## **Contents**

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

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	
7. Summary and conclusions to	
Protest and social movements as collective action	91
1. Protest and collective action 92	
<ol> <li>How to apply collective action theory: a case study about the mobilization of a mining village in Spain 93</li> </ol>	
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	
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	Pol	litical opportunity structures, protest, and social movements	161
	1.	The political environment and the chances of success:	
		P. Eisinger's theory 161	
	2.	Conceptual problems: What are political opportunity structures? 167	
	3	What form of political action can be explained? 178	
		The missing micro-macro model and the implicit background theory 179	
	5.	Other factors: the incomplete macro model 180	
		How is the free rider problem solved? 181	
		When is the theory wrong? 181	
		Recent developments and lingering problems: an illustration with two versions of the theory 190	
	9.	Political opportunities and collective action: a synthesis 198	
		What can we learn from the political opportunity structure	
		perspective for the explanation of social movement	
		phenomena? 200	
	11.	Summary and conclusions 201	
7	Co	llective identity and social movement activity	204
	1.	Constructing collective identity and protest: A. Melucci's	
		theory 205	
	2.	Conceptual problems: What is a "collective identity"? 215	
	<i>3</i> .	Identity theory: recent developments 217	
		Empirical evidence 220	
	5.	Synthesizing collective identity theory and the theory of collective action 221	
	6.	Problems of the extended theory of collective identity 228	
	<i>7</i> .	What can we learn from the identity approach for the	
		explanation of social movement phenomena? 231	
	8.	Summary and conclusions 231	
8	Ho	w framing influences mobilization and protest	234
	1.	Frame alignment processes: D. Snow, B. Rochford, St. Burke, and R. Benford's contribution 235	
	<i>2</i> .	Conceptual problems 241	
		The structure of the theory: the implicit micro-macro model 247	
		Why do people change and use frames? The implicit background theory 249	
	5.	Is frame alignment a necessary condition for social movement participation? 251	
	б.	How is the free rider problem solved? 254	
	_	Framing and the form of political action: an unanswered question 255	

8. When does frame alignment succeed? 255

10. The validity of the framing approach 265

9. Recent developments 256

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

	3. How existing social movement theory fits into the structural-cognitive model 335	
	4. The structural-cognitive model applied: some illustrations 335 5. Summary and conclusions 349	
10		
12	General discussion, conclusion, and an agenda for future research	351
	1. The major strengths and weaknesses of extant theories of social movements and political protest 351	
	2. The alternative: the structural-cognitive model as a theory-based micro-macro explanation 353	
	3. An illustration: Is something missing in the explanation of collective mobilization in Llano del Beal? 354	
	4. An agenda for future theory and research 356	
	5. Summary and conclusions 361	
	Notes	363
	Bibliography	375
	Index	396