

APPENDIX B

STREAMS, EPISODES, MECHANISMS, AND PROCESSES

This appendix identifies the major streams of contention, sets of contentious episodes, causal mechanisms, and causal processes that appear in one part of the book or another. It includes only those streams, episode sets, mechanisms, and processes playing some significant part in the book's descriptions and explanations of contentious politics.

Streams of Contention

As appendix A said, streams of contention contain connected moments of collective claim making that observers single out for explanation. Contentious streams run an enormous range, from a running dispute between you and your neighbor to the coming of the French Revolution. This book's approach makes it possible to analyze streams at either end of the range as well as in between. You get to choose. Most of the book's analyses, however, treat fairly long, large streams in which governments visibly figured as claimants, objects of claims, or third parties to claims. Here are the main streams the book describes:

British Antislavery (chapters 1 and 2): beginning in the 1780s, the series of struggles in which British activists and their allies called for an end to Great Britain's participation in the Atlantic slave trade, next for abolition of slavery throughout British territories and colonies, and then for termination of the slave trade and slavery throughout the Atlantic region.

- Ukraine's Orange Revolution (chapters 1 and 2)*: overturning of a government-stolen election through popular mobilization in 2004.
- Repertoire change in the United States, 1955–2005 (chapter 1)*: general mutations of who was making collective claims—and how—over the country as a whole.
- Contention in El Salvador and Guatemala, 1955–1991 (chapters 2, 5, and 7)*: peasant activism, government repression, and antigovernmental insurgency as analyzed by Charles Brockett.
- Opposition to authoritarian regimes in Serbia and Georgia, 2000–2003 (chapter 2)*: organization and diffusion of protests by students and others against election fraud.
- U.S. antislavery, 1820–1860 (chapter 2)*: struggles between advocates and opponents of slavery up to the Civil War.
- Disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Bloc, 1956–1991 (chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6)*: breakup of both the multistate Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact countries.
- Venezuelan political struggles, 1980–2005 (chapter 3)*: elite and popular involvement in successive contests over state power.
- Zapatista mobilization in Mexico, 1994–2005 (chapter 4)*: in a poor region of southern Mexico, demands by organizers of indigenous populations for redress and autonomy from the central government, soon receiving support from across the world.
- Campaigns of prostitutes in Lyons, France, for recognition and protection (chapter 5)*: in a series of unusual actions including occupation of a church, a partly successful bid by sex workers for improvement of their political and working conditions.
- Italy's political cycle, 1968–1973 (chapter 5)*: workers, students, and other political activists producing a large series of challenges to the regime, but eventually subsiding.
- Antiregime mobilizations in Poland, 1956–1957 and 1980–1989 (chapter 6)*: failed opposition to the Soviet-backed communist regime during the 1950s contrasting with eventual toppling of the regime during the 1980s.
- American women's movements from the 1960s onward (chapter 6)*: significant fluctuations in the organizational bases, coalitions, issues, and outcomes of women's movement campaigns.
- Sudan's Regimes, 1989–2005 (chapter 7)*: repeated regional rebellions and civil wars against an authoritarian state.
- Protestant-Catholic struggles in Ireland, 1529–1989 (chapter 7)*: recurrent contention ranging from passive resistance to civil war.

Nicaragua's revolutionary situations and outcomes, 1961-1990 (chapter 7): rise and fall of revolutionary changes in a war-torn country.

Israel's withdrawal from Gaza, 2004-2005 (chapter 8): as militant Israelis protest, the Israeli government's removal of its settlers from the Gaza Strip.

International campaign to prosecute Augusto Pinochet, 1998-2005 (chapter 8): a successful effort spearheaded by Chilean exiles to bring the former dictator to justice.

Sit-ins in American civil rights, 1960 onward (chapter 9): an effective new sort of campaign initiated by African American activists.

Sets of Contentious Episodes

Episodes are bounded sequences of contentious interaction. The book mentions dozens of individual episodes in passing. Here, however, we list only those cases in which some analyst has deliberately broken up a contentious stream into a number of comparable units for disciplined description and explanation. The stream in question only appears in the previous list of contentious streams if the book also offers a more general analysis of changes outside the episodes themselves.

Protests in Germany, 1950-1997 (chapter 1): Dieter Rucht's catalog of different types of public protest events in West Germany (1950-1988) and unified Germany (1989-1997).

Strikes in France, 1830-1968 (chapter 2): multiple catalogs of strikes and contentious gatherings over the country as a whole, drawn by Edward Shorter, Charles Tilly, and their collaborators from official statistics, newspapers, and historical archives.

Protest events in Italy, 1966-1973 (chapters 2 and 5): catalogs of strikes and other contentious events, compiled mainly from Italian newspapers by Sidney Tarrow and his collaborators.

New social movements in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, 1975-1989 (chapter 2): national catalogs of contentious events compiled from national newspapers by Hanspeter Kriesi and his research team.

Shantytown protests on U.S. college campuses, 1985-1990 (chapter 2): Sarah Soule's collection of campus events from NEXIS.

Demonstrations and violent confrontations in the Soviet Union and its successor states, 1987–1992 (chapters 2, 4, and 5): national catalogs by Mark Beissinger and a large research team.

Protest events in Venezuela, 1983–1999 (chapter 3): collection of contentious events from a national newspaper by Margarita López Maya and her collaborators.

Conflicts in Guatemala and El Salvador, 1970–1991 (chapter 5): Charles Brockett’s multiple catalogs of strikes, occupations, demonstrations, and “contentious activities.”

American women’s movement activities and outcomes, 1950–1985 (chapter 6): Ann Costain’s counts of legislation affecting women’s rights and news mentions of women’s organizational activities.

Civil wars across the world, 1946–2004 (chapter 7): catalogs by Scandinavian analysts of war and peace.

African American protests and civil rights activities, 1947–1997 (chapter 9): Craig Jenkins and collaborators’ counts of nationally visible contentious events.

The geography of sit-ins, 1960 (chapter 9): Mapping the distribution of sit-ins across the American South by Kenneth Andrews and Michael Biggs.

Mechanisms

Mechanisms are events that produce the same immediate effects over a wide range of circumstances. *Processes* assemble mechanisms into combinations and sequences that produce larger-scale effects than any particular mechanism causes by itself. The distinction between mechanisms and processes, however, depends on our level of observation. We can always look inside any particular mechanism and find smaller-scale mechanisms at work. Examined closely, for example, recognition of parallels between yourself and another political actor—the mechanism we call *attribution of similarity*—depends on smaller-scale cognitive events, moment by moment or person by person. We can also go to the other extreme. At the scale of world history, the complex processes we call revolutions (which chapter 7 analyzes in detail) can operate as mechanisms, with each revolution ending one regime and starting another. In short, whether a causal cluster counts as a mechanism or a process depends on our scale of observation.

The mechanisms and processes identified in this book operate at an intermediate scale. Most of the time, we take the position of an informed

observer watching a regime's politics change from week to week, month to month, or year to year. At that scale, we single out mechanisms that contribute to significant shifts in the location, character, or consequences of contention. We then assemble the mechanisms into combinations and sequences that cause the major outcomes we set out to explain. Here are the main mechanisms at work in the book:

Attribution of similarity: identification of another political actor as falling within the same category as your own.

Boundary activation/deactivation: increase (decrease) in the salience of the us-them distinction separating two political actors.

Boundary formation: creation of an us-them distinction between two political actors.

Boundary shift: change in the persons or identities on one side or the other of an existing boundary.

Brokerage: production of a new connection between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites.

Certification: an external authority's signal of its readiness to recognize and support the existence and claims of a political actor. (*Decertification*: an external authority's signal that it is withdrawing recognition and support from a political actor.)

Co-optation: incorporation of a previously excluded political actor into some center of power.

Defection: exit of a political actor from a previously effective coalition and/or coordinated action.

Diffusion: spread of a contentious performance, issue, or interpretive frame from one site to another.

Emulation: deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting.

Repression: action by authorities that increases the cost—actual or potential—of an actor's claim making.

Processes

Our inventories of the mechanisms and processes identified in this book make clear that we have left plenty of work for future researchers and theorists. The work consists of showing not only (1) exactly how the mechanisms listed activate and produce their effects but also (2) what mechanisms enter complex processes of contention, how they combine,

and how they produce their large-scale effects. Here are the main processes the book has discussed:

Actor constitution: emergence of a new or transformed political actor—a recognizable set of people who carry on collective action, making and/or receiving contentious claims.

Coalition formation: creation of new, visible, and direct coordination of claims between two or more previously distinct actors.

Collective action: all coordinating efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs.

Commercialization: shift of an organization toward more extensive sale of its services (Kriesi analysis).

Competition: pursuit of rewards or outcomes in mutually exclusive ways.

Contention: making claims that bear on someone else's interests.

Coordinated action: two or more actors' mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object.

Democratization/dedemocratization: movement of a regime toward or away from relatively broad, equal, and protected binding consultation of the government's subjects with respect to governmental resources, personnel, and policies.

Disillusionment: decline in the commitment of individuals or political actors to previously sustaining beliefs.

Escalation: displacement of moderate goals and tactics by more extreme goals and tactics (usually applied to mutual interactions among political actors).

Framing: adopting and broadcasting a shared definition of an issue or performance.

Globalization: increase in the volume and speed of flows of capital, goods, information, ideas, people, and forces connecting actors across countries.

Identity shift: emergence of new collective answers to the questions "Who are you?" "Who are we?" and "Who are they?"

Institutionalization: incorporation of performances and political actors into the routines of organized politics.

Internationalization: a combination of (1) increasing horizontal density of relations among states, governmental officials, and nonstate actors with (2) increasing vertical ties between these and international institutions or organizations.

Involution: shift of social movement organizations toward increasing emphasis on supply of social services to their constituencies (Kriesi analysis).

Mobilization/demobilization: increase (decrease) in the resources available to a political actor for collective making of claims.

New coordination: coordination produced by the combination of brokerage and diffusion.

Polarization: increasing ideological distance between political actors or coalitions.

Radicalization: shift of social movement organizations toward increased assertiveness (Kriesi analysis).

Scale shift: increase or decrease in the number of actors and/or geographic range of coordinated claim making.

Self-representation: an actor's or coalition's public display of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment.

Social appropriation: conversion or incorporation of previously existing nonpolitical groups and networks into political actors.