

Collective Behavior and Social Movements
Preliminary Examination Reading List
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Introduction and Overview

Note: read as many of the following as necessary in this section to familiarize yourself with the major concepts, definitions, debates, developments, issues, methods, theoretical paradigms, etc. in the field. If in doubt, read all of them.

della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani. 1999. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, Ch. 1 (pages 1-23), "The Study of Social Movements: Collective Behaviour, Rational Action, Protests and New Conflicts."

Klandermans, Bert and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2002. *Methods of Social Movement Research*. MN: University of Minnesota Press.

McAdam, Doug, Robert J. Sampson, Simon Weffer, and Heather MacIndoe. 2005. "There Will be Fighting in the Streets": The Distorting Lens of Social Movement Theory." *Mobilization* 10:1-18.

Snow, David A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. "Mapping the Terrain." Pp. 3-16 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell.

Snow, David A. 2004. "Social Movements as Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* 25:3-25.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1 & 2 (pages 1-25), "Introduction" & "Contentious Politics and Social Movements."

Tilly, Charles. 2006. *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 8 (pages 179-208), "Social Movement."

***Collective Behaviorist Tradition: Classical Statements,
Applications, Elaborations, and Criticisms***

Bergesen, Albert, and Max Herman. 1998. "Immigration, Race, and Riot: The 1992 Los Angeles Uprising." *American Sociological Review*, 63: 39-54.

Blumer, Herbert. 1969. "Collective Behavior." Pp. 67-121 in *Principles of Sociology*, edited by A.M. Lee. New York: Barnes and Noble.

Gurr, Ted. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Ch. 2 (pages 22-58), "Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence."

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 5 (pages 103-129), "Not in Our Backyards: Emotion, Threat, and Blame."

LeBon, Gustave. (1895) 1960. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. NY: Viking Press

Turner, Ralph H. and Lewis M. Killian. 1987. *Collective Behavior*. 3rd ed. Englewood, Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., Ch. 2 (pages 17-34), "Processes in Collective Behavior: Models and Approaches" and Ch. 3 (pages 35-51), "The Emergence of Collective Behavior."

Smelser, Neil J. 1962. *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: Free Press, Ch. 3 (pages 47-66), "Structural Strain Underlying Collective Behavior."

Useem, Bert. 1985. "Disorganization and the New Mexico Prison Riot of 1980." *American Sociological Review* 50:677-688.

Rationalist Tradition: Classical Statements, Applications, Elaborations, and Criticisms

Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 3 (pages 31-72), "Selective Social Incentives and Reputational Concerns."

Fireman, Bruce and William Gamson. 1988. "Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective." Pp. 8-44 in *The Dynamics of Social Movements*, edited by M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy. Lanham, MD: University Press of America (read appendix only if interested).

Gamson, William. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Ch. 5 (pages 55-71), "The Limits of Solidarity.:"

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pages 217-222, "The Pleasures of Protest."

Klandermans, Burt. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* 49:583-600.

Gerald Marwell and Pamela Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action: A Micro-Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oberschall, Anthony. 1973. *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pages 157-172, "Risk, Rewards, and Resources."

Oliver, Pamela. 1984. "If You Don't Do It, Nobody else will." *American Sociological Review* 49:601-610.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Ch. 2 (pages 53-65), "Group Size and Group Behavior."

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. "The Emotional Benefits of Insurgency in El Salvador." Pp. 267-281 in *Passionate Politics*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Walsh, E. and R. Warland. 1983. "Social Movement Involvement in the Wake of A Nuclear Accident: Activists and Free Riders in TNI Area." *American Sociological Review* 48: 764-780.

***Resource Mobilization Tradition: Classical Statements,
Applications, Elaborations, and Criticisms***

Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 61:1089-1109.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow. 1977. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)." *American Sociological Review* 42:249-268.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Craig M. Eckert. 1986. "Channeling Black Insurgency: Elite Patronage and Professional Social Movement Organizations in the Development of the Black Movement." *American Sociological Review* 51:812-829.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1973. *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization*. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 2002. "The Enduring Vitality of the Resource Mobilization Theory of Social Movements." Pp. 533-565 in *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, edited by J. H. Turner. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Morris, Aldon. 1981. "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46:744-767.

Morris, Aldon. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Free Press, Ch. 11 (pages 275-290), "Theoretical Overview and Conclusions.

***Political Process, Opportunity, and Related Traditions:
Classical Statements, Applications, Elaborations, and Criticisms***

Amenta, Edwin and Yvonne Zylan. 1991. "It Happened Here: Political Opportunity, the New Institutionalism, and the Townsend Movement." *American Sociological Review* 56:250-265.

- Einwohner, Rachel L. 2003. "Opportunity, Honor, and Action in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:650-675.
- Goodwin, Jeff and James M. Jasper. 1999. "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory." *Sociological Forum* 14:27-54.
- Jenkins et al. 2003. "Political Opportunities and African American Protest, 1948-1997". *American Journal of Sociology* 109:277-303.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16:57-85.
- Kurzman, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.
- McAdam, Doug. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, David S. 2004. "Protest and Political Opportunities". *Annual Review of Sociology*. 30: 125-198
- Meyer, David S. and Debra S. Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82:1457-1492.
- Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 2-3. And *Mobilization* 2003:8 discussion of this book.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

Mobilization, Recruitment, Commitment, Emotions, Identity, and Participation

- Beyerlein, Kraig and John R. Hipp. 2006. "A Two-Stage Model for a Two-Stage Process: How Biographical Availability Matters for Social Movement Mobilization." *Mobilization*. 11: 219-240.
- Hirsch, Eric L. 1990. "Sacrifice for the Cause: Group Processes, Recruitment, and Commitment in a Student Social Movement." *American Sociological Review* 55:243-254.
- Jasper, James M. and Jane D. Poulsen. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems* 42:493-512.
- Jasper, James M. and Michael P. Young. Forthcoming. "The Rhetoric of Sociological Facts."

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- Kanter, R. M. 1968. "Commitment and Social Organization: A Study of Commitment." *American Sociological Review* 33: 499-517.
- Klandermans, Burt and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 52:519-531.
- Klandermans, Bert. 2002. "How Group Identification Helps to Overcome the Dilemma of Collective Action." *American Behavioral Scientist* 45:887-900.
- McAdam, Doug. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92:64-90.
- McAdam, Doug and Ronnelle Paulsen. 1993. "Specifying the Relationship between Social Ties and Activism." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:640-667.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson and Christian Smith. 2001. "The Social Structure of Moral Outrage in Recruitment to the U.S. Central America Peace Movement." Pp. 158-174 in *Passionate Politics*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Oegema, Dirk and Burt Klandermans. 1994. "Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support." *American Sociological Review* 59:703-722.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter and Christiane Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and Spontaneous Cooperation: The East German Revolution of 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:659-680.
- Passy, Florence. 2001. "Socialization, Connection, and the Structure/Agency Gap: A Specification of the Impact of Networks on Participation in Social Movements." *Mobilization* 6:173-192.
- Snow, David A., E. Burke Rockford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51:464-481.
- Snow, David A. and Doug McAdam. 2000. "Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movements: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus." Pp. 41-67 in *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, edited by S. Stryker, T. J. Owens, and R. W. White. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Snow, David A., Louis A. Zurcher, and Sheldon Eklund-Olson. 1980. "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment." *American Sociological Review* 45:787-801.

Stürmer, Stefan and Bernd Simon. 2004. "The Role of Collective Identification in Social Movement Participation: A Panel Study in the Context of the German Gay Movement." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 30:263-277.

Taylor, V. and N. Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization". Pp. 104-129 in A. Morris and C. Mueller (eds), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Viterna, Jocelyn S. 2006. "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology* 112:1-45.

Movements and Countermovements

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2002. "Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and the Emergence of New Institutions: The Case of "White Flight" Schools in Mississippi." *Social Forces* 80:911-936.

Jasper, James M. and Jane Poulsen. 1993. "Fighting Back: Vulnerabilities, Blunders, and Countermobilization by the Targets in Three Animal Rights Campaigns." *Sociological Forum* 8:639-657.

Meyer, David S. and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology* 101:1628-1660.

Pichardo, Nelson A. 1995. "The Power Elite and Elite-Driven Countermovements: The Associated Farmers of California during the 1930s." *Sociological Forum* 10:21-49.

Movement Diffusion

Andrews, Kenneth T. and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752-777.

Hedström, Richard. 1994. "Contagious Collectivities: On the Spatial Diffusion of Swedish Trade Unions, 1890-1940." *American Journal of Sociology* 99:1157-1179.

Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht. 1993. "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528:56-87.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements". *American Sociological Review* 62: 779-799.

Myers, Daniel J. 2000. "The Diffusion of Collective Violence: Infectiousness, Susceptibility, and Mass Media Networks." *American Journal of Sociology* 106:173-208.

David Strang and Sarah Soule. 1998. "Diffusion in Organizations and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:265-90.

- Soule, Sarah A. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest." *Social Forces* 75:855-882.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:1493-1529.
- Vincent Roscigno and William Danaher. 2001. "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934." *American Sociological Review* 66:21-48.

New Social Movements

- Craig Calhoun. 1993. "'New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century." *Social Science History* 17:385-427.
- Josh Gamson. 1989. "Silence, Death, and the Invisible Enemy: Aids Activism and Social Movement 'Newness.'" *Social Problems* 36:351-367.
- Alberto Melucci. 1985. "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements." *Social Research* 52:789-816

Alberto Melucci. 1996. *Challenging Codes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Repression and Policing

- Brockett, Charles. 1993. "A Protest Cycle Resolution of the Repression/Popular-Protest Paradox." *Social Science History* 17:457-484.
- Earl, Jennifer, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. 2003. "Protests Under Fire?: Explaining Protest Policing." *American Sociological Review* 69:581-606.
- Khawaja, Marwan. 1993. "Repression and Popular Collective Action: Evidence from the West Bank." *Sociological Forum* 8:47-71.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 1997. "Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization: The German Extreme Right in the 1990s." *Mobilization*:149-165.
- Linden, Annette and Bert Klandermans. 2006. "Stigmatization and Repression of Extreme-Right Activism in the Netherlands." *Mobilization* 11:213-228.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter and Wolfgang Roehl. 1990. "Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest." *Social Forces* 69:521-547.
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61:132-152.

Smith, Christian. 1996. *Resisting Reagan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 10 (pages 280-324), "Facing Repression and Harassment."

Social Movement Outcomes

Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, Ch. 2 (pages 13-40), Ch. 5 (pages 108-135), and Ch. 8 (pages 174-190), "Explaining the Consequences of Social Movements," "The Struggle for Political Power," and "The Acquisition of Political Power."

Cloward, Richard A. and Frances Fox Piven. 1984. "A Reply to Gamson and Schmeidler" *Theory and Society* 13: 587-99.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Frey, Scott R., Thomas Dietz, and Linda Kalof. 1992. "Characteristics of Successful American Protest Groups: Another Look at Gamson's Strategy of Social protest." *American Journal of Sociology* 98:368-87.

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Gamson, William A. and Emilie Schmeidler. 1984. "Organizing the Poor: An Argument with Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward's *Poor Peoples Movements*." *Theory and Society* 13: 567-85.

Giugni, Marco. 1998. "Was it Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24:371-93.

McAdam, Doug. 1989. "The Biographical Consequences of Activism." *American Sociological Review* 54:744-760.

McAdam, Doug and Yang Su. 2002. "The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973." *American Sociological Review* 67:696-721.

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

McVeigh, Rory, Michael R. Welch, and Thoroddur Bjarnason. 2003. "Hate Crime Reporting as a Successful Social Movement Outcome." *American Sociological Review* 68:843-867.

Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. "When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment." *American Sociological Review* 69:473-497.

Taylor, Verta and Nicole C. Raeburn. 1995. "Identity Politics as High Risk Activism: Career

Consequences for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Sociologists.” *Social Problems* 42:252-273.

Terrorism

Bergesen, Albert J. and Yi Han. 2005. New Directions for Terrorism Research. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 46: 161-179.

Pape, Robert A. 2003. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *American Political Science Review* 97: 343-361.

Sageman, Marc. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Mobilization Special Issue on Terrorism. Forthcoming. Edited and introduction by Albert Bergesen.

Transnational Social Movements

Jackie Smith. 2001. “Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements.” *Mobilization* 6:1-19.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Sidney Tarrow. 2001. “Transnational Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4:1-20.

Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco. Eds. 1997. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* Syracuse University Press.

Mara Loveman. 1998. “High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina.” *American Journal of Sociology*. 104:477-525.