

Social Movement and Collective Action Area Exam

Updated August 2020

Format, Expectations, and Scope

Students taking the social movements and collective action area exam are expected to be familiar with the development of the field, the dominant theoretical traditions, the major substantive questions and debates, and the various methodological approaches employed.

At the same time, we want to make explicit that the canon upon which this field is based is largely dominated by white cis-men and by Americanist and Eurocentric perspectives. This is a problem not just in the social movements and collective action field, but across sociology more broadly. While the reading list provided here intends to be as inclusive as possible, we face the dilemma of ensuring that students are conversant in foundational works while keeping the list concise. This necessarily limits the inclusivity of the list. We therefore acknowledge this disparity and welcome students to challenge these inequities. Students may do so by providing critiques of canonical texts' standpoints and biases; by suggesting how inclusivity, marginalized scholars, and under-examined cases can advance the field theoretically, empirically, and methodologically; and by bringing in under-utilized texts. At the same time, any challenge to the canon is going to be ineffective without deep familiarity with the canon. This reading list will therefore provide the foundation for innovation.

On the day of the exam, students will answer three out of six questions (students will skip the three questions they least want to answer). Students can bring the reading list (below) and two single-spaced pages of notes to the exam (font must be at least 11 point). The chair of exam must approve the notes one week prior to the exam date.

The social movements and collective action area exam covers such broad questions as:

- What are social movements? How are they similar and different from other civic and political actions?
- Why do social movements emerge and grow and what explains differential emergence and growth trajectories?
- What explains why some people—but not others—participate in social activism?
- Why do particular social movements choose certain strategies and tactics and not others?
- Do social movements matter? If so, what consequences do they have and what explains these consequences?

- What are the most common methods used to study social movements and what are their strengths and weaknesses?

Suggested Reading List

The committee has done its best to organize the readings below by major theoretical traditions and substantive areas. However, some works do not neatly fit under one rubric, but rather several. Students should thus not put too much stock in how the readings are classified. Most important is for you to understand how the arguments in the readings relate to broader debates and themes in the field. It is best to think of the list as a tool to help you identify some of the most important readings in the field, but you might find that other readings not on the list could be useful to you in formulating an effective response to exam questions.

Definitions and Methods

Beyerlein, Kraig, Peter Barwis, Bryant Craubaugh and Cole Carnesecca. 2018. "A New Picture of Protest: The National Study of Protest Events." *Sociological Methods & Research* 47:384-429.

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

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

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

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1 & 2

Tilly, Charles. 2006. *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ch. 8

Wright, Rachel A. and Hilary Schaffer Boudet. 2012. "To Act or Not to Act: Context, Capability, and Community Response to Environmental Risk." *American Journal of Sociology* 118:728-77.

Collective Behaviorist and Grievance Tradition

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

- LeBon, Gustave. (1895) 1960. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. NY: Viking Press
- McVeigh, Rory. 2006. "Structural Influences on Activism and Crime: Identifying the Social Structure of Discontent" *American Journal of Sociology* 112: 510-566.
- Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. New York: Academic Press.
- Smelser, Neil J. 1962. *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: Free Press, Ch. 3 (pages 47-66), "Structural Strain Underlying Collective Behavior."
- Snow, David A., Daniel M. Cress, Liam Downey, and Andrew W. Jones. 1998. "Disrupting the 'Quotidian': Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Breakdown and the Emergence of Collective Action." *Mobilization* 3:1-22.
- Snow, David A. and Dana M. Moss. 2014. "Protest on the Fly: Toward a Theory of Spontaneity in the Dynamics of Protest and Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 79(6): 1122-43.

Rationalist Tradition

- Klandermans, Burt. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* 49:583-600.
- Gerald Marwell and Pamela Oliver. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action: A Micro-Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oliver, Pamela. 1984. "If You Don't Do It, Nobody else will." *American Sociological Review* 49:601-610.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Ch. 2.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. "The Emotional Benefits of Insurgency in El Salvador." Pp. 267-281 in *Passionate Politics*, edited by J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper, and F. Polletta. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Resource Mobilization Tradition

- Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources,

- Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations.” *American Sociological Review* 61:1089-1109.
- Jenkins, J. Craig and Craig M. Eckert. 1986. "Channeling Black Insurgency: Elite Patronage and Professional Social Movement Organizations in the Development of the Black Movement." *American Sociological Review* 51:812-829.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212-1241.
- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 2002. "The Enduring Vitality of the Resource Mobilization Theory of Social Movements." Pp. 533-565 in *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, edited by J. H. Turner. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Morris, Aldon. 1981. "Black Southern Student Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization." *American Sociological Review* 46:744-767.
- Morris, Aldon. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Free Press, Ch. 11.
- Oberschall, Anthony. 1973. *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement." *American Sociological Review* 53:585-606.

Political Process/Opportunity Tradition

- Einwohner, Rachel L. 2003. "Opportunity, Honor, and Action in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:650-675.
- Gaventa, John. 1982. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Kurzman, Charles. 1996. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61:153-170.
- McAdam, Doug. 1999[1982]. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, especially Chs. 2-3.

Meyer, David S. "Protest and Political Opportunities." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30 (2004), pp. 125-145.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

Culture, Collective Identity, Commitment, and Framing

Armstrong, Elizabeth A. and Mary Bernstein. 2008. "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Politics Approach to Social Movements." *Sociological Theory* 26:74-99.

Bernstein, Mary. 1997. "Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(3): 531-65.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:304-344.

Mische, Ann. 2008. *Partisan Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

McVeigh, Rory, Daniel J. Myers, and David Sikkink. 2004. "Corn, Klansmen, and Coolidge: Structure and Framing in Social Movements." *Social Forces* 83(2): 653-90.

Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1998. "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community." *American Sociological Review* 63(6): 767-84.

Snow, David A. and Rob D. Benford. 1992. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest," Pp. 133-155 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Snow, David A., E. Burke Rockford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford. 1986. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51:464-481.

Taylor, Verta and Nancy E. Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization." in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Emotions and Social Psychology

- Aminzade, Ron and Doug McAdam. 2001. "Emotions and Contentious Politics." Pp. 14-50 in *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, edited by R. Aminzade, J. A. Goldstone, D. McAdam, E. J. Perry, W. H. J. Sewell, S. Tarrow, and C. Tilly. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2001. *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gould, Deborah B. 2009. *Moving Politics: Emotion and Act Up's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jasper, James. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shultziner, Doron. 2013. The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Social Interaction and Humiliation in the Emergence of Social Movements." *Mobilization* 18:117-142
- Summers-Effler, Erika. 2010. *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Differential Participation

- Beyerlein, Kraig and David Sikkink. 2008. "Sorrow and Solidarity: Why Americans Volunteered for 9/11 Relief Efforts." *Social Problems* 55:190-215.
- Beyerlein, Kraig and John R. Hipp. 2006. "A Two-Stage Model for a Two-Stage Process: How Biographical Availability Matters for Social Movement Mobilization." *Mobilization*. 11: 219-240.
- Jasper, James M. and Jane D. Poulsen. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems* 42:493-512.
- Kim, Hyojoung, and Peter Bearman. 1997. "The Structure and Dynamics of Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 62(1): 70-93.
- Kitts, James A. 2000. "Mobilizing in Black Boxes: Social Networks and Participation in Social Movement Organizations." *Mobilization* 5:241-257.
- Klandermans, Burt and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers:

Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements.” *American Sociological Review* 52:519-531.

McAdam, Doug. 1986. “Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer.” *American Journal of Sociology* 92:64-90.

McAdam, Doug and Ronnelle Paulsen. 1993. “Specifying the Relationship between Social Ties and Activism.” *American Journal of Sociology* 99:640-667.

Snow, David A., Louis A. Zurcher, and Sheldon Eklund-Olson. 1980. "Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment." *American Sociological Review* 45:787-801.

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

Movements and Countermovements

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

Fetner, Tina. 2001. “Working Anita Bryant: The Impact of Christian Anti-Gay Activism on Lesbian and Gay Movement Claims.” *Social Problems* 48:411-428.

Lind, Benjamin and Judith Stephan-Norris. 2011. “The Relationality of Movements: Movement and Countermovement Resources, Infrastructure, and Leadership in the Los Angeles Tenants' Rights Mobilization, 1976-1979.” *American Journal of Sociology* 116:1564-1609.

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

Whitter, Nancy. 2014. “Rethinking Coalitions: Anti-Pornography Feminists, Conservatives, and Relationships between Collaborative Adversarial Movements.” *Social Problems* 61:175-93.

Abeyance, Cycles, and Diffusion

- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71:752-777.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 1993. "The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany 1965 to 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58:637-658.
- Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 62: 779-799.
- Myers, Daniel J. 2000. "The Diffusion of Collective Violence: Infectiousness, Susceptibility, and Mass Media Networks." *American Journal of Sociology* 106:173-208.
- Soule, Sarah A. 1997. "The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest." *Social Forces* 75:855-882.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Cycles of Contention," Pp. 141-160 in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Verta. 1989. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." *American Sociological Review* 54(5): 761-75.
- Zhao, Dingxin. 1998. "Ecologies of Social Movements: Student Mobilization during the 1989 Prodemocracy Movement in Beijing." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:1493-1529.

Policing, Repression, and Mobilization

- Almeida, Paul D. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention: Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:345-400.
- Beyerlein, Kraig, Sarah A. Soule and Nancy Martin. 2015. "Prayers, Protest, and Police: How Religion Influences Police Presence at Collective Action Events in the United States, 1960 to 1995." *American Sociological Review* 80:1250-71.
- Davenport, Christian, Sarah A. Soule and David A. II Armstrong. 2011. "Protesting While Black?: The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 76:152-78.
- Earl, Jennifer, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. 2003. "Protests Under Fire?: Explaining Protest Policing." *American Sociological Review* 69:581-606.

- Loveman, Mara. 1998. "High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina." *American Journal of Sociology* 104(2): 477-525.
- Moss, Dana M. 2016. "Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of the Arab Spring," *Social Problems* 63(4): 480-98
- Opp, Karl-Dieter and Wolfgang Roehl. 1990. "Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest." *Social Forces* 69:521-547.
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61:132-152.

Movement Consequences and Outcomes

Micro-Level

- Hasso, Frances S. 2001. "Feminist Generations? The Long-Term Impact of Social Movement Involvement on Palestinian Women's Lives." *American Journal of Sociology* 107:586-611.
- Klatch, Rebecca E. 1999. *A Generation Divided*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Ch. 9.
- McAdam, Doug. 1989. "The Biographical Consequences of Activism." *American Sociological Review* 54:744-760.
- Sherkat, Darren E. and Jean Blocker. 1997. "Explaining the Political and Personal Consequences of Protest." *Social Forces* 75:1049-1076.
- Taylor, Verta and Nicole C. Raeburn. 1995. "Identity Politics as High Risk Activism: Career Consequences for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Sociologists." *Social Problems* 42:252-273.

Macro-Level

- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Neal Caren. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda." *American Sociological Review* 75:841-866.
- Biggs, Michael and Kenneth T. Andrews. 2015. "Protest Campaigns and Movement Success:

- Desegregating the U.S. South in the Early 1960s." *American Sociological Review* 80:416-43.
- Cress, Daniel, and David Snow. 2000. "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4): 1063-1104.
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gamson, W. (1975) 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey.
- Cloward, Richard A. and Frances Fox Piven. 1984. "A Reply to Gamson and Schmeidler" *Theory and Society* 13: 587-99.
- McAdam, Doug and Yang Su. 2002. "The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973." *American Sociological Review* 67:696-721.
- McCammon, Holly J. Karen Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg, and Christine Mowery. 2001. "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1866-1919." *American Sociological Review* 66:49-70.
- McVeigh, Rory, Michael R. Welch, and Thoroddur Bjarnason. 2003. "Hate Crime Reporting as a Successful Social Movement Outcome." *American Sociological Review* 68:843-867.
- McVeigh, Rory and David Cunningham. 2013. "Enduring Consequences of Right-Wing Extremism: Klan Mobilization and Homicides in Southern Counties." *Social Forces* 90:843-62.
- Soule, Sarah A. and Susan Olzak. 2004. "When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment." *American Sociological Review* 69:473-497.
- Wounters, Ruud and Stefaan Walgrave. 2017. "Demonstrating Power: How Protest Persuades Political Representatives." *American Sociological Review* 82:361-83.

Right-Wing, Conservative Movements

- Beisel, Nicola. 1997. *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Blee, Kathleen M. 1991. *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Blee, Kathleen M. 2002. *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Luker, Kristin. 1984. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McVeigh, Rory. 2009. *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McVeigh, Rory. 2004. "Structured Ignorance and Organized Racism in the United States." *Social Forces* 82(3): 895-936.
- McVeigh, Rory and Kevin Estep. 2019. *The Politics of Losing*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Munson, Ziad. 2008. *The Making of Pro-Life Activists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Simi, Pete and Robert Futrell. 2015. *American Swastika*. 2nd Ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Van Dyke, Nella and Sarah A. Soule. 2002. "Explaining Variation in Levels of Patriot and Militia Mobilization: Resources, Political Process, and Strain Explanations." *Social Problems* 49: 497-520.