

CriticalMassBulletin

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

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Fall 2016

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Message from the Chair

Kenneth (Andy) Andrews

CBSM Section Chair

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill



Our fall newsletter features reflections on the 2016 ASA meetings with comments on Feminist and Intersectional Approaches to Movements, New Directions in Black Movements, and the Scholar-Activist Gathering. Rachel Einwohner and Jo Reger describe the effort to bring intersectional approaches to the study of movements to expand the theoretical tools and voices in current work on movements. Kiana Cox shares highlights from the panel on New Directions in Black Movements emphasizing the importance of new leadership structure and communication technologies is as integral to their dynamics. Charlotte Ryan, Ben Manski, and Gregory Maney report on a large gathering of movement scholars and activists organized alongside the ASA's to strengthen movement relevant research. We also feature an essay by Laurence Cox on recent movements and movement theorizing in Ireland. All of these essays reflect on and extend efforts to expand and strengthen the diversity of movement studies in important ways.

I expect to see many of these conversations carried forward into the meetings next year in Montreal. CBSM is sponsoring an exciting and diverse set of panels including Leadership, Strategy, and Organization in Social Movements; Elections, Political Parties, and Social Movements; Comparative and Cross National Social Movement Research; Theorizing 21st Century Racial-Ethnic Activism (co-sponsored with section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities); Bodies, Emotions, and Social Movements (co-sponsored with section on Body and Embodiment); and Consequences of Social Movements (see page 13). Beyond these, there are many other panels related to movements in the [call for papers](#) reflecting the continuing focus on protest and movements coming out of the Seattle meetings.

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Recent Movements and Movement Theory in Ireland¹

By Laurence Cox (National University of
Ireland Maynooth)

Some recent Irish social movements

Studying social movements on the island of Ireland faces particular challenges. The two states represent two opposing outcomes to earlier movement conflicts. The Republic is a “movement-become-state”: not only in the form of the nationalist movement but also the Catholic church as a powerful form of popular mobilisation, and the late C19th “Land War” which forced one of the world’s most successful land reforms. The labour movement emerged subordinate to a national-developmental state (Peillon 1982), although massive levels of working-class community organising later developed independently (Punch 2009).

For much of its history, meanwhile, Northern Ireland represents the institutionalization of a counter-movement to the Republic’s nationalist and Catholic aspects. From the later 1960s to the mid-1990s, the revival of this conflict in the shape of a war involving republican and loyalist paramilitaries as well as the local police and the British Army massively shaped movement activity in one of western Europe’s longest-running violent conflicts.

Finally, from the mid-1990s the Republic’s period of “Celtic Tiger” boom, globalisation and “social partnership” - involving not only state, unions and employers but a “voluntary and community” sector covering virtually all movements except for republicans and anti-war movements - fundamentally reshaped movements. The 2008 economic crash remade movements yet again. In 2016, the distinctions between competing organisational models, particularly around their relationship to the state, are far more entrenched than 25 years ago. Easy generalisations about “Irish movements”, then, conceal more than they reveal.

Challenging Catholic power

The Catholic church’s role as a mode of ethno-nationalist mobilisation in the late C19th and early C20th century led to an entrenched power relationship, focussed on controlling sexuality in an inheritance-oriented farming society. Feminists, GLTBQI activists and cultural modernisers progressively challenged this power from the later 1960s on (Cullen 2015), and from the 1990s the state has increasingly sought to position itself as an agent of cultural modernisation. This dynamic was recently expressed in the recent referendum on gay and lesbian marriage equality; although placed on the political agenda by movements, the campaign became an official celebration of Ireland’s newfound liberalism, with government parties, mainstream media and educational establishments alike broadly supportive. Conversely, the issue of abortion has shown the limits of this liberalism, with repeated waves of outrage and mobilisation, often in response to the effects of the existing position such as the death of Savita Halappanavar after being denied medical treatment.

Even more disruptive, given the historical construction of Irish identity as Catholic, have been the battles over historical memory forced by the survivors of institutional physical and sexual abuse in contexts ranging from church-run Magdalen laundries for “fallen women” and industrial schools via the clerical sexual abuse to forced adoptions and symphysiotomies (sawing open the pelvis in childbirth). While survivors’ resources are often quite low, the moral outrage at these revelations has been widespread and generated a long-running series of inquiries. The reality of widespread historical collusion with these practices has provoked a battle of memory comparable in structure if not intensity to that around collaboration with and resistance to European fascism and Latin American dictatorships.

Resisting neoliberalism and the New World Order

Against this backdrop, early C21st movements challenged Ireland’s neoliberal shift in economic policy and its reorientation away from its traditional neutrality towards active participation in Western foreign policy. Direct action-oriented and anarchist campaigns which had remained outside social

¹ This piece draws on Cox (2016).

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partnership formed new links with global justice, anti-war, ecological and feminist concerns as part of the wider alterglobalisation movement, culminating in the cancellation of a WTO regional meeting in 2003 and a dramatic EU summit protest in 2004 (Cox 2006).

In 2001 and 2008, referenda on EU treaties were both defeated in the first popular vote, leading to substantial arm-twisting to ensure the “right” result in re-votes. As war in Afghanistan and Iraq developed, direct action against the US military stopover in Shannon and mass participation in the global demonstrations of February 15th 2003 increased.

Finally, the discovery of offshore gas led to a ten-year conflict between Shell and the residents of Rosspoint and nearby villages in the rural northwest, with intensive local resistance and widespread support from Irish left, republican and trade union groups and from international ecological solidarity activists. The conflict substantially damaged the legitimacy of the Irish police’s response to protest and laid the groundwork for today’s extensive resistance to fracking proposals.

Social movements since the crisis

In the financial crisis, Ireland faced huge difficulty in terms of bank bailouts (assuming 42% of the EU’s entire debt crisis) and the restructuring imposed by the “Troika” (European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund). However sectoral protests and a relatively long-lasting Occupy movement, drawing on earlier alterglobalisation movements, had relatively little impact so long as trade unions, tied to the Labour Party, were broadly supportive of restructuring. Despite historically high levels of protest, anti-austerity movements remained unable to effect the kind of dramatic social confrontation seen in Iceland, Spain or Greece; Ireland remained more comparable to Portugal or Italy.

This changed decisively with the introduction of new charges for water. The state’s crisis-period abrogation of partnership with working-class community activism had fatally weakened a layer of organisations which had previously channelled popular pressures, and attempts to install meters were met with

widespread direct action. Together with massive non-registration and non-payment, this detached more radical unions from social partnership, leading to a broad coalition between these, the new community activist groups and left and republican parties. Faced with a state unable either to impose itself by force or to refrain from provocative acts and statements, the movement provoked a governmental crisis; water charges remain a political time bomb.

At time of writing, very large numbers of new people have become involved in movements for their first time. As we know, many will go on to become active around other issues; despite the confident pronouncements of movement entrepreneurs, however, *what* those issues will be cannot be read off an objective analysis of social structure or policy debates, but will depend on how people interpret their own situation.

Recent social movements work in Ireland

Because of the history sketched out above, much Irish research on movements takes place in other disciplines and using other concepts. Thus, a continuous thread in Irish social history has been the exploration of agrarian protest, from secret society organisation around rent, wages and evictions, through the far larger confrontations of the Land War and into more scattered forms of post-peasant rural struggle (Cronin 2012). However, with honourable exceptions (Dunne 2016) this literature has taken a more or less empiricist approach and only rarely engages with the problematics of social movement studies. The same is true of the study of urban working-class struggles, primarily conceptualised in terms of unions and parties and the historiography of the revolutionary decade 1913 – 1923 (Newsinger 2004).

There is slightly more social movement-framed work around the Northern Irish conflict, though still a tiny proportion of the massive literature on the subject (e.g. O’Keefe 2013). Much of what exists has focussed on the relatively small numbers involved in armed organisations (within the frameworks of the study of violent conflict or revolutions) and has less to say about the wider participation of Northern Irish people

Activists create and disseminate their own images, videos, and reports from the frontlines of protests through social media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, Vine, and Periscope. Unlike movements of the past, where women's and LGBTQ experiences of racial inequality were rarely central to movement narratives, activists in the Movement for Black Lives have been adamant about bringing their experiences front and center. Efforts such as #SayHerName, #FreeBresha, and the ongoing work of black activists to raise awareness about the violence facing transwomen of color have gone a long way in demonstrating the multiple ways that racial inequality and police brutality manifest.

Given these factors, this panel featured the work of 5 scholars and activists who explore the impact of social media on contemporary organizing as well as the contours of non-traditional movement leadership and structure. Professor Rose Brewer began the session by interrogating the ways that intersectional and queer theories impact the “decentralized, horizontal, and leader-full” structure of Black Lives Matter. Professor Natalie Byfield of St. John's University explored the extent to which “Black Twitter” has changed the narrative of mainstream news reporting in the wake of the death of Michael Brown, focusing specifically on local St. Louis newspapers and the New York Times. Co-authors Aisha Upton (PhD candidate, University of Minnesota) and Candice Robinson (PhD candidate, University of Pittsburgh) inquired about the role of “Black Twitter” in movement mobilization and how it created both formal and bridge leaders in Black Lives Matter. Finally, Diane Burkholder, co-founder of [One Struggle Kansas City](https://onestrugglekc.wordpress.com/), discussed her organization's work on community building through organizing and the arts and advocacy against police violence. Session attendees were moved to tears as she screened her organization's video celebrating the life of Ryan Stokes, a young black man killed by Kansas City Police in 2014. The video is available online: <https://onestrugglekc.wordpress.com/>.

Kiana Cox (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville), session organizer

Reflecting on the Feminist and Intersectional Approaches to Social Movements Panel

The impetus for this panel grew out of the Collective Behavior and Social Movement Section's workshop in 2015 before the ASA. While this was an informative and interesting workshop, the lack of people of color as speakers and of important feminist and intersectional perspectives on social movements was concerning to some of the attendees. Even though ours is a section that values diversity and inclusion, to a group of women scholars attending the workshop, it felt like we were missing some vital voices in our conversation on social change. As a result, when the call for panels for the 2016 meetings came out, several women faculty worked on proposing a panel that would bring in some of those missing voices. Those faculty included Rachel Einwohner, Tina Fetner, Jo Reger and Nancy Whittier. Together we crafted a call for papers that would not only bring intersectionality and feminist frameworks into the conversation but also young scholars who were bringing new dimensions to social movement scholarship. We were pleased to have three papers at the panel, which included pieces by Meredith Whitnah (Westmont College), Stacy Williams (UC San Diego and New York University), and Amaka Okechukwu (New York University). (A fourth paper by Poulami Roychowdhury of McGill University was included but unfortunately the author could not attend the session).

These three papers presented analyses that took intersectionality seriously and allowed the authors to move beyond the “big three” of race, class, and gender to explore other, important dimensions of difference in social movements (such as religion, family status, and student status).

Meredith Whitnah's paper tackled a substantive problem that is really puzzling: why do people or groups that can see and mobilize against some types of injustice fail to prioritize or even recognize other kinds of injustice? Utilizing a very effective three-case study design, she explored variations in South African faith-based NGOs' understanding of gender-based violence as a form of injustice, showing how the

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relevant intersections that shape these understandings include religion, organizational culture, and historical and political context.

Stacy Williams' paper, which treats cooking as activism, used feminist cookbooks from the 1970s to examine what she terms "subversive culinary discourse." This paper dispels the common notion that liberal feminists of the second wave hated cooking and refused to do it (as in the case of a well-known t-shirt that proclaims "Don't ask me if I cook") by digging into the data to show that feminists did cook, but in a subversive way. This paper therefore illustrates how the context in which activism takes place can shape whether certain tactics can translate over different time periods as well as different audiences characterized by race, class, nationality, and so on.

The final paper by Amaka Okechukwu used an intersectional lens to examine student protest at two universities: UC Berkeley and Hunter College. Here again, the author pushes our treatment of intersectionality by focusing on the experiences of students (who are undertheorized in social movement theory). Okechukwu provides two rich historical accounts of student organizing over time at these schools, tracing the rise and fall of student activism that was framed intersectionally by the activists themselves.

The result of this panel was a conversation among the participants and the attendees on the importance of integrating diversity, inclusion and intersectional perspectives in the work we do as social movement scholars, as well in the public presentations we organize as a section. This panel was one step in continuing to push for diverse voices and inclusive frameworks in our scholarship and in our section.

Rachel Einwohner (Purdue University) and Jo Reger (Oakland University)

Social Movement Thinkers, Activist Scholars Discuss Emerging Agenda for Movement Relevant Research

During the 2016 ASA meetings, four dozen socially engaged scholars and movement theorists met at Seattle's Labor Temple. The topic? How movement relevant research might support current social movements and enrich social movement studies.

First, veteran activists and activist-scholars Rose Brewer, Heather Day, Cindy Domingo, Garry Owens, David Cobb, and Ben Manski posed challenges that have deepened since the 1999 "Battle of Seattle" WTO protests.

Next, in small group conversations coordinated by Charlotte Ryan, participants proposed critical questions in need of reflexive practice and "movement relevant research," an umbrella term including any research that informs and evaluates recruitment, communication, organizational cultures and structures, decision making processes, strategies, tactics, and post-action reflection. It also includes research that forms part of action plans.

The resulting list of critical questions, lightly edited and provided below, may serve *Critical Mass* readers considering new research projects or wishing to make completed research available in user and use-friendly formats (such as those available at the "Informing Activists" blogs at *Mobilizing Ideas*).



Photo credit: Sharon H. Chang

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Critical Questions Raised on August 21, 2016

- How do we dismantle whiteness?
 - ⇒ How do we create intra-institutional change to “do no harm” in marginalized communities?
 - ⇒ Who is often left out of the narrative of social movements?
 - ⇒ As movements emerge and organize, internal systems of micro-inequality form that reflect systems of macro-inequality? Why is that and how to avoid it?
 - ⇒ Are there movements that have been successful and diverse? In what ways and in what situations does diversity either contribute to or impede success?
- How should we develop movement strategy for the current period?
 - ⇒ How is capitalism changing? How are living systems changing?
 - ⇒ What does the equilibrium of crisis look like?
 - ⇒ If we’re entering a period of system change, what do we bring to this transition?
 - ⇒ What are some reformist strategies? What are some revolutionary strategies? What are other types of strategies? How effective have each of these been?
- How to study UP not DOWN
 - ⇒ Find community intellectuals to partner with.
 - ⇒ An anonymous card was placed on the podium: “My knowledge is not free. You need to work harder to get my ideas that you will claim as your research/next publication.” Signed: “Sorry not sorry”
- Learning from past struggles/movements
 - ⇒ What do activists learn from the scholarship on the history of past struggles?
 - ⇒ How do movements form? More concretely, what are the psychosocial dynamics that foster movement formation?
 - ⇒ Some movements get things done but have top-down power. Can we develop more effective consensus driven systems?
 - ⇒ How can we cultivate a “dis-census mode” (**not consensus**) because tension can be a good thing?
- Spaces of Reflection
 - ⇒ What are movement actors thinking about a convergence space for movement vision and strategy?
 - ⇒ Where is conscious, intentional reflection about movement and transformation happening?
 - ⇒ Reflection and transformation by whom?
- Beloved Community
 - ⇒ How do our life philosophies/innate humanism connect to social action?
 - ⇒ How can we make people **care**?
 - ⇒ Can we link having a family to a shared value of making things better for others?
 - ⇒ Community-building: How do we build and sustain solidarity?
 - ⇒ How do we include Social Justice in Human Rights education?
- Coalition building
 - ⇒ How have coalitions been built?
 - ⇒ How are coalitions being built now?
 - ⇒ What could coalitions look like in the future?
- Workers’ roles
 - ⇒ What is labor going to look like?
 - ⇒ How can workers get leverage in the future?
- Visioning/Dream a World (Hughes)
 - ⇒ Why doesn’t sufficient research go to alternative structures/building up of something new?
 - ⇒ When do we (radical organizers) come into power?
 - ⇒ Don’t some corporations practice good economic social justice (Paul Newman)?

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- ⇒ Are there communities that can be self-sustaining? In a revolution we will need that sustenance in the communities?
- ⇒ How do we ensure self-sufficiency? What elements go into that?

Readers will recognize that some of these questions are subjects of exhaustive research by social movement scholars. Yet many movement intellectuals remain unaware of scholarly findings. We are following up with the participants of the Labor Temple discussions to inquire about next steps: How can academic and community based scholars and activists create regular communication about social movement questions and needs?

Charlotte Ryan (University of Massachusetts, Lowell), Ben Manski (University of California, Santa Barbara), and Gregory Maney (Hofstra University)

2016 CBSM Section Awards

2015 Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award

As chair of the Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award, I and fellow committee members Steven Boutcher and Tanya Saunders are delighted to name Daniel Escher as the recipient of the 2015 award. Daniel's dissertation is entitled "Unmoving People, Removing Mountains: Coal Mining, Cultural Matching, and Mobilization in Central Appalachia." Daniel completed his dissertation in the sociology department at the University of Notre Dame. Daniel's dissertation is beautifully written, methodologically impressive, and theoretically motivated. Daniel seeks to shed new light on an old question: what explains why some people protest but most do not. Drawing on 81 interviews and six months of field observations over three years, he investigates protest against the coal mining practice of mountaintop removal in central Appalachia. This local struggle has global implications given the threat that coal burning has on climate change as well as the advocacy of coal mining by President-elect Donald

Trump. Daniel conceptualizes recruitment as a process of cultural matching. Recruitment means forging relationships and creating coalitions across cultural lines, and Daniel rightly highlights distinctly cultural processes for successful mobilization. As Daniel writes, "cultural mismatches arise that present a major challenge to the basic processes of collective action: they create disconnection, reduce legitimacy and trust, and hinder efforts to frame issues, communicate favorable conditions, share organizational resources, and mobilize affected populations." Recruiters vary greatly in their awareness of the importance of cultural differences between them and local residents, with only some being willing and able to culturally adapt to the local community. It is refreshing that Daniel also sheds light on the cultural lens that local residents use to understand the distinct styles of outsider activists as well as how the coal industry fights back. We think it likely that Daniel's emphasis on cultural matching will be influential to the field.

Wayne A. Santoro (University of New Mexico), committee chair

Report from the Mayer N. Zald Award Committee

The CBSM section presented the Mayer Zald Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award to two papers in 2016: (1) Marcos Perez for "Becoming a Piquetero: Past, Novel and Current Routines in the Development of Activist Dispositions" and (2) Han Zhang for "Causal Impact of Witnessing Protest on Civic Engagement." Both papers stood out for their theoretical innovation, methodological creativity, and impressive scope of original data collection.

Marcos Perez used ethnographic methods to study the unemployed work movement in Argentina. Drawing on 154 interviews and participant observation in two cities, Perez argues that activist participation and commitment is shaped by practices or routines that restores a sense of dignity and working-class community life. Perez's paper goes beyond the dominant focus on ideological conversion

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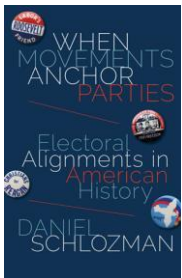
and networks in explaining participation to demonstrate the importance of practices. Marcos completed his PhD at the University of Texas at Austin and is a postdoctoral fellow at Colby College.

Han Zhang asks whether witnessing protest in democratic settings impacts political discourse in authoritarian settings. He collected data from a large Chinese social networking site and used a quasi-experimental design to contrast those that were physically present in Hong Kong during large demonstrations. Users that were bystanders to protest were more likely to post to online discussion boards and discuss political issues like pollution. Zhang's paper has important implications for understanding the cultural and discursive consequences of movements. Han Zhang is completing his PhD at Princeton University.

Kenneth (Andy) Andrews (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), committee chair

Charles Tilly Award for the Best Book in Collective Behavior and Social Movements

Winner



Schlozman, Daniel. 2015. *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
(<http://press.princeton.edu/titles/10628.html>)

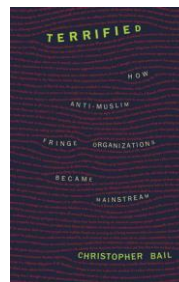
Daniel Schlozman's book, *When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History* (Princeton University Press 2015) brings together social movement theory and studies of political parties. Employing a comparative model of several case histories, he examines the role of social movements in the development of the Republican and Democratic parties. Social movement scholars usually take parties as exogenous while political scientists usually ignore social movements in their understanding of parties. Schlozman's book brings

these two disciplinary approaches together. He theorizes the interaction of both while using rich historical methods to show how movements institutionalize within parties and when they do not. The historical case studies of the relationship of the Christian evangelical movements to the Republican party and labor's deepening relationship with the Democrats during the New Deal offers much to our understanding of these movements.

Although the two cases occurred at different historical moments, Schlozman deftly illustrates how both cases were subject to similar dynamics, even as the temporal specifics differed. He also offers counterexamples of cases where movements failed to become incorporated into political parties to show the challenges to incorporation.

The work's strengths include its broad account of history, comparative model (using multiple cases over time to examine the research question), and ability to engage multiple levels (individual, organizational, and party-level) in analyzing these relationships.

Honorable Mention



Bail, Christopher. 2015. *Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
(<http://press.princeton.edu/titles/10395.html>)

Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream (Princeton University Press 2015), by Christopher Bail, is a well-written book about the rise of anti-Muslim attitudes and culture in the US after 9/11. Bail brings together cultural sociology, social psychology, and a structural perspective to illuminate how cultural change happens. Specifically, he shows how fringe anti-Muslim messages became mainstream after 9/11. Negative opinions of Islam in the US more than doubled between 2001 and 2011, largely due to the reliance of journalists on a small number of organizations, funded by elite conservatives, which

framed Islam as an imminent threat while ignoring the assessments of more moderate groups. His claims are substantiated using a multi-method approach that includes innovative big data methods that track the press releases of religious, think tank, and advocacy groups.

Belinda Robnett (University of California, Irvine), committee chair

Best Published Article Award

Vasi, Ion Bogdan, Edward T. Walker, John S. Johnson, and Hui Fen Tan. 2015. “No Fracking Way!’ Documentary Film, Discursive Opportunity, and Local Opposition against Hydraulic Fracturing in the United States, 2010 to 2013.” *American Sociological Review* 80(5): 934-959.

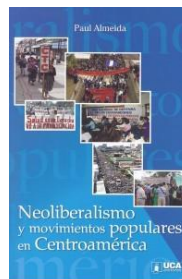
After reading almost thirty submissions, our committee was pleased to give the Best Published Article award to Ion Bogdan Vasi, Edward T. Walker, John S. Johnson, and Hui Fen Tan for “No Fracking Way!’ Documentary Film, Discursive Opportunity, and Local Opposition against Hydraulic Fracturing in the United States, 2010 to 2013,” published in the *American Sociological Review* in 2015. Even though we are several decades into the “cultural turn” in social movements research and theory, we still know little about how cultural creations actually influence beliefs and actions. These authors help fill this gap by showing the impact of showings of the documentary *Gasland* on things like internet searches, media coverage, local mobilization, and in turn, policy outcomes. Books and films matter, especially as part of broader tactical repertoires.

James M. Jasper (Graduate Center of the City University of New York), committee chair

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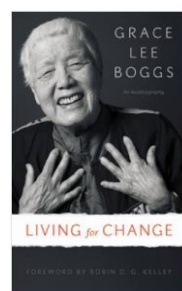
Recent Publications

New Books



Almeida, Paul D. 2016. *Neoliberalismo y Movimientos Populares en Centroamérica*. San Salvador: UCA Editores.

(<http://laoms.org/almeida-neoliberalismo-y-movimientos-populares-en-centroamerica/>)



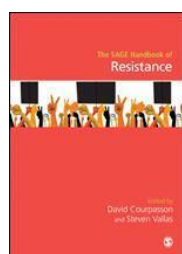
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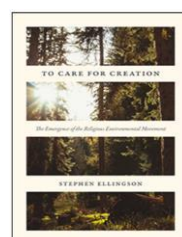
Cherry, Elizabeth. 2016. *Culture and Activism: Animal Rights in France and the United States*. London and New York: Routledge.

(<https://www.routledge.com/Culture-and-Activism-Animal-Rights-in-France-and-the-United-States/Cherry/p/book/9781472476746>)



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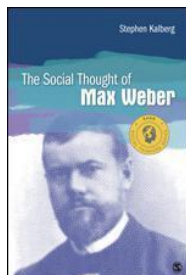
(<https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/the-sage-handbook-of-resistance/book243831#description>)



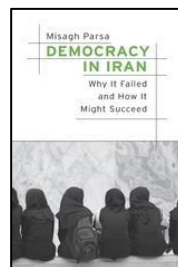
Ellingson, Stephen. 2016. *To Care for Creation: The Emergence of the Religious Environmental Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

(<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/T/bo23467761.html>)

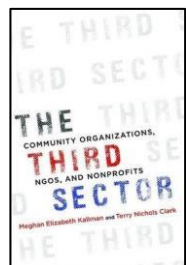
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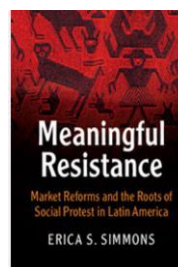
Kalberg, Stephen. 2016. *The Social Thought of Max Weber*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. (<https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/the-social-thought-of-max-weber/book244118>)



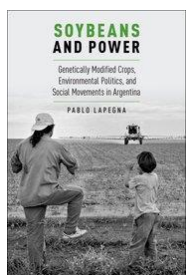
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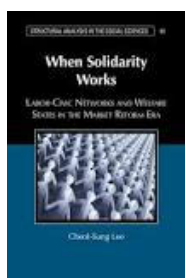
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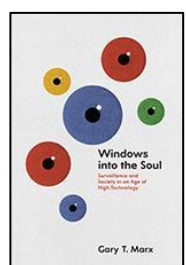
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Secretary/Treasurer Report

The Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements has had another excellent year. We co-sponsored a conference with the Labor and Labor Movements section on Precarious Work; we honored

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the exemplary work in our field by giving out a first ever dissertation award in addition to a book award, a faculty article award, and two student paper awards; we have a top notch newsletter; we continue to invest in emerging scholars through our mentorship program; we offered an engaging set of sessions at the Seattle Annual Meeting; and we developed a new committee to discuss expanding and diversifying our membership, which the council has defined as a central goal for the future of the section.

Membership

Our membership numbers remain steady, and we continue to be one of the largest sections in ASA. As of July 2016, we have 790 members. [*Note: we exceeded the threshold of 800 by the end of September, allowing us to sponsor five sessions at the Montreal meetings.*]

Section Financial Status

The section started the year with \$6,377. We received \$3,411 as our ASA allocation, and we spent an estimated \$6,023, distributed in the following manner: \$1,000 to LLM for their Precarious Work Conference, \$3,500 (estimated) for the joint reception with Race and Ethnicity, \$1,000 for our two student article award winners, \$175 for our award plaques, and \$348 for our council breakfast. This leaves us with a total of \$3,766 with which to start the new year.

*Jocelyn Viterna (Harvard University),
Secretary/Treasurer*

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

Calls for Papers

CBSM Sessions at ASA 2017 Annual Meeting in Montreal

Bodies, Emotions, and Social Movements (cosponsored with Section on Body and Embodiment)

This session calls attention to the importance of bodies in the study of social movements, and the place of social protest in the study of embodiment. Although the body has been integral in many movements' tactical repertoires, scholars have often treated activists' bodies as given and overlooked the strategic ways in which bodies are used in acts of protest. Conversely, scholars interested in bodies and embodiment have seldom explicitly explored how physical bodies figure in efforts to foment social change. This session highlights the reciprocal relationship between bodies and social movements. In what ways have bodies aided (or hindered) social movement actors? How have social movements influenced bodies and embodiment? How have bodies served as sources of collective identity, contributed to movements' tactical repertoires, shaped movement framing, and influenced the outcomes and consequences (bodily and otherwise) of efforts to create social change? How do emotions, conveyed through our central nervous systems, shape our actions?

Session Organizer: James M. Jasper (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Comparative and Cross National Social Movement Research

This session brings together papers that demonstrate the theoretical and empirical insights that can be gained through comparative social movement research. These comparisons might include multiple movements, movements in different social or political contexts, or a single movement across different time periods.

Session Organizer: Ziad W. Munson (Lehigh University)

Elections, Political Parties, and Social Movements

This panel explores the interconnections between elections o political parties and social movements. Parties have long been considered important political allies to social movements, and elections have often been used to signal changes in political opportunities. This panel seeks papers that examine these theoretical relationships in new ways, such as by examining causal mechanisms between parties and elections as

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political opportunities and social movements or by analyzing other connections between elections, parties and movements, such as (but not limited to) how movements become parties or how movements influence parties or elections.

Session Organizer: Lee Ann Banaszak (Pennsylvania State University)

Leadership, Strategy, and Organization in Social Movements

This panel considers leaders, organizations and the strategic choices they make in social movements. What are those strategic choices, and what are the individual, organizational, and contextual causes and consequences of those choices? What factors shape the development of leadership, strategy, and organization, and how do those factors influence movements?

Session Organizer: Hahrie Han (University of California-Santa Barbara)

*Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Refereed Roundtables (one-hour)

Session Organizer: Yotala Oszkay Febres-Cordero (University of California-Los Angeles)

*Session will be one-hour in length; followed by the Section's 40-minute business meeting.

Submission Deadline: **January 11, 2017, 3PM EST.** For more information, see the official [Call for Papers](#) on the ASA website.

The First Mobilization Conference on Social Movements and Protest: Nonviolent Strategies and the State

San Diego, CA, May 5-6, 2017

The conference at San Diego State University is planned as an informal and friendly gathering to present your current work, discuss it with others, network, and, generally, ponder the new directions in which our field is heading. It is organized by *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, and

sponsored by the Hansen Foundation for Peace. Plenary sessions will emphasize strategies, tactics, and nonviolent approaches to social change. Submissions on a range of topics in our field are invited for paper sessions. Organizers will attempt to accommodate submissions by assigning accepted papers to thematic sessions and roundtables such as:

- Strategies of nonviolence
- Tactical variation and movement outcomes
- Repertoire innovation in contemporary movements
- Trends in social movement theory
- Violent versus nonviolent strategies
- Contemporary movements and popular protest
- Social media, digital technologies, and repertoire shift
- Crossnational and historical analysis
- And more, depending on submissions

Abstracts are due **December 31, 2016**. Hotel rooms are available in historic Old Town San Diego, an easy trolley ride to the university and a 10-minute ride to San Diego's scenic harbor, Seaport Village, and Gas Lamp Quarter. Email inquiries about housing and logistics, and submit your abstracts, to Hank Johnston at Mobilize@rohan.sdsu.edu. A nonrefundable registration fee of \$75.00 is payable upon abstract acceptance. Registration includes a Cinco de Mayo reception dinner at an elegant Old Town restaurant and a 2017 subscription to *Mobilization* (a \$50.00 value). Completed papers are due **April 1, 2017**.

Send Abstracts to Mobilize@rohan.sdsu.edu

CALL FOR PAPERS: Social Movements Conference

From 1995 to 2016, Manchester Metropolitan University hosted a series of very successful annual international conferences on "ALTERNATIVE FUTURES and POPULAR PROTEST" (AF&PP). We are very happy to announce that the 22nd AF&PP conference will be held April 10-12, 2017. The

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Conference rubric will remain as in previous years. The aim is to explore the dynamics of popular movements, along with the ideas which animate their activists and supporters and which contribute to shaping their fate. Reflecting the inherent cross-disciplinary nature of the issues, previous participants (from over 60 countries) have come from such specialisms as sociology, politics, cultural studies, social psychology, economics, history and geography. The Manchester conferences have been notable for discovering a fruitful and friendly meeting ground between activism and academia. We invite paper submissions relevant to the conference themes. Papers should address such matters as contemporary and historical social movements and popular protests, social movement theory, utopias and experiments, ideologies of collective action, etc. To submit a paper please contact either of the conference organizers with a brief abstract: Colin Barker (email: c.barker@mmu.ac.uk) or Mike Tyldesley (email: m.tyldesley@mmu.ac.uk). Final date for receipt of abstracts: **February 20, 2017**. Final date for receipt of actual papers: **March 31, 2017**.

CALL FOR ABSTRACTS: Annual Sociology Conference 2017. Crowds, Mobs, Masses and Publics,

New School for Social Research, New York City, April 08, 2017. Keynote: Mabel Berezin (Sociology Department, Cornell University)

From Trumpism to Brexit, from Podemos to the Brazilian impeachment, the intrusion of populist movements into the public sphere seems to be a new phenomenon, and yet such movements have a long history within social theory. Starting with Karl Marx's 18th Brumaire, and followed by Le Bon, Freud, Pareto, Ortega y Gasset, Lenin, Sorel, Gramsci, Arendt and others, crowds, mobs, masses and publics have been framed as a main agent for manifesting popular demands. Whether they are considered dangerous, lumpen, or revolutionary, they have always been constituted as actors in moments of systemic crisis. For many the "irrationality" of masses is what allowed charismatic leaders and movements to take

hold of whole societies during the 20th century and plunge them into total war.

Today, crowds are seen both as vectors of instability within consolidated democracies, such as in France, Germany or the United States, or as fertile grounds for democratic change, as in Egypt, Tunisia, or Spain. These groups seem to be strikingly diverse in terms of their composition, their practices, and their political agendas, and yet they are all challenging established elites and breaking with long-standing political and economic affiliations.

The 2017 NSSR Sociology Conference aims to critically understand the contemporary status of crowds, mobs, masses, and publics, and the tensions which constitute them. We welcome papers that analyze these social forms from diverse disciplinary perspectives: from micro-analyses of meaning-making processes to macro-analyses of historical and structural forms. Such papers might address themselves to questions including, but not limited to, the following: How can the similarities and differences between crowds, mobs, masses and publics be re/conceived? What are the "crises" that are calling these social forms into being? How are these social forms resisting and reshaping our understanding of the function of social movements? How do these movements reshape democratic concepts? What is the role of political leadership in an age of resurgent populism? How "global" is this global phenomenon? How does it take varying shapes in different spaces? How "novel" are these novel movements given their long-standing presence in the non-Western world? To what extent are such social movements creating new public spaces and/or undermining old forms of public space? What role does violence play, and how is it justified or delegitimized, in the practices of these movements?

The conference is open to graduate and post-doctoral students as well as faculty. Those interested should submit a 300-500 word abstract and 3-4 keywords by **January 9, 2017**. Please include your name, department, and affiliation and submit as a PDF file to sociologyconferencenssr@gmail.com. Selected

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participants will be notified via email by **January 23, 2017.**

CALL FOR PAPERS

Announcement from the European Group for Organizational Studies for a sub-theme titled “Organizational studies and industrial relations” at the Colloquium to be held July 6-8, 2017 in Copenhagen. The time period for submitting short papers starts on September 15, 2016, and ends **January 9, 2017.** For a more detailed description and submission instructions: http://www.egosnet.org/jart/prj3/egos/main.jart?rel=de&reserve-mode=active&content-id=1442567999321&subtheme_id=1442568066553.

CALL FOR BOOK PROPOSALS: ASA Rose Series in Sociology

A book series published by the Russell Sage Foundation, is seeking book proposals. The Rose Series publishes cutting-edge, highly visible, and accessible books that offer synthetic analyses of existing fields, challenge prevailing paradigms, and/or offer fresh views on enduring controversies. Books published in the Series reach a broad audience of sociologists, other social scientists, and policymakers. Please submit a 1-page summary and CV to: Lee Clarke, rose.series@sociology.rutgers.edu. For more information, visit <http://www.asanet.org/research-publications/rose-series-sociology>.

CALL FOR BOOK PROPOSALS

Wanted: Book Chapter Proposals For? Orange Is the new Black and the World of Sociology.

Editors: Rasha Aly, University of Cincinnati, and Christian Messer Gaitskill, MSW, LSW.

Possible Publisher: Palgrave MacMillan.

Orange Is the New Black is a popular Netflix show that expands upon Piper Kerman’s memoir, *Orange Is the New Black: My Year in a Women’s Prison*. Kerman spent 13 months in prison for her small-part involvement in a drug ring. The drama follows Piper Chapman (the fictional character based on Kerman), and other inmates at the fictional Litchfield Penitentiary. Beyond having the plots just tell stories, many of the storylines have numerous sociological connections. Different parts of the show can be connected to many sociological topics such as the Black Lives Matters Movement, Gender and Sexuality, and medical sociology – among other subjects. Not only will this book be valuable to sociologists, because it shows how the media enhances society’s perceptions of different institutions, but the shows fans will be interested in reading the book too. We are looking for chapter contributions for the book. Please include your full name, institutional affiliation, and current position in the same word document as the abstract or proposal. Chapter/abstract submissions are due **January 2, 2017.** Chapters are due **May 15, 2017.**

If you have any abstracts or chapter proposals for the book, please send them to Rasha Aly at alyrh@mail.uc.edu or Christian Gaitskill at cgaitskill@gmail.com for consideration.

Call for Applications: Young Scholars Conference, January 10!

Event hosted by the Center for the Study of Social Movements, University of Notre Dame, March 31, 2017.

In conjunction with the presentation of the John D. McCarthy Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Scholarship in Social Movements, The Center for the Study of Social Movements at Notre Dame will be hosting the eighth annual “Young Scholars” Conference the day before the McCarthy Award events. The recipient of the McCarthy Award, David Meyer, will be in attendance and other senior scholars visiting Notre Dame for the award presentation will serve as discussants for the conference.

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We would like to invite 12 advanced graduate students and early-career faculty to present a work solidly in-progress at the conference, enjoy an opportunity to discuss their work with some of the leading scholars in the field, and meet others in the new cohort of social movement scholars. Conference attendees will also be invited to the McCarthy Award Lecture and the award banquet on April 1, 2017. The Center will pay for meals, up to three nights lodging, and contribute up to \$500 toward travel expenses for each of the conference attendees.

The Center will select invitees from all nominations received by **January 10, 2017**. Nominations will be accepted for ABD graduate students and those who have held their PhDs less than two years. Nominations must be written by the nominee's faculty dissertation advisor (or a suitable substitute intimately familiar with the nominee's research, if the advisor is unavailable). Nominations should include:

1. A letter of nomination.
2. The CV of the nominee.
3. A one-page abstract of the work to be presented.

Nominations should be sent via email to Rory McVeigh, Director of the Center for the Study of Social Movements, rmcveigh@nd.edu.

Other Opportunities

Nominations Sought for CBSM Section Awards!

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Mayer N. Zald Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Student Paper Award

Anyone without a PhD in 2015 is considered a student, and any paper (published or unpublished) written in 2014 by a student or students (i.e., no PhD coauthors) is eligible. A previously submitted paper may be resubmitted only if significantly revised. Authors may submit their own work, or nominations may be made

by section members. No lengthy nominating letters please, and please send all questions to the committee chair. This award includes a \$500 prize. Send a copy of the paper electronically to each of the committee members by **March 1, 2016**:

Mayer Zald Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award Committee:

Kenneth Andrews (chair), ktal1@email.unc.edu;
Drew Halfmann, dhalfmann@ucdavis.edu;
Catherine Corrigan-Brown, corrigan.brown@ubc.ca;
Robert Braun, rb529@cornell.edu.

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award

Articles and chapters from edited books with publication dates of 2015 are eligible. Authors may submit their own work, or nominations may be made by section members. No lengthy nominating letters please, and please send all questions to the committee chair. Send a copy of the article electronically to each member of the prize committee by **March 1, 2016**:

Best Published Article Award Committee:

James M. Jasper (chair), jjasper@gc.cuny.edu;
Neal Caren, neal.caren@unc.edu;
Elizabeth Borland, Borland@tcnj.edu;
Justin Farrell, justin.farrell@yale.edu.

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award

Section members, authors, or publishers may nominate books with publication dates of 2015. Authors may submit their own work, or nominations may be made by section members or publishers. No lengthy nominating letters please, and please send all questions to the committee chair. Send or have publishers send a copy of the book to each member of the prize committee by **March 1, 2016**:

Charles Tilly Award for Best Book Committee:

Belinda Robnett (Chair), brobnett@uci.edu,
(University of California, School of Social Sciences,

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Department of Sociology, 3151 Social Science Plaza, Irvine, CA. 92697-5100);
Lee Ann Banaszak, lab14@psu.edu, (Department of Political Science, Pennsylvania State University, 31 Pond Lab, University Park, PA 16802);
Edward Walker, walker@soc.ucla.edu, (Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, 228A Haines Hall, Los Angeles, CA. 90095);
Katrina Kimport, katrina.kimport@ucsf.edu, (UCSF-ANSIRH, 1330 Broadway, Suite 1100, Oakland, CA 94612).

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award

Any doctoral dissertation completed (i.e. successfully submitted, defended, and approved) in calendar year 2015 is eligible. Only nominations from the student's dissertation chair or co-chair will be accepted. Nomination letters should not exceed two typed pages in length. The nomination letter should be accompanied by the dissertation in electronic form. Please direct all questions to the committee chair. This award includes a \$1,000 prize. Send a copy of the nomination letter and dissertation to each of the committee members by **March 1, 2016**:

Outstanding Dissertation Award Committee:

Wayne Santoro (Chair), wsantoro@unm.edu;
Tanya Saunders, saunders.425@osu.edu;
Steven Boutcher, boutcher@soc.umass.edu;
Melissa Wooten, mwooten@soc.umass.edu.

We are currently looking for nominees for the following awards:

- ♦ W.E.B. DuBois Career of Distinguished Scholarship ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Scholarly Book ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Contributions to Teaching ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Career ASA Award for the Practice of Sociology
- ♦ Excellence in the Reporting of Social Issues ASA Award
- ♦ Cox-Johnson-Frazier ASA Award
- ♦ ASA Award for Public Understanding of Sociology
- ♦ Jessie Bernard ASA Award
- ♦ Dissertation ASA Award

For more information, visit <http://www.asanet.org/news-events/asa-awards>.

Nominations Sought for ASA Major Awards!

ASA members are encouraged to submit nominations for the following ASA awards. The deadline for nominations is provided with each award criteria. Award selection committees, appointed by ASA Council, are constituted to review nominations. These awards are presented at the ASA Annual Meeting each August. The deadline for submission of nominations is **January 31, 2017**, unless noted otherwise in the individual award criteria.

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Mayer N. Zald, University of Michigan

In a recent conference I don't think there was a single paper that didn't reference an article published in Mobilization. At this point the field of contentious politics and protest studies would be inconceivable without Mobilization.

Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkeley

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