

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	x
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
1 What kind of theory do we need and what is a good theory?	1
1. <i>General social psychological theories for social movement research</i>	2
2. <i>The application of theories: a first look at how to explain macro events by micro theories</i>	9
3. <i>Advantages of applying a general theory of action</i>	14
4. <i>The importance of a microfoundation of macro explanations</i>	16
5. <i>Factor explanations as a synthesis of social movement perspectives: an alternative to applying theories?</i>	21
6. <i>Three features of a good theory</i>	23
7. <i>Basics of concept formation</i>	27
8. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	31
2 Protest, social movements, and collective action: conceptual clarifications and the subject of the book	33
1. <i>Examples: What is a “protest” and a “social movement”?</i>	33
2. <i>Definitions from the literature</i>	34
3. <i>Suggestions for defining “protest” and “social movement”</i>	37
4. <i>What do social movement theories explain?</i>	42
5. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	43
3 Group size, selective incentives, and collective action	45
1. <i>Mancur Olson’s Logic of Collective Action</i>	45
2. <i>Critique of the theory</i>	56

3. *Production functions, critical mass, thresholds, and the free rider problem: new contributions to the theory of collective action* 72
4. *Summary and conclusions* 88

4 Protest and social movements as collective action

91

1. *Protest and collective action* 92
2. *How to apply collective action theory: a case study about the mobilization of a mining village in Spain* 93
3. *Is collective action theory not appropriate for social movement explanations? A note on Fireman and Gamson and other critics* 104
4. *A micro model of protest behavior* 108
5. *Guidelines for explaining macro events and macro relationships: the two-step procedure* 118
6. *What can we learn from the theory of collective action for the explanation of social movement phenomena?* 123
7. *Summary and conclusions* 124

5 The resource mobilization perspective

127

1. *Resources, grievances, and strategic actors: J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald's theory* 127
2. *The causal structure of McCarthy and Zald's approach: a critique and extension* 135
3. *Conceptual problems: the meaning of "resources" and "mobilization"* 138
4. *What kind of resources bring about what kind of movements and strategies? Problems of the explanatory power of the perspective* 140
5. *The implicit background theory* 141
6. *The structure of the perspective: the implied and missing micro-macro model* 142
7. *How is the free rider problem solved?* 144
8. *Are there falsifications of the resource mobilization perspective?* 145
9. *Recent developments* 150
10. *Theoretical suggestions* 153
11. *Resource mobilization and collective action theory* 158
12. *What can we learn from the resource mobilization perspective for the explanation of social movement phenomena?* 159
13. *Summary and conclusions* 159

6	Political opportunity structures, protest, and social movements	161
	1. <i>The political environment and the chances of success: P. Eisinger's theory</i>	161
	2. <i>Conceptual problems: What are political opportunity structures?</i>	167
	3. <i>What form of political action can be explained?</i>	178
	4. <i>The missing micro-macro model and the implicit background theory</i>	179
	5. <i>Other factors: the incomplete macro model</i>	180
	6. <i>How is the free rider problem solved?</i>	181
	7. <i>When is the theory wrong?</i>	181
	8. <i>Recent developments and lingering problems: an illustration with two versions of the theory</i>	190
	9. <i>Political opportunities and collective action: a synthesis</i>	198
	10. <i>What can we learn from the political opportunity structure perspective for the explanation of social movement phenomena?</i>	200
	11. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	201
7	Collective identity and social movement activity	204
	1. <i>Constructing collective identity and protest: A. Melucci's theory</i>	205
	2. <i>Conceptual problems: What is a "collective identity"?</i>	215
	3. <i>Identity theory: recent developments</i>	217
	4. <i>Empirical evidence</i>	220
	5. <i>Synthesizing collective identity theory and the theory of collective action</i>	221
	6. <i>Problems of the extended theory of collective identity</i>	228
	7. <i>What can we learn from the identity approach for the explanation of social movement phenomena?</i>	231
	8. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	231
8	How framing influences mobilization and protest	234
	1. <i>Frame alignment processes: D. Snow, B. Rochford, St. Burke, and R. Benford's contribution</i>	235
	2. <i>Conceptual problems</i>	241
	3. <i>The structure of the theory: the implicit micro-macro model</i>	247
	4. <i>Why do people change and use frames? The implicit background theory</i>	249
	5. <i>Is frame alignment a necessary condition for social movement participation?</i>	251
	6. <i>How is the free rider problem solved?</i>	254
	7. <i>Framing and the form of political action: an unanswered question</i>	255

8.	<i>When does frame alignment succeed?</i>	255
9.	<i>Recent developments</i>	256
10.	<i>The validity of the framing approach</i>	265
11.	<i>Synthesizing the framing approach and other perspectives</i>	272
12.	<i>What can we learn from the framing perspective for the explanation of social movement phenomena?</i>	272
13.	<i>Summary and conclusions</i>	273
9	Identity, framing, and cognitive balance: toward a new theory of identity and framing	275
1.	<i>A very short introduction to Fritz Heider's balance theory</i>	276
2.	<i>When movement identification changes frames</i>	283
3.	<i>Movement identification and the change of social networks</i>	285
4.	<i>Conflicting frames and strong ties to movement and friends: a case where imbalance remains</i>	286
5.	<i>Friendship networks, conflicting frames, and movement identification</i>	286
6.	<i>Block alignment of frames, frame completion, and frame resonance</i>	289
7.	<i>Cultural resources and framing</i>	292
8.	<i>Collective action and balance theory</i>	294
9.	<i>Mechanisms of cognitive reorganization</i>	296
10.	<i>A change of perspective: the movement as reference actor</i>	299
11.	<i>What can we learn from balance theory for the explanation of social movement phenomena?</i>	299
12.	<i>Summary and conclusions</i>	301
10	The dynamics of contention approach – retreat to history?	304
1.	<i>The dynamics of contentious politics: D. McAdam, S. Tarrow, and Ch. Tilly's new agenda</i>	304
2.	<i>Critique of the approach</i>	309
3.	<i>The free rider problem and the missing micro-macro modeling</i>	322
4.	<i>What is a "mechanism"?</i>	323
5.	<i>What can we learn from the dynamics of contention approach for the explanation of social movement phenomena?</i>	324
6.	<i>Summary and conclusions</i>	325
11	The structural-cognitive model: a synthesis of collective action, resource mobilization, political opportunity, identity, and framing perspectives	327
1.	<i>The idea of a synthesis: the structural-cognitive model</i>	327
2.	<i>The missing link: framing and the structural-cognitive model</i>	331

3. <i>How existing social movement theory fits into the structural-cognitive model</i>	335
4. <i>The structural-cognitive model applied: some illustrations</i>	335
5. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	349
12 General discussion, conclusion, and an agenda for future research	351
1. <i>The major strengths and weaknesses of extant theories of social movements and political protest</i>	351
2. <i>The alternative: the structural-cognitive model as a theory-based micro-macro explanation</i>	353
3. <i>An illustration: Is something missing in the explanation of collective mobilization in Llano del Beal?</i>	354
4. <i>An agenda for future theory and research</i>	356
5. <i>Summary and conclusions</i>	361
 <i>Notes</i>	 363
<i>Bibliography</i>	375
<i>Index</i>	396

List of figures

1.1	Explaining the relationship between external events and an increase of the East German protests in 1989	10
1.2	The basic structure of theories of social movements and protest	17
1.3	The explanatory value of theories with broad and narrow concepts	26
3.1	The structure of the micro-macro model of the theory of collective action	52
3.2	A reconstruction of M. Olson's micro-macro model (based on Olson 1965/1971)	54
3.3	The interdependence of incentives to collective action	66
3.4	Possible production functions of public goods	72
3.5	Two types of production functions: mobilization and public goods production functions	74
3.6	Groups with different net utilities of participation and non-participation	81
3.7	The dynamics of collective action with a critical mass and continuous thresholds	81
4.1	The process of mobilization: the example of Llano del Beal	101
4.2	Explaining the development of protest over time	121
5.1	The influence of political entrepreneurs on creating grievances	130
5.2	The causal structure of McCarthy and Zald's hypotheses	132
5.3	The orienting propositions: a suggestion for a causal model	137
5.4	Example of a micro-macro model with "resources" as a macro and a micro variable	143
5.5	The implicit micro-macro model in Klandermans 1984	151
6.1	Two hypotheses about the relationship between political opportunity structures and protest	163
6.2	Eisinger's theory of political opportunity structures	165
6.3	The definition of POSs and POS theory	166
6.4	Some falsifications of the theory of political opportunity structure	183
6.5	Some possible relationships between political opportunities and protest	189
6.6	D. McAdam's (1982) political process model about movement emergence: two graphic representations	191

6.7	S. Tarrow's (1998) model about political opportunities and contention	195
7.1	A reconstruction of Melucci's implicit model (Melucci 1988)	206
7.2	A modification of Melucci's implicit model as a micro-macro model (Melucci 1988)	212
8.1	The basic framing model	241
8.2	Measuring the "resonance" of frames	244
8.3	Kinds of micro-macro models in Snow <i>et al.</i> (1986)	248
8.4	Frame resonance and mobilization: Benford and Snow's model (2000)	260
9.1	The basic theoretical idea of balance theory and other versions of cognitive theories	277
9.2	Some examples for balanced and imbalanced cognitive structures	278
9.3	Opposite opinions of actors in a conflict situation	280
9.4	Frame resonance and mobilization: Benford and Snow's model (2000)	284
9.5	Applying balance theory to explain "frame alignment"	288
9.6	Block alignment of frames and frame completion	290
9.7	Introducing "cultural resources"	293
9.8	Explaining collective action	295
10.1	An alternative definition of "mechanism"	324
11.1	The structural-cognitive model: a synthesis of the major theoretical perspectives about social movements and political protest	328
11.2	Questions addressed by the social movement perspectives	335

List of tables

2.1	Protest, social movements, and other concepts: definitions from the literature	35
3.1	Group size, percentage and number of individuals to be mobilized for the provision of one unit of the public good	76
5.1	Resources (RES) as sufficient conditions for collective protest and social movement organizations (PrSMOs)	148
6.1	Possible combinations of changing opportunities and protest where the political opportunity proposition (increasing opportunities lead to increasing protest) is falsified	183
7.1	Dimensions of the concept of “collective identity”	216
7.2	Differences between rational choice and identity theory	223
8.1	Frame alignment (FA) as a necessary or sufficient condition for protest participation (PR)	252