SECOND EDITION

# SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

## AN INTRODUCTION

DONATELLA DELLA PORTA
AND MARIO DIANI

Blackwell Publishing

# SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

*For Wladimiro della Porta and Vittorio Diani,* in memoriam

SECOND EDITION

# SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

## AN INTRODUCTION

DONATELLA DELLA PORTA
AND MARIO DIANI

Blackwell
Publishing

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148–5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia



First edition published 1998
Second edition published 2006 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd
1 2006

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*
Della Porta, Donatella, 1956–
Social movements : an introduction / Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani. – 2nd ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-1-4051-0282-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 1-4051-0282-9 (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. Social movements. I. Diani, Mario, 1957– II. Title.
HN17.5.D45 2006
303.48′4 – dc22

2005011636

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10 on 12.5 pt Dante
by SNP Best-set Typesetter Ltd, Hong Kong
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom
by TJ International, Padstow, Cornwall

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.

For further information on
Blackwell Publishing, visit our website:
www.blackwellpublishing.com

# CONTENTS

6

# SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Neoliberal globalization has many enemies – or at least critics – in the southwest of England at the start of the new millennium. Even in a city with a reputation for its moderate and nonconflictual political culture like Bristol, the spectrum of organizations challenging neoliberal policies, highlighting their negative impact on people's welfare as well as on the integration of local communities, advocating alternative economic options and greater respect for human rights by global companies and national governments alike, is very broad indeed (Diani 2005a). Let us take a closer look at some of them. On the one hand we have organizations like Oxfam, a big charity active nationwide, with many ramifications overseas. Oxfam promotes both advocacy on behalf of dispossessed populations and service delivery. It has a formal structure and a huge fee-paying membership which, combined with a range of marketing strategies and substantial help from unpaid volunteers, results in an impressive capacity to mobilize resources on specific projects. Also active on global justice issues is the local chapter of Greenpeace. Consistently with the strategy of this particular organization, local activities are mostly meant as a contribution to the high-profile campaigns that the organization promotes on a global scale. The running of the latter relies on voluntary work only to a very limited extent. Greenpeace indeed operates mostly as a professional protest group. Small left-wing parties, critical of New Labour, are also very active on the issue. Once again, these are organizations with a fairly defined structure, membership criteria differentiating between who is and who is not a member, and a clear organizational identity alongside the identity of the global justice movement as a whole.

At the same time, globalization in Bristol is opposed by sectors of radical activists who adopt very loose forms of organization. While the city has become known over the years for its countercultural scene and its

openness towards alternative forms of participation on issues such as the environment, animal and human rights, and feminism (i.e., the classic issues associated with "new social movements"), the transformation of the potential for grassroots activism in organizational forms, even of the radical type, has proved problematic (Purdue, Diani, and Lindsay 2004). Radicals mobilizing on globalization – and indeed on a number of other issues, from road-building to live animal export to asylum-seekers to workers' rights – have mostly refrained from involvement in specific organizations. Rather, they have adopted looser, more informal methods of coordination. They rely on personal ties, helped along by the fact that the core of activists is no more than a few dozen (i.e., those who can be regarded as virtually full-time campaigners, if on a totally nonprofessional basis); they use as meeting points alternative cafes or other cultural and leisure-time venues; they coordinate through newsletters, fanzines, or email lists. In these cases, the organizational model very much overlaps with the style of individualized subcultural or countercultural participation we described at the end of the previous chapter.

In between these two poles of organizational structure fall organizations with varying degrees of internal complexity and formalization: neighborhood groups interested in better integration between white and nonwhite local residents; associations of ethnic minorities – including many women's associations – aiming at improving private and public opportunities for their group; cultural associations promoting alternative lifestyles in areas such as food or health, for instance through fair trade practices; groups of professionals – e.g. lawyers – willing to offer their services to deprived groups or people without basic rights, such as migrants.

While all the different organizational forms we have just described are functional to specific activities of interest to organization members – or, in the case of informal activist networks, to those who are involved in them – they often converge in broader campaigns and coalitions on specific issues. In the last few years, examples of such actions include campaigns on asylum seekers' rights, the cancellation of developing countries' debt, and of course opposition to the Afghan and Iraqi wars. Moreover, the density of ties between organizations with a strong interest in transnational issues such as globalization, Third World debt, migration, peace and war, is actually much higher in Bristol than the density of ties between organizations with other issue priorities (Diani and Bison 2004). On top of that, extensive links run between the various sectors of Bristolian civil society through the activities of their members, their multiple memberships, their personal acquaintances (the links we described in the previous

chapter). And of course, the connections of these groups are by no means restricted to the local area: either through formal links to national headquarters, like in the case of Oxfam, or even transnational ones, like Greenpeace, or through involvement in transnational networks such as Jubilee 2000, Drop the Debt, or the Climate Action Network, or through informal exchanges with organizations based in other countries, Bristol organizations are part of much broader mobilization networks.

What we found in Bristol is certainly not new. Social movements have long been identified with loosely structured collective conflict, in which "hundreds of groups and organizations – many of them short-lived, spatially scattered, and lacking direct communication, a single organization, and a common leadership – episodically take part in many different kinds of local collective action" (Oberschall 1980: 45–6). Far from being a unique case, Bristol provides an excellent example of both the role of organizations in promoting and sustaining collective action, and of the different organizational logics that one can locate within social movements (Edwards and Foley 2003; Andrews and Edwards 2005; Davis, McAdam, Scott, and Zald 2005). Even though social movements do not equate with the organizations active in them (see chapters 1 and 5 above), organizations often play very important roles within them. Like any kind of organization, organizations active in social movements fulfill – if to varying degrees and in varying combinations – a number of functions: inducing participants to offer their services; defining organizational aims; managing and coordinating contributions; collecting resources from their environment; selecting, training, and replacing members (Scott 1981: 9). Social movement organizations must mobilize resources from the surrounding environment, whether directly in the form of money or through voluntary work by their adherents; they must neutralize opponents and increase support from both the general public and the elite (see e.g. McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1977]: 19).

Organizations are also important because they act as powerful sources of identity for a movement's own constituency, its opponents, and bystander publics. No matter how aware people may be of the complexity and heterogeneity of any movement, its public perception is likely to be associated with its most conspicuous characters. These need not necessarily be organizations, as the role of people like Martin Luther King in the US civil rights movement of the 1960s, or of Vandana Shiva or Jose Bove in the global justice movement, reminds us. Nevertheless, it is often organized groups that are associated with a movement, for better or worse: for instance, Greenpeace or WWF with environmentalism, Amnesty International with human rights activism, Attac or the so-called "Black Block" with the global justice movement.

For people committed to a certain cause, organizations are an important source of continuity, not only in terms of identity, but also in terms of action. At times of collective effervescence, when enthusiasm is high and the will to participate is strong, it is easier to mobilize people and resources even informally as individuals. But when opportunities for action are more modest and it gets more difficult to attract people spontaneously "to the streets," then organizations can secure continuity to collective action precisely because of their tendency to self-perpetuation. Of course not all organizations survive the end of protest waves of particular intensity (Minkoff 1995), yet without organizations collective action would be subject to extreme levels of variability, and challengers' political weight would be far more limited than it actually is. The role of organizations as sources of identity and as actors securing continuity to collective action also results in them playing representation and, to some extent, leadership roles on behalf of a movement. One of the reasons why political actors have trouble dealing with social movements, and media actors struggle to represent them in their accounts, is the lack of recognized movement representatives. With variable levels of acceptance from movements' grassroots, organizations often end up playing such a role simply by virtue of their greater visibility and greater ease of access (Diani 2003b).

At the same time, organizations perform their tasks by taking up very diverse forms. Following Scott's classic treatment (1981: ch. 2), we can look at organizations as rational, natural, and open systems. The first approach sees organizations mainly as collectivities oriented to relatively specific goals, with a relatively formalized social structure; the second approach maintains that organizations are collectivities whose members/participants are little influenced by formal structures or official goals, but share an interest in the survival of the system and engage in activities, coordinated informally, to secure such survival; the third approach conceives of organizations mainly as unstable coalitions of interest groups that determine goals through a negotiation process: the structure of the coalition, its activities, and its outcomes are strongly affected by environmental factors.

It needs to be made very clear that these are analytical models and not empirical descriptions of specific types of organizations; in other words, we may also apply the three different logics to the same organization in order to identify different aspects of its way of operating and address different problems. For example, it may make eminent sense to look at Greenpeace by focusing on their explicitly stated goals and structure (adopting, in other words, a rational system perspective); by looking at the informal practices through which the people operating within Greenpeace ensure the reproduction of the organization (i.e., taking a natural system perspective); or by looking at how Greenpeace may be the result of tensions and struggles between different actors within it, and how

such struggles may also be affected by the social, economic, and political environment in which the organization operates (thus following an open system model).

From our point of view, however, it is also legitimate and useful to recognize that each model best suits one of the organizational forms we have just identified. More specifically, in the Bristol global justice movement, as well as in any other movement, we can either focus on the characteristics of the groups and organizations who are mobilized within it, or on the organization of the movement as a whole, i.e., on the way that the different groups, organizations, and even individual activists interested in globalization issues relate to each other. If we take the first line of inquiry, we are likely to look first and foremost for varying combinations of rational and natural systems approaches. In general, a rational system approach makes more sense for heavily bureaucratic organizations with relatively specific goals such as firms or hospitals, than for organizations advocating broader and often vaguely defined social changes, like many of those involved in social movements. However, it can also provide useful insights in relation to the most formalized organizations active in movements (in our example, the likes of Oxfam and Greenpeace).

The more we refer to loose organizational forms, like those reflected in informal networks of radical activists, the more the natural systems perspective seems useful. The aspirations to radical change held by those activists are unlikely to be fulfilled; accordingly, for the reproduction of activism over time, internal solidarity and identity – and hence the informal links between the people involved – are of paramount importance (Wall 1999; McDonald 2002; Routledge 2003; Doherty, Plows, and Wall 2003). Finally, if our interest lies in the organizational structure of a movement taken as a whole, then the open system approach is likely to generate very useful insights. Again, it is all too obvious that negotiations about goals, instability of the coalitions, and strong exposure to environmental effects may shape any specific organization; however, these dynamics are probably most visible when we are talking about a broad range of different organizations, such as those making up social movements.

In our discussion of organizational dynamics in social movements we shall distinguish between organizations taken as individual specific actors and the organization of the movement taken as a complex system of connected, interdependent organizations. More specifically, our argument will develop as follows: first, we shall introduce a number of alternatives or organizational dilemmas that organizations face; then identify a few basic organizational models; then look at patterns of organizational change, focusing first on the relationship between organizations and the institutional structure in which they operate, and later on the impact of technological change (the internet revolution) on social movements' organizational forms. Finally, we shall analyze the factors

behind the segmentation of the networks that link different organizations to each other.

## 6.1 Organizational Dilemmas in Social Movements

In social movement analysis, the acronym SMO (standing for "social movement organization") has proved one of the most popular (McCarthy and Zald 1977). But it has also proved very ambiguous, as it has taken very different meanings among different authors. Its original proponents defined the social movement organization as a "complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement and attempts to implement those goals" (McCarthy and Zald 1987 [1977]: 20), a conception that only fits highly structured and formal organizations. Conversely, another definition sees SMOs as "associations of persons making idealistic and moralistic claims about how human personal or group life ought be organized that, *at the time of their claims making*, are marginal to or excluded from mainstream society" (Lofland 1996: 2–3), but that hardly seems applicable to strong organizations such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, or the like. Still others (e.g. Rucht 1994) distinguish social movements (and thus SMOs) from parties and interest groups because of their main source of power and legitimacy (protest-mobilizing capacity as opposed to votes and influence respectively), but this does not necessarily imply distinct organizational forms.

Although most researchers in the field would not go as far as suggesting getting rid of the SMO label altogether (but see Burstein 1999; Burstein, Einwohner, and Hollander 1995; Burstein and Linton 2002; Diani 2004a), it is definitely important to be aware of the heterogeneity of organizational forms adopted by social movement activists (Rao, Morrill, and Zald 2000). In a systematic analysis of such forms, drawing on the experience of the west European new social movements of the 1980s, Hanspeter Kriesi (1996) has described their internal structuration as deriving from: (1) formalization, with the introduction of formal membership criteria, written rules, fixed procedures, formal leadership, and a fixed structure of offices; (2) professionalization, understood as the presence of paid staff who pursue a career inside the organization; (3) internal differentiation, involving a functional division of labor and the creation of territorial units; and (4) integration, through mechanisms of horizontal and/or vertical coordination.[1] The degree to which specific SMOs meet those criteria reflects some basic organizational dilemmas, that are not peculiar to social movements only (see e.g. Janda [1970] on political parties), but are certainly very important to our understanding of movement dynamics. Let us focus on three

of them, without claiming to provide an all-encompassing review (see instead Lofland 1996).

### 6.1.1 Mobilizing people or resources?

Political organizations – in our case, specifically SMOs – may try to mobilize the largest possible support from the general public, and therefore the resources which are essential to the maintenance of a semi- or quasi-professional group. Available strategies range from calling upon broadly supported sets of values to the provision of selective incentives to prospective members/subscribers in the form of services, leisure-time activities, discount packages, etc. But this is not the only option: SMOs may also try to mobilize smaller but more carefully selected groups of committed activists. These are essential for the more demanding tasks of movement participation, including persistent organizational commitment and the promotion of costly forms of collective action.

Putting it differently, there is a basic alternative between the mobilization of people's "money" or "time" (Oliver and Marwell 1992). These options are not easily compatible. Emotional messages, which provide a clear-cut definition of a movement's identity and opponents, are essential to mobilize core activists (Gamson 1992a). Yet, their sharpness may alienate sectors of sympathizers and prospective supporters with less clear-cut orientations and motivations (Friedman and McAdam 1992). It may also discourage potential supporters among established actors, not only public agencies but also "concerned" private sponsors, whose contribution will be easier to attract the larger the size of public support for a given movement.[2] The choice of whether to mobilize time or money has important implications for SMOs: the two options require different "mobilization technologies" and therefore different organizational models (Oliver and Marwell 1992).

SMOs differ in the opportunities available for their grassroots members' participation. Many of them emphasize participation and direct democracy, oppose delegation of power, and privilege consensual decision-making. This applies to contemporary Social Forums (Agnoletto 2003; Baiocchi 2001, 2002a; della Porta 2005b) as well as to virtually all social movements who have followed each other from the 1960s (Breines 1989; Rosenthal and Schwartz 1989: 46; Polletta 2002). A participatory structure also favors internal solidarity. Having only limited access to material resources, social movement organizations may substitute for this with symbolic resources. Accordingly, many SMOs give particular importance to internal relations, transforming the very costs of collective action into benefits through the intrinsic rewards of participation itself. As well as formal organizations, small groups held together by personal relations survive during periods of latency, providing important bases for the revival of movement

activities (Taylor 1989; Melucci 1996). In particular, a small group of activists "uses naturally occurring social relationships and meets a variety of organizational and individual needs for emotional support, integration, sharing of sacrifice, and expression of shared identities" (Gamson 1990: 175). Within cohesive groups the conditions for the development of alternative value systems are constituted and "communal associations become free spaces, breeding grounds for democratic change" (Evans and Boyte 1986: 187). In these "free spaces," a "sense of a common good" develops alongside the construction of "direct, face-to-face, and egalitarian relationships" (Gamson 1990: 190–1). Thus, an all-embracing participation tends to permeate every aspect of activists' everyday lives. "In the climate of the late 1960s," Whalen and Flacks note with reference to the US student movement, "commitment to revolution had implications for carrying out virtually every detail of daily life: to be a revolutionary was to dress, eat, make love, and speak in certain ways and not others" (1989: 249). Where politics "marks every moment of the day," fellow militants become a "family," as it is sometimes put on the extreme left in Italy (della Porta 1990: 149–50). So much so that, in their value system and lifestyle, "those who participated in the youth revolt continue to be affected by it" (Whalen and Flacks 1989: 247).

### 6.1.2 Hierarchical or horizontal structures?

The distribution of power within an organization also needs to be considered. Power can be more or less centralized, as the literature on political parties in particular has revealed. National structures can have greater or less weight; there can be greater or lesser participation in decisions concerning resource allocation, goal definition, candidacies, or disciplinary procedures; and there can be greater or lesser centralization of leadership (Janda 1970: 104–12). Social movement organizations have different styles of leadership. Many organizations from religious sects to student movements, via revolutionary parties like the Bolsheviks or the Nazis, have displayed charismatic forms of leadership whose legitimacy was dependent above all on leaders' ability to manipulate ideological resources and to embody the movement as a whole, contributing to the creation of its collective identity (see, for example, Alberoni 1984). Overall, however, several different leadership styles have been noted in the literature: agitator, prophet, administrator, or statesman (Lang and Lang 1961); charismatic, administrator, or intellectual (Killian 1964); charismatic, ideological, or pragmatic (Wilson 1973); instrumental or affective (Downton 1973).

Given their participatory nature and – frequently – democratic orientation, social movement organizations have always faced the dilemma of how to reconcile leadership roles with the requirements of grassroots democracy. They often reject authority and hierarchy on principle (Pearce 1980; Diani and Donati

1984; Brown 1989; Lichterman 1995a: 196), but this does not necessarily eliminate the need for leadership functions, such as coordination and public representation (Melucci 1996: 344–7). If we think of social movement leadership in relational terms (Melucci 1996: 335–8; see also Downton 1973), then "leadership roles need not entail control over a unified organization, or explicit recognition of charisma from followers. They may also, far less obtrusively, result from certain actors' location at the center of exchanges of practical and symbolic resources among movement organizations. This will not generate domination, if by that we mean actors' capacity to impose sanctions over others in order to control their behavior, but rather varying degrees of influence" (Diani 2003b: 106).

From this perspective, rather than with charisma or authority, "leadership" may be associated with actors' ability to promote coalition work among movement organizations, or to establish connections to the media and political institutions, which in turn lead to operating *de facto* as movement "representatives" (see e.g. Diani and Donati 1984; Rosenthal et al. 1985, 1997; Staggenborg 1988; Mushaben 1989; Schmitt-Beck 1989; Diani 1995a, 2003b; Schou 1997). The plurality of functions important for social movement mobilization also means that playing influential, "leadership" roles depends on possession of constantly changing resources. Recently, for example, experts have often replaced ideologues as social movement leaders (Moore 1995). Involved as they are in technological issues, contemporary movements assign a very important role to natural scientists and engineers: "challenging sophisticated technologies . . . such organized protests are dependent on recognized experts to interpret the issues and achieve public credibility" (Walsh 1988: 182). As a result of these multiple roles and requirements, leadership in social movements is often *ad hoc*, short lived, relates to specific objectives, and is concentrated in a limited area of the movements themselves (Diani and Donati 1984; Barker, Johnson and Lavalette 2001; Morris and Staggenborg 2004).

### 6.1.3 Challengers or "service providers"?

Not all social movement organizations are directly concerned with external challenges, oriented on political powerholders. Organizations may also act mainly with reference to the needs of social movement constituencies, and/or to support cultural and symbolic challenges or the practice of new lifestyles. Kriesi (1996) called these organizations movement associations, but other terms have also become popular (e.g. halfway houses [Morris 1984] or abeyance structures [Taylor 1989]). Communes, therapy groups, and rape crisis centers were formed through the feminist movement, for example (Ryan 1992: 135–44; Minkoff 1995; Kaplan 1995; Daniels and Brooks 1997). Within student movements, used-book

stalls and advice centers of various kinds offered logistical support to sympathizers, allowing protest action in favor of the right to education to be combined with concrete activity aimed at "putting the goal into practice," while at the same time they helped widen support. Movement associations, too, are diverse in terms of levels of organization, internal power distribution, and degree of participation. Self-help groups, for example, tend to be informal, decentralized, and are frequently totalizing, while associations offering services to a wider public may adopt a more formal structure, and a hierarchical distribution of power, and fuse symbolic and instrumental incentives (see e.g. Taylor 1996; Taylor and van Willige 1996).

Besides groups involved in political mobilization and movement associations, both predominantly inward-looking, supportive organizations (Kriesi 1996) are also part of the social movement organizational structure. These consist of service organizations such as newspapers, recreation centers, educational institutions, or publishing presses, which contribute to a movement's aims but at the same time work on the open market. The film clubs, theaters, publishing houses created within several movements in order to further collective mobilization increasingly became market-oriented commercial enterprises with audited accounts, salaried staff, and a competitive market ethos. The same applied to natural food and health shops, originally set up by sympathizers if not activists of environmental movements.

The spread of this kind of structure contributes to the creation of movement countercultures in which political engagement permeates the whole of life.[3] The Italian social centers (*centri sociali*) that originated from the autonomist and anarchist movement sectors of the late 1970s, have over time evolved from inward-looking countercultural communities towards an organizational model which is closest to that of supportive organizations (although this has not happened without conflicts and dissension between different orientations within the sector: Dines 1999; Ruggiero 2000; Mudu 2004). The fair-trade businesses and ethical banks that have developed in parallel with the global justice movement also fall under this heading (Micheletti 2003; Micheletti, Follesdal, and Stolle 2003; Diani 2005a; Aguiton 2001). So does a network of alternative media operators linked together through various websites, like Indymedia (see also section 7.4.). Several neoreligious organizations over the last decades have also adopted organizational models combining elements from the movement associations and the supportive organizations types. For example, Hank Johnston (1980) characterized the Transcendental Meditation group as a "marketed social movement." While referring to a "marketed social movement organization" might have been more accurate, Johnston's analysis nonetheless captured important aspects of the role played by organizations providing specific services to "clients" longing for personal and social change.

## 6.2 Types of Social Movement Organizations

Different responses to the dilemmas illustrated above generate different organizational models. Here we introduce some of them, without any aspiration to generate systematic typologies (for examples, see Kriesi 1996; Diani and Donati 1999; Rao et al. 2000).

### 6.2.1 Professional movement organizations

A professional social movement organization is characterized by "(1) a leadership that devotes full time to the movement, with a large proportion of resources originating outside the aggrieved group that the movement claims to represent; (2) a very small or non-existent membership base or a paper membership (membership implies little more than allowing a name to be used upon membership rolls); (3) attempts to impart the image of 'speaking for a constituency,' and (4) attempts to influence policy toward that same constituency" (McCarthy and Zald 1987a [1973]: 375).[4] Ordinary members have little power and "have no serious role in organizational policymaking short of withholding membership dues. The professional staff largely determines the positions the organization takes upon issues" (McCarthy and Zald 1987a [1973]: 378).

However, professional SMOs do not necessarily address themselves to their "natural" constituents, i.e., those groups (whether dispossessed like the unemployed or the homeless, or fairly well-off like in many new middle-class mobilizations) whose interests they promote, the way a normal pressure group would. Rather, they have a "conscience constituency" composed of those who believe in the cause they support. Their leaders are entrepreneurs whose "impact results from their skills at manipulating images of relevance and support through the communication media" (McCarthy and Zald 1987a [1973]: 374). They rely more on their reputation for technical expertise on specific matters than on mass mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1987a [1973]: 379; 1987b [1977]: 29).[5]

There are recognizable advantages associated with professional organizations. Back in the 1970s, in his comparative analysis of American social movements, Gamson (1990 [1975]) found that challengers are more likely to win when they possess a well-structured organization. Formal organizations would appear better placed to mobilize "because they facilitate mass participation, tactical innovations, and rapid decision-making" (Morris 1984: 285). Structured organizations are also more likely to survive beyond a wave of protest to favor mobilization in succeeding waves (McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1977]). Professional organizers often spread mass defiance rather than dampening it, and "professionalization of

leadership and the formalization of movement organizations are not necessarily incompatible with grass-roots protest" (Staggenborg 1991: 154–5; also Jenkins 1985). Moreover, long-term survival is favored by the presence of motives for and methods of action which are already legitimated (Minkoff 1993, 1995; Clemens and Minkoff 2004).

However, there are also problems. While professional organizations can generate a constant flow of funding they are bound by the wishes of their benefactors. "The growth and maintenance of organizations whose formal goals are aimed at helping one population but who depend on a different population for funding are ultimately more dependent upon the latter than the former" (McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1973]: 371). Patrons provide important resources, but they are usually available only for groups with low-level claims and consensual legitimacy – the disabled rather than the unemployed, for example (Walker 1991).

Similar consequences may result from growing collaboration with authorities: "The establishment of a working relation with the authorities also has ambivalent implications for the development of the SMO: On the one hand, public recognition, access to decision-making procedures and public subsidies may provide crucial resources and represent important successes for the SMO; on the other hand, the integration into the established system of interest intermediation may impose limits on the mobilization capacity of the SMO and alienate important parts of its constituency, with the consequence of weakening it in the long run" (Kriesi 1996: 155–6; see also Lahusen 2004)

Echoing Robert Michels' analysis of the bureaucratization of socialist parties, Piven and Cloward (1977) have been most explicit in considering the development of formal organizations as hampering goal attainment in protest movements of the poor. Investment in building a permanent mass organization was seen as a waste of scarce resources. Moreover, such organizations tended to reduce the only resource available to the poor: mass defiance. It is certainly true that even professional bureaucratic organizations may promote radical challenges and defiance, and engage in various forms of vicarious activism on behalf of a fee-paying passive membership (see e.g. Greenpeace, Diani and Donati 1999). But organizations focused entirely on fund-raising and the attraction of financial resources are likely sooner or later to face problems with their capacity to mobilize people (Donati 1996; Diani and Donati 1999). All in all, according to critics, professionalization might lead to defeat by taming protest (Piven and Cloward 1977; see also section 9.1 and, for a broader argument, Skocpol 2003).

The same dilemmas characterize an organizational type that has recently gained increasing attention, the "transnational social movement organization" (TSMOs). Jackie Smith defines TSMOs as "international nongovernmental organizations engaged in explicit attempts to [change] some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of society" (1999: 591), and shows how they grew from 110 in 1953 to 631 in 1993 (see also chapter 9 below). Their

growth has exceeded that of international nongovernmental organizations at large (Anheier and Themudo 2002). TSMOs comprise a small number (sometimes referred to as "the Big Ten") of organizations with numerous national chapters, membership in the millions, and strong levels of bureaucratization. These include the likes of Amnesty International (over a million members, formal chapters in 56 countries, 7,500 action groups in nearly 100 countries: Anheier and Themudo 2002: 193), Greenpeace (between 2 and 3 million), Friends of the Earth (a federation of 61 national associations that coordinates about 5,000 local groups and a million members [Anheier and Themudo 2002: 203]), WWF (5 million), or Oxfam (a confederation of 12 organizations). These organizations display many traits of the professional organization, even though participation is encouraged – if largely in the form of voluntary work and contributions to specific projects, rather than in decision-making processes, and with low levels of investment in the building of internal solidarity. However, TSMOs also include organizations with a distinctive profile but much smaller in terms of resources, and less neatly fitting the professional model. Well-known examples include ATTAC, an organization that campaigns against the deregulation of financial markets, founded in 1997 in France though it has made significant inroads in other Western countries (Ancelovici 2002; Kolb 2004); ACT UP, active since the 1980s in challenging the consequences of AIDS (Gould 2002); or conservation organizations such as Conservation International or the Environmental Defense Fund (Lewis 2000).

### 6.2.2 Participatory movement organizations

We use the plural deliberately, to refer to different organizational types that can be grouped under this broader model. In particular we differentiate between mass protest organizations and grassroots groups.

#### Mass protest organizations

This model combines attention to participatory democracy with certain levels of formalization of the organizational structure. In the social movements of the 1970s, many political organizations like the communist K-Gruppen in Germany, the New Left parties in Italy, the Trotskysts in France, had adopted fairly rigid and hierarchical organizational structures, close to the model of the Leninist party (della Porta 1995: ch. 4; Lumley 1990). Gradually, however, this model fell out of favor for its excessive emphasis on the professional revolutionary role, and its indifference to grassroots democracy. With the crisis of the 1970s protest movements, alternative forms of organization developed, as exemplified by the

emergence of green parties. These were formed for the most part during the 1980s campaigns on environmental issues, and nuclear energy in particular, although they have never been the official political representatives of the environmental movement (Rootes 1994). In seeking to defend nature, these parties also sought to apply the "think globally, act locally" principle to their organizations. The greens rejected, initially at least, any structured organizational power, just as they rejected centralizing technologies. They developed a ritual of direct democracy by introducing consensual decision-making, rotation of chair roles, and so on.

The model of open assemblies and always revocable delegates did not survive long, however. Participatory democracy may often reduce the decision-making efficiency of assemblies and lead to very long periods of confusion and incertitude. Particularly after they entered first regional and then national parliaments, the greens began to develop stable organizational structures, with membership cards, representative rather than direct democracy within the party, and a stable leadership. Public funding of the parties created a constant and generous flow of finance which was used to develop a professional political class, set up newspapers and supportive associations. The green parties' structure thus became formal and centralized. Participation moved towards excluding membership of other organizations, and ideological incentives began to predominate. Recently, however, grassroots democratic practices have been revitalized in the context of the growth of global justice mobilizations, and also extended to nontraditional unions such as the Cobas in Italy or Sud in France (see chapters 2 and 9 in the present volume).

It is not difficult to identify the processes behind these recurrent switches. They not only have to do with the oligarchic tendencies to be found in any sort of organization, but also with problems associated with the model of participatory organizational democracy. In fairness, the concrete realization of the organizational principles of grassroots democracy has never been a simple matter. Many activists have complained of the *de facto* oligarchies which tend to form and impose their will when collective decision-making becomes difficult. An organized minority can win out in an assembly by wearing down the majority, and forcing them to give up and leave after hours of strenuous discussion. In a few extreme cases physical force has been used by some groups to occupy important decision-making positions such as the chair of meetings. Even without reaching those excesses, the risks of a "tyranny of emotions," whereby the most committed activists profit from the lack of formal procedures and secure control of decision-making processes, have been pointed out in reference to several movements of the recent and not-so-recent past (Breines 1989: 49; Polletta 2002). They have also been restated in reference to the global justice movement (Epstein 2001; see also section 9.4 below).

## *Grassroots organizations*

In contrast to the mass protest model, the grassroots model combines strong participatory orientations with low levels of formal structuration. The existence of organizations of this kind depends on their members' willingness to participate in their activities. Such participation may be encouraged through different combinations of ideological and solidaristic incentives. Oftentimes this is related to locality. For example, the local groups that opposed road building in many corners of Britain in the 1990s (Doherty 1999; Wall 1999; Drury et al. 2003) could not rely on a strong ideological profile given the heterogeneity of their participants, and instead emphasized shared concerns in specific issues; so do the single-issue citizens' committees that characterize so much political activity in contemporary democracies (della Porta 2004c) or the residents' associations promoting environmental justice collective action in deprived urban areas (Taylor 1995; Lichterman 1995a). Other times, shared critical attitudes play a stronger and more explicit role in motivating participation, as in the semiformal direct action groups that have developed in the context of growing opposition to neoliberal globalization (Doherty, Plows, and Wall 2003), or in the local independent women's groups that marked the spread of feminist movements in the 1970s and 1980s (Rupp and Taylor 1987; Whittier 1995).

Despite their lack of resources, there are innumerable examples of grassroots organizations that have been successful in the pursuit of their goals, both in countries lacking a vibrant civil society (Desai 1996; Broadbent 1998; Ray 1999) and in Western countries. For example, grassroots environmental mobilizations have proved a constant feature of Western democracies, stopping threatening projects on innumerable occasions (Rootes 2003; della Porta and Rucht 2002). At the same time, depending so heavily on their members' voluntary participation, grassroots organizations' capacity to act with continuity over time is obviously limited. Many of them actually see an alternation of phases of activism and latency, comparable to those identified by Melucci and his associates (Melucci 1984a) for social movements as a whole. They operate as "intermittent structures," i.e., "organizations or organizational units which are deployed and then "folded up" until their period of activity arrives again" (Etzioni 1975: 444, quoted in Lindgren 1987). "Intermittent social movement organizations" (Lindgren 1987), that resurface each time their issues of concern become salient political topics again, remind us that permanent stable structures are not necessarily a requirement for success.

Grassroots organizations may also face problems if they rely too heavily on ideology to secure their members' cohesion and commitment. Ideological incentives are an important surrogate for the lack of material resources, but their use

increases the rigidity of the organizational model because transformations have to be incorporated into the normative order of the group (Zald 1970). Moreover, organizations employing symbolic incentives will run a greater risk of internal conflict (McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1977]: 33). Especially for grassroots groups with very critical views of mainstream society, closure to the external world helps the formation of identity but also reduces the capacity to handle reality and identify reasons for failure.[6]

## 6.3 How Do Social Movement Organizations Change?

### *6.3.1 Patterns of change*

Just as the organizational characteristics of social movements vary, there is no single model accounting for organizational changes. A Weberian approach, focusing primarily on bureaucratization, initially dominated in the sociology of social movements as in other areas. Michels' "iron law of oligarchy," which states that in order to survive as an organization a political party increasingly pays attention to adapting to its environment rather than to its original goals of social change,[7] was also held valid for social movements. Institutionalization used to be considered a natural evolution for social movement organizations. Recurrent lifecycles were identified in the histories of a number of movements. Herbert Blumer (1951: 203), for example, distinguished four stages in the typical social movement lifecycle. The first, or "social ferment," stage would be characterized by unorganized, unfocused agitation during which great attention is paid to the propaganda of "agitators." In the second phase, of "popular excitement," the underlying causes of discontent and the objectives of action are more clearly defined. In the third phase, of "formalization," disciplined participation and coordination of strategies for achieving the movement's aims are arrived at by creating a formal organization. Finally, in the "institutionalization" stage the movement becomes an organic part of society and crystallizes into a professional structure.

Others have questioned the "necessity" of such an evolution, however. Even organizational sociologists point out that adaptation is only one evolutionary possibility among many. In fact, an organization need not react by moderating its aims when conflict with the surrounding environment arises. It can also become more radical, hoping that a small but powerful nucleus of dissent will form in this way (Jackson and Morgan 1978). Moreover, rather than adapt to external demands it may simply reduce contacts with the outside world (Meyer and Rowan 1983). Although he referred to the Michelsian hypothesis (and emphasized that "there are organizational characteristics that dictate organiza-

tion maintenance over every other possible goal"), Ted Lowi (1971: 31) noted that "the phenomenon has little to do with goal displacement. Rather, the goals of an organization have become outwon with the need of maintaining the organization."

In fact, SMOs rarely get institutionalized. In the first place, few of them actually survive for a significant time spell (Minkoff 1995: ch. 3). Some dissolve because their aims have been achieved. Organizations formed to coordinate specific campaigns, for example, tend to disappear as soon as that campaign is over (Zurcher and Curtis 1973).[8] Leadership splits during downturns in mobilization, and the resultant processes of disintegration and realignment cause others to disappear. In the case of SMOs, whose life expectancy is short and whose aims are limited, an interest in the organization's continuing existence may not even develop. In other words, their members' first loyalty continues to be to the movement and the organization is simply seen as a temporary instrument for intervention.

Moderation of an organization's aims is not, of course, the only possible development even for those organizations that actually do survive in the long term. Other social movement organizations become more radical. Their aims become more ambitious, the forms of action adopted less conventional, and they become increasingly isolated from the outside world. One outcome of 1968, although certainly not the only one, nor the most important, was the formation of clandestine organizations which grew out of the student movement in Italy and Germany and adopted increasingly radical forms of action, including in some cases murdering political opponents. They are a tragic and extreme example of how reacting to a hostile environment can bring about an increasing closure of channels of communication with the outside world (della Porta 1995). In less extreme cases, spontaneous groups such as the German Spontis and the Indiani Metropolitani (literally, "metropolitan indians") in Italy, illegitimate offspring of the student movement in decline, increased rather than diminished their use of symbolic incentives, primarily in order to reinforce internal solidarity (Lumley 1990; della Porta 1996a).

The direction taken by a social movement, therefore, may be that of moderation, but equally that of radicalization; of greater formalization, but also of progressive destructuration; of greater contact with the surrounding environment, or of sectarian "implosion." One must not forget that changes in specific organizations do not necessarily all take the same direction: the institutionalization of one organization can go along with the radicalization of another, and the overall profile of a social movement sector may remain relatively stable over time as a result. For example, in their analysis of changes in environmental organizations in the 1990s, Diani and Donati (1999) showed that trends towards institutionalization and professionalization went along with the emergence of new grassroots radical actors, and that established organizations had played a key role in

environmental movements since the rise of environmental mobilization in the late 1980s.

Mapping all the possible factors behind changes in social movements' organizational forms exceeds the scope of this volume (see e.g. Scott 1981). Here we shall focus on three determinants of change that have attracted a lot of attention recently. Let us look first at the role of institutional factors (Edwards and McCarthy 2004).

### 6.3.2 Institutional factors and organizational change

The availability of public or semipublic resources may facilitate the creation of powerful lobbies with links to social movements. Research on the civil rights movement in the United States, for example, has shown that funds from federal and local government agencies and programs such as the Community Action Programs or Volunteers in Service to America stimulated the creation of movement organizations at the same time as the Peace Corps and alternative military service provided paid positions for activists. The conditions governing access to public and private funding, tax exemptions, or advantageous postage rates influence the organizational structure of groups who wish to benefit from these possibilities. Thus the terms "funded" (McCarthy and Zald 1987a: 358 ff.) or "registered social movement organizations" (McCarthy, Britt, and Wolfson 1991: 68) have been used.

In many countries, organizations wishing access to a series of material resources must respect a long list of laws and regulations, first and foremost in their organizational structure. In the US these include "federal tax laws and policies and their enforcement by the Internal Revenue Service, the actions of formal coalitions of fundraising groups, United States Postal Service Regulations and their consequences for access to the mails, the rules and actions of private organizations monitoring groups, the dynamics of combined charity appeals, and state and local level fundraising regulations and their enforcement" (McCarthy et al. 1991: 46; Andrews and Edwards 2004). In particular, "not-for-profit" or "nonpartisan" organization status, usually necessary for access to the above-mentioned resources, involves adherence to models considered legitimate for such organizations, such as the presence of a governing body and an annual audit (McCarthy et al. 1991: 61). From this point of view certainly, increased availability of institutional resources accentuates the presence of formal, centralized organizations, as American public interest groups (such as Common Cause), with thousands of contributors and hundreds of local branches, demonstrate (McFarland 1984: 61–92; Andrews and Edwards 2004; for a comparative perspective, Salamon and Anheier 1997).

The openness of other institutional structures may also favor the development of formal organizations (Rucht 1994). In Europe, in contrast to the US, parties originating from social movements have often obtained remarkable results thanks partly to the rules regulating challengers' access to decision-making procedures. Proportional representation, for example, can promote the formation of movement parties, as happened when the various organizations of the new left in Italy fielded candidates at administrative and political elections in the 1970s,[9] or when green parties enjoyed success in countries like Belgium, Germany, or Italy in the 1980s (Richardson and Rootes 1994).

At the same time, however, formal organizations with a clear structure are not necessarily the outcome of an open, inclusive political environment. Often, formal, hierarchical structures have been established to better fight a hostile state apparatus. A repressive, centralized state may well produce well-organized movements (Rootes 1997), with solid alliances between different organizations and movements (McCarthy and Zald 1987b), sometimes with radical repertoires of action (della Porta 1995). For example, the Italian student movement of the 1970s found itself involved in an extremely polarized political conflict. The political system's closure and frequent physical clashes with neofascists and police favored the development of the centralized and bureaucratic organizations of the new left. However, 30 years later, the events in Genoa 2001, and the violent behavior of police even towards peaceful demonstrators, did not result in a growing militarization of the global justice movement and in the adoption of organizational forms suited to conducting violent clashes with police (della Porta et al. 2005).

Conversely, an open, decentralized political system may also facilitate similar trends towards decentralization and informality among movement organizations. In Germany, again in the 1970s, and in contrast to Italy, institutional openness (particularly when Social Democrat Willy Brandt was chancellor) apparently favored the proliferation of decentralized movement organizations, such as the Bürgerinitiativen (della Porta 1995: ch. 4). Similar considerations have also been suggested in relation to the American social movement sector (Rucht 1996), in contrast to the hypothesis that the American institutional system should be conducive only to formal, bureaucratic organizations. To sum up, rather than positing a rigid relationship between the form that social movement activists give to their organizations, and the traits of the institutional system in which they operate, it is wiser to recognize that multiple organizational forms may be accommodated within the same system.

### 6.3.3 Organizational cultures and organizational change

Although social movement actors have margins of choice when they are trying to adapt creatively to their environment, such margins are subject to limitations.

Just as we may speak of repertoires of forms of protest (chapter 7), we may do so for organizational forms (Clemens 1996). In any given country and at any given time, the repertoire of organizational forms is restricted. It can be expanded by borrowing from other countries or domains, but such transformations are slow. A particular organizational model is more likely to be adopted, "to the extent that the proposed model of organization is believed to work, involves practices and organizational relations that are already familiar, and is consonant with the organization of the rest of those individuals' social worlds" (Clemens 1996: 211).

Thus, the organizational resources already present within the social movement sector tend to influence the evolution of single organizations and, more generally, the forms of protest adopted. The dominant organizations in any given phase tend to contribute organizational resources to later mobilizations, thus contributing also to the definition of their strategies. Adopting the terminology of the resource mobilization approach, the SMOs created during a particular phase of mobilization "manufacture" resources for succeeding phases, influencing, or at least attempting to influence, their character (see also chapter 9 below).

Organizational choices, therefore, are influenced by the preexisting structures within which movements form, inheriting ideas, constraints, and facilities as well as allies and opponents. Thus earlier historical movements or "early riser" movements help produce their "spin-offs." During periods of mobilization new insurgents assimilate inputs from existing movements. The student movement provided the organizational resources for the formation of groups with objectives as diverse as defending the rights of the poor (Delgado 1986) and those of animals (Jasper and Nelkin 1992). Similarly, the women's movement, formed within its student predecessor, would later transmit ideological frameworks, tactical innovations, organizational structures, and leadership to the peace movement (Meyer and Whittier 1994). Today, global justice movement organizations also draw, if often critically, on the experiences of the organizations that in the recent and not-so-recent past have mobilized transnationally on issues such as the environment, human rights, or Thirld World development (Anheier and Themudo 2002). Over time, then, a sort of collective memory on organizational possibilities is passed down from one generation of militants to the next or from one movement to another: "one movement can influence subsequent movements both from outside and from within: by altering political and cultural conditions it confronts in the external environments, and by changing the individuals, groups and norms within the movement itself" (Meyer and Whittier 1994: 282; Isaac and Christiansen 2002). For this reason, it can be very difficult to change certain initial organizational traits, as they come to form a kind of genetic patrimony for movement organizations (see, among others, Panebianco 1988).

### 6.3.4 Modernization, technological innovation, and organizational change

One should also consider the relationship between modernization and organizational change. In general terms, economic progress may have a beneficial effect on the organizing capacity of social movements, since "as the amount of discretionary resources of mass and elite publics increases, the absolute and relative amount of resources available to the SMS [Social Movement Sector] increases" (McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1977]: 25). These resources include time and money, but also political freedom, means of communication, transportation, etc. As they grow, the amount of resources available for new organizations and movements is also likely to increase. Economic development, and the economic and time resources it creates, should lead to a growth in professionalized, formal groupings: "The larger the income flow to an SMO, the more likely that cadre and staff are professional and the larger these groups are" (McCarthy and Zald 1987b [1977]: 35).

However, technological change has attracted most attention of late, as it has influenced the organizational structure of social movements as well as their tactics. The expansion of both printed and electronic means of communication has permitted an "externalization" of certain costs (Tarrow 1994: 143–5). If organizations were previously required to be highly structured to get a message across, today a lightweight one may be adequate, provided it can gain media attention. The impact of the internet on social movement organizing is beautifully illustrated by a authoritative, nonacademic source like the Canadian Security Intelligence Service: "The internet will continue a large role in the success or failure of antiglobalization protests and demonstrations. Groups will use the internet to identify and publicize targets, solicit and encourage support, organize and communicate information and instructions, recruit, raise funds, and as a means of promoting their various individual and collective aims" (quoted in Van Aelst and Walgrave 2004: 121).

Websites operate with information, mobilization, or community-oriented functions (Rosenkrands 2004: 72–3). In the case of antiglobalization sites, they provide an easy way for information to circulate not only through email lists but through links between websites (van Aelst and Walgrave 2004). It seems reasonable to suggest that the major no-global initiatives of the late 1990s and early 2000s have been made possible by the internet (Bennett 2004a: 133), even though, as Seattle demonstrates, it is combination of local grassroots organizing and web-based information diffusion that has done the trick (Bennett 2004a: 145; Van Aelst and Walgrave 2004: 101; see also Seattle activists' accounts on www.wtohistory.org).

In some cases, computer-mediated communication simply expands the capacity to act of already solid organizations such as Greenpeace or Oxfam; in other cases, however, it brings together networks of activists with very informal organizational structures, if any. Two examples are the Cokespotlight or McSpotlight websites, which expose Coca Cola's environmental record or McDonald's indifference to workers' rights and food quality; another example is the independent information network Indymedia, the first site of which was born during the 1999 Seattle campaign, and then spread to form other networks, including the European Counter Network that connects anarchists and autonomists and *centri sociali* (Wright 2004). In still other cases, specific organizations are created that would not exist without the internet: e.g., Subversive Enterprises International, which is actually little more than a website that connects likeminded people interested in mobilizing support for the anticapitalist movement, with no hierarchical structure of any kind (Anheier and Themudo 2002: 210).

It has been suggested that changes in both technology and conceptions of political activity will result in the disappearance of traditional organizational forms. Some have stressed the role of media as independent sources of organizational resources. For example, Walgrave and Massens (2000) showed how the media played a major autonomous role in the success of the White march that took place in Brussels in 1996 to voice people's anger at the authorities' handling of the Dutroux pedophilia case. The opportunities for the formation of affinity groups, consisting of people who share a broad vision of political and social engagement, and come together on specific issues of interest and short-term campaigns, have also been greatly enhanced by new communication technologies. For example, mobile phone communications between private citizens have been credited with the success of the demonstrations that in January 2001 forced Philippine president Joseph Estrada to resign (Tilly 2004a: ch. 5). For some radical critics of the role of traditional political organizations, "affinity groups" (i.e., self-organized and self-governing groups based on a commonality of values and interests) represent a major organizing principle behind the global justice movement, which denies any space to organizational identity and to organizations themselves (McDonald 2002; see also Finnegan 2003). Skeptics would counter, however, that affinity groups' attempts to solve the problem of maintaining members' loyalty in a nonbureaucratic way lead to difficult decision-making and ultimately ineffective performance (Gamson 1990; for an insider's account, see also Klein 2002).

## 6.4 From Movement Organizations to Social Movement Networks

The network nature of social movements has long been highlighted. In a few seminal contributions, Luther Gerlach pointed out that social movements are:

| | Cooperation | Lack of cooperation |
|---|---|---|
| Competition for similar constituency | Competitive cooperation | Factionalism |
| Lack of competition | Noncompetitive cooperation | Neutrality |

**Figure 6.1** Patterns of interorganizational relations among movement organizations

(1) segmented, with numerous different groups or cells in continual rise and decline; (2) polycephalous, having many leaders each commanding only a limited following; and (3) reticular, with multiple links between autonomous cells forming an indistinctly bounded network (Gerlach 1971; Gerlach and Hine 1970). Recently he qualified his argument by stressing the undirected, acephalous, rather than polycephalous, nature of such networks (Gerlach 2001).

Movements so frequently take network forms because political organizations rarely manage to monopolize the representation of a certain complex of interests and values. When this happens, that usually spells the end of a social movement process and its replacement with organizational processes. Normally, a multiplicity of organizations operates on the same issues and on behalf of similar, if not identical, political and ethical projects. Exploring the nature of the relationships between them is crucial for our understanding of social movements.

Even though alliance-building seems a generally sensible and desirable option, in practice, however, interorganizational relationships can vary markedly in both content and intensity. One way to capture those differences is by asking whether organizations are in competition for the acknowledgment and support of the same social base; whether, that is, they are trying to acquire essential resources for action by tapping the same (limited) mobilization potential. By combining the presence or absence of cooperation and presence or absence of competition we can elaborate a typology of forms of interorganizational relationships (figure 6.1).

We have first of all to recognize that many citizens' organizations, despite broadly dealing with similar problems, are basically involved in a relation of neutrality (or indifference) to each other, whereby an absence of cooperation corresponds to lack of competition. Such situations occur when organizations' definitions of issues make cooperation difficult, but at the same time they do not have to compete for members and support, because they appeal to diverse sectors of public opinion. The environmental movement of the 1970s in Italy was close

to this model. Its conservation and political ecology components were ideologically far enough apart to make it difficult for them to cooperate with each other. This did not lead to conflict, however, as both sectors were somewhat eccentric in relation to the principal, class-based conflicts in that period (Diani 1995a). Similar remarks may apply to environmentalism in a country with a far lower salience of the left–right divide like Britain. There, a political-ecology sector hardly developed at all in the 1970s, as new left groups were focusing strictly on traditional class issues while paying little attention to environmental problems (Lowe and Goyder 1983).

High levels of competition and low levels of cooperation among movement organizations are instead likely to produce factional relationships. In such cases, the struggle to represent the same constituency leads to fragmentation and sectarian divisions. Cooperation among movement organizations is thus hindered, despite the proximity of their cultural models and styles of action. Donatella della Porta (1990) and Sidney Tarrow (1989a) have shown how the competitive dynamics within Italian movements eventually produced outcomes of this type at the end of the 1970s. The Italian situation was characterized at that time by transition from models which were predominantly cooperative, although also competitive, to models where cooperation was absent. The reduction of the potential to mobilize played a crucial role in this context, as it brought various organizations into open competition with each other, emphasizing their ideological differences. As a result, the potential for conflict within movement areas grew (for other instances of factional dynamics, see e.g. Lichterman 1995b; Balser 1997).

Intense exchanges between organizations with different natural constituencies produce noncompetitive cooperation. Movement organizations are not appealing to the same political market but have, at the same time, sufficient interests and motives for convergence to activate joint mobilizations. Cooperation is, moreover, limited, to the extent that it neither presupposes nor requires the development of a homogeneous perspective or of a "strong" and (semi)exclusive notion of collective identity. Relationships between central organizations with diverse concerns in the Italian environmentalist field in the 1980s were close to this model: political ecology groups such as Legambiente cooperated with conservationist groups such as Italia Nostra without coming into competition, inasmuch as their potential sources of support differed substantially (Diani 1995a: ch. 5).

Where collaboration develops between organizations competing for the same base of support, situations which we will define as competitive cooperation occur. In such cases, two (or more) movement organizations concerned with the same issues are keen to develop joint initiatives, based on compatible definitions of the issues and some degree of identity; but at the same time they find themselves facing stiff mutual competition for the same support base, and for similar

sectors of public opinion whose interests they wish to represent. The resulting model of interaction may be characterized by a degree of interorganizational polemic, but that does not lead to a breakdown of resource exchanges and communication. The new left groups which in the 1970s competed for control of radical youth movements in Italy adequately illustrate this model (Tarrow 1989a; della Porta 1995); so do the relationships between women's organizations supporting abortion rights in the USA (Staggenborg 1991). When collaboration between organizations takes place, ties may be largely instrumental, restricted to the exchange of resources for practical purposes, or may involve mutual obligation and a shared identity. This provides the foundation for the distinction between coalitional and social movement processes that we introduced in chapter 1 (see also Diani and Bison 2004). Both coalitional and social movement processes generate extended networks of interaction between distinct social actors.

Social movement action on a large scale has always been organized in network forms. Examples may be found throughout the history of modern contention, from nineteenth-century working class (Thompson 1963; Ansell 1997, 2001) and women's organizations (Rosenthal et al. 1985, 1997), to antiwar or antipoverty coalitions (Bagguley 1991; Hathaway and Meyer 1993–4; Barkan, Cohn, and Whitbaker 1995; Rochon and Meyer 1997; Lavalette and Mooney 2000), to environmental or women's movements (Philips 1991; Sawer and Groves 1994; Diani 1995a; Ansell 2003), to mention just a few. Recently, however, the spread of global justice mobilizations has made the role of networks particularly visible. Increasingly, we see examples of coalitions that involve both transnational actors and networks and local actors on issues such as environmental protection, deprivation, or human rights, thus expanding the range of forms of transnational contention (Bennett 2004b; Rothman and Oliver 1999; Reimann 2001; Subramaniam, Gupte, and Mitre 2003; Rohrschneider and Dalton 2002).

In many cases, network dynamics remain purely informal. Often, however, a hybrid model of "network organization" develops, combining elements of formality with those proper to a loose network structure. In contrast to classic formal organizations, which are based on the vertical integration of multiple units, the "network organization" model in organization theory points at another way of coordinating activities, based on the independence of the single components, horizontal integration, flexibility in goals and strategies, and multiple levels of interaction with the possibility of communitarian elements (Powell 1990; Podolny and Page 1998; Gulati and Gargiulo 1999). Most frequently associated with the novel forms of production introduced by firms like Benetton or IBM (Castells 1996: ch. 3), the "network organization" model, when it is applied to a social movement as a whole, also allows a greater degree of specificity and a more specific definition of goals than the network metaphor does (Diani 2003a).

Network organizational models are useful to coordinate efforts around specific campaigns or policy issues, in which many different activists and organizations have a stake. They do so while being neither dependent on the organizations that originally set them up, nor able to exert a leadership role beyond the boundaries of their specific domain. Many network organizations are inherently temporary – they do not survive the specific mobilization or campaign they are supposed to coordinate; however, some of them may convert into full-fledged organizations, increasingly independent from their original founders, and with a distinct identity. For example, in the environmental justice movement of the 1990s, many grassroots groups preferred to coordinate through an informal networking strategy, rather than relying on the intermediation of the rigid environmental bureaucracies who had so far secured "ownership" of those issues (Taylor 1995; Schlosberg 2002: ch. 5). Many organizations mobilizing on a transnational scale also have a network form. Recent examples include the Rainforest Action Network, that campaigns to protect the rainforest and targets financial actors backing destructive projects; the People's Global Action network, that connects hundreds of grassroots organizations worldwide; or the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, that played a visible public role in the 1999 Seattle anti-WTO demonstrations in bringing together environmentalists, working-class activists, and local community organizers (Bircham and Charlton 2001: 271–89; see also Rose 2000 on cross-class coalitions). The most visible example of network organization, however, is probably the Social Forum model. Inspired by the experience of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, this model has then been extended to coordinate in a flexible and negotiated way the multiplicity of actors involved in global justice campaigns at the continental, national, and local levels (see chapter 9 below for a thorough discussion).

Just to make the difference clear: we speak of "network organizations" in reference to relatively bounded organizational forms such as the European Counter Network or the Climate Action Network (Waddell 2003), defined by the interest in specific issues or by a distinct cultural perspective; but we also speak of networks in reference to whole movements, like the global justice movement or the environmental movement. Either way, many have long regarded flexible and decentralized network forms of organizing as particularly effective in achieving the aims of protestors. The ability to coordinate action and promote joint campaigns facilitates the diffusion of protest, and increases the relevance of certain themes on the political agenda and the opportunities to disseminate new interpretations of political and social conflict. The existence of a significant number of allies increases the chances of success for groups promoting protest (Laumann and Knoke 1987: 387; Knoke 1990a: 208). Network links also make movement organizations better equipped to deal with emergencies and threats coming from their environment. In particular, such structures should avert the danger of suppression by opponents (so much easier when the leadership is concentrated in a

few people), maximize adaptability, allow the escalation of action by distributing the effects of one group's activities to all of them, promote innovation, and reduce the negative effect of failures (Gerlach 1971). A network organization also allows some kind of mediation between the participatory ethos behind grassroots organizing and the coordination guaranteed by formal structures.

On the other hand, the problems associated with this model – as well as with various coalition forms – have also been highlighted. For example, loose networks increase the resources available to social movement organizations but also the danger of internal conflict, both between different organizational units and different ideological factions (Kleidman 1993: 39–40). In general, the life of many network organizations is shorter and less stable – if often very effective in the short term – than that of organizations adopting more bureaucratic forms. For instance, Jubilee 2000, a network which originated in the UK in 1996 and then spread worldwide, and which campaigns for debt cancellation, collected about 24 million signatures on one petition, but failed to secure the cohesion of the different components of the network. In the early 2000s it fell apart and was replaced by Drop the Debt and other organizations acting on similar issues, yet with an altogether more limited impact (Anheier and Themudo 2002: 192–3).

## 6.5 Summary

The organizations engaged in social movements have often been described as loosely structured, decentralized, and prone to engage in contentious political challenges or countercultural practices. However, research has shown that, in reality, a plurality of organizational models co-exist within any social movement. Organizations differ, sometimes to a very high degree, in their response to dilemmas such as whether focusing on the mobilization of people or other types of resources, adopting some kind of formal hierarchy or a totally informal structure, targeting their efforts at opponents or also providing services and life opportunities to their own constituents. In this chapter we presented a minimum number of basic models, out of many more that could be identified: the professional social movement organization and the participatory movement organization (more specifically, two versions of it, the mass organization and the grassroots organization, that differ in levels of bureaucratization).

Later, we showed that not even the evolution of social movement organizations is unidirectional: some organizations become institutionalized, turning themselves into political parties or interest groups; others become more radical and turn to violent forms of action; some turn commercial and involve themselves in the market; yet others turn inward, becoming similar to religious sects. Again, rather than searching for general laws or all encompassing accounts, we identify some factors likely to affect organizational change: in particular, the

impact of the opportunities offered by the configurations of the political system; the weight of organizational cultures; and the role of technological change, most notably, the spread of information and communication technology.

In the final part of the chapter, we discussed the nature of network forms of organization as a useful corrective to the deficiencies of both formal and loose organizational models. Although always present in contemporary history, those forms have proved particularly adequate to coordinate and support mobilization in the global justice and other transnational movements.

# REFERENCES


Abramson, Paul R. and Inglehart, Ronald 1992: Generational Replacement and Value Change in Eight West European Societies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 22, 183–228.

Agger, Ben 1991: Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, 105–31.

Agnoletto, Vittorio 2003: *Prima persone. Le nostre ragioni contro questa globalizzazione*. Roma: Laterza.

Aguiton, Christophe 2001: *Le monde nous appartient*. Paris: Plon.

Alberoni, Francesco 1984: *Movement and Institution*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Allegretti, Giovanni 2003: *L'insegnamento di Porto Alegre. Autoprogettualità come paradigma urbano.* Firenze: Alinea.

Amenta, Edwin and Neal, Caren 2004: The Legislative, Organizational, and Beneficiary Consequencesof State Oriented Challengers. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Oxford, Blackwell, 461–88.

Amenta, Edwin and Zylan, Yvonne 1991: It Happened Here: Political Opportunity, the New Institutionalism, and the Townsend Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 250–65.

Amenta, Edwin, and Young, Michael P. 1999: Democratic States and Social Movements. Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses. *Social Problems*, 46, 153–72.

Amin, Ash (ed.) 1994: *Post-Fordism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Aminzade, Ronald 1995: Between Movements and Party: The Transformation of Mid-nineteenth-century French Republicanism. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest. Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 39–62.

Ancelovici, Marcos 2002: Organizing against Globalization: The Case of ATTAC in France. *Politics and Society*, 30, 427–63.

Anderson, Benedict 1983: *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Andretta, Massimiliano 2003: Making transnational social movements work. Master, sectorial and individual frames and identitification. Paper for the Seminar *Social Movements and Contentious Politics in a Democratizing World*, Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, July (forthcoming as ch. 3 in della Porta, Andretta, Mosca, and Reiter, *Global, Noglobal, New Global*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

Andretta, Massimiliano, della Porta, Donatella, Mosca, Lorenzo, and Reiter, Herbert 2002: *Global, Noglobal, New Global. La protesta contro il G8 a Genova*. Roma: Laterza.

Andretta, Massimiliano, della Porta, Donatella, Mosca, Lorenzo, and Reiter, Herbert 2003: *Global – new global. Identität und Strategien der Antiglobalisierungsbewegung*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Andrews, Kenneth and Edwards, Bob 2004: Advocacy Organizations in the US Political Process. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 479–506.

Andrews, Kenneth and Edwards, Bob 2005: The Structure of Local Environmentalism. Unpublished paper.

Anheier, Helmut 2003: Movement Development and Organizational Networks: The Role of "Single Members" in the German Nazi Party, 1925–1930. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Anheier, Helmut and Themudo, Nuno 2002: Organizational Forms of Global Civil Society: Implications of Going Global. In Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor and Helmut Ahheier (eds.), *Global Civil Society 2002*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 191–216.

Anheier, Helmut, Glasius, Marlies, and Kaldor, Mary 2001: Introducing Global Civil Society. In Helmut Ahheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor (eds.), *Global Civil Society 2001*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–22.

Ansell, Christopher 1997: Symbolic Networks: The Realignment of the French Working Class, 1887–1894. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 359–90.

Ansell, Christopher 2001: *Schism and Solidarity in Social Movements. The Politics of Labor in the French Third Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ansell, Christopher 2003: Community Embeddedness and Collaborative Governance in the San Francisco Bay Area Environmental Movement. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Armstrong, Elizabeth 2002: *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Arrighi, Giovanni and Silver, Beverly 1999: *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World System*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arrighi, Giovanni, Hopkins, Therence K., and Wallerstein, Immanuel 1989: *Antisystemic Movements*. London: Verso.

Auyero, Javier 2001: Glocal Riots. *International Sociology*, 16, 33–53.

Auyero, Javier 2004: When Everyday Life, Routine Politics, and Protest Meet. *Theory and Society*, 33, 417–41.

Ayres, Jeffrey M. 1998: *Defying Conventional Wisdom: Political Movements and Popular Contention against North American Free Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ayres, Jeffrey 2004: Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Journal of World Systems Research*, 10, 11–34.

Bachrach, Peter and Baratz, Morton S. 1970: *Power and Poverty: Theory and Action*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bagguley, Paul 1991: *From Protest to Acquiescence: Political Movements of the Unemployed*. London: Macmillan.

Bagguley, Paul 1992: Social Change, the Middle Class and the Emergence of "New Social Movements": A Critical Analysis. *Sociological Review*, 40, 26–48.

Bagguley, Paul 1994: Prisoners of the Beveridge Dream? The Political Mobilization of the Poor against Contemporary Welfare Regimes. In R. Burrows and B. Loader (eds.), *Towards a Post-Fordist State?* London: Macmillan.

Bagguley, Paul 1995a: Middle Class Radicalism Revisited. In T. Butler and M. Savage (eds.), *Social Change and the Middle Classes*. London: UCL Press.

Bagguley, Paul 1995b: Protest, Poverty and Power: A Case Study of the Anti-Poll Tax Movement. *Sociological Review*, 43, 693–719.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo 2001: Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory. *Politics and Society*, 29, 43–72.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo 2002a: Synergizing Civil Society: State–Civil Society Regimes in Porto Alegre, Brazil. *Political Power and Social Theory*, 15, 3–52.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo 2002b: *From Militance to Citizenship: The Workers' Party, Civil Society, and the Politics of Participatory Governance in Porto Alegre, Brazil*. Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences; Available from UMI, Ann Arbor, MI. Order No. DA3020749.

Balme, Richard, Chabanet, Didier, and Wright, Vincent (eds.) 2002: *L'action collective en Europe*. Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Balser, Deborah B. 1997: The Impact of Environmental Factors on Factionalism and Schism in Social Movement Organizations. *Social Forces*, 76, 199–228.

Banaszac, Lee A. and Plutzer, Eric 1993: The Social Bases of Feminism in the European Community. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57, 29–53.

Banaszak, Lee Ann, Beckwith, Karen, and Rucht, Dieter 2003: *When Power Relocates: Interactive Changes in Women's Movements and the State*. In Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht (eds.), *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–29.

Bandy, Joe and Bickham-Mendez, Jennifer 2003: A Place of Their Own? Women Organizers in the Maquilas of Nicaragua and Mexico. *Mobilization*, 8, 173–88.

Bandy, Joe and Smith, Jackie (eds.) 2004: *Coalitions Across Borders: Negotiating Difference and Unity in Transnational Struggles Against Neoliberalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Barbalet, Jack M. 1988: *Citizenship*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Barcena, Inaki, Ibarra, Pedro and Zubiaga, Mario 1995: *Nacionalismo y ecologia. Conflicto e institucionalizacion en el movimiento ecologista vasco*. Madrid: Libros de la Catarata.

Barkan, Steven E., Cohn, Steven F., and Whitbaker, William H. 1995: Beyond Recruitment: Predictors of Differential Participation in a National Antihunger Organization. *Sociological Forum*, 10, 113–33.

Barker, Colin 2001: Fear, Laughter, and Collective Power: The Making of Solidarity at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdnask, Poland, August 1980. In J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta (eds.), *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 175–94.

Barker, Colin and Dale, Gareth 1999: Protest Waves in Western Europe: A Critique of New Social Movement Theory. *Critical Sociology*, 24, 65–104.

Barker, Colin, Johnson, Alan, and Lavalette, Michael (eds.) 2001: *Leadership in Social Movements*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Barnes, Barry and Edge, David (eds.) 1982: *Science in Context*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Barnes, Samuel H., Kaase, Max, Allerbeck, Klaus, Farah, Barbara, Heunks, Felix, Inglehart, Ronald, Jennings, M. Kent, Klingemann, Hans D., Marsh Alan, and Rosenmayr, Leopold 1979: *Political Action*. London/Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bartholomew, Amy and Mayer, Margit 1992: Nomads of the Present: Melucci's Contribution to "New Social Movement" Theory. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 9, 141–59.

Bartolini, Stefano 2000: *The Political Mobilization of the European Left*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bartolini, Stefano 2004: Trasformazione e trascendenza dei confini. Integrazione europea e stato-nazione. *Rivista italiana di scienza politica*, 34, 167–95.

Bartolini, Stefano and Mair, Peter 1990: *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability. The Stabilization of European Electorates*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Battistelli, Fabrizio (ed.) 1990: *Rapporto di ricerca su: I movimenti pacifisti in Italia*. Gaeta: Rivista Militare.

Bauss, Gerhard 1977: *Die Studentenbewegung der sechziger Jahre*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag.

Bearman, Peter S. and Everett, Kevin D. 1993: The Structure of Social Protest, 1961–1983. *Social Networks*, 15, 171–200.

Bechofer, Frank and Elliott, Brian 1985: The Petite Bourgeoisie in Late Capitalism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11, 181–207.

Beck, John 1999: Makeover or Takeover? The Strange Death of Educational Autonomy in Neo-liberal England, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, 223–38.

Beck, Ulrich 1999: *Che cos'è la globalizzazione: Rischi e prospettive della società planetaria*. Roma: Carocci.

Becker, Penny E. and Dhingra, Pawan 2001: Religious Involvement and Volunteering: Implications for Civil Society. *Sociology of Religion*, 62, 315–35.

Beer, William R. 1977: The Social Class of Ethnic Activists in Contemporary France. In M. J. Esman (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict in the Western World*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 143–58.

Beer, William R. 1980: *The Unexpected Rebellion: Ethnic Activism in Contemporary France*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002: *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, Daniel 1973: *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Basic Books.

Benford, Robert D. 1993: Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement. *Social Forces*, 71, 677–701.

Benford, Robert D. 1997: An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67, 409–30.

Benford, Robert D. and Hunt, Scott A. 1992: Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power. *Sociological Inquiry*, 62, 36–55.

Benford, Robert D. and Snow, David 2000: Framing Processes and Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–39.

Bennani-Chraïbi, Mounia and Fillieule, Olivier 2003: *Résistances et protestations dans les sociétés musulmanes*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Bennett, W. Lance 2003: Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 6 (2), 143–68.

Bennett, W. Lance 2004a: Communicating Global Activism: Strength and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest*. London: Routledge.

Bennett, W. Lance 2004b: Social Movements beyond Borders: Understanding Two Eras of Transnational Activism. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 203–26.

Bennett, W. Lance, Givens, Terry E., and Willnat, Larse 2004: Crossing Political Divide: Internet Use and Political Identification in Transnational Anti-War and Social Justice Activists in Eight Nations. Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, Uppsala.

Berezin, Mabel 2001: Emotions and Political Identity. In J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta (eds.), *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 83–91.

Berger, Peter and Luckmann, Thomas 1966: *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Bergmann, Werner 2002: Exclusionary Riots: Some Theoretical Considerations. In C. Hoffmann et al. (eds.), *Exclusionary Violence. Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 161–83.

Berkowitz, Steve D. 1982: *An Introduction to Structural Analysis: The Network Approach to Social Research*. Toronto: Butterworths.

Bernstein, Mary 1997: Celebrations and Suppression: The Strategic Use of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 531–65.

Béroud, Sophie, Mouriaux, René, and Vakaloulis, Michel 1998: *Le movement social en France. Essai de sociologie politique*. Paris: La Dispute.

Best, Joel (ed.) 1989: *Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems*. New York: de Gruyter.

Betz, Hans-Georg 1993: The New Politics of Resentment. Radical Right-wing Populist Parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Politics*, 25, 413–27.

Betz, Hans-Georg 1994: *Radical Right-wing Populism in Western Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Bew, Paul, Gibbon, Peter, and Patterson, Henry 1979: *The State in Northern Ireland, 1921–72: Political Forces and Social Classes*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bianchi, Marina and Mormino, Maria 1984: Militanti di se stesse. Il movimento delle donne a Milano. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*. Bologna: il Mulino, 127–74.

Billig, Michael 1995: Rhetorical Psychology, Ideological Thinking, and Imagining Nationhood. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 64–81.

Biorcio, Roberto 1991: La lega come attore politico: Dal federalismo al populismo regionalista. In R. Mannheimer et al. *la Lega Lombarda*, Milan: Feltrinelli, 34–82.

Biorcio, Roberto 1992: The Rebirth of Populism in Italy and France. *Telos*, 90, 43–56.

Bircham, Emma and Charlton, John (eds.) 2001: *Anti-Capitalism. A Guide to the Movement*. London/Sydney: Bookmarks Publications.

Blee, Kathleen M. 2002: *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Blumer, Herbert 1951: Social Movements. In A. McClung Lee (ed.), *Principles of Sociology*. New York: Barnes & Nobles, 199–220.

Blumer, Herbert 1971: Social Problems as Collective Behavior. *Social Problems*, 18, 298–306.

Bobbio, L., and Zeppetella, A. (eds.) 1999: *Perché proprio qui? Grandi opere e opposizioni locali*. Milano, Franco Angeli.

Bock, Hans-Manfred 1976: *Geschichte des linken Radikalismus in Deutschland. Ein Versuch*. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Bohman, James 1997: Deliberative Democracy and Effective Social Freedom: Capabilities, Resources, and Opportunities. In James Bohman and William Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 321–48.

Boles, Janet K. 1991: Form Follows Function: The Evolution of Feminist Strategies. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 515, 38–49.

Boli, John 1999: Conclusion: World Authority Structures and Legitimations. In John Boli and George Thomas (eds.), *Constructing World Culture. International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 267–300.

Boli, John and Thomas, George (eds.) 1999: *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boltken, Ferdinand and Jagodzinski, Wolfgang 1985: In an Environment of Insecurity. *Comparative Political Studies*, 17, 453–84.

Bolton, Charles D. 1972: Alienation and Action: A Study of Peace Group Members. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 537–61.

Bonazzi, Tiziano and Dunne, Michael (eds.) 1994: *Cittadinanza e diritti nelle società multiculturali*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Bontadini, Paolo 1978: *Manuale di Organizzazione*. Milan: Isedi.

Booth, Alan and Babchuk, Nicholas 1969: Personal Influence Networks and Voluntary Association Affiliation. *Sociological Inquiry*, 39, 179–88.

Bosi, Lorenzo 2003: The New Social Movement Approach: The Case of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland. Paper for the Social Movements Stream, European Sociological Association Conference, Murcia, September.

Bourdieau, Pierre 1992: *The Practice of Reflexive Sociology*. In Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 218–60.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1977: *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1980: *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Minuit.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1984: *Distinction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1990: *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourneau, François, and Martin, Virginie 1993: *Organiser les sans emploi? L'expérience de l'Apeis dans le Val-de-Marne*. In O. Fillieule (ed.), *Sociologie de la protestation*. Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 157–80.

Brand, Karl-Werner 1985: Vergleichendes Resümee. In Karl-Werner Brand (ed.), *Neue soziale Bewegungen in Westeuropa und den USA. Ein internationaler Vergleich*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 306–34.

Brand, Karl-Werner 1990: Cyclical Aspects of New Social Movements: Waves of Cultural Criticism and Mobilization Cycles of New Middle-class Radicalism. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 23–42.

Brand, Ulrich, and Wissen, Markus 2002: Ambivalenzen praktischer Globalisierungskritik: Das Bispiel Attac. *Kurswechsel*, 3, 102–13.

Braungart, Richard G. and Braungart, Margaret M. 1986: Life-course and Generational Politics. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12, 205–31.

Braungart, Richard G. and Braungart, Margaret M. 1992: Historical Generations and Citizenship: 200 Years of Youth Movements. In P. C. Wasburn (ed.), *Research in Political Sociology*, vol. 6. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 139–74.

Brecher, Jeremy and Costello, Tim (eds.) 1990: *Building Bridges: The Emerging Grassroots Coalition of Labor and Community*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Brecher, Jeremy, Costello, Tim, and Smith, Brendan 2000: *Globalization from Below: The Power of Solidarity*. Boston: South End Press.

Breiger, Ronald L. 1974. The Duality of Persons and Groups. *Social Forces*, 53, 181–90.

Breiger, Ronald L. 1988: The Duality of Persons and Groups. In B. Wellman and S. D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 83–98.

Breines, Wini 1989: *Community and Organization in the New Left. 1962–1968: The Great Refusal*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Breuilly, John 1993: *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brint, Steven 1984: New Class and Cumulative Trend Explanations of the Liberal Political Attitudes of Professionals. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90, 30–71.

Brint, Steven 1994: *In an Age of Experts: The Changing Role of Professionals in Politics and Public Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brissette, Martha B. 1988: Tax Protest and Tax Reform: A Chapter in The History of The American Political Process. *Journal of Law and Politics*, 5, 187–208.

Broadbent, Jeffrey 1998: *Environmental Politics in Japan: Networks of Power and Protest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brokett, Charles D., 1995: A Protest-Cycle Resolution of the Repression/Popular-Protest Paradox. In Mark Traugott (ed.), *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 117–44.

Brooks, Clem and Manza, Jeff 1994: Do Changing Values Explain the New Politics? A Critical Assessment of the Postmaterialist Thesis. *Sociological Quarterly*, 35, 541–70.

Brown, Cliff and Boswell, Terry 1995: Strikebreaking or Solidarity in the Great Steel Strike of 1919: A Split Labor Market, Game-theoretic, and QCA Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100, 1479–1519.

Brown, Helen M. 1989. Organizing Activity in the Women's Movement. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *Organizing for Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Bruce, Steve 1988: *The Rise and Fall of the New Christian Right*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Brysk, Alison 2000: *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Buchanan, James 1965: An Economic Theory of Clubs. *Economica*, 32 (125), 1–14.

Buechler, Steven M., 2004: The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 47–66.

Bukowski, Jeannie, Piattoni, Simona, and Smyrl, Marc (eds.) 2003: *Between Europeanization and Local Societies: The Space for Territorial Governance*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.

Burstein, Paul 1999: Social Movements and Public Policy. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly (eds.), *How Social Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Burstein, Paul and Linton, April 2002: The Impact of Political parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy. *Social Forces*, 75, 135–69.

Burstein, Paul, Einwohner, Rachel L. and Hollander, Jocelyn A. 1995: The Success of Political Movements: A Bargaining Perspective. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 275–95.

Burt, Ronald S. 1980: Models of Network Structure. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 6, 79–141.

Burt, Ronald S. and Minor, Michael J. (eds.) 1983: *Applied Network Analysis: A Methodological Introduction*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage.

Button, James W. 1978: *Black Violence: Political Impacts of the 1960s Riots*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bystydzienski, Jill M. and Schacht, Steven (eds.) 2001: *Forging Radical Alliances Across Difference: Coalition Politics for the New Millennium*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Cadena-Roa, Jorge 2002: Strategic Framing, Emotions, and Superbarrio – Mexico City's Masked Crusader. *Mobilization*, 7, 201–16.

Calhoun, Craig 1982: *The Question of Class Struggle: Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Calhoun, Craig 1991: The Problem of Identity in Collective Action. In J. Huber (ed.), *Macro–Micro Linkages in Sociology*. London/Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 51–75.

Calhoun Craig (ed.) 1992: *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Calhoun, Craig 1993: New Social Movements of the Early 19th Century. *Social Science Journal*, 17, 385–427.

Calhoun, Craig (ed.) 1994a: *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Calhoun, Craig 1994b: Nationalism and Civil Society: Democracy, Diversity, and Self-Determination. In C. Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 304–35.

Calhoun, Craig 1994c: *Neither Gods Nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Callinicos, Alex 2001: Where now? In E. Bircham and J. Charlton (eds.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement*. London/Sydney: Bookmarks Publications, 387–99.

Canciani, Domenico and De La Pierre, Sergio 1993: *Le ragioni di Babele. Le etnie tra vecchi nazionalismi e nuove identità*. Milano: Angeli.

Caniglia, Elisabeth Schafer 2001: Informal Alliances vs Institutional Ties: The Effects of Elite Alliances on Environmental TSMO Networks. *Mobilization*, 6, 37–54.

Capek, Stella 2003: The "Environmental Justice" Frame: A Conceptual Discussion and Application. *Social Problems*, 40, 5–24.

Cardon, Domenique, and Granjou, Fabien 2003: Peut-on se liberer des formats mediatiques? Le mouvement alter-mondialisation et l'Internet. *Mouvements*, 25, 67–73.

Carroll, William K. and Ratner, R. S. 1996: Master Framing and Cross-Movement Networking in Contemporary Social Movements. *Sociological Quarterly*, 37, 601–25.

Carson, Rachel 1962: *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Cartuyvels, Yves et al. 1997: *L'Affaire Dutroux*. Brussels: Editions Complexe.

Carty, Victoria, 2002: Technology and Counter-hegemonic Movements: The Case of Nike Corporation. *Social Movement Studies*, 1, 129–46.

Castells 2001: *The Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castells, Manuel 1977: *La Question Urbaine*. Paris: Maspero.

Castells, Manuel 1983: *The City and the Grass-Roots*. London: E. Arnold.

Castells, Manuel 1996: *The Information Age. Vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Castells, Manuel 1997: *The Information Age. Vol. II: The Power of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Catanzaro, Raimondo and Manconi, Luigi (eds.) 1995: *Storie di lotta armata*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Cerulo, Karen and Ruane, Janet M. 1998: Coming Together: New Taxonomies for the Analysis of Social Relations. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68, 398–425.

Cerulo, Karen. 1997. Reframing Sociological Concepts for a Brave New (Virtual?) World. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67, 48–58.

Cesarani, David and Fulbrick, Mary (eds.) 1996: *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Chabanet, Didier 2002: Les marches européennes contre le chômage, la précarité et les exclusions. In Richard Balme, Didier Chabanet, and Vincent Wright (eds.), *L'action collective en Europe*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Chabot, Sean 2002: Transnational Diffusion and the African-American Reinvention of the Gandhian Repertoire. In Doug Imig and Sidny Tarrow (eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chandhoke, Neera 2002: The Limits of Global Civil Society. In Marlies Glasius, Mary Kaldor, and Helmut Ahheier (eds.), *Global Civil Society 2002*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 35–53.

Chatfield, Charles, Pagnucco, Ron, and Smith, Jackie (eds.) 1996: *Solidarity Beyond the State: The Dynamics of Transnational Social Movements*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Chesler, Mark 1991: Mobilizing Consumer Activism in Health Care: The Role of Self-help Groups. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 13, 275–305.

Chiriboga, Manuel 2001: Constructing Southern Constituency for Global Advocacy: The Experience of Latin American NGOs and the World Bank. In Michael Edwards and John Gaventa, eds., *Global Citizen Action*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienne, 73–86.

Chong, Dennis 1991: *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cinalli, Manlio 2002: Environmental Campaigns and Socio-Political Cleavages in Divided Societies. *Environmental Politics*, 11, 163–71.

Clark, Martin 1984: *Modern Italy, 1871–1982*. London: Longman.

Clark, Robert 1989: Spanish Democracy and Regional Autonomy. In J. Rudolph and R. J. Thompson (eds.), *Ethnoterritorial Politics, Policy, and the Western World*. Boulder, CO/London: Lynne Rienner, 15–44.

Clark, Terry N. and Inglehart, Ronald 1998: The New Political Culture: Changing Dynamics of Support for the Welfare State and other Policies in Postindustrial Societies. In Terry N. Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot (eds.), *The New Political Culture*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 9–72.

Clark, Terry N. and Lipset, Seymour M. 1991: Are Social Classes Dying? *International Sociology*, 4, 397–410.

Clark, Terry N. and Rempel, Michael (eds.) 1997: *Citizen Politics in Post-Industrial Societies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Clemens, Elisabeth S. 1996: Organizational Form as Frame: Collective Identity and Political Strategy in the American Labor Movement. In Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 205–25.

Clemens, Elisabeth S. and Minkoff, Debra 2004: Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research. In David A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 155–70.

Cleveland, John W. 2003: Does the New Middle Class Lead Today's Social Movements? *Critical Sociology*, 29, 163–88.

Cohen, J. 1989: *Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy*. In A. Hamlin and P. Pettit (eds.), *The Good Polity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 17–34.

Cohen, Jean L. 1985: Strategy and Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52, 663–716.

Coleman, James 1990: *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.

Collins, Carole J. L., Gariyo, Zie, and Burdon, Tony 2001: Jubilee 2000: Citizen Action Across the North–South Divide. In Michael Edards and John Gaventa (eds.), *Global Citizen Action*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Riener, 135–48.

Connolly, Linda 2002: *The Irish Women's Movement From Revolution to Devolution*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Connor, Walker 1994: *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cook, Karen S. and Whitmeyer, J. M. 1992: Two Approaches to Social Structure: Exchange Theory and Network Analysis. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 109–27.

Cortright, David 1991: Assessing Peace Movement Effectiveness in the 1980s. *Peace and Change*, 16, 46–63.

Cortright, David 1993: *Peace Works: The Citizen's Role in Ending the Cold War.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cotgrove, Stephen and Duff, Andrew 1980: Environmentalism, Middle-class Radicalism and Politics. *Sociological Review*, 28, 333–51.

Couldry, Nick 1999: *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses in the Media Age*. London: Routledge.

Crenshaw, Martha 1997: *Encyclopedia of World Terrorism*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference.

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

Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow 2000: The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 1065–1104.

Cristante, Stefano (ed.) 2003: *Violenza mediata. Il ruolo dell'informazione nel G8 di Genova*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.

Crompton, Rosemary 1993: *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Crook, Stephen, Pakulski, Jan, and Waters, Malcolm 1992: *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crossley, Nick 1998: R. D. Laing and the British Anti-Psychiatric Movement: A Socio-Historical Analysis. *Social Science and Medicine*, 47, 877–89.

Crossley, Nick 1999: Working Utopias and Social Movements: An Investigation Using Case Study Materials from Radical Mental Health Movements in Britain. *Sociology*, 33, 809–30.

Crossley, Nick 2002: *Making Sense of Social Movements*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Croteau, David 1995: *Politics and the Class Divide: Working People and the Middle Class Left*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Crouch, Colin 1999: *Social Change in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crouch, Colin 2004: *Post Democracy*. London: Polity.

Cuminetti, Mario 1983: *Il dissenso cattolico in Italia*. Milan: Rizzoli.

Curtis, Russel L. and Zurcher, Louis A. 1974: Social Movements: An Analytical Exploration of Organizational Forms. *Social Problems*, 11, 356–70.

Curtis, Russell L. and Zurcher, Louis A., Jr. 1973: Stable Resources of Protest Movements: The Multi-organizational Field. *Social Forces*, 52, 53–61.

D'Anieri, Paul, Ernst, Claire, and Kier, Elizabeth 1990: New Social Movements in Historical Perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 22, 445–58.

D'Anjou, Leo 1996: *Social Movements and Cultural Change: The First Abolition Campaign Revisited*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

D'Anjou, Leo and van Male, John 1998: Between Old and New: Social Movement and Cultural Change. *Mobilization*, 3, 297–26.

Dahl, Robert 1961: *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert 1967: *Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Dahrendorf, Ralf 1988: *The Modern Social Conflicts*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Dahrendorf, Ralf 1995: *Quadrare il cerchio. Benessere economico, coesione sociale e libertà politica*. Roma, Bari: Laterza.

dalla Chiesa, Nando 1987: *Il Giano bifronte. Società corta e colletti bianchi*. Milano: Etas Libri.

Dalton, Russell (ed.) 1993: Citizens, Protest and Democracy. Special issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 528.

Dalton, Russell 1988: *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

Dalton, Russell 1994: *The Green Rainbow: Environmental Groups in Western Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dalton, Russell 1995: Strategies of Partisan Influence: West European Environmental Movements. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 296–323.

Dalton, Russell 1996: *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

Dalton, Russell J. and Kuechler, Manfred (eds.) 1990: *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Dalton, Russell J., Flanagan, Scott C., and Beck, Paul A. (eds.) 1984: *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Dealignment or Realignment?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Daniels, Cynthia and Brooks, Rachelle (eds.) 1997: *Feminists Negotiate the State: The Politics of Domestic Violence*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Davies, James 1969: The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfactions as Cause of Some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion. In H. D. Graham and T. Gurr (eds.), *Violence in America*. New York: Praeger, 690–730.

Davis, Gerald, McAdam, Doug, Scott, Richard, and Zald, Mayor N. (eds.) 2005: *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dawson, Jane 1996: *Eco-nationalism. Anti-nuclear Activism and National Identity in Russia, Lithuania, and Ukraine*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

de Graaf, Nan Dirk and Evans, Geoffrey 1996: Why are the Young More Postmaterialist? A Cross-National Analysis of Individual and Contextual Influences on Postmaterial Values. *Comparative Political Studies*, 28, 608–35.

Delgado, Gary 1986: *Organizing the Movement: The Roots and Growth of ACORN*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

della Porta, Donatella 1988: Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organizations: Italian Left-wing Terrorism. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi and S. Tarrow (eds.), *International Social Movement Research*, Vol. 1, *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 155–72.

della Porta, Donatella 1990: *Il terrorismo di sinistra*. Bologna: il Mulino.

della Porta, Donatella 1992: Lige Histories in the Analysis of Social Movement Activists. In M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*, London: Sage, 168–93.

della Porta, Donatella 1995: *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

della Porta, Donatella 1996a: *Movimenti collettivi e sistema politico in Italia, 1960–1995*. Bari: Laterza.

della Porta, Donatella 1996b: Il terrorismo. In *Enciclopedia Treccani*. Rome: Treccani.

della Porta, Donatella 1996c: Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 62–92.

della Porta, Donatella 1996d: Movimenti sociali. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 37, 313–31.

della Porta, Donatella 1998a: Police Knowledge and the Public Order in Italy. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1–32.

della Porta, Donatella 1998b: The Political Discourse on Protest Policing. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly (eds.), *How Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

della Porta, Donatella 2001: *I partiti politici*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

della Porta, Donatella 2003a: *The Women's Movement, the Left and the State: Continuities and Changes in the Italian Case*. In L. A. Banaszak, K. Beckwith, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 48–68.

della Porta, Donatella 2003b: Social Movements and Democracy at the Turn of the Millennium. In P. Ibarra (ed.), *Social Movements and Democracy*, 105–36. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

della Porta, Donatella 2004b: *Europeanization and Social Movements*. In Gianfranco Bettin (ed.), *Sociology of Europe*. Bologna: Monduzzi.

della Porta, Donatella (ed.) 2004c: *Comitati di cittadini e democrazia urbana*. Cosenza: Rubbettino.

della Porta, Donatella 2004d: Démocratie en mouvement: les manifestants du Forum Social Européen, des liens aux réseaux. In *Politix*, 1.

della Porta, Donatella 2005a: Paths of Global Activism: Experiences of Political Participation and the Participant to the International Day for Peace. In D. Rucht and S. Waalgrave (eds.), *Protest Politics: Antiwar Mobilization in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (forthcoming).

della Porta, Donatella 2005b: Making the Polis: Social Forums and Democracy in the Global Justice Movement. *Mobilization*, 10.

della Porta, Donatella 2005c: From Corporatist Unions to Protest Unions? On the (Difficult) Relations between Labour and New Social Movements. In C. Crouch and W. Streek (eds.), *The Diversity of Democracy: A Tribute to Philippe C. Schmitter*, forthcoming.

della Porta, Donatella 2005d: Deliberation in Movement: Why and How to Study Deliberative Democracy and Social Movements. *Acta politica*, forthcoming.

della Porta, Donatella 2005e: Multiple Belongings, Flexible Identities and the Construction of Another Politics: Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 175–202.

della Porta, Donatella and Andretta, Massimiliano 2002: Changing Forms of Environmentalism in Italy: The Protest Campaign against the High-Speed Railway System. *Mobilization*, 1, 59–77.

della Porta, Donatella, Andretta, Massimiliano, Mosca, Lorenzo, and Reiter, Herbert 2005: *Transnational Movements*. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press.

della Porta, Donatella and Caiani, Manuela 2005: Quale Europa? Discorso pubblico e europeizzazione. Bologna, il Mulino.

della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario 2004: *Movimenti senza protesta? L'ambientalismo in Italia*. Bologna: il Mulino (with the collaboration of Massimiliano Andretta).

della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario 2005: "No to the War With No Ifs or Buts": Protests Against the War in Iraq. In S. Fabbrini and V. Della Sala (eds.), *Italian Politics Yearbook 2004*. New York: Berghahn.

della Porta, Donatella and Fillieule, Olivier 2004: Policing Social Protest. In David A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 217–41.

della Porta, Donatella, Kousis, Maria, and Valiente, Celia 1996: Women and Politics in Southern Europe: Paths to Women's Rights in Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Paper presented at the SSRC Conference on Democratic Consolidation and Culture in Southern Europe, Palma de Mallorca, July.

della Porta, Donatella and Kriesi, Hanspeter 1998: Social Movements in A Globalizing World: An Introduction. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York/London: Macmillan.

della Porta, Donatella and Mosca, Lorenzo 2005: Global-net for Global Movements? A Network of Networks for a Movement of Movements. *Journal of Public Policy*, forthcoming.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert 1997: Police du gouvernement ou des citoyens? *Les Cahiers de la sécurité intérieure*, 27, 36–57.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert (eds.) 1998a: *Policing protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert 1998b: Introduction: The Policing of Protest in Western Democracies. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*, 1–32. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert 2004a: *Polizia e protesta*. Bologna, Il Mulino.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert, 2004b: *La protesta e il controllo. Movimenti e forze dell'ordine nell'era della globalizzazione*. Milano: Berti/Altreconomia, 2004.

della Porta, Donatella and Rucht, Dieter 1995: Left-libertarian Movements in Context: Comparing Italy and West Germany, 1965–1990. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest. Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 229–72.

della Porta, Donatella and Rucht, Dieter (eds.) 2002a: Special Issue: Comparative Environmental Campaigns. *Mobilization*, 7, 1–98.

della Porta, Donatella, and Rucht, Dieter 2002b: The Dynamics of Environmental Campaigns. *Mobilization*, 7, 1–14.

della Porta, Donatella and Tarrow, Sidney 1987: Unwanted Children: Political Violence and the Cycle of Protest in Italy, 1966–1973. *European Journal of Political Research*, 14, 607–32.

della Porta, Donatella and Tarrow, Sidney (eds.) 2005: *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

DeNardo, James 1985: *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Derloshon, Gerald B. and Potter, James E. 1982: *The Success Merchants: A Guide to Major Influences and People in the Human Potential Movement*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Desai, Manisha 1996: Informal Organizations as Agents of Change: Notes from the Contemporary Women's Movement in India. *Mobilization*, 1, 159–74.

Desario, Jack 1988: Consumers and Health Planning: Mobilization of Bias? In J. Desario and S. Langton (eds.), *Citizen Participation in Public Decision Making*. New York/Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 133–51.

Devine, Fiona 1997: *Social Class in America and Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Di Maggio, Paul 1986: Structural Analysis of Interorganizational Fields. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 8, 335–70.

Di Maggio, Paul and Powell, Walter 1983: The Iron Cage Revisited. International Isomorphism and Collective Rationality. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 147–60.

Di Maggio, Paul J. and Powell, Walter W. 1991: Introduction. In W. W. Powell and P. J. DiMaggio (eds.), *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1–38.

Diamanti, Ilvo 1993: *La Lega. Geografia, storia e sociologia di un nuovo soggetto politico*. Roma: Donzelli.

Diamanti, Ilvo 1994: Geopolitica del bluff federalista. *Limes*, 4, 37–44.

Diamanti, Ilvo 1996: The Northern League: From Regional Party to Party of Government. In S. Gundle, and S. Parker (eds.), *The New Italian Republic*. London/New York: Routledge, 113–29.

Diani, Mario 1984: L'area della "Nuova Coscienza" tra ricerca individuale ed impegno civile. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*. Bologna: il Mulino, 223–66.

Diani, Mario 1986: Dimensione simbolica e dimensione sociale nelle esperienze di "Nuova Coscienza". Il caso dell'area milanese. *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, 27, 89–115.

Diani, Mario 1988: *Isole nell'arcipelago. Il movimento ecologista in Italia*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Diani, Mario 1990: The Network Structure of the Italian Ecology Movement. *Social Science Information*, 29, 5–31.

Diani, Mario 1992a: Analysing Social Movement Networks. In M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*. Newbury Park/London: Sage, 107–35.

Diani, Mario 1992b: Dalla ritualita' delle subculture alla liberta' dei reticoli sociali. *Democrazia e diritto*, 32, 199–221.

Diani, Mario 1992c: The Concept of Social Movement. *Sociological Review*, 40, 1–25.

Diani, Mario 1994: The Conflict over Nuclear Energy in Italy. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Anti-nuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Diani, Mario 1995a: *Green Networks: A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Diani, Mario 1995b: Le reti di movimento: Prospettive di analisi. *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, 36, 341–72.

Diani, Mario 1996: Linking Mobilization Frames and Political Opportunities: Insights from Regional Populism in Italy. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 1053–69.

Diani, Mario 1997: Social Movements and Social Capital: A Network Perspective on Movement Outcomes. *Mobilization*, 2, 129–47.

Diani, Mario 2000a: Simmel to Rokkan and Beyond: Elements for a Network Theory of (New) Social Movements. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 3, 387–406.

Diani, Mario 2000b: Social Movement Networks Virtual and Real. *Information, Communication and Society*, 3, 386–401.

Diani, Mario 2003a: Networks and Social Movements: A Research Programme. In Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 299–318.

Diani, Mario 2003b: Leaders or Brokers? In Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 105–22.

Diani, Mario 2004a: Do We Still Need SMOs? Paper for the ECPR Annual Sessions of Workshops, Upssala, April 13–18.

Diani, Mario 2004b: Networks and participation. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 339–59.

Diani, Mario 2004c: Demonstrators and Organizations in the 15th Feb. Protests. International Peace Protests Survey, unpublished report, Trento, March.

Diani, Mario 2005a: Cities in the World: Local Civil Society and Global Issues in Britain. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 45–67.

Diani, Mario 2005b: The Structural Bases of Movement Coalitions. Multiple Memberships and Networks in the February 15th 2003 Peace Demonstrations. Paper for the American Sociological Association Centenary Meeting, Philadelphia, August 13–16.

Diani, Mario and Bison, Ivano 2004: Organization, Coalitions, and Movements. *Theory and Society*, 33, 281–309.

Diani, Mario and Donati, Paolo R. 1984: L'Oscuro oggetto del desiderio: Leadership e potere nelle aree dil movimento. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici. Aree di movimento nella metropoli*. Bologna: il Mulino, 315–44.

Diani, Mario and Donati, Paolo R. 1996: Rappresentare l'interesse pubblico: La comunicazione dei gruppi di pressione e dei movimenti. *Quaderni di scienza politica*, 4, 1–42.

Diani, Mario and Donati, Paolo R. 1999: Organizational Change in Western European Environmental Groups: A Framework for Analysis. *Environmental Politics*, 8, 13–34.

Diani, Mario and Eyerman, Ron (eds.) 1992: *Studying Collective Action*. London/Beverly Hills: Sage.

Diani, Mario and Forno, Francesca 2003: Italy. In C. Rootes (ed.) *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 135–65.

Diani, Mario and Lodi, Giovanni 1988: Three in One: Currents in the Milan Ecology Movement. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 103–24.

Diani, Mario and McAdam, Doug (eds.) 2003: *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Diani, Mario and van der Heijden, Hein-Anton 1994: Anti-nuclear Movements across Nations: Explaining Patterns of Development. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Anti-nuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 355–82.

Diani, Mario, Rucht, Dieter, Koopmans, Ruud, Oliver, Pamela, Taylor, Verta, McAdam, Doug, and Tarrow, Sidney 2003: Book Symposium. Focus on: Dynamics of Contention. *Mobilization*, 8, 109–41.

Diez Medrano, Juan 1995: *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Dines, Nicholas 1999: Centri sociali: occupazioni autogestite a Napoli negli omni novanta. *Quaderni di Sociologia*, 90–111.

Dixon, Marc and Roscigno, Vincent 2003: Status, Networks, and Social Movement Participation: The Case of Striking Workers. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108, 1292–1327.

Dobson, Andrew 1990: *Green Political Thought*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Doherty, Brian 1998: Opposition to Road-Building. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 51, 370–83.

Doherty, Brian 1999: Manufactured Vulnerability: Eco-Activism in Britain, *Mobilization*, 4, 75–89.

Doherty, Brian 2002: *Ideas and Action in the Green Movement*. London: Routledge.

Doherty, Brian, Plows, Alex, and Wall, Derek 2003: The Preferred Way of Doing Things: The British Direct Action Movement. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 56, 669–86.

Donati, Paolo R. 1989: Dalla politica al consumo. La questione ecologica e i movimenti degli anni settanta. *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, 30, 321–46.

Donati, Paolo R. 1992: Political Discourse Analysis. In M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*. Newbury Park/London: Sage, 136–67.

Donati, Paolo R. 1996: Building a Unified Movement: Resource Mobilization, Media Work, and Organizational Transformation in the Italian Environmentalist Movement. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 19. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 125–57.

Donati, Paolo R. and Mormino, Maria 1984: Il Potere della definizione: Le forme organizzative dell'antagonismo metropolitano. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici. Aree di movimento nella metropoli*. Bologna: il Mulino, 349–84.

Donati, Pierpaolo 1993: *La cittadinanza societaria*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Downing, D. H. 2001: *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*. London: Sage.

Downs, Anthony 1972: Up and Down with Ecology: The Issue Attention Cycle. *Public Interest*, 28, 38–50.

Downtown, James 1973: *Rebel Leadership: Commitment and Charisma in the Revolutionary Process*. New York: Free Press.

Downtown, James and Wehr, Paul Ernest 1997: *The Persistent Activist*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Doyle, Timothy 2002: Environmental Campaigns against Mining in Australia and the Philippines, *Mobilization*, 7, 29–42.

Drury, John and Reicher, Steve 2000: Collective Action and Psychological Change: The Emergence of New Social Identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39, 579–604.

Drury, John, Reicher, Steve, and Stott, Clifford 2003: Transforming the Boundaries of Collective Identity: From the "Local" Anti-road Campaign to "Global" Resistance? *Social Movement Studies*, 2, 191–212.

Dryzek, John S. 2000: *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Duch, R. M. and Taylor, M. A. 1993: Postmaterialism and the Economic Condition. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37, 747–79.

Duffhues, Ton and Felling, Albert 1989: The Development, Change, and Decline of the Dutch Catholic Movement. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *International Social Movement Research*, Vol. 2, *Organizing for Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 95–116.

Dunleavy, Patrick 1980: *Urban Political Analysis: The Politics of Collective Consumption*. London: Macmillan.

Duyvendak, Jan Willem 1995: *The Power of Politics: New Social Movements in an Old Polity, France 1965–1989*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Earl, Jennifer, Martin, Andrew, McCarthy, John, and Soule, Sarah 2004: The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 65–80.

Earl, Jennifer, Soule, Sarah, and McCarthy, John 2003: Protest Under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest. *American Sociological Review*, 68, 581–606.

Eckstein, Susan (ed.) 2001: *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eder, Klaus 1985: The "New Social Movements": Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups, or Social Movements? *Social Research*, 52, 869–901.

Eder, Klaus 1993: *The New Politics of Class. Social Movements and Cultural Dynamics in Advanced Societies*. Newbury Park/London: Sage.

Eder, Klaus 1995: Does Social Class Matter in the Study of Social Movements? A Theory of Middle Class Radicalism. In L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage, 21–54.

Eder, Klaus 2003: Identity Mobilization and Democracy: An Ambivalent Relation. In Pedro Ibarra (ed.), *Social Movements and Democracy*. New York: Palgrave, 61–80.

Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael 2003: Social Movement Organizations Beyond the Beltway: Understanding the Diversity of One Social Movement Industry. *Mobilization*, 8, 85–105.

Edwards, Bob and Marullo, Sam 1996: Organizational Mortality in a Declining Movement: The Demise of Peace Movement Organizations in the End of the Cold War Era. *American Sociological Review*, 60, 908–27.

Edwards, Bob and McCarthy, John 2004: Resources and Social Movement Mobilization. In David A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 116–52.

Edwards, Bob, Foley, Michael W., and Diani, Mario (eds.) 2001: *Beyond Tocqueville: Social Capital, Civil Society, and Political Process in Comparative Perspective*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Einwohner, Rachel 2002: Bringing the Outsiders In: Opponents' Claims and the Construction of Animal Rights Activists' Identity. *Mobilization*, 7, 253–68.

Einwohner, Rachel 2003: Opportunity, Honor, and Action the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109, 650–75.

Eisinger, Peter K. 1973: The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities. *American Political Science Review*, 67, 11–28.

Elkington, John and Hailes, Julia 1988: *The Green Consumer Guide*. London: Gollancz.

Ellingson, Stephen 1995: Understanding the Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action: Public Debate and Rioting in Antebellum Cincinnati. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101, 100–44.

Elster, Jon 1998: Deliberation and Constitution Making. In J. Elster (ed.), *Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 97–122.

Emirbayer, Mustafa 1997: A Manifesto for a Relational Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 281–317.

Emirbayer, Mustafa and Goodwin, Jeff 1994: Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99, 1411–54.

Emirbayer, Mustafa and Mische, Ann 1998: What is Agency? *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 962–1023.

Ennis, James G. and Schreuer, Richard 1987: Mobilizing Weak Support for Social Movements: The Role of Grievance, Efficacy, and Cost. *Social Forces*, 66, 390–409.

Epstein, Barbara 1991: *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s*. Berkeley: University of California.

Epstein, Barbara 2000: Not Your Parents' Protest. *Dissent*, 47 (2), 8–11.

Epstein, Barbara 2001: Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Monthly Review*, 53(4), 1–14.

Erickson, Bonnie 1982: Networks, Ideologies, and Belief Systems. In P. Marsden and N. Lin (eds.), *Social Structure and Network Analysis*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 159–72.

Escobar, Arturo and Alvarez, Sonia (eds.) 1992: *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder, CO/Oxford: Westview Press.

Escobar, Edward, J. 1993: The Dialectic of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968–1971. *The Journal of American History*, March, 1483–1514.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta (ed.) 1993: *Changing Classes: Stratification and Mobility in Postindustrial Societies*. Thousand Oaks/London: Sage.

Etzioni, Amitai 1975: *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*. New York: Free Press.

Etzioni, Amitai 1985: Special Interest Groups versus Constituency Representation. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 8. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 171–95.

Evans, Geoffrey (ed.) 1999: *The End of Class Politics?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evans, Peter 2000: Fighting Marginalization with Transnational Networks. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29, 230–41.

Evans, Sara M. and Boyte, Harry C. 1986: *Free Spaces*. New York: Harper & Row.

Eyerman, Ron 1994: *Between Culture and Politics: Intellectuals and Modern Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew 1991: *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew 1994: Social Movements and Cultural Transformation: Popular Music in the 1960s. *Media, Culture and Society*, 17, 449–68.

Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew 1997: *Music and Social Movements*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fabbrini, Sergio 1986: *Neo-conservatorismo e politica americana*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Fabbrini, Sergio 1988: *Politica e mutamenti sociali*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Faber, Daniel 2004: Building a Transnational Environmental Justice Movement. In J. Bandy and J. Smith (eds.), *Coalitions Across Borders*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fantasia, Rick 1988: *Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action, and Contemporary American Workers*. Berkeley/London: University of California Press.

Fantasia, Rick and Hirsch, Eric 1995: Culture in Rebellion: The Appropriation and Transformation of the Veil in the Algerian Revolution. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 144–59.

Fantasia, Rick and Stepan-Norris, Judith 2004: The Labor Movement in Motion. In David A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 555–75.

Fantasia, Rick and Voss, Kim 2004: *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Farrell, James J. 1997: *The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism*. New York: Routledge.

Farro, Antimo 1986: *Conflitti sociali e città*. Milano: Angeli.

Farro, Antimo 1991: *La lente verde*. Milano: Angeli.

Farro, Antimo 2003: Le tournant italien. In M. Wieviorka (ed.), *Un autre monde . . .* Paris: Balland, 177–94.

Favre Pierre (ed.) 1990: *La Manifestation*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

Feagin, Joe R. and Capek, Stella M. 1991: Grassroots Movements in a Class Perspective. In P. C. Wasburn (ed.), *Research in Political Sociology*, vol. 5. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 27–53.

Featherstone, Mike (ed.) 1990: *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.

Featherstone, Mike 1987: Lifestyle and Consumer Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 4, 54–70.

Featherstone, Mike 1995: *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fedel, Giorgio 1989: Cultura e simboli politici. In A. Panebianco (ed.), *L'Analisi della politica*. Bologna: il Mulino, 365–90.

Fernandez, Roberto and McAdam, Doug 1988: Social Networks and Social Movements: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Mississippi Freedom Summer. *Sociological Forum*, 3, 357–82.

Fernandez, Roberto and McAdam, Doug 1989: Multiorganizational Fields and Recruitment to Social Movements. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *Organizing for Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 315–44.

Ferree, Myra Marx 1992: The Political Context of Rationality: Rational Choice Theory and Resource Mobilization. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 29–52.

Ferree, Myra Marx and Roth, Silke 1998: Gender, Class and the Interaction Between Social Movements. *Gender and Society*, 12, 626–48.

Ferree, Myra Marx and McClurg Mueller, Carol 2004: Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 576–607.

Ferree, Myra Marx, Gamson, William, Gerhards, Juergen, and Rucht, Dieter 2002: *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fillieule, Olivier (ed.) 1993a: Sociologie de la protestation. Les formes de l'action collective dans la France contemporaine. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Fillieule, Olivier 1993b: Conscience politique, persuasion et mobilisation des engagements. L'exemple du syndicat des chômeurs, 1983–1989. In Olivier Fillieule (ed.), *Sociologie de la protestation. Les formes de l'action collective dans la France contemporaine*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 123–55.

Fillieule, Olivier 2003: Local Environmental Politics in France: Case of the Louron Valley, 1984–1996. *French Politics*, 1, 305–30.

Fillieule, Olivier and Jobard, Fabien 1998: The Policing of Protest in France: Towards a Model of Protest Policing. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 70–90.

Finnegan, William 2003: Affinity Groups and the Movement Against Corporate Globalization. In J. Goodwin and J. M. Jasper (eds.), *The Social Movements Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 210–18.

Fireman, Bruce and Gamson, William A. 1979: Utilitarian Logic in the Resource Mobilization Perspective. In J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds.), *The Dynamics of Social Movements*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop, 8–44.

Flam, Helena 1990: Emotional "Man": I. The Emotional "Man" and the Problem of Collective Action. *International Sociology*, 5, 39–56.

Fischer, Frank 1993: Citizen Participation and the Democratization of Policy Expertise: From Theoretical Inquiry to Practical Cases. *Policy Sciences*, 26, 165–87.

Flam, Helena 1994a: A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Encounters between States and Anti-Nuclear Movements. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Antinuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 9–26.

Flam, Helena 1994b: Political Responses to the Anti-Nuclear Challenge: I. Standard Deliberative and Decision-Making Settings. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Antinuclear Movements.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 299–328.

Flam, Helena 1994c: Political Responses to the Anti-Nuclear Challenge: II. Democratic Experiences and the Use of Force. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Antinuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 329–54.

Flam, Helena (ed.) 1994d: *States and Anti-Nuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Flam, Helena 2001: *Pink, Purple, Green: Women's, Religious, Environmental and Gay/Lesbian Movements in Central Europe Today*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Follesdal, Andreas 2004: Political Consumerism as Chance and Challenge. In Michele Micheletti, Andreas Follesdal, and Dietlind Stolle (eds.), *Politics, Products and Markets: Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 3–20.

Foot, John M. 1996: The "Left Opposition" and the Crisis: Rifondazione Comunista and La Rete. In S. Gundle and S. Parker (eds.), *The New Italian Republic*. London/New York: Routledge, 173–88.

Forbes, James D. 1985: Organizational and Political Dimensions of Consumer Pressure Groups. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 8, 133–41.

Forno, Francesca 2004: *Protest in Italy from 1988 to 1997*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

Forno, Francesca and Ceccarini, Luigi forthcoming: Ethical Consumerism in Italy. *South European Society and Politics*.

Foucault, Michel 1977: *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon.

Foweraker, Joe 1995: *Theorizing Social Movements*. London: Pluto.

Fox, Jonathan and Brown, David L. (eds.) 1998: *The Struggle for Accountability*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Frank, Andre Gunder and Fuentes, Maria 1994: On Studying Cycles in Social Movements. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 17, 173–96.

Franklin, Mark, Mackie, Tom, and Valen, Henry (eds.) 1992: *Electoral Change*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Franzosi, Roberto 1995: *The Puzzle of Strikes: Class and State Strategies in Postwar Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Franzosi, Roberto 2004: *From Words to Numbers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Freeman, Jo 1979: Resource Mobilization and Strategy: A Model for Analyzing Social Movement Organizations. In M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy (eds.), *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishing, 167–89.

Freeman, Jo 1983a: A Model for Analyzing the Strategic Options of Social Movement Organizations. In J. Freeman (ed.), *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*. London: Longman, 193–210.

Freeman, Jo 1983b: On the Origins of Social Movements. In J. Freeman (ed.), *Social Movements of the Sixties and the Seventies*. New York: Longman, 8–30.

Freeman, Linton C. 1979: Centrality in Social Networks. I. Conceptual Clarifications. *Social Networks*, 1, 215–39.

Freschi, Anna Carola 2000: Comunità virtuali e partecipazione. Dall'antagonismo ai nuovi diritti. *Quaderni di Sociologia*, 23, 85–109.

Freschi, Anna Carola 2003: Dalla rete delle reti al movimento dei movimenti. Gli hacker e l'altra comunicazione. In D. della Porta and L. Mosca (eds.), *Globalizzazione e movimenti sociali*, 49–75. Roma: Manifestolibri.

Friberg, Mats and Hettne, Bjorn 1998: Local Mobilization and World System Politics. *International Social Science Journal*, 117, 341–60.

Friedman, Debra and McAdam, Doug 1992: Collective Identity and Activism. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 156–73.

Fuchs, Dieter and Rucht, Dieter 1994: Support for New Social Movements in Five Western European Countries. In C. Rootes and H. Davis (eds.), *A New Europe? Social Change and Political Transformation*. London: UCL Press, 86–111.

Fung, Archon and Wright, Erik Olin 2001: Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. *Politics and Society*, 29, 5–41.

Galaskiewicz, Joseph 1979: *Exchange Networks and Community Politics*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage.

Galaskiewicz, Joseph 1985: Interorganizational Relations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 11, 281–304.

Gale, Richard P. 1986: Social Movements and the State: The Environmental Movement, Counter-movement, and Governmental Agencies. *Sociological Perspectives*, 29, 202–40.

Gallagher, John and Bull, Chris 1996: *Perfect Enemies: The Religious Right, the Gay Movement, and the Politics of the 1990s*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Gallie, Duncan 1989: Social Inequalities and Class Radicalism in France and Britain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gallino, Luciano 1978a: Comportamento collettivo. In *Dizionario di sociologia*. Torino: UTET, 128–31.

Gallino, Luciano 1978b: Conflitto. In *Dizionario di Sociologia*. Torino: UTET, 156–61.

Gamson, Josh 1989: Silence, Death, and the Invisible Enemy: AIDS Activism and Social Movement "Newness." *Social Problems*, 36, 351–67.

Gamson, Josh 1995: Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma. *Social Problems*, 42, 390–407.

Gamson, William 1988: Political Discourse and Collective Action. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 219–46.

Gamson, William 1990: *The Strategy of Social Protest* (2nd edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth (original edition 1975).

Gamson, William 1992a: The Social Psychology of Collective Action. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 53–76.

Gamson, William 1992b: *Talking Politics*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gamson, William A. 2004: Bystanders, Public opinion and the Media. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 242–61.

Gamson, William A., Croteau, David, Hoynes, William, and Sasson, Theodore 1992: Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 373–93.

Gamson, William and Meyer, David S. 1996: Framing Political Opportunity. In D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 275–90.

Gamson, William and Modigliani, André 1989: Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 1–37.

Gamson, William and Wolfsfeld, Gadi 1993: Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *The Annals of the AAPSS*, 528, 114–25.

Gamson, William, Fireman, Bruce, and Rytina, Steve 1982: *Encounters with Unjust Authority*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Gans, Herbert 1979: Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1–20.

Garofalo, Reebee (ed.) 1992: *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements*. Boston: South End Press.

Gaventa, John 1982: *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Geary, Dick 1981: *European Labour Protest 1848–1939*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Geary, Dick 1989: Introduction. In D. Geary (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe Before 1914*. Oxford/New York: Berg.

Gelb, Joyce 1989: *Feminism and Politics: A Comparative Perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gelb, Joyce and Palley, Marian Lief (eds.) 1982: *Women and Public Policies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gellner, Ernest 1993: *Ragione e religione*. Milano: il Saggiatore (original edition *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, London: Routledge, 1992).

Gerhards, Jürgen 1991: Die Mobilisierung gegen die IWF- und Welt-banktagung in Berlin: Gruppen, Veranstaltungen, Diskurse. In Roland Roth and Dieter Rucht (eds.), *Neue soziale Bewegungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 213–34.

Gerhards, Jürgen 1993: *Neue Konfliktlinie in der Mobilisierung öffentlicher Meinung. Warum die IWF Tagung in Berlin 1988 zu einem öffentlichen Streitthema würde*. Berlin: Sigma.

Gerhards, Jürgen 1995: Framing-Dimensions and Framing-Strategies: Contrasting Ideal- and Real-type Frames. *Social Science Information*, 34, 225–48.

Gerhards, Jürgen and Rucht, Dieter 1992: Mesomobilization Contexts: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 555–96.

Gerlach, Luther 1971: Movements of Revolutionary Change: Some Structural Characteristics. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43, 813–36.

Gerlach, Luther 2001: The Structure of Social Movements: Environmental Activism and Its Opponents. In J. Arquilla and D. Ronfeldt (eds.), *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 289–310.

Gerlach, Luther and Hine, Virginia 1970: *People, Power and Change*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Giddens, Anthony 1983: La società europea negli anni ottanta: Divisioni di classe, conflitto di classe e diritti di cittadinanza. In G. Pasquino (ed.), *Le società complesse*. Bologna: il Mulino, 153–200.

Giddens, Anthony 1990: *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge/Stanford, CA: Polity Press/Stanford University Press.

Gill, Stephen 2000: Toward a Postmodern Prince? The Battle of Seattle as a Moment in the New Politics of Globalisation. *Millennium*, *29* (1), 131–40.

Ginsborg, Paul 1990: *Italy Since 1943*. London: Penguin.

Girling, John 2004: *Social Movements and Symbolic Power: Radicalism, Reform and the Trial of Democracy in France*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Gitlin, Todd 1980: *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley/Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Giugni, Marco 1996: Federalismo e movimenti sociali. In *Rivista italiana di scienza politica*, *26*, 147–71.

Giugni, Marco 1998: The Other Side of the Coin: Crossnational Similarities between Social Movements. *Mobilization*, *3*, 89–105.

Giugni, Marco 2004: *Social Protest and Policy Change*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Giugni, Marco and Passy, Florence (eds.) 2001. *Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Giugni, Marco and Passy, Florence 1998: Contentious Politics in Complex Societies: New Social Movements between Conflict and Cooperation. In Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly (eds.), *From Contention to Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 81–107.

Giugni, Marco, McAdam, Doug, and Tilly, Charles (eds.) 1999: *How Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Goffman, Erving 1974: *Frame Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goldstein, Robert J. 1983: *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*. London: Croom Helm.

Goldstone, Jack A. 1991: *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Goldstone, Jack A. 2003: Introduction: Bridging Institutionalized and Noninstitutionalized Politics. In Jack A. Goldstone (ed.), *States, Parties and Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–25.

Goldthorpe, John H. 1982: On the Service Class, Its Formation and Future. In A. Giddens and G. Mackenzie (eds.), *Social Class and the Division of Labour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, Jeff and Pfaff, Steven 2001: Emotion Work in High-Risk Social Movements: Managing Fear in the U.S. and East German Civil Rights Movements. In J. Goodwin, J. Jasper, and F. Polletta (eds.), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 282–302.

Goodwin, Jeff and Jasper, James J. 2004a: Caught in a Winding. Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory. In Jeff Goodwin and James J. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements. Structure, Meaning and Emotions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 3–30.

Goodwin, Jeff and Jasper, James J. 2004b, Trouble in Paradigms. In Jeff Goodwin and James J. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 75–93.

Goodwin, Jeff, Jasper, James M., and Polletta, Francesca (eds.) 2001: *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goodwin, Jeff, Jasper, James M., and Polletta, Francesca 2004: Emotional Dimensions of Social Movements. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 413–32.

Gould, Deborah 2002: Strategic Framing, Emotions, and Superbarrio – Mexico City's Masked Crusader. *Mobilization*, 7 (2), 201–16.

Gould, Roger V. 1991: Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune 1871. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 716–29.

Gould, Roger V. 1993a: Trade Cohesion, Class Unity, and Urban Insurrection: Artisanal Activism in the French Commune. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 721–54.

Gould, Roger V. 1993b: Collective Action and Network Structure. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 182–96.

Gould, Roger V. 1995: *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Gould, Roger V. 2003: Why do Networks Matter? Rationalist and Structuralist Interpretations. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 233–57.

Gouldner, Alvin 1979: *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*. New York: Continuum.

Grand, Steve and Kull, Steven 2002: *Worldviews 2002: American and European Public Opinion & Foreign Policy: Final Report*. www.worldviews.org/detailreports/compreport.pdf.

Granovetter, Mark 1973: The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360–80.

Granovetter, Mark 1978: Threshold Models of Collective Behavior. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, 1420–43.

Granovetter, Mark 1985: Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 481–510.

Grant, W., Perl, A., and Knoepfel P. (eds.) 1999: *The Politics of Improving Urban Air Quality*. Aldershot, UK: Edward Elgar.

Grazioli, Marco and Lodi, Giovanni 1984: La mobilitazione collettiva negli anni ottanta: Tra condizione e convinzione. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*, Bologna: il Mulino, 267–313.

Gret, Marion and Sintomer, Yves 2002: *Porto Alegre. L'éspoir d'une autre démocratie*. Paris: La Découverte.

Gronmo, Sigmund 1987: The Strategic Position of Consumers in the Information Society. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 10, 43–67.

Gulati, Ranjay and Gargiulo, Martin 1999: Where Do Interorganizational Networks Come From? *American Journal of Sociology*, 104, 1439–93.

Gundle, Stephen and Parker, Simon (eds.) 1996: *The New Italian Republic: From the Fall of the Berlin Wall to Berlusconi*. London/New York: Routledge.

Gurak, Laura J. and Logie, John 2003: Internet Protests, from Text to Web. In M. McCaughey and M. D. Ayers (eds.), *Cyberactivism. Online Activism in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 25–46.

Gurr, Ted R. 1970: *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gurr, Ted R. and Harff, Barbara 1994: *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Gusfield, Joseph 1962: Mass Society and Extremist Politics. *American Sociological Review*, 27, 19–30.

Gusfield, Joseph 1963: *Symbolic Crusade*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Gusfield, Joseph 1968: The Study of Social Movements. In D. L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Collier & Macmillan, 445–52.

Gusfield, Joseph 1981: Social Movements and Social Change: Perspectives of Linearity and Fluidity. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, Vol. 4. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 317–39.

Gusfield, Joseph 1989: Constructing Ownership of Social Problems: Fun and Profit in the Welfare State. *Social Problems*, 36, 431–41.

Gusfield, Joseph 1994: The Reflexivity of Social Movements: Collective Behavior and Mass Society Theory Revisited. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 58–78.

Haas, Ernst B. 1964: *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Haas, Peter M. 1992: Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination. *International Organization*, 46, 1–37.

Habermas, Jürgen 1976: *Legitimation Crisis*. London: Heinemann.

Habermas, Jürgen 1978: *Knowledge and Human Interests*. London: Heinemann.

Habermas, Jürgen 1981: *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Habermas, Jürgen 1987: *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Habermas, Jürgen 1989: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Habermas, Jürgen 1996: *Between Facts and Norms: Contribution to a Discursive Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hägerstrand, Torsten 1967: *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Haines, Herbert H. 1988: *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights Mainstream, 1954–1970*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Hainsworth, Paul (ed.) 1992: *The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA*. London: Pinter.

Hajer, Maarten and Kesselring, Sven 1999: Democracy in the Risk Society? *Environmental Politics*, 8 (3), 1–23.

Hall, Richard 1982: *Organizations: Structure and Process*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Hampton, Keith and Wellmann, Barry 2001: Long Distance Community in the Network Society. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45, 477–96.

Hanagan, Michael 1998a: Social Movements. Incorporation, Disengagement, and Opportunities – A Long View. In Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly (eds.), *From Contention to Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 3–31.

Hanagan, Michael 1998b: Irish Transnational Movements, Deterritorialized Migrants, and the State. *Mobilization*, 3, 107–26.

Hannigan, John 1995: *Environmental Sociology*. London/New York: Routledge.

Hargreaves Heap, Shaun, Hollis, Martin, Lyons, Bruce, Sugden, Robert, and Weale, Albert 1992: *The Theory of Choice: A Critical Guide*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Hathaway, Will and Meyer, David S. 1993–4: Competition and Cooperation in Social Movement Coalitions: Lobbying for Peace in the 1980s. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 38, 157–83.

Haunss, Sebastian and Leach, Darcy K. 2004: Scenes and Social Movements. Paper for the ECPR Annual Sessions of Workshops, Uppsala, 13–18 April.

Haydu, Jeffrey 1999: Counter Action Frames: Employer Repertoires and the Union Menace in the Late Nineteenth Century. *Social Problems*, 313–31.

Heath Anthony, Jowell, Roger, Curtice, John, Evans, Geoffrey, Field, John, and Whiterspoon, S. 1991: *Understanding Political Change: The British Voter 1946–1987*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Hechter, Michael 1975: *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1989a: Collective Action and the Second-Order Free-Rider Problem. *Rationality and Society*, 1, 78–100.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1989b: Collective Sanctions and the Creation of Prisoner's Dilemma Norms. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 535–562.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1990: Collective Sanctions and Compliance Norms: A Formal Theory of Group-Mediated Social Control. *American Sociological Review*, 55, 366–84.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1991: Extensions of the Prisoner's Dilemma Paradigm: The Altruist's Dilemma and Group Solidarity. *Sociological Theory*, 9, 34–52.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1993: Collective Action and Group Heterogeneity: Voluntary Provision versus Selective Incentives. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 329–50.

Heckathorn, Douglas D. 1996: The Dynamics and Dilemmas of Collective Action. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 250–77.

Hedström, Peter 1994: Contagious Collectivities: On the Spatial Diffusion of Swedish Trade Unions, 1890–1940. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99, 1157–79.

Hedström, Peter and Swedberg, Richard (eds.) 1998: *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hedström, Peter, Sandell, Rickard, and Stern, Charlotta 2000: Mesolevel Networks and the Diffusion of Social Movements: The Case of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106, 145–72.

Heiberg, Marianne 1989: *The Making of the Basque Nation*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Heirich, Max 1971: *The Spiral of Conflict: Berkeley 1964*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Held, David, and McGrew, Anthony 2000: *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Held, David, McGrew, Anthony, Goldblatt, David, and Perraton, Jonathan 1999: *Global Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hellman, Judith 1987: *Journeys among Women: Feminism in Five Italian Cities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Herman, Didi 1997: *The Antigay Agenda: Orthodox Vision and the Christian Right*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Hertz, Noreena 2001: *The Silent Takeover: Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy*. London: Heinemann.

Hewitt, Lyndi and McCammon, Holly 2004: Explaining Suffrage Mobilization: Balance, Neutralization, and Range in Collective Action Frames. *Mobilization*, 9, 149–66.

Hick, Steven, and McNutt, John 2002: Communities and Advocacy on the Internet: A Conceptual Framework. In S. Hick and J. McNutt (eds.), *Advocacy, Activism and the Internet*. Chicago: Lyceum Books, 3–18.

Hilgartner, Stephen and Bosk, Charles L. 1988: The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 53–78.

Hinckley, Barbara 1981: *Coalitions and Politics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Hipsher, Patricia L. 1998: Democratic Transitions as Protest Cycles: Social Movement Dynamics in Democratizing Latin America. In David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *The Social Movement Society*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 153–72.

Hirsch, Eric L. 1990: Sacrifice for the Cause: The Impact of Group Processes on Recruitment and Commitment in Protest Movements. *American Sociological Review*, 55, 243–54.

Hirsch, Joachim 1988: The Crisis of Fordism, Transformations of The "Keynesian" Security State, and New Social Movements. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 10, 43–55.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1982: *Shifting Involvements: Private Interests and Public Action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hirst, Paul 1994: *Associative Democracy: New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, 1952, The Machine Breakers. *Past and Present*, 1, 57–70.

Hobsbawm, Eric 1991: *Nazioni e nazionalismo dal 1780: Programma, mito, realtà*. Turin: Einaudi. (Original edition *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.)

Hobsbawm, Eric 1994: *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991*. London: Penguin.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds.) 1983: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman, Lily M. 1989: *The Politics of Knowledge: Activist Movements in Medicine and Planning*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Horton, Lynne 2004: Constructing Conservative Identity: Peasant Mobilization Against Revolution in Nicaragua. *Mobilization*, 9, 167–80.

Hourigan, Niahm 2003: *Escaping the Global Village: Media, Language and Protest*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Howard, Judith A. 2000: Social Psychology of Identities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 367–93.

Hunt, Lynn 1984: *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hunt, Scott A. 1992: Critical Dramaturgy and Collective Rhetoric: Cognitive and Moral Order in the Communist Manifesto. *Perspectives on Social Problems*, 3, 1–18.

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

Hunt, Scott A. and Benford, Robert D. 2004: Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 694–715.

Hunt, Scott A., Benford, Robert D. and Snow, David A. 1994: Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. R. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 185–208.

Hunter, Floyd 1953: *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Huntington, Samuel 1993: The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 22–49.

Huntington, Samuel 1996: *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Ibarra, Pedro 1995: Nuevas Formas de Comportamiento Politico: Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales. *Inuruak: Revista Vasca de Sociologia y Ciencias Politica*, 13, 39–60.

Ignazi, Piero 1994: *L'estrema destra in europa*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Ignazi, Piero and Ysmal, Colette 1992: New and Old Extreme Right-wing Parties: The French Front National and the Italian Movimento Sociale. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22, 101–20.

Imig, Doug and Tarrow, Sidney (eds.) 2001a: *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Imig, Doug, and Tarrow, Sidney 2001b: La contestation politique dans l'Europe en formation. In R. Balme, D. Chabanet, and V. Wright (eds.), *L'action collective en Europe*. Paris: Presses De Science Po, 195–223.

Inglehart, Ronald 1977: *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald 1985: New Perspectives on Value Change. *Comparative Political Studies*, 17, 485–532.

Inglehart, Ronald 1990a: *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald 1990b: Values, Ideology, and Cognitive Mobilization in New Social Movements. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 43–66.

Inglehart, Ronald 1997: *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald 1999: Globalization and Postmodern Values. *The Washington Quarterly*, 23, 215–28.

Inglehart, Ronald and Abramson, Paul R. 1994: Economic Security and Value Change. *American Political Science Review*, 88, 336–54.

Inglehart, Ronald and Baker, Wayne 2000: Modernization, Globalization, and the Persistence of Tradition: Empirical Evidence from 65 Countries. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 19–55.

Inglehart, Ronald and Catterberg, Gabriela 2002: Trends in Political Action: The Developmental Trend and the Post-Honeymoon Decline, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 43, 300–16.

Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pippa 2003: *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald and Norris, Pippa 2005: *Secular and Sacred*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Isaac, Larry and Christiansen, Lars 2002: How the Civil Rights Movement Revitalized Labor Militancy. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 722–46.

Jackson, John Harold and Morgan, C. P. 1978: *Organizational Theory: A Macroperspective for Management*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Jamison, Andrew and Eyerman, Ron 1994: *Seeds of the Sixties*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Jamison, Andrew, Eyerman, Ron, and Cramer, Jacqueline 1990: *The Making of the New Environmental Consciousness: A Comparative Study of the Environmental Movements in Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Janda, Kenneth 1970: *A Conceptual Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Political Parties*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Jansen, Robert 2003: Resurrection and Reappropriation: Political Uses of Historical Figures in Comparative Perspective. Unpublished paper. Los Angeles: UCLA.

Jasper, James 1997: *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jasper, James M. and Nelkin, Dorothy 1992: *The Animal Rights Crusade: The Growth of a Moral Protest*. New York: Free Press.

Jasper, James M. and Poulsen, Jane 1995: Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Right and Anti-Nuclear Protests. *Social Problems*, 42, 493–512.

Jenkins, J. Craig 1983: Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 527–53.

Jenkins, J. Craig 1985: *The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Klandermans, Bert 1995: The Politics of Social Protest. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 3–13.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Leicht, Kevin 1997: *Class Analysis and Social Movements: A Critique and Reformulation*. In John R. Hall (ed.), *Reworking Class*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 369–97.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Perrow, Charles 1977: Insurgency of the Powerless: The Farm Worker Movements 1946–1972. *American Sociological Review*, 42, 249–68.

Jennings, M. Kent, van Deth, Jan, Barnes, Samuel, Fuchs, Dieter, Heunks, Felix, Inglehart, Ronald, Kaase, Max, Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, and Thomassen, Jacques 1990: *Continuities in Political Action*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Jenson, Jane 1995: What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota/UCL Press, 107–26.

Johnson, Erik and McCarthy, John 2005: The Sequencing of Transnational and National Social Movement Mobilization: The Organizational Mobilization of the Global and U.S. Environmental Movements. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 71–93.

Johnston, Hank 1980: The Marketed Social Movement: The Case of TM. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 23, 333–54.

Johnston, Hank 1991a: Antecedents of Coalition: Frame Alignment and Utilitarian Unity in the Catalan Anti-Francoist Opposition. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 13. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 241–59.

Johnston, Hank 1991b: *Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia, 1939–1979*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Johnston, Hank 1994: New Social Movements and Old Regional Nationalisms. In E. Larana, H. Johnston and J. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 267–86.

Johnston, Hank 1995a: A Methodology for Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schemata. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 217–46.

Johnston, Hank 1995b: The Trajectory of Nationalist Movements: Catalan and Basque Comparisons. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 23, 231–49.

Johnston, Hank 2002: Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis. In B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg (eds.), *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 62–91.

Johnston, Hank and Aarelaid-Tart, Aili 2000: Generations and Collective Action in Authoritarian Regimes: the Estonian National Opposition, 1940–1990. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43, 671–98.

Johnston, Hank and Klandermans, Bert (eds.) 1995: *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press.

Jones, Andrew, Hutchinson, Richard, van Dyke, Nella, and Gates, Leslie 2001: Coalition Form and Mobilization Effectiveness in Local Social Movements. *Sociological Spectrum*, 21, 207–31.

Joppke, Christian 1993: *Mobilizing against Nuclear Energy: A Comparison of Germany and the United States*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Joppke, Christian 1994: Revisionisms, Dissidence, Nationalism: Opposition in Leninist Regimes. *British Journal of Sociology*, 45, 543–61.

Jordan, Grant and Maloney, William 1997: *The Protest Business*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Jordan, John 2002: The Art of Necessity: The Subversive Imagination of Anti-Road Protests and Reclaim the Streets. In S. Duncombe (ed.), *The Cultural Resistance Reader*. London: Verso.

Jordan, Tim 1994: *Reinventing Revolution: Value and Difference in New Social Movements and the Left*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Jordan, Tim 2002: *Activism! Direct Action, Hacktivism and the Future of Society*. London: Reaktion Books.

Jünschke, Klaus 1988: *Spätlese: Texte zu Raf und Knast*. Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik.

Kaase, Max 1990: Social Movements and Political Innovation. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kaldor, Mary 2000: Civilizing Globalization? The Implication of the "Battle in Seattle." *Millennium*, 29, 100–14.

Kanter, Rosabeth M. 1968: Commitment and Social Organization: A Study of Commitment Mechanisms in Utopian Communities. *American Sociological Review*, 33, 499–517.

Kanter, Rosabeth M. 1972: Commitment and the Internal Organization of Millennial Movements. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 16, 219–43.

Kaplan, Jeffrey and Lööw, Heléne (eds.) 2002: *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

Kaplan, Laura 1995: *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Karstedt-Henke, Suzanne 1980: Theorien zur Erklärung terroristischer Bewegungen. In Erhard Blankenberg (ed.), *Politik der inneren Sicherheit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 198–234.

Katz, Daniel and Lazarsfeld, Paul 1955: *Personal Influence*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Katzenstein, Mary 1987: Comparing the Feminist Movements of the United States and Western Europe: An Overview. In Mary Katzenstein and Carol Mueller (eds.), *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 3–20.

Katzenstein, Mary Fainsod 1998: *Faithful and Fearless: Moving Feminist Protest inside the Church and Military*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Katzenstein, Peter J. 1985: *Small States in the World Market*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Keane, John (ed.) 1988: *Democracy and Civil Society*. London: Verso.

Keating, Michael 1988: *State and Regional Nationalism: Territorial Politics and the European State*. London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

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

Kertzer, David 1988: *Rituals, Politics, and Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kertzer, David 1996: *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Khagram, Sanjeev, V. Riker, Jamev, and Sikkink, Kathryn (eds.) 2002: *Reconstructing World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Khawaja, Marwan 1994: Resource Mobilization, Hardship, and Popular Collective Action in the West Bank. *Social Forces*, 73, 191–220.

Kielbowicz, Richard B. and Scherer, Clifford 1986: The Role of the Press in the Dynamics of Social Movements. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 9, 71–96.

Killian, Lewis 1964: Social Movements. In Robert E. Farris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 426–45.

Killian, Lewis 1984: Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 770–83.

Kim, Hyojoung 2002: Shame, Anger, and Love in Collective Action: Emotional Consequences of Suicide Protest in South Korea, 1991. *Mobilization*, 7, 159–76.

Kim, Hyojoung and Bearman, Peter S. 1997: The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 70–93.

Kimeldorf, Howard and Stepan-Norris, Judith 1992: Historical Studies of Labor Movements in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 495–517.

Kinnear, Ralph 1990: Visions of Europe: An Eco-Dynamic Approach to Ethno-Linguistic Conflict, Self-Organisation and the Role of the State. Unpublished paper. London School of Economics, London.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1985: New Social Movements in West Germany and the United States. *Political Power and Social Theory*, 5, 273–342.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1986: Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, 57–85.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1989: *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1990: New Social Movements and the Decline of Party Organization. In R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 179–208.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1993: Social Movements, Political Parties, and Democratic Theory. *The Annals of the AAPSS*, 528, 13–29.

Kitschelt, Herbert 1995: *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis* (in collaboration with Anthony J. McGann). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Hellemans, Staff 1990: *Beyond the European Left: Ideology and Political Action in the Belgian Ecology Parties*. Durham NC/London: Duke University Press.

Kitts, James 2000: Mobilizing in Black Boxes: Social Networks and SMO Participation. *Mobilization*, 5, 241–57.

Klandermans, Bert (ed.) 1989: *Organizing For Change: Social Movement Organizations Across Cultures.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

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

Klandermans, Bert 1988: The Formation and Mobilization of Consensus. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 173–96.

Klandermans, Bert 1989a: Grievance Interpretation and Success Expectations: The Social Construction of Protest. *Social Behavior*, 4, 113–25.

Klandermans, Bert 1989b: Introduction: Social Movement Organizations and the Study of Social Movements. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *Organizing for Change.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–17.

Klandermans, Bert 1990: Linking the "Old" and "New": Movement Networks in the Netherlands. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 122–36.

Klandermans, Bert 1997: *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Klandermans, Bert, Kriesi, Hanspeter and Tarrow, Sidney (eds.) 1988: *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research across Cultures.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Klandermans, Bert, Roefs, Marlene, and Olivier, Johan 1998: A Movement Takes Office. In David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *The Social Movement Society*. New York, Rowman and Littlefield, 173–195.

Klandermans, Bert, and Staggenborg, Suzanne (eds.) 2002: *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Klandermans, Bert and Tarrow, Sidney 1988: Mobilization into Social Movements: Synthesizing European and American Approaches. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–40.

Kleidman, Robert 1993: *Organizing for Peace: Neutrality, the Test Ban, and the Freeze*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Klein, Ethel 1984: *Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Klein, Naomi 1999: *No Logo*. New York: HarperCollins.

Klein, Naomi 2002: *Fences and Windows: Dispatches From the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate*. London: Flamingo.

Klotz, Audie 1995: *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle against Apartheid*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kniss, Fred and Burns, Gene 2004: Religious Movements. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 413–32.

Knoke, David 1983: Organization Sponsorship and Influence Reputation of Social Influence Associations. *Social Forces*, 61, 1065–87.

Knoke, David 1990a: *Organizing for Collective Action: The Political Economies of Associations*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Knoke, David 1990b: *Political Networks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knoke, David 1990c: Networks of Political Action: Toward Theory Construction. *Social Forces*, 68, 1041–63.

Knoke, David and Kuklinski, James H. 1982: *Network Analysis*. London/Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Knoke, David and Wisely, Nancy 1990: Social Movements. In D. Knoke, *Political Networks*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 57–84.

Knoke, David and Wood, James R. 1981: *Organized for Action: Commitment in Voluntary Associations*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Koelble, Thomas A. 1991: *The Left Unraveled: Social Democracy and the New Left Challenge in Britain*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Koestler, Arthur 1969: *The Invisible Writing*. New York: Stein and Day.

Kolb, Felix 2005: The Impact of Transnational Protest on Social Movement Organizations: Mass Media and the Making of ATTAC. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 95–120.

Koopmans, Ruud 1990: Bridging the Gap: The Missing Link between Political Opportunity Structure and Movement Action. Paper presented at the Twelfth World Congress of the International Sociological Association, Madrid.

Koopmans, Ruud 1993: The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 637–58.

Koopmans, Ruud 1995: *Democracy from Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Koopmans, Ruud 1996a: Explaining the Rise of Racist and Extreme Right Violence in Western Europe: Grievances or Opportunities? *European Journal of Political Research*, 30, 185–216.

Koopmans, Ruud 1996b: New Social Movements and Changes in Political Participation in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 19, 28–50.

Koopmans, Ruud 1997: Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization: The German Extreme Right in the 1990s. *Mobilization*, 2, 149–65.

Koopmans, Ruud 2004: Political Opportunity Structure: Some Splitting to Balance the Lumping. In Goodwin, Jeff and James J. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 61–74.

Koopmans, Ruud and Duyvendak, Jan-Willem 1995: The Political Construction of the Nuclear Energy Issue and Its Impact on the Mobilization of Anti-Nuclear Movements in Western Europe. *Social Problems*, 42, 201–18.

Koopmans, Ruud and Rucht, Dieter 1995: *Social Movement Mobilization under Right and Left Governments: A Look at Four West European Countries*, Discussion Paper FS III: 95–106, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

Koopmans, Ruud and Statham, Paul 1999: Ethnic and Civic Conceptions of Nationhood and the Differential Success of the Extreme Right in Germany and Italy. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam and C. Tilly (eds.), *How Movements Matter*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 225–51.

Kornhauser, A. 1959: *The Politics of Mass Society*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Kousis, Maria and Tilly, Charles 2004: Introduction: Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective. In Maria Kousis and Charles Tilly (eds.), *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 1–11.

Krackhardt, David and Porter, Lyman W. 1985: When Friends Leave: A Structural Analysis of the Relationship between Turnover and Stayer's Attitudes. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30, 242–61.

Krasniewicz, Louise 1992: *Nuclear Summer: The Clash of Communities at the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1984: *Die Zürcher Bewegung: Bilder, Interaktionen, Zusammenhänge*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1988a: The Interdependence of Structure and Action: Some Reflections on the State of the Art. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 349–68.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1988b: Local Mobilization for the People's Petition of the Dutch Peace Movement. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 41–82.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1989a: The Political Opportunity Structure of the Dutch Peace Movement. *West European Politics*, 12, 295–312.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1989b: New Social Movements and the New Class in the Netherlands. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 1078–1116.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1991: *The Political Opportunity Structure of New Social Movements*, Discussion Paper FS III: 91–103. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1992: Support and Mobilisation Potential for New Social Movements. In M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds.), *Studying Collective Action*. Newbury Park/London: Sage, 22–54.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1993: *Political Mobilization and Social Change: The Dutch Case in Comparative Perspective*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1995: The Political Opportunity Structure of New Social Movements: Its Impact on Their Mobilization. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 167–98.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 1996: The Organizational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 152–84.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 2003: The Transformation of the National Political Space in a Globalizing World. In P. Ibarra (ed.), *Social Movements and Democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 195–210.

Kriesi, Hanspeter 2004: Political Context and Opportunity. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 67–90.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Koopmans, Ruud, Duyvendak, Jan-Willem, and Giugni, Marco 1995: *New Social Movements in Western Europe*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter and van Praag, Philip 1987: Old and New Politics: The Dutch Peace Movement and the Traditional Political Organizations. *European Journal of Political Research*, 15, 319–46.

Kumar, Krishan 1995: *From Post-industrial to Post-modern Society*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Kumar, Krishan 2005: *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society* (2nd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.

Kurzman, Charles 2004: The Poststructuralist Consensus in Social Movement Theory. In Goodwin, Jeff and James J. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotions*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 111–20.

Kuumba, M. Bahati and Ajanaku, Femi 1998: Dreadlocks: Hair Aesthetics and Cultural Resistance. *Mobilization*, 3, 227–43.

Lacey, Nicola, Wells, Celia, and Meure, Dirk 1990: *Reconstructing Criminal Law: Critical Perspectives on Crime and the Criminal Process*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Lahusen, Christian 2004: Joining the Cocktail Circuit: Social Movement Organizations at the European Union, *Mobilization*, 1, 55–71.

Lalli, Pina 1995: *L'ecologia del pensatore dilettante*. Bologna: Clueb.

Lang, Kurt and Lang, Gladys 1961: *Collective Dynamics*. New York: Thomas & Crowell.

Langman, Lauren 2004: Hegemony Lost: Understanding Islamic Fundamentalism. In T. E. Reifer (ed.), *Globalization, Hegemony and Power*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 181–206.

Larana, Enrique, Johnston, Hank, and Gusfield, Joe (eds.) 1994: *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Lash, Scott and Urry, John 1987: *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

Lash, Scott, Szerszynski, Bron, and Wynne, Brian (eds.) 1996: *Risk, Environment, and Modernity*. Thousand Oaks/London: Sage.

Latouche, Serge 1989: *L'occidentalisation du monde: Essai sur la signification, la portée et les limites de l'uniformisation planétaire*. Paris: La Découverte.

Laumann, Edward O. and Knoke, David 1987: The *Organizational State: Social Choice in National Policy Domains*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Lavalette, Michael and Mooney, Gerry (eds.) 2000: *Class Struggle and Social Welfare*. London: Routledge.

Lawson, Robert 1983: A Decentralized but Moving Pyramid: The Evolution and Consequences of the Structure of the Tenant Movement. In J. Freeman (ed.), *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*. London: Longman, 119–32.

Lehmbruch, Gerhard 1977: Liberal Corporatism and Party Government. *Comparative Political Studies*, 10, 91–126.

Lemert, Charles 1994: Dark Thoughts About the Self. In C. Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 100–29.

Lémieux, Vincent 1997: Reseaux et coalitions. *L'année sociologique*, 47, 55–72.

Lémieux, Vincent 1998: *Les coalitions: Liens, transactions et contrôles*. Paris: PUF.

Lenart, Silvo 1993: *Shaping Political Attitudes: The Impact of Interpersonal Communication and Mass Media*. Thousand Oaks/London, Sage.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilich 1961 [1902]: What Is to Be Done? In *Collected Works*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 347–530.

Levi, Margaret, and Olson, David 2000: The Battles in Seattle. *Politics & Society*, 28 (3), 309–29.

Lewis, Tammy L. 2000: Transnational Conservation Movement Organizations. *Mobilization*, 5, 105–23.

Lichterman, Paul 1995a: *The Search for Political Community: American Activists Reinventing Commitment*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lichterman, Paul 1995b: Piecing Together Multicultural Community: Cultural Differences in Community Building among Grass-Roots Environmentalists. *Social Problems*, 42, 513–34.

Lidskog, Rolf 1996: In Science We Trust? On the Relation between Scientific Knowledge, Risk Consciousness and Public Trust. *Acta Sociologica*, 39, 31–56.

Lijphart, Arendt 1984: *Democracies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lindgren, Elaine H. 1987: The Informal-Intermittent Organization: A Vehicle for Successful Citizen Protest. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Research*, 23, 397–412.

Lipset, Seymour M. and Rokkan, Stein (eds.) 1967: *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin 1960: *Political Man*. New York: Anchor Books.

Lipsky, Michael 1965: *Protest and City Politics*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.

Lipsky, Michael 1970: Introduction. In M. Lipsky (ed.), *Law and Order: Police Encounters*. New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1–7.

Livesay, Jeff 2003: The Duality of Systems: Networks as Media and Outcomes of Movement Mobilization. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 22, 185–224.

Lo, Clarence Y. H. 1982: Countermovements and Conservative Movements in the Contemporary US. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 8, 107–34.

Lo, Clarence Y. H. 1990: *Small Property, Big Government: Social Origins of the Property Tax Revolt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lodhi, A. Q. and Tilly, Charles 1973: Urbanization, Crime and Collective Violence in Nineteenth-Century France. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79, 296–318.

Lodi, Giovanni 1984: *Uniti e diversi: Le mobilitazioni per la pace nell'Italia degli anni ottanta*. Milano: Unicopli.

Lodi, Giovanni and Grazioli, Marco 1984: Giovani sul territorio urbano: l'Integrazione minimale. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*. Bologna: il Mulino, 63–126.

Lofland, John 1985a: Becoming a World-Saver Revisited. In John Lofland, *Protest: Studies of Collective Behavior and Social Movements*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 147–57.

Lofland, John 1985b: Social Movement Culture. In J. Lofland, *Protest: Studies of Collective Behavior and Social Movements*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 219–39.

Lofland, John 1989: Consensus Movements: City Twinnings and Derailed Dissent in the American Eighties. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 11, 163–96.

Lofland, John 1995: Charting Degrees of Movement Culture: Tasks of the Cultural Cartographer. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 188–216.

Lofland, John 1996: *Social Movement Organizations*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Lofland, John and Skonovd, Norman 1985: Conversion Motifs. In J. Lofland, *Protest: Studies of Collective Behavior and Social Movements*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 158–71.

Lovenduski, Joni and Randall, Vicky 1993: *Contemporary Feminist Politics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Lovendusky, Joni 1986: *Women and European Politics: Contemporary Feminism and Public Policy*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachussets Press.

Lowe, Philip D. and Goyder, Jane M. 1983: *Environmental Groups in Politics*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Lowe, Stuart 1986: *Urban Social Movements: The City after Castells*. London: Macmillan.

Lowi, Theodor 1971: *The Politics of Disorder*. New York: Norton.

Lubeck, Paul M. and Reifer, Thomas E. 2004: The Politics of Global Islam. In T.E. Reifer (ed.), *Globalization, Hegemony and Power*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 162–80.

Luker, Kristin 1984: *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lumley, Robert 1990: *States of Emergency*. London: Verso.

Lyons, Matthew Nemiroff 1988: The "Grassroots" Network: Radical Nonviolence in the Federal Republic of Germany 1972–1985. *Cornell Studies In International Affairs – Western Societies Papers 20*, Ithaca: Cornell University.

Mach, Zdzislaw 1993: *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Macy, Michael W. 1990: Learning-Theory and the Logic of Critical Mass. *American Sociological Review*, 55, 809–26.

Macy, Michael W. 1991: Chains of Cooperation: Threshold Effects in Collective Action. *American Sociological Review*, 56, 730–47.

Macy, Michael W. 1993: Backward-Looking Social-Control. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 819–36.

Maffesoli, Michel 1995: *The Time of Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Maguire, Diarmuid 1993: Protesters, Counterprotesters, and the Authorities. *The Annals of the AAPSS*, 528, 101–13.

Maguire, Diarmuid 1995: Opposition Movements and Opposition Parties: Equal Partners or Dependent Relations in the Struggle for Power and Reform? In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Maheu, Louis (ed.) 1995: *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Manconi, Luigi 1990: *Solidarietà, egoismo: Movimenti, buone azioni, nuovi conflitti*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Mannheim, Karl 1946: *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Mannheimer, Renato and Sani, Giacomo 1987: *Il mercato elettorale: Identikit dell'elettore italiano*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Mansbridge, Jane 1996: Using Power/Fighting Power: The Polity. In Seyla Benhabib (ed.), *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 46–66.

Mansbridge, Jane J. 1986: *Why We Lost the ERA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Manza, Jeff and Brooks, Clem 1996: Does Class Analysis Still Have Anything to Contribute to the Study of Politics? – Comments. *Theory and Society*, 25, 717–24.

Maraffi, Marco (ed.) 1981: *La società neo-corporativa*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Markoff, John 1996: *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage/Pine Forge Press.

Marks, Gary 1989: *Union in Politics: Britain, Germany and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Marks, Gary and McAdam, Doug 1998: Social Movements and the Changing Political Opportunity in the European Community. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York/London: Longman.

Marks, Gary and McAdam, Doug 1999: On the Relationship of the Political Opportunities to the Form of Collective Action. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York/London: Longman, 97–111.

Marsden, Peter V. and Lin, Nan (eds.) 1982: *Social Structure and Network Analysis*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage.

Marshall, T. H. 1976: *Cittadinanza e classe sociale*. Turin: Utet. (Original edition Citizenship and Social Class. In T. H. Marshall and T. Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*, London: Pluto Press, 1992 [1950], 3–51.)

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

Marwell, Gerard and Ames, Ruth E. 1979: Experiments on the Provision of Public Goods, I. Resources, Interest, Group Size, and the Free Rider Problem. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 1335–60.

Marx Gary T. and Wood, James 1975: Strands of Theory and Research in Collective Behaviour. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1, 363–428.

Marx, Gary T. 1979: External Efforts to Damage or Facilitate Social Movements: Some Patterns, Explanations, Outcomes and Complications. In J. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds.), *The Dynamics of Social Movements*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishing, 94–125.

Maurer, Sophie 2001: *Les chômeurs en action (décembre 1997–mars 1998): Mobilisation collective et ressources compensatoire*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Maurer, Sophie et Pierru, Emmanuel 2001. Le mouvement des chômeurs de l'hiver 1997–1998: Retour sur un "miracle social." *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 512, 317–407.

Mayer, Robert N. 1989: *The Consumer Movement: Guardians of the Marketplace*. Boston: Twayne.

Mazey, Sonia and Richardson, Jeremy 1993: *Lobbying in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAdam, Doug 1982: *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency: 1930–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, Doug 1983: Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 735–54.

McAdam, Doug 1986: Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92, 64–90.

McAdam, Doug 1988a: Micromobilization Contexts and Recruitment to Activism. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 125–54.

McAdam, Doug 1988b: *Freedom Summer*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAdam, Doug 1994: Culture and Social Movements. In E. Larana, H. Hohnston, and J. R. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 36–57.

McAdam, Doug 1995: "Initiator" and "Spinoff" Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles. In M. Traugott (ed.), *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 217–39.

McAdam, Doug 1996: Conceptual Origins, current Problems, Future Dimensions. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 23–40.

McAdam, Doug 2003: Beyond Structural Analysis: Toward a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 281–98.

McAdam, Doug and Fernandez, Roberto 1990: Microstructural Bases of Recruitment to Social Movements. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research In Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 12. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–33.

McAdam, Doug, McCarthy, John, and Zald, Mayer N. (eds.) 1996: *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, McCarthy, John D., and Zald, Mayer N. 1988: Social Movements. In N. J. Smelser (ed.), *Handbook of Sociology*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 695–739.

McAdam, Doug and Paulsen, Ronnelle 1993: Specifying the Relationship between Social Ties and Activism. *American Journal of Sociology*, 99, 640–67.

McAdam, Doug and Rucht, Dieter 1993: The Cross-national Diffusion of Movement Ideas. *The Annals of the AAPSS*, 528, 56–74.

McAdam, Doug and Snow, David (eds.) 1996: *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury.

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

McAdam, Doug, Tarrow, Sidney and Tilly, Charles 1996: To Map Contentious Politics. *Mobilization*, 1, 17–34.

McAdam, Doug, Tarrow, Sidney, and Tilly, Charles 2001: *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAllister, Ian 1983: Social Contacts and Political Behavior in Northern Ireland, 1968–78. *Social Networks*, 5, 303–13.

McCaffrey, Dawn and Keys, Jennifer 2000: Competitive Framing Processes in the Abortion Debate: Polarization-Vilification, Frame Saving, and Frame Debunking. *Sociological Quarterly*, 41, 41–61.

McCammon, Holly 2001: Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment: The Formation of the State Woman Suffrage Organizations, 1866–1914. *Social Forces*, 80, 449–80.

McCarthy, John D. 1994: Activists, Authorities, and Media Framing of Drunk Driving. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. R. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 133–67.

McCarthy, John D. 1996: Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 141–51.

McCarthy, John D., Britt, David W., and Wolfson, Mark 1991: The Institutional Channeling of Social Movements by the State in the United States. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 13, 45–76.

McCarthy, John, McPhail, Clark, and Crist, John 1998: The Emergence and Diffusion of Public Order Management System: Protest Cycles and Police Response. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, forthcoming, New York/London: Longman.

McCarthy, John, McPhail, Clark, and Smith, Jackie 1996: Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 478–99.

McCarthy, John D. and Wolfson, Mark 1992: Consensus Movements, Conflict Movements, and the Cooptation of Civic and State Infrastructures. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 273–98.

McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. 1977: Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 1212–41.

McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. 1987a: The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization. In M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy, *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987, 337–91 (originally published as *The Trend of Social Movements in America*. Morristown: General Learning Press, 1973).

McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. 1987b: Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. In M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy, *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction (originally published in *American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (1977), 1212–41).

McCrea, Frances B. and Markle, Gerald E. 1989: Atomic Scientists and Protest: The Bulletin as a Social Movement Organization. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 11. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

McDonald, Kevin 2002: From Solidarity to Fluidarity: Social Movements Beyond "Collective Identity" – the Case of Globalization Conflicts. *Social Movement Studies*, 1, 109–28.

McFarland, Andrew 1984: *Common Cause: Lobbying in the Public Interest*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

McGarry, John (ed.) 2001: *Northern Ireland and the Divided World Post-Agreement Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McKay, George 1996: *Senseless Acts of Beauty: Cultures of Resistance since the 1960s*. London: Verso.

McPhail, Clark 1991: *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

McPhail, Clark, Schweingruber, David, and McCarthy, John D. 1998: Policing Protest in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.),

*Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 49–69.

McPherson, Miller 1983: An Ecology of Affiliation. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 519–32.

McPherson, Miller and Rotolo, Thomas 1996: Testing a Dynamic Model of Social Composition: Diversity and Change in Voluntary Groups. *American Sociological* Review, 61, 179–202.

McPherson, Miller, Popielarz, Pamela, and Drobnic, Sonja 1992: Social Networks and Organizational Dynamics. *American Sociological Review*, 57, 153–70.

McVeigh, Rory, Welch, Michael R., and Bjarnason, Thoroddur 2003: Hate crime Reporting as a Successful Social Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 68, 843–67.

Meadows, Donella H., Randers, Jorgen, and Behrens, Williams W. 1972: *The Limits to Growth*. London: Earth Island.

Melucci, Alberto 1982: *L'invenzione del presente: Movimenti, identità, bisogni individuali*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Melucci, Alberto (ed.) 1984a: *Altri codici: Aree di movimento nella metropoli*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Melucci, Alberto 1984b: Movimenti in un mondo di segni. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*. Bologna: il Mulino, 417–48.

Melucci, Alberto 1985: The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements. *Social Research*, 52, 789–816.

Melucci, Alberto 1987: *Libertà che cambia*. Milano: Unicopli.

Melucci, Alberto 1988: Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 329–48.

Melucci, Alberto 1989: *Nomads of the Present*. London: Hutchinson Radius.

Melucci, Alberto 1990: Challenging Codes. Framing and Ambivalence. Paper presented at the workshop, Social Movements: Framing Processes and Opportunity Structure, Berlin, July.

Melucci, Alberto 1991: *L'invenzione del presente* (2nd edition). Bologna: il Mulino.

Melucci, Alberto 1994: A Strange Kind of Newness: What's "New" in New Social Movements? In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 101–30.

Melucci, Alberto 1995: The Process of Collective Identity. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 41–63.

Melucci, Alberto 1996: *Challenging Codes*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Melucci, Alberto and Diani, Mario 1992: *Nazioni senza stato: I Movimenti etnico-nazionali in occidente* (2nd edition). Milano: Feltrinelli.

Mennell, Stephen 1994: The Formation of We-Images: A Process Theory. In C. Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 175–97.

Merelman, R. 1984: *Making Something of Ourselves: On Culture and Politics in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Meyer, David S. 1990: *A Winter of Discontent*. New York: Praeger.

Meyer, David S. 2004: Protest and Political Opportunities, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 125–145.

Meyer, David S. and Marullo, Sam 1992: Grassroots Mobilization and International Politics: Peace Protest and the End of the Cold War. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 14, 99–140.

Meyer, David S. and Staggenborg, Suzanne 1996: Movements, Countermovements and the Structure of Political Opportunities. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101, 1, 628–60.

Meyer, David S. and Tarrow, Sidney (eds.) 1998b: *The Social Movement Society*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littledfield.

Meyer, David S. and Tarrow, Sidney 1998a: A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for the New Cantury. In David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *The Social Movement Society*. Lahman, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1–28.

Meyer, David S. and Whittier, Nancy 1994: Social Movements Spillover. *Social Problems*, 41, 277–98.

Meyer, John W. and Rowan, Brian 1983: Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. In J. Mayer and W. R. Scott (eds.), *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 21–44.

Micheletti, Michele 2003: *Political Virtue and Shopping: Individuals, Consumerism, and Collective Action*. Palgrave: Macmillan.

Micheletti, Michele, Follesdal, Andreas, and Stolle, Dietlind 2003: *Politics, Products, and Markets: Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. Rutgers, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Michels, Robert 1915: *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Middendorp, C. 1992: Left–right Self-identification and (Post)materialism in the Ideological Space. *Electoral Studies*, 11, 249–60.

Mies, Maria 2002: *Globalisierung von unten: Der Kampf gegen die Herrschaft der Konzerne*. Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt.

Miliband, Ralph 1989: *Divided Societies: Class Struggle in Contemporary Capitalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Miller, David 1993: *Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice*. In D. Held (ed.), *Prospects for Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 74–92.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1993: The Organization of Survival: Women's and Racial-ethnic Voluntarist and Activist Organizations, 1955–1985. *Social Forces*, 71, 887–908.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1995: *Organizing for Equality: The Evolution of Women's and Racial-ethnic Organizations in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1999: Bending with the Wind: Strategic Change and Adaptation by Women's and Racial Minority Organizations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101, 1592–1627.

Mische, Ann 2003: Cross-talk in Movements: Reconceiving the Culture-Network Link. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 258–80.

Mittdun, Atle and Rucht, Dieter 1994: Comparing Policy Outcomes of Conflicts over Nuclear Power: Description and Explanation. In H. Flam (ed.), *States and Antinuclear Movements*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 383–415.

Mizruchi, Mark S. and Schwartz, Michael (eds.) 1987: *Intercorporate Relations: The Structural Analysis of Business*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Moaddel, Mansoor 1992: Ideology as Episodic Discourse: The Case of the Iranian Revolution. *American Sociological Review*, 57, 353–79.

Moaddel, Mansoor 2002: The Study of Islamic Culture and Politics: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 359–86.

Moody, Kim 1997: *Workers in a Lean World*. London: Verso.

Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1966: *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Moore, Kelly 1995: Organizing Integrity: American Science and the Creation of Public Interest Organizations, 1955–1975. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101, 1592–1627.

Moore, Kelly 1999: Political Protest and Institutional Change: The Anti-Vietnam War Movement and American Science. In M. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly (eds.), *How Movements Matter*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press.

Morgan, Jane 1987: *Conflict and Order: The Police and Labour Disputes in England and Wales: 1900–1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Morris, Aldon 1984: *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press.

Morris, Aldon and Herring, Cedric 1987: Theory and Research in Social Movements: A Critical Review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 137–98.

Morris, Aldon and Mueller, Carol (eds.) 1992: *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Morris, Aldon and Staggenborg, Suzanne 2004: Leadership in Social Movements. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 171–96.

Morse, David 2001: Beyond the Myths of Seattle. *Dissent*, 48 (3), 39–43.

Moscovici, Serge 1979: *Psychologie des Minorités Actives*. Paris: PUF.

Moscovici, Serge 1981: On Social Representations. In J. P. Forgas (ed.), *Social Cognition*. London: Academic Press, 181–209.

Mouffe, Chantal 1996: Radical Democracy or Liberal Democracy? In D. Trend (ed.), *Radical Democracy*. London: Routledge, 19–26.

Mudu, Pierpaolo 2004: Resisting and Challenging Neoliberalism: The Development of Italian Social Centers. *Antipode*, 36 (5), 917–41.

Mueller, Carol 1994: Conflict Networks and the Origins of Women's Liberation. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 234–63.

Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand 1985: Social Movements and the Greens: New Internal Politics in Germany. *European Journal of Political Research*, 13, 53–67.

Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand (ed.) 1989: *New Politics in Western Europe: The Rise and the Success of Green Parties and Alternative Lists*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand 1990: New Political Movements and "New Politics" Parties in Western Europe. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 209–31.

Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand 1993: *Grüne Partein in Westeuropa: Entwicklungsphasen und Erfolgsbedingungen*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Mullins, Patrick 1987: Community and Urban Movements. *Sociological Review*, 35, 347–69.

Mushaben, Joyce Marie. 1989. The Struggle Within: Conflict, Consensus and Decision Making Among National Coordinators and Grass-Roots Organizers in the West German Peace Movement. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *Organizing for Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Myers, Daniel J and Caniglia, Beth Schaefer 2004: All the Rioting That's Fit to Print: Selection Effects in National Newspaper Coverage of Civil Disorders, 1968–1969. *American Sociological Review*, 69, 519–43.

Naples, Nancy and Desai, Manisha (eds.) 2002: *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Nas, Masja 1993: Women and Classes: Gender and the Class Base of New Social Movements in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Political Research*, 23, 343–55.

Nash, Kate 2000: *Contemporary Political Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Nash, Kate 2001: Political Sociology in the Information Age. In F. Webster (ed.), *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*. London: Routledge, 81–94.

Nederveen Pieterse, Jan 2000: Globalization North and South. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 17, 129–37.

Neidhardt, Friedhelm 1981: Über Zufall, Eigendynamik und Institutionalisierbarkeit absurder Prozesse. Notizen am Beispiel der Entstehung und Einrichtung einer terroristischen Gruppe. In H. von Alemann and H. P. Thurn (eds.), *Soziologie in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 243–57.

Neidhardt, Friedhelm 1989: Gewalt und Gegengewalt. Steigt die Bereitschaft zu Gewaltaktionen mit zunehmender staatlicher Kontrolle und Repression? In W. Heitmeyer, K. Möller, and H. Sünker (eds.), *Jugend-Staat-Gewalt*. Weinheim and Munich: Juventa, 233–43.

Neidhardt, Friedhelm and Rucht, Dieter 1991: The Analysis of Social Movements: The State of the Art and Some Perspectives for Further Research. In D. Rucht (ed.), *Research on Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the USA*. Frankfurt/M and Boulder, CO: Campus and Westview Press, 421–64.

Neidhardt, Friedhelm and Rucht, Dieter 1993: Auf dem Weg in die Bewegungsgeselschaft? Ueber die Stabilisierbarkheit sozialer Bewegungen. *Soziale Welt*, 44, 305–26.

Neidhardt, Friedhelm and Rucht, Dieter 2002: Towards a "Movement Society"? On the Possibilities of Institutionalizing Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies*, 1, 7–30.

Nelkin, Dorothy and Pollack, Michael 1981: *The Atom Besieged: Extraparliamentary Dissent in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Nepstad, Sharon E. 2001: Creating Transnational Solidarity: The Use of Narrative in the US–Central American Peace Movement. *Mobilization*, 6, 21–36.

Nepstad, Sharon E. 2004: *Convictions of the Soul: Religion, Culture, and Agency in the Central America Solidarity Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nepstad, Sharon E. and Smith, Christian 1999: Rethinking Recruitment to High-Risk/Cost Activism: The Case of Nicaragua Exchange. *Mobilization*, 4, 25–40.

Neveau, Eric 1999: Media, mouvements sociaux, espace public. *Reseaux*, 98, 17–85.

Nevola, Gaspare 1994: *Conflitto e coercizione: Modelli di analisi e studio di casi*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Nicholson, Michael 1998: *International Relations: A Concise Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Nip, Joyce Y. M. 2004: The Queer Sisters and Its Electronic Bulletin Board. A Study of the Internet for Social Movement Mobilization. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 233–58.

Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth 1984: *The Spiral of Silence*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Nolan, Mary 1981: *Social Democracy and Society: Working-class Radicalism in Dusseldorf, 1890–1920*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Noland, Marcus 2004: Popular Attitudes, Globalization, and Risk. Institute for International Economics Working Paper 04–02, Washington DC.

Nollert, Michael 1995: Neocorporatism and Political Protest in the Western Democracies: A Cross-National Analysis. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 138–64.

Noonan, Rita 1995: Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy. *Sociological Forum*, 19, 81–111.

Norris, Pippa (ed.) 1999: *Critical Citizens*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norris, Pippa 1987: *Politics and Sexual Equality: The Comparative Position of Women in Western Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Norris, Pippa 2002: *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa and Inglehart, Ronald 2002: Islam and the West: Testing the "Clash of Civilizations" Thesis. Unpublished paper, Harvard University.

Notarbartolo, N. (ed.) 2001: *I giorni di Genova*. Rome: Internazionale.

Oberschall, Anthony 1973: *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Oberschall, Anthony 1980: Loosely Structured Collective Conflict: A Theory and an Application. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, Vol. 3. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 45–54.

Oberschall, Anthony 1993: *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests, and Identities*. New Brunswick, NJ/London: Transaction.

Oberschall, Anthony and Kim, Hyojoung 1996: Identity and Action. *Mobilization*, 1, 63–85.

O'Brien, Robert, Goetz, Anne Marie, Scholte, Jaan Aart, and Williams, Marc 2000: *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Offe, Claus 1985: New Social Movements: Changing Boundaries of the Political. *Social Research*, 52, 817–68.

Offe, Claus 1990: Reflections on the Institutional Self-transformation of Movement Politics: A Tentative Stage Model. In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 232–50.

Offe, Claus 1997: *Microaspects of Democratic Theory: What Makes for the Deliberative Competence of Citizens?* In A. Hadenius (ed.), *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 81–104.

Ohlemacher, Thomas 1996: Bridging People and Protest: Social Relays of Protest Groups against Low-flying Military Jets in West Germany. *Social Problems*, 43, 197–218.

Okamoto, Dina 2003: Toward a Theory of Panethnicity: Explaining Asian American Collective Action, *American Sociological Review*, 68, 811–42.

Olesen, Thomas 2004: The Transnational Zapatista Solidarity Network: An Infrastructure Analysis. *Global Networks*, 4, 89–107.

Oliver, Mike and Campbell, Jane 1996: *Disability Politics: Understanding Our Past, Changing Our Future*. London: Routledge.

Oliver, Pamela 1984: "If You Don't Do It, Nobody Else Will": Active and Token Contributors to Local Collective Action. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 601–10.

Oliver, Pamela 1989: Bringing the Crowd Back In: The Nonorganizational Elements of Social Movements. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 11. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–30.

Oliver, Pamela and Johnston, Hank 2000: What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research. *Mobilization*, 5, 37–54.

Oliver, Pamela and Marwell, Gerald 1992: Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 251–72.

Oliver, Pamela and Marwell, Gerald 2001: Whatever Happened to Critical Mass Theory? A Retrospective and Assessment. *Sociological Theory*, 19, 292–311.

Olson, Mancur 1963: *The Logics of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Olzak, Susan 1992: *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Omi, Michael and Winant, Howard 1994: *Racial Formation in the United States: From 1960s to 1990s*. New York: Routledge.

Omvedt, Gail 1993: *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Opp, Karl-Dieter 1988: Community Integration and Incentives for Political Protest. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 83–101.

Opp, Karl-Dieter 1989: *The Rationality of Political Protest*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Opp, Karl-Dieter 1990: Postmaterialism, Collective Action, and Political Protest. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 212–35.

Opp, Karl-Dieter and Gern, Christiane 1993: Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and the East German Revolution of 1989. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 659–80.

Opp, Karl-Dieter, Finkel, Steve, Muller, Edward N., Wolfsfeld, Gadi, Dietz, Henty A., and Green, Jerrold D. 1995: Left–Right Ideology and Collective Political Action: A Comparative Analysis of Germany, Israel, and Peru. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 63–95.

Orfali, Brigitte 1990: *L'adhésion au Front Nationale*. Paris: Editions Kime.

Ortoleva, Peppino 1988: *Saggio sui movimenti del 68 in Europa e in America*. Rome: Editori Riuniti.

Osa, Maryjane 2003a: *Solidarity and Contention: Networks of Polish Opposition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Osa, Maryjane 2003b: Networks in Opposition. In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 77–104.

O'Sullivan See, Katherine 1986: *First World Nationalisms: Class and Ethnic Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Otto, Karl O. 1989: *APO: Die ausserparlamentarische Opposition in Quellen und Dokumenten 1960–1970*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein.

Padgett, John F. and Ansell, Christopher K. 1993: Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400–1434. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1259–1319.

Pagnucco, Ron 1996: Social Movement Dynamics during Democratic Transition and Consolidation: A Synthesis of Political Process and Political Interactionist Theories. *Research on Democracy and Society*, 3, 3–38.

Pakulski, Jan 1988: Social Movements in Comparative Perspective. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, vol. 10. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 247–67.

Pakulski, Jan 1990: *Social Movements: The Politics of Moral Protest*. London/Melbourne: Longman.

Pakulski, Jan 1995: Social Movements and Class: The Decline of the Marxist Paradigm. In L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage, 55–86.

Pakulski, Jan and Waters, Malcolm 1996: Misreading Status as Class: A Reply to Our Critics. *Theory and Society*, 25, 731–6.

Panebianco, Angelo 1988: *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Papadakis, Elim and Taylor-Gooby, Peter 1987: Consumer Attitudes and Participation in State Welfare. *Political Studies*, 35, 467–81.

Parkin, Frank 1968: *Middle Class Radicalism*. New York: Praeger.

Passerini, Luisa 1988: *Autobiografia di gruppo*. Florence: Giunti.

Passy, Florence 1998: *L'action altruiste*. Geneve/Paris: Droz.

Passy, Florence 1999: Supranational Political Opportunities. A Channel of Globalization of Political Conflicts. The Case of the Conflict around the Rights of the Indigenous People. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York/London: Macmillan, 148–69.

Passy, Florence 2001: Socializing, Connecting, and the Structural Agency/Gap. A Specification of the Impact of Networks on Participation in Social Movements. *Mobilization*, 6, 173–92.

Passy, Florence 2003: Social Networks Matter. But How? In Mario Diani and Doug McAdam (eds.), *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 21–48.

Passy, Florence and Giugni, Marco 2000: Life-spheres, Networks, and Sustained Participation in Social Movements. A Phenomenological Approach to Political Commitment. *Sociological Forum*, 15, 117–44.

Pearce, Jone L. 1993: *Volunteers*. London/New York: Routledge.

Pearce, Jone. 1980. Apathy or Self-Interest? The Volunteers' Avoidance of Leadership Roles. *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 9, 85–94.

Peretti, Jonah (with Micheletti, Michele) 2004: The Nike Sweatshop Email: Poliical Consummerism, Internet, and Culture Jamming. In Michele Micheletti, Andreas Follesdal, and Dietlind Stolle (eds.), *Politics, Products and Markets: Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 127–42.

Perrow, Charles 1961: The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 26, 854–66.

Perrucci, Robert and Pilisuk, Marc 1970: Leaders and Ruling Elites: The Interorganizational Bases of Community Power. *American Sociological Review*, 35, 1040–57.

Petts, J. 1997: The Public–Expert Interface in Local Waste Management Decisions: Expertise, Credibility and Process. *Public Understanding of Science*, 6, 359–381.

Philips, Susan 1991: Meaning and Structure in Social Movements: Mapping the Network of National Canadian Women's Organizations. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 24, 755–82.

Pianta, Mario 2001a: Parallel Summits of Global Civil Society. In H. Anheier, M. Glasius, and M. Kaldor (eds.), *Global Civil Society 2001*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 169–95.

Pianta, Mario 2001b: *Globalizzazione dal basso: Economia mondiale e movimenti sociali*. Roma: Manifestolibri.

Pianta, Mario 2002: Parallel Summits: an Update. In H. K. Anheier, M. Glasius, and M. Kaldor (eds.), *Global Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 371–7.

Pichardo, Nelson 1997: New Social Movements: A Critical Review. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 411–30.

Pickerill, Jenny 2000: Environmentalism and the Net. In R. Gibson and S. Ward (eds.), *Reinvigorating Government? British Politics and the Internet*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Pickvance, Chris 1975: On the Study of Urban Social Movements. *Sociological Review*, 23, 29–49.

Pickvance, Chris 1995: Social Movements in the Transition From State Socialism: Convergence or Divergence? In L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage, 123–150.

Pickvance, Chris G. 1977: From "Social Base" to "Social Force": Some Analytical Issues in the Study of Urban Protest. In M. Harloe (ed.), *Captive Cities*. Wiley: Chichester, 175–86.

Pickvance, Chris G. 1985: The Rise and Fall of Urban Movements and the Role of Comparative Analysis. *Society And Space*, 3, 31–53.

Pickvance, Chris G. 1986: Concepts, Contexts and Comparison in the Study of Urban Movements: A Reply to M. Castells. *Society and Space*, 4, 221–31.

Pinard, Maurice 1968: Mass Society and Political Movements: A New Formulation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 73, 682–90.

Pini, Barbara, Brown, Kerry, and Previte, Josephine 2004: Politics and Identity in Cyberspace. A Case Study of Australian Women in Agriculture Online. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 259–75.

Pinto, Louis 1990: Le consommateur: Agent economique et acteur politique. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 31, 179–98.

Piore, Michael and Sabel, Charles 1984: *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books.

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

Piven, Frances F. and Cloward, Richard 1992: Normalizing Collective Protest. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 301–25.

Piven, Francis F. and Cloward, Richard A. 2000: Power Repertoires and Globalization. *Politics and Society*, 28, 413–430.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1978: Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict. In C. Crouch, and A. Pizzorno (eds.), *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 277–98.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1981: Interests and Parties in Pluralism. In S. Berger (ed.), *Organizing Interests in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3–46.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1983: Sulla razionalità della scelta democratica. *Stato e mercato*, n. 7.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1986: Sul confronto intertemporale delle utilità. *Stato e mercato*, 16, 3–25.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1987: Considerazioni sulle teorie dei movimenti sociali. *Problemi del socialismo*, 12, 11–27.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1993: *Le radici della politica assoluta*. Milano: Feltrinelli.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1996: Decisioni o interazioni? La micro-descrizione del cambiamento sociale. *Rassegna italiana di sociologia*, 37, 107–32.

Pizzorno, Alessandro 1996: Mutamenti istituzioni e sviluppo dei partiti. In P. Bairoch and E. J. Hobsbawm (eds.), *La Storia dell'Europa Contemporanea*. Torino: Einaudi, 961–1031.

Pizzorno, Alessandro, Regalia, Ida, Regini, Marino and Reyneri, Emilio 1978: *Lotte operaie e sindacato: Il ciclo di lotte 1968–1972 in Italia*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Platt, Gerald M., and Williams, Rhys 2002: Ideological Language and Social Movement Mobilization: A Sociolinguistics Analysis of Segregationists' Ideologies. *Sociological Theory*, 20, 328–59.

Plumb, Lawrence D. 1993: *A Critique of the Human Potential Movement*. New York: Garland.

Podobnik, Bruce 2004: Resistance to Globalization: Cycles and Evolutions in the Globalization Protest Movement. Paper for the ASA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August 14–17.

Podolny, Joel and Page, Karen 1998: Network Forms of Organization. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 57–76.

Poggi, Gianfranco (ed.) 1968: *L'organizzazione partitica del PCI e della DC*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Poguntke, Thomas 1993: *Alternative Politics: The German Green Party*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Polletta, Francesca 2002: *Freedom is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Polletta, Francesca 1998: "It Was Like a Fever": Narrative and Identity in Social Protest. *Social Problems*, 45, 137–59.

Polletta, Francesca 1999: "Free Spaces" in Collective Action. *Theory and Society*, 28, 1–38.

Polletta, Francesca 2004: Culture Is Not Just in Your Head. In Jeff Goodwin and James J. Jasper (eds.), *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotions*. Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield, 97–110.

Polletta, Francesca and Jasper, James M. 2001: Collective Identity and Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 283–305.

Porter, Gareth and Brown, Janet Welsh 1991: *Global Environmental Politics*. Boulder, CO/London: Westview Press.

Powell, Walter 1990: Neither Market Nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 12, 295–336.

Prakash, Sanjeev and Selle, Per (eds.) 2004: *Investigating Social Capital*. New Dehli/London: Sage.

Princen, Thomas and Finger, Matthias 1994: Introduction. In T. Princen and M. Finger (eds.), *Environmental NGOs in World Politics: Linking the Local and the Global*. London: Routledge, 1–25.

Purdue, Derrik D. 2000: *Anti-GenetiX: The Emergence of the Anti-GM Movement*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Purdue, Derrick, Diani, Mario, and Lindsay, Isobel 2004: Civic Networks in Bristol and Glasgow. *Community Development Journal*, 39, 277–88.

Rabehl, Bernd 1998: *Am Ende der Utopie: Die politische Geschichte der Freien, Universität Berlin*, Berlin: Argon Verlag.

Ranci, Costanzo 1992: La mobilitazione dell'altruismo. Condizioni e processi di diffusione dell'azione volontaria in Italia. *Polis*, 6, 467–505.

Randall, Vicky 1982: *Women and Politics*. London: Macmillan.

Rao, Hayagreeva, Morrill, Calvin, and Zald, Mayer N. 2000: Power Plays: How Social Movements and Collective Action Create New Organizational Forms. *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, 22, 239–82.

Rapoport, Anatol 1960: *Fights, Games, and Debates*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Raschke, Joachim 1988: *Soziale Bewegungen: Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriss*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Rauch J. 2003: Rooted in Nations, Blossoming in Globalization? A Cultural Perspective on the Content of a "Northern" Mainstream and a "Southern" Alternative News Agency. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 27, 87–103.

Ray, Kathryn, Savage, Mike, Tampubolon, Gindo, Longhurst, Brian, Tomlison, Mark, and Warde, Alan 2000: An Exclusive Political Field? Membership Patterns and Networks in Social Movement Organizations. *Social Movement Studies*, 2, 37–60.

Ray, Raka 1999: *Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Redhead, Steve (ed.) 1993: *Rave Off: Politics and Deviance in Contemporary Culture*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Regalia, Ida, Regini, Marino, and Reyneri, Emilio 1978: Labor Conflicts and Industrial Relations in Italy. In C. Crouch and A. Pizzorno (eds.), *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*. London: Macmillan, 101–58.

Reger, Jo 2002: Organizational Dynamics and Construction of Multiple Feminist Identities in the National Organization for Women. *Gender & Society*, 16, 710–27.

Regini, Marino 1992: *Confini mobili*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Reifer, Thomas E. (ed.) 2004: *Globalization, Hegemony and Power: Antisystemic Movements and the Global System*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press.

Reimann, Kim D. 2001: Japanese NGO's and the Kyoto Climate Change Conference. *Mobilization*, 6, 83–100.

Reimon, Michel 2002: *Days of Action: Die neoliberale Globalisierung und ihre Gegner*. Wien: überreuter.

Reiner, Robert 1998: Policing, Protest, and Disorder in Britain. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 35–48.

Reiter, Herbert 1998: Police and Public Order in Italy, 1944–1948. The Case of Florence. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 143–65.

Renn, O., Webler, T. and Kastenholz, H. 1996: Procedural and Substantive Fairness in Landfill Siting: A Swiss Case Study. *Risk: Health, Safety and Environment*, 145 (Spring). (Reprinted in R. Löfstedt and L. Frewer, (eds.) (1998) *The Earthscan Reader in Risk and Modern Society*, 253–270.)

Rheingold, Howard 2002: *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution*. New York: Perseus.

Richardson, Dick and Rootes, Chris (eds.) 1994: *The Green Challenge: The Development of Green Parties in Europe*. London/New York: Routledge.

Riddel-Dixon, Elizabeth 1995: Social Movements and the United Nations. *International Social Science Journal*, 144, 289–303.

Rihoux, Benoit and Walgrave, Stefaan 1997: *L'Année Blanche*. Bruxelles: EVO.

Risse, Thomas, and Sikkink, Kathryn 1999: The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms into Domestic Practices: Introduction. In T. Risse, S. Rapp, and K. Sikkink (eds.), *The Power of Human Rights International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1–38.

Ritzer, George 1996: *The McDonaldization of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Robbins, Thomas 1988: *Cults, Converts and Charisma: The Sociology of New Religious Movements*. London/Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Robertson, Roland. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Robnett, Belinda 2002: External Political Events and Collective Identity. In D.S. Meyer, N. Whittier, and B. Robnett (eds.), *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 287–301.

Rochford, E. Burke 1985: *Hare Krishna in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Rochon, Thomas R. 1988: *Between Society and State: Mobilizing for Peace in Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rochon, Thomas R. 1998: *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rochon, Thomas R. and Mazmanian, Daniel A. 1993: Social Movements and the Policy Process. *The Annals of the AAPSS*, 528, 75–87.

Rochon, Thomas R. and Meyer, David S. (eds.) 1997: *Coalitions and Political Movements: The Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Rohrschneider, Robert 1988: Citizens' Attitudes towards Environmental Issues: Selfish or Selfless? *Comparative Political Studies*, 21, 347–67.

Rohrschneider, Robert 1990: The Roots of Public Opinion toward New Social Movements. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 1–30.

Rohrschneider, Robert 1993a: Impact of Social Movements on the European Party System. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 528 (July), 157–70.

Rohrschneider, Robert 1993b: Environmental Belief Systems in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 26, 3–29.

Rohrschneider, Robert and Dalton, Russell 2002: A Global Network? Transnational Cooperation among Environmental Groups. *Journal of Politics*, 64, 510–33.

Rokkan, Stein 1970: *Citizens, Elections, and Parties*. Oslo: Oslo University Press.

Rolke, Lothar 1987: *Protestbewegungen in der Bundesrepublik*. Opladen: West-deutscher Verlag.

Rootes, Christopher 1992: The New Politics and the New Social Movements: Accounting for British Exceptionalism. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22, 171–91.

Rootes, Christopher 1994: Parties and Movements as Alternative Modes of Collective Action: Green Parties and Environmental Movements in Europe. Paper presented at the Thirteenth World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld, July.

Rootes, Christopher 1995: A New Class? The Higher Educated and the New Politics. In L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage, 220–35.

Rootes, Christopher 1997: Shaping Collective Action: Structure, Contingency and Knowledge. In R. Edmonson (ed.), *The Political Context of Collective Action*. London/New York: Routledge.

Rootes, Christopher A. 2000: Environmental Protest in Britain 1988–1997. In B. Seel, M. Paterson, and B. Doherty (eds.), *Direct Action in British Environmentalism*. London: Routledge, 26–61.

Rootes, Christopher 2003: Britain. In C. Rootes (ed.), *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20–58.

Rootes, Christopher (ed.) 2003: *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rootes, Christopher 2005: A Limited Transnationalization? The British Environmental Movement. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 21–43.

Rose, Fred 2000: *Coalitions Across the Class Divide: Lessons from the Labor, Peace and Environmental Movements*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Rose, Richard 1988: *L'espansione della sfera pubblica*. Bologna: il Mulino. (original edition *Understanding Big Government*, London, Sage, 1984).

Roseneil, Sasha 1995: *Disarming Patriarchy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Rosenkrands, Jacob 2004: Politicising Homo Economicus: Analysis of Anticorporate Websites. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 57–76.

Rosenthal, Naomi and Schwartz, Michael 1989: Spontaneity and Democracy in Social Movements. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *Organizing For Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 33–60.

Rosenthal, Naomi, Fingrutd, Meryl, Ethier, Michele, Karant, Roberta, and McDonald, David 1985: Social Movements and Network Analysis: A Case Study of Nineteenth-century Women's Reform in New York State. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90, 1022–54.

Rosenthal, Naomi, McDonald, David, Ethier, Michele, Fingrutd, Meryl, and Karant, Roberta 1997: Structural Tensions in the Nineteenth Century Women's Movement. *Mobilization*, 2, 21–46.

Roszak, Theodor 1969: *The Making of a Counterculture*. New York: Anchor Books.

Roth, Roland 1994: *Demokratie von unten: Neue soziale Bewegungen auf dem Wege zur politischen Institution*. Köln: Bund Verlag.

Rothenberg, Lawrence S. 1992: *Linking Citizens to Government: Interest Group Politics at Common Cause*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rothman, Franklin D. and Oliver, Pamela 1999: From Local to Global: The Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979–1992. *Mobilization*, 4, 41–58.

Routledge, Paul 2003: Convergence Space: Process Geographies of Grassroots Globalization Networks. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 333–49.

Royall, Frédéric 1998: Le mouvement des chômeurs en France de l'hiver 1997–1998. *Modern and Contemporary France*, 6, 351–65.

Rubington, Earl and Weinberg, Martin S. (eds.) 2003: *The Study of Social Problems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (6th edition).

Rucht, Dieter 1984: Zur Organisation der neuen sozialen Bewegungen. In Jürgen Falter et al., *Politische Willensbildung und Interessenvermittlung*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Rucht, Dieter 1989: Environmental Movement Organizations in West Germany and France: Structure and Interorganizational Relations. In B. Klandermans (ed.), *International Social Movement Research*, vol. 2, *Organizing for Change*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 61–94.

Rucht, Dieter 1990a: The Strategies and Action Repertoire of New Movements. In R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 156–75.

Rucht, Dieter 1990b: Campaigns, Skirmishes and Battles: Anti-nuclear Movements in the USA, France and West Germany. *Industrial Crisis Quarterly*, 4, 193–222.

Rucht, Dieter (ed.) 1991a: *Research in Social Movements: The State of the Art*. Frankfurt/Boulder, CO: Campus Verlag/Westview Press.

Rucht, Dieter 1991b: A Critique of Alain Touraine's *Intervention Sociologique*. In D. Rucht (ed.), *Research in Social Movements: The State of the Art*. Frankfurt/Boulder, CO: Campus Verlag/Westview Press.

Rucht, Dieter 1991c: Das Kräftefeld soziale Bewegungen, Gegenbewegungen und Staat. *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen*, 2 (4), 31–42.

Rucht, Dieter 1992: *Studying the Effects of Social Movements: Conceptualization and Problems*. Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research, Limerick, March 30–April 4.

Rucht, Dieter 1993: Think Globally, Act Locally? Needs, Forms and Problems of Cross-national Cooperation Among Environmental Groups. In J. D. Liefferink, P. Lowe, and A. P. J. Mol (eds.), *European Integration and Environmental Policy*. London/New York: Belhaven Press/Halsted Press, 75–95.

Rucht, Dieter 1994: *Modernisierung und Soziale Bewegungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.

Rucht, Dieter 1995: The Impact of Anti-nuclear Power Movements in International Comparison. In M. Bauer (ed.), *Resistance to New Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rucht, Dieter 1996: The Impact of National Contexts on Social Movements Structure. In D. McAdam, J. McCarthy, and M. N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspective on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 185–204.

Rucht, Dieter 2003a: Media Strategies and Media Resonance in Transnational Protest Campaigns. Paper presented at the conference Transnational Processes and Social Movements. Bellagio, Italy.

Rucht, Dieter (ed.) 2003b: *Berlin, 1. Mai 2002: Politische Demonstrationsrituale*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Rucht, Dieter 2004: The Quadruple "A": Media Strategies of Protest Movements since the 1960s. In Wim van de Donk, Brian Loader, Paul Nixon, and Dieter Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 29–56.

Rüdig, Wolfgang 1990: *Anti-nuclear Movements: A World Survey*. London: Longman.

Ruggiero, Vincenzo 2000: New Social Movements and the "centri sociali" in Milan. *Sociological Review*, 48, 167–85.

Rule, James R. 1988: *Theories of Civil Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rupp, Leila and Taylor, Verta 1987: *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Rupp, Leila and Taylor, Verta 2003: *Drag Queens at the 801 Cabaret*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rusconi, Gian Enrico 1992: Etnia: Un costrutto polemico. *Polis*, 6, 571–87.

Rusconi, Gian Enrico 1993: *Se cessiamo di essere una nazione*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Russett, Bruce and Starr, Harvey 1996: *World Politics: The Menu for Choice*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Co.

Ruzza, Carlo 2004: *Europe and Civil Society: Movement Coalitions and European Governance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ryan, Barbara 1992: *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movements' Ideology and Activism*. New York: Routledge.

Safran, William 1989: The French State and Ethnic Minority Cultures: Policy Dimensions and Problems. In J. Rudolph and R. J. Thompson (eds.), *Ethnoterritorial Politics, Policy, and the Western World*. Boulder, CO/London: Lynne Rienner, 115–58.

Salamon, Lester M. and Anheier, Helmut (eds.) 1997: *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross National Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Salmon, Jean Marc 1998: *Le désir de societé: Des restaurants du coer au mouvement des chomeurs*. Paris: La découverte.

Sampson, S. 1969: Crisis in a Cloister. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University.

Samuelson, Paul 1954: The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 36, 387–89.

Sanchez Jankowski, Martin 1991: *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sandell, Rickard 1999: Organizational Life aboard the Moving Bandwagons: A Network Analysis of Dropouts from a Swedish Temperance Organization, 1896–1937. *Acta Sociologica*, 42, 3–15.

Sandell, Rickard 2001: Organizational Growth and Ecological Constraints: The Growth of Social Movements in Sweden, 1881 to 1940. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 672–93.

Sandell, Rickard and Charlotta Stern 1998: Group Size and the Logic of Collective Action: A Network Analysis of a Swedish Temperance Movement 1896–1937. *Rationality and Society*, 10, 327–45.

Sandoval, Salvador A. M. 1998: Social Movements and Democratization. The Case of Brasil and the Latin Countries. In in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (eds.), *From Contention to Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 169–201.

Sartori, Giovanni 1970: Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 56, 1033–53.

Sartori, Giovanni 1987: Ideologia. In *Elementi di teoria politica*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Sartori, Giovanni 1990: Comparazione e metodo comparato. *Rivista italiana di scienza politica*, 20, 397–416.

Sassen, Saskia 1998: *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: Norton.

Sassen, Saskia 2000: *Cities in a World Economy*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 117–38.

Sassoon, Joseph 1984a: Ideologia, azione simbolica e ritualità: Nuovi percorsi dei movimenti. In A. Melucci (ed.), *Altri codici*. Bologna: il Mulino, 385–415.

Sassoon, Joseph 1984b: Ideology, Symbolic Action and Rituality in Social Movements: The Effects of Organizational Forms. *Social Science Information*, 23, 861–73.

Saunders, P. 1987: Social Theory and the Urban Question. London: Unwin Hyman.

Sawer, Marian and Groves, Abigail 1994: The Women's Lobby': Networks, Coalition Building and the Women of Middle Australia. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 29, 435–59.

Scharpf, Fritz 1999: *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scharpf, Fritz W. 1984: Economic and Institutional Constraints of Full-Employment Strategies: Sweden, Austria, and West Germany. In J. H. Goldthorpe (ed.), *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 257–90.

Scheff, Thomas 1994b: Emotions and Identity: A Theory of Ethnic Nationalism. In C. Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 277–303.

Scheff, Thomas J. 1994a: *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Schlesinger, Paul 1992: *Putting "Reality" Together* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.

Schlosberg, David 2002: *Environmental Justice and the New Pluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schmidt, Hilmar and Take, Ingo 1997: Demokratiscer und besser? Der Beitrag von Nichtregierungsorganisationen zur Demokratisierung internationaler Politik und zu Loesung globaler Probleme. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 43, 12–20.

Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger 1989: Organizational Interlocks between New Social Movements and Traditional Elites: The Case of the West German Peace Movement. *European Journal of Political Research*, 17, 583–98.

Schmitter, Philippe 1974: Still a Century of Corporatism? *Review of Politics*, 36, 85–131.

Schmitter, Philippe 1981: Interest Intermediation and Regime Governability in Contemporary Western Europe and North America. In Suzanne Berger (ed.), *Organized Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Transformation of Politics*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 287–327.

Schmitter, Philippe and Lehmbruch, Gerard (eds.) 1979: *Trends towards Corporatist Intermediation*. London/Beverly Hills: Sage.

Schneider, Volker 2000: The Global Social Capital of Human Rights Movements: A Case Study on Amnesty International. In K. Ronit and V. Schneider (eds.), *Private Organizations in Global Politics*. London: Routledge, 146–64.

Schnittker, Jason, Freese, Jeremy, and Powell, Brian 2003: Who Are Feminists and What Do They Believe? The Role of Generations, *American Sociological Review*, 68, 607–22.

Scholsberg, David 2002: *Environmental Justice and the New Pluralism: The Challenge of Difference for Environmentalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schönleitner, Gunther 2003: World Social Forum: Making Another World Possible? In J. Clark (ed.), *Globalizing Civic Engagement: Civil Society and Transnational Action*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 109–26.

Schou, Arild 1997: Elite Identification in the Palestinian Intifada. *Mobilization*, 2, 71–86.

Schudson, Michael 1989: How Culture Works: Perspectives from Media Studies on the Efficacy of Symbols. *Theory and Society*, 18, 153–80.

Schumaker, Paul D. 1975: Policy Responsiveness to Protest Group Demands. *The Journal of Politics*, 37, 488–521.

Scotch, Richard K. 1988: Disability as the Basis for a Social Movement: Advocacy and the Politics of Definition. *Journal of Social Issues*, 44, 159–72.

Scott, Alan 1990: *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Scott, Alan (ed.) 1997: *The Limits of Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Scott, John 1992: *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*. London/Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Scott, W. Richard 1981: *Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open System*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Seel, Bejamin, Patterson, Matthew, and Doherty, Brian (eds.) 2000: *Direct Action in British Environmentalism*. London: Routledge.

Seligman, Adam 1992: *The Idea of Civil Society*. New York: Free Press.

Sen, Amartya 2004: *La democrazia degli altri*. Milano: Mondadori.

Sewell, William H. Jr 1992: A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1–29.

Shah, Ghanshyam 1990: *Social Movements in India: A Review of the Literature*. New Delhi/Newbury Park: Sage.

Sharpe, L. Jim 1988: The Growth and Decentralisation of the Modern Democratic State. *European Journal of Political Research*, 16, 365–80.

Shemtov, Ronit 1999: Taking Ownership of Environmental Problems. *Mobilization*, 4, 91–106.

Showstack Sassoon, A. 1987: *Women and the State: Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private*. London: Hutchinson.

Sikkink, Kathryn and Smith, Jackie 2002: Infrastructures for Change: Transnational Organizations 1953–1993. In S. Khagram, J. V. Riker, and K. Sikkink (eds.), *Reconstructing World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 24–44

Sikkink, Kathryn. 2002. Reconstructing World Politics: The Limits and Asymmetries of Soft Power. In S. Khagram, J. V. Riker, and K. Sikkink (eds.), *Reconstructing World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 301–17.

Siltanen, Janet and Stanworth, Michelle 1984: *Women and the Public Sphere*. London: Hutchinson.

Silver, Beverly 2003: *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization Since 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silver, Beverly and Slater, Eric 1999: The Social Origins of World Hegemonies. In G. Arrighi and B. Silver (eds.), *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World System*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 175–250.

Simeant, Johanna 1998: *La cause des sans-papiers*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Simmel, Georg [1908] 1950: The Triad. In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated by K. Wolff. New York: Free Press, 145–69.

Simmel, Georg [1908] 1955: Conflict. In *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations*, translated by K. Wolff. New York: Free Press, 11–123. (Original edition *Die Streit in Soziologie*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1908.)

Sklair, Laskie 1995: Social Movements and Global Capitalism. *Sociology*, 29, 495–512.

Skocpol, Theda 1979: *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skocpol, Theda 2003: *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.

Smelser, Neil J. 1962: *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: The Free Press.

Smelser, Neil J. 1992: Culture: Coherent or Incoherent. In N. J. Smelser and R. Muench (eds.), *Theory of Culture*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 3–28.

Smith, Anthony D. 1981: *The Ethnic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 1986: *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, Christian (ed.) 1996: *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism*. New York and London: Routledge.

Smith, Jackie 1995: Transnational Political Processes and the Human Rights Movement. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 17. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 185–219.

Smith, Jackie 1997: Characteristics of the Modern Transnational Social Movement Sector. In J. Smith, C. Chatfield, and R. Pagnucco (eds.), *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 42–58.

Smith, Jackie 1998: Global Strategies of Social Protest: Transnational Social Movement Organizations in World Politics. In D. della Porta, H. Kriesi, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York/London: Macmillan, 170–88.

Smith, Jackie 1999: Transnational Organizations. In *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, vol. 3. San Diego: Academic Publishers, 591–602.

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

Smith, Jackie 2004a: Exploring Connections Between Global Integration and Political Mobilization. *Journal of World Systems Research*, 10, 11–34.

Smith, Jackie 2004b: Transnational Processes and Movements. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 311–35.

Smith, Jackie and Johnston, Hank (eds.) 2002: *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Smith, Jackie, Pagnucco, Ron and Romeril, Winnie 1994: Transnational Social Movement Organisations in the Global Political Arena. *Voluntas*, 5, 121–54.

Snow, David 2004: Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fieds. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 380–412.

Snow, David 2005: Social Movements as Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony? In D. Myers and D. Cress (eds.), *Authority in Contention*. New York: Elsevier.

Snow, David A. and Benford, Robert D. 1988: Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, and S. Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 197–218.

Snow, David A. and Benford, Robert D. 1992: Master Frames and Cycles of Protest. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers In Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 133–55.

Snow, David A. and Oliver, Pamela 1995: Social Movements and Collective Behavior: Social Psychological Dimensions and Considerations. In K. S. Cook, G. A. Fine, and J. House (eds.), *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 571–99.

Snow, David A., Rochford, Burke E., Worden, Steven, and Benford, Robert 1986: Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51, 464–81.

Snow, David A., Zurcher, Louis A., and Ekland-Olson, Sheldon 1980: Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment. *American Sociological Review*, 45, 787–801.

Snow, David, Soule, Sarah, and Kriesi, Hanspeter (eds.) 2004a: *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Snow, David, Soule, Sarah, and Kriesi, Hanspeter 2004b: Mapping the Terrain. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Snyder, David and Tilly, Charles 1972: Hardship and Collective Violence in France, 1830–1960. *American Sociological Review*, 37, 520–32.

Somers, Margaret R. 1992: Narrativity, Narrative Identity, and Social Action: Rethinking English Working-Class Formation. *Social Science History*, 16, 591–630.

Somers, Margaret R. 1993: Citizenship and the Place of the Public Sphere: Law, Community, and Political Culture in the Transition to Democracy. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 587–620.

Somers, Margaret R. 1994: The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach. *Theory and Society*, 23, 605–49.

Sommier, Isabelle 2003: *Le renoveau des mouvements contestataires à l'heure de la mondialisation*. Paris: Flammarion.

Soule, Sarah 2004: Diffusion Process Within and Across Movements. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 294–310.

Souza, Celina 2000: Participatory Budgeting in Brazilian Cities: Limits and Possibilities in Building Democratic Institutions. *Environment and Urbanization*, 13, 159–84.

Soysal, Yasemine N. 1994: *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Staggenborg, Suzanne 1986: Coalition Work in the Pro-Choice Movement: Organizational and Environmental Opportunities and Constraints. *Social Problems*, 33, 623–41.

Staggenborg, Suzanne 1991: *The Pro-Choice Movement: Organization and Activism in the Abortion Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 585–606.

Stamatov, Peter 2002: Interpretive Activism and the Political Uses of Verdi's Operas in the 1840s. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 345–66.

Stark, Rodney and Bainbridge, William S. 1980: Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85, 1376–95.

Steel, Brent S., Warner, Rebecca L., Stieber, Blair, and Lovrich, Nicholas P. 1992: Postmaterialist Values and Support for Feminism among Canadian and American Women and Men. *Western Political Quarterly*, 45, 339–53.

Stefancic, Jean and Delgado, Richard 1996: *No Mercy: How Conservative Think Tanks and Foundations Changed America's Social Agenda*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Steinberg, Marc 1999: The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among Nineteenth Century English Cotton Spinners. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 736–80.

Stepan-Norris, Judith and Zeitlin, Maurice 2003: *Left Out: Reds and America's Industrial Unions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stoecker, Randy 1995: Community, Movement, Organization: The Problem of Identity Convergence in Collective Action. *Sociological Quarterly*, 36, 111–30.

Stokman, Frans N., Ziegler, Rolf and Scott, John (eds.) 1985: *Networks of Corporate Power: A Comparative Analysis of Ten Countries*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stolle, Dietlind and Hooghe, Marc 2004: Consumers as Political Participants? Shifts in Political Action Repertoires in Western Societies. In M. Micheletti, A. Follesdal, and D. Stolle (eds.), *Politics, Products and Markets: Exploring Political Consumerism Past and Present*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 265–88.

Strand, David and Meyer, John W. 1993: Institutional Conditions for Diffusion. *Theory and Society*, 22, 487–511.

Strauss, Anselm L. 1947: Research in Collective Behavior: Neglect and Need. *American Sociological Review*, 12, 352–4.

Streeck, Wolfgang 1992: *Social Institutions and Economic Performance*. Thousand Oaks/London: Sage.

Stryker, Sheldon, Owens, Timothy J., and White, Robert W. (eds.) 2000: *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Subramaniam, Mangala, Gupte, Manjusha, and Mitre, Debarashmi 2003: Local to Global: Transnational Networks and Indian Women's Grassroots Organizing. *Mobilization*, 8, 335–52.

Suh, Doowon 2004: Outcome Framing and Movement Dynamics: Korean White-Collar Unions' Political Mobilization and Interunion Solidarity, 1987–1995. *Mobilization*, 9, 17–38.

Swidler, Ann 1986: Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51, 273–86.

Swidler, Ann and Arditi, Jorge 1994: The New Sociology of Knowledge. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20, 305–29.

Szasz, Andrew 1994: *EcoPopulism: Toxic Waste and the Movement for Environmental Justice*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press.

Szelenyi, Sonia and Olvera, Jacqueline 1996: The Declining Significance of Class: Does Gender Complicate the Story? – Comments. *Theory and Society*, 25, 725–30.

Szerszinski, Bron 1995: Entering the Stage: Strategies of Environmental Communication in the UK. In K. Eder (ed.), *Framing and Communicating Environmental Issues*, Research Report, Commission of the European Communities, DGXII, Florence/Lancaster: European University Institute/CSEC, University of Lancaster.

Sztompka, Piotr 1993: *The Sociology of Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Taggart, Paul A. 1996: *The New Populism and the New Politics: New Protest Parties in Sweden in a Comparative Perspective*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Tarrow, Sidney 1983: Struggling to Reform: Social Movements and Policy Change during Cycles of Protest. *Western Societies Paper 15*. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Tarrow, Sidney 1989: *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965–1975*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney 1989b. Mutamenti nella cultura di opposizione in Italia, 1965–1975. *Polis*, 3, 41–63.

Tarrow, Sidney 1990: The Phantom at the Opera: Political Parties and Social Movements of the 1960s and the 1970s in Italy. In R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 251–73.

Tarrow, Sidney 1994: *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney 1995: The Europeanization of Conflict: Reflections from a Social Movement Perspective. *West European Politics*, 18, 223–51.

Tarrow, Sidney 1998 [1994]: *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney 2005: *The New Transnational Contention*. New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney and McAdam, Doug 2005: Scale Shift in Transnational Contention. In D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 121–49.

Taylor, Bron (ed.) 1995: *Ecological Resistance Movements*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Taylor, Charles 1993: *Multiculturalismo: La politica del riconoscimento*. Milano: Anabasi (original edition *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1992).

Taylor, Ian 1996: Fear of Crime, Urban Fortunes and Suburban Social Movements: Some Reflections from Manchester. *Sociology*, 30, 317–37.

Taylor, Verta 1989: Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 761–75.

Taylor, Verta 1996: *Rock-a-by Baby: Feminism, Identity, and the Post-Partum Depression*. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Verta and Van Willigen, Marieke 1996: Women's Self-Help and the Reconstruction of Gender. *Mobilization*, 1, 123–42.

Taylor, Verta and Whittier, Nancy 1992: Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization. In A. Morris and C. McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 104–32.

Taylor, Verta and Whittier, Nancy 1995: Analytical Approaches to Social Movement Culture: The Culture of the Women's Movement. In H. Johnston and B. Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 163–87.

Taylor-Gooby, Peter 1986: Consumpion Cleavages and Welfare Politics. *Political Studies*, 34, 592–606.

Thayer, Millie 2001: Transnational Feminism: Reading Joan Scott in the Brazilian Sertão. *Ethnography*, 2, 243–71.

Thomas, Daniel C. 2001: *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thompson, Edward H. 1963: *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin.

Thompson, J. D. 1967: *Organizations in Action*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Thompson, John B. 1995: *The Media and Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tillock, Harriet M. and Morrison, Denton E. 1979: Group Size and Contribution to Collective Action: An Examination of Olson Theory Using Data from Zero Population Growth. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, vol. 2. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 131–52.

Tilly, Charles 1978: *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Tilly, Charles 1984a: *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*. New York: Russell Sage.

Tilly, Charles 1984b: Social Movements and National Politics. In C. Bright and S. Harding (eds.), *State-Making and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 297–317.

Tilly, Charles 1986: *The Contentious French*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Tilly, Charles 1987: Social Conflict. *CSSC Working Paper Series 43*. New York: New School for Social Research.

Tilly, Charles 1988: Social Movements, Old and New. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 10. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–18.

Tilly, Charles 1993: *European Revolutions 1492–1992*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Tilly, Charles 1994: Social Movements as Historically Specific Clusters of Political Performances. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 38, 1–30.

Tilly, Charles 2002: *Stories, Identities, and Political Change*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Tilly, Charles 2003: *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles 2004a: *Social Movements 1768–2004*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Tilly, Charles 2004b: *Contention and Democracy in Europe 1650–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, Charles, Tilly, Louise and Tilly, Richard 1975: *The Rebellious Century 1830–1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tilly, Chris 2004: Living Wage Laws in the United States: The Dynamic of a Growing Movement. In Maria Kousis and Charles Tilly (eds.), *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 143–57.

Tindall, David 2004: Social Movement Participation Over Time: An Ego-Network Approach to Micro-Mobilization. *Sociological Focus*, 37, 163–84.

Titarenko, Larissa, McCarthy, John D., McPhail, Clark, and Augustyn, Boguslaw 2001: The Interaction of State Repression, Protest Form and Protest Sponsor Strength During the Transition From Communism in Belarus, 1990–1995. *Mobilization*, 6, 129–50.

Tondeur, Alain 1997: *La crise blanche*. Brussels: Editions Luc Pire.

Touraine, Alain 1977: *The Self-Production of Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Touraine, Alain 1981: *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Touraine, Alain 1984: *Le retour de l'acteur*. Paris: Fayard.

Touraine, Alain 1985: An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52, 749–88.

Touraine, Alain 1987: *The Workers' Movement*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Touraine, Alain 1991: Commentary on Dieter Rucht's Critique. In D. Rucht (ed.), *Research in Social Movements: The State of the Art*. Frankfurt/Boulder, CO: Campus Verlag/Westview Press, 385–91.

Touraine, Alain 1992: *Critique de la modernité*. Paris: Fayard.

Touraine, Alain, Dubet, François, Hegedus, Zsuzsa, and Wieviorka, Michel 1981: *Le pays contre l'etat: Luttes occitanes*. Paris: Seuil.

Touraine, Alain, Dubet, François, Wieviorka, Michel, and Strzelecki, Jan 1983: *Solidarity: The Analysis of a Social Movement: Poland 1980–1981*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Touraine, Alain, Hegedus, Zsusza, Dubet, François, and Wieviorka, Michel 1983: *Anti-nuclear Protest: The Opposition to Nuclear Power in France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tranvik, Tommy 2004: Surfing for Online Connectedness: Is the Internet Helping to End Civic Engagement? In S. Prakash and P. Selle (eds.) *Investigating Social Capital*. London: Sage, 281–304.

Traugott, Mark 1995: Barricades as Repertoire: Continuities and Discontinuities in the History of French Contention. In Mark Traugott (ed.), *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham: Duke University Press, 43–56.

Trigilia, Carlo 1984: *Grandi partiti e piccole imprese: Comunisti e democristiani nelle regioni a economia diffusa*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Trump, Thomas M. 1991: Value Formation and Postmaterialism: Inglehart's Theory of Value Change Reconsidered. *Comparative Political Studies*, 24, 365–90.

Turk, Herman 1977: *Organizations in Modern Life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Turnaturi, Gabriella 1991: *Associati per amore*. Milan: Feltrinelli.

Turner, Bryan 1988: *Status*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Turner, Ralph 1969: The Theme of Contemporary Social Movements. *British Journal of Sociology*, 20, 390–405.

Turner, Ralph 1994: Ideology and Utopia After Socialism. In E. Larana, H. Johnston, and J. Gusfield (eds.), *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 79–100.

Turner, Ralph and Killian, Lewis 1987 [1957]: *Collective Behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Urry, John 1995: Rethinking Class. In L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage, 169–81.

Useem, Bert 1980: Solidarity Model, Breakdown Model and the Boston Anti-busing Movement. *American Sociological Review*, 45, 357–69.

Valiente, Celia 2003: The Feminist Movement and the Reconfigured State in Spain (1970–2000). In Lee Ann Banaszak, Karen Beckwith, and Dieter Rucht (eds.), *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 30–47.

Valocchi, Steve 1999: Collective Action Frames in the Gay Liberation Movement. *Mobilization*, 4, 59–74.

Van Aelst, Peter and Walgraave, Stefan 2004: New Media, New Movements? The Role of the Internet in Shaping the "Anti-globalization" Movement. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 97–122.

van de Donk, Wim, Loader, Brian, Nixon, Paul, and Rucht, Dieter (eds.) 2004: *Cyberspace Protest*. London: Routledge.

van de Hoonaard, Will C. 1991: Numbers and "Social Forms": The Contribution of Simmel to Social Movements Theory. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research In Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 13. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 31–43.

van der Heijden, Hein-Anton, Koopmans, Ruud, and Giugni, Marco 1992: The West European Environmental Movement. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change. Supplement 2*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–40.

Van Dyke, Nella, 2003: *Protest Cycles and Party Politics: The Effects of Elite Allies and Antagonists on Student Protest in the United States, 1930–1990*. In Jack A. Goldstone (ed.), *States, Parties and Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 226–45.

van Gennep, A. 1983: *I riti di passaggio*. Torino: Boringhieri (original edition *Les rites de passage*, Paris, Nourry, 1908).

Van Zoonen, Liesbet 1996: A Dance of Death: New Social Movements and Mass Media. In D. Paletz (ed.), *Political Communication in Action*. Cress Hill, NJ: Hampton Press, 201–22.

Vegh, Sandor 2003: Classifying Forms of Online Activism. In M. McCaughey and M. D. Ayers (eds.), *Cyberactivism: Online Activism in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 71–95.

Verba, Sydney, Nie, Norman H., and Kim, Jae-on 1978: *Participation and Political Equality*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Vertovec, Steven and Cohen, Robin (eds.) 2003: *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Virnoche, Mary and Marx, Gary 1997: "Only Connect": E. M. Forster in an Age of Electronic Communication: Computer-Mediated Association and Community Networks. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67, 85–100.

von Beyme, Klaus (ed.) 1988: *Right-wing Extremism in Western Europe*. London: Cass.

von Dirke, Sabine 1997: *All the Power to the Imagination! The West German Counterculture from the Student Movement to the Greens*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.

Voss, Kim 1993: *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century*. Cornell: University Press.

Wacquant, Loic J. D. 1994: The New Urban Color Line: The State and Fate of the Ghetto in Postfordist America. In C. Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 231–76.

Waddell, Steve 2003: The Climate Action Network: Civil Society Tackling Global Negotiations, Boston, unpublished paper (www.gan-net.net/pdfs/can.pdf).

Waddington, P. A. J. 1994: *Liberty and Order: Policing Public Order in a Capital City*. London: UCL Press.

Waddington, P. A. J. 1998: Controlling Protest in Contemporary Historical and Comparative Perspectives. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 117–40.

Walby, Sylvia 1997: *Gender Transformations*. London: Routledge.

Walgrave, Stefaan and Rucht, Dieter (eds.), forthcoming, *Protest Politics: Antiwar Mobilization in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, in preparation.

Walgrave, Stefaan and Massens, Jan 2000: The Making of the White March: The Mass Media as Mobilizing Alternative to Movement Organizations. *Mobilization*, 5, 217–39.

Walker, Jack L. 1991: *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wall, Derek 1999: *Earth First! and the Anti-Road Movement*. London: Routledge.

Wallace, Michael and Jenkins, J. Craig 1995: The New Class, Postindustrialism, and Neocorporatism: Three Images of Social Protest in Western Democracies. In J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans (eds.), *The Politics of Social Protest*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 96–137.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1974: *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1979: *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 2004: *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wallis, Roy 1977: *The Road to Total Freedom*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wallis, Roy and Bruce, Steve 1986: *Sociological Theory, Religion and Collective Action*. Belfast: Queen's University Press.

Walsh, Edward 1988: *Democracy in the Shadows: Citizens' Mobilization in the Wake of the Accident at Three Mile Island*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Walsh, Edward and Warland, Rex 1983: Social Movement Involvement in the Wake of A Nuclear Accident: Activists and Free Riders in the TMI Area. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 764–80.

Walton, John, and Seddon, David 1994: *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustement*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Warren, Mark 2001: Power and Conflict in Social Capital: Community Organizing and Urban Policy. In Bob Edwards, Michael Foley, and Mario Diani (eds.) *Beyond Tocqueville*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 169–82.

Washbourne, Neil 2001: Information Technology and New Forms of Organising? Translocalism and Networks in Friends of the Earth. In F. Webster (ed.), *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*. London: Routledge, 129–41.

Wasko, Janet and Mosco, Vincent (eds.) 1992: *Democratic Communications in the Information Age*. Toronto/Norwood, NJ: Garamond Press/Ablex.

Wasserman, Stanley and Katherine Faust: 1995: *Social Network Analysis*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Waters, Malcolm 1995: *Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Watts, Meredith W. 1997: *Xenophobia in United Germany: Generations, Modernization, and Ideology*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wellman, Barry 1988: Structural Analysis: From Method and Metaphor to Theory and Substance. In B. Wellman, and S. D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 19–61.

Wellman, Barry and Berkowitz, Steve D. (eds.) 1988: *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press.

Wellman, Barry and Haythornwhyte, Carolin (eds.) 2002: *Internet and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wellman, Barry, Carrington, Peter J., and Hall, Alan 1988: Networks as Personal Communities. In B. Wellman and S. D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 130–84.

Westby, David L. 2002: Strategic Imperative, Ideology, and Frame. *Mobilization*, 7, 287–304.

Whalen, Jack and Richard Flacks 1989: *Beyond the Barricades: The Sixties Generation Grows Up*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

White, Harrison 1988: Varieties in Markets. In B. Wellman and S. D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 226–60.

White, Paul E., Levine, Sol, and Vasak, George 1975: Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for Understanding Interorganizational Relationships. In R. A. R. Negandhi (ed.), *Interorganizational Theory*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 182–95.

Whittier, Nancy 1995: *Feminist Generations: The Persistence of the Radical Women's Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Whittier, Nancy 1997: Political Generation, Micro-Cohorts, and the Transformation of Social Movements. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 760–78.

Whittier, Nancy 2004: The Consequences of Social Movements for Each Other. In Davis A. Snow, Sarah H. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 531–51.

Whutnow, Robert 1987: *Meaning and Moral Order: Explanations in Cultural Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wieviorka, Michel (ed.) 2003: *Une autre monde . . . Contestations, dérives et surprise dans l'antimondialisation*. Paris: Balland.

Wieviorka, Michel 1995: *The Arena of Racism*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Wilcox, Clyde 1996: *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Willelms, Helmut, Wolf, Marianne, and Eckert, Roland 1993: *Unruhen und Politikberatung: Funktion, Arbeitweise, Ergebnisse und Auswirkung von Untersuchungskommissionen in der USA, Grossbritannien und der Bundesrepublik Deutschlands*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Williams, Rhys H. 1999: Visions of the Good Society and the Religious Roots of American Political Culture. *Sociology of Religion*, 60, 1–34.

Williams, Rhys H. 2002: From the "Beloved Community" to "Family Values": Religious Language, Symbolic Repertoires, and Democratic Culture. In D. S. Meyer, B. Robnett,

and N. Whittier (eds.), *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Rhys H. 2004: The Cultural Contexts of Collective Action. In D. Snow, S. Soule, and H. Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell, 91–115.

Williams, Rhys H. and Kubal, Thimoty J. 1999: Movement Frames and Cultural Environment: Resonance, Failure and Boundaries of the Legitimate. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 21, 225–48.

Wilson, Bryan 1982: *Religion in Sociological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, Frank L. 1990: Neo-corporatism and the Rise of New Social Movements. In R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 67–83.

Wilson, Graham K. 1990: *Interest Groups*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wilson, James Q. 1973: *Political Organizations*. New York: Basic Books.

Wilson, John 1973: *Introduction to Social Movements*. New York: Basic Books.

Wilson, John 1976: Social Protest and Social Control. *Social Problems*, 24, 469–81.

Wilson, John 2000: Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 215–40.

Winter, Martin 1998: Protest Policing in Germany. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis/London: The University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 188–212.

Wisler, Dominique and Kriesi, Hanspeter 1998: Decisionmaking and Style in Protest Policing. The Cases of Geneva and Zurich. In D. della Porta and H. Reiter (eds.), *Policing Protest: The Control of Mass Demonstrations in Western Democracies*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/UCL Press, 91–116.

Woliver, Laura R. 1993: *From Outrage to Action: The Politics of Grass-roots Dissent*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Wood, Elizabeth 2003: *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, Lesley 2004: Breaking the Bank and Taking to the Streets: How Protesters Target Neoliberalism. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 10, 69–89.

Wood, Michael and Hughes, Michael 1984: The Moral Basis of Moral Reform: Status Discontent vs. Culture and Socialization as Explanations of Anti-Pornography Social Movement Adherence. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 86–99.

Woodberry, Robert D. and Smith, Christian 1998: Fundamentalism et al.: Conservative Protestants in America. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 25–56.

Worster, Donald 1994: *Storia delle idee ecologiche*. Bologna: il Mulino (original edition *Nature's Economy*, Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Wrench, John and Solomos, John (eds.) 1993: *Racism and Migration in Western Europe*. Oxford/New York: Berg.

Wright, Erik O. 1985: *Classes*. London: Verso.

Wright, Erik O. 1996: The Continuing Relevance of Class Analysis – Comments. *Theory and Society*, 25, 693–716.

Wright, Steve 2004: Informing, Communicating and ICTs in Contemporary Anti-capitalist Movements. In W. van de Donk, B. Loader, P. Nixon, and D. Rucht (eds.), *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 77–94.

Yashar, Deborah 1996: Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 31, 23–42.

Yearley, Steven 1988: *Science, Technology and Social Change*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Yearley, Steven 1991: *The Green Case*. London: Routledge.

Yearley, Steven 1996: *Sociology, Environmentalism, Globalization*. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Yinger, J. Milton 1982: *Countercultures*. New York: Free Press.

Young, Iris Marion 1996: Communication and The Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy. In Seyla Benhabib (ed.), *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 120–35.

Young, Iris Marion 2003: Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy. In James S. Fishkin, and Peter Laslett, eds., *Debating Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford: Blackwell, 102–20.

Young, Michael P. 2002: Confessional Protest: The Religious Birth of U.S. National Social Movements. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 660–88.

Zald, Mayer N. 1970: *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zald, Mayer N. 2000: Ideologically Structured Action: An Enlarged Agenda for Social Movement Research. *Mobilization*, 5, 1–16.

Zald, Mayer N. and Ash, Roberta 1966: Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change. *Social Forces*, 44, 327–40.

Zald, Mayer N. and Jacobs, David 1978: Compliance/Incentive Classifications of Organizations. Underlying Dimensions. *Administration and Society*, 9, 403–24.

Zald, Mayer N. and McCarthy, John 1980: Social Movement Industries: Competition and Cooperation Among Movement Organizations. In L. Kriesberg (ed.), *Research In Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, vol. 3. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1–20.

Zald, Mayer N. and McCarthy, John 1987: *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Zald, Mayer N. and Useem, Bert 1987: Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Involvement. In M. N. Zald and J. D. McCarthy (eds.), *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 247–72.

Zincone, Giovanna 1992: *Da sudditi a cittadini*. Bologna: il Mulino.

Zirakzadeh, Cyrus E. 1991: *A Rebellious People*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Zirakzadeh, Cyrus E. 1997: *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study*. London/New York: Longman.

Zuo, Jiping and Benford, Robert D. 1994: Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement. *Sociological Quarterly*, 36, 801–28.

Zurcher, Louis A. and Curtis, Russel L. 1973: A Comparative Analysis of Propositions Describing Social Movement Organizations. *Sociological Quarterly*, 14, 175–88.