

# Critical Mass *Bulletin*

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

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

## 2021-2022 Section Officers

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Rory M. McVeigh

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Julia Goldman-Hasbun  
Mario Venegas

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Anna Zhelnina

### Webmaster:

Open for applications



## Message From the Chair

Rory McVeigh

Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor  
Department of Sociology  
University of Notre Dame

It is surreal to greet you all as the chair of CBSM. Throughout my career, the section has provided me with a home—a place that I could connect with scholars, young and old, who display unusual passion for social justice and for engaging in work that focuses on what's wrong in the world and how we might fix it.

I would like to open this newsletter by expressing my gratitude to our prior chair, Rachel Einwohner, for the great work she did last year

during these trying times, as well as to all of those who served with her and before her to keep the section running.

At present, the pandemic is clearly not behind us. If you look hard enough, though, maybe you can see light at the end of the tunnel. Covid 19 has complicated all of our lives and brought tragedy to too many lives. Yet somehow, social movement scholars have been able to continue producing outstanding work. In this issue of *Critical Mass*, you will be able to read about amazing articles, books, and dissertations that received awards from the section in August. (Continued on Page 2)

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Having served on one of the award committees, I can tell you that identifying one or two winners for an award is challenging to say the least. Simply put, you all are turning out a lot of great stuff.

In August, we enjoyed a remarkably successful virtual ASA meeting and it was good to see so many people presenting work and attending the sessions. I think we would all agree, however, that there is nothing like meeting in person, chatting informally outside of a meeting room (not a virtual one), and maybe having a beer or two with old and new friends at the end of the day. We can look forward with hope to the August meetings in Los Angeles. However, we are a long way from August and I worry about young scholars, in particular, who are trying to find their place in the field.

Years ago, when I was still sort of young, I received an email from Mayer Zald that came completely out of the blue. It was a brief message that told me that he enjoyed reading a piece I had recently published and that he looked forward to talking with me about it in the future. I later found out that many others had received similar messages from him. He was genuinely interested in ideas that a younger generation was coming up with and he was kind enough to tell us so. Until we meet in Los Angeles, let's take a bit of extra time to read each other's work and express appreciation, admiration, and encouragement to the authors. In the process, we can also reach across our subfield boundaries and across other boundaries that could potentially keep us from making these kinds of supportive connections.

Please enjoy this issue of Critical Mass and perhaps you could join me in thanking Julia Goldman-Hasbun and Mario Venegas for putting it together.

## Section Award Winners

### 2021 CBSM Section Award Winners

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

Mayer Zald Outstanding Graduate Student  
Paper Award Committee:

Rory McVeigh, Dina Okamoto, Kelsy  
Kretschmer, Anna Zhelnina

#### Winner:

Apoorva Ghosh. "The Politics of Alignment and the 'Quiet Transgender Revolution' in Fortune 500 Corporations, 2008 to 2017."

From the committee: "The committee found Apoorva Ghosh's paper, "The Politics of Alignment and the 'Quiet Transgender Revolution' in Fortune 500 Corporations, 2008 to 2017," to be substantively important and felt that it makes a significant contribution to social movement scholarship. The committee found that the paper does an excellent job engaging



extant literature to "make room" for your contribution and to highlight the importance of the work. The committee also thought that the theoretical argument about the politics of alignment has broad implications and should be useful to social movement scholars in their own work cutting across the range of issues that motivate protest."

#### Honorable mention:

Rui Jie Peng. "Rightful Bargaining: Rural Women Making Claims for Social Provisions in China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation Program."



**Winner:** Joshua Bloom. 2020. "The Dynamics of Repression and Insurgent Practice in the Black Liberation Struggle." *American Journal of Sociology* 126.2: 195-259.



From the committee: "The committee also found Rui Jie Peng's paper, "Rightful Bargaining: Rural Women Making Claims for Social Provisions in China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation Program," to be substantively important. The committee thought that it makes an important contribution to social movement scholarship. Committee members were impressed by the effort and rigor of the paper's data collection efforts, as well as the skillful presentation of its findings. In particular, they were intrigued by the process of "co-construction of permissible boundaries" that the paper describes and found it to be especially enlightening, as it offers deep insight to micro-level claims making processes."

From the committee: "The committee found this article to be an outstanding analysis of the effectiveness of repression tactics used to quell movements for Black liberation struggles in the United States. The analysis advances our understanding of the impact of repression by examining numerous liberation struggles across a span of decades. With data from over 20,000 protest events, Bloom's empirical analyses are uniquely positioned to test some of social movement theory's central propositions, including the inverse-U theory of repressive effects and political process theory. In addition, Bloom develops new theoretical perspectives and advances a practice theory of repressive effects, which contextualizes repressive tactics in the social and political contexts in which they are enacted. In the end, this article makes significant, substantial contributions to social movements theory that will be of use to scholars studying a variety of movements and contexts."

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

Distinguished Contribution  
Article Award Committee:

Tina Fetner, Sharon Erickson Nepstad, Yao Lu, Thomas E. Shriver

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

Charles Tilly Award for Best Book Committee:  
Rachel Einwohner, Selina Gallo-Cruz, Robert Braun, Joshua Bloom

**Winner:** Eleonora Pasotti. 2020. *Resisting Redevelopment: Protest in Aspiring Global Cities* (Cambridge University Press)



From the committee: Impressive in both breadth and depth, this study presents a comparative analysis of both the mobilization and impact of anti-development collective action in ten cities around the world: Santiago, Istanbul, Tel Aviv, Seoul, Hamburg, Toronto, Madrid, Los Angeles, Buenos Aires, and Melbourne. Pasotti asks a vital question about how people build power from below by developing unique forms of practice specially suited to their political environment. The book is theoretically rich, exploring both cultural and structural factors, and offering a new concept of “experiential tools” that broadens our conceptualization of protest tactics. When circumstances were conducive and activists employed these tools effectively, they generated the momentum and support necessary to mobilize resistance on a broad scale. Pasotti provides nuanced and historically sensitive analysis for each city, and across a range of themes, while using QCA to

draw general lessons. This book is a “tour de force” in terms of methodology. While most of us struggle to do research by comparing within or between a few countries, Pasotti deploys archival work, interviews and observations from 29 (unsuccessful and successful) protest campaigns in 10 major cities across 5 different continents. This breath notwithstanding, the analysis never becomes unwieldy. This is in large part due to the author’s skillful integration of qualitative comparative analysis and in-depth case studies. Her research generates meaningful insights about how policymakers and organizers can work together to limit displacement and gentrification: through subsidized housing, tenant protection regulation, zoning laws, rent stabilization, through case by case defense of residents’ right to stay in their neighborhoods and homes, and in prevention strategies that center community planning and residents’ well-being in construction plans.

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

Outstanding Dissertation Award Committee:  
Lynette Ong, Paul Almeida, Edward Flores, Tyson Patros

**Co-winners:**

Benjamin H. Bradlow, “Urban Origins of Democracy and Inequality: Governing São Paulo and Johannesburg, 1985-2016”



From the committee: “Bradlow’s dissertation is intellectually stimulating and contributes to various different discussions in the literature by moving forward the study of social movements, development, and democracy. It is also politically important in its overall analysis of how social movements can impact institutional arrangements to reduce social inequalities. The committee was impressed with the data and the comparative case study design across three public goods. This is a timely project given current importance of finding ways to actually deepen democracy, not just transition from autocratic regimes to formal political democracy or defend existing liberal democracy from the Right in rearguard battles. There are exciting contributions here on social movements, embeddedness, and state capacity and cohesion.”

Anna Zhelnina, “Engaging Neighbors: Housing Strategies and Political Mobilization in Moscow’s Renovation”



From the committee: “Zhelnina's dissertation, *Engaging Neighbors*, is a rich case study of urban renewal that examines how everyday relationships generate local movements with lasting consequences for the public arena. Utilizing observation, document analysis,

interviews, and digital ethnography, Zhelnina examines how residents engaged around Moscow's local program of Renovation in 2017 to 2019. The study is situated in buildings in four different districts of Moscow, and explores the role of residents' personal biographies, civic background, their position on Renovation, and their subsequent involvement around the initiative. Findings reveal that one of the central tasks of local social movements is helping people to articulate life strategies, aspirations and plans, in ways that integrate them into strategic action fields. This dissertation advances the field of social movements by examining how everyday relationships, when focused on deeply personal issues, may generate engagement with broader meanings of citizenship and political action that persist long after initial mobilization declines.”

## Recent Publications

Almeida, Paul D., Eugenio Sosa, Allen Cordero, and Ricardo Argueta. 2021. “Protest Waves and Social Movement Fields: The Micro Foundations of Campaigning for Subaltern Political Parties.” *Social Problems*  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spab012>

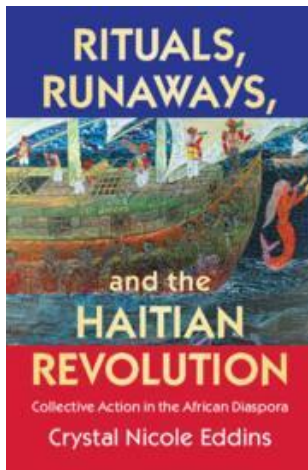
Almeida, Paul, Amalia Pérez Martín, and María De Jesus Mora. 2021. “Los resultados políticos de las movilizaciones populares contra la implementación de políticas neoliberales.” Pp. 213-226 in Salvador Martí Puig and Pedro Ibarra, eds., *Impactos: ¿Qué consiguen los movimientos sociales?* Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra.<sup>1</sup>

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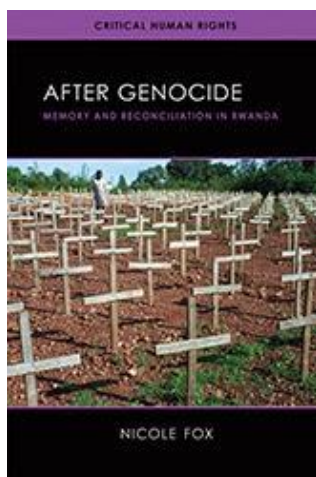
<sup>1</sup> More information about how the data was collected: <https://news.ucmerced.edu/news/2021/100-sociology-undergraduate-students-trained-survey-research>

Chang, Paul Y. and Kangsan Lee. 2021. "The Structure of Protest Cycles: Inspiration and Bridging in South Korea's Democracy Movement." *Social Forces* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaa130>).

Eddins, Crystal Nicole. *Rituals, Runaways, and the Haitian Revolution: Collective Action in the African Diaspora*. Cambridge (UK), Cambridge University Press, 2021.



Fox, Nicole. [After Genocide: Memory and Reconciliation in Rwanda](#). Madison (WI), University of Wisconsin Press, 2021.



Jung, Minwoo. 2021. "[Embracing the Nation: Strategic Deployment of Sexuality, Nation, and Citizenship in Singapore](#)." *British Journal of Sociology*. Online First.

Li, Yao. 2021. "Official Framing—Portraying the Implementation of an Unpopular Policy as Responsive Governance." *Social Movement Studies* 1–19.

Li, Yao, and Harvey L. Nicholson Jr. 2021. "When 'Model Minorities' Become 'Yellow Peril'—Othering and the Racialization of Asian Americans in the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Sociology Compass* 15(2):1–13.

Luft, Aliza and Sue Thomson. 2021. "Race, Nation, and Resistance to State Symbolic Power in Rwanda Since the 1994 Genocide." *Global Historical Sociology of Race and Racism, Political Power and Social Theory* 38: 105-134. DOI: <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1108/S0198-871920210000038006>

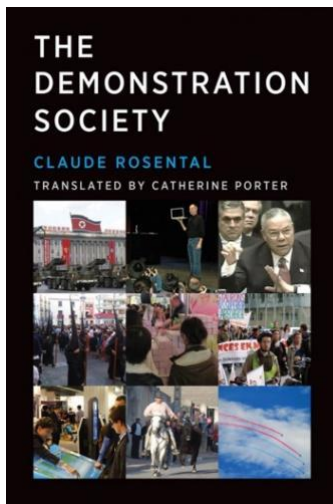
Mueller, Jason C., John McCollum, and Steven Schmidt. 2020. "COVID-19, the Vanishing Mediator, and Postcapitalist Possibilities." Pp. 181-192 in *Pandemic and the Crisis of Capitalism: A Rethinking Marxism Dossier*. The Editorial Collective of Rethinking Marxism (Eds.). Brighton, MA: ReMarx Books. Available at: [http://www.rethinkingmarxism.org/Dossier2020/19\\_MuellerCollumSchmidt.pdf](http://www.rethinkingmarxism.org/Dossier2020/19_MuellerCollumSchmidt.pdf)

Mueller, Jason C. and John McCollum. (2021). "A Sociological Analysis of 'OK Boomer'." *Critical Sociology*. Online First DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211025724>.

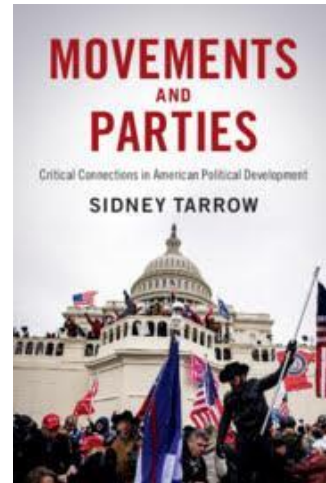
Mueller, Jason C. 2021. "Neoliberal Order Breakdown and the US Withdrawal From Afghanistan." *Counterpunch*, available at: <https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/09/13/neoliberal-order-breakdown-and-the-us-withdrawal-from-afghanistan/>.

Mueller, Jason C. 2021. "Outcomes of the US 'War on Terror': The Afghanistan-Somalia Comparison." *Marxist Sociology Blog; Theory, Research, Politics*, available at: <https://marxistsociology.org/2021/09/outcomes-of-the-us-war-on-terror-the-afghanistan-somalia-comparison/>.

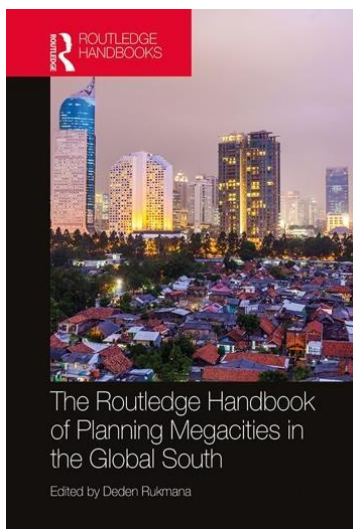
Rosental, Claude. *The Demonstration Society*, Cambridge (MA), MIT Press, 2021.



Tarrow, Sidney. *Movements and Parties Critical Connections in American Political Development*. Cambridge (UK), Cambridge University Press, 2021.



Schmidt, Steven and Jason C. Mueller. 2020. "The Emergence of Participatory Budgeting in Mexico City." Pp. 286-298 in *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Megacities in the Global South*, Deden Rukmana (Ed.). London: Routledge. Available at: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781003038160/chapters/10.4324/9781003038160-21>



Venegas, Mario. 2021. "Alinskyism and Tactical Dexterity: Building the Texas Chicano Movement, 1965-1978." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 26(3): 323-342. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-26-3-323>

Youssef, Maro. 2021. "Unlikely Feminist Coalitions: Islamist and Secularist Women's Organizing in Tunisia". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State, and Society* 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxab020>

## Announcements

### SPECIAL ISSUE

*Social Psychology Quarterly* is doing a special issue on Race, Racism, and Discrimination and they are trying to gather submissions and expand the reviewer pool for the journal.

For more information to submit a manuscript and to contact the journal, the link is [here](#).

## CALL FOR PROPOSALS

The Center for African Peace & Conflict Resolution (CAPCR) at California State University, Sacramento, invites individual paper and panel submissions for its 30th annual conference. The 30th anniversary theme— The Africa Peace & Security Agenda: Lessons Learned and Future Directions— aims to examine, analyze and/or evaluate the status of various aspects of the Africa Peace & Security architecture including processes, institutions, and impacts, at the continental (Africa Union), regional (e.g., ECOWAS, IGAD, etc.), national, and local levels communities/systems.

### *Abstract submission:*

The organizing committee welcomes individual paper presentations and panel proposals, provided a panel does not exceed 4 presenters, in each panel. For individual papers, no more than 3 authors/ presenters will be accepted for each paper proposal. Each person is limited to only 2 presentations, as individual or co-presenter in the conference.

Please include the title, your name, current position, institution/organization, mailing address, email, best telephone number with your 150-word abstract in publishable quality emailed to: [Nicole.fox@csus.edu](mailto:Nicole.fox@csus.edu). For additional information visit: <https://www.csus.edu/center/african-peace-conflict-resolution/>.

## SEEKING WEBSITE COORDINATOR FOR CBSM

CBSM is seeking a person to serve as website coordinator for the CBSM site. The website coordinator will serve a 3-year term, beginning in January 2022.

There is a \$100 annual stipend for the position. This position is historically filled by a graduate student but all are welcome to apply.

Key responsibilities include:

1. The primary role of the position is to maintain the section website (<https://cbsm-asa.org/>) and post updated information including the Critical Mass newsletter.
2. Experience with WordPress is ideal. We have recently migrated to a new WordPress server and you will need to update server settings from time to time.
3. Ideally, the coordinator would also work with the Section Chair and the Publications Committee to develop a long-term communications strategy. We are open to fresh ideas for how to optimize our online communication to more effectively post and integrate online materials including the website, listserv, and social media.

To apply, send your CV and a paragraph summarizing your qualifications and interest in the position to: Megan Brooker at [drbrookersociology@gmail.com](mailto:drbrookersociology@gmail.com)

## Next Issue of Critical Mass

The Spring 2022 issue of the Critical Mass Newsletter will featuring a list of CBSM events for the 2022 ASA meeting. We will also be featuring essays on labor movements and the recent strike wave (max 750 words), new publications, and announcements.

Please email your submissions to: [cbsmnews@gmail.com](mailto:cbsmnews@gmail.com)