

CriticalMassBulletin

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

Volume 50 (3)

Fall 2025/Winter 2026

<http://cbasm-asas.org/>

2025-2026 Section Officers

Chair

David Cunningham

Past Chair

Edwin Amenta

Secretary/Treasurer

Melinda Kane

Council

Minwoo Jung

Zakiya Luna

Ann Mische

Sonali Pate (student representative)

Sharon Quinsaat

Didem Turkoglu

Hajar Yazdiha

Committees

Membership, Diversity, and Inclusion

Soma Chaudhuri

Sarah Gaby

Sarah Hernandez,

Weijun Yuan (student representative)

Mentorship

Selina Gallo Cruz

Kelsy Kretschmer

Lisa Leitz

Publications

Nicole Iturriaga

Jasmine Kerrissey

Chandra Russo

Nominations

David Pettinicchio

Michelle Smirnova

Catherine Tan

Workshop

Hilary Boudet,

Margaret Brower

Burrell Vann Jr.

Webmaster

Myra Haverda

Wei Hua

Anna Azhelnina

Newsletter Editors

David Su

Ana Lopez-Ricoy

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

Message from the Chair



David Cunningham

CBSM Section Chair

Professor of Sociology

Washington University in St. Louis

One of the unanticipated pleasures of serving as section chair has been the occasion it has provided to dig into our newsletter archives. Critical Mass Bulletin has been produced throughout the long arc of the section's life (note that this edition is part of Volume 50!), and scanning through the last decade or so of issues offers a telling window of the tumult and challenges of our recent times.

Indeed, over those years prior "Messages from the Chair" have highlighted pivotal campaigns associated with Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, and the 2017 Women's March; sustained efforts to combat threats to academic freedom and immigrant rights; and disturbing challenges posed by white nationalist mobilization—from Unite the Right in Charlottesville, to the Proud Boys on Portland's streets—along with right-wing resistance to Covid policies and insurrectionist denial of the 2020 election results.

It's clearly an understatement to note that the current outlook around many of these issues seem more acutely challenging than we might have anticipated even a year ago. Recent political advances associated with many movement aims have been under attack, and the fundamental work that many of us do in classrooms and with our research is now under even more intensive siege. Many of you, I know, have responded by channeling even more energy into taking part in mass actions, contributing to public and policy forums, and engaging with other forms of pressing advocacy, research, and activism.

Finding moments to make sense of our current circumstances in community with students and others in your communities has, I hope, offered some degree of support and solace as well. Along those lines, Ta-Nahisi Coates recently spoke at

my university, a month after his Vanity Fair essay that pointedly pushed back against disingenuous and weaponized celebrations of the brand of “civil dialogue” advanced by Charlie Kirk and his organization Turning Point USA. Coates’ talk was notable, and not only because it occurred just a couple of hundred feet from the flag flying above our administration building that had been lowered to half-mast following Kirk’s assassination.

Speaking to the present political environment in the US, he appealed as well to placing our present situation in historical perspective. As dark as our times may often seem today, Coates offered, surely things have been worse at other points in the nation’s history. His point was not that we should be comforted by a benign sense of abstracted hope or an unfounded feeling of security, but rather that we should understand that engagement, organization, and resistance can make a pivotal difference even—and especially—in the face of such pronounced challenges to rights and freedoms. That perspective of course has animated the important work that our section members have developed and advanced for decades, and mirrors prior calls by section chairs on these pages of *Critical Mass Bulletin* to draw on and apply lessons from the Civil Rights, Women’s, and LGBT movements to better understand, and act within, our present circumstances.

Indeed, amidst the onslaught of repressive and dehumanizing policies, we find cause for hope in resistance coalescing in various quarters—from lawsuits seeking to block unconstitutional executive orders, to millions turning out for No Kings protests, to communities mobilizing with whistles, horns, and cameras to protect their neighbors targeted by ICE. Repressive state policies also continue to open new fronts for contention as threats encroach on freshly-politicized venues. To take just one of many examples, a suburban tennis club near me, typically a resolutely apolitical space, has recently organized a widespread boycott from US Tennis Association (USTA) league competition after the USTA moved to enforce a rule passed down from the US Olympic Committee to ban transgender athletes from sanctioned recreational competition. Such actions can sometimes produce direct effects on policy, but—as we know from a long line of research by CBSM members—even more often they exhibit spillover effects, rooted in these members’ sense of efficacy and subsequent willingness to participate in future campaigns on related issues, and, at the organizational level, by potentially spurring new coalitions and advocacy networks.

Dovetailing with the gratitude I feel for CBSM’s commitment to illuminating such possibilities, I’m genuinely honored to serve the section—my longtime professional “home”—and work with you all to support and further the vibrant and important work produced within the CBSM community. As we’ve moved into this academic year, I’ve been especially grateful for the dedicated efforts of Past Chair Edwin Amenta, our elected Council and committee members, and newsletter editor David Su and Ana López Ricoy for producing this issue. It also was wonderful to see so many of you join our recent virtual panel event on “Global Youth Mobilization in Times of Polycrisis.” A special thank you to the panelists and to Council members Sharon Quinsaat, Minwoo Jung, and Didem Türkoğlu for organizing that powerful session!

In the coming weeks, please do consider submitting your work to a CBSM session at ASA 2026 in New York. We will be hosting eight sessions in total, six of which are open submissions. You’ll hear much more detail on those sessions in future section emails and the next issue of this newsletter. In the meantime, you can find more information within the ASA’s call for submissions:

<https://www.asanet.org/annual-meeting/call-for-papers-extended-abstracts/section-calls>

Also, we encourage you to consider nominating yourself, a colleague, or a student for one or more of the five section awards that we’ll be giving in 2026. You can see those calls and related details at:

<https://www.asanet.org/communities-and-sections/sections/section-award-nomination-calls/#cbsm>

Finally, on a more programmatic note stemming from my appreciation for the long lineage of Critical Mass Bulletin issues that have marked many of our section’s activities and achievements, we are currently in the process of transferring and building our section newsletter archive for the ASA’s CBSM site. While we’ve been doing well compiling digital editions, we remain light on scanned versions of older print issues. We’ll continue working on that, but given the archival predilections within our membership, we’re also putting out a call in the event that someone may have already diligently saved and scanned a run of editions from the 80s and 90s!

With best wishes, and hopes that everyone is taking good care,

David
December, 2025

IN THIS ISSUE:

1) Message from the Chair	pp. 1 - 3
2) 2025 Section Award Winners	pp. 3 - 9
3) Opinion on Social Movements	pp. 9 - 11
4) Recent Publications.....	pp. 11 - 13
5) Announcements	pp. 13 - 14

2025 Section Award Winners

*Charles Tilly Distinguished
Contribution to Scholarship Book
Award*



Co-winner: Sharon M. Quinsa (Grinnell College)

Book: *Insurgent Communities: How Protests Create a Filipino Diaspora* (University of Chicago Press, 2024).

When people migrate and settle in other countries, do they automatically form a diaspora? *Insurgent Communities* explains the dynamic process through which a diaspora is strategically constructed. Quinsa looks to Filipinos in the United States and the Netherlands—examining their resistance against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, their mobilization for migrants’ rights, and the construction of a collective

memory of the Marcos regime—to argue that diasporas emerge through political activism.

Since its release, *Insurgent Communities* has won numerous awards including the 2025 International Sociological Association RC31 Sociology of Migration Best Book Award, the 2025 American Sociological Association (ASA) Global and Transnational Sociology Best Scholarly Book Award, and 2025 Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award. It also received Honorable Mentions for 2025 Outstanding Book Award, Global Division, Society for the Study of Social Problems; 2025 Distinguished Book Award, Midwest Sociological Society; and 2025 Lee Ann Fujii Book Award, International Studies Association. At the award presentation of the ASA Section on Global and Transnational Sociology, the committee praised *Insurgent Communities* as “beautifully written and thoroughly researched,” and went on to say, “*Insurgent Communities* stands as a model of transnational and intersectional scholarship. It is an astute and invaluable contribution, and a vital resource for scholars of migration, diaspora, social movements, and activism.”

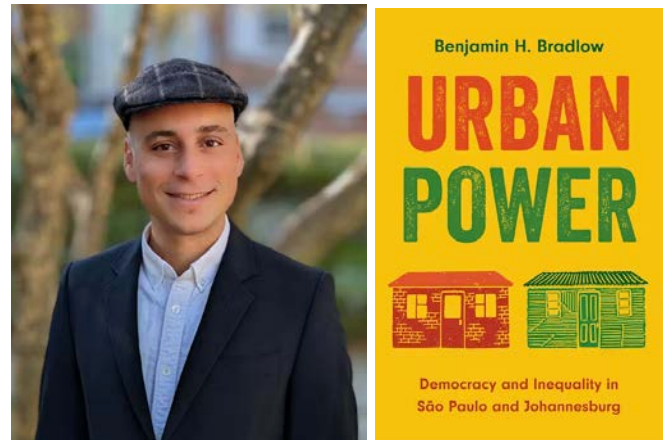
I have done 23 invited book talks in the United States, Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Latvia, Poland, and the Philippines, as well as online attended by faculty, students, and activists. Several students have contacted me after reading *Insurgent Communities*. One of them wrote, “your book has added to my understanding of intersectionality. As a permanent resident myself, your work in gathering the narratives of undocumented migrants is so vital as undocumented peoples don’t have the same power or privilege. I felt gratitude, guilt, and fear as I read your book. But most of all, your book has made me shift my career interest into policy advocacy in social work. Thank you so much for making me feel seen.”

To make *Insurgent Communities* more affordable and accessible in the Philippines and the rest of Asia, Ateneo de Manila University Press published a Philippine edition in 2025.

For more information about the book, visit <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/1/bo211461142.html>.

Co-winner: Benjamin H. Bradlow (Princeton University)

Book: *Urban Power: Democracy and Inequality in São Paulo and Johannesburg* (Princeton University Press, 2024).



For the first time in history, most people live in cities. One in seven are living in slums, the most excluded parts of cities, in which the basics of urban life—including adequate housing, accessible sanitation, and reliable transportation—are largely unavailable. Why are some cities more successful than others in reducing inequalities in the built environment? In *Urban Power*, Benjamin Bradlow explores this question, examining the effectiveness of urban governance in two “megacities” in young democracies: São Paulo, Brazil, and Johannesburg, South Africa. Both cities came out of periods of authoritarian rule with similarly high inequalities and similar policy priorities to lower them. And yet São Paulo has been far more successful than Johannesburg in improving access to basic urban goods.

Bradlow examines the relationships between local government bureaucracies and urban social movements that have shaped these outcomes. Drawing on sixteen months of fieldwork in both cities, including interviews with informants from government agencies, political leadership, social movements, private developers, bus companies, and water and sanitation companies, Bradlow details the political and professional conflicts between and within movements, governments, private corporations, and political parties. He proposes a bold theoretical approach for a new global urban sociology that focuses on variations in the coordination of local governing power, arguing that the concepts of “embeddedness” and “cohesion” explain processes of change that bridge external social mobilization and the

internal coordinating capacity of local government to implement policy changes.

For more information about this book, visit: <https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691237121/urban-power>

Committee: Edwin Amenta (chair), Melinda Kane, Didem Türkoğlu, and Weijun Yuan.

* * *

*Mayer N. Zald Distinguished
Contribution to Scholarship Student
Paper Award*

Winner



**Keenan Wilder
(Brown University)**
**Paper: "Colony and Class
Struggle: Unionization
and Empire in Egypt and
Tunisia."**

Like many dissertation projects, writing this article was not part of my original plan. In my dissertation research I was interested in Egyptian, Tunisian, and Bahraini labor movements, and I had always planned to start in the colonial era so that I wasn't arbitrarily starting the story halfway through. Beyond that though, I had no expectation that empire would become a major theme of the project. However, as I got further into the research I began to see more and more ways unexpected aspects of colonial rule were shaping how workers made demands, employers organized, strikes were carried out and more. This increasingly made it clear that I had to think more about the role of the empire in my dissertation's larger story, and that this issue might also have potential to stand on its own as an article. The research that went into this paper took me to archives in Tunisia, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States over the course of several years. While there have been a few recent works on colonial labor movements, this area, and

colonial social movements more generally, continue to be a surprisingly understudied area for our field, and thus seems like a promising opportunity for future work. Along these lines, I am hoping to make empire and labor a larger piece of my future research. In particular, I am interested in thinking about the different relations settler unions had with native workers.

Honorable Mention



**Anna Milewski
(University of Wisconsin,
Madison)**
**Paper: "Diffuse Social
Movement Organizations
as Focal Points:
Explaining Dynamic
Demands Under
Repression in East
Germany's Peaceful
Revolution, 1989-1990."**

This paper began in the first year of my graduate program when I became interested in protest event analysis and the puzzling case of East Germany's peaceful revolution. I was curious why the outcome of the movement, reunification of East Germany with West Germany, differed from its initial goal, reform of the East German state. I decided to pursue the project as my master's thesis, hoping to use protest event analysis to build on the rich body of work on the case in sociology, history, and political science. The paper went through many iterations as I taught myself event history analysis, read deeply in social movements literature to develop the theoretical contribution, and investigated primary and secondary sources to better interpret my empirical results. Guidance from Ivan Ermakoff, Chaeyoon Lim, Pamela Oliver, and Christine Schwartz helped me to make sense of the curious finding in the data: a newly formed, decentralized social movement organization, Neues Forum, was associated with the adoption of the demand for reunification. Neal Caren, Hank Johnston, and three anonymous reviewers at Mobilization helped me strengthen the presentation of the argument and ensure that the results were robust to alternative sources of protest event data. As a PhD candidate, I am building on this research in my dissertation, which studies the changing role of religion in social movements in the face of secularization and growing partisanship, as well as in my broader research agenda, which concerns the impact of shifting organizations on movements, the relation of

religion to movements, and methodological questions about the collection and analysis of protest event data. It is an honor to know that this work has been appreciated by colleagues whose own work I seriously admire.

Committee: David Cunningham (chair), Barry Eidlin, Minwoo Jung, and Catharina O'Donnell.

* * *

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award

Winner



**Yueran Zhang (PhD,
University of California,
Berkeley)**

**Dissertation:
“Whither Socialism?
Workers’ Democracy
and the Class Politics of
China’s Post-Mao
Transition to
Capitalism.”**

My intellectual approach to social movement studies has been profoundly shaped by my fascination with the tumultuous history of the Chinese Revolution in the 20th century. In particular, my reading and research on two episodes of dramatic mass-mobilizing contentious politics – the Cultural Revolution and the pro-democracy movements of 1989 – led me to search for ways of understanding social movements beyond conventional frameworks. Both movements were characterized by complex interplay between political opportunities afforded by top-down mobilization, multiple and intersecting tendencies of organizing and radicalization on the ground, as well as diverse and nuanced strategies of containment and demobilization. I came to especially appreciate those moments in social movements when novel political subjectivities and outlooks are constituted creatively, and how these subjectivities and outlooks

interact and transmute in subtle and contingent ways. An analysis of such dynamics, I believe, requires an approach that integrates the examination of meaning-making processes, of organizational processes, and of the political economy that structures what is perceived as possible.

My dissertation, which is simultaneously a “post-history” of the Cultural Revolution and a “pre-history” of 1989, was shaped by this intellectual approach. It argues that the interactional dynamics between the Party-state leadership seeking to salvage socialism on the one hand and workers’ subaltern agency enabled by the very political economy of socialism on the other hand led, paradoxically, to the collapse of Chinese socialism and the subsequent turn to capitalism. I employ an expansive and dynamic conception of workers’ agency which encompasses both moments of explicitly contentious action and everyday forms of minute negotiation on the shop floor. I investigate what conditions of political economy and top-down projects of the Party-state shaped the content of workers’ agency and its multiplex expressions, as well as how the exercises and expressions of workers’ agency shaped top-down policy responses and the overall structure of political economy. The making and remaking of political subjectivities – between the top-down and the bottom-up, between the hegemony-making projects and subcurrents that overflow them – is a key concern throughout. To grapple with this, I draw particular inspiration from the works of Antonio Gramsci and Rosa Luxemburg.

Committee: Chandra Russo (chair), Nicole Iturriaga, Hilary Schaffer Boudet, and Kaylin Bourdon.

* * *

*Distinguished Early Career Award for
Contribution to Social Movements
Scholarship*



**Fernando
Tormos-Aponte**
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
University of Pittsburgh
www.fernandotormos.com

My intellectual trajectory has been driven by the pursuit of justice. The motivation for this pursuit emerged during my youth, when I witnessed the mobilizations that kicked the U.S Navy out of my homeland, Puerto Rico, after decades of bombings and contamination. As a student at the Universidad de Puerto Rico Río Piedras, I was really into theories of justice. When the governor announced austerity measures that included tuition hikes, my friends encouraged me to pursue justice, not just theorize it. I joined the student movement and participated in a 62-day occupation of our campus, which successfully prevented a tuition hike. During that time, I recognized the urgency of understanding what it would take for us to win. This experience motivated me to pursue a PhD with a focus on how social movements shape policies. At Purdue, I got to work with excellent mentors in the fields of Political Science, Sociology, and History. I wrote a dissertation, the basis of my first book (titled *Mobilizing Difference*), on how social movements cope with internal differences to pursue social change. I developed case studies on the global movement against sweatshops and the global climate justice movement. During that time, I also sought to understand the implications of the Black feminist tradition and the project of intersectionality for social movements, which led me to write about intersectional solidarity. After my PhD, I lived in St. Louis and Baltimore, where I began a study on the policy influence of the Black Lives Matter movement. I also examined how to diversify and strengthen scholar activism and science advocacy. I am currently invested in advancing participatory and movement-embedded

approaches to the study of social movements, as I work closely with environmental and climate justice movements in the pursuit of a just transition away from fossil-fuel-based economies. I am also working to understand how to build organizing approaches to transforming higher education. I am grateful to those who have paved the way for this work.

Committee: Catherine Corrigan-Brown (chair), Sharon Quinsaas, Hajar Yazdiha, and Yang Zhang.

*Distinguished Early Career Award for
Contribution to Social Movements
Scholarship*

**Winners: Tomás Gold (Brown University) and
Ann Mische (University of Notre Dame)**



**For their article “Channeling Anti-partisan
Contention: Field Structures and Partisan
Strategies in a Global Protest Wave
(2008-2016).” *American Journal of Sociology* 129:
1660-1719.**

Tomás Gold and Ann Mische put together the following text:

TOMÁS GOLD: When I arrived at Notre Dame, I was already interested in the problem of massive antipartisanship. I had been studying massive antipartisan protest waves in Argentina and Brazil, writing about how small groups of conservative cyberactivists were drawing upon people’s discontent to

rally against left-wing governments ([here](#), [here](#) and [here](#)). I was interested in some similarities they seemed to present with other episodes of contention that were taking place elsewhere – the various Occupy movements, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, the Indignados in Spain, the Gezi Park protests in Turkey, and so forth. At the time, most analyses tended to underscore the “global” nature of this rejection towards economic and political elites, and there was a certain scholarly fascination with the flow of cultural symbols and narratives. However, I noticed these movements started to go down very specific roads, politically speaking. Whereas some of them increased public deliberation through popular assemblies and even led to the creation of new parties, others were violently repressed, and yet others seemed to find alternative routes – such as exhaustion or integration in party factions. Perhaps paradoxically, many of these movements seemed to boost extremist alternatives in the next few years, displacing seemingly centrist or mainstream political actors.

ANN MISCHÉ: Yes, I remember our early conversations! At the same time, I had been closely accompanying the wave of antipartisan protests that began in June 2013 in Brazil and continued over the next few years, contesting corrupt expenditures during the World Cup and Olympic Games and eventually bifurcating into polarized wings, for and against the Workers’ Party government. I wrote a couple of blog posts in *Mobilizing Ideas* ([here](#) and [here](#)) about these protests, which contributed to the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018. Like Tomás, I was trying to sort out how what appeared to be similar protest styles and dynamics in Brazil, Spain, Turkey, and other countries led in such different directions. In 2015, I wrote up a memo puzzling over trajectories of antipartisanship for a working group with my Notre Dame political science colleagues, Scott Mainwaring and Guillermo Trejo. At the same time, I was collaborating with Angela Alonso, a prominent Brazilian sociologist, on an [article](#) about changing repertoires of contention and partisan ambivalence in the 2013 Brazilian protests. I shared these earlier texts with Tomás when he arrived at Notre

Dame in 2018, and we were very excited to note our strong convergence of interests.

TOMÁS: At this point, there was a complete synergy in how Ann and I were thinking about this “global” protest wave involving strong antipartisan contention. And we both thought this case was impossible to understand without taking into account the shifting relations between parties and movements over the years. This dynamic was unfolding through what seemed to be different “phases,” and we tried to expand our case selection beyond the ones we knew well to see whether we could identify similar patterns in other cases.

ANN: Our first presentation of our comparative framework was at the University of Brasilia in November 2018, a few weeks after the election of Bolsonaro. I remember that our Brazilian colleagues were absolutely devastated (meanwhile, the local Uber drivers were cheerful and optimistic). In that early talk, we presented our first attempt at a truth table with only 8 cases and three proposed mechanisms, building on frame alignment theories. Our process of theory development from that point was truly abductive, expanding and deepening our examination of cases while iteratively developing and honing our theories. We spent the following summer doing a deep reading of the secondary literature on protests around the world, and at the ASA meetings that year we presented an analysis based on 18 cases – later expanded to 22, and then contracted back down again as we honed in on what we mean by “antipartisanship” and developed our comparative argument involving four pathways across the 12 main cases.

TOMÁS: As the paper progressed and we presented our findings in different institutions, I realized we were part of a larger movement within political sociology and social movement scholarship, one that emphasized dynamism and relationality. I think part of the challenge with this paper was to grapple with the idea that institutions often present themselves as stable configurations of actors, but actors embedded in those configurations (or “architectures,” as we call them) are responsive to claims from massive protests that seek to radically challenge their legitimacy. It wasn’t until one

of the later iterations of the paper that we were able to distill that claim into an argument that can be generalized to other relational analyses of fields or arenas.

ANN: Yes, we are grateful to the reviewers who challenged us to think more generally about how our paper contributes to field theory, not only to the understanding of antipartisan protests. Our core insight was that partisan actors respond to external challenges to the legitimacy of the partisan field by deflecting these critiques onto their partisan rivals, that is, they weaponize them symbolically within the field itself. However, the pathways by which this symbolic deflection works are shaped by partisan field architectures, which we can compare by using indicators borrowed from political science (i.e., by using measures of party institutionalization, party cohesion, and partisan field fragmentation). In fact, the bridging of sociological and political science perspectives and methodologies – linking the symbolic dimensions of field dynamics with attention to institutional structures – became an important contribution of our paper.

TOMÁS: One thing I really enjoyed about working with Ann is that we always agreed on the fact that our paper had to be comparative and global in scope, and we shared the intuition that its strength lay in the relational and temporally-shifting nature of the relationships between actors. While it can be challenging to analyze politics in a relational way, given that it is time-consuming and requires extensive knowledge of the cases, I do believe this lens is one of the current strengths of sociological perspectives on politics and movements. It is exciting for me to join other scholars who are publishing work on relevant political changes from a relational perspective – irrespectively of the methodological approaches – and I hope our work can help to shape the future of the field in this direction.

ANN: Working with Tomás on the paper has been a joy from start to finish. It has been a delight to see this paper grow and mature across many drafts and conversations, in dialogue with our many intellectual communities. The continuing salience of populist politics worldwide and widespread distrust of political parties and institutions

make our questions and analysis more important than ever.

Committee: Catherine Corrigan-Brown (chair), Sharon Quinsaas, Hajar Yazdiha, and Yang Zhang.

Opinions on Social Movements

Enduring Social Movements

*By Mounira M. Charrad (charrad@utexas.edu) and Allison F. Lang (allisonlang@utexas.edu)
Department of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin*

Some social movements persist over time. Others are short lived. We suggest that the former require more focused attention than they have received. We came to an interest in the issue of social movement endurance when the two of us discussed our respective work, on movements in Tunisia¹ and in Argentina.² We realized that, despite the obvious differences between our research sites, we were considering a similar puzzle about what allowed a social movement to persist over the long run. We organized a one-day mini conference at UT Austin in April 2025 and a special session at ASA

¹ Mounira M. Charrad, “Feminists Strategies under Authoritarianism: From the 1970s to the 2010s in Tunisia.” Paper presentation, Special Session on Enduring Social Movements, Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 2025; and *Navigating Autocracy: Feminists in Tunisia 1970s-2010s*. Book in preparation.

² Lang, Allison F. “How the Grassroots Grow: Sustaining Horizontality in the Argentine Anti-Mining Movement.” Paper presentation, Special Session on Enduring Social Movements, Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August 2025; and *Confluent Activism: Scaling up Fluid Resistance in the Argentine Anti-Mining Movement*. Dissertation in preparation, Department of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin.

2025, both on the theme of “Enduring Social Movements.” We are now preparing an edited volume on the same topic. Across these initiatives, we have been raising questions about social movement persistence. Rather than looking at short-term wins or losses, we explore a movement’s ability to mobilize over the long run. We aim to move inquiry to the consideration of issues that are central to the development and potential effectiveness of social movements and collective organizing in relation to their outcomes and impacts over time.

The UT Austin conference included 4 panels encompassing 12 presentations. Scholars drew on evidence from cases across space and time, exploring diverse organizational arrangements, external conditions and strategic choices. The discussion challenged us to return to fundamental questions: What is a social movement? What is it that is enduring? Is it “good” for it to endure? Our cases took diverse forms: direct action networks providing abortions, offering addiction services, and growing agro-ecological food, grassroots groups looking to stop mining, feminist activists, and more formal organizations and networks such as graduate student unions, immigrant rights’ coalitions, and LGBTQ+ NGOs. The movements we examined also faced different external political conditions: some trying to survive repressive authoritarian regimes, while others actively seeking legal reform in more or less democratic systems.

For the Special Session at ASA 2025, we were joined by Dr. Suzanne Staggenborg, Dr. Chie Togami, and Dr. Alison Crossley to discuss enduring social movements. The presentations centered on persistence in women’s and environmental movements. Presenters considered how these two movements have lasted over time and space, at times broad-based and massive and at other times found in small, unexpected corners. The multiple strategies discussed, however, transcend these two specific movements. They have also been used by movements that fight for civil rights, access to land and housing, fair labor practices, among many others, and counter movements too for that matter, looking to avoid change or to return to the way things were. Social movements that can be persistent in long-term fights

area likely to be important actors for ushering in change or for preventing it.

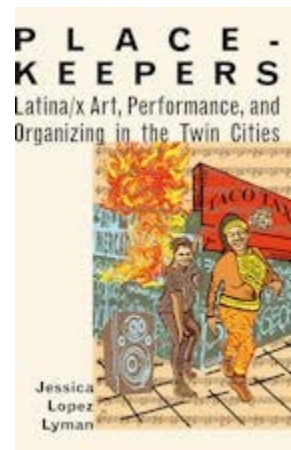
As we continue to explore enduring social movements, we are compiling an edited volume that examines strategies and organizational forms of movements, across different areas of struggle and geographic divides. Although, as we might expect, “recipes for enduring social movements” are difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint, we believe that discussing persistence is of the utmost importance. This has become even more true as we find ourselves in a historical moment of global democratic backsliding, expanding surveillance technology, and economic uncertainty. In these challenging times, we can learn much from movements that grow in cracks of repressive regimes or diligently keep the flame of resistance alive over time. Moreover, through this work, we show that enduring social movements are *possible* even in the most unlikely of conditions. And in that possibility, there is power.

Recent Publications

Books

Place-Keepers: Latina/x Art, Performance, and Organizing in the Twin Cities

By Jessica Lopez Lyman
University of Minnesota Press



Place-Keepers examines how Latina/x artists in the Twin Cities navigate and challenge the region's deep-seated racial injustices. Establishing a crucial framework for understanding art as activism, Jessica Lopez Lyman demonstrates how the creative practices of these cultural organizers address urgent social struggles as they harness aesthetics as a tool for movement-building.

About the Author

Jessica Lopez Lyman is assistant professor in the Department of Chicano and Latino Studies at the University of Minnesota.

For more information, visit the book's webpage: <https://www.upress.umn.edu/9781517920036/place-keepers/>

A Cold War Exodus: How American Activists Mobilized to Free Soviet Jews

by Shaul Kelner



*Winner of The 74th National Jewish Book Award:
American Jewish Studies Celebrate 350 Award*

Reveals the mass mobilization tactics that helped free Soviet Jews and reshaped the Jewish American experience from the Johnson era through the Reagan–Bush years

What do these things have in common? Ingrid Bergman, Passover matzoh, Banana Republic®, the fitness craze, the Philadelphia Flyers, B-grade spy

movies, and ten thousand Bar and Bat Mitzvah sermons? Nothing, except that social movement activists enlisted them all into the most effective human rights campaign of the Cold War.

The plight of Jews in the USSR was marked by systemic antisemitism, a problem largely ignored by Western policymakers trying to improve relations with the Soviets. In the face of governmental apathy, activists in the United States hatched a bold plan: unite Jewish Americans to demand that Washington exert pressure on Moscow for change.

A Cold War Exodus delves into the gripping narrative of how these men and women, through ingenuity and determination, devised mass mobilization tactics during a three-decade-long campaign to liberate Soviet Jews—an endeavor that would ultimately lead to one of the most significant mass emigrations in Jewish history.

Drawing from a wealth of archival sources including the travelogues of thousands of American tourists who smuggled aid to Russian Jews, Shaul Kelner offers a compelling tale of activism and its profound impact, revealing how a seemingly disparate array of elements could be woven together to forge a movement and achieve the seemingly impossible. It is a testament to the power of unity, creativity, and the unwavering dedication of those who believe in the cause of human rights.

For more information, visit the book's webpage: <https://nyupress.org/9781479879397/a-cold-war-exodus/>

Papers

"Streets and Elites: Corruption Grievances in Contemporary Revolutions."

By Beck, Colin J. and Bukovansky, Mlada. 2024. *Elites, Nonelites, and Power (Political Power and Social Theory)* 41:45-69. doi.org/10.1108/S0198-871920240000041002

While oft-ignored, grievances remain a central part of revolutions. We argue that the theorization of grievances requires conceptually unpacking specific complaints and relating them to mobilizing

mechanisms. We thus focus on one set of grievances – corruption – that is especially prevalent in 21st century revolutionary episodes. Drawing on prior conceptualizations of corruption, we hypothesize that four different configurations of corruption influence five different mechanisms of contention. First, everyday street-level corruption creates the potential for sudden and spontaneous protest and creates the basis for widespread, coalitional mobilization. Second, institutional corruption focuses attention on the regime to make it a target of revolutionary claims. Third, competition among elites creates the potential for cross-class alliances but may forestall durable sociopolitical change and, in some cases, even allow for authoritarian consolidation of power through anti-corruption drives. We illustrate these dynamics through one clearly successful case of revolution in Tunisia in 2011, one case of mixed results from political revolution in Ukraine from 2004 to 2014, and a negative case of revolution in China since 2013.

* * *

Defenders of the Status Quo: Energy Protests and Policy (In)Action in Sweden.

By Uba, Katrin, and Cassandra Engeman.

Social Forces, soae166.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soae166>

Are the positions that protesters take - in favor or against change- consequential for their ability to affect policy? While previous research suggests that protests can inform legislative priorities and facilitate policy introduction, this paper emphasizes policy inaction and stasis as goals of some protest actions. Analysis uses novel and detailed data on energy-related protest and policy actions in Sweden covering a forty-year period and considers protest frequency and size in relation to proposal introduction. The research design uniquely distinguishes between protests in favor or against a specific energy source and proposal activity in line with those demands and also controls for public opinion on each energy source. Findings suggest that

pro-renewable energy protests do not yield pro-renewable policies but prevent undesired policies that support non-renewable energy sources. In contrast to pro-renewable protests, protests against renewable energy sources are somewhat more influential. They likewise prevent the introduction of their undesired proposals and also influence the introduction of proposals supporting non-renewable energy sources. Overall, the paper examines policy inaction as a desired protest outcome and argues protest - as a tactic - may be more effective when pushing against rather than for policy change.

Announcements

Call for Papers: Alternative Futures and Popular Protest 2026

AFPP is an international, cross-disciplinary conference on social movements, protest and related topics. Since 1995, it has drawn participants from over 60 countries, representing fields such as sociology, politics, cultural studies, psychology, economics, history, and geography, as well as from grassroots and political organisations. Discussions are marked by a long-established spirit of collegial and comradely participation, making for a friendly meeting ground between academia and activism.

The 2026 conference will be held in Manchester on *June 15-17, 2026*. We look forward to welcoming delegates to the city, continuing the tradition of exchange and collective reflection that characterises this conference. There will be a delegate fee (to be finalised; as a reference point, 2025 Conference fee was set at £50) to cover catering and other essential costs.

Key Themes

We invite paper proposals relevant to the broad conference theme, addressing topics such as:

- Contemporary or historical movements and protests from any global region
- Theories of social movements, labour movements and revolution
- Utopias, experiments in alternative living and everyday politics
- Ideologies, imaginaries and strategies of collective action
- Opposition to discrimination and confrontations with capitalism, patriarchy or coloniality

How to participate?

To submit a paper, please send a title, abstract (max 300 words) and 4-6 keywords to the organising committee via [this form](#).

Once your abstract is accepted, you will be invited to submit a written paper in advance of the conference. Kindly note that the submitted paper will be shared with all participants. Submission of the full paper is encouraged while it remains voluntary. This will take the form of fully referenced working papers between 6,000 and 8,000 words in length, submitted in MS Word (.docx), Adobe PDF (.pdf), or another compatible format. However, we also welcome alternative form of submission – e.g. extended notes or presentation slides – provided they clearly communicate your main argument and evidence without requiring specialist software.

Key Deadlines

- Deadline for abstract submission: December 19, 2025
- Deadlines for registration:
 - Presenters: April 14, 2026
 - Non-presenters: June 6, 2026

Please do not email abstracts; kindly use the submission form linked above. We aim to respond by February 2026.

For queries by email: afpp@manchester.ac.uk

The AFPP 2026 Organising Committee are: Josie Bunting, Gemma Edwards, Simin Fadaee, Kevin Gillan, Gyeon Kang, Lidia Yanez Lagos, Wangshu Liu, Morgan Powell, Steven Speed, Meghan Tinsley, Daniela Fazio Vargas and Luke Yates

Mobilization and Political Economy Program

An exciting student opportunity, hosted by the Mobilization & Political Economy (MPE) Program at Pitt, an NSF Research Experience for Undergraduates program site.

[The MPE Summer Research Program](#) is designed to broaden participation of undergraduate students in the social sciences by training them to conduct research and support their placement in graduate studies programs. This is an 8-week summer program on Pitt's campus (June-July 2026) providing undergraduate students with training in research methods, the study of mobilization and political economy, as well as research and mentorship opportunities.

- We are [now accepting applications](#) for the 2026 cohort, until January 15th, 2026.
- An online information session will be held on December 9th, 2PM ET. [Register here](#).

Next Issue of Critical Mass

Call for Submissions on Research Briefings & Announcements

Critical Mass, the newsletter of CBSM, invites short summaries (300-500 words) of (i) research presented at ASA, (ii) current and ongoing projects or (iii) opinion pieces.

In addition, we are accepting recent publications and announcements as usual.

Please send all materials to *Critical Mass* co-editors David Su and Ana López Ricoy at cbsmnews@gmail.com by **March 1, 2026**.