

2025 Section Annual Report: Part 1 for Collective Behavior and Social Movements

Introduction

Annual reports are used by the Sections Committee to assess the health of a Section, measure the Section's vitality, and identify processes, programs, or initiatives that could serve as a model for other Sections. In addition, they serve to provide institutional memory, socialize new Section leaders, and promote transparency to Section members.

This annual report covers the period of Section activity from September 2024 to August 2025 and a fiscal year from January 2025 to December 2025. This portion of the report is shared publicly.

Section Governance

Business Meeting

CBSM Business meeting

Saturday, August 9, 2025

Attendance: About 60 people

Edwin Amenta, Section Chair, convened the meeting at 3 pm.

1. Mini conference report. The chair thanked the Workshop Committee and the membership for such a successful mini conference.
2. Treasurer report:
 - a. Membership as of August 5 – 704, this is an increase of 80 from last year's council meeting.
 - b. Account balance as of June 30 – \$15,889 v. \$13,135 last year, with the increase due mainly to receipts from the mini conference. Dues income: \$756 v. 727 last year. Section budget allocation: \$2,328 v. 2,455 last year.
 - c. Reception – \$2500 v. \$3000 last year. Plaques – about \$321 v. \$555 last year. Website: \$99, plus \$250 Zald Award prize agreed upon.
 - d. After reception, plaques, and other expenses we will have \$12,719 v. \$9,580 at the same time last year, providing a cushion for further section initiatives.
3. Award announcements. Each award winner was announced and invited to come to the front of the room for a photo. (See below) This constituted the bulk of the meeting.
4. The funding of the dissertation award was confirmed by a Cambridge University Press representative.
5. Edwin Amenta announced a series of bylaw amendments approved by the council, which will be offered for a vote by the section.

Meeting adjourned at 3:30 pm

Council Meeting

ASA CBSM Council Meeting

August 5, 2025

On Zoom

In attendance: Council members Edwin Amenta (chair), David Cunningham (chair elect), Catherine Corrigan-Brown (past chair), Barry Eidlin, Daisy Reyes, Sharon Quinsa, Didem Türkoğlu, Minwoo Jung, and Hajar Yazdiha. Also attending David Xu, newsletter editor.

Absent: Weijun Yuan, Melinda Kane (secretary/treasurer), Ana Lopez-Ricoy (newsletter editor).

1. Edwin Amenta started the meeting at 12:32 ET.
 - a. We did a round of introductions.
 - b. Edwin thanked outgoing council members Catherine, Barry, and Daisy for their excellent work for the section over the last three years.
2. Secretary/Treasurer Report (Edwin for Melinda)
 - i. Our membership numbers have been going down for years but seem to have at least partially rebounded: Sharon noted that sections are going down in numbers generally and so relatively speaking we may be doing OK. We discussed various outreach possibilities from our online and in-person events. It was thought that having someone from the MDI committee on the council would help with this. Numbers:

As of today—704 members

2024: 638

2023: 700

2021: 767

2020: 712

2019: 740

2018: 782

- b. ASA says that the July finance report will be available around the middle of August. We have the June report to use for this meeting. Melinda will provide an official report, but here are the basics:
 - i. Ending balance in June 30, 2025: \$15,889 v \$13,135 last year at that time (the increase being due mainly to income from workshop coming in).
 - ii. Dues income: \$756 v. 727 last year
Section budget allocation: \$2,328 v. 2,455 last year [not sure why this is lower, but it comes to about \$3.1K altogether, about \$100 less]. [Note that after the meeting, we did note that we would continue to accrue monies until the end of the year.]
 - iii. Upcoming expenses:
 - Reception – \$2500 v. \$3000 last year
 - Plaques – about \$321 v. \$555 last year.
 - Website: \$99 v. \$200 last year.
 - \$250 Zald Award prize agreed upon
 - \$250 Dissertation Award prize agreed upon if necessary [turned out not to be]

- iv. We are taking in about \$3.1K per year, so, if we give \$250 per year to the Zald Award winner and \$250 every other year to the Dissertation Award winner, if necessary, with a similar reception expenditure, we would be spending somewhat more than we take in. But after the workshop, we should have a good buffer, as it is going to make about \$3.2K on top of the approximately \$9K that we have from previous years after expenses. Mainly, we agreed we should try to get more members to keep our section solvent. [Note that after the meeting we learned the \$3.1K was an undercount and that we had at least \$600 or more to work with.]
 - v. We also agreed that we should pay last year's dissertation award winner the promised \$1K that Cambridge UP has not yet ponied up—see below.
 - vi. We did not donate to the ASA Minority Fellowship Fund in 2023 but gave \$500 last year. We discussed whether we should continue to do so, given that that initiative was based on accrued funds during the Covid era (with no meeting expenses). We did not come to a decision but thought we should bring the MDI Committee into the discussion.
- c. Sponsorships:
- i. Cambridge University Press no longer seems to be sending \$1000 for the dissertation award winner. We decided that we would pay the \$1000 for last year's winner and keep trying to get CUP to allocate the money to the section. (Barry noted their easy ability to do so in the comments.) We decided we would pay \$250 for the award going forward and include it in the call if CUP is no longer paying.
 - ii. Hank Johnston from Mobilization supposedly last year sent \$250 to the student paper award winner, which supposedly was divided by the two winners. Edwin indicated he was unsure what happened with that, but would check with Melinda later. Didem suggested we pay it for this year, and it was agreed upon by the council.
 - iii. There was a supported suggestion from Minwoo that we should engage in fundraising for the dissertation award as other sections do.
3. Mini conference
- a. Edwin thanked the workshop committee: Burrel Vann, Hilary Boudet, and especially Ruth Braunstein, who was part of the previous workshop committee. They helped to brainstorm ideas and Ruthie also helped with logistics. Previous workshop chair Kelsy Kretschmer and Deana Rohlinger (chair at that time) were also extremely helpful in indicating what needed to be done when and what pitfalls to avoid (such as hiring a company to collect registration fees). Importantly, Brayden King and Maggie Gorman at Northwestern B-school were key to making this happen, and cheaply. Edwin also thanked the many session organizers, who also agreed to be discussants.
 - b. Edwin indicated the workshop is going to make money. The main expense is approximately \$4.5K for two days' worth of lunches, but he was having that covered from UCI's Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy (thanks!), if the people sending the money and receiving the money can agree on how to get the money out of the fund for it. Note that Northwestern is not charging us for anything else, including rooms, snacks, badges, etc. But it is probably going to take in around \$3-3.5K in registration fees.

- c. Edwin indicated that he has done everything for this mini conference except selling popcorn (though there's still time for that and possibly he could add it to his lunch menu suggestions!).
4. Zoom events

Edwin thanked Sharon, Minwoo, Didem, and Weijun for the very successful event in the spring. We decided to try for two events next year. At-large members of the council would be placed in charge along with the chair of the MDI committee (who hopefully will be on the council next time). It was thought that one event might focus on skills, such as methodology, or involve professionalization like engaging in public-facing sociology or addressing the job market.
5. Reception – Edwin thanked David C. for taking charge of this task. David C. thanked Barry for identifying such a great site and setting up a meeting with the president of the CTU and expressed our extreme regrets that Edwin's prior agreement to cohost with Political Sociology prevented that from happening. (They strongly objected because of the distance.) David announced that he was able to induce the Marxist Sociology section to join us and chip in \$2.5K. He indicated that most of our expenditures are going for drinks tickets. Because the meeting will be in Chicago again in two years, as Didem noted, we decided we would go with the CTU site if still available then (with Barry's help again hopefully) and ask for sections to join us only if they agree to that venue. Incoming chair elect Paul Almeida was to be advised of this plan of action.
6. Donation to ASA Minority fellowship. Catherine noted that after we saved money from the Covid years, we gave \$1000 each year to the Minority Fellowship. But we are now spending slightly more than we are taking in, so we can't continue to donate without using our savings. We did not give anything in 2023 as we were planning the workshop and realized we were spending more than we were taking in, but we made a \$500 donation last year. We discussed whether to donate this year, but we did not decide anything.
7. Newsletter – Edwin thanked David X. and Ana L-R. for their work on the newsletter and Didem for her social media work. David pointed out several issues regarding the newsletter and indicated that we needed to find replacements for him and Ana, as well as the webmasters. There was an issue with funding the website. It was indicated that it seems possible that we could use our resources page more efficiently and save the money. Edwin is to send out a blast asking for volunteers, including asking faculty to ask their students to show to the business meeting to volunteer. Minwoo suggested and the council agreed that we should offer free membership to any volunteers for these positions. Edwin suggested that the section appoint a communications director to accept suggestions for communications to the membership and send out email blasts—as everyone sends their articles, cfps, etc., etc. to the person who sends the blast, no matter whether we tell them to or not, which currently is the chair.
8. Amendments to the bylaws. There were a series of amendments proposed by Edwin to make the section run more smoothly, to clarify the roles of different section officials, and, in some instances, simply to make them make sense. The council agreed to the changes. These proposed amendments will go to the membership for ratification. There were also some suggestions for greater outreach for the career awards, as the Morris Award is not one that works by way of self-nomination and requires section membership.
9. Incoming chair David C. thanked Edwin for his work as chair and expressed excitement for the coming year, while noting that we may have many more sessions to fill next year and is going to work with Haj, who is on the program committee to find out more.

10. Didem suggested that we coordinate with international associations, notably ISA, which will be in Korea in two years--also for section members to use Bluesky at the meeting.

Meeting adjourned at 2:10 pm EDT.

Awards

Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award:

Winner: Sharon M. Quinsaat (Grinnell College), *Insurgent Communities: How Protests Create a Filipino Diaspora* (University of Chicago Press, 2024).

This fascinating monograph demonstrates a novel and important outcome of social movements: how diaspora collective identities can be developed through social movement activism. By focusing on the Filipino diaspora in the Netherlands and the United States, *Insurgent Communities* applies collective identity formation theories from social movement studies to the field of migration and diaspora. In its analysis of an important but unlikely transnational social movement, *Insurgent Communities* demonstrates how national identities can be created in opposition to an authoritarian state. In doing so, the book broadens the areas of study for scholars interested in social movement outcomes as well as for the area of migration and diaspora studies. It also shows a novel way authoritarian regimes can be contested.

Winner: Benjamin H. Bradlow (Princeton University), *Urban Power: Democracy and Inequality in São Paulo and Johannesburg* (Princeton University Press, 2024).

Urban Power addresses a key question about the consequences of social movements, analyzing the impact of social movements in the development of city policies related to social inequality. In demonstrating how two otherwise similar Global South cities had such different policies, with São Paulo's efforts much stronger than those of Johannesburg, the book presents a novel argument about how urban power works. With extensive fieldwork, interviews, and archival evidence analyzing developments across three policy areas, *Urban Power* connects theoretical arguments in the consequences of social movement literature with those in the literatures on political sociology and urban sociology—creating bridges across areas which often speak at cross purposes. It also indicates that future is not necessarily destined to be “a planet of slums.”
Committee: Edwin Amenta (chair), Melinda Kane, Didem Türkoğlu, and Weijun Yuan.

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award:

Winner: Tomás Gold (Brown University) and Ann Mische (University of Notre Dame), “Channeling Antipartisan Contention: Field Structures and Partisan Strategies in a Global Protest Wave, 2008-2016.” *American Journal of Sociology*, 129: 1660-1719.

This article is a fascinating examination of the relationship between social movements and political parties. Many social movements are hostile to working with political parties and this can hamper their effectiveness. However, this article makes the innovative argument that partisan actors can use social movement's anti-partisan frames to improve their own competitive positions, which can lead to a disruption of conventional party politics—creating the emergence of new factions, parties, coalitions, and leadership. This article compares partisan strategies across 12 countries to show how symbolic dimensions of field legitimation interact with

institutional structures in struggles over field dominance. Gold and Mische engage in creative and meticulous analysis which significantly furthers our understanding of the outcomes and pathways of partisan contention.

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

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

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

This paper draws on a strong comparative historical design and a wealth of archival data to answer an important question: Which circumstances enabled unionization under colonial rule? Examining divergent trajectories and outcomes in British Egypt and French Tunisia—rates of unionization in the latter were fifteen times that of the former—Wilder offers a novel and compelling explanation rooted in differing levels of employer repression and state capture, which in turn shaped the efficacy of worker tactics and actions in both places. The paper's ability to offer a novel explanation of processes and outcomes not well captured by existing theories of unionization. With its ambitious deployment of archival data, its rigorous empirics, and the deft analyses of alternative cases, "Colony and Class Struggle" connects social movement theory with theories of empire and labor.

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

Focusing on East Germany's Peaceful Revolution in 1989, this paper interrogates the role that diffuse organizations can play in a successful social movement. Extending the rich literature on social movement organizations, Milewski engages a case in which such organizations were not well resourced or tightly mobilized. She finds this diffuse character offers a "focal point" for an ideologically diverse set of participants to advance demands absent the dominant broader agenda that frequently characterizes more unified, high-capacity SMOs. Such diffuse opposition is especially helpful in repressive settings like East Germany, catalyzing enthusiasm among adherents that ultimately translated into demands for reunification. The paper is notable for its careful event history modeling.

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) "Whither Socialism? Workers' Democracy and the Class Politics of China's Post-Mao Transition to Capitalism."

This dissertation provides a novel class-based explanation of China's transition from socialism to capitalism, contributing to scholarly understandings of how a state's form incites some types of political activity while curtailing others. The extensive archival research, along with its interviews many living informants, under conditions of immense state repression, makes "Whither Socialism?" stand out as exemplifying the best of the historical comparative method. The use of "garbology," a research technique adopted from other disciplines, is an innovative manner of excavating subaltern agency and activities in a context where only the formal records authored by the powerful can be accessed. Zhang's sophisticated and high-risk

approach is bound to inform how social movement scholars study grassroots democracy efforts as well as capitalism and its alternatives.

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

Distinguished Early Career Award for Contribution to Social Movements Scholarship: Winner: Fernando Tormos-Aponte (University of Pittsburgh).

The work of Fernando Tormos-Aponte exemplifies the profound impact of social movement scholarship both within and outside the academy. His research is innovative and insightful in its examinations of intersectional solidarity, environmental politics, and social movement activism in Puerto Rico and beyond. His research is particularly notable in foregrounding the voices of those directly engaged in social struggles—embodying the ethos of collaborative and community centered research. His work has appeared in 21 peer-reviewed articles, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and many others. He is also active in broader media work and the project of public sociology, publishing in news outlets such as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*.

Committee: Catherine Corrigan-Brown (chair), Zakiya Luna, Daisy Reyes, Taura Taylor, and Sarah Hernandez.

2025 Finances

ASA says that the July finance report will be available around the middle of August. We had the June report to use for our meeting

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The Previous Year

Communications

We communicated with members through four main channels.

First, the section Chair sent weekly emails with updates. These included announcements of publications, conferences, events, jobs, and other news of interest to section members. This was also used to share information about our mini conference, ASA conference events, our zoom session, and section matters (such as awards, nominations, etc.).

We have a section newsletter. It is published twice a year by two graduate student section members, David Su and Ana Lopez-Ricoy. The newsletters are attached here. They include a message from the chair, information on ASA conference events, section award winners, features conference presentations, our section junior scholars on the job market, calls for papers and information on recent publications in the section.

We have a section website, <https://cbsm-asa.org/>, where we house information (including past newsletters) on our section and have contact information about the section. We are planning to migrate this website to our section's resources page this year to save costs and centralize information.

Finally, we have a social media editor, council member Didem Türkoğlu, who promotes section events notably on Bluesky.

Diversity, equity, and inclusion goals

Our section is strongly committed to diversity, equity and inclusion goals. We have been working towards this in six main ways this year.

First, we have a longstanding Membership, Diversity, and Inclusion committee. This committee works to make sure that our section is focusing on these goals, helps to find candidates to nominate for section offices from diverse backgrounds, and works to promote the diversity of our membership within the section. The council agreed this year to a bylaw amendment to include the chair of this committee sits as an official member of the section council, and in the meantime the chair of the MDI Committee has been involved in section decision making.

Second, we strive to have diverse candidates stand for office. We are working towards increasing the diversity of candidates by making sure our roster of candidates includes diversity along gender, ethnic, and other lines.

Third, we have a mentoring committee that is focused on attracting diverse graduate students into the program to provide valuable mentorship. Mentorship is critical to helping address the pipelining issues that can hinder inclusion.

Fourth, we have a section award that honors a junior racialized scholar in the section. We give it out every second year. It was awarded this year (see above).

Fifth, we had two outside-the-meeting events, a mini conference and a Zoom event, both with diverse participants from around the world and highly attended.

Finally, we had our reception this year at ASA with 2 other sections – Political Sociology and the Section on Marxist Sociology. We did this in order to further diversify and expand our membership.

Annual Meeting Programming

We hosted 3 paper sessions, 1 invited session and 1 set of roundtable sessions at ASA this year. They covered a wide diversity of areas and included the following:

- Advances in Data and Methods for Collective Behavior and Social Movements Research
- What Is the Use of Protest Today? (a well-attended invited session).
- Recent Advances in Social Movement Research
- Mobilization and Contemporary Democratic Elections: Coping with Violence & Extremism

These sessions took place on August 9 and 10.

We also had a CBSM reception on August 10 at the conference hotel with two other sections.

We had a business meeting right after the roundtable sessions at 3pm on August 9.

Programming Outside of the Annual Meeting

We had two main programs, one mini conference and one Zoom event, both well attended.

We had a very successful two-day mini conference prior to the meeting, on Thursday and Friday, August 7 and 8: “The Many Impacts of Social Movements: Fifty Years after William Gamson’s *The Strategy of Social Protest*.” This conference took place at the downtown Northwestern University campus, not far from the meeting hotels. Among the plenary speakers were Aldon D. Morris, Donatella della Porta, Francesca Polletta, Steven Epstein, Myra Marx Ferree, Kenneth Andrews, and Brayden King. There was a question-and-answer session with editors of several journals, including from *Mobilization*, *Social Movement Studies*, *Social Science Computer Review*, and *Science Advances*, as well as series editors from Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, and Amsterdam University Press. The paper sessions included 19 panels on the impacts of movements on politics and policy, on non-political institutions, on news and social media, on entertainment media and art, on collective memory, on collective identity, on activist biographies, in authoritarian polities, and in China and Hong Kong. Other panels included ones focused on strategy, methods, revolutions and rebellions, and the impacts of gender-based movements, right-wing movements, and Black Lives Matter. It was attended by 140 and raised money for the section, as Edwin Amenta secured funding for lunches from the UCI Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy and Northwestern University’s Kellogg School of Business provided space (and snacks) for free. For more details, see

<https://www.asanet.org/collective-behavior-and-social-movements-resources/>

Because of the mini conference and a move toward more in-person events and a decline in attendance at Zoom events, as we have become further removed from the pandemic, we decided to host only one Zoom event, but made it extra special with approximately 75 section members in attendance. This event was organized by at-large council members Sharon Quinsaath, Didem Türkoğlu, Minwoo Jung, and Weijun Yuan. (See also attached e-flyer.)

ASA Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Virtual Conversation on “Global Resistance to Democratic Backsliding”

Date/Time: May 13, 2025 (Tuesday), 12:00-1:30PM Central/Chicago Time (GMT-5)

Location: Zoom

This event brought together scholars whose work explores resistance movements in diverse global contexts—from South Asia and Eastern Europe to Latin America and the Middle East. Panelists shared their insights on how social movements are confronting the rise of right-wing regimes and democratic backsliding. The conversation focused on three intersecting issues—immigration, higher education, and gender and reproductive justice—while also addressing other urgent topics shaped by today’s rapidly shifting political landscape.

Panelists:

- **Samantha Agarwal** (American University, USA)
- **Simon Escoffier** (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile)
- **Lisa Hajjar** (University of California, Santa Barbara, USA)
- **Kim Lane Scheppele** (Princeton University, USA)
- **Didem Türkoğlu** (Kadir Has University, Turkey)

Moderator: Sharon Quinsaat (Grinnell College, USA)

CriticalMassBulletin

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

Volume 49(3)

Fall 2024

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

2024-2025 Section Officers

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

Message from the Chair



Edwin Amenta
CBSM Section Chair
Professor of Sociology
University of California, Irvine

When William Gamson published *The Strategy of Social Protest* in 1975, modern social movement scholarship was just emerging. Gamson and his team sampled U.S. challenging organizations across a long

stretch of history, assessed their influence, and sought to identify the strategies that helped them win their goals and improve their standing with their targets. One might have expected that the potential impact of social movements—which by all definitions seek social change—would become a major concern of social movement scholarship after that. For the rest of the twentieth century, however, most work addressed instead why social movements emerged and why individuals chose to participate in them. It was assumed that if the free-rider problem were solved, social change would follow—just as once a group of students could agree to chip in for a keg, beer would arrive.

But scholars soon recognized that social movements not only frequently failed to induce desired change, but sometimes even acted in ways that set back their causes and constituents. The beer did not always arrive, and sometimes instead the police appeared. And so movement scholars in this century have turned increasingly to addressing questions surrounding the impacts of movements. Thinking about social movements as a potential explanation for something rather than the thing to be explained required a new outlook and theoretical orientation, one with movements no longer at the center of analyses.

The first work along these lines focused on political and policy outcomes, for several good reasons: Most social movements target states, state policies matter to movements' constituents, and, not least, these policies were often

easier to conceptualize and measure, given longstanding scholarly attention and available data. Scholars found that the strategies and contexts that drive support for movements often diverge from those that brought influence in politics; sometimes strategies that successfully mobilized people proved counterproductive in politics. Scholars also were able to distinguish which sorts of policies might be easier to influence, where in the policy process movements could be most influential, and what might matter to influence at different phases of the process.

But social movements do far more than influence public policy and political institutions. First, they seek influence over all manner of institutions, including businesses, universities, media, science, medicine, churches, police, and the military. Accordingly, scholars have sought to address when and why movements have had impacts on these institutions. Some insights from political research have been useful in formulating initial hypotheses. But mostly studies showed that non-political institutions have different sorts of susceptibility to movements and require different paths to influence. Indeed, why would the same strategies that induce the Democratic party to endorse carbon-emission goals also influence the Catholic Church to upgrade the status of women, universities to adopt Black studies programs, the *New York Times* to stop using the term “homosexuals,” or the Body Shop to end testing on animals? And so these analyses required different ways of thinking about how movements might matter.

What is more, scholars also began to act on the idea that social movements seek broader cultural change. These considerations go beyond policies in different institutions and include shifts in public discourse, public opinion, cultural form, and everyday practices. These questions called for yet different ways of thinking and analysis. And, circling back to initial questions about social mobilization, scholars have also addressed the impact of social movements on the life courses of those who participated in them, asking whether and how it drove their future activism.

On the 50th anniversary of Gamson’s work, we are planning to take stock of the outpouring of research about the consequences of social movements. The CBSM section is holding a mini conference on this broad topic on August 7 and 8, 2025, just before the ASA annual meeting in Chicago. (Our section day is on the first day of the meeting this year, August 9, when we will hold a variety of panels as well our roundtables and business meetings.) Organized by the CBSM workshop committee, the mini conference will be hosted at the downtown campus of Northwestern University’s Kellogg School of Management (aided with its generous support and that of the University of California-Irvine Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy). Centered on the many kinds of influence of social movements and the drivers of that influence, the workshop will be organized into plenary sessions, thematic sessions, and roundtables. Please save the dates and stay tuned for more details about this exciting set of meetings.

After I drafted this, the election results came in. Much to my dismay, which I am sure is widely shared here, they showed that Donald Trump would be returning to the White House. This happened despite his having badly mishandled the Covid crisis, having been impeached twice, and having been convicted of multiple felonies while being under indictment for more, including for leading an insurrection seeking to overturn the results of the previous presidential election. Like many of you, I have spent the last several days trying to understand why this happened, what it might mean, and what might be done in the way of resistance to his plans. (As I am writing this on the Sunday after the election, I have also lost hope that late-counting California districts and a few others will somehow give Democrats a House majority to aid this resistance.) Trump’s plans include mass deportations, vengeance against political opponents, more tax cuts for the wealthiest, the hollowing out of the administrative state, vaccination requirement rollbacks, and possibly cuts to Social Security and Medicare and national abortion restrictions. It is helpful that social movement scholars have been at the forefront of analyzing the reasons behind the rise of the political right and the resistance to the previous

Trump administration. A special section of this issue includes summaries of relevant scholarship on these issues, and it is well worth reflecting on as we approach another Trump term.

My own take on the election, marinated in equal parts of fear, grief, and discontent, is that the election was far from an endorsement of Trump and Trumpism. In 2024, there were many elections worldwide, and they all rejected incumbents, whether of the left or right, that had to deal with the Covid pandemic and its economic aftershocks. And most of these elections swung against the incumbents far more dramatically than here. The simplest way to read our results is that the Democrat standard bearer Kamala Harris was the vice president of incumbent Joe Biden, and an unpopular regime was turned out of power in large part for problems out of its control. The animus seemed to be against the administration for a variety of reasons: inflation, plus how it was portrayed in the media, nostalgia for the pre-Covid “Trump economy” (established by the Obama administration), dissatisfaction with immigration policies, and Gaza and Ukraine. The Biden administration has been blamed even though it weathered the economic fallout of Covid better than governments in other rich countries and has put the economy back on track—perhaps just in time for Trump to take credit again. As for Harris’s messaging, in the seven battleground states where Harris and Trump campaigned most frequently, the electoral swing against the Democrats was less than half the size than it was in the states where they barely campaigned. A less than two-point swing in favor of Harris would have seen her entering the White House. And in the five of those contested states where a Democratic senatorial candidate was running, four of them won. What is more, referendums regarding abortion rights did far better than the Democratic national ticket. All this suggests that the electorate was tacking opposite from many of the policy positions of Trump, despite its wholesale rejection of the administration for its perceived poor performance.

In short, almost none of the reasons for the Democrats’ loss have to do with Trump’s plans as I have outlined them above. Yet despite this minimal mandate, as research has shown, the structure of U.S. political institutions will likely give Trump and right-wing movements great leeway to put into effect many aspects of their agenda. Although nothing in the election results suggests support for the anti-abortion, anti-vaccine, or income-tax-cutting movements, each has opportunities to make great gains in the coming year. But this agenda was by no means demanded by the electorate, and it should be resisted. The research summarized in this issue provides some ideas about how that might happen, but it also underscores the need for more.

Edwin Amenta
November 10, 2025

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2024 Section Award Winners

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award

Kaylin Bourdon. “Who Speaks for a Movement? The Construction and Reception of Activists’ Claims to Standing”

Kaylin Bourdon’s “Who Speaks for a Movement? The Construction and Reception of Activists’ Claims to Standing” dissertation goes deep into the theoretical and empirical issues surrounding media standing in activism surrounding the U.S. gun debate. Working from her own database of thousands of articles about this subject focused on the period since 2012, she goes beyond finding that mass shootings drive this debate but digs into the substance of it. In tracking who is granted the right to speak for the sides in this debate, she identifies an important shift. Gun control activists including victims and their families, public figures, and those who made monetary contributions to the cause, have taken prominence over movement organizations, altering the terms of discussion, which now revolve in important ways about motherhood. As in previous movement campaigns, women have leveraged motherhood in public and political discourse. Gun control and safety advocates seek to speak for children across the country, while gun rights advocates address how best to protect their own children. In the process they rework collectivist versus individualist themes in politics. “Who Speaks for a Movement” not only breaks new ground in addressing the impact of activism on public discourse, but it also helps us to make sense of a serious social problem.

Honorable Mention

Reynolds-Stenson, Heidi. 2019. “Building a Wall of Resistance:” *Collective Action and Rationality in the Anti-Terror Age*

Reynolds-Stenson’s dissertation finds that the impact of repression on SMOs is strongly shaped by their attempts to cope with it. Through interviews, participant observation and content analysis, Reynolds-Stenson shows that SMOs utilize a variety of strategies for limiting the effects of repression on their activists. They provide material and social support to activists, implement anti-surveillance security measures and honor activists that withstand repression. They also redefine movement efficacy to include both persistence in the face of repression and repression itself, since it indicates that the state actors view them as a threat. Finally, they develop a movement culture in which participation in the face of repression is habitual and almost automatic. The committee was impressed by the methodological sophistication and theoretical insights of the dissertation.

Committee Chair: Leslie Bunnage
Nominated by: David Meyer

Mayer N. Zald Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Student Paper Award

Co-Winners

Catharina O’Donnell and Weijun Yuan

Catharina O’Donnell. “Mobilizing the Mailing List: How National Political Organizations on the Right and Left Communicate with their Bases”

Cat O’Donnell’s paper addresses a key way that social movement organizations seek collective action in our online world. In analyzing an original data set including thousands of emails from 29 U.S. SMOs that call for action from their bases, she shows that right movements differ importantly from left movements in their demands. Right movement organizations call for ideological participation, whereas left movements call for tactical participation. Cat contributes to the literature by highlighting differences between left and right movements as well as to our understanding of asymmetric political polarization.

Co-Winner

Weijun Yuan. “Collaborating across Boundaries: Inter-Organizational Dynamics in the 2019 Hong Kong Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Protests.”

Weiwei Yuan’s paper addresses the fundamental question of when organizations in a movement are likely to cooperate. In analyzing protests in Hong Kong against its extradition law, she relies on an original data set based on Telegram posts and communications by dozens of organizations, focusing on the top 20. Among other findings, she shows that peaceful groups are more likely to endorse insurgent groups when peaceful groups are denied channels to negotiate. This paper also opens the way to a greater understanding of alliances, coalitions, and disputes among organizations in larger social movements.

Committee Chair: Edwin Amenta

*Charles Tilly Distinguished
Contribution to Scholarship Book
Award*

Hajar Yazdiha. *The Struggle for the People’s King* by Hajar Yazdiha (Princeton University Press)

In the post-civil rights era, wide-ranging groups have made civil rights claims that echo those made by Black civil rights activists of the 1960s, from people with disabilities to women’s rights activists and LGBTQ coalitions. Increasingly since the 1980s, white, right-wing social movements, from family values coalitions to the alt-right, now claim the collective memory of civil rights to portray themselves as the newly oppressed minorities. *The Struggle for the People’s King* reveals how, as these powerful groups remake collective memory toward competing political ends, they generate offshoots of remembrance that distort history and threaten the very foundations of multicultural democracy.

Drawing on a wealth of evidence ranging from newspaper articles and organizational documents to television transcripts, press releases, and focus groups,

Hajar Yazdiha documents the consequential reimagining of the civil rights movement in American political culture from 1980 to today. She shows how the public memory of King and civil rights has transformed into a vacated, sanitized collective memory that evades social reality and perpetuates racial inequality.

The Struggle for the People’s King is a compelling exploration of Dr. King’s legacy and how it has been used. It is meticulously researched and beautifully written. It is my pleasure to present Dr. Yazdiha with the Best Book Award.

Honorable Mention

Anjuli Fahlberg. *Activism Under Fire* (Oxford University Press)

In *Activism under Fire*, Anjuli Fahlberg provides an original account of how conflict activism operates in Rio de Janeiro’s favelas, which have been well known sites for gang and police violence. Despite these challenges, nonviolent politics remains an integral element in Cidade de Deus--City of God--one of Rio's most dangerous and famous favelas. Drawing on fieldwork, virtual ethnography, and participatory action research, Fahlberg documents how activists strategically navigate local constraints and opportunities--including gendered governing dynamics and racialized practices of solidarity--to create space for non-violent governance amid armed repression. By working within urban, national, and transnational political networks and social movements, local activists bring resources into their neighborhoods and protest violence while avoiding dangerous alliances.

This book is riveting and is based on compelling field research. *Activism under Fire* demonstrates that non-violent collective action is possible amid extreme poverty and violence, and shows what strategies enable it to survive and effect political change. In so doing, Fahlberg reveals the possibilities for collective action in violent and chaotic democratic states, not only in Latin America, but throughout the world.

Committee Chair: Catherine Corrigan-Brown

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award

Daniel Karell, Andrew Linke, Edward Holland, Edward Hendrickson. (2023). “Born for a Storm”: Hard-Right Social Media and Civil Unrest. *American Sociological Review*, 88(2), 322-349.

In their 2023 study, Daniel Karell and colleagues provide a groundbreaking analysis of the interplay between hard-right social media dynamics and civil unrest. Their paper offers an incisive and fascinating examination of how extremist digital spaces catalyze and exacerbate social instability. Through meticulous empirical research and innovative methodological approaches, the authors illuminate the complex mechanisms through which far-right online communities influence real-world political and social outcomes. Their work stands out for its depth of analysis, scholarly rigor, and relevance to contemporary socio-political phenomena, making a profound contribution to the understanding of digital radicalization and its tangible impacts on society.

Co-honorable Mention

Samantha Agarwal. Bivalent Hegemony: How Hindu Nationalists Appeal to Caste-Oppressed People in Communist-Ruled Kerala [CARE-A-LA]. *Politics & Society*. 2023;0(0).

Samantha Agarwal has written a theoretically cogent and empirically rich study on why India’s most marginalized caste—the Dalits—have supported the Hindu nationalist movement led by the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). The Dalit’s support for the BJP is particularly puzzling in Kerala, a state with a long and fertile history of left movements and their election to government, where Agarwal focuses her inquiry. To explain this paradox, she draws on philosopher Nancy Fraser’s concept of bivalent oppression that reconstructs Gramsci’s bivalent hegemony to understand how BJP positions themselves as welfare brokers in the provision of services and provides representation in a way that makes the left appear to be anti-Dalit and the BJP, who has preserved

caste hierarchies, as the most just alternative for Kerala’s marginalized population. Agarwal uses copious amounts of qualitative data from 200 interviews and eight months of ethnography that help us understand the meaning-making processes of Dalits themselves. Agarwal’s study is a major contribution to the literature on right-wing movements and parties and their appeal to the most oppressed members of society.

Co-honorable Mention

Yang Zhang and Feng Shi. The micro-foundations of elite politics: conversation networks and elite conflict during China’s reform era. *Theory and Society* 53, 193–237 (2024).

Yang and Feng have done a remarkable job of creating a full data set of conversational links among CCP leaders during the crucial period of Reform following Mao Zedong. This period included the turn to market-based relations in the economy, the ouster of Hu Yaobang, the primacy of Deng Xiaoping, the Tiananmen Sq. protests, and the fall and disgrace of Zhao Ziyang. All of these events have been examined in biographies, but never through a network-based analysis of shifting polarization and centrality in networks. By undertaking a longitudinal analysis of the changing conversational network among CCP leaders, Yang and Feng are able to quantitatively track and explain the rise and fall of key figures in the CCP Politburo. The paper demonstrates the value of this novel form of elite interaction analysis, as well as contributing to a better understanding of decisions in this key period of China’s history.

Committee Chair: Deana Rohlinger

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements’ Aldon Morris Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Scholarship of Social Movements

Winner: David Snow

Dave Snow's contributions to the study of social movements have been nothing short of transformative, offering nuanced insights into the processes that underpin collective action. His seminal work on frame analysis has provided a

robust framework for understanding how social movements craft narratives and build collective identities to mobilize support- a framework that has been adopted by thousands of scholars globally. Among other things, Snow's research meticulously dissects the interplay between movement leaders and participants, highlighting the strategic and dynamic nature of activism. His innovative approach to examining the micro-level dynamics of movement participation, combined with his thorough empirical investigations, has redefined our comprehension of social movements. Snow's scholarship continues to illuminate the complexities of how movements not only navigate but also shape the social and political landscape. This, of course, only speaks to his scholarly accomplishments. Dave's work has shaped communities. His work with Leon Anderson, which collected data from unhoused individuals as well as service providers, hospitals, and local government agencies prompted a prominent county policy initiative as well as workshops conducted by the United Way. And, it shouldn't be overlooked, that Dave has positively shaped the lives and careers of thousands of undergraduate and graduate students inside and outside of the classroom – many of whom are in this room today.

Committee Chair: Deana Rohlinger

Featured: Resilience, Dynamics, and Varieties of Collective Actions

Edited by: Ana Lopez-ricoy and David Su

Transnational Feminism and Global Governance: Peace, Economic Policy, and Covid-19

By Moghadam, V. M.
Northeastern University

How do feminist organizations mobilize in response to threats to women's security and welfare?

In previous work, I have described the origins, aims, and strategies of transnational feminist networks (TFNs), from the first wave in the early 20th century for suffrage and peace, to the mid-20th century activities against nuclearization and the Cold War, and to the late 20th and early 21st century TFNs opposing neoliberalism, religious fundamentalisms, and wars (e.g., Moghadam 2023). Feminist strategies encompass research, advocacy, lobbying, coalition-building, and public protests. Petition drives and open letters are part of the panoply of advocacy and lobbying activities, and feminists often take part in collective efforts such as the December 2023 International Coalition of Human Rights and Antiwar Organizations", formed to "demand an end to genocide in Palestine" and "call on nations to support the South African petition to the World Court" against Israeli actions in Gaza (see [Global Responses to the Israel-Gaza Conflict and the ICJ Ruling | Norwich University](https://blackallianceforpeace.com/movement-news/israel2icj)). Along with the Black Alliance for Peace, leading organizations were Code Pink: Women for Peace, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (US Section); they helped draft and circulate a petition that was endorsed by worldwide social movements and trade unions. As of January 2024, the petition had 1,504 signatories, with 700 more in process (<https://blackallianceforpeace.com/movement-news/israel2icj>, accessed 11 November 2024).

In October 2024, feminist organizations from across the globe issued an Open Letter addressed to the permanent representatives of the United Nations in advance of the annual Open Debate on Women, Peace, and Security. Initiated by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security (<http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org>), the letter noted the upcoming 25th anniversary of the UN's Security Council Resolution 1325 (adopted October 2000), which initially had held much promise but which has fallen short in implementation and transformation in the face of "record levels of armed conflict, militarization and military spending,

which undermine gender equality, threaten to reverse decades of progress on women's rights, and jeopardize global efforts for peace." The Open Letter referred to the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, the Sudan war, and conflicts in the Sahel, but most of it suggested a preoccupation with the ongoing Israel-Palestine-Lebanon war.

In analyzing the 628 signatories, I found that nearly half were from the Global South, including 54 organizational signatories from countries in the Middle East region, which has been the site of relentless Israeli attacks, many of which preceded the brutal 7th October 2023 Hamas attacks on southern Israel but have since taken on a ferocity that has been globally condemned (although not by the U.S. and its European allies). The Middle East women's organizational signatories were from Lebanon (8), Yemen (13), Iraq (7), Libya (4), Jordan (3), Palestine (4), Algeria (2), Syria (5), Turkey (3), Morocco (1), Egypt (2), and Bahrain (1), along with one Regional organization. Conspicuously missing were signatories from Israel, Tunisia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Qatar – indicative, to my mind, of the fraught domestic conditions in those countries. Some 290 organizational signatories were from other world-regions, including Europe and North America, including fully 11 sections of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Nineteen Afghan women's groups, based mostly outside Afghanistan, signed the letter.

Noting that "the WPS agenda's vision of peace and equality has never been so important – or so under threat", the letter called on member-states to prevent, avert, and end conflict; reform the Security Council; stop arms transfers; defend women's rights; advance reproductive justice; insist on women at the table; support principled humanitarian action; demand justice and accountability; stand for feminist movements; and fund peace, not war.

The history of transnational feminist mobilizations has been long and impressive. In the context of more rather than fewer conflicts and wars, such

mobilizations will continue until threats to women's security end and demands for equality, justice and peace are finally realized.

Reference: Moghadam, V. M. 2022. "Transnational Feminism and Global Governance: Peace, Economic Policy, and Covid-19." In *Handbook of Feminist Governance*, Marian Sawyer, Lee Ann Banaszak, Jacqui True, and Johanna Kantola (eds.). Edgar Elgar (2023): 274-285.

Irrationality and pathology: how right-wing studies questions are sometimes public health questions in disguise

By Emma Tran

Department of Public Health, UCLA

Hallmark questions of health and right-wing studies—"why do some people engage in unhealthy behaviors?" and "why do some people vote against their own interests?"—might actually be cut from the same cloth. Both rely logically on what Lisa McGirr has called an "excessively psychological interpretation" of the right. Both view their subjects as irrational, uninformed, poorly educated, and/or destructive. But by employing this stance, we have done a terrible job at understanding how public health is actually conceived, contested, and managed differently *all the time*, especially in communities that have been historically aggrieved. The intervention I propose is one that reconceptualizes "public health" in order to reconceptualize the incentive for people to endorse the right wing. To study what people are hopeful for, who they imagine to be included in their community, how they imagine caring for and protecting their community, including the natural world—for me, *that* is public health. It is sensitive to the infinite contexts through which we understand a "public" and how "health" might appear for them. Public health can therefore help us generate a set of local questions to ask about the kind of choices people make in pursuit of that goal. And if that is public health, then understanding political behavior as a way to achieve those goals makes the question more legible, meaningful, and

potentially useful to right-wing studies. It responds to a call from Daniel HoSang and Joseph Lowndes to disavow our tendency to “write [the right] off as a collection of racist and conspiratorial groups on the margins of society.” Hopefully, it also answers Terri Givens’s appeal for “social scientists to let go of our assumptions and develop new models and tools to help us gain greater understanding of the societal shifts that are being impacted by and shaping party politics.” Perhaps by asking questions about right-wing politics through the lens of survival and wellbeing, we could interrupt the narrative that people who endorse the right are ill in some way. When it comes to the logic of pathology, we must remain especially vigilant to how we invoke this for racialized people.

I reconceptualize public health as a set of politically motivated choices that people and their collectives make, within the local particularities of oppression, to protect their health and well-being. Racialized and immigrant communities understand that to give themselves the best chances of surviving and thriving in the US, they must forestall these interlocking conditions that otherwise send them careening toward premature death. The stakes are so high for some of these communities that they take up a politics that seemingly contradicts their best interests but, in actuality, might give them the best odds to maintain a quality life. What if for communities of color, what if right-wing politics *is* public health?

Reference: Tran E. Irrationality and pathology: how right-wing studies questions are sometimes public health questions in disguise. *Journal of Right-Wing Studies*. 2024;1(2).

* This is an edited excerpt from the publication by the author, with citations abridged by the editor.

The “Trump Effect” and White Supremacist Activism

Alessandro Giuseppe Drago
McGill University

During the 2010s, a flurry of racist and misogynistic content spread across online and offline spaces in the U.S., fueled in part by

movements like GamerGate. This environment shaped a dynamic *constellation* of white supremacy^[1], often referred to as the “Alt-Right”. These groups became some of the largest white supremacist organizations in recent decades and included Identity Evropa (I.E.), the Traditionalist Workers Party (T.W.P) and Patriot Front (P.F.), which remains active. I analyzed a dataset of close to 2 million leaked Discord chat messages between 2015 and 2020 from over 7000 users and up to 20 organizations. In this ongoing analysis, I explore how white supremacists discuss the threats and opportunities facing their movement, with a focus on the voices of the rank and file. While this work is still in progress, it offers preliminary insights into how these groups perceive their shifting political landscape.

On Discord, white supremacists frequently expressed fears about perceived threats across gender, cultural, economic, political, and demographic lines. Perceived demographic shifts and grievances over the “demonization” of white men were the most frequently cited reasons users gave for joining white supremacist Discord servers. The threats that had simmered during the two Obama administrations now appeared to converge with new opportunities: platforms like Discord enabled white supremacist groups to organize more effectively, and many saw a perceived ally in the White House. However, the organizations in my sample differed markedly in their assessments of Trump’s alignment with their movement goals. Many Discord users were initially ecstatic about Trump’s electoral victory, though enthusiasm waned after Trump’s 2017 strikes on Syria. Organizations which interpreted Trump as an opportunity, rather than a saviour focused on offline activism, recognizing his role in shifting the “Overton Window” and believed that Trump’s presidency signalled lessened repression. They argued that Trump’s rhetoric and actions—such as his refusal to disavow former KKK leader David Duke, his equivocal response to the 2017 Unite the Right rally, and his inflammatory rhetoric—normalized

previously fringe discourses. These groups aimed to capitalize on this shifting discursive environment to appeal to the median Trump voter while pushing more extreme narratives.

A second Trump presidency could further embolden white supremacist groups, intensifying their politics of resentment while also highlighting new opportunities for action. This shift could reinforce a sense of grievance among both extremist and non-extremist factions, potentially leading to increased violence, hate crimes, and activism. These movements thrive on narratives of lost status—racial, gendered, and cultural—galvanizing those who feel their traditional power and privileges have been eroded in a diversifying society. Examining how this environment, along with Trump’s actions and rhetoric, resonates with young men will be crucial in understanding whether we see an increase in far-right extremist violence, especially as white supremacists organize on more secretive/secure online spaces such as Telegram.

Reference: Blee, Kathleen, Robert Futrell, and Pete Simi. 2024. “A Constellation Approach To Understanding Extremist White Supremacy.” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 28(4):435–44.

Opinions on Social Movements

Editor’s Note on the New Column

In response to our community’s demand, we are introducing a new column in the newsletter dedicated to fostering constructive academic debates that advance social movement theories. The views expressed in this column are solely those of the authors and do not reflect the stance of the editors or the CBSM section as a whole.

We encourage new contributions to this column and engage with these ideas—whether by responding directly to the author or by submitting a response piece for potential publication in the next Spring edition of *Critical Mass*. Responses or reflections can be submitted to cbsmnews@gmail.com.

On the Socioemotional Aspect of Collective Behavior

Jeffrey Broadbent
University of Minnesota
broad001@umn.edu

Dear CBSM colleagues,
I bring up the following points because I think they are very relevant to explaining the reasons for the MAGA movement and with its support, Trump’s victory.

Driving down Lake street in Minneapolis, the many closed storefronts and shoddy, depressed atmosphere remind me of the riots along that street after the May 25, 2020 murder of George Floyd. On the day after, people mostly Black but with white supporters fielded peaceful protest marches. But by the night, and for three days thereafter, local Black people plus out of town white provocateurs rioted, breaking windows, looting, and burning out many businesses and the Third Precinct police station. A striking picture from the local paper shows a young black man giving a black power salute in front of a blazing pawn shop (he started the fire and accidentally killed a person who was hiding there).

After the riot, it struck me that the dominant McTeam (McAdam, Tilly, Tarrow) theory of social movements could not explain the riot. Rather, to explain it, we had to go back to Smelser’s theory of collective action. Such a statement will arouse

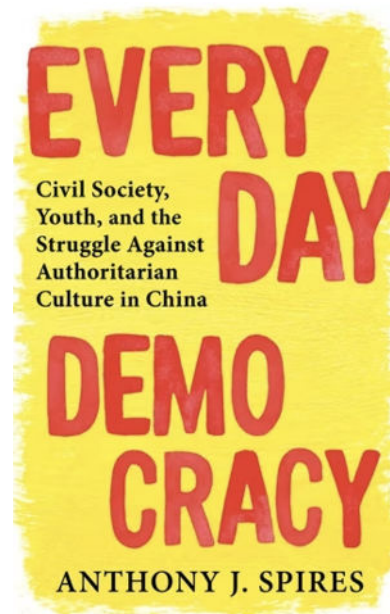
accusations of functionalism. However, that is not my meaning or intent. I mean that the McTeam theory (consisting of mobilizing structural resources like existing local organizations, conducive new cognitive framing of an issue, and a neutral or facilitating political opportunity structure) did not explain the riots because their theory rests basically on a strategic rational actor model. Rather, I think, Smelser's value-added sequence of factors leading to collective behavior made a lot of sense in this case, especially the part where a situation of social strain (perhaps tension would be a better term) is hit by a catalyzing event that releases an outburst of frustration and anger that turns into destructive rioting. At least the local Black people, releasing lifelong anger and resentment at their impoverished, discriminated status, seemed to me to be reacting in this way. And very understandably so. However, they were not rational, strategic actors. They were emotional actors expressing rage but without strategic purpose. George Floyd's murder catalyzed them to collectively express that anger as a riot. The riot melted away in a few days. Following the riot, the murder reinvigorated and strengthened the existing BLM movement throughout the country. The McTeam theory helps explain the rapid rise and spread of those purposeful and strategic BLM organizations.

The reason I bring this up is because Smelser's social strain-catalyst-collective behavior theory also helps explain the MAGA movement, much better than the McTeam model. Worsening over the preceding decades, especially white non-college males had seen their wages stagnate, good jobs disappear, communities decay, and opioid deaths skyrocket. They held huge pent-up frustration and anger at their terrible circumstances, but did not know who to blame or how to define and express their anger. Along comes Trump who is the clever catalyst of their anger, turning their anger against the "elites," illegal (and even legal) immigrants

from Latin America, the deep state, evil Democrats, and the press (anywhere but the vast concentration of wealth in the hands of businesses owners and top investors). Of course, that is a new or strengthened cognitive framing. But Trump's rallies went much deeper. They became psychodramas in which Trump on stage acted out and personified their anger, saying "I am your retribution," giving the audience also permission to feel and express their anger. So they supported him. So, I think that Smelser's value-added model has important implications for social movement theory. It hinges on an interaction between a widespread social strain/tension and a catalyst. I don't see that that part of his theory has any reliance on functionalism.

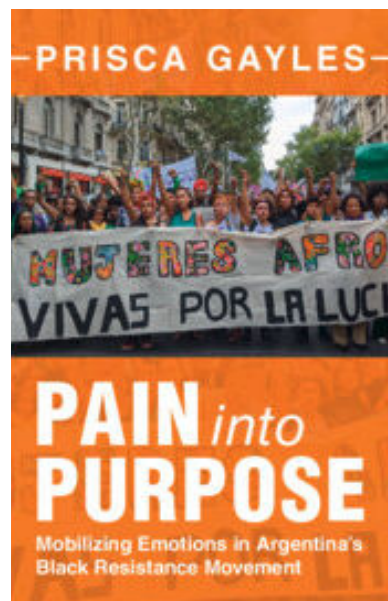
Recent Publications

Anthony J. Spires. 2024. [Everyday Democracy: Civil Society, Youth, and the Struggle against Authoritarian Culture in China](#). New York: Columbia University Press.



Bottom-up voluntary associations, it is commonly thought, are among the fundamental building blocks of democracy,

preparing people for engaged citizenship. A great deal of interest in Chinese civil society is premised on the idea that such groups might foster the emergence of democracy. But in a society where virtually all major institutions—from schools to workplaces to government—bear the deep imprint of authoritarian rule, can voluntary associations still spur social and political change? *Everyday Democracy* is a groundbreaking study of bottom-up organizations in China, arguing that even in an authoritarian state, they nurture the skills and habits of democracy. Anthony J. Spires offers an in-depth look at two youth-based, youth-led volunteer groups, showing how their values and practices point the way toward the emergence of new, more democratic forms of association. In mainstream Chinese organizational life, even in grassroots civil society groups, hierarchy and autocracy are pervasive. In these groups, however, ideals of equality, mutual respect, and dignity have motivated young people to invent new practices and norms that contrast greatly with typical top-down organizational culture. Drawing on more than a decade of field-based research with a diverse array of participants, *Everyday Democracy* pinpoints the seeds of a democratic culture inside an authoritarian regime.



Pain into Purpose is a groundbreaking exploration of Argentina's *Movimiento Negro* (Black resistance movement). Employing a multi-year ethnography of Black political organizing, Prisca Gayles delves deep into the challenges activists face in confronting the erasure and denial of Argentina's Black past and present. She examines how collective emotions operate at both societal and interpersonal levels in social movements, arguing that activists strategically leverage societal and racialized emotions to garner support. Paying particular attention to the women activists who play a crucial role in leading and sustaining Argentina's Black organizations, the book showcases the ways Black women exercise transnational Black feminist politics to transform pain into purpose.

Allen, Shaonta' E., 2024, "'I can't tell you what freedom is 'cause I've never seen it': Addressing the Omission of Liberation Narratives in Sociology," *Social Problems*.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spae055>.

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<https://www.annualreviews.org/content/journals/10.1146/annurev-soc-031021-112151>.

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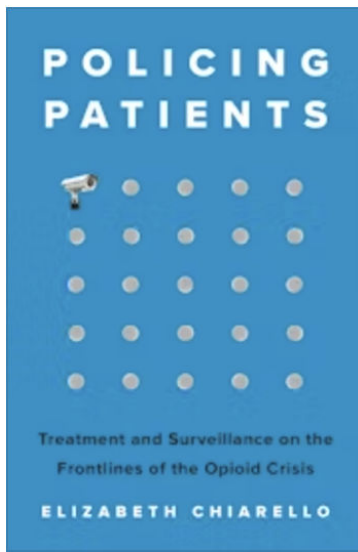
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Trevizo D. 2014. "Organizational Form and Fragmentation in the Lethal Outcomes of Mexico's Vigilante Mobilizations, 2012–2015." *Latin American Research Review*. Published online:1-19. doi:10.1017/lar.2024.39

Elizabeth Chiarello. 2014. *“Policing Patients: Treatment and Surveillance on the Frontlines of the Opioid Crisis”* (Princeton University Press).



Doctors and pharmacists make critical decisions every day about whether to dispense opioids that alleviate pain but fuel addiction. Faced with a drug crisis that has already claimed more than a million lives, legislatures, courts, and policymakers have enlisted the help of technology in the hopes of curtailing prescriptions and preventing deaths. This book reveals how this “Trojan horse” technology embeds the logics of surveillance in the practice of medicine, forcing care providers to police their patients while undermining public trust and doing untold damage to those at risk.

Elizabeth Chiarello draws on hundreds of in-depth interviews with physicians, pharmacists, and enforcement agents across the United States to take readers to the frontlines of the opioid crisis, where medical providers must make difficult choices between treating and punishing the people in their care. States now employ prescription drug monitoring programs capable of tracking all controlled substances within a state and across state lines. Chiarello describes how the reliance on these databases blurs the line between medicine and criminal justice and pits pain sufferers against people with substance-use disorders in a zero-sum game.

Shedding critical light on this brave new world of healthcare, Policing Patients urges medical providers to reaffirm their roles as healers and proposes invaluable policy solutions centered on treatment, prevention, and harm reduction.

Ebbinghaus, Mathis. 2024. “Decoupling social movements from modernity: a critical reappraisal of Charles Tilly’s theory on the origins of social movements.” *Theory and*

Society 53:1151–1175.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-024-09569-0>

Andriano, Liliana and Mathis Ebbinghaus. 2024. “Demographic consequences of social movements: local protests delay marriage formation in Ethiopia.” *Social Forces*, soae112. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soae112>

Jo Reger, 2024. “Lesbian Feminist Music and Meaningful Community Work.” *Popular Music and Society*.

Yao Li, Cassard, M., Holmes, B., & Wu, H. 2024. “Variations in media framing of movements in China, France, and the U.S.: An intersectional approach.” *British Journal of Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13153>.

Announcements

CBSM Mini Conference before ASA 2025 – The Many Impacts of Social Movements: Fifty Years after William Gamson’s The Strategy of Social Protest

Initially, most social movement research concerned what drove mobilization and why people participated in social movements. William Gamson’s 1975 work stood out in seeking to address whether social movements were able to gain influence and why. Although slow to take this lead, scholars over the last quarter century have turned attention to the potential influence of social movements and their actions over a variety of important social outcomes. Early work concerned movements’ political and policy influence, but since then, research has expanded to other potential sites of impact. These include social movements’ influence on nonpolitical institutions, such as business, medicine, science, religion, education, the police, and the military, movements’ cultural impacts on public discourse, media, collective memory, public opinion, and art, movements’ influence on other movements, including on broader

tactical repertoires, and on movement participants' later activism.

To take stock of these advances and highlight new research, the Collective Behavior and Social Movements (CBSM) section of the American Sociological Association is holding a mini-conference at the downtown campus of Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management in Chicago, Illinois, on August 7 and 8, 2015 – the two days immediately prior to opening of the American Sociological Association's national meeting in Chicago. (The CBSM section day is the first day of the conference.) Centered on the many kinds of influence that social movements have had and what drives that influence, the workshop will be organized into plenary sessions, thematic sessions, and roundtables.

The mini-conference is being sponsored in part by Northwestern University and the University of California-Irvine Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy. More information about registration and submission will follow, but we hope you can save the dates!

Details to be announced

- More information about it will be available soon and there will be a Resources tab on the CBSM webpage about it, and ultimately an ASA link to register for it.
- Conference date: Two days before the annual meeting in Chicago this August.

Call for papers to Alternative Futures and Popular Protest

We're writing to announce the call for papers for the next edition of Alternative Futures and Popular Protest.

AFPP is an international, cross-disciplinary conference on social movements, protest and cognate topics. It has drawn participants from over 60 countries, whether based in departments of sociology, politics, cultural studies, psychology, economics, history, geography or elsewhere. Discussions are marked by a long-established spirit

of collegial and comradely participation, making for a friendly meeting ground between academia and activism.

AFPP 2025 will be the 30th anniversary of the conference and we'll be using the occasion to reflect on the past and look to the future of social movement scholarship. If you've been to AFPP in the past and would like to aid our reflections by sharing memories, stories or testimonials, we'd love to hear from you – please visit here for more details: <https://www.movements.manchester.ac.uk/afpp/testimonials-subs/>

The 2025 conference will be held in Manchester on 16-18th June. We look forward to welcoming delegates to the city, with all of the informal socialising, organising, and collaborating that that format entails. To help cover the costs of an in-person conference, we will be charging a delegate fee. The amount is still to be confirmed, but will be broadly in line with the 2024 fee of £45.

We invite offers of papers relevant to the broad conference theme, which might address such matters 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

To offer a paper, please send a title, abstract (max 300 words) and 4-6 keywords to the organisers via the following form:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScECn p9cJjN1pRkNLcxv0UoTiw4T79-JHRjZmFBE_Tg2iQTLA/viewform?usp=sf_link

If your abstract is accepted you will be invited to supply a written paper in advance of the conference, which will be distributed to all participants. Ideally, this would take the form of a fully-referenced

working paper, of 6-8,000 words in length in MS Word .docx, Adobe .pdf or compatible format. However, some speakers have submitted different kinds of documents in the past (e.g. extended notes; powerpoint slideshows and so on). We are open to the submission of such documents instead of a working paper as long as they successfully communicate the main argument and evidence base for your paper without the need for specialist software.

Deadlines

- **Deadline for receipt of abstracts: 18th December 2024.**
- Expected response by February 2025.
- For queries by email: afpp@manchester.ac.uk (Please do not email abstracts, use the submission form instead.)
- The AFPP 2025 Organising Committee are: Josh Bunting, Gemma Edwards, Simin Fadaee, Kevin Gillan, Lidia Yanez Lagos, Steven Speed, Meghan Tinsley, Daniela Fazio Vargas and Luke Yates.

Call for papers to a Special Collection of the Global Social Challenges Journal

This Special Collection of the Global Social Challenges Journal will advance an emergent field of scholarly research, which is coalescing around the concept of “revolutionary constitutionalism”, understood as the participatory practices of a social movement in deliberating, articulating, and constituting a new social order. This field of inquiry is in part a response to our current conjuncture and the failures of existing systems to address the multiple, intensifying and interconnected crises we face. Where the global social movement of the turn of the millennium declared ‘another world is possible’, scholarship on revolutionary constitutionalism examines both the sources as well as the emerging institutional contours and systemic designs of this other possible world.

Constitutions and constitution-making processes have often been understood as a province of technocrats and elites, removed from real-world struggles of the great multitudes of the world’s peoples. The articles in this collection will counter this persistent bias, drawing on scholarly studies of popular constitutionalism, revolutionary constitutionalism, the sociology of constitutions, prefigurative legalities, radical governance, systemic movements, and next system design to show the power and the relevance of constitutional politics in wider struggles for democracy, justice and ecological sustainability.

Submissions should address at least some aspects of the following questions:

- What can be learned from movements from below that seek to systematically reorder the relationships between human beings, communities, institutions, the state, ecosystems, and the world system?
- What are their constitutional designs for the next world system or its subsystems?
- How do they develop them, articulate them, mobilise for them, establish them, enact them, practice them, and/or defend them?

We seek contributions from community-based scholar activists, as well as those in the academy. We are particularly seeking contributions from writers based in and writing from perspectives of the Global South, though we also welcome contributions from scholars of all regions, who are grappling with these questions. This Special Collection is a project of a new [International Research Collaborative on Revolutionary Constitutionalism](#), supported by Next System Studies at George Mason University.

Deadlines

- Abstract submission deadline: 20 December 2024
- Guest edited by Carys Hughes (University of East London, U.K.) and Ben Manski (George Mason University, U.S.).
- Interested authors should send a 250-word abstract to Special Collection Editors Dr Carys Hughes (carys.hughes@uel.ac.uk) and Dr Ben Manski (bmanski@gmu.edu) by 20

December 2024. Invitations for full paper submissions will be sent in mid-January 2025, and full papers will be due by end of March 2025.

Call for papers
The Sociological Quarterly Special Issue: Sociological Perspectives on Student Activism

Guest Editors: Jonathan S. Coley, Oklahoma State University

Gabby Gomez, Oklahoma State University

Jericho R. McElroy, Oklahoma State University

Jessica L. Schachle-Gordon, Stephen F. Austin State University

The United States and other countries are currently witnessing a surge in student activism. For example, over the past year, numerous campuses have become home to protests over Israel and Palestine. Schools are also increasingly serving as vibrant spaces for racial justice activism (Reyes 2018), intersectional feminist organizing (Reger 2018), and LGBTQ+ movements (Coley 2018). Conservative groups, too, have recently made significant inroads onto campuses (Binder and Kidder 2022). Although students have long served as agents of social change (e.g., Klatch 1999; McAdam 1988; Van Dyke 1998), the current high visibility of student activism suggests that now is an important time to (re)consider what sociology has to offer to the study of student activism.

This special issue of *The Sociological Quarterly (TSQ)* will feature innovative, theoretically engaged, and methodologically rigorous sociological research on student activism. By student activism, we refer to students' efforts to promote or resist social change. We are thus open to contributions that profile the variety of ways that students engage in activism, including through traditional social movement organizations, officially recognized student organizations that promote change through methods other than protest, and individual-level "everyday activism." We are also open to contributions focusing on student activism taking place within a variety of educational contexts (e.g., secondary schools,

postsecondary schools), outside the formal confines of schools, and around the world.

In terms of theoretical perspective, we invite submissions that use new and established social movement frameworks, such as political opportunity theory, educational opportunity theory, threat-based theory, resource mobilization theory, framing theory, or collective identity theory. However, as a generalist sociology journal, we also welcome submissions that use (or combine) theoretical frameworks from outside of social movement studies, including theories from the sociology of labor and labor movements, sociology of education, organizational sociology, sociology of children and youth, sociology of race, gender, and sexuality, sociology of religion, or cultural sociology. Finally, we welcome research using a variety of methodological approaches, including quantitative, qualitative, experimental, historical, and mixed-methods approaches.

Topics of interest may include, but are not limited to:

- Characteristics of political, cultural, and educational contexts that facilitate or stymie student activism
- Pathways into student activism
- Constraints on (or possibilities for) student activism based on the intersections of students' race, class, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, etc.
- Types or "modes" of student activism
- Analyses of leadership in student activism
- Strategies and tactics of student activism
- Role of art, music, and similar cultural products in student activism
- Role of religion in student activism
- Use of social media in student activism
- Analyses of ecologies or subcultures of student activism
- Political, cultural, educational, biographical, and other outcomes of student activism
- How student activism shapes, and is shaped by, the formal curriculum
- How students transform schools conceptualized as racialized organizations, gendered organizations, heterosexualized organizations, or inequality regimes

- Explanations for differential success of student activism
- Collecting data on and with student activists

Interested contributors should take note of the following timeline and submission instructions:

- *Paper proposal.* Submit a proposed article title, author names, and extended abstract (approximately 500 words) by e-mail to tsq@okstate.edu by January 15, 2025. In the extended abstract, we recommend discussing the proposed article's research question (or research aims), theoretical approach, data and methodological approach, findings, and implications.
- *Abstract acceptance.* Authors of accepted proposals will be notified by January 31, 2025. Note that abstract acceptance does not constitute a guarantee of publication.
- *Paper submission.* Complete manuscript drafts are due by May 31, 2025. Manuscripts can be up to 12,000 words, inclusive of main text, references, tables, and figures.
- *Peer review.* The editors will send papers out for external review in summer 2025. Contingent on reviews, authors will be given up to 3 months to revise their papers.
- *Publication.* Articles will appear online first after acceptance and will subsequently be published in a special issue of up to 12 articles in 2026.

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 research presented at ASA or current and ongoing projects that critically engage with the following themes: right-wing movements, resistance during the Trump era, campus activism, and threat-based mobilization. In light of the evolving political climate, we seek to provide a platform for our community to reflect, analyze, and engage with these pressing issues. We welcome contributions that bring theoretical insights, empirical research, or reflections on mobilization strategies, collective resistance, and the dynamics of activism and threat.

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, 2025**.

CriticalMass*Bulletin*

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

Volume 50 (1)

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

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

Message from the Chair



Edwin Amenta
CBSM Section Chair
Professor of Sociology
University of California, Irvine

Hello Fellow Section Members,

I hope you are well, all things considered. Spring is in the air, as is collective action! And not just the type in the streets, where I

know many of my colleagues have been, but the type that we study.

I am delighted to **announce our full slate of events at the ASA meeting** in Chicago. We will start before the meeting with a **mini conference**: “The Many Impacts of Social Movements: Fifty Years after William Gamson’s The Strategy of Social Protest.” It will take place on Thursday and Friday, August 7 and 8, at the downtown campus of Northwestern University’s Kellogg School of Management. Among the **plenary speakers** will be Aldon Morris, Francesca Polletta, Steven Epstein, Myra Marx Ferree, Kenneth Andrews, Donatella Della Porta, and Brayden King. There will be a question-and-answer session with editors of several journals, including from Mobilization, Social Movement Studies, Social Science Computer Review, and Science Advances, as well as series editors from Cambridge University Press and Amsterdam University Press. The **paper sessions** will contain panels on the impacts of movements on politics and policy, on non-political institutions, on news and social media, on entertainment media and art, on collective memory, on collective identity, on activist biographies, in authoritarian polities, and in China and Hong Kong. Other panels include ones focused on strategy, methods, revolutions and rebellions, and the impacts of gender-based movements, right-wing movements, and Black Lives Matter. You can register [here](#).

Our section day is Saturday, August 9, and we have a full schedule of exciting research. A **panel** on Recent Advances in Social Movement

Research will start us off at 8am. It includes papers by James M. Jasper, Maria Grasso, and Michael Biggs among others. At 10am we will have an expert panel addressing the question: “What Is the Use of Protest Today?” The panel will respond to an essay by Zeynep Tukekci about the potentially declining impact of protest. It includes David Meyer, Marco Giugni, Dana Fisher, and Daniel Gillion. **We have 15 roundtable panels** starting at 2 and ending at 3, when our business meeting begins in the same room. At 4pm, we have a panel on Advances in Data and Methods for CBSM Research. It focuses on the use of big data, of which the section has been in the forefront. It includes papers by Alex Hanna, Charles Seguin, and Yuhuan Hu, among others. On Sunday, our last panel will take place at 10am. Mobilization and Contemporary Democratic Elections: Coping with Violence & Extremism will include papers by Jackie Smith, Chandra Russo, and Avital Siron among others. Our reception will be that evening.

I look forward to seeing you all in Chicago!

All the best,
Edwin

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- 1) CBSM Junior Scholars Job Candidates (Part 1) pp. 2 - 4
- 2) Featured Recent Publications pp. 4 - 9
- 3) Announcements pp. 9 -10

CBSM Junior Job Market Candidates

Matthew Blanton

PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology
University of Texas at Austin

<https://www.matthewblanton.com>



Matthew Blanton is a PhD candidate in Sociology and Demography at the University of Texas at Austin. His dissertation, *Forced Migration From and Within Central America*, uses a mixed-methods approach to examine the long-term effects of historical violence on migration, the timing and dynamics of unaccompanied minor migration, and

the health consequences of post-migration stressors. In a second line of inquiry, he studies the political and civic implications of religious change in Latin America.

His research has been published in *International Migration Review*, *Society and Mental Health*, and *The Sociological Quarterly*, and his public scholarship has appeared in *The Boston Globe* and *The Hill*. His work has been supported by the National Institutes of Health, the University of Texas Graduate School, and the Strauss Center for International Security and Law.

Selected publication:

Blanton, Matthew. "Post-Migration Stressors and Mental and Physical Health Among Refugees and Migrants in Need of Protection: A Mixed-Methods Analysis with Weekly Panel Data." *Society and Mental Health*. Forthcoming.

Dr. Andrew K. Thompson

athompson@holycross.edu

<https://www.holycross.edu/academics/people/andrew-thompson>



I am currently a Visiting Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Holy Cross and am looking to find a permanent home in a department where critical scholarship and social engagement are valued. As an award-winning educator and a movement-based scholar with international impact, my research and teaching foreground my commitment to social change.

I am the author of two books on social struggle and the co-editor of three others. Along with being translated into Turkish and German, my work has appeared in journals like *Social Movement Studies*, *Contention*, and *Interface*. Owing to my interdisciplinary and public-facing commitments, I have also been featured in journals like *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* and in popular venues like *Boston Review* and the *Los Angeles Review of Books*.

Selected Publication

AK Thompson (2024). *Walter Benjamin und die Kultur der Revolte* (Frank Engster, Trans.) Philosophische Gespräche Heft 70. Berlin: Helle Panke e.V., Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

Youngjin YJ Chae

Department of Sociology, Rutgers University

[Scholar](#) | [Department website](#)



My research interests lie at the intersection of social movements, family demography, and computational social sciences. I leverage machine learning and large language models to examine how the political right mobilize around conservative, gender-divisive family norms. Specifically, my latest research investigates how men's rights activists try to co-opt contemporary fathers and their perceived grievances to increase the legitimacy and visibility of antifeminist causes. Methodologically, I have

expertise in natural language processing techniques, causal inference framework, and a range of quantitative methods.

Selected publication

Chae, Y., & Davidson, T. (2025). Large Language Models for Text Classification: From Zero-Shot Learning to Instruction-Tuning. *Sociological Methods & Research*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241251325243>.

Featured Recent Publications in Collective Behavior and Social Movements

Featured Papers

Ghaziani, Amin. 2025. "The Cultural Field of Queer Nightlife: Organizations, Artists, and Curatorial Activism." *The Sociological Quarterly*. Online first: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00380253.2025.2466496>.

Abstract

Queer nightlife is recognized by humanists as an artistic project, while social scientists use it more often as a case to examine deviance and regulatory control, macro-structural inequities, substance use, and sexual violence. In this article, I invite researchers to prioritize culture and creativity in theoretical frameworks of nightlife. Based on 112 interviews about underground parties in London that have arisen as gay bars close, I argue that, more than just an art form, queer nightlife is a cultural field. The conceptual shift from form to field accents the organizational plurality of nightlife,

relational artmaking practices, and the aesthetics of activism. While these themes have been described by others—and they are by no means exhaustive—I use them to explain broad associations between art and event-based nightlife scenes in the context of community-level disruptions.

Hui, Elaine Sio-ying, and Weixiang Chen. "The Rise and Fall of Student Labour Activism in Authoritarian China." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* (2025): 1-22.

Abstract:

Research has highlighted the contribution of university students to labour movements in non-democracies, but little is known about the processes by which student labour activism arises in these societies. Based on qualitative research conducted in Guangzhou, China, in 2017 and 2018 and insights from social movement theories, this article considers how student labour activism emerges and declines in an authoritarian regime. It argues that student labour activism is a result of favourable political processes, exposure to movement resources, social ties to pro-labour agents, and the influence of movement frames. The article holds that as student labour activism in China was still in an embryonic stage and had not yet developed into a sustainable movement, escalating political threats were able to stifle student labour activism easily both through direct repression and by mediating other movement factors.

Jung, Minwoo. 2025. "Decolonizing the Global: Contested Cosmopolitanisms in Global Queer Activism." *British Journal of Sociology* (online first). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13217>

Abstract:

In the last decade, the “decolonial turn” has gained prominence across academic disciplines,

challenging inherent Eurocentric knowledge paradigms. Extending these conversations, this paper critically investigates the notion of “the global” from a decolonial perspective. Decolonial scholars criticize the mainstream conceptualization of cosmopolitanism for its Eurocentrism and advocate for alternative forms of cosmopolitanism. This paper builds on this decolonial scholarship and examines how various local actors make sense of and give meaning to the contested category of “the global” in understanding, articulating, and addressing their visions for social change. Drawing from ethnographic research on queer activism in South Korea, it identifies the coexistence and contestation between two forms of cosmopolitanism—metrocentric and provincial—and suggests that we understand non-Western activists as producers of anticolonial thought from below. By doing so, this paper contributes to critical scholarship on globalization, cosmopolitanism, and decolonial thought.

Lynette H. Ong and Kevin W. Luo (2024), “Stability Maintenance, Preventive Repression, and Contentious Politics in China under Xi Jinping’s Rule”, *Issues & Studies* 60(4).

Abstract:

The recent authoritarian turn in Chinese politics under Xi Jinping has invigorated interest in the concept of “public security,” a metamorphosis of the term “weiwen” (stability maintenance) fashioned by his predecessor Hu Jintao. Both concepts emphasize a preventive repression that involves a whole-of-society approach to preserving social order. Drawing on an original protest dataset and the Chinese government statistics on public security spending, we conduct an empirical study of the repression-protest nexus to investigate the extent to which the Chinese state has been effective in preempting social contention. While we find correlational evidence of increased security

spending and a decline in protests, this provides modest support for the strategy’s effectiveness. Despite political tightening under Xi, we find evidence for increased frequency, larger size, and pluralization of grievances for protests during his rule. Overall, our methodological approach allows us to compare contention and repression between the Hu–Wen and Xi periods and to investigate the empirical evidence for preventive repression, which lies at the core of the Chinese approach to the preservation of social order.

Marois, Sophie (2025). “Remember, reclaim, heal”: commemorating anti-Muslim violence in Canada. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41290-024-00233-9>

Abstract

This paper traces annual commemorations of two anti-Muslim massacres in recent Canadian history: the 2017 shooting at a mosque in Québec City and the 2021 vehicle-ramming attack against a Muslim family in London, Ontario. Both attacks have prompted numerous commemorative efforts and emerged at the forefront of public debates around Islamophobia, far-right terrorism and hate crimes, as well as inclusion and national belonging. I examine these public contests and memory projects by combining sociological research on memory and commemoration with critical scholarship on the politics of grief. Empirically, I build a corpus of annual commemorative efforts and their associated media coverage (2017–2022), analyzing how practices and discourses of commemoration articulate grief and political grievances. Drawing on this corpus of public texts, I conceptualize commemoration as recognition and commemoration as repair as two overarching political grammars of commemoration in the aftermath of racially and religiously targeted massacres. By attending to these grammars and the barriers they encounter, this paper offers insights into public responses to white

nationalist and anti-Muslim violence, and contributes to the growing focus, within memory studies, on the transformative potential of commemoration. Implications for theories of recognition and repair in cultural and political sociology are discussed.

Marom, Oded. "Banal Radicalism: Free Spaces and the Routinization of Radical Practices in Far-Right Movements." *The British Journal of Sociology* (2025). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.13213>

Abstract

How do free spaces become radicalizing spaces? This study explores how and when insulated movement spaces contribute to the radicalization of far-right activists. While free spaces allow participants to express and integrate radical ideas into daily practices, the prevalence of these ideas was found to be inconsistent. This research, based on a four-year ethnographic study of a right-wing libertarian movement in New Hampshire, shows how activists creatively highlight and downplay radical ideas to address situational challenges and coordinate action. In this way, movements' free spaces can imbue mundane practices with political significance, but they can also obscure the political meanings of otherwise radical practices. This process of banalization is crucial to the radicalization journey, enabling activists to coordinate actions among diverse participants, including those without overt radical motivations. These findings show how motivations for radical action are articulated in the moment, shaped by specific situations and the challenges they present.

Moqadam, Mahbubeh. "Fractal Scaling of Feminist Politics and the Emergence of the Woman, Life, Freedom Movement in Iran." *Social Forces* (2025): soaf050.

Abstract:

This article presents a socio-historical analysis of the ways women's everyday resistance and struggles over several decades have contributed to the emergence of the Woman, Life, Freedom (WLF) movement in Iran. Drawing on archival and (digital) ethnographic data spanning from the mid-19th century to the 2022 WLF movement, I take a spatiotemporal approach to illustrate the evolution of feminist politics in social (non)movements in Iran. I argue that while state policies have historically constrained women's access to and participation in sociopolitical spaces, these very constraints have gradually fueled the growth of grassroots feminist politics, which have incrementally scaled up to sustain and generate new forms of resistance and struggle. I specifically argue how the ongoing dialectical interaction between the state and women's everyday resistance and historical struggles have led to the fractal expansion of feminist politics through decentralized feminist friendship networks that cultivate (in)visible forms of everyday resistance. This study has implications for understanding how women in general and feminist activists, in particular, navigate material circumstances and different forms of spaces for change across various spatiotemporal scales, particularly in authoritarian states, where feminist politics' creativity and adaptability become essential forces for sustaining resistance and advancing social change.

Scipes, Kim (2025) "Looking Ahead: US Unions Must Look Beyond Themselves to Save Themselves." *Class, Race and Corporate Power*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Article 8. On-line at <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatpower/vol13/iss1/8/>

Abstract

This article argues that there has not been a labor movement in the US since 1949, but only a trade

union movement; the latter only focuses on the betterment of union members instead of workers in general. Yet unions are important for all workers. Drawing off a forthcoming book based on years of on-the-ground experience, the author suggests that workers might find social justice unionism--uniting workers and communities--as a way to advance unions, overcome weaknesses of business unionism, strengthen and advance communities, and rebuild a labor movement to address issues facing workers in the US and around the world.

Silva, Fabiana, Irene Bloemraad, and Kim Voss (2025). *Frame Backfire: The Trouble with Civil Rights Appeals in the Contemporary United States*. *American Sociological Review*. Online firts: <https://doi.org/10.1177/00031224251333087>

Abstract

Many scholars and activists consider civil rights to be a powerful, effective way to frame diverse causes, but do civil rights claims actually resonate? Building on social movements, collective memory, and public opinion scholarship, we conceptualize civil rights claims in three non-mutually-exclusive ways: as a highly resonant “master frame” grounded in core American ideals of equal rights, as an appeal to the idealized memory of the Civil Rights Movement, and as racialized messaging that is likely to provoke backlash. Using these conceptualizations, we derive expectations about the effectiveness of civil rights claims across diverse issues, beneficiaries, and audiences, which we test using two large-scale survey experiments. Respondents viewed “civil rights” very positively in the abstract and broadly agreed about the meaning in both closed and open-ended survey responses: civil rights are about ensuring equal rights and treatment, rather than addressing material needs. Yet, surprisingly, framing contemporary problems—even unequal treatment—as civil rights violations reduced support for government

intervention. Indeed, we find widespread frame backfire: civil rights framing was counterproductive across issues (material deprivation, unequal treatment), beneficiaries (African Americans, Mexican Americans, White Americans, undocumented Mexican immigrants), and audiences (liberals, conservatives, Whites, African Americans, Latinos). Given the consistently negative effects across respondents, these findings cannot be adequately explained as racialized backlash. Instead, we propose that civil rights claims evoke comparisons to the historic Civil Rights Movement, making contemporary hardships appear less significant and prompting unfavorable contrasts with idealized claims-making of the past. Our findings challenge assumptions that frames resonate when they align with audiences’ values or appeal to positive collective memories; indeed, invoking idealized memories risks undermining support for contemporary causes.

Russo, Chandra. 2025. “Beyond the book club: white antiracist organizing before and after the 2024 election.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2025.2482715>

Abstract

The 2024 US presidential election results show that large portions of the white electorate continue to endorse the politics of nativism, anti-Blackness and misogyny. Yet what white people think and do in relation to white supremacy is neither uniform nor sedimented. My research examines how movement groups seek to organize white people away from white supremacy and towards racial justice. In this essay, I establish how a liberal, middle-class approach to antiracism has been insufficient to the political project of challenging white supremacy. I then draw on four years of field work and interviews with the largest US-based organization seeking to organize white communities towards

intersectional racial and economic justice. I offer two examples from the field to show what politically strategic approaches to organizing white people for racial justice can entail. These include centering poor and working-class white people and situating antiracist learning in the service of collective action.

Featured special issues

Liberation Conversations: To Imagine and Build

(co-edited by Melanie Bush and Rantsho Moraka / Open Access) *International Journal of Critical Diversity Studies*.

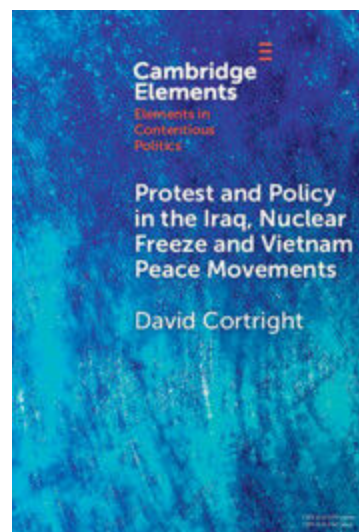
Pluto Journals. University of Witswatersrand. Volume 7. Issue 1.10 February 2025.

- Includes articles by Melanie E L Bush: "Peoples Network for Land and Liberation" and "Interview with Ramon Grosfoguel".

<https://www.scienceopen.com/journal-issue?id=c51e64a9-5c2a-4eb2-a2c4-e8e1c1c09e89>

Featured books

Cortright D. *Protest and Policy in the Iraq, Nuclear Freeze and Vietnam Peace Movements*. Cambridge University Press; 2025.



Abstract

This book addresses questions about social movement effectiveness and the strategies and methods that are most likely to achieve policy change. It examines the nature of peace movements through a comparative analysis of three major movements, focusing on their policy impacts. It assesses social movement dynamics and the mechanisms through which movements gain influence. The purpose is to mine campaign experiences from the past to develop action guidelines for more effective citizen activism against war and nuclear weapons in the future. The Element examines non-institutional and institutional forms of politics and the relationship between the two, and how they can be mutually reinforcing. It traces examples of inside-outside approaches within the three peace movements and their effects. Lessons from the analysis and case studies are applied in the final section to proposals for a new global freeze movement to stop the emerging international arms race.

Schroering, Caitlin. 2024. *Global Solidarities Against Water Grabbing: Without Water, We Have Nothing*. Manchester University Press.
<https://manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781526177865/>



Abstract:

Conflicts over water are human-caused events with socio-political and economic causes. From Brazil's Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens (MAB) to environmental activists in Pittsburgh, people are coming together to fight for control of their water. This book examines how movements are communicating and organizing against water privatization and other forms of water grabbing, and explores how movements engage with and learn from each other. Water is at the heart of this book, but *Global solidarities against water grabbing* is as much about collective struggle and popular organization as it is about water. Based on extensive fieldwork with two movements fighting against water privatization, the book uses anticolonial and feminist research methods to show how global communications and organizing are occurring around water and how Global North movements are engaging with and learning from the Global South and vice versa.

Announcements

Call for Papers – Special Issue of the Journal Social Movement Studies

Social Movement Studies invites submissions for a special issue entitled “**Artificially Enabled Social Change? Opportunities and Challenges of (Generative) Artificial Intelligence for Activists and Movement Organizations,**” edited by Alice Mattoni (University of Bologna) and Lorenzo Mosca (University of Parma).

For more details, visit the Social Movement Studies CFP [webpage](#).

Key dates

- Submit a 500-word abstract by **June 15, 2025** to sms_specialissue_ai@live.unibo.it
- Notification of paper acceptance: **July 15, 2025**
- Full papers due: **November 15, 2025**

Call for Book Proposals: ASA Rose Series in Sociology

The **ASA Rose Series in Sociology**, a joint publication of the Russell Sage Foundation and the American Sociological Association, **invites seasoned scholars to submit proposals for books** that offer fresh perspectives on enduring controversies, challenge prevailing paradigms, and provide synthetic analyses of contemporary public issues. The series focuses on critical areas of research, including the **Future of Work, Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration, and Social, Political, and Economic Inequality**. We also welcome interdisciplinary work that intersects

with these themes. Rose Series books are designed to be accessible to both academic and general audiences, ensuring broad impact and relevance across multiple fields.

(amajor@albany.edu), Katherine Trent (ktrent@albany.edu), and Steve Messner (smessner@albany.edu).

Benefits of Publishing with the Rose Series:

- Quick and Professional Review Process: Russell Sage compensates expert reviewers to ensure timely and high-quality evaluations of proposals.
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- Series book is selected for a special Author Meets Critic panel discussion at the ASA
- Annual Meeting.
- Rose Book Speaker Series: Hosted by the University at Albany Rose Editors, this lecture series offers authors a platform to present their work to diverse audiences and emphasize the policy relevance of their research.
- Interested authors are encouraged to submit their proposals.

Next Issue of Critical Mass

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 Summer issue of *Critical Mass* is devoted to highlighting 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 David Su and Ana López Ricoy at cbsmnews@gmail.com by **July 1, 2025**.

Proposals are reviewed on a rolling basis.

For more information, please contact us at roseseries@albany.edu or reach out to a member of our editorial team: Joanna Dreby (jdreby@albany.edu), Aaron Major

CriticalMass*Bulletin*

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

Volume 50(2)

Summer 2025

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

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

2025 CBSM JUNIOR SCHOLARS JOB MARKET CANDIDATES

Message from the Chair



Edwin Amenta
CBSM Section Chair
Professor of Sociology
University of California, Irvine

Hi Fellow Section Members,

I am delighted to provide more details about our section's many activities at the ASA in Chicago next month. This is a very active year for the section. We have a two-day mini conference prior to the meeting, on Thursday and Friday, August 7 and 8, as well as a full slate of sessions.

We will start before the meeting with our mini conference: "The Many Impacts of Social Movements: Fifty Years after William Gamson's *The Strategy of Social Protest*." This conference takes place at the downtown Northwestern University campus, not far from the meeting hotels. Among the plenary speakers will be Aldon D. Morris, Donatella della Porta, Francesca Polletta, Steven Epstein, Myra Marx Ferree, Kenneth Andrews, and Brayden King. There will also be a question-and-answer session with editors of several journals, including from *Mobilization*, *Social Movement Studies*, *Social Science Computer Review*, and *Science Advances*, as well as series editors from Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, and Amsterdam University Press. The paper sessions will contain panels on the impacts of movements on politics and policy, on non-political institutions, on news and

Critical Mass *Bulletin*

social media, on entertainment media and art, on collective memory, on collective identity, on activist biographies, in authoritarian polities, and in China and Hong Kong. Other panels include ones focused on strategy, methods, revolutions and rebellions, and the impacts of gender-based movements, right-wing movements, and Black Lives Matter. A complete schedule, with information about how to register, appears on the section's [resources](#) page. Please register soon as space is limited!

The conference proper begins with our section sessions on Saturday, August 9, along with our roundtables and business meeting that afternoon. On Sunday morning, we have our final section session followed by our reception that evening. There we will be joined by the sections on Political Sociology and Marxist Sociology. There are also several regular sessions of particular interest to our section members. Below I have appended a rundown of all the activities. (See p. 10.)

Finally, I am delighted to announce the winners of this year's section awards. The winners appear in the last section of the newsletter. (See p. 13.) A brief description of their excellent work from the committees will appear in the fall newsletter. Congratulations to the winners! And thanks to the committee members for their roles in selecting them!

On to Chicago!

All the best,

Edwin

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2025 CBSM
JUNIOR SCHOLARS
JOB CANDIDATES

*Baylee Hudgens,
Purdue University*



Baylee Hudgens is a PhD candidate at Purdue University. Her research interests include political sociology, law and society, and social movements. Specifically, she studies the use of policy and the law to repress protest and social movements. Her dissertation examines the development of repressive legislation within the United States through a mixed-method study of state-level policies. This

dissertation explores the factors that impact the introduction and passage of repressive legislation, how legislators justify repressive policies, and the strategies legislators use to navigate the structural and cultural obstacles presented by the law when attempting to pass repressive legislation. Baylee's dissertation research has been funded by the ASA Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant. She has also been published in *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* and has a forthcoming sole-authored paper at *Sociological Focus*. Baylee is also an experienced instructor, and has taught Social Problems, Sociological Methods, and Sociology of Protest.

Selected Publications:

- **Hudgens, Baylee.** Forthcoming. "Unmasking Protest and Policy: Legislative Repression in the Pre-Pandemic United States." *Sociological Focus*.
- Rochford, Elle, **Baylee Hudgens**, and Rachel L. Einwohner. 2023. "Instant Archives: Social Media and Social Movements Research." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 47: 91-115.

Sophia Wood,

University of Chicago



My research interests lie at the intersection of sociology, environmental justice, and institutional change, with a recent focus on how social movements shape policy within higher education. As a Master's student in Sociology at the University of Chicago, my thesis—*Fueling Change: What Makes U.S. Universities Prime for Successful Student-Led Fossil Fuel Divestment?*—explores the institutional, demographic, and regional factors that influence whether universities adopt fossil fuel divestment policies in response to student activism. In this thesis I use quantitative methods to analyze how factors such as governance structure, institutional selectivity, racial composition, and geography affect the likelihood of divestment, shedding light on the broader sociopolitical dynamics influencing institutional sustainability decisions.

As an undergraduate at Michigan State University, I earned a B.A. in Psychology with an interest in social psychology and completed minors in Sociology and Law, Justice, and Public Policy. This interdisciplinary foundation shaped my interest in how individual and group behavior, institutional norms, and legal frameworks intersect in the context

of social change. My coursework and research emphasized the psychological drivers of activism, the structural dimensions of inequality, and the policy implications of social movements—insights that continue to inform my current work on environmental justice and institutional accountability. Also, I am particularly interested in the role of stakeholder engagement in research and the potential of community-based research practices to produce more equitable and grounded knowledge.

Selected Publications

- Purol, M. F., Oh, J., ... Wood, S. (2022). Age differences in implicit and explicit personality traits. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 197, 111765. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2022.111765>

Ashley Crooks-Allen, PhD

Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology, Grinnell College



Webpage: ashleycrooksallen.com

Ashley Crooks-Allen (They/Them) is the Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in the Sociology department at Grinnell College. They obtained their PhD from the University of Georgia, where they focused on Black ethnic identity, social movements, and social media. Their dissertation is titled, “Mestizaje Undone: A Qualitative Social Media Analysis of Afro-Latinx Identity & #BlackLivesMatter Activism” This work takes a qualitative approach to understanding how Afro-Latinx people use social media to make identity claims in relation to the Black Lives Matter movement.

My findings show that Afro-Latinx users utilize social media to resist anti-Blackness and promote ethno-racial consonance. Previous research focused on dissonance, but my study highlights how Afro-Latinxs use social media to bring their ethno-racial identity together. Through anti-racist activism like BLM, they disrupt anti-Black discourse. I collected data from Twitter posts using #Afro-Latinx* and #BlackLivesMatter, and conducted interviews with these users. Themes of discourse and activism emerged, revealing how Afro-Latinxs use social media as a counter-space to correct their erasure and create representation where it lacks in traditional media.

Selected Publications:

- Maryann Erigha & **Ashley Crooks-Allen** (2020) Digital Communities of Black Girlhood: New Media Technologies and Online Discourses of Empowerment, *The Black Scholar*, 50:4, 66-76, DOI: 10.1080/00064246.2020.1811601

Oded Marom,

Department of Sociology, University of Southern California



Webpage: <https://odedmarom.academia.edu/>

I am a sociologist of political culture and currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences at the University of Southern California. My work explores the way complex social problems such as political polarization, partisan intolerance, and radical extremism take shape in people's everyday lives. In my research, I use diverse qualitative methods to analyze how civic organizations establish internal interactional mechanisms that sustain varied political behaviors and attitudes, including partisan animosity, radical action, and political incivility, and render them sensible and appropriate to their members. My work has been published in leading journals such as *Sociological Theory*, *Theory and Society*, and *The British Journal of Sociology*.

My recent research relied on a comparative, ethnographic study of the American libertarian

movement. In a series of articles, I showed how different libertarian groups develop distinct interactional patterns that guide their members' interpretations of the movement's political goals, its relations to other political movements, and the appropriate political tactics for their group. These localized group processes direct how people engage in political action, make political arguments, and how they are introduced to and, eventually, adopt radical ideas and practices. This work illustrates how cultural patterns within political organizations explain people's political attitudes and behaviors in a way that cannot be explained by personal or structural factors alone. Currently, I am expanding this work to investigate the role of aesthetic judgment in civic groups' political behavior, drawing on causal models from other scientific disciplines to explore how political organizations maintain stability and produce varying, predictable outcomes.

Selected Publications:

- Marom, Oded. "Banal Radicalism: Free Spaces and the Routinization of Radical Practices in Far-Right Movements." *The British Journal of Sociology* (2025).
- Marom, Oded. "Situational orders: Interaction patterns and the standards for evaluating public discourse." *Sociological Theory* 42, no. 1 (2024): 1-22.
- Marom, Oded. "Patterns of tolerance: how interaction culture and community relations explain political tolerance (and intolerance) in the American libertarian movement." *Theory and Society* 53, no. 3 (2024): 547-570.

Jesse Yeh,

Assistant Professor of Instruction, Legal Studies, Northwestern University



Website:

<https://legalstudies.northwestern.edu/people/core/yeh-jesse.html>

Jesse Yeh is a political sociologist of race, immigration, gender, law, and social movements. Yeh's research focuses on how US rightwing politics construct and engage with social difference. In particular, Yeh's research seeks to open the theoretical black box of group threat and backlash through attending to meso-level and interpretive processes. Yeh's current project examines how movements against transgender rights and movements against the supposed teaching of Critical Race Theory converge and diverge at the local school district level.

Selected publications

- Levitsky, Yeh, and Armstrong (2024) "Litigation politics: social movement activity in campus sexual assault litigation." *Law and Society Review*.

- Yeh (2024) “Can he say that? Who’s going to Stop him?: Liberal and conservative racial norm enforcements against Trump’s racial derogations.” *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*.

*Natalia Duarte-Mayorga,
Department of Sociology, University of
Pittsburgh*



Website: <https://www.nataliaduartesociology.com/>

My research interests lie in the study of armed conflicts and peacebuilding efforts as drivers of social change in gender orders, post-war violence contexts, and statebuilding. My current research and book project focus on the case of the former Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), in which I explore the multiple facets of ex-combatants transitioning into civilian life after decades of war. Thanks to the support of a 2020 American Sociological Association Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant and other fieldwork grants from the Sociology Department and the Center for Latin American Studies at the

University of Pittsburgh, I conducted extensive fieldwork across eight Colombian regions and carried out over 100 interviews. Additionally, in a series of collaborative projects, I employ quantitative techniques to understand the impact of war and peace on gender equality in local governments.

I am currently writing about how ex-combatants resist violence in contexts where the state has failed to control it. While existing literature on civil resistance often emphasizes uncertainty as a key driver of collective strategies, the specific mechanisms linking uncertainty to resistance remain underexplored. To address this gap, I propose a new framework that examines these mechanisms through a comparative study of regions where ex-combatants face varying forms of violent threats. In a separate manuscript, I explore how gender dynamics shift in the aftermath of war. While most theories of gender change focus on industrialized contexts, my work is rooted in rural, post-conflict settings where, paradoxically, the end of war has led to setbacks in the gender equality gains ex-combatants made during the conflict, particularly in domestic spaces. I contribute to gender studies by developing an interactional and accountability-based theory of change to explain these gender reversals.

Selected publication:

In progress. Duarte-Mayorga, Natalia. Landscapes of Uncertainty: Ex-Guerrillas’ Resistance to Postwar Violence.

Elise Wolff,
Penn State University



Department website:
<https://sociology.la.psu.edu/people/elise-wolff/>

I am a doctoral candidate in sociology interested in the areas of culture, meaning-making, religion, and the intersection of movements, organizations, and professions. My dissertation investigates this intersection with a comparative study of social movement-related academic fields. Typically thought of as areas of study like ethnic studies and women's studies, I expand this to include the invention and development of the smaller interdisciplinary field of peace/conflict studies from the late 1940s through the present. I especially employ qualitative and historical methods in my work to explore mechanisms of program creation, strong religious influences in the field, shifting subject matter, and the ambivalent relationship between activism and the institution of higher education. Elsewhere, I have researched new religious movements and health social movements and have been involved in analyzing interview and

survey data on religion-state relations. My master's thesis focused on conflicts in the intellectual disability advocacy field tied to professional/lay expertise and has been published in *The Sociological Quarterly* and *Sociology of Health & Illness*.

Selected publication:

Wolff, E. (2024). A Legacy of Revision: Maintaining Professional Expertise Over the Changing Diagnosis and Classification of Intellectual Disability in the United States. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 66(1), 191–214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2024.2378968>

Matthew Coetzee,
University of Notre Dame



Website: <https://matthew-coetzee.com/>

How does moral solidarity evolve over time? And how do diverse communities rebuild connection after injustice? My dissertation project investigates how communities respond to rupture—whether they fracture or mobilize toward moral repair. I examine how meanings and interpretations shape collective action in moments of crisis, with a focus on

memory activation, symbolic narratives, and moral frameworks. Drawing on fieldwork in post-apartheid South Africa, this research analyzes civil repair, racial violence, and the role of digital media in shaping divergent community responses. I bring a global, theory-driven perspective to enduring questions of meaning, action, and social transformation. This work was recently recognized with the Harry Frank Guggenheim Emerging Scholar Award (2025-2026).

Beyond crisis response, my work engages long-term institutional efforts to reshape public memory and reconcile fractured moral orders. My article, *Recurating Robben Island: Cultural Objects, Digital Memory, and the Entropic Afterlives of National Heritage* (*American Journal of Cultural Sociology*), examines how visitor-generated Instagram posts disrupt the museum's official narrative, revealing how digital platforms mediate fragmented and contested memory in post-conflict societies. A parallel interest in cultural transformation informs my co-authored book project, *Re-Enchanted America* (under review at Oxford University Press), which traces the resurgence of supernatural and occult belief in American high culture. Across these projects, I explore how collective memory and moral meaning evolve—whether in the immediate aftermath of rupture or through subtler, long-term cultural currents.

Selected publications:

- Coetzee, M. Recurating Robben Island: cultural objects, digital memory, and the entropic afterlives of national heritage. *Am J Cult Sociol* (2025). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41290-025-00260-0>

Andrew K. Thompson, PhD,

*Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Holy Cross*



I am currently a Visiting Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Holy Cross and am looking to find a permanent home in a department where critical scholarship and social engagement are valued. As an award-winning educator and a movement-based scholar with a growing international impact, my research and teaching foreground my commitment to social change. I am the author of two books on social struggle and the co-editor of three others. Along with being translated into Turkish and German, my work has appeared in journals like *Social Movement Studies*, *Contention*, and *Interface*. Owing to my interdisciplinary and public-facing commitments, I have also been featured in journals like *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* and in popular venues like *Boston Review* and the *Los Angeles Review of Books*.

Entitled *Becoming Unpopular*, my current book project explores the history and hidden promise of

unpopular political modes (modes that have been maligned, but also those that don't presuppose "the people"). This project arises from my ongoing research on the decline of the social movement as the dominant mode of popular contention in the United States. Between the dissolution of democratic norms and the corresponding resurgence of violence, we now find ourselves in an important period of transition. Along with demanding that we revisit the presumptions underlying the modern protest repertoire, the current period also makes the historical lessons of Black freedom struggles increasingly salient—and not least because participants in these struggles could never presuppose that the state would recognize them as legitimate claimants.

Selected Publications:

- AK Thompson (2024). *Walter Benjamin und die Kultur der Revolte* (Frank Engster, Trans.) Philosophische Gespräche Heft 70. Berlin: Helle Panke e.V., Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
- AK Thompson (2023), "The Life and Death of Autonomy: How Might Politics be Subverted Today?" Marcos Ancelovici and Francis Dupuis-Déri (eds.) *Subverting Politics: Autonomous Social Movements Today*. Montreal: Black Rose
- AK Thompson and Florian Cord (2022), "On Bringing the New World Into Being: Theory, Ontology, Politics, and Action – An Interview with AK Thompson." *Coils of the Serpent: Journal for the Study of Contemporary Power* No.10
- AK Thompson (2021), "Violence, Social Movements, and Black Freedom Struggles: Ten Theses Toward a Research Agenda for Scholars of Contention Today." *Contention: The Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Protest* Volume 9, No. 1
- AK Thompson (2019). "'We Are Winning': Ten Theses on Politics After Seattle." *Seattle+20:*

Movements at the Millenium, a special issue of *Socialism and Democracy*, Volume 33, No.3

- AK Thompson (2019). "Citing History," *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 19, No. 1-2
- AK Thompson. (2018). *Premonitions: Selected Essays on the Culture of Revolt*. Chico: AK Press
- Jason Del Gandio and AK Thompson (eds.), Foreword by Peter Marcuse (2017). *Spontaneous Combustion: The Eros Effect and Global Revolution*. Albany: SUNY Press
- AK Thompson (2017). "The Work of Violence in the Age of Repressive Desublimation." Peter Funke, Andrew Lamas, and Todd Wolfson (eds.), *The Great Refusal: Herbert Marcuse and Contemporary Social Movements*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- AK Thompson (2017). "Occupation, Decolonization, and Reciprocal Violence." Anna Feigenbaum et al. (eds.), *Protest Camps in International Context: Spaces, Infrastructures, and Media of Resistance*. Bristol: Policy Press
- AK Thompson, Foreword by Bernardine Dohrn (2010). *Black Bloc, White Riot: Anti-Globalization and the Genealogy of Dissent*. Oakland: AK Press

Carolina Hernandez

University of Pittsburgh



Website: <https://www.sociology.pitt.edu/people/hernandez>

My research examines how migrant people of color in Arizona advance racial justice and resist white supremacy. In my work, I analyze the ways in which anti-immigrant legislation relies on racial ignorance and arguments of ‘fairness’ and ‘legality’ in a “post-racial” society to symbolically devalue migrant people of color, justify the material violence of systems of mass incarceration, and maintain a racial-capitalist economy that relies on the exploitation of migrant labor. I use the Arizona bills HCR 2060 and SB1070 as case studies for my work. Additionally, I examine the cultural and ideological strategies of intersectional resistance migrant people of color, particularly women and LGBT migrants, utilize to advance liberational societies in the wake of symbolic and material state of violence.

Research specialty: racial structure, Latinx racial identity, ideology, resistance to white supremacy,

decolonial and abolitional social movements, intersectional social justice movements.

Selected Publications

- Hernandez, Carolina and Tormos-Aponte, Fernando (*Forthcoming* 2025). Intersectional Climate Justice: Rethinking Migration Beyond Westphalian Borders. Oxford University Press Handbook of Intersectional Approaches to Migration, Gender, and Sexuality edited by Yurdakul, Beaman, Mügge, Scuzzarella, and Sunanta.
- Tormos-Aponte, Fernando, Ferrer-Núñez, Shariana, & Hernandez, Carolina (2023). Intersectional Politics of the International Women’s Strike, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 44:4, 470-485, DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2023.2249614

ASA CBSM Session Info

20263 - Recent Advances in Social Movement Research

Sat, August 9, 8:00 to 9:30am, West Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Ballroom Level/Gold, Regency D

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

This session highlights cutting edge advances and developments in social movements research, ranging across a series of central issues, including theories of protest, cultural resonance, labor movement collective action, framing theory, and the biographical consequences of movements. It

features work from an international group of scholars, including Michael Biggs, James M. Jasper and Kristen Lynn Miller, Katia Pilati, Diana Reddy, and Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso.

20466 - What Is the Use of Protest Today?

Sat, August 9, 10:00 to 11:30am, West Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Ballroom Level/Gold, Toronto

Session Submission Type: Invited Session (90 minute)

Description

Zeynep Tufekci recently wrote that "the year 2024 started out looking as if it would be a momentous one for political protests. All winter and spring, college campuses were aflame in anger and conflict and as summer approached, the Democratic National Convention threatened to be engulfed by street demonstrations...The year was momentous, all right, but not for the reasons it seemed. Mass protests had already been showing diminishing returns, sometimes drawing big crowds but rarely getting proportionally big results. Now, 2024 looks like the end of the road, at least for the kind of power that such mass protests once had, a power that has defined political action in America and in democracies around the world for decades." In this session, a panel of social movement scholars will take up this claim and discuss the value of protest under current political conditions. What has protest been able to accomplish in the past that it is no longer able to do? Are there new ways that protest can be useful to activists?

20861 - Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables

Sat, August 9, 2:00 to 3:00pm, West Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Ballroom Level/Gold, Regency B

Session Submission Type: Refereed Roundtable (60 minute)

Description

This is a roundtable session includes 15 tables addressing the gamut of important issues in social movement research.

20961 - Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Business Meeting

Sat, August 9, 3:00 to 3:30pm, West Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Ballroom Level/Gold, Regency B

Session Submission Type: Business Meeting

21066 - Advances in Data and Methods for Collective Behavior/Social Movements Research

Sat, August 9, 4:00 to 5:30pm, West Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Ballroom Level/Gold, Toronto

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

Collective behavior and social movements (CBSM) was among the first sociological subfields to embrace the revolution in digital (and/or "big") data and computational methods. Since then, the sources and types of data and methods have grown enormously, including non-computational methods, such as digital ethnography. Building on last year's ASA session featuring high-quality research drawing on recent advances in data and methods, this session seeks to highlight innovative and productive uses of data and cutting-edge methods, as well as the analytical frameworks that tie them together. Examples of data include, but are not limited to, newly digitized archives, content from social media and so-called alt-tech platforms, simulations, experiments, fine-grained spatial observations, multimodal digital data, and AI-generated media. In addition to showcasing these and other kinds of data, the session will

emphasize computational and quantitative methods, but aims to include a range of methods, including advances in qualitative and mixed-methods approaches.

30480 - Mobilization and Contemporary Democratic Elections: Coping with Violence & Extremism

Sun, August 10, 10:00 to 11:30am, Swissotel, Floor: Concourse Level, Zurich A

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

Recent election cycles in nations around the globe have led to rising concerns over the vulnerability of democratic norms and safeguards. In the U.S., for instance, the emboldening of hate groups, the sanitization of the January 6th insurrection, increasing appeals to violence, extremist rhetoric, and even assassination attempts have compounded an already troubling situation in 2024. Here and elsewhere, the rising toxicity of politics, which appears unlikely to ameliorate in coming years, is a major threat to the sustainment of democracy. Given such context, this session explores instances of collective action in response to these challenges: how have grassroots organizations adapted to an increasingly dangerous political sphere? In which ways do activists with different agendas address an environment in which dissent, debate, and organization carry higher risks of retaliation? Given that strong social movements are essential to any hope of rebuilding a tolerant and inclusive consensus in American society, learning about their challenges and strategies holds much importance for the future of democratic governance.

Here are some regular sessions of particular interest!

30603 - Global and Comparative Approaches to Activism

Sun, August 10, 12:00 to 1:30pm, East Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Concourse Level/Bronze, Michigan 1A

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

This panel examines how activists navigate repression, construct collective identities, and mobilize across diverse social and political landscapes. The papers highlight how activism emerges in response to structural constraints through case studies of grassroots mutual aid networks in the US, UK, and Italy; right-wing youth groups in the US and Canada; LGBTQ+ NGO advocacy in Ghana and Singapore; diasporic protest movements in Japan; and Asian American activism in the US. By bringing together diverse cases from around the world, this panel offers a global and comparative perspective on how activism is conceptualized, practiced, and sustained in a rapidly evolving global context.

30807 - The Consequences of Collective Action

Sun, August 10, 2:00 to 3:30pm, East Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Concourse Level/Bronze, Michigan 3

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

This session addresses the consequences of collective action. This includes collective action's influence over public opinion, court decisions, news

media, and political engagement. The papers address the cases of the United States, China and Sweden.

40209 - The Drivers and Deterrents of Collective Action

Mon, August 11, 8:00 to 9:30am, East Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Concourse Level/Bronze, Randolph 1A

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

The papers in this session identify what drives and what impedes collective action. They address these issues in cases from the United States, China, and Rwanda.

1014 - Cop Cities and Abolition: Law and Order Backlash Politics and Urban Resistance

Mon, August 11, 4:00 to 5:30pm, East Tower, Hyatt Regency Chicago, Floor: Bronze Level/C Floor, Roosevelt 1

Session Submission Type: Paper Session (90 minute)

Description

These papers explore themes such as resistance to "Cop Cities," law-and-order policing backlash post-2020, the Movement for Black Lives, and police abolition struggles.

CBSM Award Announcement

Editors' Note: CBSM award winners are announced here. As a tradition, Critical Mass will include the committee's praise in the upcoming Fall edition. We will also invite award winners to share their journey in social movement studies - stay tuned!

CBSM Awards 2025

Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award:

Winner: Sharon M. Quinsaat (Grinnell College), *Insurgent Communities: How Protests Create a Filipino Diaspora* (University of Chicago Press, 2024).

Winner: Benjamin H. Bradlow (Princeton University), *Urban Power: Democracy and Inequality in São Paulo and Johannesburg* (Princeton University Press, 2024).

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award:

Winner: Tomás Gold (Brown University) and Ann Mische (University of Notre Dame), "Channeling Antipartisan Content: Field Structures and Partisan Strategies in a Global Protest Wave, 2008-2016." *American Journal of Sociology*, 129: 1660-1719.

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

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

<https://www.sup.org/books/sociology/bringing-law-home>

Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award.

Winner: Yueran Zhang (PhD, University of California, Berkeley) “Whither Socialism? Workers’ Democracy and the Class Politics of China’s Post-Mao Transition to Capitalism.”

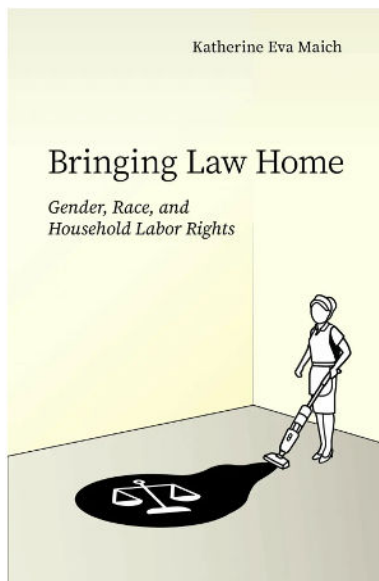
Distinguished Early Career Award for Contributions to Social Movements Scholarship: Winner: Fernando Tormos-Aponte (University of Pittsburgh).

- *The personal nature of domestic labor, and its location in the privacy of the employer's home, means that domestic workers have long struggled for equitable and consistent labor rights. The dominant discourse regards the home as separate from work, so envisioning what its legal regulation would look like is remarkably challenging. In Bringing Law Home, Katherine Eva Maich offers a uniquely comparative and historical study of labor struggles for domestic workers in New York City and Lima, Peru. She argues that if the home is to be a place of work then it must also be captured in the legal infrastructures that regulate work. Yet, even progressive labor laws for domestic workers in each city are stifled by historically entrenched patterns of gendered racialization and labor informality. Peruvian law extends to household workers only half of the labor protections afforded to other occupations. In New York City, the law grants negligible protections and deliberately eschews language around immigration. Maich finds that coloniality is deeply embedded in contemporary relations of service, revealing important distinctions in how we understand power, domination, and inequality in the home and the workplace.*

Recent Publications

Books

Maich, Katherine Eva. 2025. *Bringing Law Home: Gender, Race, and Household Labor Rights*. Stanford University Press.



Papers

Maryann Erigha & Ashley Crooks-Allen (2020) Digital Communities of Black Girlhood: New Media Technologies and Online Discourses of Empowerment, *The Black Scholar*, 50:4, 66-76, DOI: 10.1080/00064246.2020.1811601

Kim Scipes, 2025. "Looking Ahead: US Unions Must Look Beyond Themselves to Save Themselves." *Class, Race and Corporate Power*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Article 8. On-line at <https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/classracecorporatepower/vol13/iss1/8/>.

- Argues that there has not been a labor movement in the US since 1949, only a trade union movement; the latter only focuses on the betterment of its members instead of workers in general. Yet unions are important for workers. The author suggests that workers might find social justice unionism—uniting workers and communities—as a way to advance unions, overcome weaknesses of business unionism, strengthen and advance communities, and build a labor movement to address issues facing workers in the US and around the world.

Basseches, Joshua A. 2025. “Subnational Climate Policy Action in the United States and Canada: Past Progress and Future Insufficiency,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Action*, edited by Paul Almeida.

- “Institutional climate action, in the form of public policy change, has historically been led by subnational (state and provincial) governments in the United States and Canada, rather than by national governments. This chapter documents this subnational climate leadership and provides insight into the politics that have produced it, including the role of interest groups and social movement organizations. At the same time, it argues that—especially when it comes to electricity governance, the linchpin of an “electrify everything” strategy for decarbonization—the ability of subnational governments to move the needle on climate change mitigation has a ceiling, which we are fast approaching. Therefore, future climate action must also concentrate on advancing an unprecedented degree of centralized coordination, best achieved at the national (and ideally international) level.”

Basseches, Joshua A. 2024. “Who Pays for Environmental Policy? Business Power and the Design of State-Level Climate Policies.” *Politics and Society* 52(3):409-451.

Basseches, Joshua A., Michael C. Campbell, and Heather Schoenfeld. 2024. “Leveraging the Insights of Depth: A Staged Strategy for Building Qualitative Case Studies of American State-Level Policy.” *Social Science Quarterly* 105(2):359-373.

Next Issue of Critical Mass

- **Highlight: CBSM Section Award Winners 2025**
- **Featured 2025 ASA articles on social movements (Call for submissions!)**

A Virtual
Conversation

GLOBAL
RESISTANCE TO
DEMOCRATIC
BACKSLIDING

Date and time

May 13, 2025 (Tuesday)
12:00-1:30PM
Central/Chicago Time
(GMT-05)

Location

Zoom | RSVP and register at
<https://bit.ly/CBSMevent>
or through the QR code



**SAMANTHA
AGARWAL**
American University



SIMÓN ESCOFFIER
*Pontificia Universidad
Católica de Chile*



LISA HAJJAR
*University of California-
Santa Barbara*



**KIM LANE
SCHEPPELE**
Yale University



DİDEM TÜRKOĞLU
Kadir Has University

Panelists will share their insights on how social movements in South Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East are confronting the rise of right-wing regimes and democratic backsliding, especially in the areas of immigration, higher education, and gender and reproductive justice.

For more information and questions, please contact Sharon M. Quinsa, quinsa@grinnell.edu.