

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Books

1. Bert Klandermans. Participation in a social movement, a mobilization campaign studied. (Dutch) Amsterdam: VU-boekhandel/uitgeverij, 1983
2. Martien Briet, Frederike Kroon & Bert Klandermans. Women and the Women's Movement. (Dutch). The Hague: Secretary of Social Affairs, 1985
3. Bert Klandermans & Erwin Seydel (Eds.) Convincing and activating: persuasive communication in theory and practise. (Dutch). Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987 (2nd revised ed. 1991; 3rd revised ed. 1996).
4. Bert Klandermans (ed.), Hanspeter Kriesi, Dirk Oegema, Philip van Praag, & Ben Schennink. Signing for peace: The people's petitionnement against cruise missiles (Dutch). Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988.
5. Bert Klandermans, Hans Peter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow, (eds.). From structure to action: Comparing movement participation across cultures. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI-Press, (1988).
6. Bert Klandermans, (ed.). Organizing for change: Social movement organizations across cultures. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI-Press, (1989).
7. Bert Klandermans (ed.) Peace movement in international perspective, Greenwich, Conn.: JAI-Press, 1991.
8. Jean Hartley, Bert Klandermans, Dan Jacobson & Tinka van Vuuren. Job Insecurity. London: Sage, 1990.
9. Gerrita van der Veen & Bert Klandermans, Between struggle and collaboration: The CNV and collective action (Dutch). Kampen: Kok, 1990.
10. Hank Johnston & Bert Klandermans (eds.) Culture and Social Movements, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
11. Craig C. Jenkins & Bert Klandermans (eds.) Social movements and the political system, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
12. Bert Klandermans & Jelle Visser (red.) De vakbeweging na de welvaartstaat. Van Gorcum, 1995.
13. Bert Klandermans. The social psychology of protest. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.
14. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs & Johan Olivier. The state of the people: Citizens, civil society and governance in South Africa, 1994-2000. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council. 2001.
15. Bert Klandermans and & Suzanne Staggenborg (eds.) Methods of social movement research. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
16. Bert Klandermans & Nonna Mayer.. *Extreme Right Activists in Europe. Through the Magnifying Glass*. London: Routledge, 2006.
17. Bert Klandermans & Conny Roggeband, (eds.). *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*. Springer, 2007.
18. Assaad Azzi, Xenia Chrysochoou, Bert Klandermans & Bernd Simon (eds.) *Identity and Participation in Cultural Diverse Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell Wiley.
19. David Snow, Donatella Dellaporta, Doug McAdam, & Bert Klandermans (eds) *Encyclopedia of Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Wiley.

Edited Journal Special Issues

1. Bert Klandermans, Adriaan Visser & Han Bonarius (eds.). Internal-external control. Special Issue. (Dutch). *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie* 1983; 38.
2. Bert Klandermans & Gerrita van der Veen (eds.). Union commitment. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 1995, 16.
3. Bert Klandermans & Leo d'Anjou (eds.). Sociale bewegingen. *Sociale Wetenschappen*, 39/2, 1996.
4. Bert Klandermans & Tinka van Vuuren (eds.). Job Insecurity. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8/2, 1999.

Articles and chapters

1. Bert Klandermans. Some social psychological barriers of union local effectiveness. (Dutch). *Mens en Maatschappij* 1978; 53: 40-52
2. Bert Klandermans. Unemployed and the unemployed movement. (Dutch). *Mens en Maatschappij* 1979; 54: 5-34
3. Bert Klandermans & Nico Terra. A workers council mobilizes its constituency. (Dutch). *Mens en Onderneming* 1980; 34: 392-413

4. Bert Klandermans. Manning agreements: why a mobilization campaign failed. (Dutch). *Tijdschrift voor Agologie* 1982; 11: 22-36
5. Bert Klandermans & Jan van Gastel. Mobilization of young union members. (Dutch). *Tijdschrift voor Agologie* 1982, 11: 271-286
6. Bert Klandermans & Nico Terra. Can social psychological research benefit a union? (Dutch). *Psychologie en Maatschappij* 1982; 18: 30-55
7. Bert Klandermans. Power formation: mobilization of power in a conflict. (Dutch). In: Henk Wilke & Peter Veen (Eds). *Zicht op Macht*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983
8. Bert Klandermans. Power formation in a conflict: mobilization of support to mild and militant union actions. (Dutch). *Mens en Maatschappij* 1983; 58: 151-166
9. Bert Klandermans. Locus of control and socio political action-taking: the balance of 20 years of research. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1983; 13: 399-415
10. Bert Klandermans. Mobilization and participation in union actions. A value expectance approach. (Dutch). *Mens en Onderneming* 1983; 37:399-415
11. Bert Klandermans. Internal-external control and actiontaking: the balance of 20 years of research. (Dutch). *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie* 1983; 38: 47-63
12. Bert Klandermans & Adriaan Visser. Internal-external control and social learning theory. (Dutch). *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*, 1983; 38: 1-7
14. Bert Klandermans & Adriaan Visser. Internal-external control: epilogue. (Dutch). *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*, 1983; 38:47-63
15. Martien Briet, Frederike Kroon & Bert Klandermans. Women and the womens' movement. (Dutch). In: Rene v.d. Vlist (Ed.) *Sociale psychologie in Nederland, part IV*. Deventer: van Loghum Slaterus, 1984: 145-169
16. Bert Klandermans. Mobilization and participation in actions of a union: a value-expectance approach. *Journal of Occupational Psychology* 1984; 57: 107-120
17. Bert Klandermans. The expected number of participants, the effectiveness of collective actions and the willingness to participate: the free rider dilemma reconsidered. (Dutch). *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie* 1984; 39: 319-334
18. Bert Klandermans. Mobilization and participation in a social movement: social psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review* 1984; 49: 583-600
(among the 375 most cited articles of the ASR, ASR, 2004, 70: 1-3, appendix).
19. Bert Klandermans. Mobilization and participation in a social movement. (Dutch). In: O. Schreuder (Ed.) *Sociale beweging: oude thema's in een nieuw klimaat*. Zeist: Kerckebosch Uitgeverij, 1985: 57-78
20. Bert Klandermans. Union action and the free rider dilemma. (Dutch). *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken* 1985; 1: 45-54
21. Bert Klandermans. Individuals and collective action: rejoinder to Schragar. *American Sociological Review* 1985; 50: 860-861
22. Bert Klandermans & Sidney Tarrow. Participation in 'new' social movements in Western Europe and the United States. *European Studies Newsletter* 1985; 15: 1-4
23. Jean Hartley & Bert Klandermans. Individual and collective responses to job insecurity. In: H.W. Schroiff & G. Debus (Eds.) *The psychology of work and organization*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publ, 1986: 129-136
24. Bert Klandermans. Perceived costs and benefits of participation in union action. *Personnel Psychology* 1986; 39: 379-397
25. Bert Klandermans. Individual behavior in real life social-dilemma's: a theory and some research results. In: David Messick & Henk Wilke (Eds.) *Experimental Social Dilemmas*. Frankfurt a. Main: Peter Lang Publ, 1986: 87-113
26. Bert Klandermans. New social movements and resource mobilization: the European and the American approach. In: Gary T. Marx (Ed.) *Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters: Special Issue on Collective behavior and socialmovements incomparative perspective*. 1986, 4/2: 13-39
27. Bert Klandermans. Social movements (Dutch). In: Jaap van Ginneken & Ruud Koudijzer (Eds.) *Politieke psychologie*. Alphen a.d. Rijn: Samsom, 1986: 150-156
28. Bert Klandermans. Psychology and trade union participation: joining, acting, quitting. In: John Kelly & Jean Hartley (guest) (Eds.) *Psychology and Industrial Relations, special issue, Journal of Occupational Psychology*. 1986: 189-204
29. Bert Klandermans. Union involvement. (Dutch). *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken* 1986; 2: 14-30
30. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow. *Transformation of structure into action*. European Studies Newsletter 1986; 16: 1-3

31. Bert Klandermans. Dissatisfaction and protest. (Dutch). In: Ned. *Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*. 1987; 42: 239-249
32. Bert Klandermans & Dirk Oegema. *Potentials, networks, motivations and barriers: Steps towards participation in social movements*. American Sociological Review, 1987, 52: 519-532.
Reprinted in:
-Connections, the journal of the International Network for Social Network Analysis.
-Citizen participation and voluntary actions abstracts.
-Living Sociology. West Publishing Company, 1990
-Social movements. Perspectives and Issues. Steven Buechler & Kurt Cylke. Mountain View: Mayfield, 1997.
-Social movements: Critical concepts. Jeff Goodwin & Jim Jasper. Routledge: Milton Parks, 2006.
33. Bert Klandermans. Social dilemma's, collective behavior and the problem of large-scale persuasion. In: Bert Klandermans & Erwin Seydel (Eds.) *Overtuigen en activeren: Publieksbeïnvloeding in theorie en praktijk*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987: 1-12
34. Bert Klandermans. Mobilization by social movements. In: Bert Klandermans & Erwin Seydel (Eds.) *Overtuigen en activeren: Publieksbeïnvloeding in theorie en praktijk*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987: 77-95
35. Martien Briet, Bert Klandermans & Frederike Kroon. How women become involved in the women's movement. In: Carol Mueller & Mary Katzenstein (Eds.) *The women's movements of Western Europe and the United States: Changing theoretical perspectives*. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1987: 44-67
36. Bert Klandermans & Dirk Oegema. Campaigning for a nuclear freeze: grassroots strategies and local government in the Netherlands. In: Richard Braungart (Ed.) *Research in Political Sociology*. Greenwich: JAI Press, 1987:305-337
37. Bert Klandermans. Cooperation, competition and conflict: intergroup relations and social movements. (Dutch) In Frans Willem Winkel (ed.) *Intergroup relations: Social psychological analyses and interventions*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom, 1987, 35-53.
38. Bert Klandermans. Discontent and resignation do not necessarily go together. (Dutch) *Psychologie en Maatschappij*, 1987; 11: 382-385
39. Bert Klandermans. Lessons in societal mobilization. (Dutch) *Namens*, 1987, 6: 355-356.
40. Gerrita van der Veen & Bert Klandermans. Christian Union Association: 25 years of union action. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 1988, 4/1: 50-62.
41. Siem Pannekeet, Bert Klandermans & Jan van Gastel. Changing a newspaper. A study of potential and current subscribers of a leftist newspaper after an editorial policy change. (Dutch) *Massacommunicatie*, 1988, 16/1: 49-59.
42. Bert Klandermans. Unions and the free-rider dilemma. In: Louis Kriesberg & Bronislaw Misztal (Eds.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*. Greenwich: JAI-Press, 1988, 77-91.
43. Tinka van Vuuren & Bert Klandermans. Jobs at risk: Experiences in job insecurity, (Dutch) *Gedrag en Organisatie*, 1988, 1/1: 14-30.
44. Bert Klandermans. Social psychological models of union participation are not necessarily bad. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeid en Bewustzijn*, 1988, 12/1: 33-46.
45. Bert Klandermans. Protest! (Dutch) *Psychologie*, 1988, 7/5: 16-21.
46. Oegema, Dirk & Bert Klandermans, (1988). Activating sympathizers Pp. 53-77 in Bert Klandermans (red.), Hanspeter Kriesi, Dirk Oegema, Philip van Praag jr. & Ben Schennink. *Signing for peace: The people's petitionnement against cruise missiles* (Dutch). Assen: van Gorcum.
47. Bert Klandermans & Sidney Tarrow. Mobilization into Social Movements: Synthesizing the European and the American approach. In: Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow (Eds.) *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, Conn. JAI-Press, 1988
48. Bert Klandermans. The formation and mobilization of consensus In: Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow (eds.) *From structure to action. Comparing social movements across cultures*. Greenwich (Conn.): JAI-Press, 1988.
49. Bert Klandermans. Six introductions in Bert Klandermans (ed.) *Organizing for change: social movement organizations in Europe and the United States*. I. Social movement organizations, 1-20. II. Structure and change, 21-32. III. Management of social movement organizations, 117-128. IV. Leadership and decision making, 215-224. V. Interorganizational networks, 301-314. VI. Organizational effectiveness, 383-394. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI-Press, 1989.
50. Bert Klandermans. Management of social movement organization: The acquisition and allocation of resources. (Dutch) In Leo W. Huberts & Wim J. van Noort (eds.) *Sociale bewegingen in de jaren*

- negentig: Stand van zaken en vooruitblik*. Leiden: DSWO-Press, 17-33, 1989.
51. Gerrita van der Veen & Bert Klandermans. Exit-behavior in social movement organizations. In Bert Klandermans (red.) *Organizing for change: social movement organizations in Europe and the United States*. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI-Press, 179-189, 1989.
 52. Bert Klandermans. Grievance interpretation and success expectations: The social construction of protest. *Social Behaviour*, 1989, 4: 113-125.
 53. Bert Klandermans. Commitment to the union: A replication and some tests in the European context. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1989, 74: 869-875.
 54. Tinka van Vuuren, Jan van Gastel & Bert Klandermans. Collective responses to job insecurity (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 1989, 5/1: 71-80.
 56. Bert Klandermans, Participation in a social movement (Dutch). *Politieke & Sociale Vorming*, 1989/4: 12-14.
 57. Lex van Teeffelen & Bert Klandermans, Between rational choice and interaction: Commitment to the union and resignation as a union member. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 5/4: 4-15, 1989
 58. Bert Klandermans. Does happiness soothe political protest? In Ruut Veenhoven (ed.) *How harmful is happiness?* Rotterdam: University Press Rotterdam, 1989, 61-78.
 59. Dirk Oegema & Bert Klandermans. Communicating with the constituency: The peace movement and its campaign for the people's petitionnement (Dutch) *Massacommunicatie*, 1990, 18, 216-231.
 60. Bert Klandermans. Consensus mobilization and multi-organizational fields: Trends in theories on social movements. (Dutch) *Gedrag en organisatie*, 1990, 3: 461-472.
 61. Bert Klandermans. *Linking the 'old' and the 'new': Movement networks in the Netherlands*. In: Russell J. Dalton & Manfred Kuechler (eds.) *Challenging the political order. New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 1990, 122-136.
- Translated:
- La union de lo "viejo" con lo "nuevo": El entramado de los movimientos sociales en Los Países Bajos. In: Russell J. Dalton & Manfred Kuechler (eds.) *Los nuevos movimientos sociales: Un reto al orden político*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnanim, 1992.
62. Tinka van Vuuren and Bert Klandermans, Why workers differ in their responses to job insecurity. The importance of causal attribution. (Dutch) In A.Ph. Buunk, D. van Kreveld & R. van der Vlist (red.) *Toegepaste sociale psychologie*, Deel IV, VUGA, 1990, 43-58.
 63. Tinka van Vuuren en Bert Klandermans, An integrated model for the study of individual reactions to job insecurity. In P.J.D. Drenth, J.A. Sergeant & R.J. Takens (red.) *European perspectives in psychology*, Vol.3, Wiley, 1990, 133-146.
 64. Bert Klandermans. Persuasive communication: Measures to overcome real life social dilemmas. In W.B.G. Liebrand, D.M. Messick, H.A.M. Wilke (eds.) *A social psychological approach to social dilemmas*. Pergamon Press, 1991
 65. Bert Klandermans. New social movements and resource mobilization: The European and America approach revisited. *Politics and the Individual*, 1, 1991, 1-27.
Reprinted in: Dieter Rucht (ed.) *Research on social movements: the state of the art*. Frankfurt/Boulder/London: Campus/Westview, 1991, 17-47.
 66. Bert Klandermans, The peace movement and social movement theory. In Bert Klandermans (ed.) *Peace movement in international perspective*, JAI-Press, 1991.
 67. Bert Klandermans. Union participation. In Geoffrey Stephenson & Jean Hartley (eds.) *The psychology of employment relations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991, 184-202.
 68. Bert Klandermans, Collective behavior and social movements. (Dutch) In D. van Kreveld en P. Glasbergen (eds.) *Environmental education*. Open University, 1992.
 69. Bert Klandermans, The case for longitudinal research on movement participation. In M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds.) *Issues in Contemporary Social Movement Research*. London: Sage. 1992, 55-76.
 70. Bert Klandermans. The social construction of protest and multi-organizational fields. In Aldon Morris & Carol Mueller (eds.) *Frontiers in social movement theory*. Yale University Press, 77-103, 1992.
Reprint in Enrique Llarana, *Movimiento social*, Madrid: CIS.
 71. Sharda Nandram & Bert Klandermans. Stress experienced by active union members. *Journal of Social Organization*, 14:415-431, 1993.
 72. Bert Klandermans, A theoretical framework for comparisons of social movement participation. *Sociological Forum*, 8:383-402, 1993
 73. Peter Kerkhof & Bert Klandermans. Decentralizing contract negotiations. Union members on the changing industrial relations in city administrations. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 10/1: 54-67,

- 1994.
74. Peter Kerkhof & Bert Klandermans. Union members on social security during economic recession: a cognitive approach of media-effects. (Dutch) In Paul A.M. van Lange, Frans W. Siero, Bas Verplanken en Els C.M. van Schie (red.) *Sociale psychologie en haar toepassingsgebieden*. Delft: Eburon, p.155-165, 1994.
 75. Nandram, S.S. & B. Klandermans, Stress among union lay-officials. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 10: 139-153, 1994.
 76. Dirk Oegema en Bert Klandermans. Why social movement sympathizers don't participate: Erosion and nonconversion of support. *American Sociological Review*, 59: 703-722, 1994.
Reprinted in *Social movements: Readings on their emergence, mobilization, and dynamics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury, 1997.
 77. Bert Klandermans. Transient identities: Changes in collective identity in the Dutch peace movement. In Hank Johnston, Joseph Gusfield & Enrique Llarana (eds.), *New Social Movements. From ideology to identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994 p. 168-185.
 78. Bert Klandermans. Targeting the Critical Mass. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57: 368-372, 1994.
 79. Sharda Nandram en Bert Klandermans. 'Burnout' among union lay-officials. (Dutch) *Gedrag en Organisatie*, 8: 128-145, 1995.
 80. Craig Jenkins en Bert Klandermans. The politics of social protest. In Craig Jenkins en Bert Klandermans (eds.) *The politics of social protest. Comparative perspectives of states and social movements*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press/University College of London Press, 1995, 3-13.
 81. Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. The cultural analysis of social movements. In Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans (eds.) *Social movements and culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995, 3-24.
 82. Bert Klandermans. The social psychology of union participation. (Dutch) In Bert Klandermans en Jelle Visser (red.) *De vakbeweging na de welvaartsstaat*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 19-30, 1995.
 83. Bert Klandermans. Participation in labor unions. (Dutch) In Bert Klandermans en Jelle Visser (red.) *De vakbeweging na de welvaartsstaat*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 183-195, 1995.
 84. Sjoerd Goslinga en Bert Klandermans. Unions and the Disability-Payment issue. Mass media coverage and action preparedness among union members. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 11: 229-243, 1995.
 85. Cecile de Bruin en Bert Klandermans. Social security and union participation. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 11: 229-243, 1995.
 86. Bert Klandermans en Sjoerd Goslinga. Media discourse, movement publicity and the generation of collective action frames: Theoretical and empirical exercises in meaning construction. In Doug McAdam, John McCarthy & Mayer Zald editors *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge University Press, 1996, 312-337.
 87. Bert Klandermans. Pacifism. (Italian) *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma. 1996, 448-454.
 88. Sjoerd Goslinga en Bert Klandermans. Workers' opinions on individualization of labor relations. (Dutch) *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 12: 155-164, 1996.
 89. Bert Klandermans & Leo d'Anjou. Social movements: New perspectives. (Dutch) *Sociale Wetenschappen*, 39/2: 1-5, 1996.
 90. Marlene Roefs en Bert Klandermans. Expectations of the future and political protest in South Africa on the eve of the first democratic elections. (Dutch) *Sociale Wetenschappen*, 39/3: 16-33, 1996.
 91. Marga de Weerd, Naomi Ellemers en Bert Klandermans. Rational and emotional determinants of the intention to participate in collective action among Dutch and Spanish farmers. (Dutch) In Els C.M. van Schie, Dancker Daamen, Ad Pruyn en Wilma Otten (red.) *Sociale psychologie en haar toepassingen*. Delft: Eburon, 1996, 138-149.
 92. Sjoerd Goslinga en Bert Klandermans. Participation in union actions: The significance of union commitment. (Dutch) In Els C.M. van Schie, Dancker Daamen, Ad Pruyn en Wilma Otten (red.) *Sociale psychologie en haar toepassingen*. Delft: Eburon, 1996, 150-159.
 93. Manon Hoekstra en Bert Klandermans. Role conflicts of union lay-officials. How social support helps. Hoe sociale steun kan helpen. (Dutch) In Els C.M. van Schie, Dancker Daamen, Ad Pruyn en Wilma Otten (red.) *Sociale psychologie en haar toepassingen*. Delft: Eburon, 1996, 160-169.
 94. Bert Klandermans. New cleavages, new grievances, new protest. Political change in South Africa. (Dutch) Inaugurele oratie, Vrije Universiteit, november 1997.
 95. Bert Klandermans. Identität und Protest. Ein sozialpsychologischer Ansatz. *Forschungsjournal Neue*

- Soziale Bewegungen. 10: 41-51, 1997.
96. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, en Johan Olivier. Political protest and political transition in South Africa, 1994-1995. *African Studies*, 56:129-147, 1997.
 97. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier. 'A Movement Takes office.' Pp. 173-194 in *The Social Movement Society. Contentious Politics for a Century*. Edited by David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998.
 98. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs. & Johan Olivier. Protest intentions on the eve of South Africa's first nonracial elections: Optimists look beyond injustice. *Mobilization*, 3, 51-68. 1998.
 99. Bert Klandermans. Ausländerfeindliche Bewegungen und Parteien im Vier-Länder-Vergleich. Ressourcenmobilisierung, Kosten/Nutzen-Relationen, Organisationen und soziale Netzwerke. In K. Hellmann & R. Koopmans (Eds.), *Paradigmen der Bewegungsforschung. Entstehung und Entwicklung von Neuen Sozialen Bewegungen und Rechtsextremismus.* (pp. 181-197). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998.
 100. Bert Klandermans. 'La necesidad de un estudio longitudinal de la participación en movimientos sociales.' Pp. 271-290 in *Los movimientos sociales. Transformaciones Políticas y cambio cultural*. Edited by Pedro Ibarra and Benjamin Tejerina. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1998
 101. Jose Manuel Sabucedo, Bert Klandermans, Mauro Rodriguez and Marga de Weerd. 'Pertenencia a organizaciones y legitimación de la acción colectiva.' Pp. 141-164 in *La Anticipacion de la sociedad. Psicología social de los movimientos sociales*. Edited by Jokin Apalategi. Valencia: Promolibro, 1999.
 102. Bert Klandermans and Tinka van Vuuren. Job insecurity: Introduction.. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8/2: 145-153, 1999.
 103. Bert Klandermans, Marga de Weerd, Jose-Manuel Sabucedo and Maria Costa. 1999. Injustice and adversarial frames in a supranational political context: Farmer's protest in the Netherlands and Spain. Pp. 134-147 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. Edited by Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi and Dieter Rucht. London: Macmillan.
 104. Marga de Weerd and Bert Klandermans. Group identification and social protest: Farmer's protest in the Netherlands, *European Journal of Social Psychology*. 29: 1073-1095, 1999.
 105. Bert Klandermans. Identität und Protest. Ein sozialpsychologischer Ansatz. Pp. 260-270 in *Masse, Macht, Emotionen. Zu einer Politischen Soziologie der Emotionen*. Edited by Ansgar Klein & Frank Nullmeier. Opladen/Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1999.
 106. Bert Klandermans. Identity and Protest: How group identification helps to overcome collective action dilemmas. Pp. 162-183 in *Cooperation in modern society: Promoting the welfare of communities, states, and organizations*. Edited by Van Vugt, M., Snyder, M., Tyler, T. R., & Biel, A. London: Routledge, 2000.
 107. Peter Kerkhof, Annemieke Winder, Claudia Tamis, Else te Brake and Bert Klandermans. 2000. Arbeidsplaatsonzekerheid en participatie in de ondernemingsraad. Een onderzoek onder werknemers in de collectieve sector. *Tijdschrift voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*, 16: 150-163.
 108. Bert Klandermans. Must we redefine social movement as ideologically structured action? *Mobilization*, 5: 25-31, 2000.
 109. Bert Klandermans, Social movements: Trends and Turns.. Pp. 236-254 in *International Handbook of Sociology* edited by Arnaud Sales and Stella Quah. London: Sage, 2000.
 110. Bert Klandermans and Marga de Weerd. Group identification and political protest. Pp. 68-92 in *Social Psychology and Social Movements: Cloudy Past and Bright Future*. Edited by Sheldon Stryker, Timothy Owens and Robert W. White. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
 111. Hans de Witte and Bert Klandermans. Political racism in Flanders and the Netherlands: explaining differences in the electoral success of extreme right-wing parties. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 26: 699-717, 2000.
 112. Sabucedo, Jose Manuel, Bert Klandermans, Mauro Rodríguez and Concepcion Fernández. Identidad social, valoración política y movilización colectiva en un contexto supranacional. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 2000, 15: 269-279, 2000.
 113. Bernd Simon and Bert Klandermans. Toward a Social Psychological Analysis of Politicized Collective Identity: Conceptualization, Antecedents, and Consequences. *American Psychologist*, 2001, 56: 319-331.
 114. Bert Klandermans. Why movements come into being and why people join them. Pp. 268-281 in *Blackwell's Compendium of Sociology* edited by Judith Blau. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
 115. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier. Grievance formation in a country in transition. South Africa 1994-1998. *Social Psychology Quarterly*. 2001, 64: 41-54.

116. Bert Klandermans and Nonna Mayer. Militier à l'extrême droite. Pp. 147-162 in *Les croisés de la société fermée. L'Europe des extrême droites*. Edited by Pascal Perrineau. La Tour d'Aigues: Edition de l'Aube. 2001.
117. Sjoerd Goslinga and Bert Klandermans. 2001. "Union Participation in the Netherlands: Differences Between Traditional and 'New' Employees." Pp. 171-190 in *Can Class Still Unite? The Differentiated Work Force, Class Solidarity and Trade Unions*. Edited by Guy van Gyes, Hans de Witte, and Patrick Pasture, Aldershot: Ashgate.
118. Bert Klandermans. 2001. "Does Class Still Unite? Concluding Remarks." Pp. 323-322 in *Can Class Still Unite? The Differentiated Work Force, Class Solidarity and Trade Unions*. Edited by Guy van Gyes, Hans de Witte, and Patrick Pasture, Aldershot: Ashgate.
119. Bert Klandermans, Marga de Weerd, Jose Manuel Sabucedo and Mauro Rodriguez. Framing Contention: Dutch and Spanish Farmers Confront the EU. Pp. 77-96 in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating Europe*. Edited by Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
120. Bert Klandermans. How Group Identification Helps to Overcome the Dilemma of Collective Action. *American Behavioral Scientist*. 2002, 45: 887-900.
121. Bert Klandermans, Jose Manuel Sabucedo, Mauro Rodriguez. Identity Processes in Collective Action Participation: Farmer's Identity and Farmer's Protest in the Netherlands and Spain. *Political Psychology*, 2002, 23: 235-251.
122. Bert Klandermans and Jackie Smith. Survey Methods. A Case for Comparative Designs. Pp. 3-32 in *Research Methods on Social Movements* edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002.
123. Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Introduction. Pp. ix-xx in *Research Methods on Social Movements* edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002.
124. Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg and Sidney Tarrow. Conclusion: Blending Methods and Building Theories in Social Movement Research. Pp. 314-350 in *Research Methods on Social Movements* edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002.
125. Bert Klandermans. The demand and supply of participation : Social psychological correlates of participation in a social movement. *Psicologia Política*, 2002, 2 (3): 83-114.
126. Kerkhof, Peter, Annemieke Winder and Bert Klandermans. 2003. "Instrumental and relational determinants of trust in management among members of works councils." *Personnel Review*, 32: 623-638.
127. Bert Klandermans. 2003. "Collective Political Action" Pp. 670-709 in *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, edited by David O. Sears, Leonie Huddy, Robert Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
128. Bert Klandermans. The demand and supply of participation: Social psychological correlates of participation in a social movement. Pp. 360-379 in *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell. 2004.
129. Bert Klandermans, Jose Manuel Sabucedo, and Mauro Rodriguez. Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in the Netherlands and Galicia (Spain). *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 2004, 34: 279-295.
130. Sabucedo, Jose Manuel, Bert Klandermans, and Concepción Fernández. 2004. Movimientos sociales y democracia. Pp. 277-96 in *Psicología y derechos humanos*. edited by Luis de la Corte, Amalio Blanco and Jose Manuel Sabucedo. Barcelona: Icaria.
131. Bert Klandermans. Collective action. *Encyclopedia of Applied Psychology*, 2004, 403-409.
132. Renske Putman, Bert Klandermans, & Peter Kerkhof. 2004. Identiteit, rechtvaardigheid en etnisch protest onder migranten. *Jaarboek Sociale Psychologie 2003*. ASPO, p. 281-288.
133. Jacquélien van Stekelenburg & Bert Klandermans. 2004. Regulatory focus meten met behulp van spreekwoorden. *Jaarboek Sociale Psychologie 2003*. ASPO, p.345-358.
134. Peter Kerkhof, Annemieke Winder and Bert Klandermans. 2005. Job insecurity and works council participation. Pp. 63-80 in *Job Insecurity, Union Involvement, and Union Activitiies*, edited by Hans de Witte. Aldershot: Ashgate.
135. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier. 2005. Growing the Grassroots: Participation in

- Grassroots Organizations in South Africa. Pp.127-148 in *Processes of Community Change and Social Action* edited by Alan Omoto. The Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey
- 136 Bert Klandermans. 2005. Politicized Collective Identity: Collective Identity and Political Protest. Pp.155-176 in *Advances in Group Processes, Vol. 22. Social Identification in Groups*. Edited by Shane R. Thyle & Edward J. Lawler. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
137. Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans. 2005. Hebben promotie- en preventie-gerichte demonstranten andere participatiedoelen en emoties? *Jaarboek Sociale Psychologie 2004*, 371-380.
138. Bert Klandermans. 2005. Une psychologie sociale de l'exit. Pp. 95-110 in *Le désengagement militant*. Edited by Olivier Fillieule. Paris: Belin.
138. Rens Vliegthart, Dirk Oegema, and Bert Klandermans. 2005. Media Coverage and Organizational Support in the Dutch Environmental Movement. *Mobilization*, 10: 365-382.
139. Bert Klandermans, Annette Linden and Nonna Mayer. 2005. Le monde des militants d'extrême droite en Belgique, en France, en Allemagne, en Italie et aux Pays Bas. *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée*, 12: 469-485.
140. Annette Linden and Bert Klandermans. 2006. Stigmatization and Repression of Extreme Right the Netherlands. *Mobilization*, 11: 141-157
141. Annette Linden and Bert Klandermans. 2007. Revolutionaries, Wanderers, Converts, and Compliant: Life Histories of Extreme Right Activists. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36: 184-201.
142. Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans. 2007. Individuals in Movements: A Social Psychology of Contention. Pp. 157-204 in Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (eds.) of *The Handbook Social Movements across Disciplines*. Kluwer.
143. Conny Roggeband and Bert Klandermans. 2007. In Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband (eds.) *The Handbook of Social Movements across Disciplines*. Kluwer.
144. Bert Klandermans, Merel Werner, and Marjoka van Doorn. 2008. Redeeming Apartheid's Legacy: Collective Guilt, Political Ideology, and Compensation. *Political Psychology*, 29: 331-350.
145. Bert Klandermans, Jozanneke van de Toorn and Jacquelin van Stekelenburg. 2008. Embeddedness and grievances: Collective action participation among immigrants. *American Sociological Review*, 73: 992-1012.
146. Jacquelin van Stekelenburg & Bert Klandermans, 2009. Social movement theory: Past, presence and prospects. Pp. 17-43 in Stephen Ellis & Ineke Kessel (Eds.) *Movers and shakers. Social movements in Africa*. Leiden: Brill.
147. Bert Klandermans, 2009. Movement-Counter-movement Dynamics and the Dynamics of Radicalization." p. xv-xix in *Civil Organizations and Protest Movements in Israel* edited by Elisabeth Marteu. New York: Palgrave.
148. Bert Klandermans. 2009. Het sturen van wetenschap: Sociale wetenschappen in bedrijf. (Managing science. Social sciences in operation) VU-University: Valedictory.
149. Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans, and Wilco van Dijk. 2009. Context Matters: Explaining How and Why Mobilizing Context Influences Motivational Dynamics. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65: 815-838.
150. Bert Klandermans, John Klein Hesselink and Tinka van Vuuren. (2010). Employment status and job insecurity: On the subjective appraisal of an objective status. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*,
149. Bert Klandermans 2010. Legacies from the past. Eight cycles of peace protest. Pp.xx in Stefaan Walgrave and Dieter Rucht (eds.) *Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
150. Bert Klandermans 2010. Peace demonstrations or anti-government marches. The political attitudes of the protestors. Pp.xx in Stefaan Walgrave and Dieter Rucht (eds.) *Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
151. Stefaan Walgrave and Bert Klandermans 2010. Open and closed mobilization patterns. The role of channels and ties. Pp.xx in Stefaan Walgrave and Dieter Rucht (eds.) *Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
152. Bert Klandermans. *Unemployment and Protest: New Perspectives on Two Centuries of Contention*. Oxford University Press. 2011.
154. Bert Klandermans, Marlene Roefs, and Johan Olivier. (under review). *Investing Social Capital: Civil Society and Democratic Transition in South Africa 1994-2000*.

155. Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans, and Wilco van Dijk. (under review). 'Old Wine in New Bottles': Using Proverbs to Measure Regulatory Focus
156. Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg, Bert Klandermans, and Wilco van Dijk. (under review). An integrative model:
instrumentality, identity, ideology and groups-based anger as motives of protest participation.
157. Bert Klandermans and Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg . 2010. Contentious performances: The case of street demonstrations. On Charles Tilly: Theoretical advances and analytical developments.
158. Bert Klandermans. 2010. Framing collective action.

Books in preparation

(with Marlene Roefs, Johan Olivier) Citizens and Society in South Africa. Temple University Press.

Book reviews

1. O. Schreuder, Sociale bewegingen, een systematische inleiding. Mens en Maatschappij, 1982, p. 200.
2. J. Hendriks, Emancipatie. Relaties tussen minoriteit en dominant. Mens en Maatschappij, 1982, 431.
3. Th.J.M. Jongergouw, Vakbondsleiders in Nederland. Van vijand en indringer tot bondgenoot en steunpilaar. Mens en Maatschappij, 1983, 84.
5. John Lofland, Protest, studies in collective behavior and social movements. Contemporary Sociology, 1986, 15, 563-564.
6. Kees Boender, Milieuprotest in de Rijnmond. Mens en Maatschappij, 1986, 61, 441-443.
7. W.J. van Noort, L.W. Huberts & L. Rademaker Protest en pressie, een systematische analyse van collectieve actie. Mens en Maatschappij, 1988, 63, 100-102.
8. A. Melucci, Nomads of the present. Social movements and individual needs in contemporary society. American Journal of Sociology, 1990, 221-223.
9. G. van Kooten, Stakingen en stakers. Een theoretische en empirische verkenning van fluctuaties in stakingsactiviteit van 1951 tot en met 1981. Sociaal Maandblad Arbeid, November, 1990.
10. C.W.A.M. Aarts, Bodemverontreiniging en collectieve actie. Mens en Maatschappij, 1990, 66, 102-104.
11. A. van den Oord, Voor arbeid en brood. Mens en Maatschappij, 1991, 67-69.
12. V.-M. Bader, Collectief Handelen. Mens en Maatschappij, 1991, 69-71.
13. H. Johnston, Tales of Nationalism: Catalonia, 1939-1979, American Journal of Sociology, 1991, 403-405.
14. James Downton Jr. and Paul Wehr. The persistent activist: How peace commitment develops and survives.
15. Julian McAllister Groves. Hearts and minds: The controversy over laboratory animals. American Journal of Sociology, 1998, 1469-1472.
16. Mario Diani and Doug McAdam. Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action. American Journal of Sociology,
17. Susan Olzak.
18. Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani, Social Movements and Europeanization.

Papers read at professional meetings

Over the years I have read papers at numerous professional meetings and workshops, inter alia, Meetings of the Am. Sociol. Ass., the Int. Society of Political Psychology, Int. Ass. of Applied Psych., the Soc. for the Study of Social Problems, Int. Polit. Sc. Ass., Int. Sociol. Ass., Int. Peace Res. Ass., Industrial Relations Ass., Industrial Psych. Ass., Dutch Associations. of Psych., - of Social Psych., - of Political Psych.