

CriticalMassBulletin

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Message from the Chair: A Millennial Revolution?

Belinda Robnett
CBSM Section Chair
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We are now six months away from the U.S. Presidential election. This nomination season, marked by unprecedented dramatic events, is characterized by social movement collisions steeped in identity politics and paradoxes. Ideological and policy clashes over growing class inequality, racial-ethnic justice, gender inequality, LGBTQ rights, rights of the undocumented, and religious freedom have all taken center stage in primary debates, across internet sites, in newspapers, and on the nightly news.

The most animated wings of both the left and the right have framed their campaigns as “revolutions”. The leaders of these revolutions, Senator Bernie Sanders and businessman Donald Trump, purport to be champions of the working class albeit with different perspectives of and solutions to the problem of growing economic inequality. As social movement scholars, we might ask whether a revolution from within is possible? While it appears unlikely that Senator Sanders will win the Democratic nomination for President, it is increasingly clear that Donald Trump is likely to become the Republican Presidential nominee. Can a billionaire lead the fight on behalf of the working class? It’s pretty clear that his campaign has also included attacks on all Muslims, undocumented and documented Latinos and their families, and on women. Making America great for the working class clearly does not include making it great for ALL Americans.

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Regardless of how one feels about Trump, he has tremendous momentum among the Republican base and many independent voters, but does poorly among millennials. As is widely known, Sanders's base rests on and is strongly supported by young voters.

Whether you agree or disagree that either Trump or Sanders can bring about an economic or political revolution, my attention is on the millennial revolution. I'm talking about those voters who are less than 35 years old. It is this demographic that is creating a revolution in ideological orientation that is most aligned with the Sanders campaign. According to a [Wall Street Journal article](#) (December 11, 2015), by Gerald F. Seib, only 19% of millennials view Trump in a positive light. Just 16% agree with his temporary ban on Muslims' entry into the U.S. I haven't seen a breakdown by class and generation, but it is clear that millennials aren't drinking the Trump Kool-Aid. Although Clinton has a youth problem – they aren't very enthusiastic about her candidacy, with Sanders having a 54%-37% advantage – it is clear that they dislike Trump by even wider margins. A recent [March 2016 USA TODAY/Rock the Vote Poll](#) finds that in a matchup between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, those under 35 would support Clinton 52%-19%. While numerous polls illuminate the class divide within the Republican Party, with non-college educated constituents significantly more supportive of Trump than those with a college education, the left-leaning politics among millennials appears to cut across class. Even within the Republican Party, just 26% of millennials support Trump and many find his positions too extreme.

The millennial revolution, though, moves beyond candidate preferences. A recent Harvard University Survey of 18-29 year olds, shows that 51% of young women and men do not support capitalism ([The Washington Post, Max Ehrenfreud, April 26, 2016](#)). Additionally, 33% of them support socialism. While it is difficult to know just how the respondents interpreted the meaning of capitalism and socialism, the results suggest that at the very least, these young adults are considering other forms of economic and political arrangements. A majority support capitalism only among those 50 years old and older. Whether this

trend will hold remains unclear, but there is clearly a generational divide that strongly supports a future electorate that leans much farther to the left. Some of these trends, of course, may be explained by demographics in that many more millennials than in the past are young, poor, and non-white, historically a more liberal group of voters. And, there is some evidence that young adults are much less clear about and inconsistent regarding economic policies. As their incomes grow, they become less liberal ([The Atlantic, Derek Thompson, July 15, 2014](#)). These observations, however, won't necessarily interfere with the trend. As numerous recent studies show, growing inequality means less economic mobility and those who are poor will likely remain so. Thus, current poor minority millennials may not understand economic theory, but they are living the reality of current economic downward mobility in the U.S.

The liberal leanings of young adults, however, mask a couple of other salient trends. Among women, a generational gender divide is present. Hillary Clinton has struggled to secure support from young women. At the very least, she has the potential to become the first woman U.S. president. Yet according to a January/February 2016 Reuters poll, 61.4% of female millennials support Bernie Sanders, while only 28.1% support Hillary Clinton ([New Republic, Elizabeth Bruenig, February 9, 2016](#)). Despite the speculations by pundits, the *New Republic* reporter, Elizabeth Bruenig, offers that young women may support Sanders's economic policies over that of Clinton's because they are more likely than men to lack health insurance and to have significantly larger student loan debt. That Sanders is promoting free college tuition and single payer Medicare for all may overshadow the desire to elect the first woman president. Nonetheless, the divide is significant and it suggests that young women view the root problems they face as less about gender solidarity than about economic inequality. This trend is certainly troubling to us older feminists who largely believe that gender inequality remains a persistent problem that should not be subsumed in the battle for economic justice. After all, in 2015, the gender wage gap was 21%, with full-time female workers earning 79 cents for every dollar earned by men (Institute for Women's Policy Research, www.iwpr.org). Similarly, generational cleavages exist within the African-American community of

activists. When civil right icon Jesse Jackson appeared at a rally in Ferguson, Missouri, he was booed by the protestors. The Black Lives Matter movement is often viewed by African-American young adults as “not your grandfather’s civil-rights movement.” To be sure, there is truth in that statement. Through legislation, civil rights were won, but the fight for equal implementation of those rights and against subtle forms of racism makes the challenges more difficult, and the targets more elusive. However, there is much to be learned from the earlier Black civil rights movement that built strong organizational structures and forged political ties. As [Jelani Cobb’s article in the *New Yorker*](#) (March 14, 2016) explains, the Black Lives Matter movement is anti-hierarchy and rejects centralized leadership. Although concerns about co-optation are warranted, mainstream institutional linkages are needed. There has been friction between the movement and the Obama Administration. The older generation of civil rights movement activists is critical of the Black Lives Matter tactics that include confrontations with presidential hopefuls Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton, who presumably are more sympathetic to their demands than are the republican candidates. While during the civil rights movement, the radical flank favored direct action and confrontational tactics, some older activists are concerned about the longevity of a movement that lacks visible leaders, a solid organizational structure, and often refuses to engage in a dialogue with mainstream politicians. For example, in honor of Black History Month, President Obama invited high profile members of the Black Lives Matter Movement to attend a meeting with Black leaders Sherrilyn Iffil, the director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; Wade Henderson, head of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights; and, Representative John Lewis, a former assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Black Lives Matter high-profile member, Aislinn Pulley, refused to attend, viewing the event as a “sham” and a “photo opportunity” for President Obama, although two other active members, DeRay Mckesson and Brittany Packnett, agreed to meet ([New Yorker, Jelani Cobb, March 14, 2016](#)). Despite the Black Lives Matter movement’s reluctance to build an organizational structure accompanied by visible leaders, or to engage

the political mainstream, it is challenging the current status quo relationships that were forged following the peak of the Black civil rights movement between Black activist organizations and political elites. The Black Lives Matter activists are also pushing the Democratic presidential contenders to place African-American concerns at the center rather than on the periphery of their campaign platforms.

While there is much debate regarding the efficacy and durability of millennial-propelled social movements that often mobilize in internet spaces rather than in face-to-face interactions, it is clear that a left-leaning ideological movement is afoot that does not bode well for the Republican party and promises to push the Democratic Party further to the left.

An Overview of Social Protest in Mexico

By Sergio Tamayo, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Mexico has become a laboratory of social struggle. The trajectory has followed a galloping pace of multiple struggles, rebellions and protests that look as if they cross paths with similar movements elsewhere in the world. From the student movements in Chile against privatization, the *Indignados* in Spain, Occupy Wall Street and the resistance of teachers in the United States, the Arab Spring in the Middle East, young people for public space in Turkey, the struggles of workers in South Korea, and the spread of anarchist communes; all seem to cross nations, cultures and similar experiences. With a highly schematic story I would like to show the way the space of Mexican movements has developed, and introduce some Mexican authors who have witnessed these struggles.

Protest in Mexico during the first decade of the current century has been a battle for citizenship and a dispute over the future of the nation (Tamayo, 2010). It has been a cycle in response to the systematic application of unpopular neoliberal policies that have been embedded in society, through critical structural

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reforms, especially in labor, education and energy (Modonessi, Oliver, Munguía, López de la Vega, 2011; Zermeño, 2009).

Mexican social movements can be classified by the way they relate to state policies. The National Regeneration Movement (MORENA) was aimed at both electoral goals and an anti-neoliberal court, but it is not radically opposed to capitalism. MORENA, which imagines development through a nationalist and popular strategy, has passed from being a social movement to a political movement-party (Combes, 2015).

In contrast, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) and the Other Campaign promotes an explicitly anti-capitalist project. During this period, the EZLN has lost social support, engaged with the ever-present threat of military aggression, and consolidated a regional project in indigenous communities (Lutz y Chávez, 2014).

There is also the movement of the working class. There are heteronomous unions such as the UNT (telephone workers), SME (electrician workers), OPT (political workers party) and CNTE (a democratic faction of the teacher's union). The trade union movement is nevertheless fragmented by unceasing governmental repression strategies. Unions deeply disagree about regional, organizational, mobilization and political strategies. Within union cultures, an older class-consciousness has been replaced by business-oriented and individualistic values that limit the prospects of social change (Bizberg, 2010).

In addition there are regional movements like the APPO in Oaxaca, which allies the teachers union with indigenous and popular communities to influence local governance (Bolos y Estrada, 2013). Also, protests against mining in Wirikuta and the Parota dam have sparked an ethno-environmentalism, which has combined community and regional visions to build integrating schemes of social citizenship, as well as a practical and theoretical sense of autonomy, against penetration by transnational companies. They have connected the defense of territory with religious values, based on traditional customs and practices,

which sometimes contradict a universalist vision of citizenship (Landázuri y López Levi, 2011; y Lutz y Chávez, 2014)

A new cycle of protest opened with the federal elections of 2012, as youth mobilized across the country. The movement #YoSoy132 (#Iamthe132) was for democracy and against the imposition of large media networks. It still resonates with social activists in several regions (González Villarreal, 2013). The Ayotzinapa movement emerged in 2014 in the state of Guerrero, one of the poorest and most violent states in the country, after the incursion of drug trafficking violence. Despite ups and downs, this movement continues to demand the live presentation of 43 disappeared students from the Rural Normal School, affecting the legitimacy of judicial institutions, the military and political representation, under the claim: "The crime was by the State." In association with this social conflict, the movement of community policing appears in several regions of the country that replace the deficient state's role in public security, combating violence against women and drug trafficking (Albertani y Aguilar Mora, 2015).

The resistance has irritated the system, but the social response is not enough to crack it. To achieve an institutional impact, movements call for unity in action, a difficult goal to achieve. The EZLN has shrunk in its liberated territories. MORENA, now becoming an institutionalized party, is unable to sustain protest. Unions defend stability rather than the interests of members. And communities that built compact ethnic identities have reinforced them with speeches of exclusion, losing their appeal to a wider audience.

Elections, on the other hand, have become an opportunity for political contestation. Some groups have been able to use the electoral process to articulate and promote movements that may have a decisive impact on politics (Aguilar, 2009; Cadena-Roa y López Leyva, 2013). These groups view the elections as appropriate targets of protest and disqualification. They lead toward more and more active abstentionism, collective actions, boycotts of elections, and delegitimization of the political elite.

As can be seen, the Mexican protest has reemerged, mainly due to the deepening of structural reforms, which have disrupted the lives of millions of human beings. From the countryside to the city; from frightened groups of middle class and workers; from perished community identities, women and radical students and young people; the looming common struggle is the defense of public space. This project is one of citizenship. It seeks to balance the defense of universal human rights with cultural diversity. A theoretical perspective can explain this paradox by attempting to reach a synthesis between macro structures of opportunity and cultural processes of life experiences.



*Bibliography at <http://cbsm-asa.org/critical-mass/>.

Report from the Membership, Diversity, and Inclusion Committee

By Selina Gallo-Cruz, College of the Holy Cross

With many thanks to our 2015-2016 Chair, Belinda Robnett, a new ad-hoc committee was created this year to build membership, diversity and inclusion in our section. Membership numbers have grown strong since our section's inception in 1980. We began as a section of just over 100 members, tripled our members in the first decade and grew to over 500 members in the mid-1990s. By 2007 we topped 800 members and have remained at just over 800 members to date, making CBSM the tenth largest section in the association.

But membership is more than numbers. As a section dedicated to scholarship on the plight of the most marginalized, the membership committee has taken on the task of thinking critically about diversity and inclusion in our section.

Our committee, Edelina Burciaga, Nicole Fox, Kelsy Kretschmer, Maria Mora, Devparna Roy, Jeff Larson, Melissa Wooten, Cecilia Walsh-Russo and myself, have just begun the conversation. We are contemplating questions such as: How can we encourage our diverse roundtable participants to join and become involved in the section? How can we attract junior scholars to become more involved? How might we use social media to become more connected? How can we attract minority scholars whose work bridges race, ethnicity, and stratification with movement studies? How can we support greater minority involvement and leadership in our section? How can we celebrate scholarship and support networking among minority scholars?

As a new committee, our action items to date are few and in the formative stages. This is the first year that our section will host a joint reception with Race and Ethnicity at our annual conference.

To increase our overall membership and its diversity, we have also discussed and are developing ideas on new ways to use social media to highlight news, publications, events, and scholarship. This year, several of the CBSM panels feature the work of minority scholars and scholarship on racial, ethnic, and minority movements. We are considering additional ways of celebrating scholarship on racial and ethnic movements and ways to strengthen the scholarship-practice connection. And we are discussing the development of a scholarly network to facilitate and maintain ties with other minority-majority sections and associations.

Before pursuing these and other objectives to enhance the diversity and inclusion of our section, however, we have developed a proposal to gain formal committee status in the coming year. This, we hope, will allow us to keep alive a dialogue on diversity and inclusion in our section. It will also establish permanent service positions for members committed to diversity initiatives in the section. As the conversation is ongoing and our section is dynamic and with much room and energy for growth, we hope you will also

share your ideas on enhancing CBSM's membership, diversity, and inclusion.

(Please send feedback, ideas, and correspondence for the Membership Committee to Selina Gallo-Cruz at sgallo@holycross.edu).



Anger in Politics: The Full Story

By Benjamin Lamb-Books (PhD, University of Colorado)

Emotion itself and unpleasant displays of anger in particular are once again becoming causes of alarm in current U.S. politics with the 2016 presidential campaign. Civic questions about the propriety of anger in public and over 'less-friendly' forms of civil-society discourse have spread across media channels. The undeniable influence of angry sentiments in American politics has itself become object to those second-order feelings—feelings toward feelings—so well analyzed by sociologist of emotion Arlie Hochschild (who, e.g., in *The Second Shift* discusses how overburdened women develop coping strategies of affective suppression to deal with gender-bending strong emotions including anger at unfairness).

Prima facie, nothing seems to be more uncivil and unproductive than public outpourings of anger. Sociologists have observed that the acute expression of anger, usually toward subordinates, is a privilege reserved to social elites of higher status in some respect (see Collett and Lizardo's 2010 article, "Occupational status and the experience of anger" in *Social Forces*). Anger among subordinates, in contrast, is mostly blocked and contained by more chronic frustrations and diffuse negative moods (with terrible health effects). Yet this is only half of the story. For charismatic leaders in the spotlight—whether politicians, activists, or celebrities—displaying and performing the strong affects of anger

is always risky, like playing with fire. There are sociological reasons why Donald Trump can get away with anger-provoking rhetoric and thrive off it, but Hillary Clinton cannot. (Recent headlines indeed blast Clinton whenever she comes even within a mile away from 'losing her cool.')

In fact, almost nothing is more difficult than successfully pulling off an *eloquent* performance of anger in public without it backfiring upon one's character. Even our wannabe-American-fascist Trump is unable to, he being instead high in anger but low in eloquence. Sensible, wise, and effective expressions of anger continue to be a civil-society rarity. Protestors try to capture this sensibility but more often than not their anger is dismissed as a mark against them. They are deemed too subjective, too emotional, and not rational enough about the more objective origins of their discontents. Any time anger is expressed too bluntly, the character of the speaker gets impugned for being biased and intemperate. In rhetorical theory the importance of managing such character concerns in speech is known as 'ethos.' The need to protect one's ethos from emotional contamination of the bad kind, given the binaries of civil-society discourse, always confronts the rhetor of the moment with special limitations based upon the social perceptions of others.

As James Jasper might put it, the rhetoric of anger in public poses a "strategic dilemma," both for people protesting some injustice and for politicians seeking election via the arousal of populist sentiments. Indisputable here is just how *eminently emotional* all of politics in general is, just as are the protest struggles that sociologists analyze as 'social movements' or 'contentious politics' (on emotion in politics, see the special issue of the *Journal of Political Power*, edited by J. Heaney). Verbalized explicitly or not, anger is a "potency emotion" that can operate as a key motivational resource in conflicts over power (as social psychologists like Scott Schieman have shown). Anger is often veiled under more respectable status claims (of ethos) but still easily recognizable as what makes one's political opponent so damn intractable.

In democracy, the anger of 'the people' is deeply threatening to the status quo. A coherent collective

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articulation of deep anger is unsettling to political incumbents no matter what their party affiliation. Irrespective of practical policy, such an articulation of anger will also inevitably frighten the upper classes who always prefer law and order to chaotic social changes. Meanwhile, the modern intelligentsia (me included) thinks ‘fascism’ when things get collectively too heated or dissects away the anger problem as the last desperate gasp of a dying status group. We are not necessarily wrong about this. All commenting parties though are usually content to ignore the social structure of the strategic dilemma, that is, the cultural and rhetorical dynamics that necessarily accompany anger when it rears its ugly head in public.

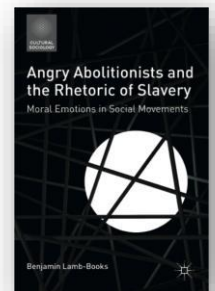
Even sociologists could benefit more from a deeper rhetorical and social-psychological understanding of the strategic dilemma of anger as a public political emotion. Without doing so, we are liable, like lay pundits, to dismiss the emotional energy therein without being able to explain the dual operation of collective emotions—as intermittently disruptive and/or “cementing of domination,” so Helena Flam has written. When are angry rhetorics productive and progressive in struggles against injustice, *versus*, when are they merely loud last gasps of a disintegrating status group? In principle, angry rhetorics can serve both purposes effectively as is plain from current political news. For the activists and politicians then, what makes the strategic dilemma of anger worth choosing? When are the potential costs to character too great and distracting? Beyond the political dichotomy between progressive versus conservative, what distinguishes the zealous prophetic rhetoric of MLK Jr. from the destructive angry rhetoric of DJT Sr.?

In my forthcoming book, *Angry Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Slavery: Moral Emotions in Social Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), I bring together for social analysis exemplars of the so-called ‘eloquence of abuse’ from the antislavery movement in the United States, the radical rhetoric of prophet-like abolitionists from Sojourner Truth to Wendell Phillips to Frederick Douglass. The rhetorical tradition categorizes collective anger as one of the most important species of ‘pathos,’ which Cicero defined as

the production of strong or ‘violent’ emotion. What’s sociologically interesting about anger as a type of pathos is the careful ethos work inextricably involved. For the production of pathos to be persuasive and beneficial to one’s purposes, the speaker must manage a precarious balance between emotion and rationality in the right proportions. This is clearly a distinctively affective form of impression management in public. If a speaker comes off as too angry, if he or she ‘loses his or her cool,’ then the credibility and trustworthiness of that speaker also takes a hit.

There appears then to be an Aristotelian golden mean for the expression of anger in political rhetoric, a level of moderation that is necessary in order to avoid triggering distrust and cynicism toward the character of the speaker (ethos). To produce persuasive pathos, one’s ethos cannot be in question. At least this is the case if the aim is the identification and solidarity of the audience (as classical rhetorical theory would have it), less so if the intent is defiance or disruption (as more common in prophetic radical rhetorics). The strategic dilemma of anger in contentious politics is that stimulating pathos may backfire upon the ethos of the cause and hurt the progress of the movement. This is a tricky balance to negotiate. It is a near impossible bind for low-status participants of a protest struggle who instead are compelled to devote nearly all their time on performances of ethos and logos rather than pathos. If they slip-up and irrepressibly express too much strong emotion, as is more inevitable for the most oppressed, it often triggers status backlash by the audience—a different, less desired in-group/out-group kind of pathos—that is, if there even is a watching audience in the first place.

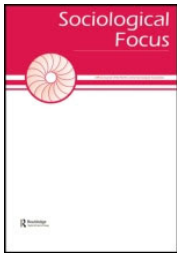
Benjamin Lamb-Books is the author of *Angry Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Slavery: Moral Emotions in Social Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).



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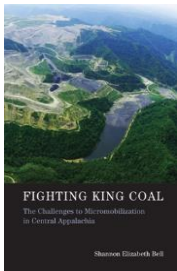
Recent Publications

New Books



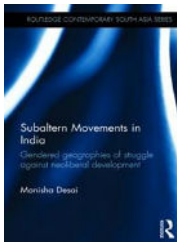
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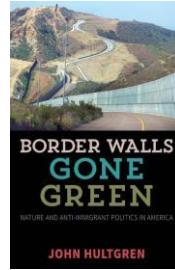
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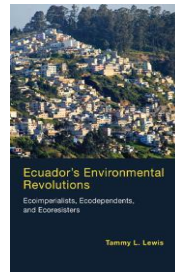
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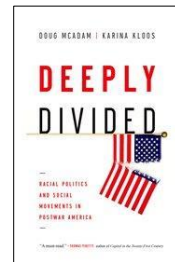
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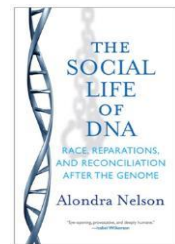
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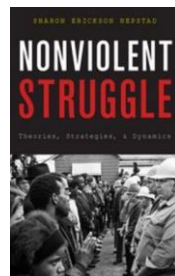
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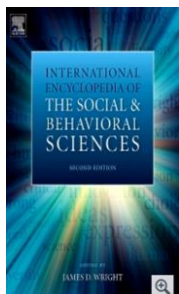
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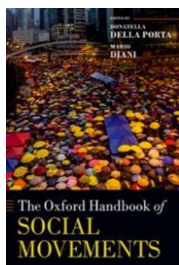
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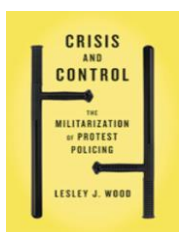
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2016 Job Market Candidates

Matthew J. Chandler, University of Notre Dame, Department of Sociology and Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies (chandler.20@nd.edu)
Website: matthewjchandler.wordpress.com

Research Interests: civil resistance, political culture, social conflict, networks, theory.

Dissertation Title: "People Power and Peacebuilding: Civil Resistance and the Processes of Political Transition in Egypt, 2010-2015."

Dissertation Abstract: The Egyptian uprising in 2011 was a striking demonstration of people power. But the subsequent rise of the Muslim Brotherhood and the military coup against it in 2013 point to a lingering question: what prevents successful civil resistance campaigns from continuing toward democratic consolidation? Prior comparative research shows that civil resistance succeeds more often and results more frequently in democracy than violent insurgency. The general explanation is that nonviolent tactics prefigure democracy. This project focuses on the mechanisms of civil resistance in processes of political transition in Egypt (2010-2015), seeking to explain the ambiguous outcomes of the 2011 uprising. Evidence from a large collection of primary source materials, including texts from activist blogs and interviews with Egyptian political organizers, indicates a need to disentangle the particular ways civil resistance prefigures democracy. Novel analyses of relational dynamics and networks of political discourse show how historically contingent shifts in the relations among actors in a contentious

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political field alter the effects of civil resistance campaigns. The findings contribute to ongoing theory-building about the role of nonviolent social movements in contentious politics. The study concludes with policy implications for strategic peacebuilding in the Middle East and North Africa after the Arab Spring.

Erin M. Evans, University of California, Irvine
(emevans@uci.edu)
Website: www.emevans.com

Research Interests: social movements, social studies of science, public policy, animal studies, institutionalization.

Dissertation Title: “Taking Root: Animal Advocacy and the Regulation of Science.”

Dissertation Abstract: Can social movements promote change through democratic processes like policy reform? The debate surrounding this question is longstanding among activists and scholars. The animal advocacy movement provides a good case for examining the sorts of reforms that aid mobilization for further change, and the sorts that stymie it. My dissertation uses a longitudinal analysis of the animal advocacy movement and its campaigns to reform or abolish animal research. I examine the impact of federal regulation at the laboratory level by interviewing scientists, bioethicists, veterinarians, and other professionals involved in animal research. I also use archival data and media analyses to capture longitudinal changes that are related to increasing scrutiny of research using animals, and the recursive effects between policy reform and mobilization. I argue that the outcomes of policy reform are contingent upon the institution being targeted by the movement, and that relatively insulated institutions, like science, are influenced substantially by policy reform when structures are established that embed activists’ interests within it, and when the movement continually exerts pressure through both radical and moderate strategies.

Sarah Gaby, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (sgaby@unc.edu)
Website: gaby.web.unc.edu

Research Interests: social movements, inequality and politics, political sociology, organizations, youth.

Dissertation Title: “Becoming Activists: How Organizations Engage and Politicize Youth.”

Dissertation Abstract: Youth civic organizations range from social movement leadership groups to soccer leagues, and their reach is vast. By some estimates, over one third of U.S. youth participate in voluntary organizations. But, we know little about whether these experiences empower youth and have lasting impacts on civic and political engagement. To understand organizational influence, I focus on socialization processes in organizations. I consider whether civic skills and participatory strategies used and learned in organizations extend to civic participation outside organizational settings. I combine original survey data with a year of ethnographic fieldwork, interviewing, and group observation. In survey results I find that including youth in decision-making processes is the strongest predictor of organizational effectiveness. Using ethnographic observations from five youth organizations I analyze variation in participatory practices. When youth practice decision-making in organizations, they express satisfaction, comprehensive understandings of organizational material, strong attachment to their organizations, and plans for future engagement. I also analyze how organizations address ethnoracial and socioeconomic status inequalities to examine whether and how organizations reproduce inequality. Finally, I observe youth solving political and social problems to analyze influences on practice and interactions outside the organization. I argue that organizations can shape youth civic participation in the short and long-term when they are diverse and create real opportunities for participation in organizational decision-making processes.

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Mark Gross, University of Maryland-College Park
(mcgross@umd.edu)
Website: <http://www.socy.umd.edu/gradprofile/Gross/Mark>

Research Interests: violence, contentious politics, policing, Africa, race/ethnicity, qualitative and mixed methods.

Dissertation Title: “Beyond ‘Mob Violence’: Inequality and the Spatial Dynamics of Crime and Vigilante Violence in South Africa.”

Dissertation Abstract: My dissertation examines the impact of neighborhood cohesion on levels of crime and vigilantism, and the structural processes by which acts of vigilantism become superfluously violent. The first chapter of my dissertation extends the large body of research on neighborhood cohesion and crime victimization to South Africa to test these theories in non-Western contexts. I utilize the data from the 2013 GCRO to construct models examining the role of cohesion and other structural community characteristics in crime victimization at the neighborhood level. Preliminary models show that neighborhood cohesion is associated with higher rates of crime victimization (net of other factors), suggesting different relationships between cohesion and crime than have been documented elsewhere. My second chapter challenges the existing literature on neighborhood cohesion and violence, and uses the GCRO data and an independently compiled newspaper database documenting incidents of vigilante violence in Gauteng, South Africa from 2009-2013, to show that net of other factors, higher levels of neighborhood cohesion are actually associated with *higher* rates of vigilante violence. My third dissertation chapter uses semi-structured in-depth interview data to build upon Randall Collins’ micro-sociological theory of violence and the concept of ‘forward panic’ to explain how episodes of vigilantism become particularly violent.

Jonathan Horowitz, University of North Carolina
(jonathanhorowitzresearch@unc.edu)
Website: <http://jhorowitz.web.unc.edu/>

Research Interests: life course sociology, social movements, sociology of higher education, work and occupations, social stratification, social psychology.

Dissertation Title: “Work, Love, and Dissent: Activist Participation in the Transition to Adulthood.”

Dissertation Abstract: With a wave of university protests sweeping the country, sociologists and contemporary commentators have written much on the nature of college activism. But what will happen to the protestors once they graduate? Will the college activists in this protest cycle forge a new era of political contention, or will they cease participating once they leave the university campus? To answer this question, I collect longitudinal interview and survey data on multiple campuses; I then draw on methodological and theoretical traditions in the study of social inequality, symbolic interaction, and demography to examine activist participation during a life course transition. The dissertation includes three main components. In the first part of my dissertation, I show that activist participation declines by over 75% upon college graduation, and that this is due to a dramatic loss in face-to-face interaction after matriculation. In the second part of my dissertation, I show that activist organizations with more ties to off-campus groups are more effective in promoting long-term involvement. In the third part of my dissertation, I examine the messages activists receive about their participation, and demonstrate that activists often receive messages that simultaneously encourage and discourage them from social movement involvement.

Matthew Lawrence Kearney, University of Wisconsin-Madison (mkearney@ssc.wisc.edu)

Research Interests: political sociology, theory, medical sociology.

Dissertation Title: “The Social Order of Collective Action: The Wisconsin Uprising of 2011.”

Dissertation Abstract: The Wisconsin Uprising of 2011 was one of the largest sustained collective actions in United States history. Drawing on insider

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participant-observation, extensive in-depth interviews, documentary analysis, and digital archiving, this project investigates how an unplanned collective action achieved a high degree of internal social order and strategic coherence. This dissertation in development makes at least three specific contributions to social theory and social movement studies. First, it introduces the concept of escalating moral obligation, a relational mechanism showing how commitment to collective action increases as others endure difficulties on behalf of the same cause. Second, it identifies non-hierarchical forms of organization that simultaneously provided a focal point for an initially disorganized crowd and incorporated normally marginalized people into meaningful leadership, notably youth, in a non-age-graded way. Third, as an unplanned assembly of many unaffiliated people that created a mutual moral community, this event illuminates the sources and interactional mechanisms of collective effervescence in a way few other cases can. The dissertation should be of interest to social movement scholars, theorists, political sociologists, cultural sociologists, youth scholars, and sociologists of emotion, among others.

Heather McKee Hurwitz, Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Department of Sociology and the Athena Center for Leadership Studies at Barnard College (Columbia University), New York City. Ph.D. University of California Santa Barbara (hhurwitz@barnard.edu)
Website: <http://www.heathermckeehurwitz.com/>

Research Interests: social movements, gender, and global/transnational studies using qualitative and quantitative methods with a focus on the Occupy Wall Street Movement (Occupy), global feminisms, and activism using traditional and new social media. Heather's goals are to research and transform how sexism, racism, and other social inequalities shape contemporary social movements, culture, and women's advancement. In 2016, Heather is studying ongoing Occupy groups and activism, as well as movements that have spun-off from Occupy such as the Bernie Sanders movement.

Dissertation Title: "The 51%: Gender, Feminism, and Culture in the Occupy Wall Street Movement."

Dissertation Abstract: This dissertation focuses on the two "movement centers" in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as the first Occupy National Gathering in Philadelphia in July 2012. The data include participant observation, an archive of paper and electronic documents about the movement, semi-structured in-depth interviews with 73 participants, and the Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (n=~5000). The study reveals that gender conflict was pervasive and sexism weakened Occupy, and also gender conflict was productive and contributed to the development of feminist mobilizing structures.

Jen Schradie, University of California-Berkeley (Department of Sociology in affiliation with the Berkeley Center for New Media). Currently a Post-Doc at the Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse, France (jen.schradie@iast.fr)
Website: www.schradie.com

Research Interests: social movements and collective action, digital activism, labor movements, stratification and inequality, political sociology, communication and technology, public policy, methods.

Dissertation Title: "This is (Not) What Democracy Looks Like: How Ideology, Hierarchy and Inequality Shape Digital Activism." Winner of the National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant.

Dissertation Abstract: This research offers a different lens into scholarship and common views of online activism and democracy. From the Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street, some theorists suggest the Internet has democratically transformed what we know about collective action: digital media create more egalitarian movements, broaden political participation and dismantle hierarchies. These arguments often draw from left, radical, middle class protests at the peak of visibility, but how does a

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broader array of social movement groups use the connectivity and mobilization tools of the Internet on a day-to-day level? By looking at ordinary everyday practices, rather than extraordinary visible events, this dissertation shows how the groups that engage in more digital activism are actually more hierarchical, bureaucratic and middle to upper-class. High levels of online participation require work and labor. But the amount of work a group puts into digital participation depends on its ideology. Organizations with a conservative political orientation and a reformist strategy for social change use the Internet more than radical left groups. As a result, this research troubles conventional views on digital democracy. Online participation is neither egalitarian nor horizontal, nor is it tied to organizational debates and decision-making. Instead, digital activism thrives on inequality, hierarchy and conservatism. Digital use varies across social movements and is more widespread among groups like Tea Parties and conservative advocacy groups than it is with many labor unions or even a radical student group.

Katherine Sobering, University of Texas at Austin
(ksobering@utexas.edu)
Website: www.katherinesobering.com

Research Interests: social movements, work and organizations, inequality.

Dissertation Title: “Serving Up Alternatives? Organizational In/equality in Argentine Worker-Recuperated Businesses.”

Dissertation Abstract: This dissertation examines how alternative organizations construct and maintain equality in the workplace. It focuses on the case of worker-recuperated businesses in Argentina, which are companies that have been converted from privately-owned enterprises into worker-controlled cooperatives. Drawing on eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork, the project builds on studies of contentious politics, organizations and inequality to examine how worker-recovered businesses create more equal workplaces and when and why they are successful in doing so.

Juhi Tyagi, State University of New York at Stony Brook (juhi.tyagi@stonybrook.edu)

Research Interests: insurgent movements, organizations, gender & conflict, development, mixed methods.

Dissertation Title: “Organizational structure and class: examining resilience in the Maoist movement in India.”

Dissertation Abstract: What causes armed movements to last? I address this question by analyzing data from newspapers on Maoist incidents in India for the years 2000-2012 and carrying out a comparative ethnographic analysis in three districts in Telangana. I find that non-violent activities—resulting in class building—best predicted resilience of armed groups. Although state and political economy variables predisposed certain districts to an armed rebellion, collective action organizational structures in the villages determined their sustenance in a locale. The Maoists (the largest insurgent group in India) were able to enjoy persistent presence in territories where they focused and succeeded in creating organizational structures outside of formal party structures that were effective at activating class formation and developing class-consciousness, within each village. Thus rather than viewing violence as a driver, this research contributes to a more sociological understanding of armed movements by systematically demonstrating their ability to function in sync with local level fluctuations—changing form and function according to local needs—resulting in class formation, to be crucial in sustaining insurgent movements.

Highlight your accomplishments for the job market!

Are you going on the sociology job market this year? Do you have students who are going on the market? The Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA) is publishing a special issue of *Critical Mass* to highlight the accomplishments of junior social movements scholars. The issue will be published in early August, just in time to help generate buzz at the ASA conference in Seattle.

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To publish your profile, please provide the following:

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- 200-word candidate statement
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Please send all materials to *Critical Mass* co-editors Loredana Loy and Kelly Birch Maginot at cbsmnews@gmail.com by July 1, 2016.

Sincerely,
Belinda Robnett, CBSM Section Chair
Joshua Bloom, Publications Committee Chair

key institutions like the state or labor unions cannot be assumed to have universal importance and meaning. Conversely, to what degree do theories and practices from the Global South inform social movements and studies developed in the Global North? How do situated cultures and meaning-making practices require a re-elaboration of social movement theories and concepts?

This session will include papers that establish a dialogue between theories and movements from the Global South and the Global North, with a special focus on Latin America.

Research Committee: RC47 Social Classes and Social Movements (host committee). Session Organizers: *Pablo Lapegna*, University of Georgia, United States (plapegna@uga.edu); *Renata Motta*, Free University of Berlin, Germany (renata.motta@fu-berlin.de).

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

Calls for Papers

CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT: Third International Sociological Association Forum, July 10-14, 2016, Vienna, Austria
<http://www.isa-sociology.org/forum-2016/>

Session “Social Movements in Latin America: Contributing to a North-South Dialogue”

Section members may be interested in attending the Third International Sociological Association Forum, which will be held July 10-14, 2016, in Vienna, Austria. Of particular note is the session “Social Movements in Latin America: Contributing to a North-South Dialogue”:

Social movements from the Global South are usually investigated by applying theories developed by and for the Global North. But what happens when theories travel across diverse social contexts? Can theories and concepts developed in the Global North fully capture the complexities of social movements and societies that have followed different historical trajectories? For instance, nationalism, “populism,” and socialism, or

CONFERENCE: Precarious Work: Domination and Resistance in the US, China, and the World, August 19, 2016, Seattle, Washington
http://irle.ucla.edu/events/2014/PrecariousWork_Program.php

This conference will bring together large groups of researchers from the USA, China, and Canada, as well as scholars from 12 other countries, to present research on a wide range of topics related to precarious work. Plenary sessions will feature local Seattle activists as well as globally noted scholars.

The conference will take place at the Seattle Central College in Seattle, Washington, from 9am-6pm (just before the beginning of the American Sociological Association meetings, which will be taking place nearby in downtown Seattle). We hope that you can plan to be present for the full conference, which will bring together a remarkable set of distinct, yet related discussions on precarious work. See <http://irle.ucla.edu/events/PrecariousWork.php> for additional information on the program. Questions: Brittney Lee at [<blee@irle.ucla.edu>](mailto:blee@irle.ucla.edu).

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CONFERENCE: The Third Interdisciplinary Network for Social Protest Research (INSPR) Conference, June 9-10, 2016, University of Cambridge <http://inspr.eu/event-info/inspr3/>

Social movements play an important role in political debates across the globe. From an academic point of view, the study of political mobilization and social change is subject to an extraordinary predisposition to cross-disciplinary exchange. Our understanding of the phenomena we study is subordinate to our capacity to build theoretical paths among the different disciplines. Continuing with INSPR's mission, the aims of this two-day conference are to explore political mobilization from a variety of academic perspectives and to further develop links between disciplines.

CALL FOR PAPERS: Ceraps'-'Crapul'-'Gresco' conference on: Activist Tribulations, December 12-13, 2016 Lille, France.

An electoral setback after an intensive campaign; a series of issues, of defeats or divisions which alter the public image of a collective, and the pride associated with being involved in it; hopes for an ascension to power blocked by a context of shrinking political opportunities and a reconfiguration of multi-organizational fields; a profound ideological disagreement after the reworking of a partisan strategy; the obsessive fear of losing a fixed salaried position or some material advantage when an organization's finances and institutional positions are reduced; the repression or death of comrades in arms; the dilemmas of union delegates anxious to speak in the name of the workers they represent without betraying their word; the failure of a radical commitment after years of complete dedication to and sacrifice for the cause; the dissolution of a group, hence of the roles and social relations associated with it which were structuring one's existence; the ordeal of maladjustment within an association experiencing a process of professionalization; the erosion of a "feeling of being at home" in an institution which has been transformed... Cases of activist suffering abound, to the extent that participation, whether in a political party, a union, an association, an NGO, a religious

institution or any other type of group, including clandestine ones, may be difficult to analyze without taking into account the price to be paid (both financial and physical) by committed individuals.

To address these questions, interested participants are invited to explore four lines of inquiry: 1) Understanding detachment. The Social Conditions Behind Activist Malaise, 2) Remaining Without Pleasure? Resources and Modalities of Adaptation for the Discontented Activist, 3) How to Remobilize. The Institutional Management of Disarray, and 4) Objectifying the Suffering. Scientific Tools and Disciplinary Transfers.

For details and more information: <https://wp.unil.ch/ecpr-polsoc/2016/03/call-for-papers-conference-on-activist-tribulations-lille-france-december-12-13-2016/>

Proposals, of a maximum length of 5,000 characters, may be written in English or French, and must be based on empirical data. They will include the presentation of the field of inquiry and will specify the principal line of inquiry adopted. They should be sent to the three following addresses: Olivier.Fillieule@unil.ch catherine.leclercq@univ-poitiers.fr remi.lefebvre@univ-lille2.fr

CBSM-Related Events at ASA 2016

This selection of events represents the best efforts of the CriticalMass editors to locate all of the CBSM section events as well as other events and sessions of interest to scholars of social movements and collective behavior at the 2016 ASA meetings in Seattle by browsing the preliminary ASA schedule as of May 2016. We apologize for any errors or omissions. To view the complete program, visit http://www.asanet.org/AM2016/AM_2016.cfm.

Friday, August 19

7:00 to 9:00 PM

Opening Plenary. Beyond the Battle of Seattle

Organizer & Presider: Ruth Milkman (CUNY Graduate Center)

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Panelists: Walden Bello (University of Philippines, Diliman), Amy Goodman (Democracy Now), Kshama Sawant (Seattle City Council)

Saturday, August 20

8:30 to 10:10 AM

Thematic Session. Right-Wing Movements and Inequality: Looking to the Future

Organizer & Presider: Rory M. McVeigh (University of Notre Dame)

Panelists: Kathleen M. Blee (University of Pittsburgh), Mabel Berezin (Cornell University) Christopher Parker (University of Washington)

Thematic Session. Urban Protest in the Global South

Organizer: Ann Mische (University of Notre Dame)

Discussant: Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Panelists: Patrick G. Heller (Brown University), Ann Mische (University of Notre Dame), Zeynep Tufekci (Princeton)

10:30 AM to 12:10 PM

Thematic Session. Riots, Protest, and Social Movements

Organizer & Presider: Michael Biggs (University of Oxford)

Discussants: Susan Olzak (Stanford University), Bert Useem (Purdue University)

Panelists: Elijah Anderson (Yale University), Randall Collins (University of Pennsylvania)

Presidential Panel. Climate Change and Social Movements

Presider: Kenneth Alan Gould (City University of New York, Brooklyn College)

Organizer: Ruth Milkman (CUNY Graduate Center)

Panelists: Robert D. Bullard (Texas Southern University), Beth Schaefer Caniglia (Oklahoma State University), Andrew Szasz (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Regular Session. Collective Behavior: New Perspectives on Group Process

Presider: Debra Minkoff (Barnard College)

Organizer: David Cunningham (Washington University in St. Louis)

Discussant: Debra Minkoff (Barnard College)

- Explaining Countermovement-Movement Interactions: How Islam Became a Rival of Ethnic Movement in Turkey, 1991-2002 - Cem Emrence

(SUNY-Binghamton), Aysegul Aydin (University of Colorado-Boulder)

- We're Gonna Stop 'em Cold! How Errant Expectations Develop in Social Movement Groups - Daniel Escher (University of Notre Dame)
- Performing Revolutionary Populism: The Revolutionary Path Movement in Fatsa, Turkey - Kerem Morgul (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- Threat, Framing, and Ethnic Violence in California's Humboldt Bay Region, 1853-1865 - Peter B. Owens (Washington University, St. Louis)

12:30 to 2:10 PM

Plenary Session. Protesting Racism

Presider: Aldon D. Morris (Northwestern University)

Organizer: Ruth Milkman (CUNY Graduate Center)

Panelists: Kimberle Crenshaw (Columbia University), Reverend William Barber, II (NAACP)

2:30 to 4:10 PM

Thematic Session. Indigenous Movements in the 21st Century

Presider: Janet Convey (Independent Scholar)

Organizer: Mary Romero (Arizona State University)

Discussant: Janet Convey (Independent Scholar)

- The Indigenous Movement and Progress in Brazil: The Need to Redefine Modernity - Angela A. Gonzales (Cornell University), Jonathan W. Warren
- Protectors not Protesters: Indigenous Resurgence Movements in Hawaii and Beyond - Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua (University of Hawaii)
- Lateral Movements Up: How Appropriating New Cultural Practices Vitalize Indigenous Sociocultural Standings in Highland Peru - Arthur Scarritt (Boise State University)

Sunday, August 21

8:30 to 10:10 AM

Thematic Session. The Broken Spring: The Arab Uprisings and Their Aftermaths

Organizer & Presider: Charles Kurzman (University of North Carolina)

Discussants: Asef Bayat (Univ. of Illinois-Urbana), Zakia Salime (Rutgers University)

Panelists: Brandon Gorman (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Hazem Kandil (Cambridge University), Neil Ketchley (University of Oxford), Dana M. Moss (University of California, Irvine)

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10:30 AM to 12:10 PM

Regular Session. Social Movement Participation and Methods

Presider: Kyle Dodson (University of California, Merced)
Organizer: Paul D. Almeida (University of California, Merced)

- A More Representative Sample? Using Public Petition Data to Identify Political Activists - Rachel M. Durso (Washington College), S. Matthew Stearmer (Ohio State University), J. Craig Jenkins (Ohio State University), Andrew W. Martin (Ohio State University)
- Complementary or Substitute Pathways to Politics - Tim Immerzeel (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Bert Klandermans (VU University), Arieke Johanna Rijken (Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute)
- General Trust or Outgroup Trust? Trust and Social Movement Participation - Hyungjun Suh (University of Arizona), Heidi Reynolds-Stenson (University of Arizona)
- The Tea Party Movement's Short Romance with Annual Protest Demonstrations - John D. McCarthy (Pennsylvania State University), Patrick Rafail (Tulane University), Hyun Woo Kim (Pennsylvania State University), Kevin Reuning (Pennsylvania State University)
- What Explains the Quality of the News Coverage of the Civil Rights Movement? - Edwin Amenta (University of California, Irvine), Thomas Alan Elliott (University of California Irvine), Nicole Clorinda Shortt (University of California, Irvine), Amber Celina Tierney (University of California, Irvine), Didem Turkoglu (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Burrell James Vann (University of California, Irvine)

Thematic Session. Rethinking Black Power Movement Outcomes

Organizer & Presider: Belinda Robnett (University of California, Irvine)

Discussant: Andrea L. Clay (San Francisco State University)

Panelists: Joshua Bloom (UCLA), Alondra Nelson (Columbia University), Joyce Bell (University of Pittsburgh)

2:30 to 4:10 PM

Special Session. What Social Movements Theories Can Tell Us about Nonreligion (co-sponsored with Association for the Sociology of Religion)

Presider: Ryan T. Cragun (The University of Tampa)
Organizer: Rhys H. Williams (Loyola University Chicago)

- What's With the Hesitancy? A Theoretical Synthesis Approach to Understanding Non-religion as a Social Movement - Lori Fazzino (University of Nevada, Las Vegas)
- Arenas of Authority and Movement Mobilization Among the Nonreligious - Joseph Blankholm (University of California, Santa Barbara)
- The Cultural Context of Collective Action: Non-religion in a Religious Political Culture - Rhys H. Williams (Loyola University Chicago)
- Nonreligion as Identity and Movement: Promises and Pitfalls - Penny Edgell (University of Minnesota)

Regular Session. Collective Behavior: Modeling Participation and Action

Organizer & Organizer: David Cunningham (Washington University in St. Louis)

Discussant: Jocelyn S. Viterna (Harvard University)

- Collective Actions Comprising the 1969 Charleston Hospital Workers Strike - Von Bakanic (College of Charleston), Clark McPhail (U. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)
- How Protesting Depends on Peers: U.S. Students in the Late 1960s - Michael Biggs (University of Oxford)
- A Cognitive Science Revival of Collective Behavior Theory - Justin C. Van Ness (University of Notre Dame)
- On Thursdays We Watch Scandal: Communal Viewing and Black Twitter - Apryl A. Williams (Texas A&M University)

Monday, August 22

8:30 to 10:10 AM

Thematic Session. Re-Imagining Movements for Environmental and Climate Justice: Can They Change Everything?

Organizer: John Foran (University of California)

Panelists: David Pellow (University of California-Santa Barbara), John Foran (University of California), Shannon Gibson (University of Southern California), Jill Stein (Global Climate Convergence for People, Planet and Peace)

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Over Profit), Corrie Ellis Grosse (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Thematic Session. When Changing the Conversation Matters: Lessons from Southern Europe

Organizer: Robert M. Fishman (Carlos III University)

Presider: Mabel Berezin (Cornell University)

Discussant: Jeff Goodwin (New York University)

- From Protest in the Streets to Party-System Change: Spain's Indignados Movement and the Growth of Podemos - Eduardo Romanos (Universidad Complutense)
- Political Claims and Alternative Forms of Resilience Confronting Hard Economic Times in Greece, Spain and Italy - Maria Kousis (University of Crete), Lorenzo Bosi (Scuola Normale Superiore), Camilo Cristancho Mantilla (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
- Foreign Conversations: How Northern Europe Differs from Southern Europe - Mabel Berezin (Cornell University), Elisabeth Becker, Thomas Davidson (Cornell University)
- When Voices in the Streets Can(not) Change the World: Origins of the Iberian Divide in Inclusion - Robert M. Fishman (Carlos III University)

Special Session. Movements Matter: Connecting the Local and Global in Addressing Violence Against Women

Organizer, Presider & Discussant: Bandana Purkayastha (University of Connecticut)

Panelists: Yakin Erturk (Middle East Technical University), Margaret Abraham (Hofstra University), Eleanor Lyon (University of Connecticut)

Regular Session. Social Movements III

Organizer: Paul D. Almeida (University of California, Merced)

Presider: Edward Orozco Flores (University of California, Merced)

Discussant: Paul Yunsik Chang, Harvard University

- Adding Time to Social Movement Diffusion - Jeffrey Haydu (Univ of California-San Diego)
- Institutional Movement Logics in the U.S. Social Movement Field, 1960–1995 - Jeff A. Larson
- Intersectionality as Analytic Sensibility and Movement Studies - Benita Roth (Binghamton University)
- Leveraging Corporate Influence - Andrew W. Martin (The Ohio State University), Marc Dixon

(Dartmouth College), Michael David Nau (Ohio State University)

CBSM Paper Session. New Directions in the Study of Race, Ethnicity, and Social Movements

Organizer & Presider: Kenneth (Andy) Andrews (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Discussant: Jennifer A. Jones (University of Notre Dame)

- Rethinking Fear and Protest: The Post-9/11 Mobilization of Arab Americans in Detroit - Marian Azab (University of New Mexico), Wayne Santoro (University of New Mexico)
- #BlackLivesMatter: An Analysis of the Movement as Social Drama - Leslie Jones (University of Pennsylvania)
- The Ethnic Dimensions in Social Movements - Pamela E. Oliver (University of Wisconsin, Madison)
- Identifying an Indigenous Movement of the Americas - Erich W. Steinman (Pitzer College)

10:30 AM to 12:10 PM

Thematic Session. Collective Action to Address Health: The Case of HIV/AIDS

Organizer: Rachel Sullivan Robinson (American University)

Presider: Monica Rao Biradavolu (American University)

Panelists: Nicole Angotti (American University), Kim M. Blankenship (American University), Gay Young (American University), Rachel Sullivan Robinson (American University)

Author Meets Critics Session. *The Black Power Movement and American Social Work (Columbia University Press, 2014)* by Joyce M. Bell

Organizer and Presider: Zakiya T. Luna (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Critics: Fabio Rojas (Indiana University), Andreana L. Clay (San Francisco State University), Zakiya T. Luna (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Author: Joyce M. Bell (University of Minnesota)

12:30 to 2:10 PM

Plenary Session. The 21st Century U.S. Labor Movement

Organizer & Presider: Ruth Milkman (CUNY Graduate Center)

Panelists: Stephen Lerner (Georgetown University), David Rolf (Service Employees International Union), Ai-Jen Poo (National Domestic Workers Alliance), Erica Smiley (Jobs with Justice)

CriticalMass

United Nations - Shanna Corner (University of Notre Dame)

2:30 to 4:10 PM

Thematic Session. Community Organizing as Movement Building: Reflections on a Field Transformed

Organizer & Presider: Janice Fine (Rutgers University)

Thematic Session. Social Movements and the 2016 Presidential Election

Organizer & Presider: Philip Klinkner (Hamilton College)
Panelists: Christina Wolbrecht (University of Notre Dame), Christopher Parker (University of Washington), Hans Noel (Georgetown University), Daniel Schlozman (Johns Hopkins University)

Regular Session. Infrastructures of Social Movements

Organizer: Paul D. Almeida (University of California, Merced)

Presider: Mangala Subramaniam (Purdue University)

- Building a Movement: Pittsburgh Protests Against Fracking - Suzanne Staggenborg (University of Pittsburgh)
- Indigenous Movements, Legacies of State Formation, and Land Governance in Argentina - Matthias vom Hau (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)
- Rethinking Institutional Infrastructures: Institution Building as Social Movement Activity - Tina Fetner (McMaster University)
- Transnational Movements and The World Social Forum Process - Christopher Chase-Dunn (University of California-Riverside)
- Which Resources Matter? Resources and the Impact of North Carolina Environmental Organizations - Anne Saville, Bob Edwards (East Carolina University), Melinda D. Kane (East Carolina University)

Regular Session. Transnational Social Movements

Organizer & Presider: Hyun Ok Park (York University)

Discussant: Valentine M. Moghadam (Northeastern University)

- Europe at the Margins of Transnational Identities and Relations: Kurdish Women's Political Mobilization Across Borders - Nisa Goksel (Northwestern University)
- Contested Framings of Gender Equality: Action for Women's Rights - Kellea Shay Miller (University of Wisconsin - Madison)
- Cultural Models of Religion, Feminism, and the Effort to Advance Women's Rights within the

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. Whither Social Movement Theory?

Organizers: Joshua Bloom (UCLA), Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)

Presider: Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)

Discussant: Jeff Goodwin, New York University

Panelists: Verta A. Taylor (Univ. of California - Santa Barbara), Sidney Tarrow (Cornell University), Jackie Smith (University of Pittsburgh), James M. Jasper (Graduate Center of the City University of New York), Rose Brewer (University of Minnesota), Joshua Bloom (UCLA)

4:30 to 6:10 PM

Thematic Session. Race and Social Movements: Which Way Forward?

Organizers: Daisy Isabel Verduzco Reyes (University of Connecticut), Zakiya T. Luna (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Panelists: Christian Davenport, Zakiya T. Luna (University of California, Santa Barbara), Daisy Isabel Verduzco Reyes (University of Connecticut), Belinda Robnett (University of California-Irvine)

Thematic Session. Science, Movements and Social Inequality

Organizer: Scott Frickel (Brown University)

Presider: Steven Epstein (Northwestern University)

Panelists: Ruha Benjamin (Princeton University), Catherine Bliss (UCSF), Phil Brown (Northeastern University), Tom J. Waidzunas (Temple University)

Thematic Session. Transnational Feminism Session

Organizers: Gay W. Seidman, University of Wisconsin-

Madison Ruth Milkman, CUNY Graduate Center Presider:

Myra Marx Ferree, University of Wisconsin Panelists:

Raka Ray, University of California--Berkeley Mounira

Maya Charrad, University of Texas at Austin Millie

Thayer, Univ of Massachusetts-Amherst Discussant: Myra

Marx Ferree, University of Wisconsin

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Feminist and Intersectional Approaches to Social Movements

Organizer & Presider: Nancy E. Whittier (Smith College)

Discussant: Rachel L. Einwohner (Purdue University)

- Anti-Apartheid Religion NGOs' Responses to Gender-Based Violence in South Africa - Meredith C. Whitnah (Westmont College)

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- Cooking as Activism: Subversive Culinary Discourse in Liberal Feminism, 1963-1985 - Stacy J. Williams (University of California, San Diego)
- Protection, Terror, Incorporation: How the Indian State Governs Gender-based Violence and Opportunities Available to Marginalized Survivors - Poulami Roychowdhury (McGill University)
- The Schools Should Serve the People: Political Intersectionality, Student Activism, and Race-and Class Inclusive Admissions - Amaka Camille Okechukwu (New York University)

6:30 PM

Joint Reception: Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements; Section on Racial and Ethnic Minorities (Offsite, Location: Hard Rock Cafe, 116 Pike)

Tuesday, August 23

8:30 to 10:10 AM

Thematic Session. Social Protests in China

Organizer & Presider: Ching Kwan Lee (UCLA)

Discussant: Dingxin Zhao (University of Chicago)

Panelists: Eli David Friedman (Cornell University), Manjusha S. Nair (National University of Singapore), Yang Su (University of California, Irvine), Guobin Yang (University of Pennsylvania)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable Session and Business Meeting

8:30 to 9:30 AM, Roundtables

Organizer: Elizabeth Borland (The College of New Jersey)

Table 1. Social Movement Organizations

Table Presider: Anthony J. Spires (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

- Local Chapter Outposts: A Dilemma of Federated SMOs - Diane M. Rodgers (Northern Illinois University)
- An Interorganizational Network Analysis of the Social Movement Sector in New York, 1960-1995 - Misty Dawn Ring-Ramirez (University of Arizona)

Table 2. Collective Action Frames

Table Presider: Jordan T. Brown (University of Kentucky)

- Power Struggle over Fracking - Mehmet Soyer
- The Persistence of Frames: Direct Action in the 21st Century - Kevin Gillan (University of Manchester)
- Rethinking the Antivaccine Movement: Public Criticism of the Pandemic Vaccine's Safety in

France - Jeremy Keith Ward (Université AixMarseille)

Framing the Keystone XL Pipeline Debate in Nebraska - James Patrick Ordner (University of Kansas)

Table 3. Discourse, Framing, and the State

Table Presider: Anna C. McCreery (Elevate Energy)

- Round-the-clock Revolution of 1979: Competitive Narratives of the Arab Spring in Iran - Amirhossein Teimouri
- Elite Framing and the Vilification of Dissent in Authoritarian Settings - Thomas E. Shriver (North Carolina State University), Laura Bray (North Carolina State University), Alison E. Adams (University of Florida)
- Movement Target and Political Repression - Ehsan Farshchi (UC Irvine)

Table 4. Emotions in Social Movements

Table Presider: Benjamin Lamb-Books

- Four Quadrants Theory of Social Movements - Hyunjin Deborah Kwak (University of Notre Dame), Erika Summers-Effler (University of Notre Dame), Carl Ashley Neblett (University of Notre Dame)
- Emotions and Women Empowerment: The Experience of Two Self-organized Feminist Collectives in Oaxaca, Mexico – Alice Poma, Tommaso Gravante (UNAM FES Iztacala)
- Idols and the Threat of Unhappiness - Kathryn Elizabeth Panger, Shane Sharp (Northern Illinois University)

Table 5. Framing Processes

Table Presider: Robert D. Benford (University of South Florida)

- Framing the Food Justice Movement in Detroit - Michelle Marie Proctor (Madonna University)
- Overcoming the Latecomer Dilemma: The Trajectory of the Community University Movement in Taiwan - Chengpang Lee (University of Chicago)
- Old Manuela, New Manuela: A Longitudinal Examination of Adaptive Framing Techniques - Jennifer Triplett
- Understanding Frame Legitimacy in China: Environmental Protest Strategies and the Emergence of a "Science Frame" - Jean Yen-chun Lin (Stanford University)

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Table 6. Getting Involved, Staying Involved

Table President: Stephen C. Light (State University of New York Plattsburgh)

- Resisting Genocidal Violence: The Collective Action Problem and Rescue Efforts in Rwanda - Nicole Fox (University of New Hampshire), Hollie Nyseth Brehm (The Ohio State University)
- Dependency, Resistance, and Defeat: Labor Resistance History of One Generation of State Workers in China - Ju Li (Central European University)

- Recovering the Insights of Black Feminist Thought to Enhance Social Movement Theory - Margaret McGladrey (University of Kentucky)
- Resisting Power: A Typology of Contemporary Social Movements Addressing Issues of Race and Ethnicity - Craig Upright (Winona State University)
- The Anti-oppressive Value of Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality in Social Movement Study - Callie Watkins Liu (Heller School/Brandeis University)

Table 7. Identity Work

Table President: Lisa A. Leitz (Chapman University)

- How Converts Benefit Movements: Case Studies of the Use of Conversion in Four Movements - Alexa Jane Trumpy (St. Norbert College)
- Solidarity is in the Heart: Joint Israeli-Palestinian Peace Movement Organizations during the 2014 Gaza War - Michelle I. Gawerc (Loyola University Maryland)
- You, Me, and All of Us: Using Individual Identity to Build an SMO Identity - Molly S. Jacobs (UCLA)

Table 8. Institutions, Opportunities, and Change

Table President: Maria M. Akchurin (Northwestern University)

- Movement Strategy in Taiwan's Judicial-reform Movement - Chin-shou Wang (National Cheng Kung University)
- The Outcomes of Radical Extra-institutional Protest and the Good Cop/Bad Cop Effect - Erin M. Evans (University of California, Irvine)
- The Role of Social Movements in Overcoming Gender Violence in Higher Education - Tinka Tabea Schubert, Ana Vidu-Afloarei (University of Barcelona)
- Understanding Activism Within Institutions: The Case of LGBT Employee Resource Groups - Apoorva Ghosh (University of California-Irvine), Mary Bernstein (University of Connecticut)

Table 9. Intersectionality and Social Movements

Table President: Christopher Gunderson (Howard University)

- A Gender Integrative Approach to the Anti-CSEC Movement - Taylor Houston (Mount Mercy University)

Table 10. Media and Movements

Table President: Anya Mikael Galli (University of Maryland College Park)

- Changing Public Discourse on School Discipline: Media Treatments of Zero Tolerance and the School-to-Prison Pipeline - Mark R. Warren (University of Massachusetts Boston), Lindsay Morgia (University of Massachusetts Boston), Luke Krupscznk (University of Massachusetts Boston)
- David and Goliath?: A Pragmatic Strategy Theory of Social Movement Target Selection - Todd Schifeling (University of Michigan)
- Protest Repression and Media Coverage - Trey Green (University of Arizona)
- Free Education Now!: News Coverage of Student Protests in England and Turkey - Didem Turkoglu (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Table 11. Moral Outrage and Participation

Table President: Rachel M. Durso (Washington College)

- Determinants of Changes to State-level Firearms Restrictions Before and after the Sandy Hook Shooting - Eulalie Jean Laschever (UC-Irvine)
- Not in Your Backyard!: Structure, Ideology, and the Mobilization of Conscience Constituents against Fracking in Illinois - Fedor A. Dokshin (Cornell University), Amanda T. Buday (Southern Illinois University Carbondale)
- Firm Decisions and the Emergence of Mobilization: County-Level Reactions to Nuclear Power in the United States - Alessandro Piazza (Columbia University), Fabrizio Perretti (Bocconi University)
- Digital Compassion: The Animal Rights Movement in the Age of Social Media - Crystal E. Vuole (Post University)

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Table 12. Neoliberalism and Movements

Table President: Michael Mulcahy (Central Washington University)

- To Buy or Not to Buy? Housing Cooperatives in Uruguay and the Challenges of Shifting Ideologies - Mariana Oliver (Northwestern University)
- Theorizing Contention for the Professionalized World: SMOs, NGOs, and Formal Organization under Neoliberalism - Meghan Elizabeth Kallman (Brown University)
- Managing the State: A Relational View of LGBTQ Hybrid Organizations and the Shadow State - Stephen M. Wulff (University of Minnesota)

Table 13. Social Networks and Mobilization

Table President: Paul Yunsik Chang (Harvard University)

- Close Encounters of the Friendly Kind: Friendship Networks and the Activist Career of Suffrage Campaigners - Gemma Edwards (University of Manchester)
- Social Structural Avenues for Mobilization – the Case of British Abolition in Manchester - Kinga Reka Makovi (Columbia University)
- Differential Recruitment and Cohort Variation in Public Employee Union Mobilization - Lauren Benditt (Stanford University)
- Dimensions of Contention: Reconciling Structural, Relational and Cultural Aspects - Jeffrey Broadbent (Univ of Minnesota)

Table 14. The Occupy Movement

Table President: Penelope W. Lewis (Murphy Institute for Labor Studies-CUNY)

- Social Movement Interdependence: How Activist Transfer Links Occupy to Other Movements - Megan E. Brooker (University of California-Irvine)
- The Mobilizing Effect of Resources and Threat: A Mixed Model Analysis of the Occupy Movement - Nathan Charles Lindstedt (Washington State University), Erik W. Johnson (Washington State University), Patrick F. Gillham (University of Idaho), Bob Edwards (East Carolina University)
- Understanding Anarchism Today: Examining Theory and Practice in the Occupy Movement - Marie Skoczylas (University of Pittsburgh)

Table 15. Theory-Building for Social Movement Studies

Table President: Selina R. Gallo-Cruz (College of the Holy Cross)

- Challenging Accepted Explanations of the Decline in American Civic Engagement - Ya-Feng Lin, Joseph Paul Cleary (Louisiana State University)
- Energy Markets and Embeddedness: A Theory of Neo-Polanyian Triple Movement Activism - Stephanie Ann Malin (Colorado State University)
- Reasons, Tales, and Collective Action: Explaining Types of Participation in the #YoSoy132 Movement in Mexico - Rodolfo Sarsfield (Autonomous University of Queretaro), Rafael Plancarte (Autonomous University of Queretaro)
- Riots and Public Opinion: A Methodological Experiment - Morgan Clark (Northwestern University)

Table 16. Movement Outcomes

Table President: Cassandra Dawn Engeman (University of California-Santa Barbara)

- From Transactional to Transformational: 'The Fund' and Reproductive Justice as Revolution - Meghan Daniel
- Homeowner Organization and Government Response: Factors Affecting the Result of Homeowners' Collective Action in Urban China - Zhiming Sheng (Shanghai University)
- The Effects of Affordable Housing Mobilization on Policy and Impact in U.S. Cities, 1990-2010 - Akram Al-Turk (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
- What Do Social Movements Have to Do with It? Reporting Anti-Gay Hate Crime - Heather L. Scheuerman (James Madison University), Christie L. Parris (Oberlin College), Alison Faupel, Regina E. Werum (University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

Table 17. Party Politics and Social Movements

Table President: Amanda Pullum (Duke University)

- Ideological Roots of Republican Party in Election 2016: A Collective Behavior and Social Movement Approach - Alex DiBranco (Yale University), Chip Berlet (Research for Progress)
- Party Politics and Environmental Contention in Palpalá, Argentina - Emily Jane Spangenberg (University of Texas at Austin)
- Who Responds to Protest? Protest Politics and Party Responsiveness in Western Europe - Rens Vliegthart (University of Amsterdam), Swen Hutter (European University Institute)
- Why Party?: Political Organizations and American Minor Party Strategy and Support - Catherine

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Kane (University of Maryland), Kanisha Bond (University of Maryland)

Table 18. The Tea Party

Table President: Ziad W. Munson (Lehigh University)

- Activism Without Activists: Ideological Conflicts in Collective Action in the Tea Party - Elizabeth Yates
- Diagnosis and Prognosis of Neoliberal Globalization: From the TEA Party Movement's Perspective - Hao Cao (University of Texas)
- When Politicians Pander: The Influence of Social Movements on Politicians' Voting - Burrell James Vann (University of California, Irvine)
- When Parties and Movements Clash: Exploring the Boundaries of Social Movement and Political Party Separation - John D Kincaid (UC Davis)

Table 19. Transnational Activism

Table President: Sharon Quinsaat (University of Pittsburgh)

- Confronting Capital: The Limits of Transnational Activism and Human Rights-based CSR Initiatives - M. Omar Faruque (University of Toronto)
- Unrooted Cosmopolitans: A Global Sociology of Foreign Fighters - Thomas Olesen (Department of Political Science, Aarhus University), Jasper Schwampe (Department of Political Science, Aarhus University)
- The Power of Peers: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Shape NGO Strategies on Climate Change - Jennifer Hadden, Lorien Jasny (University of Exeter)
- Translocal and Transnational Allies and Social Movement Outcomes - Asma Ahmed Ali Farah (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Table 20. Social Movements in Turkey

Table President: Cem Emrence (State University of New York-Binghamton)

- Blurring the Boundaries between Left and Islam(ism) in Turkey: The Left-wing Islamists - Mustafa Yavas (Yale University)
- Uyghur Muslim Identity Issues in China: Nationalism and Islam - David Makofsky
- Dynamics of Collective Action in Turkish Prisons: Comparative Analysis of Mamak and Diyarbakir Prisons 1980-1985 - Basak Gemici Ay (University of Pittsburgh)
- Class Basis of Urban Social Movements in Informal Neighborhoods of Istanbul - Gorkem Dagdelen (Temple University)

Table 21. Movement Participation

Table President: Ernesto Castaneda (American University)

- Explaining Cross-National Differences in People's Participation in Protest: The Cases of Chile and Brazil - Rodolfo Antonio Lopez
- How Gender Moderates the Individual-level Effects of Demonstration Participation - Robert William Mowry (University of Notre Dame)
- Weather Effects on Social Movements: Evidence from Washington D.C. and New York City, 1960-1995 - Tony Huiquan Zhang (University of Toronto)
- Hybrid: Organizational Membership and Protest Participation in the Age of Social Media and Financial Hardship - Wenhong Chen (University of Texas at Austin), Seokho Lee (University of Texas at Austin), Kang Hui Baek (University of Texas at Austin)

Table 22. Prefigurative Politics

Table President: Stacy J. Williams (University of California, San Diego)

- Disruptive Commoning: Reclaiming the Commons and Disrupting the Dominant Order - Harold William Kramer (State University of New York Binghamton)
- Less Structure, More Culture: A Multi-case Analysis of Resistance to Oligarchy in Collectivist-Democratic Organizations - Darcy K. Leach (Bradley University)
- Prefiguration and Group Style: Ideology and Strategy in Consensus-oriented Decision Making - Kathryn Rachel Hoban (UC Irvine)

Table 23. Race and Ethnicity

Table President: Jenny Irons (Tulane University)

- "Bad DREAMers" and the Radicalization of the U.S. Immigrant Rights Movement - Laura Barberena (University of Texas at Austin), Philip Vargas, Michael P. Young (University of Texas, Austin)
- Mapping Ferguson: Protest and Counter-Protest Spaces in Ferguson, Missouri - Jacqueline Henke (Purdue University)
- Confrontational Activism & Mnemonic Fields: Bystander Memories of the American Indian Movement - David W. Everson (University of Notre Dame)

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- Twitter and Racism: Analysis of the Darren Wilson Case - Josephine Nummi (Texas A&M University)

Table 24. Leadership and SMOs

Table President: Mary Ann Clawson (Wesleyan University)

- Commemorating Morgentaler? Reflections on Movement Leadership, 25 Years Later - Jaime Nikolaou (University of Toronto)
- Hierarchy, Local Factionalism, and Leaving the National Organization for Women - Kelsy Kretschmer (Oregon State University)
- Structuring the Structureless and Leading the Leaderless: Organization, Autonomy and Accountability in the UC Movement - Sarah L. Augusto (Curry College)

9:30 to 10:10 AM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Business Meeting

10:30 AM to 12:10 PM

Thematic Session. Rethinking Civil Rights Movement Outcomes

Organizer: Belinda Robnett (University of California-Irvine)

President and Discussant: Aldon D. Morris (Northwestern University)

Panelists: Douglas McAdam (Stanford University), John Skrentny (Univ. of California, San Diego), Belinda Robnett (University of California-Irvine)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. New Directions in Black Movements: Structure, Leadership, and Black Twitter

Organizer & President: Kiana Cox (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville)

Discussant: Crystal Marie Fleming (State University of New York Stony Brook)

Panelists: Rose Brewer (University of Minnesota) Diane Burkholder (One Struggle Kansas City), Natalie Patricia Byfield (St. John's University), Candice C. Robinson (University of Pittsburgh), Aisha Ariantique Upton (University of Minnesota)

12:30 to 2:10 PM

Thematic Session. Allies and Obstacles: Parents of Children with Disabilities and the Disability Rights Movement

Organizer: Allison C. Carey (Shippensburg University)

Panelists: Pamela Block (State University of New York, Stony Brook), Allison C. Carey (Shippensburg University), Richard K. Scotch (University of Texas at Dallas)

Thematic Session. Psychiatry and Social Movements: Persistent Questions and New Directions

Organizer: Karl Bryant (State University of New York-New Paltz)

Panelists: Meredith R. Bergey (Brandeis University), Jenny L. Davis (James Madison University), Allan V. Horwitz (Rutgers University), PJ McGann (University of Michigan)

Thematic Session. Social Movements and the News Media

Organizer: Edwin Amenta (University of California, Irvine)

President: Neal Caren (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

Panelists: Edwin Amenta (University of California, Irvine), Kenneth (Andy) Andrews (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), Jennifer Earl (University of Arizona), Myra Marx Ferree (University of Wisconsin)

Section on Body and Embodiment Paper Session. Embodiment and Social Movements

Organizer & President: Nancy A. Naples (University of Connecticut)

- Embodied Activism, Transformational Leadership and Courage - Mary Margaret Fonow (Arizona State University), Suzanne Franzway (University of South Australia)
- Embodied Citizenship: The Body and Undocumented Mobilization in Brussels - Thomas Swerts (University of Antwerp)
- The Anonymization of Social Movements and the Problem of Giving Voice - Mickey Vallee (University of Lethbridge)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Contemporary Latina/o Movements

Organizer: Daisy Isabel Verduzco Reyes (University of Connecticut)

President: Ruth Marleen Hernandez (University of Connecticut)

Discussant: Edolina M. Burciaga (University of California, Irvine)

- Benefits of Activist-Scholarship to the Student Immigrant Movement - Thomas Pineros Shields (University of Massachusetts Lowell)
- ICE Infiltrations and Re-entry Campaigns: Harnessing Citizenship Hierarchies and

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Challenging Immigration Control in Undocumented Youth Activism - Luisa Laura Heredia (Sarah Lawrence College)

- Social Movement Activity, Context, and the Formation of Ethnic Collective Identity - Amber Celina Tierney (University of California, Irvine)
- Spatializing Chicano Power: Cartographic Memory and Community Practices of Care - Juan Carlos Herrera (UCLA)

2:30 to 4:10 PM

Thematic Session. Silos or Synergies? Can Transnational Social Movements Connect across Issues?

Organizer: Peter B. Evans (University of California-Berkeley and Brown University)

Presider and Discussant: Nitsan Chorev (Brown University)

- Third-wave Marketization and the Dilemmas of the Contemporary Countermovement - Michael Burawoy (Univ. of California, Berkeley)
- Transnational Advocacy as an Ecosystem: Rethinking the Relations among Movements for Rights and Social Justice - Cesar Rodriguez-Garavito (University of the Andes)
- Power Shift? Transnational Commodity Chain Activism and the Fate of Fossil Fuels - David M. Ciptet (University of Colorado Boulder)
- Strategies for Exploiting Comparative Political Advantage and Complementarities among Transnational Social Movements - Peter B. Evans (University of California-Berkeley and Brown University)

Thematic Session. Strikes and Labor Politics in Comparative Perspective

Organizers: Eli David Friedman (Cornell University), Steven H. Lopez (Ohio State University), Chris Rhomberg (Fordham University)

- Participation of Industry Strikes in Southern China: Emotion, Social Norm, and Rationality - He Gaochao (Sun Yat-Sen University)
- Organizing the Fragmented: Workers, Unions and Strikes in the Fast Food Industry - Maite Tapia, Tashlin Lakhani (The Ohio State University)
- Resisting Dualization: Comparing Immigrant Worker Protest in European Public Hospitals - Akasemi Newsome (University of California-Berkeley)
- The Crisis in COSATU: What Democratic South Africa's Labor Conflicts Might Tell Us about

Globalization, Unions, and Social Protest - Gay W. Seidman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Thematic Session. The Immigrant Rights Movement, Ten Years after the 2006 Marches

Organizer & Presider: Kim Voss (University of California)

Discussant: Veronica Terriquez (UC Santa Cruz)

Panelist: Maria Elena Durazo (American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations)

- The Dreamers are Dead, Long live the Dreamers: From 'Exceptional' to 'Ordinary' Immigrant Rights Activism - Walter Nicholls (University of California-Irvine), Justus L. Uitermark (Erasmus University Rotterdam), Sander van Haperen (University of Amsterdam)
- Organized Labor and Immigrant Organizing: Finding Common Ground - Shannon Marie Gleeson (Cornell University)
- The Role of Contentious Politics in Shaping the Behavior of Legislators on Immigration Policy - Chris Zepeda-Millán (University of California-Berkeley), Sophia Wallace (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Movement Relevant Research

Organizer: Gregory Maney (Hofstra University)

Presider: Charlotte M. Ryan (UMASS – Lowell)

Discussants: David Cobb (Move to Amend Coalition), Jen Soriano (Lionswrite Communications, RoadMap Consulting)

- Making the Pathways by Playing: Modes of Movement-Relevant Research in an Anti-gentrification Coalition - John Krinsky (The City College of New York), Hillary Caldwell (City University of New York)
- Mobilizing with(out) Organisations: A Movement-relevant Approach to Conceptualizing Social Movements - Carin Runciman (Public Affairs Research Institute)
- Language and Identification: Activists' Discourses in Constructing Social Movements' Collective Identities" - Gerald M. Platt (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), Rhys H. Williams (Loyola University Chicago), Eric R. Cheney (Central Washington University)
- Movement-countermovement & Intra-movement Contexts: The Organizational Dynamics of California's Marriage Equality Movement - Anna Sorensen (State University of New York Potsdam)

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