

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**

© 1999, 2006 by Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK

550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

The right of Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani to be identified as the Authors of this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs, and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

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

Preface to the Second Edition	vii
1 The Study of Social Movements: Recurring Questions, (Partially) Changing Answers	1
1.1 Four Core Questions for Social Movement Analysis	5
1.2 What is Distinctive about Social Movements?	20
1.3 On This Book	29
2 Social Changes and Social Movements	33
2.1 Social Structure, Political Cleavages, and Collective Action	36
2.2 States, Markets, and Social Movements	42
2.3 Knowledge, Culture, and Conflicts	47
2.4 Structural Transformations, New Conflicts, New Classes	52
2.5 Summary	62
3 The Symbolic Dimension of Collective Action	64
3.1 Culture and Action: The Role of Values	67
3.2 Culture and Action: The Cognitive Perspective	73
3.3 Problems and Responses	85
3.4 Summary	87
4 Collective Action and Identity	89
4.1 How Does Identity Work?	93
4.2 Multiple Identities	98
4.3 Does Identity Facilitate Participation?	100
4.4 How Is Identity Generated and Reproduced?	105
4.5 Summary	113
5 Individuals, Networks, and Participation	114
5.1 Why Do People Get Involved in Collective Action? The Role of Networks	117

vi CONTENTS

5.2	Do Networks Always Matter?	121
5.3	Individuals and Organizations	126
5.4	Individual Participation, Movement Subcultures, and Virtual Networks	131
5.5	Summary	134
6	Social Movements and Organizations	135
6.1	Organizational Dilemmas in Social Movements	140
6.2	Types of Social Movement Organizations	145
6.3	How Do Social Movement Organizations Change?	150
6.4	From Movement Organizations to Social Movement Networks	156
6.5	Summary	161
7	Action Forms, Repertoires, and Cycles of Protest	163
7.1	Protest: A Definition	165
7.2	Repertoires of Action	168
7.3	The Logics and Forms of Protest	170
7.4	Strategic Options and Protest	178
7.5	Factors Influencing Repertoire Choice	181
7.6	The Cross-National Diffusion of Protest	186
7.7	Cycles of Protest, Protest Waves, and Protest Campaigns	188
7.8	Summary	191
8	The Policing of Protest and Political Opportunities for Social Movements	193
8.1	The Policing of Protest	197
8.2	Political Institutions and Social Movements	201
8.3	Prevailing Strategies and Social Movements	206
8.4	Allies, Opponents, and Social Movements	210
8.5	Discursive Opportunity and the Media System	219
8.6	Summary	221
9	Social Movements and Democracy	223
9.1	Social Movement Strategies and Their Effects	226
9.2	Changes in Public Policy	229
9.3	Social Movements and Procedural Changes	233
9.4	Social Movements and Democratic Theory	239
9.5	Social Movements and Democratization	245
9.6	Summary	248
	Notes	250
	References	261
	Index of Names	329
	Index of Subjects	341

INDIVIDUALS, NETWORKS, AND PARTICIPATION

Viale Sarca is a long, fairly anonymous road on the Milanese periphery, lined with tenements that mostly used to host workers of the Pirelli factory nearby. In the late 1990s, urban renewal brought new intellectual glamour to the area, following the location, on the former Pirelli estate, of the campus of the second state university of Milan. Developers were nowhere to be seen, however, in 1985, when Mario Diani traveled there to meet Antonio, a local environmental and political activist. Mario was researching the Milanese environmental movement and Antonio's name had been passed to him as the contact person for a grassroots political ecology group operating in the area. The offspring of southern Italian farmers turned industrial workers who migrated to Milan in the 1950s, Antonio had followed a fairly common path of political socialization: exposed to trade unionism and communist party politics in his teens, he had become involved with radical left group Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle) in the 1970s and had later developed an interest in the link between social deprivation and environmental degradation. He was also an active member of a local Green List that was forming at the time. In order to promote campaigning on environmental issues in the highly polluted northern Milanese periphery, he had drawn upon the contacts developed during his previous militancy. The core activists in his new environmental group all shared a past of activism in the same local branch of Lotta Continua. Acquaintances and contacts developed over the years had also proved useful with the promotion of specific actions: Antonio had collaborated with a range of local organizations across the broad spectrum of the New and the Old Left, including local branches of parties and unions, cultural and cooperative associations.

Antonio's story is interesting for various reasons. First of all, although it is set in the 1980s, well before antiglobalization movements developed, there are more than passing analogies to what has been going on since the late 1990s. Antonio was actually an early example of what we would now call an "environmental justice activist" (Çapek 2003), successfully integrating concern for social inequality with interest in environmental conditions in urban areas. His story also is a good illustration of the main themes of this chapter, namely the dynamic nature of the relationship between networks and participation, and the duality of the link between individuals and organizational activities. First of all, social networks affect participation in collective action, while in turn participation shapes networks, reinforcing preexisting ones or creating new ones. Social networks may increase individual chances to become involved, and strengthen activists' attempts to further the appeal of their causes: when Antonio decided to start a local environmental action group, he successfully tried and convinced his former comrades in *Lotta Continua* to join him in the new enterprise. That they not only quickly got involved with the environmental issues, but agreed to support the particular agenda Antonio was proposing, depended in no small measure on the mutual trust, sense of companionship, solidarity, and the shared understandings and worldviews that had been forged and developed through their long-term acquaintance in *Lotta Continua*. From this perspective, therefore, previous social networks facilitated the development of new forms of collective action at later stages.

At the same time, social networks are not only a facilitator but also a product of collective action: while people often become involved in a specific movement or campaign through their previous links, their very participation also forges new links, which in turn affect subsequent developments in their activist careers (and indeed in their lives at large). Let us look at Antonio's involvement with *Lotta Continua* from this angle: the members of his local branch had been recruited to New Left radicalism via a range of ties, developed in school and peer groups, in political organizations (e.g., youth branches of traditional left parties) as well as in other associations (e.g., church-related ones). Participation in *Lotta Continua* was therefore as much the product of previous networks (including previous forms of participation) as it was the source of networks which people like Antonio could draw upon at later stages.

However, there is another important dynamic which Antonio's story draws our attention to, namely the duality of individuals and organizations: our uniqueness as individuals is determined by the particular combination of our group memberships; at the same time, by being members of different groups, we create linkages between them (Simmel 1955; Breiger 1974). Looking at people's membership in associations and organizations, and at their participation in social and cultural activities close to social movement milieus, we can derive important information about their involvement in collective action. Antonio is a case in

point. His identity as a “political man” was determined by the intersection of militancy in a grassroots ecology group and in a left-wing local Green List; on this ground, he differed markedly from other environmental activists, who combined environmentalism with membership in mainstream, moderate recreational, or cultural associations. At the same time, though, by being active in a local political ecology group and in a New Left party, and by participating occasionally in other local groups, Antonio somehow linked them all; he provided a channel of communication which proved useful for promoting joint initiatives, and also facilitated the growth of mutual trust and solidarity between the different groups. One might not go as far as talking about “collective identity” in this case, yet a social bond was definitely there: people do not usually join organizations which perceive each other as radically incompatible and hostile. It is also worthwhile noting that individuals also connect organizations across time: for example, Antonio’s and his friends’ previous involvement with *Lotta Continua* also linked – via their individual biographies – grassroots politics of the 1970s and the 1980s.

To sum up, the relationship between individuals and the networks in which they are embedded is crucial not only for the involvement of people in collective action, but also for the sustenance of action over time, and for the particular form that the coordination of action among a multiplicity of groups and organizations may take. In the next section, we ask whether being linked to people who already participate may facilitate individuals’ decisions to devote time and energy to collective action. We map the origins of this question, as well as the criticisms that a response based on the role of networks has attracted. Behind these questions lurks a much broader debate on the relationship between structure and action. Over the past decade this discussion has attracted many contributions from scholars with a specific interest in collective action (Sewell 1992; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Emirbayer 1997; Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Livesay 2002). Although we cannot address that debate here, we nevertheless have to be aware of the broader theoretical context in which our specific research interests are located.

Later in the chapter, we move to the other side of the individual–networks relationship, that is, the contribution that individuals give to the making of social movements out of the multiplicity of groups, associations, and concerned individuals involved in collective action on certain broad issues. Although some organizations require exclusive commitments, most do not. We explore these processes of network-building and mutual understanding, made possible by individuals’ multiple memberships in various types of informal groups and more formal associations. In doing so we connect our discussion – once again mostly implicitly – to the broader debate on the role of social networks as a source of individual as well as collective opportunities (Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993; Putnam 2000; Edwards, Foley, and Diani 2001; Prakash and Selle 2004). From that

particular angle, networks facilitating involvement in social movement activities may be regarded as one particular version of “social capital” (Diani 1997).

However, individuals do not create connections solely through organizational memberships, but also through their participation in various types of social and cultural activities (music festivals, communities of taste, reading groups, alternative cafes, cinemas, theaters, etc.). By doing so they reproduce specific subcultural or countercultural milieus that offer both opportunities for protest activities and for the maintenance and transformation of critical orientations even when protest is not vibrant (Melucci 1996). The final part of the chapter deals with this issue; it also addresses in that context the question of whether the diffusion of computer-mediated communication may alter the conditions under which alternative critical communities and cultural settings are reproduced. The literature on the role of networks and virtual and real communities in the “network society” (Castells 1996; Calhoun 1998; Wellman and Haythornwhyte 2002; Rheingold 2002; van de Donk, Loader, Nixon, and Rucht 2004) provides the broader context for this discussion.

5.1 Why Do People Get Involved in Collective Action? The Role of Networks

How frequent is recruitment through social networks *vis-à-vis* other mobilization channels, such as exposure to media messages, or spontaneous, unsolicited decisions to participate? In one of the first studies to document the importance of personal networks for recruitment processes, Snow, Zurcher, and Eklund-Olson (1980) showed social networks to account for the adhesion of a large share (60 to 90 percent) of members of various religious and political organizations, with the only exception being Hare Krishna. They suggested that only sects, overtly hostile to their social environment, attracted a significant share of people with personal difficulties and lacking extended relational resources (see also Stark and Bainbridge 1980). Looking at nonreligious organizations, Diani and Lodi (1988) found a similarly strong role for networks, showing that 78 percent of environmental activists in Milan in the 1980s had been recruited through personal contacts developed either in private settings (family, personal friendship circles, colleagues) or in the context of other associational activities.

While joining religious sects that are deeply hostile to the secular world may not require strong networks, the opposite seems to hold for adhesion to radical political organizations. Available evidence suggests that the more costly and dangerous the collective action, the stronger and more numerous the ties required for individuals to participate. Studying recruitment to the civil rights project Freedom Summer, aimed at increasing blacks’ participation in politics in the southern states of the US in the 1960s, McAdam (1986) suggested that joining

was not correlated with individual attitudes but rather with three factors: the number of organizations individuals were members of, especially the political ones; the amount of previous experiences of collective action; the links to other people who were also involved with the campaign. In her study of a similarly risky, though very different, type of activism, della Porta (1988) found that involvement in terrorist left-wing groups in Italy was facilitated by strong interpersonal linkages, many to close friends or kin. A recent study of the role played by single members in the development of the Nazi party in 1920s Germany (i.e., members who were not associated with any local chapter: Anheier 2003) adds a further dimension to this argument. At one level, Nazi political entrepreneurs were far from isolated. On the contrary, they were strongly embedded in the broader networks connecting right-wing, nationalistic, and paramilitary organizations in the turbulent years that had followed defeat in the First World War. At the same time, those were strongly "concentric" (Simmel 1955) networks: i.e., networks that were dense internally, but secluded from other types of social or political organizations.

Embeddedness in social networks not only matters for recruitment; it also works as an antidote to leaving, and as a support to continued participation. For example, members of voluntary associations in America whose social ties are mostly to other organization members are more likely to remain committed to those organizations than are those who instead have a greater share of connections to nonmembers (McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic 1992). In his study of dropouts from Swedish temperance organizations, Sandell (1999) also discovered substantial positive and negative bandwagon effects, as people tended both to join and leave in clusters, and to be affected more heavily by their closest links (see also Sandell and Stern 1998; Tindall 2004).

The relevance of these findings is not restricted to recruitment to social movements or religious organizations. Similar mechanisms seem to exist in organizations, such as charities and volunteer groups, with no explicit political goals, and/or which are reluctant to include protest and direct action among their tactical options (Wilson 2000); the same seems to apply to established interest representation groups such as unions (Dixon and Roscigno 2003). Accordingly, it is advisable to approach the issue by considering network mechanisms in reference both to radical, grassroots organizations and other types of association (Knoke 1990c; Knoke and Wisely 1990; Kitts 2000; Oliver and Marwell 2001; Passy 2001, 2003; Diani 2004b).

How do social networks affect decisions to participate in collective action? Through what mechanisms do they operate? Florence Passy (2003) has drawn a distinction between the socialization, structural connection, and decision-shaping functions of networks in the mobilization process. In the first instance, networks operate to create predispositions to action. Being linked to people who are already committed to a certain cause enables individuals to feel part of a "col-

lective we," to elaborate systems of meaning that render collective action both a meaningful and a feasible undertaking, to perceive certain issues as socially relevant and worthy of collective efforts. At the same time, social networks often create opportunities for transforming predispositions into action (what Passy calls the structural connection function). People with certain predispositions will be more likely to contact organizations and come across opportunities for participation if they are connected to people already involved. Finally, holding certain views and having opportunities to act does not guarantee that mobilization will occur. Decisions to act will also be affected by one's network ties. Individuals do not make decisions in isolation but in the context of what other people do, hence the importance of network connections (Passy 2003: 23–7). Passy also showed how these functions take different forms depending on the traits of the organization trying to recruit, and its visibility in the public space. For example, the social connection function is more important for adhesion to organizations that are not very visible in the public space, like the Third World solidarity group Bern Declaration studied by Passy, than for organizations with a strong public presence, like the Swiss branch of WWF.¹

Recognizing the role of networks in facilitating recruitment and sustaining participation in collective action has been crucial for the development of sounder interpretations of protest behavior, because it has enabled scholars to challenge views of protest and countercultural behavior as unruly and deviant. Still in the early 1970s, established academic wisdom regarded individual involvement in social movements as the result of a "mix of personal pathology and social disorganization" (McAdam 2003: 281). At the micro level, collective action was explained by the marginal location of the individuals involved in protest activity, and the lack of integration in their social milieu; at the macro level, by the disruption of routine social arrangements, brought about by radical processes of change and modernization. Both explanations posited a fundamental opposition between protest politics and democratic politics (Kornhauser 1959; Lipset 1960; Buechler 2004).

The separation of protest and routinized politics was challenged by scholars who claimed that grassroots, contentious collective action was ultimately "politics by other means." From this perspective, social movements were merely one of the options that challengers could draw upon to pursue their policy outcomes and their quest for membership in the polity (Tilly 1978). In contrast to accounts of participation in social movements as dysfunctional behavior, social movement activists and sympathizers were portrayed as rich in both cognitive resources and entrepreneurial and political skills (Oberschall 1973; McCarthy and Zald 1977). Most important to us, they were also found to be rich in relational resources, i.e., well integrated in their communities, and strongly involved in a broad range of organizations, from political ones to voluntary associations and community groups (Snow et al. 1980; McAdam 1986; Diani and Lodi 1988). The development

of cross-national surveys analyzing individual participation has largely backed this argument with reference to both institutional politics and protest politics, as participation in the two is strongly correlated (Barnes, Kaase, et al. 1978; Jennings et al. 1990; Norris 2002).

Mass society theorists posited that associations would discourage radical collective action because of their capacity to integrate elites and ordinary citizens, socialize their members to the rules of the game, give them a sense of political efficacy, and provide them with primary attachments and a more satisfactory life. Now we know that organizational participation can work in the opposite direction as well: for instance, membership in associations can also socialize people to orientations critical of the status quo rather than supportive of it; it can put people who sympathize with a certain cause in touch with fellow citizens with the necessary political skills for mobilization; it can cause individuals to experience feelings of moral pressure if they do not participate when their close acquaintances are active in a given cause (Pinard 1968: 683; Kitts 2000; Passy 2003).

Mobilization in social movements frequently occurs through mechanisms of "bloc recruitment" (Oberschall, 1973): cells, branches, or simply significant groups of members of existing organizations are recruited as a whole to a new movement, or contribute to the start of new campaigns (as in Antonio's case, where the local branch of Lotta Continua was instrumental to the foundation of a Green List in the area). Far from necessarily preventing social conflict, intermediate structures also have mobilizing effects, and can motivate and legitimate both individual and collective participation. Another argument vigorously put forward by mass society theory, namely that formal organizations are bound to become the most important reference group for their members in contemporary society, has also been proved wrong; to the contrary, primary groups and social networks within small communities often play that role for individuals (Pinard 1968: 684; see also Bolton, 1972; Pickvance, 1975; Fantasia 1988; Lichterman 1995a).

Recognizing the impact of social networks on both individual participation and overall levels of collective action among a given population also provides the foundations for a critique of structuralist theories of collective action (including deterministic versions of Marxism). They explained action as the result of the shared attributes of a given population (whether a class, a nation, or an otherwise defined group). By this token, the overall mobilization capacity of a given social group should be related to its dimensions, and so should its changes over time; for example, the diminished levels of mobilization by the working class in Western democracies are imputed to its contraction and its overall reduced centrality in the economic process.² In contrast, many students of social movements nowadays associate collective action with catnets, i.e., with the co-presence in a given population of cat(egorical traits) and net(works). Sharing certain class loca-

tions, gender, nationality, or religious beliefs certainly provides the elements on the basis of which recognition and identity-building may take place. But it is through the channels of communication and exchange, constituted by social networks, that the mobilization of resources and the emergence of collective actors become possible (Tilly 1978).

5.2 Do Networks Always Matter?

The role of networks in recruitment processes has been questioned from different angles. On logical grounds, the network thesis would be inconsistent with the fact that those most inclined to action are young people, biographically available because their original family ties no longer bind them as they used to, and new family and professional ties are still developing (Piven and Cloward 1992: 308–9). Most fundamentally, the network thesis would also be largely tautological, given the spread of ties across groups and individuals: “lateral integration, however fragile, is ubiquitous, thus making opportunities for protest ubiquitous” (Piven and Cloward 1992: 311). Rather than highlighting exclusively those cases in which ties are found to be predictors of involvement, analysts should also look at those cases when networks are present yet participation does not result.

It has also been suggested that focusing on networks diverts attention away from the really crucial process for mobilization, namely the transmission of cognitive cultural messages (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Although this may happen through networks, it may also take place through other channels such as the media. Campaigners may have to resort to “moral shocks” with strong emotional impact in order to recruit strangers that they cannot access via personal networks. This may be particularly the case for movements who try to bring new issues onto the political agenda, and/or whose leaders do not have a significant political background:

The use of condensing symbols without social networks may mean that a movement is more likely to employ extreme moralistic appeals that demonize its opponents. It may be more likely to rely on professional or highly motivated bands to do much of its work, as with animal rights activists who break into labs. In contrast . . . movement organizers [who] can tap into an active subculture of politically involved citizens . . . can rely on earlier framing activity . . . They have correspondingly less need of moral shocks administered to the public.

(Jasper and Poulsen 1993: 508)

Sustained involvement in collective action may also be facilitated by the participation, not necessarily planned or anticipated, in events that turn out to have a powerful emotional impact – sometimes on entire collectivities, other times,

on specific individuals (Turner and Killian 1987; Goodwin et al. 2001). We have already come across Javier Auyero's analysis of the mechanisms through which a woman with no interest in politics nor ties to political activists turned into a community leader in a small Argentinian town in less than a week, following her occasional involvement in a blockade, promoted by local residents to complain about joblessness and hardship in the region. Given her background, a network explanation for such developments seems implausible. That this happened was due in much larger measure to the interplay of several expressions of outrage: at a judiciary system that was failing her in her struggle to secure help for her kids' upbringing from her estranged husband; at local politicians attempting to manipulate local people's protests to pursue their own political ends; at the provincial governor's framing of hungry people's collective action as criminal behavior; not to mention dismissive attitudes by male fellow protestors (Auyero 2004).

Empirically, we can identify several instances of mobilization both occurring largely outside social networks, or not occurring despite the presence of social networks. For example, only one-fifth of participants in anti-abortion mobilizations in California had been recruited through networks (Luker 1984); and we have already seen that members of religious sects may have joined them largely independently from their previous connections (Snow et al., 1980). Conversely, Mullins (1987) showed that the wealth of interpersonal contacts in a Brisbane local community did not result in mobilizations against plans for a freeway crossing the neighborhood. Even when network effects are discovered, findings are sometimes ambiguous. For example, Oliver (1984) found people acquainted with their neighbors to be more likely to become involved in neighborhood associations, but network effects, overall, were mixed in her analysis. More recently, Nepstad and Smith (1999) duplicated McAdam's study of Freedom Summer by looking at participants and dropouts in the Nicaragua Exchange Brigade in the 1980s. In that case, ties to people directly involved were the most powerful predictor of participation, but the number of prospective participants' ties to other organizations did not matter. However, the relationship was reversed for people who joined after the organization's third year in existence, with the number of organizational links being important and ties to actual participants no longer helping.

These criticisms have prompted analysts of social networks to substantially qualify their points. It is now widely recognized that, when looking at the relationship between networks and participation, it is important to specify its terms. Questions such as "What networks actually explain what?" and "Under what conditions do specific networks become relevant?" are crucial in this regard. At the moment, however, we have no conclusive answers to such questions. At times, it is the position one occupies within a network which matters, rather than the mere fact of being involved in some kind of network. In one of their explorations

of participation in Freedom Summer, Fernandez and McAdam (1989) looked at individual centrality in the network, which consisted of all the activists who had applied to take part in the campaign in Madison, Wisconsin. Joint memberships in social organizations of all sorts represented the links between individuals. Those who were more central in that network (i.e., who were either linked to a higher number of prospective participants, and/or were connected to people who were also central in that network) were more likely to go through the training process undeterred, and eventually to join the campaign. In that case, involvement in networks did not count as much as one's location within them.

The context in which mobilization attempts take place is also very important, as local conditions affect how social networks operate. Kriesi (1988b) studied recruitment to the 1985 People's Petition campaign, which collected signatures against the deployment of SS20 cruise missiles in the Netherlands. In areas where countercultural milieus were weak, people already had to be members of local political organizations in order to mobilize in the campaign; where countercultural milieus were strong, and the overall attitudes toward collective action were in general more favorable, there was less need for links to members of specific political organizations to encourage adhesion: more people were recruited through personal friendship networks or even in other forms not based on network links at all (e.g. self-applications: Kriesi 1988b: 58). Strong countercultural milieus seemed to have an autonomous capacity to motivate people, which in turn made specific organizational connections less necessary. Along similar lines, McAdam and Fernandez (1990) found that recruitment to the Freedom Summer campaign depended more strongly on membership in organizational networks on a campus with a weak tradition of activism like Madison, Wisconsin, than on a campus with a strong tradition of alternative politics like Berkeley.

We have already seen (section 5.1) that radical activism often needs dense supporting networks. At the other extreme, participation in organizational activities that are not very demanding might not necessarily require the backing of strong social networks. For example, adhesion to cultural associations or even religious groups that promote practices fairly close to market activities (e.g., individual meditation, alternative health practices like yoga, etc.) may easily occur even though people's decisions to get involved are not supported by specific social networks (Stark and Bainbridge 1980). Even public interest groups, like those active in the environmental movement, may rely on networks to a variable extent, depending on their levels of moderation and institutionalization. For example, Diani and Lodi (1988) found that recruitment to organizations in the more established conservation sector depended more on private networks than recruitment to more critical groups, which largely took place through ties developed in previous experiences of collective action. They explained this difference by suggesting that exclusively private ties (i.e., ties developed in contexts detached from collective action milieus) may be enough to facilitate adhesion to organizations

that have widely accepted policy goals (for example, supporting a local group campaigning to create new green spaces in the neighborhood). In contrast, joining organizations with some radical stances, like political ecology ones, may require people to overcome higher barriers. Accordingly, this may be easier if people are linked to acquaintances met during specific experiences of collective action rather than in more generic settings like one's neighborhood. However, adhesion to very demanding forms of collective action may also occur without networks playing a major role. In the case of world-rejecting religious sects, who require of their members a total break with their previous lifestyles and habits, involvement may be easier for isolated individuals than for people who are well embedded in social networks. In all likelihood, network links would exert some kind of cross-pressure, thus discouraging prospective adepts from joining (Snow et al. 1980).

Increasingly, researchers have recognized that people are involved in multiple ties, and that while some may facilitate participation, others may discourage it (Kitts 2000). Taking this possibility into account, McAdam and Paulsen (1993) tried to determine what dimensions of social ties are most important, and how different types of ties shape decisions to participate. Their conclusions substantially qualified earlier arguments (including their own: McAdam 1986) on the link between participation and former organizational memberships. As such, embeddedness in organizational links did not predict activism, nor did strong ties to people who already volunteered. Instead, what mattered most was a strong commitment to a particular identity, reinforced by ties to participants, whether of an organizational or private type. Having been a member of, say, left-wing groups in the past did not represent a predictor of participation in Freedom Summer unless it was coupled with a strong, subjective identification with that milieu.

Being directly linked – mostly via organizational ties – to people who already participate may thus not be an essential precondition for recruitment. Lack of direct ties may be overcome if prospective participants are embedded in organizational networks compatible with the campaign/organization they are considering joining (Kriesi 1988b; McAdam and Fernandez 1990; McAdam and Paulsen 1993). However, we can also think of the reverse situation, with people mobilizing through contacts developed in contexts not directly associated with participation, but that nonetheless create opportunities for people with similar presuppositions to meet and eventually develop joint action. Research on adhesion to two action committees campaigning against low-flying military jets in two German villages (Ohlemacher 1996), showed that recruitment attempts were far more successful for the committee whose members were mostly part of neutral organizations in their village rather than of explicitly political ones. Membership in apparently innocuous organizations such as parent-teacher associations or sport clubs enabled members of the committee to reach, and gain the

trust of, a broader range of people than they could have had they been members of organizations with a more clear-cut political identity. Similar mechanisms may also influence involvement in nonprotest actions. For example, Becker and Dhingra (2001) illustrated how membership in religious congregations, and the resulting ties to fellow members, enabled people to engage in a variety of activities in the community, but without any bearing on levels of involvement in the congregational activities. Congregations offered individuals the opportunity to form close links of friendship and support, but the resulting social capital seemed to exert its effects mainly beyond the boundaries of the congregation.

To sum up, studies of the relationship between networks and participation have gone a long way toward specifying its terms. Questions such as "what networks account for what type of participation?" have been addressed from a variety of perspectives. Although findings are not always consistent, nor necessarily comparable, it is possible to identify some recurring themes. First, the role of networks seems to vary, depending on the costs attached to the action which they are supposed to facilitate. Whether costs defined in terms of personal risks, or of the energy and commitment required to join a specific action or organization, more demanding forms of action have often (but not always: Snow et al. 1980) been backed by stronger and more specific networks. Number and intensity of ties to other participants have been found to play a role in recruitment to dangerous actions of the violent (della Porta 1988) as well as of the peaceful (McAdam 1986, 1988a) kind. A central position in the networks linking prospective participants has also been identified as an important predictor of actual participation (Fernandez and McAdam 1989).

The extent to which the mobilizing messages and the cultural orientation of a movement differ from, and are at odds with, the dominant orientations in society also seems to make certain networks more effective than others. Private networks, consisting for example of ties to friends or acquaintances without involvement in specific organizations or subcultural milieus, have been found to matter most in cases when the message of a movement was well accepted in the social milieus in which prospective participants lived and operated – whether conservation styles of environmental activism in 1980s Milan (Diani and Lodi 1988), radical civil rights action in 1960s Berkeley subcultures (McAdam and Fernandez 1990), or peace campaigns in Dutch cities in the 1980s (Kriesi 1988b). Networks more directly embedded in political and at times radical organizations and subcultures have been found to count relatively more for recruitment to organizations whose message was less mainstream, although not necessarily antagonistic, in their specific context (such as political ecologists in Milan, civil rights activism in Madison, or peace action in Dutch cities with a weak presence of alternative subcultures).

Finally, not only do different networks matter in different contexts, they also perform different functions, ranging from socialization to the creation of con-

create opportunities to become involved, and to influencing prospective participants' decisions at crucial points in time (Kitts 2000; McAdam 2003; Passy 2001, 2003; Tindall 2004). The relevance of such functions may change, depending on whether we are looking at recruitment rather than at the strengthening of commitment and the extension of militancy over long periods of time. The different public exposure of different organizations may also affect the relative weight of specific types of networks over others (Passy 2003).

5.3 Individuals and Organizations

As the story of Antonio, with which we opened this chapter, illustrated well, the importance of social networks for collective action in movements goes beyond their support of individual activism. On the contrary, by participating in the life of a movement and, in particular, in that of its various organizations, activists create new channels of communication among them and increase the scope for promoting common campaigns. Links founded on multiple allegiances are also important as they create channels of communication between movements and their environment. There are, of course, exclusive allegiances in which a single organization monopolizes the commitment and the affective investment of its individual members; but the inclusive model is more common.

5.3.1 *Exclusive affiliations*

In some movements, participation implies committing to specific organizations. Exclusive organizations demand a long novitiate, rigid discipline, and a high level of commitment, intruding upon every aspect of their members' lives (Zald and Ash 1966; Curtis and Zurcher 1974). In general, the greater the degree to which an organization is founded on symbolic incentives – either ideological or solidaristic – the more exclusive it will be.

The most obvious illustrations of this pattern include self-referential communities or sects whose main characteristics are closure in the face of the outside world, a totalitarian structure, incompatibility with other forms of collective engagement, and the view – among themselves – that adherents are the repositories of truth (Wallis 1977). Though they are not necessarily residential communities, the lifestyle of these groups is markedly separate. Interaction with other groups is usually limited, while the tendency to concentrate on activities internal to the group is very strong. Organizations active in neoreligious or neocommunitarian movements often easily fall into this category; but political fundamentalist and radical organizations are not dissimilar (Blee 2002; Anheier 2003).

In these cases, the single adherent/activist inhabits a world in which relationships and norms are highly structured: this leads to a radical transformation of personality (see chapter 4 above). The prevalence of sectarian organizations within a movement sector produces networks which are highly, if not completely, fragmented. The only significant level of interaction is among adherents to a specific organization. In some cases (for example, those sects which can count on numerous local groups, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, but also political organizations with a strong territorial presence) these contacts can also develop over a wide geographical area. However, contacts rarely extend beyond the confines of the single organization. The "movement network" consists therefore of a series of cliques³; that is to say, groups of actors – members of a given organization – who are strongly linked to each other and barely or not at all with adherents to other groups.

5.3.2 *Multiple affiliations*

In most cases, however, participation takes place in inclusive organizations that allow multiple memberships and have no aspiration to monopolize their members' commitment. Already in the early 1970s, Curtis and Zurcher (1973) regarded individual activists as interorganizational links, and thus as basic structural features of movement "organizational fields" (see also Di Maggio and Powell 1983; Di Maggio 1986). Along similar lines, Bolton (1972) talked of "chains of group affiliations" in relation to the structure of overlapping memberships in voluntary organizations. Many empirical investigations have followed, adding details to the broad picture. Diani and Lodi (1988) have documented multiple commitments in Italian environmentalism, with 28 percent of activists being involved in several other environmental organizations, and the same percentage active in both environmental and other political or social groups. Looking at Dutch environmentalism, Kriesi (1993: 186) found 43 percent of core activists to have personal links to other movement activists (25 percent in Italy according to Diani and Lodi), and 67 percent to be connected to other new social movement participants. Patterns of multiple participation seem to be affected by organizational features. Investigating members of voluntary associations in the US, McPherson (1983) found that bigger organizations not only were able to secure their members' commitment for a longer time, but could also rely on more ties to other groups, generated by their members' overlapping affiliations. However, other data (e.g. Diani 1995a: 113) suggest a more ambiguous relationship between an organization's size and its members' propensity to engage in multiple activities.

Multiple affiliations play an important role in integrating different areas of a movement. To belong to the same movement organizations (just as, more

generally, to organizations of other types) facilitates personal contact and the development of informal networks which, in turn, encourage individual participation and the mobilization of resources. Personal contacts are also instrumental in linking organizations to each other. As happens in economic organizations (Stokman et al. 1985; Mizruchi and Schwartz 1987), political organizations are often connected by the fact that they share certain activists; or else by personal relationships and friendships among their members and leaders.

Carroll and Ratner's (1996) study of movement activism in the Greater Vancouver area exemplifies these processes well. By looking at the joint affiliations of over 200 activists in 7 social movements (labor, urban/antipoverty, gay/lesbian, feminism, environmentalism, peace, aboriginal) they have been able to document not only the extent of overlapping memberships, but their patterning. Among Vancouver activists, only 27 percent were active in a single organization, whereas 28 percent collaborated with multiple organizations within the same movement, and 45 percent with multiple organizations in several movements (Carroll and Ratner 1996: 605). Activists in peace and urban/antipoverty movements were the most inclined towards multiple memberships (67 percent and 71 percent were involved in multiple organizations in multiple movements), while gay/lesbian, feminist, environmentalist, and aboriginal activists seemed to be the least so (34, 32, 39, and 42 percent of them, respectively, were actually committed to a single organization). Overlapping memberships constituted a core bloc of labor, peace, and urban/antipoverty organizations. Feminist and environmental organizations were linked to this bloc through their connections to labor and peace movements (1996: 605–6). While the specific pattern of linkages discovered by Carroll and Ratner need not be taken as the norm, and it may well vary substantially in different periods and localities, the Vancouver study still shows the potentiality of a network approach to the study of movement sectors.

Recent data on people who demonstrated against the Iraq war on February 15, 2003, in 8 Western countries⁴ likewise indicate the extent of multiple memberships. Of the demonstrators who were members of peace organizations before February 15, 53 percent were also active in other organizations mobilizing on transnational issues such as Third World development or migrants' rights; 45 percent in social, cultural, or religious organizations; 35 percent in classic interest representations organizations such as parties and unions; 32 percent in environmental or women's organizations. Among first-time peace protestors, rates of involvement fell drastically, though they remained far from negligible (11, 29, 15, and 13 percent respectively in the four categories we have just mentioned: Diani 2005b).

Overlapping memberships contribute to social movement activity in a variety of ways. In many ways, one could say that they do for movement organizations what interpersonal networks do for individual activists. First, they facilitate the

circulation of information and therefore the speed of the decision-making process. This is essential, inasmuch as the speed of mobilization compensates at least in part for the lack of organizational resources over which movements have control. In the absence of formal coordination among organizations, mobilization becomes possible through informal links among activists (Killian 1984; Knoke and Wisely 1990). Persons working across organizations also facilitate the development of shared representations of conflicts. Among Vancouver activists there were different ways of framing the conflicts, one based on a political-economy perspective, another based on an identity perspective, and a third based on a liberal perspective. The distribution of these frames varied depending on activists' commitment to overlapping memberships: those who acted as linkages between different movements and organizations were disproportionately close to a political-economy frame, whereas adopters of an identity frame were more inclined to concentrate on individual organizations (Carroll and Ratner 1996: 611).

Another important function of multiple memberships lies in their contribution to the growth of mutual trust. Whether it is a question of economic activities or of political mobilization, committing resources to a joint initiative involving other actors is always, to some extent, risky. In each case, the route to mobilization requires actors to conduct some exploration of, or "investigative process" with regard to (Diani 1995a: ch. 1), their environment, in search of trustworthy allies. This process is much simpler if there are ongoing links between the central activists of the various organizations concerned. This does not mean that other alliances are not possible, or even more frequent. But the relative cost of forging these other alliances will usually be higher, inasmuch as contacts between the different groups are not "routinized" through interpersonal connections.

The hypothesis that cooperation among organizations is more likely where personal contacts exist among their leaders has been supported by a few studies, dedicated both to movements and to political organizations in the wider sense. In both cases it has become clear that the leaders of organizations who work or campaign together tend to be linked by shared experiences which precede the formation of the coalition itself (Galaskiewicz 1985: 293; Turk 1977; Diani 1990 and 2003c). The denser the relationships among the leaders and the activists of various movement organizations, the higher the chances of cooperation among them (Zald and McCarthy 1980). There is no reason to think that the impact of networks which pre-date the emergence of a particular movement is limited to individual decisions to participate; rather, they also influence opportunities for cooperation among organizations.

Finally, looking at activists' multiple affiliations can constitute a useful way of comparing the structure of particular movements in different periods, and of tracing its modifications over time. In their pioneering study of the organiza-

tional affiliations of 202 key figures in the women's movements of the state of New York between 1840 and 1914, Naomi Rosenthal and her collaborators reconstructed the structure of the interorganizational networks in three different historical phases, identifying the central organizations in each phase (Rosenthal et al. 1985; Rosenthal et al. 1997). A phase of powerful activism between 1840 and the end of the 1860s saw numerous overlaps between participation in women's organizations and in antislavery or temperance organizations. The following phase, until the end of 1880, saw a reduction in conflict, and in contrast to the previous phase was characterized by the disappearance of many organizations and by the difficulty of revitalizing organizations of national importance. Between 1880 and 1914, there was a revival of activism and a new intensification of multiple affiliations, corresponding to campaigns for universal suffrage.

The configuration of networks seems to have depended significantly on the characteristics of the environment in which the movements were operating and on the availability of resources for mobilization. In local networks, where resources were usually limited, the integration and density of relationships were higher. As it was essential to use available resources to best effect, there was little space for factionalism and core activists distributed their multiple memberships fairly evenly across the board of local women's organizations. In contrast, organizations with national structures and which were therefore able to count on greater organizational resources, could be more tempted to accentuate their rivalries and ideological distinctions. As a result, the networks created by multiple memberships were more fragmented and consisted of different subgroups (or cliques) barely connected to each other.

In another exploration of the same data, Rosenthal et al. (1997) looked at multiple memberships in women's organizations in four different milieus (three local communities, plus one network of women active at state level in New York) between 1840 and 1920. They highlighted the different roles played by national and local women's organizations (e.g., in terms of their different relationship to other radical movements); the division of labor between few multi-issue organizations and the multiplicity of groups operating on a smaller scale and in semi-isolation; the limited contacts between suffrage organizations and charitable ones.

While most studies of the duality of individuals and groups focus on rank-and-file activists, we can also apply this perspective to relationships between movement leaders, eventually extending the analysis to the ties involving members of other sectors of the elites. For example, Schmitt-Beck (1989) explored the connections between central figures in the German peace movement of the 1980s. Data about the overlapping memberships linking core activists of peace movement organizations to members of other political groups documented the strong integration of the movement leadership with churches, trade unions, university, media, and other established social and political organizations

(see also Schou 1997). On the other hand, movement activists who are well connected to external actors may also increase the centrality of their own organizations in their specific movement networks. For example, looking at transnational environmental movement organizations, Caniglia (2001) found that their centrality and influence in the environmental network depended in no small measure on the extent of their members' informal ties to key officials of United Nations agencies or other international governmental organizations.

5.4 Individual Participation, Movement Subcultures, and Virtual Networks

Individual participation in a movement's life is by no means restricted to membership in specific (mainly political) organizations. By going places, being connected to several groups or associations, patronizing specific venues, cafes, or bookshops, individuals create and reproduce dense webs of informal exchanges. As a result, informal social networks constitute subcultural oppositional dynamics. These help to keep collective identities alive even when open challenges to authority may not be taking place (when, in Melucci's [1989, 1996] words, movements are going through phases of "latency"). In this sense, networks provide the structure of social movement "free spaces" (Polletta 1999), i.e., areas of social interaction in which holders of specific worldviews reinforce mutual solidarity and experiment with alternative lifestyles (see also Haunss and Leach 2004).

Taking part in the life of several organizations and coming into contact with their activists and supporters, individuals construct a series of unique social relationships. In these, the political dimension of action intersects and overlaps with the private dimension, to generate the foundations of a specific form of subculture. In a movement network, individuals pursue goals which are not only concerned with political ends but also and often more significantly with personal self-realization. Even individuals who are not members of any specific organization may come together from time to time for specific initiatives and activities organized by cultural operators, service structures, and so on. Affiliation to a particular movement area can therefore be seen as a strictly personal choice, which brings with it a low level of identification with movement organizations. Similarly, the adoption by movement activists of alternative symbolic codes does not automatically create a homogeneous identity, nor does it provide the legitimacy for rigid organizational structures. Some degree of shared identity certainly characterizes a movement understood in its entirety, but this is then articulated with extreme variability and flexibility by different actors (Melucci 1984a).

Different versions of these models can be found in the movements which have emerged since the 1960s. In the 1980s, Melucci and associates documented how

in Milan the end of a Leninist model of politics, based on mass, “revolutionary” organizations with a rigid structure, had given way to a style of movement participation that was largely individualistic and saw people’s involvement in several types of cultural and political activities, from consciousness-raising groups to single issue campaigns. Some sectors of the contemporary global justice movement and of the direct action sector also reflect this model (Wall 1999; McDonald 2002; J. Jordan 2002; T. Jordan 2002). These sectors express a radical indifference, if not hostility, to the role of organizations as promoters and/or coordinators of collective action. For people involved in these networks, political activism is first and foremost a matter of lifestyle, the expression of deeply felt cultural and political orientations rather than adhesion to any specific political project and the organizations that could support it.

In these cases, participation in a movement life most of the time consists of involvement in cultural and/or social activities – music concerts, dramatic performances, happenings, always with a critical edge and an element of symbolic and/or political challenge to some kind of authority – rather than of public demonstrations. The latter are far from absent, and some may be massive and with a great public impact – think of the demonstrations taking place in the context of G8 or WTO meetings (Smith 2001; della Porta et al. 2005; Pianta 2001a, 2002), but also of the anticapitalist riots that shattered the City of London on June 18, 1999. But demonstrations are not the most important activity, nor are they associated with the idea of formal organization. When pooling resources is required, this tends to take the form of “affinity groups” (McDonald 2002; Bennett 2004b) that form to pursue a specific goal (stop a new road, save a tree, mount a boycott to the local branch of a global brand) and disband within a short period of time. The street parties promoted by the Reclaim the Streets network in the late 1990s in the UK provided opportunities for radical challenges to dominant ideas of urban space which were public yet did not rely on any organizational structure, depending instead on the dense subcultural networks of the participants (J. Jordan 2002). While it is far too simplistic to conclude from these examples that a radical transformation of collective action has actually taken place (McDonald 2002), it is certainly important to recognize the presence of these forms alongside others – the vast majority – in which organizations and organizational identities still play a major role (Diani 2005a; Diani and Bison 2004; Rootes 2003).

The debate on the role of subcultural and countercultural activities within contemporary social movements has become even livelier since the 1990s, with the spread of computer-mediated communication (henceforth, CMC). Questions whether organizations still have a role in grassroots mobilization, whether dense face-to-face community networks are still necessary to support collective action, whether identity bonds still need some kind of shared direct experience and/or “real” interaction to develop, have all been made more acute by technological developments.

The extent of this impact is more debatable. Some have been particularly vocal in arguing that new technologies will generate – better, have already generated – the multiplication of personal identities and the differentiation and segmentation of the self (Rheingold 1993; Turkle 1995; Castells 1997). Many conclude from this that patterns of political action would be deeply affected too (e.g. Castells 1996, 1997; see also Washbourne 2001; Bennett 2004a, 2004b). In relation to political and social participation, we may safely expect CMC to operate as a powerful facilitator through “the maintenance of dispersed face-to-face networks,” the development of cultural and “socio-spatial enclaves,” and technical support to interest group activity (Calhoun 1998: 383–5). And it is certainly reasonable to expect the internet to play a decisive role in connecting all sorts of communities that are either geographically dispersed (Rheingold 1993; Pini, Brown, and Previte 2004) or forced to operate underground by the very nature of their activities (e.g. hate groups).

However, the contribution of CMC to the creation of new types of identities, and in particular collective identities, is far from clear. First of all, most instances of personal interaction in electronic discussion groups actually miss some of the requirements usually associated with the concept of social relations (Cerulo 1997; Cerulo and Ruane 1998). Participants in those lists often hide their personal identity, participate occasionally, are not tied by any sort of committed relationship, and are mostly involved in dyadic or at most triadic interactions. For skeptics, this seems unlikely to generate the levels of trust and mutual commitment that past research suggests is required of participants in costly and potentially disruptive collective action (Calhoun 1998: 380; Diani 2000b; Tilly 2004a: ch. 5). For others, however, the internet creates a specific set of interactions rather than being the mere interface of “real” social life. In that context, recourse to hidden identities, anonymity, etc. may represent in its own right a specific way to challenge power and destabilize it (Wright 2004: 84; Bennett 2004a).

Empirical evidence on the type of ties established by CMC so far is mixed. It is certainly true that there are now several illustrations of social links which imply some degree of solidarity and mutual trust, and which developed between people who got in touch through the internet (e.g. Freschi 2000, 2003; Nip 2004). On the other hand, examples of community networks suggest that virtual networks operate at their best when they are backed by real social linkages in specifically localized communities, while their capacity to create brand new ones is uncertain (Virnoche and Marx 1997; Pickerill 2000; Hampton and Wellman 2001; Tranvik 2004). As for transnational networks, again, there is strong evidence that they contribute to the efficient coordination of global campaigns (Bennett 2004a; Van Aelst and Walgraave 2004). But they seem mostly to link people (an international activist elite) who also know each other and meet in person on the occasion of meetings and other events, rather than ordinary “virtual citizens” (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Lahusen 2004). To sum up, the jury is still out on the issue of whether CMC has mostly facilitated the action of activists and organizations by

reinforcing existing links, or whether it has created new types of alternative communities from scratch.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter we have illustrated some aspects of the impact on recruitment and participation processes and on the overall structure of social movements, of the networks in which social movement activists are embedded. First, we have showed that individuals often become involved in collective action through their personal connections to people already involved. Those connections help them overcome the innumerable obstacles and dilemmas that people usually face when considering whether to become active on a certain cause. Not only that: the amount and type of individual networks also affect the chances of people remaining active for a long time, or instead reducing their commitment, or cutting it altogether, after brief spells. In reaction to criticisms of the role of networks in individual mobilization, researchers have qualified their arguments by exploring what types of networks are more likely to affect what types of collective action, and how the relationship between the two may change under different social and political circumstances.

We have also paid attention to the fact that individuals not only become active in a movement through their previous connections, but also create new connections by the very fact of being involved in multiple forms of activism and associations. From this perspective, individual activists operate as bridges between different organizational milieus, linking, for example, social movement organizations to established political actors or institutions, or organizations mobilized for different causes. By doing so, they affect the overall structure of social movement “industries” (McCarthy and Zald 1987a) or “families” (della Porta and Rucht 1995). At the same time, though, ties resulting from overlapping memberships are not always restricted to organizations; individual movement activists are also frequently involved in countercultural or subcultural practices. This may take the form of “real life” experiences, through personal participation in specific activities, but also develop through involvement in virtual communities, such as those made possible by the diffusion of computer-mediated communication.

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 Consequences of 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 identification. 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, Noglobol, 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 Anheier (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 Anheier, 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, Therenca 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.
- Banaszak, 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 ecología. Conflicto e institucionalización 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, Lars 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.
- Bérout, Sophie, Mouriaux, René, and Vakaloulis, Michel 1998: *Le mouvement 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.
- Bourdieu, 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 Beispiel 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.
- Brines, 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.
- Brockett, 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. Klander-mans (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, Dominique, 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 Sidney 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 Rienner, 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, Rachele (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 Satisfaction 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, Uppsala, 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 di 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 anni 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 Luron 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/Stamford, CA: Polity Press/Stamford 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'espérance 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.
- Hauunss, 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 Whiter-spoon, 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 Politicas*, 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 Löw, Hélène (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 Helleman, 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: Réseaux 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 Twinings 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.
- Lovenduski, Joni 1986: *Women and European Politics: Contemporary Feminism and Public Policy*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts 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 & Littlefield.
- Meyer, David S. and Tarrow, Sidney 1998a: A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for the New Century. In David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *The Social Movement Society*. Lanham, 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 Voluntary 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: *Interorganizational 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 Parteien 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 Bewegungsgesellschaft? Ueber die Stabilisierbarkeit 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: Political Consumerism, 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 économique 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 Delhi/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.
- Rohrshneider, Robert 1988: Citizens' Attitudes towards Environmental Issues: Selfish or Selfless? *Comparative Political Studies*, 21, 347–67.
- Rohrshneider, Robert 1990: The Roots of Public Opinion toward New Social Movements. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34, 1–30.
- Rohrshneider, 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.
- Rohrshneider, Robert 1993b: Environmental Belief Systems in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, 26, 3–29.
- Rohrshneider, 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.
- Rüdiger, 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 costruito 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 société: Des restaurants du coeur au mouvement des chômeurs*. 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 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: Demokratischer und besser? Der Beitrag von Nichtregierungsorganisationen zur Demokratisierung internationaler Politik und zu Lösung 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 Lehbruch, 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, Benjamin, 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 renouveau 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 Ardit, 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: Consumption 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'état: 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, Zsuzsa, 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.
- Triglia, 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 Adjustment*. 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, Arbeitsweise, 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, Timothy 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.