

# CriticalMassBulletin

Newsletter of the Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements, American Sociological Association

Volume 30 (1)

<http://www.asanet.org/sectioncbsm/>

Spring, 2005

## Message from the Chair

### Thinking about “Awkward Movements”

Francesca Polletta, Department of Sociology, Columbia University

Several years ago, Gay Seidman complained in an article in *Mobilization* that scholars of the South African anti-apartheid movement had so ignored the role of armed struggle as to leave the impression that the movement and its most famous leader, Nelson Mandela, were nonviolent in the Gandhian mold. In fact, Mandela was the ANC’s first military commander and owed his popularity among black South Africans in part to his close identification with the armed wing of the movement. Ignoring the movement’s use of violence foreclosed important questions about the relations between popular mobilization and guerilla campaigns, Seidman argued. It also left unchallenged social movement scholars’ tendency to treat violence—when they talked about violence at all—exclusively as a cause and symptom of movement decline rather than as sometimes boosting popular morale.

Groups that use violent tactics are just one of a larger class of what I think of as *awkward movements*: ones whose composition, goals, or tactics make them difficult to research or theorize. Many researchers do study such groups, of course. And the reluctance of the rest of us is understandable. Groups that use illegal means are often difficult to gain access to, and even when researchers do not fear for their own safety, they may worry about endangering the people they study. Many of us study progressive social movements because we embrace their aims: indeed, some of us straddle worlds of academia and activism. It is hard to spend time and energy on groups that one finds ideologically noxious.

(continued on p. 2)

#### Section Officers 2004-2005

*Chair*  
Francesca Polletta (05)  
Columbia University

*Chair-elect*  
Debra Minkoff (05)  
University of Washington

*Past Chair*  
David S. Meyer  
University of California, Irvine

*Secretary-Treasurer*  
Sarah A. Soule (07)  
University of Arizona

**Council**  
Kenneth Andrews (07)  
Rob Benford (06)  
Rachel Einwohner (07)  
Jack Goldstone (05)  
Jeff Goodwin (06)  
Holly McCammon (05)

**Committees**  
*Nominations*  
Jennifer Earl (06)  
Deborah Gould (07)  
Steve Valocchi (05)

*Publications*  
Elizabeth Armstrong (06)  
Adam Flint (07)  
Shirley Jackson (05)

*Workshops*  
Kenneth Andrews (06)  
Greg Maney (07)  
Dingxin Zhao (05)

**Webmaster**  
Alan Schussman (05)

**Newsletter Editor**  
Kathleen E. Hull (05)  
E-mail: [hull@umn.edu](mailto:hull@umn.edu)

#### *In This Issue*

Book Review Symposium: Gender in Social Movements.....	page 3
Teaching Islamic Movements.....	page 7
Social Movement Sessions at ASA 2005 .....	page 9

**Awkward Movements** (cont'd from page 1)

But we may also avoid movement groups for less obvious reasons. They are unappealingly dogmatic or irritatingly zealous. They are so unambitious in their aims or moderate in their tactics as to be boring. They are made up of old people. They are too nice to seem real challengers. Some groups are *conceptually* awkward. They are uncomfortably close to something else that is not a movement. This probably accounts in part for the conceptual hegemony of state-targeted movements that Dave Snow talks about in the latest volume of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*. Groups like the Promise Keepers seem too close to self-help groups; those like the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars seem too close to interest groups; those like the American Jewish Congress seem too close to denominational groups.

---

*Awkward movements compel us to wrestle with methodological conventions as well as conceptual and theoretical ones.*

---

Certainly, we have to draw some lines between movements and phenomena that are not movements. Conceptual boundaries serve an analytical purpose. But I suspect that the lines separating movement groups from, say, interest groups, charities, terrorist organizations, unions, NGOs, and self-help groups often reflect the idiosyncrasies of how subfields have developed rather than anything intrinsic to the phenomena themselves. Groups that don't fit neatly into our conceptual categories or sensibilities thus invite us to reconsider those disciplinary conventions. More than that, though, awkward movements alert us to dynamics that operate more broadly. One of the most intriguing findings in recent research on protest in science, religion, education, and the military is that institutional *insiders* have played key roles in fostering protest. But such insiders may be just as important in state-targeted protest—this despite our tendency to treat challengers and authorities as separate and

opposing groups. The politicization of emotions that Janice Irvine found in the religious right's campaign against sex education (in her book, *Talk About Sex*) points to emotional dynamics that operate on the left as well. The emotional numbness that Kathy Blee began to feel as she studied hate groups attuned her to the kind of contracted perceptual field that may have made it possible for hate group members to see blacks and Jews as so threatening—and that may operate in extremist groups of all varieties.

As Blee's searching reflection on two decades of studying organized racism (published in the volume *Our Studies, Ourselves*) suggests, awkward movements compel us to wrestle with methodological conventions as well as conceptual and theoretical ones. Should one strive for an empathic understanding of people whose views one abhors? Can one ever grasp the why of individual participation without such understanding? Or is it possible that there is no answer to the why question, that, as Blee came to believe in the case of hate groups, participation is often more a matter of serendipity and drift than of preexisting ideological commitment?

I have no answers to these questions. But I'm pleased that Kathy Blee, Janice Irvine, Gay Seidman, and Dave Snow will join me in tackling them on a panel at this summer's ASA: *Awkward Movements: How to Study Unpopular, Too-Popular, Illegal, and Strange Political Groups*. I hope that panelists will talk both about how to study awkward movements and how the study of such movements should alter our more general theories of movement emergence, trajectories, and impacts. And I invite section members to write me with questions and themes they would like to see taken up ([polletta@rsage.org](mailto:polletta@rsage.org)).

\* \* \* \* \*

## Book Review Symposium: Gender in Social Movements

This review symposium examines three recent books that address gender in social movements from several different angles: gender as an element of activist identity, gender categories as a target of protest, gender inequality within movements, and the intersection of gender-based and labor-based movements.

– K.E.H.

***Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition*, by Javier Auyero. Duke University Press, 2003.**

Reviewer: Elizabeth Borland, The College of New Jersey

Javier Auyero's *Contentious Lives* uses biography as a window into protest, providing the reader with a contextualized look at the experiences of two women who participated in uprisings in Argentina. This richly detailed and well-written ethnography reconstructs the meaning of collective action for activists and the intersection between contentious politics and lived experience, uncovering claims for dignity and recognition that are hidden beneath more structural accounts.

Auyero, professor of sociology at SUNY-Stony Brook and native of Argentina, proves his talent as a skilled and compassionate ethnographer in this book. He focuses on two corners of Argentina that have not often been studied, but were thrust into the spotlight by protests: the northwestern city of Santiago del Estero, where wage protests by public employees culminated in two days of rioting called the *Santiagazo* in 1993; and the oil towns of Cutral-co and Plaza Huincul in southern Neuquén province, where protesters decrying unemployment put up road blockades in 1996. The book focuses on the stories of two protesters: 43 year-old Laura Padilla, the activist

in Neuquén who signed an agreement with the governor to end the blockades; and 36 year-old Nana, former carnival queen, courthouse employee, and rioter in the *Santiagazo*. The book includes extensive interviews with these women and others involved in the protests, but it also incorporates photographs, maps marked with the paths taken by protesters, and even copies of letters and diaries written by the women.

Inspired by C. Wright Mills, Auyero shows the strength of his “sociological imagination” by linking biography with history, and he provides students of collective action with a model for this kind of work. He details the historical and cultural context of the Argentine provinces in the 1990s, and situates these “special events”—the violent *Santiagazo*, when rioters looted public buildings and homes of politicians, and the protests that drew half the residents of oil towns to the Neuquén blockades—as uprisings about neoliberalism AND local issues like corruption and dissatisfaction with institutionalized politics. Foreshadowing the economic crisis and collective mobilization that has shaken Argentina recently, these protests show the consequences of structural adjustment policies and corruption in the Argentine provinces.

Although activists were responding to these issues, Auyero argues that Nana and Laura were also seeking recognition; a quest that stemmed from their life histories. Nana shares her struggles as a single mother, and sees the riots as marking what she calls “thirty-six years of crap.” Laura’s participation stemmed from her experience as a survivor of domestic violence, and her subsequent awareness about women’s subordination and marginalization. Even her leadership and persistence in the blockade was the result of a gender offense—when a fellow activist made a

(continued on p. 4)

sexist comment denigrating her participation, she became determined to prove him wrong. Thus, demands for respect and recognition ultimately lead Laura to sign an agreement with the governor as the protesters' representative. She says, "I was signing against all the injustices, and the humiliation, that I suffered throughout my life" (22).

The book shows how attending to the details of biography can help us understand how people get involved in protest. Nana first protests because of a wage claim, but she reflects on her previous carnival dancing when she talks about how she joined the carnivalesque looting of government buildings. Like other protesters, she sees the riots as an attempt to "purify democracy" from what they call "rotten" local politics. Laura first attends the road blockade not to show discontent, but for a picnic in the country. Though she is suspicious of politics, she finally gets involved out of concern for women with children, and young activists she sees as vulnerable. Thus, Auyero calls our attention to how people are "sucked into" the role of protester in "interactions deeply shaped by elements of ...[their] own biograph[ies]" (67).

The biographical narratives make a strong case for Auyero's claim that the women are seeking respect through their activism. Because of machismo, and the hardships brought about by neo-liberal policies that have led to rampant unemployment in Argentina, Laura and Nana's lives are clear windows into this desire for individual and collective recognition. But is this quest for respect and recognition so universal that it is at the heart of ALL activism? Is it more likely to be important to for female activists, who act within systems of patriarchal oppression? Or, is there something special about these protests that makes it more important? Perhaps structural adjustment policies and political corruption so challenge the dignity of citizens that they turn to contentious politics. Auyero does not fully address these questions, but his revealing book should inspire us to consider them, and to recognize the importance of biography and the lived experience of protest in our work.

*Union Women: Forging Feminism in the United Steelworkers of America*, by Mary Margaret Fonow. University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Reviewer: Jasmine Kerrissey, University of California, Irvine

In *Union Women*, Mary Margaret Fonow describes the emergence and development of feminism in the Steelworkers union in the United States and Canada. Her insight into union feminism elucidates the intersections between class-based unionism and identity-based feminism. Using social movement and feminist theory frameworks, Fonow argues that successful mobilization of working class women depends on a movement's ability to develop discursive frames of action, collective identity, and mobilizing structures that build solidarity.

Fonow begins by examining the emergence of union feminism in the steel industry. Despite the influx of women workers into steel mills during World War II, employers expected women to leave the mills once the war ended. This transient nature of employment prevented women from forming a collective identity. Years later, through a court ordered decree mandating affirmative action in steel plants, women finally secured a long term presence in the steel industry.

---

*Based on her 25 years of deep immersion in the field, Fonow illustrates how unionism and feminism can assist each other in tackling complex social problems.*

---

Gaining employment in the steel industry was insufficient to combat gender inequality; women still faced routine sex discrimination on the shop floor. To protect their daily working lives, women organized to pressure the male dominated union to represent feminist issues. Fonow argues that by claiming space within the union, women were able to use the union as a vehicle to raise consciousness, provide mutual support, and generate collective action.

Fonow analyzes local unions to explain opportunities and obstacles in union feminism.

Based on interviews with women workers at the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Company in 1976, Fonow concludes that several factors constrained feminist solidarity, including physical isolation between women, a lack of networks, and tensions over race and seniority. Fonow contrasts these women's experiences with the Chicago based members of District 31. She convincingly argues that District 31's favorable political opportunities and mobilizing networks allowed union feminism to develop. Unlike other cities, Chicago enjoyed an activist climate, which supplied union feminists with pre-existing networks, resources, and collective action frameworks. District 31 formed a Women's Caucus in 1977 to address inequalities on the shop floor and within the union. By integrating women into the union, the Caucus successfully combated inadequate working conditions and laid the infrastructure for future feminist mobilization.

Although some U.S. locals were successful in fostering union feminism, Fonow argues that Canada's political opportunity structure was more conducive to union feminists. The favorable legal and political environment in Canada allowed women to create an all-women's leadership course, "Women of Steel", which fostered activism in Canada and eventually in the United States. Fonow contends that organizing in this all-female space was crucial to transforming women's feminist union identities into a political claim for equal rights. She argues that the dual-nation status of the Steelworkers aided union feminists. Although political openings were blocked in the U.S., Canadian women successfully provided networks and inspiration to their American sisters.

This cross-border organizing continues today as international alliances between Steelworkers and other union feminists address globalization issues. Discursively, these efforts attempt to link women's rights to human rights. These transnational movements serve a dual purpose: they support union feminist issues in the workplace and they advocate for greater feminist space within the labor movement.

Fonow's account leaves the reader curious about the broader context of union feminism.

While the gender dynamics within the Steelworkers union are clear, the relative size and impact of union feminism is vague. How unique are women's caucuses within the Steelworkers and do similar caucuses exist in other unions? Besides positions in women's caucuses, how many women hold leadership positions within the Steelworkers? Does leadership in women's caucuses further marginalize women from general union leadership? In addition, Fonow points out that the Steelworkers are now focusing on organizing health care workers – a traditionally female field. How do these changing demographics impact union feminism in a male dominated union like the Steelworkers?

By inspiring such questions, Fonow's book is important reading material for activists and academics alike. Based on her 25 years of deep immersion in the field, Fonow illustrates how unionism and feminism can assist each other in tackling complex social problems. Her innovative analysis of the intersection of two movements is refreshing and creates hope for future union feminism.

***Drag Queens at the 801 Cabaret*, by Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor. University of Chicago Press, 2003.**

Reviewer: Kathleen E. Hull, University of Minnesota

Reading Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor's wonderful ethnography of a group of drag queens in Key West, Florida, I was reminded of a minor debate I had with one of my graduate school advisors about who counts as a social movement "activist." My advisor thought that anyone who wrote a check to support a movement organization counted as an activist. My definition of activists was much narrower, focused on people who participated in marches and rallies, organized petition drives, and headed movement

(continued on p. 6)

(continued from p. 5)

organizations. I still think my advisor's definition was too broad, but works like *Drag Queens at the 801 Cabaret* have convinced me that my own image of social movement activism was too constricted. Rupp and Taylor make a forceful argument for the significance of cultural performance as a form of social protest, and in so doing they blur the line between social movement activists and constituents. Their conclusions should stimulate further debate and theorizing about when and how culture matters in movements.

The authors used a variety of methods – intensive interviewing, participant observation, and focus groups – to enter the inner world of a close-knit group of gay men who stage a nightly drag show in a Key West nightclub, and to assess the impact of these performances on their audiences. Rupp and Taylor give us vivid and amusing descriptions of the nightly shows and the drag queen personae who infuse them with vibrancy and humor. Through their outrageous costumes, bawdy banter, sharp-witted interactions with audience members, and of course lip-synching musical numbers, these performers produce raucous and playful entertainment with a serious political message. Audience members come away from these shows pondering the fluidity of gender and sexual identity categories and, ideally, feeling less distance from those who are different in gender/sexual terms.

Rupp and Taylor identify many specific ways these performances function as protest without sacrificing entertainment value. The drag queens create something new by juxtaposing traditional images and practices related to gender and sexuality with their own identities as gay men dressed up as women. The shows make gayness visible and complicate the relationship between gender and sexual attraction. The drag queens occasionally inject overtly political content into their acts, but more often rely on humor, music, and imagery to convey their political message of tolerance, celebration of diversity, and the artificiality of gender and sexuality categories.

They reinforce an existing queer collective identity while at the same time beckoning sympathetic straights to join them in building a diverse and inclusive community.

The book concludes with consideration of what kinds of cultural performances count as social protest. Rupp and Taylor propose three criteria: contestation, intentionality and collective identity. Cultural performances constitute social protest when the performers act intentionally to contest the existing social order and to enact, reinforce or renegotiate collective identity. Rupp and Taylor exhort movement scholars to move past the discredited distinction between culture and politics and incorporate cultural performances into the concept of collective action repertoires. By the end of the book, there was no doubt in my mind that these drag queens are social movement activists *par excellence*.

This book is a must-read for anyone interested in how social movements challenge traditional gender and sexual roles or how cultural practices supplement and extend more traditional forms of social protest. *Drag Queens at the 801 Cabaret* should inspire scholars to look more closely at the role of cultural performances in other movements, and to consider possible relationships between movement characteristics and the use of cultural performance as protest. Are certain kinds of movements more likely to feature cultural performance in their collective action repertoires? Are there important differences across movements in the kinds of cultural performance that feature as protest? Social movement scholars should also engage with Rupp and Taylor's proposed criteria for classifying cultural performances as protest. I am particularly intrigued by the criterion of intentionality. Is the intention to protest always a simple yes-or-no matter? Might individual performers contributing to a collective performance vary on this dimension? And might political intentions sometimes emerge from the process of cultural performance, rather than informing that process from the start? These are only a few of the theoretical questions provoked by this stimulating, engaging and groundbreaking work.

## Teaching Islamic Movements

Richard Hutchinson, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Louisiana Tech University

While it's too soon to say how significant 9/11/01 will prove to be in the long run, it certainly changed the way I teach Social Movements. I do not claim to be an expert on either Islam or Islamic movements, but I share my experience teaching undergraduates in two Red States (Utah and Louisiana) in the hope that it might be useful to others teaching Social Movements. My courses are designed with the primary goal of creating democratic citizens (Mills 1959), and only secondarily to prepare students for graduate studies in sociology. I aim to combat pernicious and widespread myths such as: 1) all Muslims are terrorists, 2) Islam is inherently violent, and 3) Islam teaches hatred of non-Muslims (see for instance Lindsey 2002).

In the fall of 2002 I taught Social Movements for the first time after 9/11 and included a unit on Islamic movements. I looked for texts on Islam that 1) situated Islamic fundamentalism in the context of religious fundamentalism more generally, 2) revealed the diversity of Islam and Islamic movements, and 3) provided the necessary data to apply the main social movement theories (resource mobilization, political opportunity, and framing) to these movements, including movements employing violence, revolutionary movements, and al Qaeda in particular. The texts I chose were *The Glory and the Power* (Martin & Appleby 1992) and *Warriors of the Prophet* (Huband 1999). Martin Marty is a renowned scholar of religion, and Mark Huband is a reporter for the London *Financial Times*. Marty and Appleby were the directors of the Fundamentalism Project of the AAAS, and *The Glory and the Power* is a partial summary of project's research. The book's focus is on Protestant fundamentalism in the U.S., Jewish fundamentalism in Israel, and Islamic fundamentalism. Huband's book presents journalistic case studies of Islamic movements in Afghanistan, Somalia, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Iran. While

it is not systematic, I used it successfully to accomplish my objectives two and three – political opportunity structures in particular can only be understood by using multiple cases with variation in political opportunity. Huband's reporting provides the necessary context to see that most Islamic movements are powerfully shaped by their national social context, and that al Qaeda as a transnational Islamic movement is exceptional in this regard.

I have found the works of critical intelligence analysts to be quite valuable, though not as assigned texts for students. *The Future of Political Islam* by Graham Fuller argues that all political developments in the Muslim world are likely to take place within the framework of Islam, and so it can only be counterproductive to treat Islam as a whole as hostile. *Imperial Hubris* by Mike Scheuer (aka Anonymous) is quite valuable and provocative, especially on the question of framing. Why do Osama bin Laden's statements resonate so widely among Muslims? What U.S. policies are counterproductive in that they produce ongoing evidence supporting these statements?

---

*The concept of orthopraxy versus orthodoxy, exemplified by praying 5 times daily in the direction of Mecca, changed the image of Muslims for some of my students from violent terrorists to pious worshipers.*

---

For my latest Social Movements course in the Fall of 2004, I once again used texts by non-sociologists – *Islam: A Short History* by independent scholar of religion Karen Armstrong, and *Islamic Activism*, a collection of case studies by political scientists (edited by Qunitan Wiktorowicz). Armstrong's book is the best I have yet found on the basics of Islamic history and beliefs. None of this can be taken for granted.

(continued on p. 8)

(continued from p. 7)

Something as simple as the 5 Pillars of Islam made a huge impression on my students. The First Pillar, “there is no god but God,” the fact that Allah is just Arabic for God, is not common knowledge. The concept of orthopraxy versus orthodoxy, exemplified by praying 5 times daily in the direction of Mecca, changed the image of Muslims for some of my students from violent terrorists to pious worshipers. When I next teach the course, I may substitute the new *No god but God*, by religious scholar Reza Aslan, for Armstrong as the “Islam 101” text.

The *Islamic Activism* collection is the best social science on Islam that I have yet found, with case studies of Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the non-Arab countries Iran and Turkey. These recent case studies vary in quality, but they serve my pedagogical aim perfectly, which is to give examples of the main sociological theories, because the book is in fact centered on political opportunity structures, resources, and framing. Each of the 11 chapters can be outlined in terms of independent and dependent variables, theories and hypotheses, and data sources. It is both a strength and a drawback that there are no large N quantitative studies – a drawback in that it weakens the force of the theory-testing, given the lack of variation, but a pedagogical strength in that it serves to introduce the basic causal logic to students with minimal complexity. I intend to use the Wiktorowicz text again until a better work of empirical social science on Islam becomes available.

As democratic citizens, our students need information other than government propaganda and calls for Holy War. We can explain Islamic movements using the same theories that can be used to explain other social movements. We need to educate our students about the lack of political opportunity that often leads to violence, and about the variety of valid religious views among the diverse human cultures of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. One venue for that education can be our courses on Social Movements.

*I would appreciate any suggestions for better teaching materials and methods. By all means contact me if you have any questions about my experience teaching Islamic social movements. (richardh@latech.edu)*

### References

- Armstrong, Karen. 2000. *Islam: A Short History*. NY: Modern Library.
- Aslan, Reza. 2005. *No god but God: The Origins, Evolution and Future of Islam*. NY: Random House.
- Fuller, Graham E. 2003. *The Future of Political Islam*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Huband, Mark. 1999. *Warriors of the Prophet: The Struggle for Islam*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Lindsey, Hal. 2002. *The Everlasting Hatred: The Roots of Jihad*. Murrieta, CA: Oracle House.
- Marty, Marty E. And R. Scott Appleby. 1992. *The Glory and the Power: The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Modern World*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Scheuer, Michael. 2004. *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War On Terror*. Washington D.C.: Brassey’s Inc.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan, ed. 2004. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*.

---

### **Editor’s Note**

This is my final issue as editor of *Critical Mass Bulletin*. It’s been a thoroughly enjoyable gig, and I extend my thanks to everyone who contributed to the newsletter during my tenure. Starting with the Fall 2005 issue, Aaron McCright of Michigan State University will be the new editor – see page 10 for a short introduction to Aaron. He can be reached at [mccright@msu.edu](mailto:mccright@msu.edu).

– Kathy Hull

---

## Section Happenings at ASA '05

ASA will hold its 100<sup>th</sup> annual meeting August 13-16 in Philadelphia. See the ASA website for conference details (asanet.org). Below is information about the sessions sponsored by the CBSM section. Note: Saturday is our section day, meaning that the section business meeting and reception will both be held on Saturday – details to come.

### Awkward Movements: How to Study Unpopular, Too-Popular, Illegal, and Strange Political Groups

*Organizer:* Francesca Polletta

*Panelists:* Kathleen Blee, Janice Irvine, Gay Seidman, and David Snow

### New Methods for Studying Culture in Movements

*Organizer:* Marc Steinberg

*Papers:*

Drew Halfmann and Michael Young, “War Pictures: The Grotesque as Moral Repertoire in the Antislavery and Antiabortion Movements”

John Krinsky, “Changing Minds: Cognition and Culture in the Opposition to Workfare in New York City”

Verta Taylor, “Studying Audience Reception of Cultural Repertoires”

Guobin Yang, “Translation and Transformation in Collective Action: The Environmental Movement in China”

*Discussant:* Nina Eliasoph

## Coalitions in Social Movements

*Organizer:* Suzanne Staggenborg

*Papers:*

Mario Diani, “The Structural Bases of Movement Coalitions: Multiple Memberships in the 15 February 2003 Antiwar Demonstrations”

Pauline Cullen, “Coalition Formation within Transnational Nongovernmental Networks: Can Managed Sublimation Forge Transnational Solidarity?”

Patrick Gillham and Bob Edwards, “Coalition Transformation and the Preservation of Legitimacy in the Mobilization for Global Justice”

Brian Mayer and Phil Brown, “Constructing a Frame Pyramid in a Cross-Movement Coalition: New Jersey's Labor-Environmental Alliance”

Cynthia Deitch, “Women’s Movement Organizations and Coalitions Inside the Beltway”

## Refereed Roundtables

*Organizer:* Guobin Yang

Please consult the meeting program for other sessions of special interest to section members, including sessions on Collective Behavior, Labor and Labor Movements, and Social Movements.



## Call for Papers

*Research in Political Sociology* is accepting manuscripts for volume 15, which will focus on 'Politics and Globalization.' The primary objective of *Research in Political Sociology* is to publish high quality, original scholarly manuscripts that advance the understanding of politics in society in a wide array substantive areas, using different methods, and employ a range theoretical perspectives. Manuscripts submitted for volume 15 should be directed toward understanding and explaining dimensions of the relationship between politics and globalization. Four copies of the manuscripts should be submitted to Harland Prechel, Department of Sociology, 4351 Academic Building, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843-4351. The tentative deadline for submission of manuscripts for volume 15 is June 30, 2005.

## Recent Publications

Armbruster-Sandoval, Ralph. 2005. *Globalization and Cross-Border Labor Solidarity in the Americas: The Anti-Sweatshop Movement and the Struggle for Social Justice*. Routledge.

Barkan, Steven E. 2004. "Explaining Public Support for the Environmental Movement: A Civic Voluntarism Model." *Social Science Quarterly* 85:913-937.

Martinez, Richard Edward. 2005. *PADRES: The National Chicano Priest Movement*. University of Texas Press.

### *Book Description:*

From the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to the 1960s, Mexican American Catholics experienced racism and discrimination within the U.S. Catholic church, as white priests and bishops maintained a racial divide in all areas of the church's ministry. To oppose this religious

apartheid and challenge the church to minister fairly to all of its faithful, a group of Chicano priests formed PADRES (*Padres Asociados para Derechos Religiosos, Educativos y Sociales*, or Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights) in 1969. Over the next twenty years of its existence, PADRES became a powerful force for change within the Catholic church and for social justice within American society. This book offers the first history of the founding, activism, victories, and defeats of PADRES. Martínez traces the ways in which PADRES was inspired by the Chicano movement and other civil rights struggles of the 1960s and also probes its linkages with liberation theology in Latin America.

## New Editor for *Critical Mass Bulletin*

Effective Fall 2005, **Aaron M. McCright** will serve as the editor of *Critical Mass Bulletin*. Dr. McCright (Ph.D., Washington State University) is an Assistant Professor in the Lyman Briggs School of Science and the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University. McCright is also a faculty member in the Environmental Science and Policy Program at MSU. He specializes in environmental sociology, political sociology, social movements, social problems theory, and sociology of the body. McCright currently conducts research in five areas: the relationship between political ideology and environmentalism; the significance of public opinion and public support for social movements; the mobilization and outcomes of progressive social movements at the municipal level in the United States; the ideas of European theorists on societal risk and risk management; and the social, cultural, and economic significance of the Sun in the contemporary United States. McCright can be reached at [mccright@msu.edu](mailto:mccright@msu.edu).