

SOC 555  
Tuesdays, 6:00-8:30

Spring 2008  
Faner 3410

## Seminar Syllabus

### **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION**

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Office Hours: 9-11 Tuesdays, 9-11 & 1-3 Thursdays, or by appointment

#### COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this seminar is to familiarize you with the theories, conceptual issues, and empirical research pertaining to social movements and collective action, and to stimulate questions, discussion, hypotheses, and research in the area.

The seminar is divided into two sections. During the first five weeks we will examine and evaluate six major perspectives or paradigms. We will review each of these alternative conceptual frameworks, tease out their domain assumptions, and critically assess their analytic utility and explanatory power. The remainder of the term will be devoted to substantive conceptual issues and empirical findings. We begin this section by examining macro level factors that facilitate and constrain social movement emergence, mobilization, diffusion, and cycles. Next, we investigate the meso level, that is the organizational manifestations and dimensions of social movements as well as the relationships among social movement organizations (SMOs). We then turn to an analysis of the microstructural and social psychological processes associated with grievance interpretation, recruitment, conversion, identity construction, and commitment. The course concludes with an exploration of the conceptual and empirical linkages among the micro, macro, and meso levels as well as an examination of the outcomes of social movements.

#### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

You are expected to read and be conversant with the assigned readings, participate in seminar discussions, summarize and critique two pairs of articles, offer written comments on a draft of a fellow student's seminar paper, and write a journal article-length paper.

1. Reading Assignments: You are to remain current with the attached reading schedule. That means you are to read the material assigned for each week and come to that week's seminar prepared to discuss **all** of the required readings and your assigned supplementary readings. I recommend that you set aside one day each week to prepare for the seminar. *Only those who remain current with the reading assignments and consistently contribute to seminar discussions will be eligible to earn a high grade in the seminar.* Some of the required readings (indicated by the \* symbol prior to the author's name) are from two collections listed below. The other

required readings (indicated by the [R] symbol at the end of the bibliographic information) are on reserve in the Sociology Department Office (3384 Faner Hall). Please check these out according to the instructions on the folder. (You might consider collectively devising a system of dividing the photocopying/downloading labor among you.) Finally, you will need to locate your own paired supplementary readings. If you can't find one or more of the readings, please see me well ahead of the seminar meeting for which you need them.

2. Seminar Participation: You are expected to attend each seminar meeting and to participate in an informed manner. This requires, of course, that you are familiar with the assigned readings.

3. Seminar Presentations: As indicated above, you will be required to present summaries, comparisons, and critiques of two pairs of supplemental articles. This provides us with the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with a lot more literature than would otherwise be possible. The supplemental articles are paired on the reading list below. The supplemental readings are designated by the symbol @ prior to the author's name. Each pair of articles has been assigned a number. Please bring to the January 22<sup>nd</sup> seminar a list of your top five pairs of preferred readings, in order of preference. Do not select more than one pair from any week. I will do my best to see to it that you are assigned at least one of your pairs of preferences. Your presentations should be informative but relatively brief—approximately 7 to 10 minutes for each presentation. Longer presentations will be discounted.

4. Research Paper: You are to prepare a journal length paper on a topic relevant to the seminar. The paper should be based on either original research or on an up-to-date review and critique of the literature on a specific movement process (e.g., recruitment, grievance interpretation, organizational transformation, etc.) or element (e.g., ideology, opportunity structures, collective identity, etc.). If you choose the first option, the paper should address a particular issue, question, or hypothesis with data derived from research on a specific movement. You may not do a paper on a movement in general; the paper must be focused on some theoretical issue or movement process. A purely descriptive paper will not be acceptable. If you choose the second option, the paper should be comprehensive and critical in a constructive sense. By that I mean that the paper should not end in a highly critical note; instead, an attempt should be made to push forward in a creative and constructive manner by suggesting a new line of research or a number of interconnected propositions. Whichever option you choose, the paper should be crafted as if it were being submitted to the *American Sociological Review* for publication consideration. Thus it should be 15 to 25 typed pages in length (double-spaced, including the bibliography) and follow *ASR* format and style. A draft of the paper is due on April 15. This draft will be reviewed by a fellow student only. You will receive her/his comments on or before April 22. Final drafts are due at the beginning of class on April 29. I will deduct a letter grade for late papers.

5. Review of Fellow Student's Paper: On April 15, I will assign you a paper from one of your fellow students upon which you will be asked to offer constructive comments. Reviews, due April 22, will be conducted using a double-blind technique similar to that used by academic journals. *No late reviews will be accepted.*

6. Evaluation: You will be evaluated on the basis of the extent and quality of your seminar participation [30%], two supplemental readings presentations (20%), review of fellow student's paper [10%], and your final paper [40%].

7. Academic Honesty: ALL UNIVERSITY POLICIES REGARDING PLAGIARISM AND ACADEMIC DISHONESTY WILL BE UPHELD IN THIS COURSE.

## COURSE SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### Required Books, Codes, & Abbreviations:

Buechler, Steven M., and F, Kurt Cylke, Jr. (eds.). 1997. *Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues*. Mountain View, CA, London, & Toronto: Mayfield. [B&C]

Snow, David. A., Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2004. *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK; Victoria, Australia: Blackwell. [SSK]

### Readings on reserve [R]

**Note:** All required readings are preceded by the symbol \*. Supplemental paired readings, which are to be used for in-seminar critiques and for additional reading, are indicated by the symbol @. Reserved readings are followed by the symbol [R]. The following journal abbreviations are used: *American Journal of Sociology* = AJS; *American Sociological Review* = ASR; *Annual Review of Sociology* = ARS; *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* = JCE; *Social Forces* = SF; *Social Movements, Conflict and Change* = SMCC; *Social Problems* = SP; *Sociological Inquiry* = SI; *The Sociological Quarterly* = TSQ.

**Week/Date**

**General Discussion Topics and Reading Assignments**

1/Jan 15

Overview of Social Movements and Collective Action; Definitional Issues; Evaluating Theories; Domain Assumptions

**I. ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

2/Jan 22 A. Strain Perspectives

\*Buechler, S.M. 2004. "The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action." [SSK:3]

\*Snow, D.A., D.M. Cress, L. Downey, & A.W. Jones. 1998. "Disrupting the 'Quotidian': Reconceptualizing the Relationship between Breakdown and the Emergence of Collective Action." *Mobilization* 3(1):1-22. [R]

1. Structural-Functional Perspectives

\*Kornhouser, W. 1959. "The Politics of Mass Society." From *The Politics of Mass Society*. [B&C:6]

\*Smelser, N.J. 1962. "The Norm-Oriented Movement." From *Theory of Collective Behavior*. [B&C:8]

2. Psycho-Functional Perspectives

\*Geschwender, J.A. 1968. "Explorations in the Theory of Social Movements and Revolutions." *SF* 47:127-35. [B&C:7]

3/Jan 29 B. Conflict Perspectives

\*Collins, R. 1988. "Conflict and Social Change." From *Theoretical Sociology*. [B&C:1]

1. Class Conflict Perspective

\*Zinn, H. 1980. "Tyranny is Tyranny." From *A People's History of the United States*. [B&C:2]

\*Marx, K. & F. Engels. 1848. "Bourgeois and Proletarians." From *The Communist Manifesto*. [B&C:4]

## 2. Status Conflict Perspective

\*Marshall, S.E. 1986. "In Defense of Separate Spheres: Class and Status Politics in the Anti-Suffrage Movement." *SF* 65:327-51. [R]

### 4/Feb 5 C. Rational Choice Perspectives

\*Olson, M. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Pp. 1-2, 5-16, 43-52, 60-65. [R]

1 @Oliver, P. 1980. "Rewards and Punishments as Selective Incentives for Collective Action: Theoretical Investigations." *AJS* 85:1356-75.

1 @Wiltfang, G. & D. McAdam. 1991. "The Costs and Risks of Social Activism: A Study of Sanctuary Movement Activism." *SF* 69:987-1010.

2 @Oliver, P. 1993. "Formal Models of Collective Action." *ARS* 19:271-300.

2 @Opp, K.D. 1988. "Grievances and Participation in Social Movements." *ASR* 53:853-64.

3 @Klandermans, B. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *ASR* 49:583-600.

3 @Kim, H. & P.S. Bearman. 1997. "The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation." *ASR* 62:70-93.

4 @Kurzman, C. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *ASR* 61:153-170.

4 @Deng, F. 1997. "Information Gaps and Unintended Outcomes of Social Movements: The 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement." *AJS* 102:1085-1112.

### D. Resource Mobilization Perspectives

#### 1. Organization/Entrepreneurial Perspective

\*McCarthy, J.D. & M.N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *AJS* 82: 1212-41. [B&C:11]

\*Edwards, B. & J.D. McCarthy. 2004. "Resources and Social Movement Mobilization." [SSK:6]

5 @Ferree, M.M. 1992. "The Political Context of Rationality: Rational Choice Theory and Resource Mobilization." From *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by A. Morris & C. Mueller.

5 @Piven, F.F. & R.A. Cloward. 1992. "Normalizing Collective Protest." From *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*.

## 2. Political Process and Opportunity Perspective

\*McAdam, D. 1982. "The Political Process Model." Pp. 36–59 from *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. [B&C:12]

\*Tarrow, S. 1996. "States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, edited by D. McAdam, J.D. McCarthy, & M.N. Zald. [R]

\*Kriesi, H. 2004. "Political Context and Opportunity." [SSK:4]

6 @Pedriana, N. 2004. "Help Wanted NOW: Legal Resources, the Women's Movement, and the Battle Over Sex-Segregated Job Advertisements." *SP* 52:182-201.

6 @Werum, R. & B. Winders. 2001. "Who's 'In' and Who's 'Out': State Fragmentation and the Struggle over Gay Rights, 1974-1999." *SP* 48:386-410.

7 @Meyer, D.S. & D.C. Minkoff. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *SF* 82:1457-92.

7 @Bob, C. 2002. "Political Process Theory and Transnational Movements: Dialectics of Protest among Nigeria's Ogoni Minority." *SP* 49:395-415.

## 5/Feb 12 E. New Social Movements Perspective

\*Melucci, A. 1985. "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements." *Social Research* 52:790-816. [B&C:17]

\*Johnston, H., E. Larana & J.R. Gusfield. 1994. "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements." From *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. [B&C:18]

- 8 @Melucci, A. 1994. "A Strange Kind of Newness: What's 'New' in New Social Movements?" From *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*.
- 8 @Buechler, S.M. 1995. "New Social Movement Theories." *TSQ* 36:441-64. [B&C:19]
- 9 @Cohen, J.L. 1985. "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Research* 52:663-716.
- 9 @Melucci, A. 1988. "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements." *International Social Movement Research* 1:329-48.

#### F. Social Constructionist Perspectives

- \*Blumer, H. 1951. "Elementary Collective Groupings." From *Principles of Sociology*, edited by A.M. Lee. [B&C:5]
- \*Turner, R.H. & L.M. Killian. 1987. "Toward a Theory of Social Movements." Pp. 241-61 in *Collective Behavior*, 3E. [B&C:9]
- \*Benford, R.D. & D.A. Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *ARS*, 26, 611-39. [R]
- \*Benford, R.D. & S.A. Hunt. 1992. "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power." *SI* 62:36-55. [R]
- \*Gamson, W.A. 1995. "Constructing Social Protest." From *Social Movements and Culture* edited by H. Johnston & B. Klandermans. [B&C:15]
- 10 @Klandermans, B. 1992. "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields." From *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*.
- 10 @Eyerman & Jamison. 1991. "Social Movements as Cognitive Praxis." Pp. 43-65 from *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. [B&C:16]
- 11 @Rafter, N.H. 1992. "Claims-Making and Socio-Cultural Context in the First U.S. Eugenics Campaign." *SP* 39:17-34. (Also read comment by R.J. Troyer and Rafter's rejoinder in same issue.)
- 11 @Gamson, W.A. & A. Modigliani. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Social Constructionist Approach." *AJS* 95:1-37.

## II. SUBSTANTIVE CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL ISSUES

### A. Macro Level

- 6/Feb 19      1. Conditions of Strain: Structural & Cultural Sources
- \*Flacks, R. 1995. "Think Globally, Act Politically: Some Notes toward New Social Movement Strategy." From *Cultural Politics and Social Movements* edited by M. Darnovsky, B. Epstein & R. Flacks. [B&C:3]
- \*Van Dyke, N. & S.A. Soule. 2002. "Structural Social Change and the Mobilizing Effect of Threat: Explaining Levels of Patriot and Militia Organizing in the United States." *SP* 49:497-520.
- 12            @Robinson, K.K. , E.M. Crenshaw, & J.C. Jenkins. 2006. "Ideologies of Violence: The Social Origins of Islamist and Leftists Transnational Terrorism." *SF* 84:2009-26.
- 12            @Goodwin, J. 2006. "A Theory of Categorical Terrorism." *SF* 84: 2027-46.
- 13            @ Boswell, T. & W.J. Dixon. 1993. "Marx's Theory of Rebellion: A Cross-National Analysis of Class Exploitation, Economic Development, and Violent Revolt." *ASR* 58-681-702.
- 13            @Walsh, E.J. 1981. "Resource Mobilization and Citizen Protest in Communities Around Three Mile Island." *SP* 29:1-21.
- 14            @Belanger, S. & M. Pinard. 1991. "Ethnic Movements and the Competition Model: Some Missing Links." *ASR* 56:446-57.
- 14            @Carroll, M.P. 1975. "Revitalization Movements and Social Structure: Some Quantitative Tests." *ASR* 40: 389-401.
2. Conditions of Conduciveness: Political Opportunities and Constraints
- \*Jenkins, J.C. & C. Perrow. 1977. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)." *ASR* 42:249-68. [R]
- \*Piven, F.F. and R.A. Cloward. 1977. "The Structuring of Protest." From *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. [B&C:20]
- \*Rucht, D. 2004. "Movement Allies, Adversaries, and Third Parties." [SSK:9]

- \*Gamson, W.A. 2004. "Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media." [SSK:11]
- \*Smith, J. 2004. "Transnational Processes and Social Movements." [SSK:14]
- 15 @Smith, J. 1995. "Transnational Political Processes and the Human Rights Movement." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 18. [B&C:33]
- 15 @Liu, D. 2006. "When Do National Movements Adopt or Reject International Agendas? A Comparative Analysis of the Chinese and Indian Women's Movements." *ASR* 71:921-42.
- 16 @Walden, A.G. 2006. "Ambiguity and Choice in Political Movements: The Origins of Beijing Red Guard Factionalism." *AJS* 112:710-50.
- 16 @Zhou, X. 1993. "Unorganized Interests and Collective Action in Communist China." *ASR* 58:54-73.
- 17 @McCammon, H.J., K.E. Campbell, E.M. Granberg, & C. Mowery. 2001. "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919." *ASR* 66:49-70.
- 17 @Van Dyke, N. 2003. "Crossing Movement Boundaries: Factors that Facilitate Coalition Protest by American College Students, 1930-1990." *SP* 50:226-50.
- 18 @Oliver, P.E. & G.M. Maney. 2000. "Political Processes and Local Newspaper Coverage of Protest Events: From Selection Bias to Triadic Interactions." *AJS* 106:463-505.
- 18 @McCarthy, J.D., C. McPhail & J. Smith. 1996. "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991." *ASR* 61:478-99.
- 19 @Munson, Z. 2001. "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *TSQ* 42:487-510.
- 19 @Khawaja, M. 1994. "Resource Mobilization, Hardship, and Collective Action in the West Bank." *SF* 73:191-220.
- 20 @Schurman, R. 2004. "Fighting 'Frankenfoods': Industry Opportunity Structures and the Efficacy of the Anti-Biotech Movement in Western Europe." *SP* 51:243-68.
- 20 @Einwohner, R.L. 1999. "Practices, Opportunity, and Protest Effectiveness: Illustrations from Four Animal Rights Campaigns." *SP* 46:169-86.

- 21 @McCarthy, J.D. & M. Wolfson. 1992. "Consensus Movements, Conflict Movements, and the Cooptation of Civic and State Infrastructures." From *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*.
- 21 @Cress, D.M. & D.A. Snow. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *ASR* 61:1089-1109.
- 7/Feb 26 3. Countermovements, Institutional Opposition, and Social Control
- \*Mottl, T.L. 1980. "The Analysis of Countermovements." *SP* 27:620-34. [B&C:25]
- \*Benford, R.D. & S.A. Hunt. 2003. "Interactional Dynamics in Public Problems Marketplaces: Movements and the Counterframing and Reframing of Public Problems." From *Challenges & Choices: Constructionist Perspectives on Social Problems*, edited by J. A. Holstein & G. Miller. [R]
- \*Marx, G.T. 1979. "External Efforts to Damage or Facilitate Social Movements: Some Patterns, Explanations, Outcomes, and Complications." Pp. 94-126 in Zald & McCarthy (eds.), *The Dynamics of Social Movements*. [B&C:22]
- \*Cunningham, D. 2003. "The Patterning of Repression: FBI Counterintelligence and the New Left." *SF* 82:209-40. [R]
- \*Earl, J., S.A. Soule, & J.D. McCarthy. 2003. "Protest Under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest." *ASR* 68:561-606. [R]
- \*della Porta, D. & O. Fillieule. 2004. "Policing Social Protest." [SSK:10]
- 22 @Meyer, D.S. & S. Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *AJS* 101:1628-60.
- 22 @Zald, M.N. & B. Useem. 1987. "Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics and State Involvement." Pp. 247-72 in Zald & McCarthy (eds.), *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: Collected Essays*.
- 23 @McCarthy, J.D., A. Martin, & C. McPhail. 2007. "Policing Disorderly Campus Protests and Convivial Gatherings: The Interaction of Threat, Social Organization, and First Amendment Guarantees." *SP* 54: 279-96.
- 23 @Opp, K.D. & W. Roehl. 1990. "Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest." *SF* 69:521-47.

- 24 @Zdravomyslova, E. 1996 "Opportunities and Framing in the Transition to Democracy: The Case of Russia." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.
- 24 @Oberschall, A. 1996. "Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European Revolts of 1989." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.
- 25 @Haydu, J. 1999. "Counter Action Frames: Employer Repertoires and the Union Menace in the Late Nineteenth Century." *SP* 46:313-31.
- 25 @Coy, P.G. & T. Hedeem. 2005. "A Stage Model of Social Movement Co-Optation: Community Mediation in the United States." *TSQ* 46:405-35.
- 26 @Noakes, J.A. 2000. "Official Frames in Social Movement Theory: The FBI, HUAC, and the Communist Threat in Hollywood." *TSQ* 41:657-80.
- 26 @Jasper, J. & J. Poulsen. 1993. "Fighting Back: Vulnerabilities, Blunders, and Countermobilization by the Targets in Three Animal Rights Campaigns." *Sociological Forum* 8:639-57.
- 27 @Broad, K.L., S.L. Crawley, & L. Foley. 2004. "Doing 'Real Family Values': The Interpretive Practice of Families in the GLBT Movement." *TSQ* 45:509-27.
- 27 @Fetner, T. 2001. "Working Anita Bryant: The Impact of Christian Anti-Gay Activism on Lesbian and Gay Movement Claims." *SP* 48:411-28.
- 28 @Olzak, S., S. Shanahan & E. West. 1994. "School Desegregation, Interracial Exposure, and Antibusing Activity in Contemporary Urban America." *AJS* 100:196-241.
- 28 @Fujiwara, L.H. 2005. "Immigrant Rights Are Human Rights: The Reframing of Immigrant Entitlement and Welfare." *SP* 52:79-101.
- 29 @White, R.W. 1989. "From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army." *AJS* 94:1277-1302.
- 29 @Rasler, K. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *ASR* 61:132-52.

8/Mar 4

4. Continuities, Cultural Contexts, and Cycles of Protest

\*Taylor, V. 1989. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *ASR* 54:761-75. [B&C:26]

\*Williams, R.H. 2004. "The Cultural Contexts of Collective Action: Constraints, Opportunities, and the Symbolic Life of Social Movements." [SSK:5]

\*Koopmans, R. 2004. "Protest in Time and Space: The Evolution of Waves of Contention." [SSK:2]

\*Tarrow, S. 1994. "Cycles of Protest." From *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. [B&C:27]

\*Snow, D.A. & R.D. Benford. 1992. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest." From *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. [B&C:28]

30 @Minkoff, D.C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *ASR* 62:779-99.

30 @Staggenborg, S. 1998. "Social Movement Communities and Cycles of Protest: The Emergence and Maintenance of a Local Women's Movement." *SP* 45:180-204.

31 @Mueller, C. 1999. "Claim 'Radicalization?' The 1989 Protest Cycle in the GDR." *SP* 46:528-47.

31 @Koopmans, R. 1993. "The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989." *ASR* 58:637-58.

32 @Oliver, P.E. & D.J. Myers. 2003. "The Coevolution of Social Movements." *Mobilization* 8:1-25.

32 @Zwerman, G., P.G. Steinhoff, & D. della Porta. 2000. "Disappearing Social Movements: Clandestinity in the Cycle of New Left Protest in the U.S., Japan, Germany, and Italy." *Mobilization* 5:85-104.

B. Meso Level

- 9/Mar 18      1. Organizational Formation, Change & Demise
- \*Lipset, S.M. 1962. "The Iron Law of Oligarchy." From *Political Parties*. [B&C:23]
- \*Clemens, E.S. & D.C. Minkoff. 2004 "Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research." [SSK:7]
- \*Morris, A.D. 1984. "Organizational Relationships: The SCLC, the NAACP, and CORE." From *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. [B&C:24]
- 33              @Zald, M.N. & R. Ash. 1966. "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay, and Change." *SF* 44:327-41.
- 33              @McCarthy, J.D. 1996. "Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.
- 34              @Fisher, D.R., K. Stanley, D. Berkman, & G. Neff. 2005. "How Do Organizations Matter? Mobilization and Support for Participants in Five Globalization Protests." *SP* 52:102-21.
- 34              @Edwards, B. & J.D. McCarthy. 2004. "Strategy Matters: The Contingent Value of Social Capital in the Survival of Local Social Movement Organizations." *SF* 83:621-51.
- 35              @Olzak, S. & E. Ryo. 2007. "Organizational Diversity, Vitality and Outcomes in the Civil Rights Movement." *SF* 85:1561-92.
- 35              @Haines, H. 1984. "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970." *SP* 32:31-43.
- 36              @Martin, A.W. 2007. "Organizational; Structure, Authority and Protest: The Case of Union Organizing in the United States, 1990-2001." *SF* 85:1413-35.
- 36              @Andreas, J. 2007. "The Structure of Charismatic Mobilization: A Case Study of Rebellion During the Chinese Revolution." *ASR* 434-58.
- 37              @Clemens, E. 1996. "Organizational Form as Frame: Collective Identity and Political Strategy in the American Labor Movement, 1880-1920." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.

- 37 @Voss, K. 1996. "The Collapse of a Social Movement: The Interplay of Mobilizing Structures, Framing, and Political Opportunities in the Knights of Labor." From *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.
- 38 @Staggenborg, S. 1989. "Stability and Change in the Women's Movement: A Comparison of Two Movement Organizations." *SP* 36:75-92.
- 38 @Staggenborg, S. 1988. "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *ASR* 53:585-606.
- 39 @Benford, R.D. 1993. "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." *SF* 71:677-701.
- 39 @Balser, D.B. 1997. "The Impact of Environmental Factors on Factionalism and Schism in Social Movement Organizations." *SF* 76:199-228.
- 40 @Weed, F.J. 1991. "Organizational Mortality in the Anti-Drunk-Driving Movement: Failure Among Local MADD Chapters." *SF* 69:851-68.
- 40 @Edwards, B. & S. Marullo. 1995. "Organizational Mortality in a Declining Social Movement: The Demise of Peace Movement Organizations in the End of the Cold War Era." *ASR* 60:908-27.
2. SMOs in Action: Strategies and Tactics
- \*McAdam, D. & Y Su. 2002. "The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973." *ASR* 67:696-721. [R]
- \*Taylor, V. & N. Van Dyke. 2004. "'Get up, Stand up': Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements." [SSK:12]
- 41 @McAdam, D. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." *ASR* 48:735-54.
- 41 @Ellingson, S. 1995. "Understanding the Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action: Public Debate and Rioting in Antebellum Cincinnati." *AJS* 101:100-144.
- 42 @Snow, D.A. & R.D. Benford. 1999. "Alternative Models of the Cross-National Diffusion of Protest Frames." From *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, edited by D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, & D. Rucht.
- 42 @Soule, S.A. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion." *SF* 75:855-83.

- 43 @Auyero, J, & T.P. Morgan. 2007. "The Dynamics of Collective Violence: Dissecting the Food Riots in Contemporary Argentina." *SF* 85:1340-68.
- 43 @Andrews, K.T. & M. Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media." *ASR* 71:752-77.
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