of resistance and redress.

Freeman, Jo & Victoria Johnson (1999): eds., *Waves of Protest. Social Movements Since the Sixties*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. What's been happening on the US social movement front.

Fuentes, Marta & André Gunder Frank (1989): "Ten Theses on Social Movements," *World Development* 17: 179-192.

Gamson, William A. (1990): *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth. 2d edn. First published in 1975. How challengers entered, or (more often) failed to enter, the American polity. (1992): *Talking Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. How fairly ordinary people frame political discussion, and what the media have to do with it.

Gamson, William A., Bruce Fireman & Steven Rytina (1982): *Encounters with Unjust Authority*. Homewood: Dorsey. The building of righteous resistance in experiments and crucial real-life cases.

Ginsburg, Faye D. (1989): *Contested Lives. The Abortion Debate in an American Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press. North Dakotans line up against each other over rights to lives.

Gitlin, Todd (1980): *The Whole World is Watching. Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press. How and why orientation to television and other media altered young people's political challenges.

Giugni, Marco (1995): *Entre stratégie et opportunité. Les nouveaux mouvements sociaux en Suisse*. Zürich: Seismo. The surprising organizational variety of Swiss social movements related to the country's complex political opportunity structure. For a more general discussion, see (1998): "Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 371-393.

Giugni, Marco G., Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly (1998): eds., *From Contention to Democracy*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Essays on relations between social change and social movements. (1999): eds., *How Social Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. How movements produce effects, not necessarily the ones activists intend.

Giugni, Marco G. & Florence Passy (1993): "Etat et nouveaux mouvements sociaux, comparaison de deux cas contrastés: la France et la Suisse," *Revue Suisse de Sociologie* 19: 545-570. (1997): *Histoires de mobilisation politique en Suisse. De la contestation à l'intégration*. Paris: l'Harmattan. How new social movements such as pacifism and feminism worked in Switzerland, and what that tells us about social movements in general. (2001): eds., *Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield. When and why do people knock themselves out for the benefit of others?

Glenn, John K. III (2001): *Framing Democracy. Civil Society and Civic Movements in Eastern Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. In Poland's exit from socialism, religious organizations figured centrally; in Czechoslovakia, theater groups and intellectuals. How, why, and with what consequences?

Goldstone, Jack A. (2003): ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Younger students of contentious politics bring new evidence to bear on weighty theoretical issues.

Goodwin, Jeff & James M. Jasper (2004): eds., *Rethinking Social Movements. Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Mostly anti- and post-structuralists saying what's wrong with structural reductionism, including mine.

Goodwin, Jeff, James Jasper, & Francesca Polletta (2001): eds., *Passionate Politics. Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. A half dozen different ways of packing emotions (defined in a half dozen different ways) into descriptions and explanations of social movements.

Granjon, Fabien (2002): "Les repertoires d'action télémathiques du néo-militantisme," *Le Mouvement Social* 200: 11-32.

Gusfield, Joseph R. (1966): *Symbolic Crusade. Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Contention as an expression of competing life styles and the groups that practice them.

Hanagan, Michael (1998): "Irish Transnational Social Movements, Deterritorialized Migrants, and the State System: The Last One Hundred and Forty Years," *Mobilization* 13: 107-126.

Heberle, Rudolf (1951): *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Classic synthesis of older European views stemming from Die Sozialbewegung.

Hellman, Judith Adler (1995): "The Riddle of New Social Movements: Who They Are and What They Do," in Sandor Halebsky & Richard L. Harris, eds., *Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview.

Hirsch, Eric L. (1990): "Sacrifice for the Cause: Group Processes, Recruitment, and Commitment in a Student Social Movement," *American Sociological Review* 55: 243-254.

Hoerder, Dirk (1977): *Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765-1780*. New York: Academic Press. Social movements in the making.

Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig (2003): "Democracy and Associations in the Long Nineteenth Century: Toward a Transnational Perspective," *Journal of Modern History* 75: 269-299.

Hug, Simon & Dominique Wisler (1998): "Correcting for Selection Bias in Social Movement Research," *Mobilization* 3: 141-162.

Hunt, Scott A. & Robert D. Benford (1994): "Identity Talk in the Peace and Justice Movement," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22: 488-517.

Ibarra, Pedro (2003): ed., *Social Movements and Democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Under what conditions and how do social movements actually promote democracy, and vice versa?

Ibarra, Pedro & Benjamín Tejerina (1998): eds., *Los movimientos sociales. Transformaciones políticas y cambio cultural*. Madrid: Trotta. Authoritative compilation of recent analyses

Imig, Doug & Sidney Tarrow (2001): eds., *Contentious Europeans. Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Has the emergence of the European Union transformed the issues, forms, and objects of collective contention in Europe? Well, not fundamentally, but some new things are happening.

Jameson, J. Franklin (1956): *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*. Boston: Beacon. First published in 1926. What he actually meant was that ordinary people were much involved.

Jasper, James A. (1997): *The Art of Moral Protest. Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. What it's like to interpret social movements as

phenomenological events. (1998): "The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions In and Around Social Movements," *Sociological Forum* 13: 397-424.

Jenkins, J. Craig (1983) "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 527-553. (1985): *The Politics of Insurgency. The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press. Success and failure of farm workers' organizing as a function of resource mobilization.

Joppke, Christian (1991): "Social Movements during Cycles of Issue Attention: The Decline of the Anti-Nuclear Energy Movements in West Germany and the USA," *British Journal of Sociology* 42: 43-60.

Kaplan, Temma (1992): *Red City, Blue Period. Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Women, civic ritual, art, and radical politics in a turbulent city.

Keck, Margaret E. & Kathryn Sikkink (1998): *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. How human rights networks, environmental activists, and opponents of violence against women organize and act internationally.

Kenney, Padraic (2001): "Framing, Political Opportunities, and Civic Mobilization in the Eastern European Revolutions: A Case Study of Poland's Freedom and Peace Movement," *Mobilization* 6: 193-210.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1986): "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85. (1993): "Social Movements, Political Parties, and Democratic Theory," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528: 13-29.

Klandermans, Bert, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow (1988): eds., *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press. International Social Movement Research, vol. I. Fresh essays by the editors, Doug McAdam, Donatella della Porta, William Gamson, and important others.

Klandermans, Bert & Suzanne Staggenborg (2002): eds., *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Leading members of the middle generation patiently describe and defend standard techniques for social movement analysis.

Klausen, Kurt Klaudi & Flemming Mikkelsen (1988): *Konflikter, Kollektive Aktioner og Protestbevaegelser i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Samfunds Fagsnyt. For those who read Danish, an accessible, well-informed introduction to recent popular collective action in Denmark.

Knoke, David (1990): *Organizing for Collective Action. The Political Economies of Associations*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter. National studies of the United States yield information about how voluntary associations attract members and win victories.

Koopmans, Ruud (1995): *Democracy from Below. New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*. Boulder: Westview. (1996): "New Social Movements and Changes in Political Participation in Western Europe," *Western European Politics* 19: 28-50. Political process in comparative perspective.

Krieger, Joel (1999): "Egalitarian Social Movements in Western Europe: Can They Survive Globalization and the EMU?" *International Studies Review* 3: 69-86.

Kriesi, Hanspeter (1993): *Political Mobilization and Social Change. The Dutch Case in Comparative Perspective*. Aldershot: Avebury. Social movements and routine politics related to the distinctness of the Dutch state and economy.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak & Marco Giugni (1995): *New Social Movements in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

How change and (mostly) variation in political opportunity structure shape social movements in Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, and Germany.

Kronus, Carol L. (1978): "Mobilizing voluntary associations into a social movement: the case of environmental quality," *Sociological Quarterly* 18: 267-283.

Kurzman, Charles (1996): "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979," *American Sociological Review* 61: 153-170.

Lindenberger, Thomas (1995): *Strassenpolitik. Zur Sozialgeschichte der öffentlichen Ordnung in Berlin 1900 bis 1914*. Bonn: Dietz. How routine social life, policing, and street politics interacted in Berlin before World War I.

Lofland, John (1996): *Social Movement Organizations. Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter. Just what it says: not a synthesis, but a handbook for researchers.

Lofland, John & Michael Fink (1982): *Symbolic Sit-Ins. Protest Occupations at the California Capitol*. Washington: University Press of America. Attempt to identify a separate category of non-violent protest politics and its repertoire.

Lowe, Philip D. & Wolfgang Rüdig (1986): "Political Ecology and the Social Sciences -- The State of the Art," *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 513-550. Misleading title for an otherwise excellent review of work on ecological movements and misconceptions of them.

Lundqvist, Sven (1977): *Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället, 1850-1920*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. Popular movements (especially the better-organized drives for reform) carefully described and compared in industrializing Sweden.

Mamdani, Mahmood & Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba (1995): eds., *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*. Dakar: CODESRIA. Substitute "popular struggles" in general for "social movements," and you'll get a wide-ranging survey of African work on Africa.

Mansbridge, Jane J. (1986): *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. How the drive for an Equal Rights Amendment foundered on contrary political interests it mobilized.

Markoff, John (1996): *Waves of Democracy. Social Movements and Political Change*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Grove Press. How and why democratization comes in bunches with extensive popular mobilization. (1997): "Peasants Help Destroy and Old Regime and Defy a New One: Some Lessons from (and for) the Study of Social Movements," *American Journal of Sociology* 102: 1113-1142.

Mayer, Margit (1991): "Social Movement Research and Social Movement Practice: The U.S. Pattern," in Dieter Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the USA*. Frankfurt & Boulder: Campus/Westview. (1997): "Les mouvements sociaux comme acteurs politiques dans les villes européennes: leur évolution entre les années soixante-dix et quatre-vingt-dix," in Arnaldo Bagnasco & Patrick Le Galès, eds., *Villes en Europe*. Paris: La Découverte.

McAdam, Doug (1982): *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Second edition, University of Chicago Press, 1999.) As the title suggests, black mobilization puts theories of social movements and collective action to the test. (1988): *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press. How northern students got into southern activism, and more generally how anyone gets involved in movement politics.

McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald (1988): "Social Movements" in Neil J. Smelser, ed., *Handbook of Sociology*. Newbury Park: Sage. (1996): eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Samples and syntheses of recent European-American comparative analyses.

McCammon, Holly J. & Karen E. Campbell (2002): "Allies on the Road to Victory: Coalition Formation between the Suffragists and the Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Mobilization* 7: 231-252.

McCammon, Holly J., Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg & Christine Mowery (2001): "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866 to 1919," *American Sociological Review* 66: 49-70.

McCarthy, John D., David W. Britt & Mark Wolfson (1991): "The Institutional Channeling of Social Movements by the State in the United States," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 13: 45-76.

McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail & Jackie Smith (1996): "Images of Protest: Estimating Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations 1982 and 1991," *American Sociological Review* 61: 478-499.

McCarthy, John, & Mayer N. Zald (1973): *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization*. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Corporation. Pamphlet format of a pioneer statement. (2001): "Resource Mobilization Theory: Vigorous or Outmoded?" in Jonathan H. Turner, ed., *Handbook of Sociological Theory*. New York: Kluwer-Plenum.

Melucci, Alberto (1989): *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Need in Contemporary Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. (1992): "Liberation or Meaning? Social Movements, Culture and Democracy," *Development and Change* 23: 43-77. Essays on identity, post-industrial politics, and new social movements.

Mertes, Tom (2004): ed., *A Movement of Movements. Is Another World Really Possible?* London: Verso. Vigorous statements from leaders and theorists of current anti-globalization activism.

Meyer, David S. (1993): "Protest Cycles and Political Process: American Peace Movements in the Nuclear Age," *Political Research Quarterly* 47: 451-479. (1993): "Institutionalizing Dissent: The United States Structure of Political Opportunity and the End of the Nuclear Freeze Movement," *Sociological Forum* 8: 157-179. (2003): "Political Opportunity and Nested Institutions," *Social Movement Studies* 2: 17-35.

Meyer, David S. & Douglas R. Imig (1993): "Political Opportunity and the Rise and Decline of Interest Group Sectors," *Social Science Journal* 30: 253-270.

Meyer, David S. & Sidney Tarrow (1998): eds., *The Social Movement Society. Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. Is the social movement becoming normal politics in western countries? Does that mean social-movement politics is losing its bite?

Miller, Byron A. (2000): *Geography and Social Movements. Comparing Antinuclear Activism in the Boston Area*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Waltham, Lexington, and Cambridge display very different spatial groundings for activism.

Minkoff, Debra C. (1997): "Producing Social Capital: National Social Movements and Civil Society," *American Behavioral Scientist* 40: 606-619. (1997): "The Sequencing of Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 62: 779-799.

Miroff, Bruce (1981): "Presidential Leverage over Social Movements: The Johnson White House and Civil Rights," *Journal of Politics* 43: 2-23.

Morris, Aldon D. (1984): *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement. Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press. As the subtitle suggests, a study of the organizational bases of civil rights activism in the U.S. (1993): "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization," *American Sociological Review* 58: 621-636.

Morris, Aldon D. & Carol McClurg Mueller (1992): eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press. After Resource Mobilization, what?

Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1997): "Citizenship and Ethnicity: an Examination of Two Transition Moments in Kenyan Politics," *American Political Science Review* 91: 599-616.

Nicolas, Jean (1985): ed., *Mouvements populaires et conscience sociale, XVIe-XIXe siècles*. Paris: Maloine. Sixty-three -- count them -- reports of work in progress on popular contention, mainly in France.

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