

CriticalMassBulletin

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Message from the Chair

Jo Reger

CBSM Section Chair

Professor of Sociology

Oakland University

I begin writing this the day after Dr. Christine Blasey Ford gave testimony about her assault in high school by [now Supreme Court] Judge Brett Kavanaugh. Yesterday was a day filled with conversations with women shaken from the memories of their own assault(s) and distressed

by the vulnerability of the woman they watched sitting in front of judiciary committee, questioned by the sex crimes interrogator. Almost immediately after their testimonies, the parsing of the day began on TV news, radio and in social media. The meme of an angry Kavanaugh emerged almost instantly along with posts noting “We Believe You” aimed at Ford.

Looking comments on my Facebook page, a common sentiment was a sense of hopelessness in ending (or at least) believing sexual assault. I scrolled through my page, I saw the phrase, “I can’t deal. Nothing ever seems to change,” repeatedly. As someone who has studied the women’s movement in the United States for most of my career, this gave me pause. Sexual assault has been a key issue for feminist activists for generations. Is this current moment a reminder of what *has not been* accomplished or what *still needs to be* accomplished? Has anything changed? I think the answer is somewhere between “Yes” and “No.”

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“No” comes from the very real fact that we as a society have yet to address sexual assault and rape adequately. We know that most women who are assaulted and raped do not report it. We know that college campuses, the site of many assaults and rapes, still struggle with processing these crimes (with the progress of the past years being eroded.) I think it is telling that I was just asked to participate in a radio interview on why women delay reporting their assaults. This is a question feminist activists have been answering for decades. So the answer “No” emerges from a rape culture that continues to fundamentally misunderstand issues of consent, sexual norms, and appropriate sexual(ized) behavior.

The “Yes” answer to the question “Has anything changed?” draws on what I know as a social movement scholar. I know that cultural shifts occur when activists are able to gain resources needed to organize and eventually access institutional power. I know that being able to meaningfully frame your grievances and create ways to explain mechanisms of oppression are powerful tools. It was only a few decades ago, we did not have the words to define different types of rape (outside of the stranger rape) and vocabulary to examine how consent is linked to patriarchy. It was through the women’s movement of the 1960s, ‘70s, and ‘80s that feminists began to define and complicate these issues. It was also the feminists of this time that began to build institutions to address sexual violence and integrate existing institutions such as education, medicine, and government to work for change. Women’s studies brought new understandings to universities and college. Rape crisis centers, started by radical feminist groups, became institutionalized in the larger society, influencing the ways in which hospitals, police, and courts responded. While history can record these efforts, it is the study of social movements that can explain how change such as the feminist work to end sexual assault happens. All of this is to say that social movement theories and concepts, accompanied by studies of movements over time, have much to offer us in times like these.

I recently heard a friend of mine in communication commenting that social movement scholars were so “jargony,” and to some degree, I agree with her. We do love to define and elaborate on concepts adding to

our vocabulary. However, I also believe that we, as scholars, have a unique ability to offer perspective and context on the current times, from examining Black Lives Matter to the Women’s Marches to the movements that counter them such as All Lives Matter and Make America Great Again rallies. It is with this in mind that I, along with incoming chair Tina Fetner and council member Selina Gallo-Cruz, selected the panels for the NYC ASA 2019 meeting. The sessions next year will include a discussion of the relevance of abeyance in the 21st century, frontline communities and racial, environmental justice, and violence and social justice. The sessions will include a panel proposed by the CBSM Membership, Diversity, and Inclusivity committee on the relationship between social movement scholarship and critical studies. While I believe these to be relevant and important panels, I would like to note it was very difficult to choose them from all the proposed panels. For those who did not have their proposals selected this year, I encourage you submit again next year. There is so much to be studied and so much to say as scholars in times such as these.

Fandom as a Method of Social Movement Recruitment

Jamie Puglin-Baker, Stony Brook University

In the last decade, social media tools and the internet have generated new methods of recruitment and mobilization that provide the millennial generation new pathways into social movements. Today, millennials are reliant on the internet. In light of this, maintaining a social media presence is now essential for organizations (Paulin et al. 2014). Social movements, like other organizations, have turned to using social media as a tool for recruitment, which has proven useful and effective in organizing protests during events like the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and the most recent Women’s March in 2017 (Akin et. al 2012; Castells 2012; Milkman 2017).

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Social media has allowed social movement organizations to expand their methods for attracting participants and garner support to their movements. One such method of recruitment that works to attract young people to activism is the targeting of fans. Members of fandoms, or fans, are those who support particular franchises; think the Marvel Cinematic Universe, the Harry Potter book series, or the Star Wars films. Fan activism organizations recruit members by bringing together a love of pop culture and social justice values, providing a unique pathway for activists to recruit and engage new rank and file members. In addition, instead of creating solidarity around a single cause, fan activists mobilize around their love of fictional stories, characters, or settings and use that as motivators for sustained political participation, often extending across multiple causes and projects.

I conducted interviews with 55 participants and leaders across multiple fan activism organizations. Of these, 46 were members of the millennial generation or younger. The interviews spanned three organizations, the earliest of which was established in 2005 and the most recent was founded just following the 2016 elections. All three organizations have their operations based online; each use different online platforms for recruitment and mobilization. However, some findings were common across all fan activists.

First, the recruitment for fan activists begins with the fandom. Organizations use fan identity as a pathway to recruit fans that might be interested in activist projects. Here organizations use value alignment on top of collective identity. That means that upon entrance to the organization, members have established collective identity as fans and see their personal values being represented in the organizational goals. In this way fans are activated and begin a pathway to activism. It is in the established collective identity and value alignment that the strength of fan activism lies.

Second, fan activist organizations make the fandom part of everything they do. Some organizations may be single issue focused while others cover multiple issues; yet the role the fandom plays is the same. Slogans, issues, participation is all framed around the

fandom. For example, the oldest organization, the Harry Potter Alliance, creates each campaign using language and symbols from the franchise.

Last, they provide a pathway for many first-time activists. In many interviews participants talk about their experiences in the organization as being the first time they have ever been a member of an activist organization. In addition, being a member of these organizations allowed them to see themselves as activists for the first time. According to recent data released by the Harry Potter Alliance, over 50% of participants in 2018 said this was the first activism they have participated in (Harry Potter Alliance 2018). As participants age out of the organizations, many go on to take positions in social justice-themed professions.

What these cases show is that the internet provides multi-faceted methods of recruiting young people to activism. By focusing on those who are members of a fandom, organizations are able to capitalize on a pre-existing collective identity to draw young people into the movement. Because fandoms are often spread out geographically, the internet offers a perfect tool to bring them together, both as fans and as budding activists.

For references, see the CBSM website: cbsm-asa.org

Abortion Online: How Non-Partisan Media Still Builds a Polarized Internet

Rebekah Getman, Northeastern University

We may need to rethink what we know about the relationship between organizations, activists, and ideological and non-ideological news media in the Internet age. In a polarized social movement, we should see organizations direct their audiences to equally polarized (i.e., ideologically consistent) sources. In a study of abortion politics and the Internet, I find that,

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while that does happen, organizations also direct readers to ideologically inconsistent news sources regularly.

On April 3, 2016, Phillip Bump of *The Washington Post* [wrote an article outlining the recent contradictory statements](#) about abortion made by then-Presidential candidate Donald Trump. A link to that story was embedded in 121 other web pages, building a network of citations across the Internet. But the context of those links varied significantly. TruthOut.org, a non-profit news organization dedicated to inspiring action for progressive causes, used the story as evidence that a Trump Presidency would limit women's rights in an article titled, "Trump and Pence Ride Tide of Anti-Abortion Lies." Meanwhile, NewsBusters, an organization whose website bears the tagline, "Exposing & Combating Liberal Media Bias," linked to the *Post* story as evidence that the media vilifies Republican candidates while glorifying Democratic candidates and policies.

To explore this phenomenon, I used Media Cloud, a platform for collecting and analyzing online media data, to collect the network of links from page to page of all English-language sources published online from January 1, 2016 to April 10, 2017 using the keyword "abortion." During this period, 5,354 media sources published 113,681 stories mentioning abortion. From this data, I analyzed the network of the most influential 350 sites and a sample network of 1,000 stories, all coded for ideological stance.

Tracing this network revealed two things. First, there is still an informational echo chamber about abortion. Ideological organizations (such as LifeNews or Planned Parenthood Action) and ideological news organizations (such as *Salon* or *The New Republic*) focus their link network on other sites with similar views. This link economy acts as both a social signal and mobilization tool, directing readers to information and action within an ideological framework. For example, right-leaning news media sites linked to left-leaning sites just twice in 740 links and left-leaning sites linked to right-leaning news sites only 9% of the time.

Second, and importantly, there is a new kind of polarization. While the online conversation is

sustained by traditional non-partisan news media (like *The New York Times* or *The Wall Street Journal*), which dominate the link economy, they play the role of a wall between rather than a bridge across debates. Sources on both the left and right link to mainstream news media, but non-partisan media rarely link back. As a result, readers are not drawn into the discussion on the other side.

One of the most influential stories, [a *New York Times* report by Maggie Haberman](#) on the precarious nature of funding for Planned Parenthood's non-abortion services, relies heavily on traditional reporting. Haberman cites conversations between pro-abortion activists and White House staffers and also quotes the president of the Susan B. Anthony list, Senator Kirstin Gillibrand, and a major Planned Parenthood donor. The article is an excellent example of both sides of the debate explaining their views on an issue.

Through a network analysis, we see a clearer picture of the way polarization happens. Haberman's story has been cited by *The Blaze*, the *Daily Caller*, *Live Action News*, *Life News*, and *The Conservative Tribune*—all either anti-abortion activist groups or right-wing media outlets with headlines like, "Cecile Richards: It's Obscene and Insulting to Suggest We Stop Killing Babies in Abortions" (*LifeNews*) and "Trump Issues Epic Ultimatum to Planned Parenthood...Libs are OUTRAGED" (*Conservative Tribune*). Meanwhile, Planned Parenthood's fundraising arm linked to Haberman's story in an article titled, "What You Need to Know About the Bill Repealing the ACA and Attacking Planned Parenthood" (Planned Parenthood Action). Haberman's article, however, contains no web links to Planned Parenthood, the Susan B. Anthony list, or to official White House or Senate pages. The content may be balanced, but the article is later deployed without any balance at all.

My research examines the ways polarization works online through presumably non-ideological sources. This kind of network analysis is one tool to help us better understand the relationship between traditional news and ideological news, and the role of each in social movements, in the Internet age. Polarization is persistent. This kind of analysis helps us understand

the dual role of online sources to create and reinforce echo chambers, even in the face of presumably non-partisan information systems.

Trolls in #ShoutYourAbortion

Jessi Grace, Florida State University

In 2015, 57 state-level laws limiting access to abortion services passed throughout the United States (Nash et al. 2016). TRAP (Targeted Regulation of Abortion Provider) laws became especially common, focusing on the physicians, staff, and facilities that provide abortions. For example, In Texas' 2013 HB 2, physicians were required to obtain admitting privileges within 30 miles of the clinic where they worked, and clinics were mandated to meet the building requirements of an ambulatory surgical center. Other state TRAP laws required that a patient receive an informed consent document for the procedure that included scientifically inaccurate information (e.g. a link between abortion and breast cancer) and mandated that providers bury or cremate fetal remains.

The onslaught of laws limiting abortion access led Amelia Bonow to share her abortion story on Facebook, and she signed off her post with #ShoutYourAbortion (#SYA). Lindy West, an activist, found the post shortly after, and teamed up with Bonow to spread the hashtag until it was trending on Twitter, eliciting others to share their experiences with abortion. Stories using #SYA often discussed the relief that the procedure provided or how typical the day they got their abortion was. Bonow and West hoped to decrease stigma surrounding abortion by showing the normality of the procedure (Vara 2015).

Social movements increasingly use social media as a resource. While social media eases the spread of information and increases some level of participation (Murthy 2013), we do not yet know the nuanced impact of campaigns opening themselves up to the internet for broader conversation. Using social media also allows trolls to engage in the discussion, and thus the framing process. Trolls are people online who seek

to get a reaction out of people who do not agree with them, typically by saying inflammatory things until those who disagree are bothered enough to respond (Bishop 2014).

I collected 5,839 Tweets and 494 Facebook posts for #SYA and a counter-campaign, #ShoutYourAbortion-Regret (#SYA-R). #SYA-R began the same day that #SYA launched and encouraged people to share their negative experiences with abortion. Many #SYA-R stories are about how awful the decision was or the pressure they felt to get an abortion.

I am finding two relationships between trolls and these campaigns. First, the platform that a campaign chooses to primarily use affects the rate of trolling. #SYA primarily used Twitter, which allows for little control over the conversation and expands the discussion to all Twitter users. #SYA-R was mostly active on Facebook, where there is access to much more moderation by deleting trolling comments. All social media use expands the bounds of who is included in a movement's—or countermovement's—framing conversation. Social movements should consider the costs and benefits of each platform when deciding to engage. Twitter brings greater visibility to the conversation, increasing both the number of supporters and trolls present. Facebook provides the ability to moderate the conversation, deleting posts that the moderator does not want supporters to see, but the messages don't travel as quickly and does not engage as many users.

Second, trolls engage with the initial campaign, #SYA, at a greater rate than the counter-campaign, #SYA-R. One-quarter of all #SYA posts were from trolls, while trolls made up less than 3% of the #SYA-R posts. The specific points of criticism varied much more for the trolls of #SYA. Trolls tended to discuss the key frames of the issue, choice and life, and insult the morality of the opposing side. Using #SYA many trolls called abortion murder and genocide and referred to an abortion “industry” profiting from these crimes. They were sometimes successful in completely derailing a conversation when presenting a metaphor that another user would spend several posts attempting to break down and disprove. Trolls on #SYA-R focused on the political environment and

choice rhetoric. Even in #SYA-R conversations that troll posts were not deleted from, users often ignored the troll and simply referenced the initial post.

Social movement organizations and campaigns face many strategic considerations when deciding to use social media. They need to weigh the reach they want for their campaign, and thus their framing conversation, against the access they are comfortable with trolls having to that discussion. Trolls often use the conventional frames of the movement they align with and do not tend to disrupt the entire message of a campaign. However, individual conversations are strained based on the platform they use, and trolls disproportionately impact the original movement, especially if feminist (Herring et. al. 2011), over the countermovement.

For references, see the CBSM website: cbsm-asa.org

Women March Across the Globe

Shelley Boulianne, MacEwan University

The first Women's March was held on January 21, 2017. The march was distinct as an event, as sister events were held across the globe. We conducted a survey through an online panel from April to May 2017. This survey was conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. The sample, 1500 respondents in each country, was matched to the gender and age composition for each country. In this survey, we found widespread awareness of the Women's March. In the United States, 87% of respondents had heard about the Women's March. In the United Kingdom, 66% of respondents had heard about the Women's March and in France, 76% of the sample had heard about the Women's March. While the gender composition of protestors favored women (Fisher 2018), our findings suggest that women and men were equally aware of this event. Younger people, more educated people, and those with higher income were more likely to be aware of this event.

We were interested in who was posting about the Women's March, so we asked those who were aware

of the Women's March if they had posted to social media about the event. Based on our subsample, approximately 14% of the American sample, 8% of the British sample, and 6% of the French sample reported posting to social media about this event. We did not find gender differences in posting to social media, but we did find that younger people, more educated people, and those with higher income were more likely to post to social media about this event.

We combined this survey data with an analysis of Twitter data. Using the Ncapture feature of Nvivo, we ran a query on Twitter on January 27, 2017. This query produced a sample of 12,395 tweets. Using the subset of tweets containing geocodes, we identified tweets across all continents, including Antarctica, Asia, and Africa. Our Twitter findings are consistent with other research using Twitter data to study social movements. In particular, we compare our results with findings from #BlackLivesMatter (Freelon et al. 2016) and #IdleNoMore (Raynauld et al. 2018). Like these other two studies, we found that most of the tweets were retweets (70%). This is consistent with the #BlackLivesMatter (75%), but higher than that observed in the #IdleNoMore (59%). The rate of retweets reflects Twitter's role in amplification of messages. Unlike these other movements, we find more interaction in the tweets, as measured by the use of the @user feature. We found that approximately one-third of the tweets contained @ symbol and the most popular user targeted was @realdonaldtrump. This type of interaction was rare in the #BlackLivesMatter (7.5%) and #IdleNoMore (5%). Unlike these other movements, there is a higher degree of interactivity in the social media posts about the Women's March.

Our next steps are to explore the process through which people became aware of the Women's March, then decided to participate. In particular, we would like to examine whether the use of social media predicts greater awareness and participation in this event. We would also like to explore whether the survey data and Twitter data offer consistent findings about who is posting about the Women's March. To what degree are those that tweet "opinion leaders"? Finally, we would like to use the Twitter data to examine why people might post about this event. In

particular, are the objectives to raise awareness, build community/reinforce identity, and influence policy (Bailey et al. forthcoming)?

For references, see the CBSM website: cbsm-asa.org

Section Notes:

The Impact of the Mentoring Program

E. Colin Rugero, Community College of Philadelphia

About a month before this year's annual meeting, at least a dozen colleagues reached out to me for advice about their visit to Philadelphia, my hometown. I tried to share the kind of insider knowledge that only locals possess; Philadelphia is a 'city of neighborhoods,' and tourists usually miss out on all the weird and wonderful things that make Philly such a unique and exciting place to live. While I was happy to play 'local expert' for friends and colleagues, I too was looking for some tacit, insider knowledge ahead of the conference. This year's annual meeting was my first and I was anxious about my lack of experience, to put it mildly.

It is hard to convey the deep sense of dread I had walking into the Philadelphia Convention Center this summer. As a first-generation, working-class scholar, I often felt different from my graduate school classmates at the New School, an 'imposter' in academia. It didn't help that, unlike my classmates, I didn't live in New York City and instead commuted from Philadelphia, which offered a much cheaper cost-of-living. Three years before finishing my PhD, I accepted a full-time position as an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Community College of Philadelphia. I needed the income and security, but soon found that being a community college faculty member comes with its own sense of isolation. I do not share the same career goals as my colleagues, and the lack of attention and support given to community college faculty by organizations like the ASA (not to mention the outright denigration of community

colleges by academics of all stripes) left me walking into the annual meeting carrying intense feelings of confusion and shame about my career and accomplishments.

This all changed when I met my CBSM section mentor. Over lunch on the second day of the conference, I shared my feelings of shame and confusion. My mentor put down their fork, looked me in the eye, and said, "You belong here, you are doing great, and I will help you." They quickly figured out where I needed guidance (contacts, introductions, and career advice) and offered praise for all that I have managed to accomplish thus far (a tenured, full-time position, a few published articles, and a book manuscript). I left that meeting feeling like a different person.

When I signed up for the mentorship program, I imagined that I would be deemed a 'lost cause,' an imposter who should return to the 'unserious' world of community college and give up my career goals. I no longer feel I don't belong; I feel confident and energized about my career goals. Please consider volunteering to be a CBSM section mentor. While that lunch meeting lasted less than an hour, the impact of that conversation will last well into the future.

Section Notes:

Mentoring Committee Update

The CBSM Mentoring Committee

The 2018-19 section Mentoring Program is off to a great start. Using responses to the survey conducted last spring, the Mentoring Committee created 30 mentor-mentee pairs. Many of those mentoring relationships kicked off over coffee at the 2018 ASA Meeting. The section offset the cost of coffee for mentoring pairs at Elixir, a coffee shop a short walk from the convention center, and 11 people took advantage of it (anecdotal evidence suggests that, even when it wasn't at the section-sponsored coffee shop, mentoring coffees were had).

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With the 2018 ASA Meeting behind us, we now encourage mentors and mentees to continue reaching out to one another in the best way they see fit. We do recommend getting mentoring conversations (whether in real time or over email) scheduled on your calendars now. While answering mentee questions is an essential part of mentoring, one of the most helpful things a mentor can do is help a mentee realize what questions they should be asking. Perhaps things like:

- ASA is great (especially the CBSM section!), but are there other, smaller, possibly interdisciplinary associations, conferences, or workshops I should connect with now?
- I know a bit about NSF grants, but which private foundations fund research projects in my area?
- My advisor/committee/colleague/department chair/dean does [this thing]. From the perspective of someone outside my school and department, would you say that's normal and acceptable?
- I've just been invited to do [this thing] which seems like a good opportunity. What risks or benefits might there be that I haven't thought of yet?
- I'm going on the job market and I want to go from my current department to an R1/R2/SLAC/non-academic institution. How should I focus my application materials to make that move?

Scheduled check-ins create a space for mentees to ask these kinds of questions—or for mentors to suggest that they might need asking.

The 2018-19 Mentoring Committee will begin preparing next year's mentoring program soon. If you have any thoughts or suggestions on how this (or any prior) year's program went, and what we might do differently in the future, please send a note to Matthew Baggetta (baggettm@indiana.edu). Also, keep an eye out for the mentoring survey in January 2019, where we will ask once again for mentors willing to offer sage wisdom and mentees seeking advice and support.

As a final note, thanks to Deana Rohlinger for her three years of service on the mentoring committee, and to Dana Moss for chairing last year's committee. This year's committee is already the beneficiary of the sage wisdom those committee mentors have passed along.

ASA 2018: Non-State Opposition to and Suppression of Social Movements

Heidi Reynolds-Stenson, University of Arizona

We had three wonderful papers focused on repression of social movements by non-state actors. Attendees and panelists alike found it to be a useful and refreshing conversation, considering the overwhelming focus on the state in repression research. While Kristin George's paper focused on the role of protestant churches in silencing the 19th-century abolition movement, Lynnette Ong's paper examined how "para police" blur the lines between state and private actors and engage in "everyday" forms of repression on the streets of China, and Rui Hou's paper addressed the ways that private companies work in cooperation with the state to surveil and manage political opinions expressed online in China. While the specific foci and contexts differed, all papers brought needed attention to the fact that private actors, not only state entities, can work to silence, manage, and undermine the work of social movements.

ASA 2018: Revisiting Threats and Grievances in the Trump Era

*Anya Galli-Robertson, University of Dayton
Tom Maher, University of Arizona*

The panel on Revisiting Threat and Grievances in the Trump era included several excellent papers. Megan Brooker presented her recently published book chapter that focuses on Indivisible’s use of conventional (i.e. town halls, phone calls, lobbying, etc.) and unconventional (protests, sit-ins, “mock town halls,” etc.) tactics to disrupt the Trump administrations agenda. She draws on interviews with organizers and participants from one group in Maine to demonstrate how the group emerged out of a desire to do *something*, and argues that the group’s tactical decisions were strategic decisions made in response to the broader political context. Second, Maria De Jesus Mora focused on the 2006 immigration protests in six central California cities. She draws on an array of interviews and news reports to argue that the polity threat of “The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005” (H.R. 4437) helped mobilize people to protest in all six cities, but only cities with well-established coalitions and moderate levels of repressive threat (i.e. ICE raids) had sustained mobilization beyond the initial protests. Finally, Neal Caren, Alyssa Browne, and Andy Andrews take a more macro approach, drawing on Pressman and Chenoweth’s crowd sourced protest data to look at the presence and size of anti-Trump protests in US counties between the first and second Women’s marches. They find that events were more likely in liberal, urban areas with a higher proportion of college educated individuals, and more microbreweries per capita. The events were also more likely to be bigger in areas with more democratic voting, and a history of political activism (i.e., occupy wall street, the 2006 immigration protests, and Black Lives Matter chapters).

The panel was well-attended, with ample time for Q&A, leading to a lively conversation about the panelists’ papers. Discussion around Brooker’s paper related to the challenges facing Indivisible moving forward, and questions directed toward Caren et al. revolved around questions of variables and measurement. Discussion related to Mora’s research drew connections between the ASA 2018 theme of “Feeling Race” and role that emotion plays in mobilization among immigrant communities. Audience members also raised questions about the broader challenges—both practical and theoretical—

of studying mobilization in response to threats and grievances during the Trump era. These questions grappled with questions such as “are these threats and grievances really new?” and “how do race and immigration status shape both the perception of threats and the ability to mobilize in response to threats?”

ASA 2018: Methodological Advances in Social Movements

Misty Ring-Ramirez, University of Arizona

John Krinsky (City University of New York-City College) and Misty Ring-Ramirez (University of Arizona) organized a session on methodological advances in research on social movements, with presentations of work by: Han Zhang (Princeton University) and Jennifer Pan (Stanford University); Eunkyung Song (Rutgers University); Weijun Yuan and Joshua Bloom (University of Pittsburgh); and Ben Manski (University of California-Santa Barbara). Each of the selected papers not only used, but also reflected on, innovative methods and data sources, as well as their ability to overcome problems researchers commonly face, shortcomings, and potential applications beyond the research question at hand. While each paper was insightful on its own, it was especially fruitful to bring them into conversation with one another through presentations and a lively discussion.

Zhang shared the system he and coauthor Jennifer Pan created to identify collective action events that occurred in China. Their approach improves upon standard machine-assisted approaches by integrating deep learning, image as data, and two-stage classification to classify over 9.5 million posts on the social media platform Sina Weibo. This enabled them to build a dataset of 197,734 unique collective action events that occurred in a censored environment, where accurate and large-scale information about protest events is not otherwise available.

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Song presented findings of an innovative approach that combined social network analysis and topic modeling principles to understand how claim-making developed as activists engaged in online discussion leading up to a 2008 protest of a Korean beef trade policy that would increase importation of beef from the United States. These “topic networks” demonstrate how seemingly disconnected topics, such as health care and beef trade, were woven together into a cohesive frame about larger policy issues.

Yuan reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of manual coding, lexical, syntactical, and hybrid approaches to identifying and coding protest events. In particular, she and coauthor Joshua Bloom highlighted the fact that machine coding has the ability to classify large amounts of digital text at a rate that is not feasible for human coders. However, they also point out that current machine-assisted approaches have some serious limitations, including the inability to distinguish multiple events discussed within the same document or reconcile the same event in different documents, as well as difficulty handling less standardized text such as social media posts.

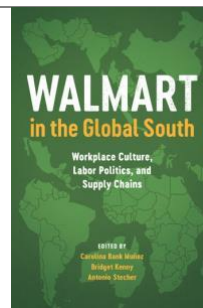
In a turn away from machine-assisted computational approaches that seek to quantify and analyze large amounts of textual data, Manski urged social movements researchers to employ a methodology that integrates the agency of activists. He argued that researchers should seriously consider what activists know about, and how they interpret, the historical moment in which they find themselves, as well as how they use this knowledge to intentionally build movements. He presented an application of the methodology he proposed to the 2011 “Wisconsin Uprising” against governor Scott Walker’s special legislation.

Finally, discussant Ring-Ramirez shared three insights from a joint consideration of the presented work. First, social movement researchers should take seriously the concept of strategy, even when employing machine-assisted methods. What are the strategic and intentional ways activists communicate? Why do they choose to share (or not) their activities online, and how do they decide which platforms to use? Secondly, there is a continued need for an investigation of the

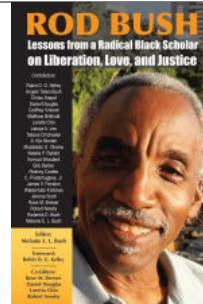
role of the internet in facilitating mobilizations, especially in the context of movement building and framing. Finally, while advances in machine-assisted methods are promising, they do have some shortcomings. Human coders and researchers are still critically necessary in social science research, as are qualitative approaches and in-depth case studies.

Recent Publications

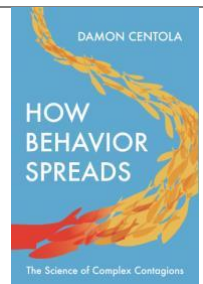
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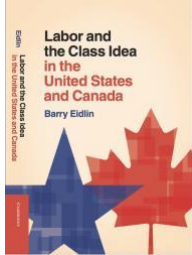


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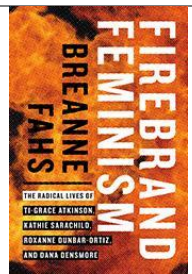
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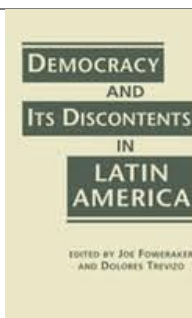
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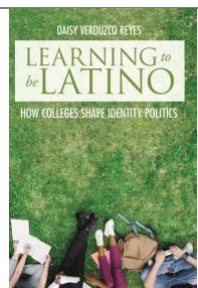
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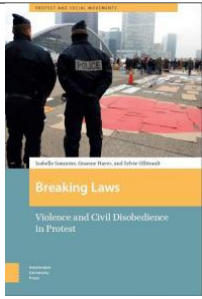


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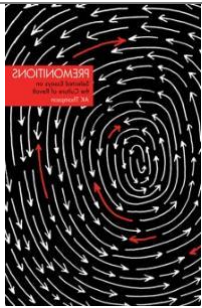
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2018 CBSM Section Awards

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award

Oyakawa, Michelle. 2018. Building a Movement in the "Non-profit Industrial Complex"

Award Committee's Summary

Michelle Oyakawa's dissertation, "Building A Movement In The Non-Profit Industrial Complex," is theoretically sophisticated, methodologically ambitious, and analytically rigorous. Oyakawa's dissertation takes as its empirical point of departure the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC), which refers to the collection of funding organizations and nonprofits they support. She examines how non-profit organizations' reliance on external funding agents influences the kinds of strategies they employ. On the one hand, many non-profit organizations prefer to pursue a populist agenda, in which the needs of ordinary people are prioritized over elites. On the other hand, however, these organizations are accountable to funding agents (e.g., philanthropic organizations) that prioritize elite expertise when making decisions about what goals to pursue. The question for Oyakawa is how non-profit organizations navigate this terrain to achieve positive social change for their communities. To answer this question, Oyakawa takes a multi-methods approach that focuses on the Ohio Organizing Collaborative (OOC), which is a non-profit, grassroots organization that works on several issues. She marshals evidence from 55 in-depth interviews, 330 hours of participant observation, and 1,300 documents. Based on her fieldwork, she finds that non-profit organizations are frequently forced to make concessions to the demands of funders, whose agendas rarely reflect the concerns of marginalized communities. Indeed, one of the key

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contributions of Oyakawa's dissertation is her argument that the NPIC operates in ways that actually undermine social and political equality by privileging elites over marginalized communities. The committee congratulates Oyakawa on this accomplishment and expects that her insights will have a strong influence on the field.

Committee: Kyle Dodson (Chair), Alison Adams, Deana Rohlinger, and Yang Zhang

Author's Reflection

The co-editors of *CriticalMass* asked me to discuss how a major takeaway from my dissertation is especially relevant in today's political and social context. I think the most immediately useful idea for activists and scholars is that I identify a conflict between two core sets of assumptions in progressive politics; this conflict deeply impacts nonprofit social movement organizations.

On the one hand, community organizers attempt to advance a **populist political logic**, where political strategy is grounded in the idea that politics should seriously engage ordinary people and be responsive to both their immediate needs and ultimate desires (e.g. what kind of community people would ideally want to live in). On the other hand, **technocratic political logic** organizes the non-profit industrial complex and guides funders' decisionmaking and action across the sector. This logic prioritizes expertise guiding political action. Experts with academic credentials use social science methods to understand and optimize the work of social movement organizations and leaders.

Technocratic political logic is especially relevant in today's political context because it is how the Democratic Party operates. Progressive social movement organizations get advice from the same experts as the Democratic Party, in part because using a high prestige consultant can help an organization demonstrate it is a legitimate recipient of funding to foundations and large political donors. This leads to a scenario where upper-class white experts design the strategies for engaging low-income communities of color. In my dissertation, I describe how this dynamic deeply impacted the Ohio Organizing Collaborative,

in particular when they tried (and failed) to put a minimum wage increase on the ballot in 2016.

In 2017, I was invited to share the technocratic vs. populist political logic framework with a national network of community organizers working on civic engagement strategy. I think this framework is helpful for organizers because it can help them understand and articulate why they have different political instincts than the experts who use data to advise them. It is all too easy for the authority of social science expertise to cause organizers (many of whom are people of color, women, and/or working class) to doubt their knowledge and understanding of how to make change in their own communities. But I would contend that organizers, by virtue of being embedded in and having hundreds of conversations with people in communities, can have a better sense of what would work to engage their people than an outside political expert that is basing his conclusions off of precedent and quantitative data alone.

Ultimately, my dissertation provides evidence for deep-seated structural problems in the broad political left that stem from 1) who has control over resources and 2) the assumptions that guide political strategy and action. These issues might ultimately prevent nonprofit social movement organizations and leaders from building power to truly contest corporate dominance in American politics.

Michelle Oyakawa, Ohio State University

Mayer N. Zald Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Student Paper Award

Haimson, Chloe. 2018. "Interactional Resistance During Black Lives Matter Protests: The Political Stakes of Rebellious Against the Public Order"

Award Committee's Summary

Drawing from ethnographic research, this study examines how interactions between protesters and police unfold at Black Lives Matter demonstrations in two cities, creating a timely and unique contribution to

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the existing literature on repression and protest tactics. Haimson argues that protesters consciously resist the terms of engagement set by police to demonstrate their overarching opposition to police violence and racism. This type of protester *interactional resistance* is predicated on deep knowledge about how their relations with police and other authorities in their communities will evolve in the heat of demonstrations. Protesters draw on this knowledge in order to balance risk of repression against a desire to make an impact with their resistance against the public order. The committee particularly appreciated how Haimson's work challenges the assumption that repression is controlled by those doing the repression (often the state). The detailed ethnography of protests in Black Lives Matter examines the strategic choices and the role of information/knowledge involved in how activists manage repression and carefully choose how to engage police or other such actors. In weaving a compelling narrative using voices of interview respondents and ethnographic data, she presented a clarity of writing and nuance of theoretical argument stood out among submissions.

Committee: Jo Reger (Chair), Neal Caron, Lisa Leitz, and Anya Galli Robertson

Author's Reflection

Over the past four years, we have witnessed a historic protest movement in response to police violence, mass incarceration, and racial injustice known nationally as the Black Lives Matter movement.

Throughout American history, social movements have been concerned with police presence at protests. Protesters fear that police will suppress their activities, be violent towards individuals participating in the movement, and incite violence in the crowd. In contrast, police view their own presence as essential to upholding the peace and instilling order. Like members of other protest movements, many members of Black Lives Matter movements are concerned with how the police will react at local protests. However, Black Lives Matter movements are unique among current protest movements since they are directly organized in response to police violence and state surveillance.

In my paper, based on ethnographic observations of local Black Lives Matter protests in two cities, I find that in-the-moment decisions by protesters reflect their deep knowledge of how their interactions with police will play out on the ground, as well as what the local control norms are in their cities.

Scholarship shows that protest repression by police of social movements in the U.S. today has not disappeared, rather its nature has evolved over time and police are more selective than they once were about who bears its brunt. These changes emphasize the need for researchers to pay attention to the more insidious actions taken to control social movement activities today—whether that be drowning out the sounds of protest with pre-recorded police announcements or outlawing the use of protest signs at city meetings.

Protesters in the Black Lives Matter Movement look for opportunities to engage in civil disobedience and deliberately reject the terms of engagement set by police and other authorities to demonstrate their resistance to racism and police brutality. At the same time, protesters often remain careful to stay within certain behavioral bounds as a means to avoid arrest and violence.

Movement participants' decisions and interactions are important for understanding both the course of policing throughout a protest and participants' objectives for achieving social change. This is especially the case with regards to local Black Lives Matter movements in today's political climate. Through studying such interactional dynamics between protesters and police, we are able to gain a more accurate understanding of the current state of repression and resistance inside today's social movements. Further, my research shows that police do not have to feel compelled to resort to arrests in order to maintain public safety. Crowd control and self-policing often occurs when non-violent protesters are given the means to police themselves and the power to de-escalate tense situations.

Chloe Haimson, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Honorable Mention

Türkoğlu, Didem. 2018. “As Tuition Rises: Opposition to the Neoliberalization of Higher Education.”

Award Committee’s Summary

Examining global protests over tuition increases, Turkoglu illuminates four pathways for how alliances between students and politicians developed and functioned (or did not). The paper offers important insight into the ways that activists and their political allies must work together to make change. The committee found this was an impressive compilation of a new and comprehensive dataset, and the combination of medium-N (QCA) and small-N (case study) research presents an especially strong methodological contribution to the field. The dataset details the introduction of tuition hikes, presence of protests, position of the political insiders, insider-outsider alliances and their effects on the policy outcome across 33 countries. Using a mixed methods comparative design that combines QCA with case studies, she highlights how alliances are brokered by a third party that is strategically positioned between the insiders and outsider. In doing so, she suggests moving beyond insider-outsider dichotomy by treating the access to the policy makers as a continuum where one actor's insider position in a policy arena can be at least partially transferred to another arena.

Committee:

Jo Reger (Chair), Neal Caron, Lisa Leitz, and Anya Galli Robertson

Author’s Reflection

Fifty years ago, the idea of charging thousand dollars for tuitions in public institutions was preposterous. Eight years ago, students in California mobilized to freeze tuition hikes; two years ago, Bernie Sanders endorsed free higher education; and a year ago, New York State started a controversial tuition-free degree program. And yet tuitions continue to rise in the US while in two thirds of the industrialized democracies students have mobilized and blocked tuition hikes in the past two decades. I ask why some protests managed to generate policy change.

I begin by documenting the fact that every country in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has proposed tuition increases at public universities at least once in the past generation. I examine all 34 OECD countries as of 2010, to identify distinct paths toward policy outcomes, taking into account the positions of political parties in each country, the composition of opposition movements, and other factors identified in the literature on protest outcomes. I then focus on three countries in detail one from each of the paths: Germany and Turkey, where protests succeeded in blocking tuition hikes, through different mechanisms; and England where protests failed to block tuition hikes.

I develop an oppositional alliances model to analyze the interaction between opposition insiders and outsiders. As insiders to lawmaking process, political parties in opposition have institutional interaction with the policy makers in the executive branch. When they form an alliance with the social movements, the shift in opposition can pose a serious political threat to the party in power. I find that alliances between student movements and labor unions can motivate political parties in opposition to change their tuition policy positions in movement’s favor. This finding bridges and contributes to two distinct literatures that have not taken much notice of each other: the study of partisan politics, which has largely downplayed the effects of social movements; and the study of social movements, which has in recent years largely downplayed the alliances with political parties in opposition.

This finding has broader implications to explain under which conditions center-left parties might move away from neoliberal policies and endorse their more traditional position in favor of redistribution. Perhaps, it is high time we focus on the parties in opposition for our analyses of policy change (or lack thereof) to explain why actions that target the governing party alone might not be enough.

Didem Türkoğlu, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award

Co-Winner: Ketchley, Neil. 2017. *Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Award Committee's Summary

In *Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring*, Neil Ketchley expertly uses a variety of data, including event data, interviews, and photos and videos gathered from social media platforms, to examine the causes, processes, and consequences of the Egyptian revolution. Part of the wider Arab Spring, Ketchley provides key insights into the unfolding of events in Egypt and makes important interventions into a number of debates. For instance, contrary to research on the effectiveness of non-violent resistance, Ketchley finds a positive flank effect for violent attacks on local police stations during 2011 protests. By destabilizing police and state security mechanisms, which required their redeployment to protect their stations, mass mobilizations were able to develop quickly in 2011, ultimately unseating Mubarak. Ketchley also draws on Tilly's repertoire of contention to show that during these mobilizations, long standing Egyptian tactics including fraternization affected the dynamic between protesters, police, and military. Ketchley provides important insights into the structural opportunities and risks the Muslim Brotherhood faced, as well as the Brotherhood's strategic and tactical decision-making, which help to explain why it was slow to support mass mobilization, its strong electoral performance (which owed to strong local organizations that could get-out-the-vote), and its inability to hold on to power during the 2013 coup that unseated Mursi. Ketchley also carefully documents the significant tactical adaptations following the coup, but also shows how each adaptation, while minimizing repression, also limited the ability of protesters to access mass audiences. Together, the book provides essential insights into many facets of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 and its

continuing political consequences.

Committee: Jennifer Earl (Chair), John Krinsky, Erica Simmons, and Edward Walker

Author's Reflection

Egypt in a Time of Revolution tells the story of how a diverse coalition of Egyptians banded together to oust a seemingly well-entrenched dictator in early 2011, and how that coalition divided in the years that followed. Writing against structuralist and culturalist accounts of the Arab Spring, the book argues that we cannot understand the trajectory of the 25th January Revolution and its aftermath without paying close attention to the evolving dynamics of contentious politics.

Egypt in a Time of Revolution contains several lessons for how we might understand more recent episodes of street-level activism. The first lesson relates to the much-touted efficacy of nonviolent civil resistance. The anti-Mubarak mobilization was initially held up as exemplifying the potency of nonviolent protest. But as the book chronicles, anti-Mubarak protesters attacked and burnt down over a quarter of the country's police stations during the early days of the mobilization—and these acts of violence led to the collapse of a key wing of the regime's coercive apparatus, creating opportunities for nonviolent protest elsewhere.

We should be similarly cautious of arguments that stress the singular importance of social media in patterning protest. As *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* documents, some of the most significant anti-regime protests occurred during a period when the internet had been switched off. Indeed, far from being orchestrated online by internet-savvy activists, anti-regime activism was much more likely to unfold in ways that were situational, contingent, and highly localized.

Looking beyond the initial revolutionary situation, *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* shows how street-level mobilization can be a tool for autocracy. In the years following Mubarak's ousting, old regime figures came to see protest as a means of destabilizing the country's

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transition to democracy—and ultimately for creating the conditions for a military coup in July 2013. While we often think of protest as being the preserve of the disenfranchised, a close examination of these episodes reveals how old regime figures can facilitate and foment episodes of mobilization and collective violence for decidedly anti-democratic ends.

Finally, *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* charts how an authoritarian regime can outmaneuver protestors after having learnt from previous episodes of mobilization. Following the installation of a new military-led government in the summer of 2013, the forces of order quickly focused their repression on protest events that looked to mimic the repertoire of occupying focal spaces—most famously Midan al-Tahrir in downtown Cairo—that was pioneered in January-February 2011. Having come to reply on this tactic, anti-coup activists struggled to adapt and sustain a public presence in the face of targeted state violence, leading to their demobilization. Far from being outright defeated, this suggests, public opposition to the new authoritarianism in Egypt (and elsewhere in the MENA region, for that matter) has instead been delimited by authoritarian learning in ways that recall Asef Bayat's observation that, "The metaphorical [Arab] street is not deserted, so much as it is controlled." In this, *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* shows how massive state repression can create the veneer of consent.

Methodologically, *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* advances a research strategy that seeks to creatively combine both qualitative and quantitative data. In particular, the book takes advantage of an online archive of video footage and photography, uploaded to YouTube and other sites, to reconstruct key episodes. Used alongside more conventional sources, such as informant testimony and event data derived from local newspaper coverage, the book illustrates how videos and photographs capture aspects of events that might otherwise fall beneath the threshold of scholarly visibility.

Neil Ketchley, King's College London

Co-Winner: Zepeda-Millán, Chris. 2018. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Radicalization and Activism*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Our committee was quite impressed with *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism* by Chris Zepeda-Millan. In this book, Zepeda-Millan focuses on the landmark wave of protests that took place across the United States in 2006, which were mobilizations primarily by those advocating for Latino/a immigrant rights. Spurred in large part by what came to be known as the Sensenbrenner Bill, the legislation was widely recognized as being one of the most punitive anti-immigrant laws in the history of the U.S., and, as such, it became a serious force in mobilizing immigrant communities and their allies. Zepeda-Millan's book represents a seminal contribution to understanding this historic mobilization, examining the history of the immigrant rights movement in the U.S., the dynamics of the 2006 protests in themselves, and the aftermath in the years that have followed since. Zepeda-Millan's book also makes substantial contributions to how we understand contentious politics more broadly, offering not only a novel conceptualization of threat, but new approaches to understanding movements' ties to ethnic media outlets, coalition partners, and those in the state who seek to repress (versus ally with) a movement. The book also serves as a critical bridge between social movement research and new approaches to the study of race and ethnicity.

Committee: Jennifer Earl (Chair), John Krinsky, Erica Simmons, and Edward Walker

Author's Reflection

In the spring of 2006, millions of Latinos across the country participated in some of the largest civil rights demonstrations in American history. In *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization and Activism*, I analyzed the background, course, and impacts of this unprecedented protest wave, highlighting its unique local, national, and demographic dynamics. I found that because of the particular ways the issue of immigrant illegality was

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racialized, federally proposed anti-immigrant legislation (H.R. 4437) helped transform Latinos' sense of latent group membership into the racial group consciousness that incited their engagement in large-scale collective action. Underscoring the important roles that ethnic media and the activation of preexisting community resources played, I showed how nativist policy threats against disenfranchised undocumented immigrants provoked a political backlash—on the streets and in the ballot box—from not only “people without papers,” but also naturalized and U.S.-born Latino citizens.

However, as I argue in the book's conclusion, one of the main takeaways of my study is that the relationship between activism and electoral politics is not an organic one; it must be strategically planned, cultivated, and executed. Unlike Obama did in both 2008 and 2012, Hilary Clinton's campaign did not make any serious efforts to register and mobilize Latinos and immigrants to vote in 2016. While Trump continues to provide the motivation for them to naturalize, register and cast their ballots, the impact of the Latino electorate during the next presidential election will ultimately depend on whether the DNC and progressive foundations heavily invest in fostering this potentially powerful political force.

Chris Zepeda-Millán, University of California, Berkeley

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award

Yao Lu and Ran Tao. 2017. “Organizational Structure and Collective Action: Lineage Networks, Semiautonomous Civic Associations, and Collective Resistance in Rural China.” *American Journal of Sociology* 122:1726-1774

Award Committee's Summary

Yao Lu and Ran Tao's “Organizational Structure and Collective Action” asks fundamental questions about the role of organization in the emergence of collective action and its impact. These two questions—emergence and success—have been typically

investigated separately. Viewing these phenomena as distinct obscures intriguing questions. For example, is the type of organization that facilitates assertive mobilization also able to secure policy concessions? The authors draw on an impressive mixed methods design (large-scale quant data and interview data). This paper advances our understanding of the organizational conditions underpinning collective action in non-democracies (rural China, in their case), which in recent years have witnessed unprecedented collective resistance.

Committee: Kenneth Andrews (Chair), Amin Ghaziani, Paul Ingram, and Ziad Munson

Honorable Mention

Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2017. “Human Rights and Minority Activism in Japan: Transformation of Movement Actorhood and Local-Global Feedback Loop.” *American Journal of Sociology* 122:1050-1103.

Award Committee's Summary

Kiyoteru Tsutsui's “Human Rights and Minority Activism in Japan” asks whether international human rights principles and campaigns shape local activism, and whether local activism shapes global institutions. Scholars agree that global human rights matter in local politics. However, we do not know the transformative potential of global human rights policies (how they change the way local actors understand their problems, evaluate their claims, and think of themselves as a movement). Tsutsui unpacks these “transformative influences” by examining how ideas about global human rights influenced three minority movements in Japan. The paper examines the interplay between global and local forces, and it theorizes important feedback loops from local activism back to the global, rather than assuming a unidirectional influence from global to local.

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CriticalMass

Author's Reflection

This article is about the capacity of global human rights ideas and institutions to empower marginalized populations into political activism. Central to global human rights is the principle that everyone deserves fundamental rights just for being a human. Guided by this powerful principle, minority groups in Japan advanced their activism and made significant gains. The important first step for them was what I call transformation of movement actorhood—changes in their understanding about their place in society and the rights they are entitled to. This transformation enabled Ainu to realize that they can claim indigenous rights, Koreans to escape the clutches of the citizenship rights regime, and Burakumin to reimagine themselves as an international human rights advocates. Once in motion, the new movement actorhood drove those groups to leverage international human rights forums as alternative venues for claim-making and achieve some of their key goals: Ainu received recognition as an indigenous people, Koreans gained many more rights, and Burakumin became an international human rights NGO. They also fed back to global human rights by consolidating existing institutions and adding new norms to their repertoire.

In the current political moment, these auspicious years for global human rights seem to be squarely in the rearview mirror. The liberal international order that undergirded global human rights is under siege, and minority rights protection has been among the most common target of populist leaders with authoritarian streaks. Is the hope for human rights lost amidst the march of Trumpism? Has the powerful principle of might-makes-right come back to forever doom the fledgling ideal of rights-make-might? Only time will tell.

I would argue, however, that once released to the world, the empowering capacity of global human rights is difficult to eradicate. Try as they might to undermine democratic institutions, free media, university campuses, and other civil society organizations, authoritarian leaders cannot easily extinguish the flames of hope among people who know they deserve better.

For decades, global human rights have empowered local populations while local actors also fed back to global human rights. Global human rights will likely face particularly challenging times ahead with the US pulling out of the UN Human Rights Council and China and Russia emboldened to challenge human rights concerns on the global stage. Thus, local efforts to sustain global human rights might be our best bet at the moment. In recent years, activists have invested a lot of efforts in initiatives such as Human Rights Cities and Cities for CEDAW, local grassroots efforts to realize human rights goals without depending on national governments or intergovernmental institutions. As long as these efforts do not die out, human rights ideas will continue to survive in bottom-up efforts even if the top-down forces might wane. After decades of the global supporting the local, we will likely see the local sustaining the global in the coming years and decades.

Tsutsui Kiyoteru, University of Michigan

**Deadline for the
Spring 2019 Issue of
CriticalMass Bulletin:
April 15th**

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS CBSM Sessions at ASA 2019

*August 10-13th, 2019
New York, NY*

Critical Studies and Social Movement Frameworks

A significant contingent of scholars of social movements has been critical of the frameworks offered by the social movement canon. Their critiques have ranged in scope including those wanting to expand the foci of research to those that argue for all movement research to consider how racisms shape every movement. In this session, we tackle these theoretical polemics.

Session organizer:
Edelina Burciaga, University of Colorado,
Denver; edelina.burciaga@ucdenver.edu

Frontline Communities and Struggles for Racial, Environmental, and Economic Justice

Today's struggles for social justice in the United States and around the world are noteworthy for the leadership roles played by historically oppressed groups—including indigenous communities, people of color, and low-income and urban communities. This panel features research on organizing among these often overlooked constituencies, exploring how analyses, organizing models, and campaigns are linking a variety of movements engaged in addressing some of the most critical challenges of our times.

Session organizer:
Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh
jgsmith@pitt.edu

Mobilizing for and Against Violence in Pursuit of Social Justice

This panel explores how states and social movements mobilize for and against violence in the pursuit of social justice. We demonstrate how violence is legitimated by claims to morality, justice, humanitarianism, dignity, and threat, as well as the complexities inherent in responding to violence, such that one person's mobilization for redress or self-defense may be another's experience of brutality. In light of the rise of state violence, civil war, terrorism, and minority victimization in recent years, this panel addresses pressing empirical and theoretical concerns central to the 2019 ASA theme of Engaging Social Justice for a Better World.

Session organizers:
Dana Moss, University of Pittsburgh
dmm209@pitt.edu
Aliza Luft, UCLA, aluft@soc.ucla.edu

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Refereed Roundtables (1 hour)

This is an open submission session for roundtables related to collective behavior and social movements.

Session organizers:
Andrew Thompson, akt@tranzform.ca
E. Colin Ruggero, eruggero@ccp.edu

Find directions for submission and more at:
<http://www.asanet.org/annual-meeting-2019/2019-call-submissions>

CALL FOR PAPERS
Inaugural Conference on
Right-Wing Studies

April 25th-27th, 2019
University of California at Berkeley

The **Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies** (CRWS), an academic research institution located at the University of California, Berkeley, is pleased to announce a general call for papers for its Inaugural Conference on Right-Wing Studies. As an interdisciplinary academic center uniting scholars from different fields, departments, and methodologies, we are interested in proposals from scholars whose work deals with the Right as a social, political, or intellectual phenomenon from the 19th century to the present day. Participants will have the rare opportunity to join an expanding network of scholars who focus on right-wing studies, facilitating the development of this interdisciplinary field and future collaborations that emerge from these connections.

We invite proposals for panels and paper presentations from tenured and untenured faculty, graduate students, independent scholars, and others whose work addresses the study of the Right. Individual paper proposals should consist of a title, a 500 word abstract, and a CV from the proposer. Panel proposals should include a title and a 500 word panel abstract, as well as titles, brief abstracts, and CV's for all participants; discussants and chairs are welcome, but not mandatory. Paper and panel proposals should be emailed to crws@berkeley.edu and are both due by **December 10, 2018**, and decisions will be sent by **mid February**. For more information, send an email to crws@berkeley.edu, or visit the CRWS website at <https://crws.berkeley.edu/>.

CALL FOR PAPERS
Innovations in Social Sciences and
Humanities

October 4th-5th, 2019
Ton Duc Thang University
Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

This global conference is organized by scholars from Italy, Germany, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Vietnam.

The conference themes are organized in three overlapping streams, including innovations in public engagement, historical and contemporary practices and policies, innovations in methodology training and new skills for the future.

For more details, see <http://issh2019.tdtu.edu.vn/>

CALL FOR PAPERS
Gender and Digital Media

Full papers due January 15th, 2019
Social Science Computer Review

The editors of *Social Science Computer Review* are putting together a special issue that focuses on gender and digital media, highlighting the positive and negative elements of digital media for social change/social movements, such as #metoo and the Women's March.

Here is a link with the details:

<https://academic.macewan.ca/bouliannes/sscr-special-issue/>

CALL FOR PAPERS

Mobilization's Resistance and its Repression: Illiberal Democracies East and West

*May 10th-11th, 2019
San Diego State University*

The third annual Mobilization conference will be held at San Diego State University, San Diego, CA. We will explore two questions: How does the erosion of liberal democratic institutions affect social movements? And what can we learn about the dark dance between new social-control efforts and collective actions to resist them? This conference is sponsored by the Hansen Foundation for Peace and Nonviolence, and is organized in conjunction with *Mobilization* and SDSU.

Plenary sessions will focus on illiberal democracies. Open paper sessions will cover a wide range in our field, and will be organized thematically depending on submissions. To reserve your place, submit an abstract and formally register by the deadline, and commit to a completed paper by the conference. Our vision is an informal and friendly space for researchers in the social movements/contentious field to gather annually and discuss their work. In addition to this year's focus on illiberal democracies, we welcome papers of topics such as:

- Strategies of nonviolent resistance
- Trends in social movement theory
- The analysis of contemporary movements
- Social media and digital technologies
- Tactical variations and movement outcomes
- Crossnational and historical analysis of protest
- Collective identity and identity movements
- And more, depending on submissions

Previous conferences confirm the utility of smaller, congenial gatherings for our research community. To attend, submit your abstract/register by **January 31**. Questions? Contact Mobilization.Quarterly@sdsu.edu

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

Media and Communication Activism: The Empowerment Practices of Social Movements

A Book Series for Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group

This Routledge series edited by Claudia Magallanes Blanco, Alice Mattoni, and Charlotte Ryan will grapple with recurring issues facing practitioners, teachers, students, and scholars of communication activism; it will address challenges to communication activism as well as emancipatory practices that build culturally resonant, richly networked, multi-faceted, movement communication systems.

Core series themes include:

- + The power structures of media and communication activism
- + Rights in the framework of media and communication activism
- + Outcomes, learning and sustainable futures in media and communication activism

We invite brief (2-3 pp.) statements of interest that fall within the series scope. Selected authors will be asked to provide a fuller proposal for peer review.

Statements will be reviewed starting November 15, but entries are accepted on a rolling basis.

Contact for informal enquiries before submission of statements of interest:

Claudia Magallanes Blanco
claudia.magallanes@iberopuebla.mx

Alice Mattoni
alice.mattoni@sns.it

Charlotte Ryan
charlotte_ryan@uml.edu

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITY

Career: The Influence of Social Problems on Healthcare and Legal Institutions

Liz Chiarello, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Saint Louis University, received an NSF CAREER Award jointly sponsored by the Sociology and Law and Social Science Programs for her project titled "CAREER: The Influence of Social Problems on Healthcare and Legal Institutions."

The United States is facing an unprecedented opioid crisis. Opioids are addictive pain relievers that are profitable in illicit markets and pose challenges for healthcare providers who are responsible for treating pain and for enforcement agents who are tasked with ensuring proper drug provision. Several states have responded by adopting prescription drug monitoring programs (PDMPs), surveillance technologies designed for healthcare and criminal justice use. However, researchers and policymakers have not fully considered how this technology will impact professional fields. This project will examine how current efforts to curb the opioid crisis affect healthcare and criminal justice workers. This project asks: how does policing patients affect healthcare practice? And, how does targeting healthcare providers affect law enforcement?

Addressing these questions is important because requiring workers to venture beyond their traditional scopes of practice could undermine their professional commitments and negatively impact professional community members. This research

contributes to policy by including both health care and enforcement workers, aiming to develop policy solutions amenable to both fields. It advances education by enlisting the help of undergraduate research assistants. Findings will inform policymakers and clinicians about ways to address the opioid crisis while avoiding unintended consequences.

This project examines the opioid epidemic as a case for understanding how social problems transform social fields. The primary goal is to extend sociological and socio-legal theory by developing a micro-level theory of field change. This project uses a mixed-methods, comparative design across three states, California, Florida, and Missouri, that will culminate in four original qualitative and quantitative data sets. These data will be analyzed with the assistance of an undergraduate research team using grounded theory techniques. This research contributes by addressing intersections between law and medicine and by using nested maximum variation samples to capture field-level heterogeneity and change. Although most research on opioid abuse is heavily siloed, focusing either on healthcare or law enforcement, this research brings together insights from both fields. Findings will inform policy makers and healthcare leaders about how using technology to combat opioid abuse affects practice. Technology is often considered a panacea for addressing social problems, but this research brings a critical lens to technology, addressing the kinds of unintended consequences that might result from its use.

Information about the award can be found here: https://www.nsf.gov/awardsearch/showAward?AWD_ID=1753308&HistoricalAwards=false