

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	xii
<i>List of boxes</i>	xiv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvi

1 Introduction	1
<i>Should we be optimistic about social movement radicalism?</i>	1
<i>Social movements in society</i>	5
<i>Doing social movement research</i>	6
<i>Understanding social movements</i>	8
2 Origins of social movement studies	10
<i>Introduction</i>	10
<i>Social psychology of crowds</i>	11
<i>Collective behaviour theory</i>	12
<i>Box 2.1 Propaganda and collective behaviour: The Nuremburg rallies</i>	13
<i>Symbolic interactionism: Blumer's theory of social movements</i>	15
<i>Box 2.2 Social movement colours: 'Rebel Colours'</i>	16
<i>Box 2.3 Emergent norm theory</i>	20
<i>Smelser's structural-functionalism and the value-added model</i>	20
<i>Box 2.4 Determinants of collective behaviour: Example of a financial panic</i>	21
<i>Evaluating Blumer and Smelser</i>	24
<i>The enduring influence of collective behaviour theories and symbolic interactionism</i>	25
<i>Box 2.5 Social movements as dramas</i>	25
<i>Summary</i>	29
<i>Rational choice theory and the free rider problem</i>	30
<i>Critiques of rational choice theory</i>	32
<i>Conclusion</i>	33
<i>Suggested readings</i>	34
<i>Note</i>	34

3 Political opportunity, resource mobilization, and social movement organization

35

Introduction 35

Resource mobilization theory 36

Box 3.1 Defining 'social movement' 38

Political process model 40

Structure of political opportunities 41

Box 3.2 Political opportunity and nested institutions: The case of

New Zealand's anti-nuclear weapons movement 43

Box 3.3 Opportunity structures in anti-corporate activism 44

Repertoires of contention 46

Box 3.4 The Rebecca Riots 47

Box 3.5 Revolt of the Languedoc winegrowers 49

Cycles of protest 50

Box 3.6 The importance of preexisting networks for black insurgency and the US civil rights movement 52

How organized should a social movement be? 53

Assessing social movement success 54

The 'cultural turn' in resource mobilization theory: Framing processes and collective action 55

Box 3.7 Master frames and cycles of protest 57

Conclusion 58

Suggested readings 59

Notes 60

4 Social movements, old and new

61

Introduction 61

New social movements in programmed society 62

Box 4.1 Post-materialism 63

Social movements and social class 64

Social movements as 'nomads of the present' 65

Box 4.2 Women's self-help movements 67

Criticisms of new social movement theory 70

Box 4.3 Disabled people's fight for equal rights and anti-discrimination laws 71

Box 4.4 From Fordism to post-Fordism 74

Social welfare movements: Recognition or redistribution, or both? 77

Protesting precarity: New wine, old bottles? 78

Box 4.5 Symbols of precarity protests 82

Abeyance structures 86

Summary 89

Box 4.6 Abeyance structures and social welfare: The infant welfare movement	89
Social movements surviving neoliberalism	90
Box 4.7 Austerity and protest	91
Synthesizing approaches	92
Conclusion	95
Suggested readings	96
Notes	96
5 Protest and culture	98
Introduction	98
Passionate politics	99
Box 5.1 Dispassionate politics? Non-emotional framing in animal rights activism	101
The role of political colours in the emotional life of social movements	102
Narrative and storytelling	104
Box 5.2 Battle of the Beanfield: A war story	107
The contribution of narrative analysis to the cultural canon of social movement studies	108
Box 5.3 David and Goliath: The McLibel trial	110
Emotions in stories of protest	112
Box 5.4 Emotions in social movement organizations	113
Music and protest	114
Box 5.5 Pussy Riot and the successful diffusion of feminist ideas	116
Performing protest	117
Box 5.6 Sydney Mardi Gras: GAYTMs	120
Subcultures and social movements	121
Conclusion	123
Suggested readings	123
Notes	124
6 Religious movements and social movements	125
Introduction	125
Religious movements and social movements: Never the twain shall meet?	126
Box 6.1 Religious protest repertoires	128
Reconciling new religious movements and new social movements	132
Box 6.2 Liberation theology	133
Box 6.3 Religious 'lifestyle movements'	138
Free space and autonomy	140
Box 6.4 Religion: Ideology or opposition?	142
Stories, narrative, and emotion in religious social movements	143

<i>Religion and politics</i>	146
<i>Box 6.5 Jubilee 2000</i>	148
<i>Conclusion</i>	150
<i>Suggested readings</i>	150
<i>Note</i>	151

7 Struggles over space

152

<i>Introduction</i>	152
<i>Space: The final frontier?</i>	153
<i>Box 7.1 Freegan anti-consumerism: Spaces of urban resistance</i>	155
<i>Geography and social movement theory</i>	156
<i>Box 7.2 L'affaire des Sans-papiers</i>	157
<i>Indigenous peoples' struggles for identity, space, and autonomy</i>	164
<i>Box 7.3 Bolivia's water war</i>	169
<i>Tea Party, sociospatial structure, and the geography of collective action</i>	172
<i>Box. 7.4 Nimbys or Niabys?</i>	178
<i>Why space matters to Occupy</i>	180
<i>Box 7.5 Already occupied: Indigenous peoples and Occupy movements</i>	182
<i>Policing space</i>	184
<i>Box 7.6 Policing protest space, Sydney style</i>	187
<i>Conclusion</i>	188
<i>Suggested readings</i>	190

8 Media and movements

192

<i>Introduction</i>	192
<i>Box 8.1 Pussy Riot redux</i>	195
<i>Greenpeace: A media-savvy social movement organization</i>	195
<i>Box 8.2 Tea Party: Media manufactured or genuine grassroots movement?</i>	198
<i>Hackers and hacktivists</i>	200
<i>Box 8.3 Culture jamming</i>	203
<i>Wikileaks: Hactivism and counterveillance</i>	204
<i>Citizen journalism as sousveillance</i>	208
<i>Box 8.4 Policing's new visibility: The case of Ian Tomlinson</i>	211
<i>The 2011 English riots: Digital mob or mediated crowd?</i>	214
<i>Arab Spring</i>	215
<i>Conclusion</i>	218
<i>Suggested readings</i>	220

9 Global activism

222

<i>Introduction</i>	222
<i>Transnational activism and globalization</i>	223

What is globalization? 225

Box 9.1 Global civil society 228

Box 9.2 Think globally, act locally: Resisting globalization 'from below' 231

Transnational advocacy networks and international opportunity structures 233

Global justice movement 235

Box 9.3 New media and global activism 239

International human rights and protest 241

Box 9.4 'Comfort women' challenging international law 245

Conclusion 247

Suggested readings 248

10 Conclusion

250

Objects and outcomes of social movement activity 250

Political process, protest repertoires, and opportunity structures 252

Movement autonomy and the state 254

Bibliography

257

Index

285