

## CONTENTS OF COLLECTIONS

1. Institutionalized Relations Between Regimes and Movements. Meyer & Tarrow *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*
  - a. David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow *A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. SMS.
  - b. The Structure and Culture of Collective Protest in Germany since 1950, Dieter Rucht SMS
  - c. Are the Times A-Changin'? Assessing the Acceptance of Protest in Western Democracies, Matthew Crozat SMS
  - d. The Institutionalization of Protest in the United States, John D. McCarthy and Clark McPhail SMS
  - e. Policing Protest in France and Italy: From Intimidation to Cooperation? Donatella della Porta Olivier Fillieule, and Herbert Reiter SMS
  - f. Institutionalization of Protest during Democratic Consolidation in Central Europe, Jan Kubik SMS
  - g. Democratic Transitions as Protest Cycles: Social Movement Dynamics in Democratizing Latin America, Patricia L. Hipsher SMS
  - h. A Movement Takes Office, Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier SMS
  - i. Stepsisters: Feminist Movement Activism in Different Institutional Spaces, Mary Fainsod Katzenstein SMS
  - j. Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Movement Society, Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink SMS
2. Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald. New York, Cambridge University Press 1996 List of contents.
  - a. Clemens, E. S. (1996). Organizational Form as Frame: Collective Identity and Political Strategy in the American Labor Movement, 1880-1920. CP: 205-226. Org. form and content/strategy were linked.
  - b. Della Porta, D. (1996). Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest. CP: 62-92. Changes in the policing of protest, detailed case information on Italy and Germany. Her main point is the need for an interactive model, as the state changes in response to movements as much as movements change in response to the state.
  - c. Gamson, W. A. and D. S. Meyer (1996). Framing Political Opportunity. CP: 273-290. The perception of political opportunity is framed.
  - d. Klandermans, B. and S. Goslinga (1996). Media Discourse, Movement Publicity, and the Generation of Collective Action Frames: Theoretical and Empirical Exercises in Meaning Construction. CP: 312-337. Detailed theoretically-grounded case of a class of media frames (or political icons, using Szasz's term)
  - e. Kriesi, H. (1996). The Organizational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context. CP: 152-184. Theory & typologizing on state-movement interactions.
  - f. McAdam, D. (1996). Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions. CP: 23-40. Standard review of 3 major processes: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes. Discursive essay, sketches factors relevant to movements and summarizes relevance to comparative studies.
  - g. McAdam, D. (1996). The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement. CP: 338-355. A summary of the civil rights movement as strategic dramaturgy. The key is that tactics are frames and there are frames about tactics, that a key were battles over the interpretation of tactics as legal or illegal, moral or immoral.
  - h. McAdam, D., J. D. McCarthy, et al. (1996). Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilizing Structure, and Framing Processes -- Toward a Synthetic, Comaprative Perspective on Social Movements. CP: 1-20.
  - i. McCarthy, J. D. (1996). Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing. CP: 141-151. A discursive essay stressing the diversity of forms of mobilizing structures, using a 2x2 typology which contrasts informal and formal structures, and movement and nonmovement

- structures.
- j. McCarthy, J. D., J. Smith, et al. (1996). Accessing Public, Media, Electoral, and Governmental Agendas. CP Concerned with specifying the social structural contexts that condition movement framing efforts, and condition the repertoires of tactics within these structures. Groups with more resources tend to use more "insider" tactics. The article links the agenda-setting literature with ideas of strategy and tactics.
  - k. Oberschall, A. (1996). Opportunities and Framing in the Eastern European Revolts of 1989. CP: 93-121. Framing processes determine the perception of political opportunities. Case histories of the anti-communist revolutions in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. Emphasizes crowds rather than organizations in the revolts.
  - l. Rucht, D. (1996). The Impact of National Contexts on Social Movement Structures: A Cross-Movement and Cross-National Comparison. CP: 183-204. How national contexts affect movement structures. Compares the women's and environmental movements in France, West Germany, and the US. He argues that there are distinct national differences in political contexts, but that it is also clear that the structures change across time within countries, and argues that these changing structures are what should be meant by opportunities.
  - m. Tarrow, S. (1996). States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements. CP: 41-61. Develops a typology of state-building as a source of social movements, giving examples from the US, France, etc. Critiques the idea of the political opportunity structure as one thing.
  - n. Voss, K. (1996). The Collapse of a Social Movement: The Interplay of Mobilizing Structures, Framing, and Political Opportunities in the Knights of Labor. CP: 227-258. Argues the Knights lost not because they were weak but because organized employers were strong.
  - o. Zald, M. N. (1996). Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing. CP: 261-274. Six different issues relevant to culture, ideology, and framing, developed from a useful summary of existing literature.
  - p. Zdravomyslova, E. (1996). Opportunities and Framing in the Transition to Democracy: The Case of Russia. CP: 122-137. Describes the phases of the Leningrad revolt, stressing shifts in police responses over time, and the changing frames and tactics of the movement as it grew in strength. Police initially repress.
3. Readings from J. Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans, eds., The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements. 12
- a. Burstein, P., R. L. Einwohner, et al. (1995). The Success of Political Movements: A Bargaining Perspective. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 275-295.
  - b. Aminzade, R. (1995). Between Movement and Party: The Transformation of Mid-Nineteenth-Century French Republicanism. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 39-62.
  - c. Dalton, R. J. (1995). Strategies of Partisan Influence: West European Environmental Groups. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 296-323. 69 groups in 10 countries, compare relations to parties.
  - d. DellaPorta, D. and D. Rucht (1995). Left-Libertarian Movements in Context: A Comparison of Italy and West Germany, 1965-1990. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 229-272. international influences, relations to parties, declining radicalism as they gain influence.
  - e. Jenkins, J. C. (1995). Social Movements, Political Representation, and the State: An Agenda and Comparative Framework. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 14-35. general theory, conception of state central to social movements.
  - f. Jenkins, J. C. and B. Klandermans (1995). The Politics of Social Protest. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 3-13. opening essay.
  - g. Kriesi, H. (1995). The Political Opportunity Structure of New Social Movements: Its Impact on

- Their Mobilization. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 167-198. discussion of different characteristics of states which help or hinder movements; western Europe.
- h. Opp, K. D., S. E. Finkel, et al. (1995). Left-Right Ideology and Collective Political Action: A Comparative Analysis of Germany, Israel, and Peru. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 63-95. Quantitative analysis of political orientation and protest.
  - i. Misztal, B. and J. C. Jenkins (1995). Starting from Scratch Is Not Always the Same: The Politics of Protest and the Postcommunist Transitions in Poland and Hungary. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 324-340. Different conditions affect relation between political reform and economic reform; spread of movement from weaker to stronger regimes.
  - j. Maguire, D. (1995). Opposition Movements and Opposition Parties: Equal Partners or Dependent Relations in the Struggle for Power and Reform? The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 199-228. discusses why movements & parties need each other and what the dangers are.
  - k. Nollert, M. (1995). Neocorporatism and Political Protest in the Western Democracies: A Cross-National Analysis. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 138-164. Comparisons. Argues that neocorporatist states not only meet needs, but repress protest.
  - l. Wallace, M. and J. C. Jenkins (1995). The New Class, Postindustrialism, and Neocorporatism: Three Images of Social Protest in the Western Democracies. The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements. J. C. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 96-137. Analysis of who supports protest; postindustrialism mostly.
4. Women's movements in US & Europe, much from Contents of Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol Mueller, The Women's Movements of the US and Europe. note: km= Katzenstein and Mueller.
    - a. km-int Katzenstein. "Comparing the Feminist Movements of the United States and Western Europe: An Overview." broad-ranging. consciousness, political alliances, nature of state. comparative overview. Useful.
    - b. Joyce Gelb. 1990. "Feminism and Political Action." In Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler, eds., Challenging the Political Order, pages 137-155. Compare US, Britain, Sweden in how women's movt functions, relative to polity and culture. Useful.
    - c. Myra Marx Ferree. "Political Strategies and Feminist Concerns in the United States and Federal Republic of Germany: Class, Race and Gender." Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change 13: 221-240. 1991. US feminism guided by race analogy, while Germany feminism by the conflict between gender and class politics. Discourses around employment policy, reproductive rights, and women in military vary; political culture important.
    - d. km-8. Myra Ferree. "Equality and Autonomy: Feminist Politics in the United States and West Germany." difference in type, each is strong in ways, weak in ways. US liberal, Germany radical.
    - e. km-11. Mary Ruggie. "Workers' Movements and Women's Interests: The Impact of Labor-State Relations in Britain and Sweden." Feminists are marginalized in British labour politics, central in Swedish. Causes and consequences.
    - f. km-5. Judith Hellman. "Women's Struggle in a Worker's City: Feminist Movements in Turin." The whole book is better but out of print; useful case in which union women were central and autonomous feminists had no base.
    - g. km-6. Stephen Hellman. "Feminism and the Model of Militancy in an Italian Communist Federation: Challenges to the Old Style of Politics." Gender politics in the party, the work/home nexus where work is the party.
    - h. km-7. Karen Beckwith. "Response to Feminism in the Italian Parliament: Divorce, Abortion, and Sexual Violence Legislation." feminism and party politics intertwine. interesting.
    - i. km-3. Jane Jenson. "Changing Discourse, Changing Agendas: Political Rights and Reproductive

- Policies in France." Talk about alliances, content of debates for 3 issues (inter-war suffrage, inter-war birth control, 1970s abortion). no explicit research methodology but lots of talk about whose ideas were connect to whose, and distinctions, subdivisions. useful.
- j. Understanding US Politics Anne Costain and W. Douglas Costain. "Strategy and Tactics of the Women's Movement in the United States: The Role of Political Parties." km-9. process of routinization and institutionalization. GOOD.
  - k. Jo Freeman. "Whom You Know versus Whom You Represent" km-10. History of US women's movement and its relation to parties across time. Title refers to post-1960 differences between Reps and Dems. Very useful if you want to understand the US (including movements other than women's).
  - l. km-4. Carol Mueller. "Collective Consciousness, Identity Transformation, and the Rise of Women in Public Office in the United States." Links constructionist theories of consciousness to electoral politics, both attitudes of women in office and of voters.
5. Women's movements in Latin America. The articles in the second edition of Jane Jaquette, ed., The Women's Movements in Latin America: Participation and Democracy provide details on the pre- and post-transition movements in many countries.
- a. Jane Jaquette. "Introduction: From Transition to Participation — Women's Movements and Democratic Politics."
  - b. Sonia Alvarez. "The (Trans)formation of Feminism(s) and Gender Politics in Democratizing Brazil."
  - c. Patricia Chuchryk. "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Women's Movement in Chile."
  - d. Maria del Carmen Feijoó with Marcela María Alejandra Nari. "Women and Democracy in Argentina."
  - e. Carina Perelli. "The Uses of Conservatism: Women's Democratic Politics in Uruguay."
  - f. Maruja Barrig. "The Difficult Equilibrium Between Bread and Roses: Women's Organizations and Democracy in Peru."
  - g. Norma Stoltz Chinchilla. "Feminism, Revolution, and Democratic Transitions in Nicaragua."
  - h. Carmen Ramos Escandón. "Women's Movements, Feminism, and Mexican Politics."
  - i. Jane Jaquette. "Conclusion: Women's Political Participation and the Prospects for Democracy."
6. Culture. Focus will be articles in Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, eds. Social Movements and Culture. (jk)
- a. Billig, M. (1995). Rhetorical Psychology, Ideological Thinking, and Imagining Nationhood. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 64-81.
  - b. Fantasia, R. and E. L. Hirsch (1995). Culture in Rebellion: The Appropriation and Transformation of the Veil in the Algerian Revolution. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 144-159.
  - c. Fine, G. A. (1995). Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 127-143.
  - d. Gamson, W. A. (1995). Constructing Social Protest. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 85-106.
  - e. Jenson, J. (1995). What's in a Name? Nationalist Movements and Public Discourse. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 107-126.
  - f. Johnston, H. (1995). A Methodology for Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schemata. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 217-246.
  - g. Johnston, H. and B. Klandermans (1995). The Cultural Analysis of Social Movements. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 3-24.
  - h. Lofland, J. (1995). Charting Degrees of Movement Culture: Tasks of the Cultural Cartographer. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 188-216.

- i. Melucci, A. (1995). The Process of Collective Identity. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 41-63.
  - j. Swidler, A. (1995). Cultural Power and Social Movements. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Pattillo McCoy, Mary. 1998. "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community." Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 25-40.
  - k. Taylor, V. and N. Whittier (1995). Analytical Approaches to Social Movement Culture: The Culture of the Women's Movement. Social Movements and Culture. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans. Minneapolis, MN, U of Minnesota Press: 163-187.
7. Latin American movements. Contents of Susan Eckstein ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press.
- a. 1. Susan Eckstein. "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America." opening survey chapter. emphasizes historical-structural approach, not individual. quick critical lit review. Then theoretical overview: forms of protest, social bases of defiance (production, market, race ethnic, gender, politics, religion), contextual factors (local institutions, class alliances, cultures of resistance; elite support; state structures; exit options), impact of protest.
  - b. 4. Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley. "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerilla Movements." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 132-181. historical overview, comparative time line. origins. university intellectual leadership and peasants: always the attempt, sometimes succeed. Model, table showing which groups strong, which not. Detailed comparisons of theoretical linkages, summary table of all cases.
  - c. 10. John Walton. "Debt, Protest, and the State in Latin America." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 299-328. overview of debt policies and riots in response. careful summary of similarities and differences. good. [would be very interesting linked to US riots and to Tillyesque or Rude stuff on crowds in history.]
  - d. 2. Cynthia McClintock. "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 61-101. radical extremist violent group, why get local peasant support. economic decline, threat to subsistence + political changes in area raising political awareness and shifting alliances and issues + organizational strategies of SL, esp. local-origin university-educated activists + weak and inappropriate state responses. group is wild fanatic gang-of-four Maoist. peasants not, don't support violent and seem to interpret in local terms. Reasons for decline include effective repression, good state policies, group mistakes.
  - e. 3. León Zamosc. "Peasant Struggles of the 1970s in Colombia." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 102-131. descriptive history: part of reformist alliance, then leftist, then acquiescent. changing national economy, politics. Susan Eckstein, ed.
  - f. 8. Manuel Antonio Garretón M. "Popular Mobilization and the Military Regime in Chile: The Complexities of the Invisible Transition." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 259-277. review of Chilean history and role of mobilizations. overview of mobilization of the 1980s. relation to experience of military rule.
  - g. 9. Maria Helena Moreira Alves. "Interclass Alliances in the Opposition to the Military in Brazil: Consequences for the Transition Period." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 278-298. history of specific groups, issues. basically elite domination of WC groups thru alliances.
  - h. 7. Marysa Navarro. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 241-258. Argentina. repression, "the disappeared." mothers' marches, first silent, small vigils at monument, ignored first. becomes empowering. discussion of why mothers pushed harder than fathers, why matrons were permitted more latitude in early stages of protest.
  - i. 5. June Nash. "Cultural Resistance and Class Consciousness in Bolivian Tin-Mining Communities." In Susan Eckstein, ed. Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. 1989. UNC Press. pp 182-202. very interesting, integration of religious rituals with memories of past political violent events, maintenance of culture of resistance.
  - j. 6. Daniel H. Levine and Scott Mainwaring. "Religion and Popular Protest in Latin America: Contrasting

Experiences." In Susan Eckstein, ed. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. 1989. UNC Press. pp 203-240. Catholic church in Brazil and Colombia (progressive vs conservative). base communities created by church actors. have apolitical impact, but are centrally religious. details of how they work in the two countries and end up with different impacts relating to how they are embedded in larger structures.

- k. 7. Marysa Navarro. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In Susan Eckstein, ed. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. 1989. UNC Press. pp 241-258. Argentina. repression, "the disappeared." mothers' marches, first silent, small vigils at monument, ignored first. becomes empowering. discussion of why mothers pushed harder than fathers, why matrons were permitted more latitude in early stages of protest.
- l. See also readings in Jane Jacques's The Women's Movement in Latin America. (#20)

8. Chapters in Goodwin et al, *Passionate Politics*. (PP)

- a. Allahyari, R. A. (2001). The felt politics of charity: serving "the ambassadors of God" and saving "the sinking classes". PP: 195-211. Importance of experiencing, feeling the politics of caring for the poor as embodied participants in org. cultures. Salvation Army demanded disciplined commitment to rehabilitation & acceptance of state policy. Loaves & Fishes radical Christianity encouraged political activism. Emotions, morality, cognitions wrapped up in self-work. Interplay of emotion and morality in the felt politics of conflicts over serving the poor.
- b. Barker, C. (2001). Fear, laughter, and collective power: the making of solidarity at the Lenin shipyard in Gdnask, Poland, August 1980. PP: 175-194. Vague anger turned into a major strike/ Participants remember sudden shifts in emotions, from fear to pride then derision at officials, solemn silence to fierce shouting, doubt to pleasure, panic to confidence. Emotions are not things but qualities of action or thought; emotions and cognitions are intertwined, emotions are part of the meaning of action or thought or speech, part of dialogical context, intensity of emotion is important, there are rapid qualitative breaks in emotion. Narrative of the strike showing examples.
- c. Berezin, M. (2001). Emotions and political identity: mobilizing affection for the polity. PP: 83-98. Italian fascists employed public rituals to induce strong feeling of national belonging, emotional underside to political identities. Political identities are not natural, have to be constructed. Liberalism represses political emotion. Details of emotional tropes in fascism.
- d. Calhoun, C. (2001). Putting emotions in their place. PP: 45-57. Was obviously originally concluding remarks commenting on themes at the conference. Essay on how people think about emotions, suggesting need to differentiate emotions. Avoid dualism. Among social movements, need to distinguish normal everyday movements from those that arouse emotions. Movements produce emotions, not just reflect them.
- e. Collins, R. (2001). Social movements and the focus of emotional attention. PP: 27-45. An essay on the collective dynamics of emotional energy, the formation of unity and its dissolution.
- f. Dobbin, F. (2001). The business of social movements. PP: 74-80. Both movement activists & scholars of movements increasing see the "passions" motivating behavior turned into "interests" and thus turn passionate behavior into calculative behavior. Tied to rationalization and demystification of social life. Economics model of organizing. People make sense of their own behavior through the interest frame. Mistake to believe what people say about their own motives.
- g. Goodwin, J., J. M. Jasper, et al. (2001). Introduction: Why Emotions Matter. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 1-24. Mostly overview, some brief discussion of types of emotions, social construction of emotion. Emotions matter in each state of a movement.
- h. \*Goodwin, J. and S. Pfaff (2001). Emotion work in high-risk social movements: managing fear in the U.S. and East German civil rights movements. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 282-300. High risk activists need to deal with fears of reprisals against self or family. Networks, gatherings, rituals, identities, shaming, guns all helped people deal with fear. Emotion management and encouragement.
- i. Gould, D. (2001). Rock the boat, don't rock the boat, baby: ambivalence and the emergence of militant AIDS activism. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 135-157. Mixture of pride and shame, so responded to AIDS with volunteerism, quiet nobility. But after court decisions, shifted to indignation: pride = militant confrontation. Traces the shift from politeness to anger. [parallels to 1960s black movement, fits

- with oppositional consciousness arguments]
- j. Groves, J. M. (2001). Animal rights and the politics of emotion: folk constructions of emotion in the animal rights movement. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 212-230. Men's expression of emotion in animal rights movement were considered legitimate, but women who expressed emotion were considered unprofessional, irrational, feminine. Career-oriented women felt they had to substantiate their feelings with scientific arguments and support of men. Based on interviews with activists, showing how they viewed emotions.
  - k. \*Kane, A. (2001). Finding emotion in social movement processes: Irish land movement metaphors and narratives. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 251-266. Emotional aspects of movement meanings, solidarity, alliances. Analyze narratives in Irish land movement, finds many emotion metaphors. Metaphors of humiliation and shame, confrontation, resistance. [Fits in with oppositional consciousness ideas.]
  - l. \*Kemper, T. (2001). A structural approach to social movement emotions. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 58-73. Goal of chapter is to provide movement scholars a brief grounding in the structural approach to emotions--explain why emotions are prevalent or likely to arise as structural conditions change or remain the same. Emotions arise from social relationship outcomes. Power and status are organizing relations for emotions. Detailed predictions. Emotions tied to relative power & status. This seems very useful.
  - m. Nepstad, S. E. and C. Smith (2001). The social structure of moral outrage in recruitment to the U.S. Central America peace movement. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 158-174. Social structure of moral shocks. Church members had ties to Central Americans, felt they knew them, thus reacted with activism to US covert insurgency. Argument is that theology + network ties to Central Americans put church members in touch with information about atrocities which led to moral outrage; moral outrage motivated participation.
  - n. Polletta, F. and E. Amenta (2001). Conclusion: second that emotion? Lessons from once-novel concepts in social movement research. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 303-316. Fill in political process: not just opportunities, but indignation. In doing research on emotions, need conceptual clarity & comparison. Provoke new questions.
  - o. Stein, A. (2001). Revenge of the shamed: the Christian Right's emotional culture war. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 115-132. Christian conservative activists reported selfless commitment to higher authorities, but also feelings of rejection, passivity, powerlessness. Try to construct views of selves as strong and independent, in contrast to weak, shameful others (gays & lesbians). See selves as victims of external forces, but believe in individualist ethos. Individualism helps them deny shame but also exacerbates it. Lead them to resent the world. [My skimming makes this seem like the kind of psychologizing that led to the RM revolution.]]
  - p. \*Whittier, N. (2001). Emotional strategies: the collective reconstruction and display of oppositional emotions in the movement against child sexual abuse. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 233-250. Activist survivors encourage different emotions in different locales. Among their own, express anger, grief, shame but also pride. When pressing claims, must exhibit grief, fear, shame but not anger or pride. In response to countermovement characterizing them as hysterical, they make efforts to present themselves as cool, rational, objective. Good article.
  - q. \*Wood, E. J. (2001). The emotional benefits of insurgency in El Salvador. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 267-281. Salvadoran peasants took pleasure and pride in their rebellion, regardless of calculation of success. Collective action for its own sake: to assert agency was to reclaim dignity. Protest itself was the goal. Only later, when repression was lighter, was their pride in achieving interests. [links to oppositional consciousness]
  - r. Young, M. P. (2001). A revolution of the soul: transformative experiences and immediate abolition. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta. Chicago,

The University of Chicago Press: 99-114. Slavery came to be seen as sinful, abolishing it linked to personal redemption. Different emotion cultures create new motivations for and targets of protest. Affective and reactive emotions interact in moral shocks. 1830, sea change in opposition to slavery. Religious revivals of 1820s and 1830s had effect. Western evangelicals central to spread of abolitionism. Different models of piety, shift to "break the chains of sin." [Emotions play a role, but the argument appears to be cognitive.]

9. Chapters in Mansbridge & Morris, *Oppositional Consciousness*

- a. \*Mansbridge, J. (2001). The making of oppositional consciousness. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 1-19. Overview, the problem of opposing dominant structures, bringing dominance back in, and the problem of resisting when oppressed. Liberation vs other movements. The rest of the chapter summarizes the point of the rest of the chapters.
- b. \*Morris, A. and N. Braine (2001). Social movements and oppositional consciousness. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 20-37. Argues that liberation movements against domination differ in key ways from social problems movements.
- c. \*Mansbridge, J. (2001). Complicating oppositional consciousness. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 238-264. Analysis of oppositional consciousness, 4 components of minimal opp consc (identify, see injustice, demand rectification, see shared interest). Recognition of injustice is central. More mature opp consc includes other elements. A continuum, not dichotomy, with many different relations depending on structural context. Activists more important in opp consc. But opp culture is more diffuse.
- d. Groch, S. (2001). Free spaces: creating oppositional consciousness in the disability rights movement. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 65-98. Disability movement, conscious creation of images, slogans etc drawing on deaf & blind culture in segregated residential schools + civil rights movement. Deaf culture stronger because more autonomous spaces. Segregation as part of oppositional consciousness.
- e. Harris, F. C. (2001). Religious resources in an oppositional civic culture. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 38-64. Bible stories & other Black church imagery the basis for oppositional civic culture. Distinguishes oppositional consciousness from oppositional culture.
- f. Marshall, A.-M. (2001). A spectrum in oppositional consciousness: sexual harassment plaintiffs and their lawyers. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 99-145. Many different individual motives, some individuals very politicized, others not. But all borrowed on feminist interpretive frame regardless of own motives.
- g. Rodriguez, M. S. (2001). Cristaleño consciousness: Mexican-American activism between Crystal City, Texas and Wisconsin, 1963-80. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 146-169. Mexican American movement in Crystal City linked two strands, traditional Texas resistance linked with outside progressive labor politics, especially the farmer-labor culture in Wisconsin & Minnesota. Processes of synthesis and historical contingency.
- h. Stockdill, B. C. (2001). Forging a multidimensional oppositional consciousness: lessons from community-based AIDS activism. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 204-237. AIDS activists struggle against dominance by sex, race, class; are both oppressed and oppressor. Multidimensional consciousness, experience of oppression does not easily generalize.
- i. Waite, L. G. (2001). Divided consciousness: the impact of black elite consciousness on the 1966 Chicago Freedom Movement. *Oppositional consciousness: the subjective toots of social protest*. J. Mansbridge and A. Morris. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 170-203. MLK in Chicago 1966. Blacks for and against him all had oppositional consciousness, but not unity. Had different material & ideological interests. Interests had effects not directly but through interpretive schemas. Concept of internally differentiated oppositional consciousness.