

# CriticalMassBulletin

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Spring 2006

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## Chair's Message: Calling Out Around the World

These days, the social movement field—as an academic enterprise and as a real-world phenomenon—is stunningly vibrant. Shortly before sitting down to write this column, the *New York Times* “Week in Review” featured indigenous protests in Quito against free-trade talks with the U.S., the outpouring of students and workers in Paris in opposition to a new labor law, demonstrations against the electoral “victory” of Aleksandr Lukashenko in Minsk, and actions at the Pentagon and around the nation marking the 4th anniversary of the Iraq invasion (all subsumed under the banner “Calling Out Around the World”). Add to this the larger-than-anticipated immigration rights demonstrations that same week across the U.S., along with the many events that weren’t coded as headline news, and you can see why advocates—and analysts—of collective action would have cause for celebration.

But do we? As I reflect on these varied events, each inspiring in its own way, I can’t help but also reflect on the available analytic models that currently animate research on collective action and social movements. Do these models provide us with explanatory tools that we can confidently use to tell our students “This is what happened and why” or that we can use with some certainty to anticipate (read: predict) such events in the future? Or, more modestly, to speculate (again, read: predict) whether any of these protests would be repressed or succeed in their goals? I can imagine any number of responses to such questions, ranging from: “Sure, it is clear that political opportunities

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**Deadline for the Fall 2006 Issue of**

**Critical Mass Bulletin: October 15**

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## Calling Out Around the World

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opened (or did I mean closed?), giving activists the chance to mobilize participants via available mobilizing structures and through effective framing and emotional appeals to go out onto the streets” to “Well, in some of these cases of mobilization, a destabilizing event was interpreted as a threat to group interests or identities that in turn prompted insurgents to appropriate existing organizational vehicles and collective identities (or create new ones as needed); in other of these cases, what we are witnessing is diffusion and scale-shift...” to “Why would we want to anticipate/speculate/predict (and, by implication, generalize from) such events anyway?”

Implicit in these admittedly stylized answers are the challenges facing the field of collective action and social movements. These answers reflect: until recently, a working consensus on the key conceptual categories in the field; more recent efforts to deconstruct the accepted categories and replace them with a new set of terms; and a more general reluctance in the discipline to cumulate theory and evidence for the purposes of prediction and/or generalization. The latter troubles me personally, but it is not what I want to focus on here—although being able to offer more reliable propositions regarding the conditions for effective protest and movement building would undoubtedly be beneficial to, and welcomed by, activists and those seeking a more productive interface between social scientific research and political/civic engagement (the subject of a new collaborative volume, *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movements in Scholarship*, edited by David Croteau, William Hoynes, and Charlotte Ryan, that will hopefully move us in the right collective direction).

Of more concern for the development of the field is the unsettled status of our conceptual models combined with the internal focus and self-referential tendencies that plague any effort at (sub-)disciplinary specialization. Although we are currently reaping the rewards of hard-won field-level legitimacy and institutionalization, which required intensive boundary setting and boundary maintenance to establish collective action and social movements as a valid object of sociological inquiry, there have been costs as well. One such cost, the reification of analytic and empirical categories, has been challenged by recent efforts to broaden the scope of inquiry to the “dynamics of contention.” In partial agreement with some critics of this newer approach, I worry that we barely had a handle on the old conceptual categories before the new ones dislodged them. My reluctance to embrace a new paradigm at this juncture, however, stems not from a strong commitment to the previous conceptual synthesis

that dominated the CBSM field, but from the view that we have not yet fully exploited the possibilities for deepening our understanding of institutional structures, organizational dynamics, and the micro-level cognitive and interpretive processes that have proven to be central to the myriad forms of collective action that we study. In order to do so, we need to do more (sub-)disciplinary boundary spanning, exploiting theoretical and empirical advances in such “cognate areas”<sup>1</sup> as organizational sociology, , political sociology, the sociology of emotions, rational choice theory, and technology studies, among others. Such an agenda dovetails with the impulse behind the new dynamics of contention paradigm in that it calls for a broadening of our theoretical and empirical foci; it departs, however, by calling for what some may see as a step backwards, but what I prefer to characterize as a step sideways and a deeper engagement with the work of other social scientists with whom we may unknowingly share commonalities of interest and expertise.

To briefly illustrate the potential benefits of the approach that I am advocating, consider the coordinated immigrant rights protests around the U.S. in late March and early April. Some interesting features of this campaign include:

- the willingness of individuals without legal standing to publicly identify themselves as such, turning what for many of us would be low-risk/cost participation into a much more serious proposition;
- the activation and politicization of Latinos who, in recent years at least, have tended toward moderate levels and forms of political engagement;
- the strategy of claiming a right to legal status and, ultimately, citizenship based on economic participation;
- the involvement of both recently formed coalitions such as the National Capital Immigration Coalition and experienced advocacy groups such as ACORN, the Center for Community Change, and the American Friends Service Committee, along with more “movementized” sectors of the labor movement such as the United Farm Workers and SEIU; and
- the mobilization of primarily one sector of the undocumented population, with the exception of some cities like New York where there was broader involvement across racial, ethnic and class lines.

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<sup>1</sup> I owe this term to the concluding essay by Bert Klandermans, Suzanne Staggenborg and Sid Tarrow in *Methods in Social Movements Research* (Minnesota, 2002).

This limited sampling of characteristics points to some cognate areas that might give us some different, potentially more interesting/informed, ways of thinking about the mobilization dynamics behind these demonstrations. Roughly mirroring the outline above, these could include: social psychology, including consideration of recent advances in rational choice approaches; work in political science on ethnic political and civic participation; the political sociology literature on nationalism and citizenship; research on coalition-formation in political science; organizational sociology; and the sociology of race, ethnicity and immigration. Clearly, there are others that could be added/substituted; my point is simply to illustrate a handful of alternative directions for analytic input. Equally clearly, many of us already reach into neighboring areas in seeking better answers to the questions that motivate our research. What I am advocating, however, is more of a collective commitment to doing so.

As we well know, the most exciting action is at the margins—which requires looking outward as well as inward. It is in this spirit of “calling out around the *academic* world” that this summer’s CBSM panels have been organized. In collaboration with the Political Sociology section, there will be two sessions on social movements and institutional politics—one on what is at stake theoretically and the other featuring integrative empirical research. Sarah Soule has put together a great set of papers on the interplay of social movements and organizations; and the panel organized by Jennifer Earl on digital protest and social movements highlights the interface between new technologies and virtual and street action around the (academic and activist) world. Although touching only a few of the important issues that motivate research in the field, my hope is that these panels give us the opportunity to evaluate some different directions for theorizing and researching that both build on and challenge the collective enterprise that links us—albeit sometimes only loosely—together.

--Debra Minkoff, Barnard College

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## Message from the Chair-Elect

As chair-elect I want to endorse Debra Minkoff’s enthusiasm for our sub-discipline as an area of study. Evidence for our collective academic health is significant—a couple of specialty journals/annuals for our articles, frequent appearance in high-quality generalist journals, myriad interesting and popular edited collections, some truly excellent monographs being produced, and a healthy number of graduate students taking up the area.

Indeed, as chair of this year’s outstanding graduate student paper award committee, I note that we have submissions from students in some of the best sociology departments in the nation. Moreover, as Debra notes, collective action as a class of real-world phenomena is consistently making the front pages, making for lots to study, and potentially bringing our expertise to the public’s attention.

And yet in recent stories on the immigration-related demonstrations of the past month, I searched in vain for quotes from my social movements colleagues. Political sociologists, economists, specialists in ethnic politics all got ink. We were underrepresented (in my non-random sampling). Further, undergraduates may come in to my class with enthusiasm for protests and movements, but too often I see the fire wane as we get deeper into the sociology of social movements.

Is the problem that we are, as Debra notes, too insular and self-referential? Are we worried about seeming to be partisans, and as a result end up too clinical and analytic, and don’t communicate the thrill and frustrations of real collective action? Is a certain amount of this “lack of attention” inevitable, as American public interest is very often strained by any attempts at non-obvious sociological explanation? Perhaps a bit of all of these things.

But I think we have a lot to say about the news, and to undergraduate students and many different publics beyond the academy. As we look outward within sociology, for cross-pollination with other sub-disciplines, how can we also look outward to publics such as activists (a subject that has been getting some attention in the last few years), the news media, and general readers and those who follow current events? This is a subject that I want to broach over the year in which I chair the section.

Connected to that, next year should prove to be academically profitable as well as we will have another section-sponsored workshop/conference before the 2007 meetings in New York. Our workshop committee, Kenneth T. Andrews (UNC-Chapel Hill), Greg Maney (Hofstra) and Ellen R. Reese (UC-Riverside), is starting to work on a program. They actively want your ideas and your labor. Suggest a panel, submit a paper, plan to attend! Contact them at [cbsm2007@hotmail.com](mailto:cbsm2007@hotmail.com). Our last two workshops, in 2002 at Notre Dame before the Chicago ASA and in 1998 in Davis, CA, before the San Francisco meetings, produced significant collective energy and noteworthy publication efforts. I hope to help coordinate some overlap in the workshop themes, the ASA theme, and the section’s sessions to try and make that possible again.

I am looking forward to seeing everyone in Montreal, and I will be eager to hear ideas for next year.

--Rhys H. Williams, University of Cincinnati

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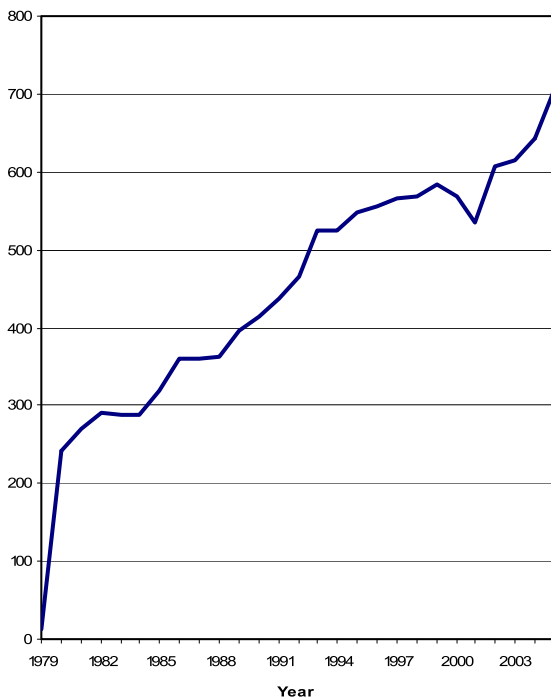


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## CBSM Membership Surpasses 700!

Our section's quarter century history has been blessed with a noticeable upward trend in yearly membership. Since 1980 (our section's second year, which benefited from a one-time gain of 231 members from the original 12 in 1979), we have experienced an average annual growth rate of 4% over the last 25 years. This translates into an average annual net increase of approximately 19 members. We saw a net loss of members in only three years: 4 in 1983; 17 in 2000; and 32 in 2001. Looking only at the last 25 years, we have recorded our two largest net gains in the past four years: 70 in 2002 and 64 in 2005. Last year (2005) was the first time our section membership surpassed 700; we currently have 707 members.

**CBSM Section Membership, 1979-2005**



We may describe these 707 members in 2005 by three traits: (1) membership category; (2) sex; and (3) race/ethnicity. The ASA has four official categories of membership: regular; student; associate; and emeritus. Approximately 92% of our section members are either regular members (57.4%) or student members (34.7%). The remaining 8% is divided evenly between associate members and emeritus members. The ASA divides up the regular membership category by six annual income subcategories, and this data shows that about 79% of regular members make at least \$40,000 dollars a year.

### Income Category as a Percent of Regular Members

<u>Income Category</u>	<u>Percent of 406 Regular Members</u>
Under \$20,000	5.17%
\$20,000-\$29,999	5.67%
\$30,000-\$39,999	10.35%
\$40,000-\$54,999	31.28%
\$55,000-\$69,999	22.41%
\$70,000 and Over	25.12%

We may interpret the large number of student members (245) as a sign of potential for future growth. To tap this potential, we must continue to mentor our students well so they may earn the professional positions of their choosing and become even more active contributors to our section.

For the last five years, females have been a majority of all regular and student members in the ASA, accounting for between 52% and 54% of these members. We do not have section data for an exact comparison with the entire ASA; rather, we only have the sex ratio for all members combined. In 2005, 55.3% of CBSM members were male, while 44.7% were female. We may reasonably assume that most of the 28 emeritus members of the section were male, given historical gender trends in employment. This leaves only 28 associate members unaccounted for. In short, our section is disproportionately male given the gender distribution of the entire ASA.

Whites accounted for approximately 81% of all regular members in the ASA in 2004. Again, our section data does not allow a perfect comparison, as we are unable to isolate just regular members. Instead, we have data on the race/ethnicity of all section members. In 2005, 93 section members (13.15%) declined to report their race/ethnicity, and 22 (3.11%) reported "Other."

### Race/Ethnicity of CBSM Members in 2005

<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>	<u>Percent of 707 Section Members</u>
White	73.27%
Asian American, Pacific Islander	4.53%
African American/Black	2.83%
Hispanic/Latino(a)	2.69%
Native American, Alaskan Indian	0.42%

The results in the table above show that we likely have slightly greater racial/ethnic diversity in the section than in the ASA as a whole. It seems reasonable that this is related to the theoretical and substantive diversity of the scholarship in our section. Finally, we should keep in mind that surpassing a section membership total of 800 will earn us an addition session at the annual meetings (bringing our total to six).

## Activist Corner

From time to time, *Critical Mass Bulletin* will feature interviews with social movement activists around the world to try to connect social movement scholars more closely to the people and phenomena they study. To get this series running, the Co-Editors started in their own backyard by interviewing a leader of Students for Economic Justice (SEJ), Michigan State University's (MSU) chapter of United Students Against Sweatshops.

*When and why was your organization founded?*

Students for Economic Justice was formed in the spring of 2000 by students concerned about our university's use of sweatshop labor. SEJ's earliest campaigns sought to improve working conditions in the factories that produced MSU apparel. Our group, which is an affiliate of United Students Against Sweatshops, was formed at the height of the campus anti-sweatshop movement. SEJ primarily is made up of students from Michigan State University and nearby Lansing Community College.

*What are the goals of your organization?*

We aim to (1) support local, national, and international economic and labor rights issues; (2) work in solidarity with local and international unions; and (3) promote ethical investment by our university (whether in apparel, food and drink, corporate stock, etc.).

*Who or what are the targets of your organization? What tactics does your organization use to accomplish your goals?*

Our primary target is the MSU administration. We try to use our role as vocal, tuition paying students as leverage to affect change at the institutional level. A secondary "target" is the student body, who we seek to educate on whatever campaign we are currently pursuing. Much of SEJ's success can be attributed to the wide ranging tactics our group employs. We try to bring about institutional reform by working both inside and outside of the system. We use awareness-raising actions to educate the student body and get media coverage, which often translates into unfavorable press for the administration. With the strategic use of direct action, we are also able to build momentum and put pressure on the administration.

*Are you currently working on an anti-sweatshop campaign?*

MSU's Workers' Rights Consortium membership was finalized in the summer of 2006. After a five-year campaign, many SEJ members were ready to organize around something besides sweatshop labor. SEJ did not want to overextend itself and take on more than one campaign. We also wanted to avoid the perception that as a group we are never satisfied (even though our WRC membership still needs a strong code of conduct to effectively end our university's reliance on sweatshop labor).

*What successes and/or failures have you had so far?*

Luckily our successes have outnumbered our failures. By far the largest victory came when MSU joined the Workers' Rights Consortium after a five year campaign. Through United Students Against Sweatshops, we also worked on the successful Mount Olive pickles and Taco Bell boycotts. Right now we are working on the Killer Coke campaign. It is currently our primary focus, and we anticipate another victory sometime next year.

*How did you come to know about/care about these issues?*

I began volunteering at Refugee Services of Lansing as a freshman. Many fellow volunteers were Lansing area activists who introduced me to local progressive student groups. In many respects campus organizing was a consciousness raising process. I formed my politics and learned about progressive issues while organizing on them.

*Do you face challenges in making these issues relevant to students who may feel very disconnected to what happens to union workers or sweatshop workers in other countries?*

This is a constant challenge for all activists. Specifically in the Coca-Cola campaign we are facing the challenge of not appearing critical of the very people we are trying to get support from. We are trying to avoid attacking individual consumption habits and instead focus on cutting MSU's affiliation with Coke. Coca-Cola is driven by profit. Hurting their profit margins by cutting MSU's large contracts would force Coke to sit up and address their labor and environmental abuses.

*How do you make connections between local and global processes (like Coca-Cola's practices in Latin America and clothing companies' practices in sweatshops abroad)?*

Because Michigan is such a large union state, we have been trying to emphasize the importance of international labor solidarity. People seem to make the connection between union busting practices in Colombia and the strength of Michigan organized labor.

*In your own eyes, what is the most serious challenge that SEJ is facing?*

Right now our greatest challenge is to rally a generally indifferent student body around issues that concern people outside the United States. The MSU administration often cites altruistic reasons for changing its policies; however, SEJ has found that pressure from the students is often the largest (if only) motivating factor behind changes made by the administration. Students play a crucial role in our success as an activist organization, and we are finding that it is harder and harder to make people care about these issues. We are finding high levels of complacency among people who realize labor abuses occur (whether in sweatshops or factories abroad) but feel powerless to do anything about them.

*What challenges, if any, have you faced as a direct result of the structure of your organization?*

SEJ is a non-hierarchical organization with no formal leadership positions. Our weekly meetings are run by a facilitator and note-taker, and these positions change each week. An egalitarian system like this is easier in theory than it is in practice. Addressing the informal hierarchy that (inevitably?) forms in activist organizations is a continual challenge. Historically in SEJ, informal leadership roles were often filled by the most privileged members—only serving to reinforce societal power dynamics in our group. Our non-hierarchical structure requires discipline on the part of our members to ensure these power dynamics do not manifest. One way we have dealt with these challenges is through consensus building. Building consensus is not easy. In fact it is often tedious and time consuming. Ultimately, however, consensus allows everyone a voice in the decision-making process and strengthens our organization.

*To what extent do the participants in your organization pay attention to any academic work on social movements?*

A member of SEJ wrote his graduate thesis on “the technologies of activist delivery.” The bulk of this work was about SEJ’s Workers’ Rights Consortium campaign. This thesis was unusual in that it was written specifically for activist applications. Everyone in SEJ read and got a lot out of this specific work. Yet, truthfully, most members of SEJ pay very little attention to published works on social movements. With the exception of works published by our members (like the graduate thesis I mentioned), academic works on social movements play a minimal role in our organizing. There is a perception that scholarly writings are out of touch with current social movements or ill equipped to help with our specific campaigns and challenges. Most activists feel like work on social movements is not relevant to their work.

*If you were to provide guidance to social scientists studying social movements, what general message would you convey to them?*

I would stress the importance of studying issues relevant to activists. Social scientists have the potential to provide invaluable insight into the student movement; however, a lot of work still needs to be done to bridge the gap between former activists turned professors and today’s student organizers. Activists would probably take more interest in academic works if their authors conveyed an interest in what students are doing. There is a historical precedent for professors extending themselves to student organizers. During the Vietnam War, professors were not afraid to engage student movements and support their causes. If academics conveyed a genuine interest in not only studying but helping advance social movements I think activists would be much more eager to hear what they had to say.

*What sort of research questions would you want them to ask? Or what sort of puzzles would you want them to try to solve? In short, what important phenomena should social movement scholars study?*

Here are just a few of the many interesting questions that could be addressed:

- group power dynamics and the role privilege plays in these interactions;
- the role that technology plays in activism and how modes of communication have changed activism;
- the strengths and weaknesses of today’s social movements as contrasted with activists in the past;

- how social relationships within activist communities change or shape student organizing; and
- how student groups can work most effectively in their school's communities given the short periods of time most students spend in their college towns.

*What specific insights might social movement scholars gain by studying your particular organization?*

SEJ understands the important role that a sense of community plays in organizing. A major source of strength for our group is our social cohesiveness. Social movement scholars might gain a better understanding of this strength, and the importance of community building, by studying SEJ.

*What sort of trends among social movements do you see occurring into the next several years?*

As disenfranchised Muslim youth in Paris and staunch opponents of anti-immigration bills in the United States take to the streets, the political climate worldwide is becoming more and more heated. With human and financial costs mounting in Iraq and Afghanistan, there is a real sense that something needs to be done. With this escalating tension and dissatisfaction, many members of SEJ feel that social movements can only grow in size and strength in the coming years. Some members feel that a radical presence will break into the mainstream after the 2008 federal elections (where people might get let down again).

## Know An Activist?!

Do you think social movement scholars would benefit from his/her insights?

If so, please contact the co-editors at [cmeditor@msu.edu](mailto:cmeditor@msu.edu).

We are especially interested in publishing interviews of activists involved in transnational advocacy networks.

More generally, we are interested in what insights activists might provide to scholars about what and how we should be studying.

## Book Review

***Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship*, edited by David Croteau, William Hoynes, and Charlotte Ryan. University of Minnesota Press, 2005.**

**Reviewer:** Douglas Bevington, University of California, Santa Cruz

The collection of essays in *Rhyming Hope and History* emerged from a 2002 conference honoring William Gamson. In a fitting tribute to Gamson's work, the contributors explore the relationship between social movement scholarship and the movements themselves. This issue has received surprisingly little formal discussion in social movement studies circles, so the book is an important and much needed contribution to a neglected topic.

Richard Flacks begins the collection by noting the success of social movement studies as an academic field in terms of the proliferation books, journals, and conferences. But then he asks, "*what is all this analysis for?*" In what way does the validation, elaboration, and refinement of concepts provide usable knowledge for those seeking social change?" (8). Flacks laments that much contemporary social movement theory is not relevant for activists. This concern is widely shared by the contributors to this collection, most of whom are scholars. A few of the authors come from outside academic institutions and they are particularly blunt in their assessments. For example, foundation director Cassie Schwerner asserts that social movement scholars "must recognize that their work is not being used by activists who need their insights the most" (171).

Much of this book is devoted to trying to bridge that gap and produce what I have described elsewhere as "movement-relevant theory." Most of the authors see direct engagement and collaboration with activists as an important part of the solution. As the editors note, "Theorists without significant connections to social movements can end up constructing elegant abstractions with little real insight or utility" (xiii). The largest section of the book is devoted to case studies of this sort of collaboration.

Many of the examples involve the Media Research and Action Project (MRAP) begun by Gamson and his graduate students (most notably Charlotte Ryan) in the mid-1980s. MRAP was created to make insights from framing theory directly accessible to activists. MRAP's founders were inspired by Aldon Morris' concept of the movement halfway house. (Morris' work is cited throughout the book as an example of scholarship that is directly useful to activists.) The experiences of MRAP

provide interesting and inspiring examples of the potential for fruitful collaboration with movements.

The scholars in *Rhyming Hope and History* make a compelling case for how their work has been enriched by their direct engagement with movements. Building a substantive connection with activists provides insights into movements that are unavailable to more detached scholars. Dialogue with activists offers important opportunities to assess and refine theories in ways that peer review simply cannot. And the benefits of this engagement can also take unexpected forms. For example, Verta Taylor and Leila Rupp illustrate how their involvement with drag queen activism inspired them to adopt a “drag-queen flamboyance” in the presentation of their findings, resulting in the book’s most fun chapter.

Despite these benefits to scholarship, many of the contributors describe how academic institutions constrain movement-relevant research. Particularly striking is the example of David Croteau and William Hoynes’ research on the selection of guests and subjects for the news program *Nightline*. Their *Nightline* study received extensive news coverage, was widely read, and was useful for media activists. However, its professional utility for the authors was severely limited because they could not get it published in a prominent scholarly journal. What must be done to get relevant work to be valued more within the academy?

On that note, it would be helpful to see more detailed discussion of how to “transform the academic habitus,” to use Ryan’s phrase (134). I would also like to highlight two other issues from this book could use further development. The first issue relates to the types of social movement scholarship that are useful to movements. Because of the connection to MRAP, most of the examples in this collection center around the concept of framing and movements’ relationships to the media. It would be interesting to see more examples of how social movement theory can provide useful insights into other aspects of movements, such as their organizational challenges (see, for example, Jo Freeman’s classic “The Tyranny of Structurelessness” or Francesca Polletta’s *Freedom is an Endless Meeting*) or how movements can respond to political repression (such as the work of the scholar-activists in the Institute for the Study of Dissent and Social Control).

Secondly, while the scholars in this collection make a strong case for how their work has benefited from collaboration with activists, I came away from this book less clear about what the activists had gotten from some of these projects. At times, the benefit to activists seemed to be as an assumption rather than being illustrated with concrete examples. Including more activist voices in this discussion could provide clearer insights into that side of the relationship.

These points are not intended as criticisms of *Rhyming Hope and History*, but rather as suggestions for the dialogue that should grow from this book. The contributors have done a fine job of articulating concerns about the relationship between social movement scholarship and activism that heretofore have largely been confined to private conversations. And in so doing, their book will hopefully help to bring social movement studies to the center of the current discussions of public sociology.

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## Recent Publications

- Almeida, Paul D. 2005. “Multi-Sectoral Coalitions and Popular Movement Participation.” *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 26: 67-102.
- Bevington, Douglas, and Chris Dixon. 2005. “Movement-Relevant Theory: Rethinking Social Movement Scholarship and Activism.” *Social Movement Studies* 4(3):185-208.
- Davis, Joseph E. 2005. *Accounts of Innocence: Sexual Abuse, Trauma, and the Self*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davis, Joseph E. 2005. “Victim Narratives and Victim Selves: False Memory Syndrome and the Power of Accounts.” *Social Problems* 52: 529-548.
- Foran, John. 2005. *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hull, Kathleen E. 2006. *Same-Sex Marriage: The Cultural Politics of Love and Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kousis, Maria, and Charles Tilly, editors. 2005. *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

This volume is a product of the international conference “Contentious Politics and the Economic Opportunity Structure” held in October 2002. The invited authors, specialists in the field of contentious politics who presented papers on the topic, include former students of Charles Tilly at the University of Michigan, collaborators, and other scholars with an interest in Tilly’s work. The conference was held as an event honoring Charles Tilly in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University of Crete. In this volume, as at the conference, the European and American specialists in economic and political processes make references, critical or otherwise, to Tilly’s work.

- Maney, Gregory M., Lynne M. Woehrl, and Patrick G. Coy. 2005. "Harnessing and Challenging Hegemony: The U.S. Peace Movement after 9/11." *Sociological Perspectives* 48: 357-381.
- McCright, Aaron M., and Terry N. Clark. 2006. "The Political Opportunity Structure of the Environmental Movement in U.S. Communities." In *Community and Ecology: Dynamics of Place, Sustainability, and Politics*, edited by Aaron M. McCright and Terry N. Clark. Amsterdam: Elsevier/JAI Press.
- McCright, Aaron M., and Terry N. Clark, editors. 2006. *Community and Ecology: Dynamics of Place, Sustainability, and Politics*. Amsterdam: Elsevier/JAI Press.
- Pinard, Maurice. 2005. "Political Ambivalence towards the Parti Quebecois and its Electoral Consequences, 1970-2003." *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 30:281-314.
- Poulson, Stephen C. 2005. *Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Iran: Culture, Ideology and Mobilizing Frameworks*. Lexington Books.
- Shayne, Julie. 2004. *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*. Rutgers University Press.
- Weed, Frank J. 2005. "The Sociological Department at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1901 to 1907: Scientific Paternalism and Industrial Control." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 41(3): 269-284.

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## Job Announcements

**University of Connecticut.** The University of Connecticut invites applications for a two-year appointment as Assistant Professor in Residence in Sociology to begin late August 2006. This position has an initial appointment of two years with the possibility of reappointment for a third year. Teaching interests in all substantive areas are welcome, but applicants should be prepared to teach Introduction to Sociology and to contribute more generally to the undergraduate sociology curriculum. Experience in teaching large classes is desirable. An earned doctorate in Sociology is required. The course load is three courses per semester. Please send a curriculum vitae, a statement of teaching interests, sample course outlines, and three letters of reference to:

Dr. Kathryn Strother Ratcliff  
 University of Connecticut  
 Department of Sociology  
 Unit 2068  
 344 Mansfield Road  
 Storrs, CT 06269-2068

Review of applications will begin immediately and will continue until the position is filled. The University of Connecticut is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer committed to a diverse and multicultural scholarly community. We therefore strongly encourage applications from under-represented groups, women, and people with disabilities.

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## Calls for Papers/Submissions

### Globalization, Environmental Ethics and Environmental Justice

International Conference on August 24-28, 2006

Organized by the Lyman Briggs School of Science at Michigan State University

Papers are invited for the following interdisciplinary conference, to be held at Michigan State University (East Lansing, Michigan) and focused on unfolding environmental developments. As globalization advances and the global character of many environmental problems become more manifest, wider perspectives are stimulated in local environmental traditions. In North America, a burgeoning environmental justice movement makes links between environmental damage, poverty and race that strongly recall longstanding political concerns in Europe and the South. In Western Europe, skepticism and mistrust of GM and other new deep technologies raises questions about the character of "nature" long discussed in relation to the American wilderness tradition. About the globe, environmental activists grapple with new problems of human impacts, risk, technology, consumption and just distribution, and articulate new visions of the future.

This conference aims to bring together a range of disparate voices across the globe and the disciplines, broadening these new international discussions by bringing distinctly American traditions of environmental ethics into dialogue with international concerns in environmental politics, philosophy, literature, sociology, history and economics. The conference is organized by the Lyman Briggs School of Science, which has long pioneered research co-operation right across the disciplines between arts and sciences at Michigan State University, the USA's first land-grant university.

Workshop topics will include:

- \* Environmental Citizenship
- \* Economy and Ecology
- \* Nature, Culture and Artifact
- \* Ecofeminism

- \* Ecology and Utopia
- \* Environmental Justice
- \* Risk and Technology
- \* Ecological Restoration
- \* Environmental Movements
- \* Animals and Speciesism
- \* The Land Ethic
- \* Environmental History
- \* Literature and Ecology
- \* Climate Change & Disasters

#### KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

John Barry (Queen's University Belfast, UK)  
 Dale Jamieson (New York University, USA)  
 Arthur Mol (Wageningen University, Netherlands)  
 Ariel Salleh (University of Western Sydney, Australia)  
 Karen Warren (Macalester College, Minnesota, USA)

Abstracts should be received by June 16, 2006, and should be sent to:

Dr Piers H.G. Stephens  
 Lyman Briggs School  
 Michigan State University  
 35 E Holmes Hall  
 East Lansing, MI 48825-1107  
 USA  
 Email: steph243@msu.edu  
 Tel: (517) 353-4878

#### Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change

*Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, an annual peer-reviewed volume published by Elsevier Science/JAI Press, encourages submissions for Volumes 26 and 27. Both of these volumes will be non-thematic: submissions appropriate to any of the three broad foci reflected in the series title will be considered.

*Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change (RSMCC)* is a fully peer-reviewed series of original research that has been published annually for over 25 years. We continue to publish the work of many of the leading scholars in social movements, social change, and peace and conflict studies. Although *RSMCC* enjoys a wide library subscription base for the book versions, all volumes are now published both in book form and also on-line through Elsevier's ScienceDirect program. This will ensure wider distribution and easier access to your scholarship while maintaining the book series at the same time. To be guaranteed consideration for inclusion in Volume 26, due out in spring 2007, papers must arrive by June 10, 2006. After removing all self references except for on the title page, send four paper copies and an electronic version to:

Patrick Coy, *RSMCC* editor  
 Center for Applied Conflict Management  
 Kent State University  
 P.O. Box 5190  
 Kent, OH 44242

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## CBSM Section Activities at 2006 ASA Conference

*The CBSM Section Day is Saturday August 12.*

#### Social Movements and Institutional Politics:

**Theoretical Stakes** (co-sponsored with the Section on Political Sociology)

Organizers: Elisabeth Clemens and Debra Minkoff

Discussant: Sidney Tarrow

*Movements, Mobs and Militias: Collective Action in American Political Development*

Elisabeth Clemens

*Social Movements, Parties, and the Politics of Reform*

Marshall Ganz

*Deinstitutionalizing Dissent*

David Meyer

*Should We Be Surprised When the Powerful Want*

*Progressive Change (and Make It Happen)?*

John Skrentny and Amy Binder

#### Social Movements and Institutional Politics: Empirical

**Studies** (co-sponsored with the Section on Political Sociology)

Organizers: Debra Minkoff and Elisabeth Clemens

Discussant: Debra Minkoff

*Institutionalizing the Backyard Revolution: Institutions and Cognitive Processes in the Crystallization of an Organizational Field*

Michael McQuarrie

*Outsourcing Activism in America*

Dana Fisher

*Confronting the State, the Corporation, and the Academy:*

*The Influence of Institutional Targets on Social Movement Repertoires*

Edward Walker

Andrew Martin

John McCarthy

*NAFTA and the Greening of Trade Policy: A Unified*

*Field Theory of Political Opportunity and*

*Mobilization*

Tamara Kay

Rhonda Evans

*Unintended Foreign Policy Consequences of the Iraq War*

Michael Schwartz

**Digital Protest: The Internet and Social Movements**

Organizer: Jennifer Earl

Discussant: Susan Olzak

*Movement Societies and Digital Protest: Non-traditional**Uses of Four Protest Tactics Online*

Jennifer Earl

Katrina Kimport

*Online and Offline Interactions and the Dynamics of  
Internet Protests in China*

Guobin Yang

*Mashed up and Decrypted: Digital Property and Online  
Protest*

Alan Schussman

*Protest, Cyberactivism, and New Social Movements: The  
Reemergence of the Peace Movement Post 9/11*

Victoria Carty

**Re-opening the Dialogue: The Interplay of Social  
Movements and Organizations**

Organizer: Sarah Soule

Discussant: Bob Edwards

*Social Movements as External Agents of Organizational  
Change: The Effect of Protest on Stock Price Returns*

Brayden King

*Explaining Effectiveness in Local Civic Associations*

Andy Andrews

Marshall Ganz

Matthew Baggetta

Hahrie Han

Chaeyoon Lim

*Interests, Identities, and Relations: Drawing Boundaries  
in Civic Organizational Fields*

Mario Diani

Katia Pilati

*Measuring SMO Populations: Methods for Compiling a  
Comprehensive 100-Year Time Series of National US**Environmental Organizations*

Liesel Turner

Robert Brulle

J. Craig Jenkins

Jason Carmichael

*Nourishing the Soil of Freedom: The State, the Press, the  
Pulpit, and the Rise of the Anti-Slavery Movement,  
1790-1840*

Marissa King

Heather Haveman

**REFEREED ROUNDTABLES**

Organizer: Andrew Martin

**Table 1: Youth, Student, and Campus Activism***Evaluation of a Youth Led Social Movement Initiative*

Douglas Klayman

*Right-Wing Mobilization and the Academy: Pro-Life  
Mobilization on College Campuses in the United  
States*

Ziad Munson

*When Students Protest on the Street: Student Activism in  
South Korea*

Byeong-Chul Park

**Table 2: Indigenous Protest/Movements in the  
Periphery***Liberalization Reversals and Radicalized Collective  
Action*

Paul Almeida

*The Historical Context and Generation of Native  
Hawaiian Resistance 1819-1893*

Patty Harris

*The Provocative Cocktail: Origins of the Zapatista Revolt*

Christopher Gunderson

*The Vieques Antimilitary Movement and the Change in  
Puerto Rico's Political Public Sphere*

Roberto Velez-Velez

**Table 3: Organizations and Movements***An Institutional Approach to Workplace Conflicts: Labor  
Disputes in Multinational Companies in China*

Yang Cao

*From the Outside In: External Influences on  
Organizational Change in Social Movements*

Tina Fetner

*Japanese Environmentalism: A Presentation of Survey  
Results*

Erik Johnson

Yoshitaka Saito

*Neither Left Nor Right: The White Supremacist Movement  
as New Social Movement*

Stanislav Vysotsky

*Organizational Models and Movement Transitions:  
Promoting Civic Unity through Race Relations  
Committees during World War II*

Dennis Downey

**Table 4: Media and Meaning in Social Movements**

*Amateur Journalism as a Strategy of Visibility of a South African Sexual Minority Movement Organization*

Ashley Currier

*Dual Meanings of Collective Memory: Survivors' and Academics' Perspectives on Genocide*

Eva Kahana

Boaz Kahana

*"Rebels, Militants, or Colonial Insurgents?": Canadian News Media and the Framing of Protest by Aboriginal People*

Rima Wilkes

Danielle Ricard

**Table 5: Identity**

*A Battle of Authenticity: Assertions of Identity and Legitimacy at Anti and Pro-Iraq War Protests*

Sharon Oselin

Catherine Corrigan-Brown

*Identity Construction and Mobilization in a Virtual SMO: A Rhetorical Analysis of MoveOn's E-mail Messages*

Marc Eaton

*Identity is Movement?*

Lorna Mason

*Islamist Collective Identity for an Alternative Globalization: A Case Study of Jama'at-i-Islamiya*

Tugrul Keskingoren

Rammy Haija

Dale Wimberley

**Table 6: Movement Coalitions**

*Confronting Framing Dilemmas: Power and Privilege in the California Coalition for Women Prisoners*

Jodie Lawston

*Exploring Intermovement Dependency Effects: The Effects of Living Wage Ordinances on NLRB Union Representation Elections*

Michael Mulcahy

Mary Nell Trautner

*The Anti-Gambling/Casino Movement: The Discursive Strategies of an Unlikely Coalition*

Katrina Hoop

*"Getting past the Glitches": Managing Conflict within Social Movement Coalitions in Mexico*

Jose Munoz

**Table 7: NGOs and Cross-National Movements**

*Bridging Local-Global Divides?: Explaining Regionalization of Transnational Social Movement Organizations*

Dawn Wiest

Jackie Smith

*International Funding of NGOs in India*

Rita Jalali

*Membership Support for Environmental Organizations: A Cross-National Comparison of Political, Welfare and Media Explanations*

Rens Vliegenthart

*NGO Diffusion as Production of Coercive Isomorphism*

Sada Aksartova

**Table 8: European Political and Ethnic Movements**

*Shifting Boundaries of Czechoslovakia, 1983-1992*

Nicole Hala

*The Effects of a Minority Rights Regime in Europe on Mobilization around Ethnicity: The Case of the Roma*

Katarzyna Polanska

Ann Hironaka

*The Mobilization of Ethnic and National Minorities in Poland*

Joanna Jasiewicz

Juan Diez Medrano

*Why Donbass Votes for Yanukovich? Confronting the Ukrainian Orange Revolution*

Ararat Osipian

**Table 9: Movement Communities**

*Applying a Structural Lens: Women's Activism within the Anti-War Movement*

Rachel Kutz-Flamenbaum

*Conviction in Contentious Politics: Practices and Theories of EU Prostitution Activists*

Greggor Mattson

*Heterodox Political Communities*

David Cunningham

Miranda Waggoner

*The Rural Community Movement in Lithuania: Gender Based Differences in Leadership and the Issues, Activities, and Impacts of Local NGOs*

Jurgita Abromaviciute

Bob Edwards

Arunas Juska

Maria Dillard

**Table 10: Repertoires and Repression**

*Analysis of State and Movement Tactical Decisions and Repertoires in the Black Civil Rights Movement 1960-1965: Utilizing Field Theory in Social Movement Research*

Randolph Hohle

*Beyond State Repression: Analyzing State's Strategies in the Puerto Rico*

Vince Montes

*Does Violence Pay?: Success of the Unruly and the Northern Ireland Peace Accords*

Gabriela Guazzo

*Repressing Deliberation: Police Impacts on Activist Debates in New York and Toronto 1998-2002*  
Lesley Wood

*Theorizing the Efficacy of Hunger Strikes: Irish Republicans, 1916-1923*  
Michael Biggs

**Table 11: Movements and Political Institutions**

*Baltimore Bricolage: Networks, Entrepreneurs, Social Movements, and Institutional Actors*  
John Scott

*Civil Liberties in America: The Diffusion of Resolutions to Protect the Bill of Rights after September 11, 2001*  
Ion Vasi  
David Strang

*Organizational Strategies in U.S. and Canadian Party Movements*  
Mildred Schwartz

*Social Movements and Electoral Politics: The Referendum Challenge*  
Kimberly Simmons

**Table 12: Mobilizing Dynamics**

*How Activists Manage Daily Life*  
Jennifer Rogers

*Mobilizing the Local: The Resource Types Behind the Los Angeles Tenants' Rights Movement, 1976-1979*  
Benjamin Lind  
Judith Stepan-Norris

*When Opportunities Demobilize: A Multi-Level Analysis of Mobilization During the Decline of the Civil Rights Movement*  
Wayne Santoro

*"Heat Is Always Produced": Conflict and mobilization in Anglo-American abolitionism, 1820s-1840s*  
Cecelia Walsh-Russo

**Table 13: Social Movement Theory**

*A Durkheimian Theory of Social Movements*  
Sandro Segre

*The Interpenetration of System and Lifeworld: Political, Cultural, and Organizational Processes of Social Movement Institutionalization*  
Edward Walker

*Thinking Outside the Master's House: New Knowledge Movements and the Emergence of Academic Disciplines*  
Mikaila Arthur

**Table 14: Networks and Participation in Movements**

*9/11 Volunteerism: From Collective Behavior to Civic Engagement*  
Alice Fothergill  
Seana Lowe

*Ethnic-based Instrumentalism, Ethnic Identification, and Participation in Ethnic Movements: A Comparative Analysis*  
Lynn Hempel

*Social Networks and Political Participation: Why Do Networks Matter?*  
Chaeyoon Lim

*Staying In or Getting Out?: Predicting Sustained Participation or Disengagement from Two Social Movements*  
Catherine Corrigall-Brown

**Table 15: Music and Culture in Movements**

*A Walk Through History: Museums of the Civil Rights Movement in Birmingham, Alabama and Savannah, Georgia*  
Lizabeth Zack  
April Dove

*Anti-War Music in the Vietnam Era: The Roles of Emotive and Cognitive Framing in Building Oppositional Ideologies*  
Jeneve Brooks-Klinger

*Practicing Birchism: The Assumption and Limits of Idiocultural Coherence in Framing Theory*  
Randle Hart

*White Power Music and Racist Mobilization*  
Ugo Corte

**Table 16: GLBTQ Movements**

*"No Joking About the 'S' in SAGA": Deploying a Straight Identity for Political Gain by an LGBT Organization*  
Daniel Cortese

*Collective Identity and Race: A Preliminary Look at Whiteness in the U.S. Gay and Lesbian Movement*  
Christopher Chambers

*Human Rights and Lesbian and Gay Organizing: A Preliminary Sociological Analysis*  
Antonio Pastrana

*Queering the Family: The Same-Sex Marriage Movement in Vermont*  
Mary Bernstein  
Mary Burke

**Table 17: Author Meets Readers—*There's Something Happening Here* by David Cunningham (University of California Press, 2004)**

Presider, Mathieu Deflem  
 Jennifer Irons  
 Nella Van Dyke  
 John Noakes  
 David Cunningham

#### REGULAR SESSIONS ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- 1) Social Movement Leadership and Charismatic Authority
- 2) Identity, Emotion, and Social Movements
- 3) Social Movement Contexts: Institutions and Organizational Fields
- 4) Political Consequences of Social Movements
- 5) Social Movements: Cooperation, Alliances, and Coalitions
- 6) Social Movement Framing Strategies
- 7) Social Movement, Mobilization, Repression, and the Media

## Teaching a Class?!

Do you teach a class in collective behavior and/or social movements at either the undergraduate or graduate level?

Do you have insights, readings, activities, active learning techniques, or service learning opportunities that have worked especially well in your class?

Would you like to share this with the rest of the CBSM section?

If so, please contact the co-editors at [cmeditor@msu.edu](mailto:cmeditor@msu.edu).

## Got An Idea?!

Do you have a great idea for the *Critical Mass Bulletin*?

If so, please contact the co-editors at [cmeditor@msu.edu](mailto:cmeditor@msu.edu).

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### COMING IN THE FALL 2006 ISSUE

- \* a systematic review of the first four volumes (eight issues) of *Social Movement Studies*
  - \* an overview of the CBSM Section Awards at the 2006 ASA Conference
  - \* a review of David Meyer's *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America* (Oxford University Press, 2006)
  - \* a research spotlight on the Contested Illnesses Research Group, led by Drs. Phil Brown and Rachel Morello-Frosch at Brown University
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