

CriticalMassBulletin

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

Volume 45 (1)

<http://cbsm-asa.org/>

Spring 2020

2019-2020 Section Officers

Chair

Tina Fetner

Chair-Elect

Rachel Einwohner

Past Chair

Jo Reger

Secretary/Treasurer

Dana Fisher

Council

John Krinsky

Ziad Munson

Amin Ghaziani

Lisa Leitz

Selina Gallo-Cruz

Paul Almeida

Sharon Erikson Nepstad

Committees

Mentoring (appointed)

Dana Moss

Caroline Lee

Chandra Russo

Nominations

Catherine Corrigan-Brown

Joyce Bell

Zakiya Luna

Publications

Lynette Ong

Drew Halfmann

Thomas Maher

Workshop

Ana Velitchkova

Nicole Fox

Eulie Laschever

Membership, Diversity, and Inclusion

Edelina Burciaga

Daisy Verduzco Reyes

Glenn Bracey

Webmaster

Ben Manski

Newsletter Editors

Stacy Williams

Daniel McClymonds

Please send all your ideas, feedback, and submissions to cbsmnews@gmail.com.

Message from the Chair



Tina Fetner

CBSM Section Chair

Professor of Sociology

McMaster University

In the face of an ongoing global pandemic, the ASA 2020 annual meeting has been cancelled. What to do in its wake is an open question. The ASA has been contacting presenters with options to participate in an online meeting; I'm sure you have received their email. They encourage each of us to make our own

choices about whether they have the capacity to develop and deliver a presentation.

In terms of the CBSM section, the Council met just after the ASA's initial announcement, and we agreed that section sessions should be allowed to make their own choices about how to proceed. The section's business will continue for the most part. The CBSM Section Business Meeting will be conducted virtually in its originally scheduled time of Tuesday, August 11, 10:30am Pacific Time. I hope you can join us. Section committees will continue to meet online, and our planning for the 2021 pre-conference is ongoing.

As you decide whether to participate in an online conference, I want to make sure that everyone is aware that accepted submissions still belong on your CV, regardless of whether you participate in the "virtual event." Various style guides recommend making a short note, such as "conference cancelled" at the end of the entry. I hope that everyone deciding to participate virtually is doing so out of enthusiasm for the scholarly discourse, connecting with scholars in their field, and learning about the work of others, rather than a sense of pressure to live up to someone's expectation.

In This Issue

Message from the Chair	1
Protesting the 2019 Citizenship Amendment Act in India	2
Recent Publications	3
CBSM Activities at ASA	5
Call for Papers and Other Opportunities	5

CriticalMass

In having conversations with our Chair-elect, Rachel Einwohner, I am beginning to feel really excited for the 2021 meeting. Her enthusiasm is contagious, and I look forward to the program that she will assemble with her program committee. I look forward to gathering with you all, seeing you in person, and giving hugs to my old friends who I haven't seen in a long time.

In the meanwhile, keep your eye out for updates. I will let you know more as soon as I can. Please take care of yourselves and know that I am thinking of you.

Protesting the 2019 Citizenship Amendment Act in India

Mangala Subramaniam, Purdue University

Past scholarship in social movements conceptualize democracies and dictatorships as a binary. This dichotomous view of political regimes limits our understanding of the ways in which states respond to challengers, and how democracies can adopt repressive measures that work to concentrate power within the government. India's passage of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), and its response to the resulting protests, shows the need to reconceptualize the state to consider how the concentration of power—even within multi-party democracies—can enable repression and violence of protestors.

The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), passed by India's parliament on December 11, 2019, will grant citizenship to persecuted Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians who were minorities in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, while excluding persecuted Muslims. Combined with the National Register of Citizens (NRC), which requires people to prove they are citizens of India, the CAA has raised fears among many in India. Civil rights groups say the CAA discriminates against Muslims, but the government denies these claims and argues the CAA protects all religious minorities fleeing persecution.

The recent consolidation of power by India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) paved the way for this law. In the 2014 and 2017 national elections, the BJP garnered an overwhelming majority of seats in the Lok Sabha (House of the People or Lower House of parliament) with no official opposition party, as no single party gained the required 10% of seats (India has eight recognized national parties, including the BJP). This has allowed the government to function like a dictatorial regime rather than a democracy, passing exclusionary laws and violently repressing dissent.

Protests by large sections of society in cities across India erupted in December 2019 and continued until India's coronavirus-related lockdown in late March 2020. Public protests are not uncommon events in India, but the scale of this discontent is enormous. Thousands of people have come out on the streets in numerous cities, universities, public squares and *maidans* (or open grounds/spaces) to demand withdrawal of the CAA.

There is no doubt that the country's Muslims, who feel most threatened by this move, are at the forefront of the protests. The protests at Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) university in Delhi were met with police brutality inside the university's campus and library, which gave further momentum to the wave of demonstrations. The protests at JMI and Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) have since developed into a much wider opposition on campuses across the country. Many of protestors are middle class university students, but they are protesting the violation of democracy rather than calling for privileges for themselves.

The protests are driven by a disquiet against attempts to define India as a Hindu nation. Protestors insist that India should not have a hierarchy of citizenship rights based only on religion. The Preamble to the Constitution has become a rallying cry at many demonstrations, as it ensures for all of India's citizens, "Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all; Fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation." Challengers also frequently use other national symbols, such as the Indian flag. Some student protestors carried

placards that read, “We are not Hindus, Muslims... Christians. We are Indians.” However, these demonstrations have yet to have a tangible effect on the state that is unwilling to either listen to or talk to the protesters.

The police have used force in cities where protests have erupted. They have beaten protestors, used tear-gas shells, made arbitrary arrests, and banned assemblies. In early January 2020, a scuffle between students and masked men on the campus of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) led to a professor and a student being injured. Beyond use of police under the guise of the need for law and order, the state curtailed the flow of information by shutting down the Internet in some cities, including Delhi.

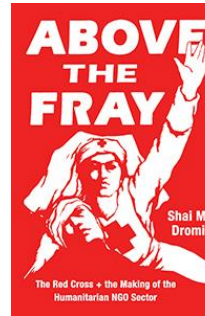
This state-led suppression of dissent using brute force prevents dialogue, blocks the flow of information, and silences the voices of large sections of people. It alters the character of the democracy. Thus, the case of India demonstrates the need to reconceptualize the state within the political process approach to account for repression that occurs within democracies.

Repression of challengers within a democracy can be influenced by the political structure: which political party is in power and the extent to which a majority held. An overwhelming majority can mean the concentration of formal political power and enforcement of an extreme ideology that deters from the broader concerns of citizens, such as exclusion by law. Moreover, if not challenged by any major opposition party, the ruling party does not feel compelled to listen to marginalized groups, limiting the space for social movements as they make demands on the state. A party’s significant majority within a democracy’s national parliament can then essentially function as a dictatorial regime.

In sum, the current view of democracies as being purely non-dictatorial does not capture the wide variation in structures and practices of democratic states. I suggest that scholars must also consider state *structure* and not simply rely on the binary of democracies vs. repressive (or military) regimes to explain state-movement dynamics.

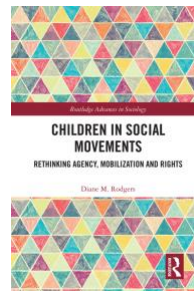
Recent Publications

New Books



Dromi, Shai M. 2020. *Above the Fray: The Red Cross and the Making of the Humanitarian NGO Sector*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

(<https://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/A/bo46479924.html>)



Rodgers, Diane M. 2020. *Children in Social Movements, Rethinking Agency, Mobilization and Rights*. New York, NY: Routledge.

(<https://www.routledge.com/Children-in-Social-Movements-Rethinking-Agency-Mobilization-and-Rights/Rodgers/p/book/9780367856779>)



Upright, Craig B. 2020. *Grocery Activism: The Radical History of Food Cooperatives in Minnesota*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

(<https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/grocery-activism>)

Other Publications

Banerjee, Tarun. 2020. "The Collective Interests of Large Corporations: Social Movement Protest and the Policy-Planning Network." *The Sociological Quarterly* 1-33.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2019.1711250>

Banerjee, Tarun, and Benjamin Case. 2020. "The Leverage of Protest: Market, Media, and Reputational Disruption in Social Movement Success." *Sociological Forum* 35(1):95-125.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12569>

Isaac, Larry W., Jonathan S. Coley, Daniel B. Cornfield, and Dennis C. Dickerson. 2019. "Pathways to Modes of Movement Participation: Micromobilization in the Nashville Civil Rights Movement." *Social Forces*, online first: <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soz117>

Luft, Aliza. 2019. "The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Genocide: Evidence from Rwanda." *Contention: The Journal of Social and Political Protest* 7(2): 1-30.

<https://doi.org/10.3167/cont.2019.070202>

Mueller, Jason C. 2019. "Political, Economic, and Ideological Warfare in Somalia." *Peace Review* 31(3): 372-380.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2019.1735174>

Wrenn, Corey, and Alexis Lizardi. 2020. "Older, Greener, and Wiser: Charting the Experiences of Older Women in the American Vegan Movement." *Journal of Women & Aging* 1-23.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/08952841.2020.1749501>

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 CBSM 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.

To publish your profile, please provide the following:

- Photograph (optional)
- Current affiliation
- List of up to 10 representative publications (including forthcoming publications and works in progress) in ASA or APA format
- 200-word candidate statement in 1st person
- Website and email address

Please send all materials to *Critical Mass* co-editors Stacy Williams and Daniel McClymonds at cbsmnews@gmail.com by **July 1, 2020**.

Sincerely,

Tina Fetner, CBSM Section Chair
Drew Halfmann, Thomas Maher, and Lynette Ong, Publications Committee

CBSM at ASA

Our Spring issue of *Critical Mass* usually contains a schedule of CBSM-related events at ASA. As you probably know, the ASA has decided to cancel the originally scheduled conference for 2020 due to the Coronavirus pandemic. Some conference activities will still take place online. The business meeting for the CBSM section will take place virtually on Tuesday, August 11 at 10:30 am Pacific. The ASA will post the schedule of the virtual sessions and meetings online by July 20th. Read more on ASA's website: <https://www.asanet.org/annual-meeting-2020>

**Deadline for the
Fall 2020 Issue of
Critical Mass Bulletin:
October 15th**

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

CALL FOR ADMISSIONS Scuola Normale Superiore, PhD Grants

Applications due August 27th, 2020

13 Fully Funded PhD Grants, SSNS in Florence, Italy

13 fully funded PhD grants (for 4 years) at the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, where Cosmos is located and where social movement studies are a core topic.

- Call for Admissions:
<https://normalenews.sns.it/call-for-admission-to-the-postgraduate-course-for-the-2020-202176-places>
- The application procedure:
<https://www.sns.it/en/admissions/phd/how-to-apply-for-the-phd-courses>
- The PhD in Political Science and Sociology:
<https://www.sns.it/en/political-science-and-sociology>
- The PhD in Transnational Governance
<https://www.sns.it/en/transnational-governance>