

CriticalMass *Bulletin*

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

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Fall 2013

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Message from the Chair

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

More and more, we have shifted our attention from explaining the rise and fall of social movements to addressing their influence on political and other institutions. After all, social movements' bids to effect social change are why people join them, and why we first studied them. Debates rage about the impact of current movements like Occupy and the Tea Party—not only about whether they have been influential and why, but also about what it means to be influential. The time has long passed since anyone could plausibly say that the consequences of movements are understudied.

All the same, this research, which transforms movements from an object of explanation to an explanation, still faces three major obstacles to developing a coherent and cumulative body of scholarship on the consequences of movements. First, if social movements involve challenges by those with little power, it follows that movement actors and actions are unlikely to wield routine causal power over most contested processes and outcomes in any institution. Second, movements seek influence over so many different institutions. Mainly they have targeted states (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010), but also the news media (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002; Sobieraj 2011), businesses (Soule 2010), religious organizations (Katzenstein 1999), and universities (Rojas 2006; Moore 2008), among others.

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Report from the Mayer N. Zald Award Committee

Our committee, including David Cunningham, Jo Reger, and Hiroe Saruya, last year's winner, is pleased to recognize some well deserving honorees for the first Mayer Zald Award competition. We gave out two honorable mentions in addition to the award. The high amount of recognition is in direct proportion to the number and quality of the entrants. We received 54 papers, likely to be an all-time record. We evaluated each paper based on the following criteria: development of theory, testing of theory, importance of question, theoretical innovation, methodological innovation, quality of data, quality of data analysis, clarity of reasoning and thinking, and synthesis of literature.

We agreed unanimously to confer the award upon Mohammad Ali Kadivar (North Carolina, Chapel Hill), for his paper, "Opportunities, Perception Profiles, and Alliances in the Iranian Reform Movement, 1997-2005."

This paper asks an important question about the conditions under which social movement alliances and coalitions are likely. It makes an innovative theoretical contribution by reviewing the literature on U.S. and global case studies and identifying the different approaches to politics—strategic models—that movement actors might engage in. These "perception profiles" in turn serve as bases for potential coalition formation. This conceptualization represents a significant advance on current explanations of alliance-formation and maintenance. Drawing on extensive newspaper data across different phases of Iranian reform movement politics, moreover, the paper appraises this model of alliance formation through content analysis, with important attention to alternative hypotheses that might render the baseline relationship between perception profiles and coalitions spurious. That is, these similarities in perception helped to explain alliance formation in different phases of Iranian politics better than did state repression or the organization's goals. All in all, the committee found this paper to be an outstanding achievement and a very worthy standard bearer for the inaugural Mayer N. Zald Award.

Two papers earned honorable mention awards: Tarun Banerjee (SUNY, Stony Brook), "Media, Movements, and Mobilization: Tea Party Protests in the U.S., 2009-2010" and Daniel S. Blocq (Wisconsin, Madison), "Formation of Armed Self-Defense Groups during Civil Wars."

Overall, we found the quality of work was very high indeed, with several of the entries accepted for publication at top journals. The future of the section seems to be in good hands. We regret that we could not recognize more of this excellent work.

Edwin Amenta (committee chair)

The Charles Tilly Award for the Best Book in Collective Behavior and Social Movements

This year's award was a very hard choice. The committee - Paul Almeida, Drew Halfmann, Deana Rohlinger, and Nancy Whittier (chair) - considered 29 eligible submissions. It was an extremely strong field containing many truly excellent books. Both the prize recipient and the runner up are innovative and fascinating books to which a short summary cannot do justice. This year's recipient is Kathleen Blee, for *Democracy in the Making: How Activist Groups Form* (Oxford).



This is a remarkably strong book across the board - in theory, methodology, significant contribution to the field, and overall argument. The methods and sample are unique and impressive, drawing over 60 groups on a wide range of issues (all "progressive") emerging in Pittsburgh from their first meeting through their development over time. This allows

Blee to examine movement groups' emergence, process, what *doesn't* happen, and groups' different trajectories over time. She argues that these processes are quite fluid, but that groups' decisions and directions shape their paths. Theoretically, Blee shows that early choices shape these paths and influence the groups toward success, survival, or demise. She looks closely at the turning points where decisions are made about which paths to take, the longer term consequences of these decisions, and the ways that they can be modified or overturned and groups' paths thus changed. Blee engages with most of the major concepts in the field, like organization, internal structure and decision making, the influence of external context, frames, collective identities, and more, deepening them in ways too many to describe.

The committee also extends an Honorable Mention to Guillermo Trejo, for *Popular Movements in Autocracies: Religion, Repression and Indigenous Collective Action in Mexico* (Cambridge)

Trejo focuses on explaining movements' emergence, growth, and development into protest or rebellion. Focusing on rural indigenous organizing in Mexico, the book builds a theory of social movements in autocracies, examining political opportunities, the role of religious institutions and religious competition, and economic forces. Trejo's data is very impressive, including both extensive fieldwork and an original dataset of collective action in Mexico. The committee was impressed with the book's depth and range of data and the innovative theorizing of protest's emergence and trajectory. Trejo draws on and expands existing social movement theory about political opportunities, by developing an ambitious case in an autocratic context, by meticulously analyzing data that are both micro/local and macro/comparative, and by incorporating under-theorized institutions like the church, the economy, and indigenous networks alongside the state.

The Best Article Award

The members of the CBSM best-article award committee for 2013 were Jeff Goodwin (chair), Manisha Desai, Amin Ghaziani, and Rachel Kutz-Flamenbaum. The committee considered 29 articles which were nominated for the award, all of very high

quality. The committee recognized two articles for their special excellence.

The committee awarded the prize for best article in the field of collective behavior and social movements to Kevan Harris for his article titled "The Brokered Exuberance of the Middle Class: An Ethnographic Analysis of Iran's 2009 Green Movement," which was published in the journal *Mobilization* last year (vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 435-55).

Kevan Harris's article is a fascinating study of unintended consequences, based in part on his participant-observation of the protests during and after the 2009 election in Iran. Harris shows that the core constituency of the protests was Iran's rising middle class, itself a product, in part, of the regime's developmental policies—but a class upset with the regime's constraints on political freedoms, public behavior, and private life. The protests themselves did not develop from preexisting oppositional networks, but were a spillover from the electoral campaign of 2009, which the reform candidates hoped would bolster voter turnout, not generate an independent movement. Both organized campaign events and especially spontaneous street debates generated what Harris calls "brokered exuberance"—a solidarity and collective excitement, the emotional byproducts of these micro-interactions, which helped overcome the free-rider problem and sustain risky protests, at least for a while.

Movement scholars have of course emphasized the importance of emotions and microinteractions for some time now, but Harris's article is especially important for linking these movement dynamics to broader processes of class formation in Iran. It was the brokered exuberance of particularly situated people, he shows, mainly the professional-technical middle class in this case, which came to matter in 2009. For various reasons, that exuberance did not extend quite so easily to either formal wage laborers or informal workers in Iran. Harris's linking of movement dynamics, emotions, and class formation is a tremendously important contribution to the social movements field.

The committee has awarded honorable mention to an article by Hyojoung Kim and Steven Pfaff titled

“Structure and Dynamics of Religious Insurgency: Students and the Spread of the Reformation,” published in the *American Sociological Review* last year (vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 188-215). This article interprets the religious insurgency of the 16th century, which we today call the Reformation, as a movement in which university students played a key role as “bridge actors” or brokers. The authors use data on nearly 500 towns in Central Europe to show that the probability that a town would institute religious reforms was substantially influenced by its exposure to an Evangelical student network as opposed to a loyalist or orthodox network.

Scholars of movements have long emphasized the importance of religious belief and of students, whether singly or in combination. These are themes, of course, in the literature on the Southern civil rights movement. Kim and Pfaff show that religion and students—and religious students—have in fact been important for collective action for more than four centuries. This is an excellent work of historical sociology as well as an important contribution to the literature on social movements.

Chair’s Letter, Continued from Page 1

A path to leverage for movements in the U.S. court system might be a dead end for movements seeking influence over the Catholic Church or Nike. A third obstacle is logistical. Documenting the mobilization and activities of even one movement organization often strains effort. Add to that gaining a mastery of outcomes or processes movements hope to change, and it is easy to see that comparing the impact of even a few movements is demanding. And so case studies proliferate, but the selection process veers far from random, as scholarship masses around movements that are recent, significant, or ideologically appealing. Studies accumulate about the civil rights, environmental, abortion rights, LGBT, and feminist movements, while archives on veterans, anti-alcohol, gun rights, and old-age movements gather dust.

Scholars have been working around these obstacles. And here I have to disagree with my friend Jeff

Goodwin about the relative merits of older and more recent work. The earliest literature on the political consequences of movements mainly stumbled over these issues. William Gamson’s (1975/1990) *Strategy of Social Protest* randomly sampled U.S. SMOs over a long historical period to ascertain which forms of organization and strategies were most effective. But the over-expansive research design, movement-organization focus, and spotty paper trails thwarted Gamson’s ability to prove that individual organizations caused any specific changes. With so many varied organizations, there was no way to account for the influence of other organizations within a given movement or political contexts on movement-relevant results. And why would strategies that worked for the United Auto Workers also pay off for the American Committee for the Outlawry of War? Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward’s (1977) *Poor People’s Movements* asserted that organization within movements of poor people prevented political concessions and that mass turmoil was effective in securing such concessions, but offered only circumstantial evidence regarding a few U.S. campaigns. More careful research shows that organizing is often central to movement influence (Andrews 2004; Ganz 2010) and that mass disruption is frequently counterproductive (McAdam and Su 2002). The classic books posed important questions that have been better addressed recently.

Having learned from these initial forays into the field, scholars have chosen from among three approaches to studying the institutional consequences of movements. The first way follows Gamson in focusing on the characteristics, processes, and strategies of movements and organizations that are likely to be influential regardless of external circumstances. In the literature on the political consequences of movements, this perspective is represented in monographs by Kenneth Andrews (2004), Marshall Ganz (2010), and Holly McCammon (2012). A second approach employs mediation models, which address simultaneously mobilization, strategies, and the institutional contexts in which movements engage. The main idea is that movement collective action and strategies need to fit contextual circumstances to be influential. This has been my own approach (Amenta 2006), as well as that of Marco Giugni (2004), and recent books by

Joseph Luders (2011) and Doug McAdam and Hilary Boudet (2012). Most recently, scholars have focused on important movement-relevant institutional processes and outcomes, asking why institutional processes or policies were transformed or why they varied. In these studies, movements are brought in as needed, or if needed, as a potential explanation among others. This approach is taken in monographs by Drew Halfmann (2011) and Anthony Chen (2009). Halfmann, for instance, seeks to explain the main contours of abortion policy across three countries; movement typically lacked influence, but policies were transformed all the same.

The difference between the movement-focused studies and the institutional-policy-centered ones is analogous to the one that James Mahoney and Gary Goertz (2006) discern between variable-based and historical studies, or quantitative and qualitative research. Variable-based studies seek to understand “the effects of causes.” In this research, this group is represented by the influence of movements on institutional changes or shifts. By contrast, historical studies identify “the causes of effects.” In this context, scholars start with major institutional changes or differences and then seek to identify all conditions, possibly including movement-related ones, that cause or account for the changes or differences.

Each approach has merits and drawbacks. The movement-centered analyses identify important puzzle pieces regarding what movements can do to increase their chances of making an external mark. These analyses also remind us that analyzing simple mobilization or protest, as many scholars do to assess the influence of movements, is highly limited. Yet these analyses do not take seriously enough the contexts in which movements act. Scholars of political phenomena have found that certain policies may be highly difficult to influence, including those closely tied to the national cleavage structure or for which extensive political or material resources are at stake, regarding military matters, or on which public opinion is very salient and strong. Similarly, political contexts in which democratic rights are greatly restricted provide rough terrain for challengers seeking political influence. Mediation arguments, which address movement influence and institutional

change in about equal proportions, go furthest when addressing relatively influential challengers that contend over a long period in with a checkered career of influence over a series of different contexts. Like movement-centered studies, they run the risk of a movement’s campaigns being unlinked to the main developments in policy and thus overlooking those key moments. Policy-centered studies are best situated to explaining important institutional outcomes, but their big-picture focus sometimes shunts movements so far into the background that their paths to influence may be disregarded or minimized. They tend to ignore the strategies and collective actions of movements that is the strength of the movement-centered approach.

Issues surrounding the impact of movements will be featured in a Gamson-style session at the upcoming 2014 ASA meeting in San Francisco. Panelists will address the tradeoffs among these different approaches, as well as a series of questions about how best to study the influence of movements across a variety of institutions. Is it possible to use theoretical ideas regarding the influence of movement on political institutions, the main site of research, in accounting for the transformation of other institutions? What have we learned about contention regarding these other institutions that might apply to contention over political institutions? Which specific problems of inquiry do different institutions present? Which ways of thinking are the most useful in addressing what it means for movements to be influential in political and social institutions? Which are the most productive ways to address the counterfactual issue in every study of the impact of movements—would specific institutional changes have occurred in the absence of challengers, or specific actions they had taken? What are best ways to address the fact that these studies are almost always case studies? What are the relative benefits of article- and book-length treatments of these issues? Overall, which paths of thinking and research are the most promising to develop a more cumulative and coherent literature on the influence of movements?

There will be a number of other exciting sessions. An open-submission session (organized by Mary Bernstein) will address Social Movements Across Institutions, including both the causes and

consequences of movements in different institutional settings. A double Authors Meet Critics session (organized by David Pettinicchio) will contend with the two most recent Charles Tilly Book Award winners: Drew Halfmann's *Doctors and Demonstrators* and Kathleen Blee's *Democracy in the Making*. James M. Jasper is organizing a panel on Protest Movements in Comparative Perspective, in which pairs of scholars studying movements across different countries will seek to find convergences and divergences in their approaches to study. Another open-submission session (organized by Sarah Sobieraj) focuses on Social Movements and Media, addressing both old and new media. The roundtable sessions (organized by Drew Halfmann) will take place just before the business meeting.

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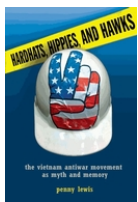
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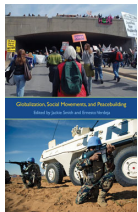
Woodberry, Robert D. 2012. “The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy.” *American Political Science Review* 106: 244-274. Article has received four outstanding article awards; three from the American Political Science Association (the Luebbert Award for Best Article in Comparative Politics; Best Article in Comparative Democratization; and runner up for the Wallerstein Award for Best Published Article in Political Economy) and one from the American Sociological Association (Distinguished Article in the Sociology of Religion).

Recent Publications

New Books



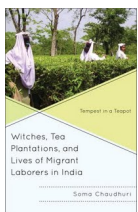
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Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

Calls for Papers

CBSM Sessions at ASA 2014 in San Francisco (For more information, see the official *Call For Papers* on the ASA website).

Other Publications

Van Dyke, Nella and Marc Dixon. 2013. “Activist Human Capital: Skills Acquisition and the

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CONFERENCE - CALL FOR PAPERS

From 1995 to 2013, Manchester Metropolitan University hosted a series of very successful annual international conferences on 'ALTERNATIVE FUTURES and POPULAR PROTEST'. We're very happy to announce that the Nineteenth AF&PP Conference will be held, between Monday 14th April and Wednesday 16th April 2014.

The Conference rubric remains as in previous years. The aim is to explore the dynamics of popular movements, along with the ideas which animate their activists and supporters and which contribute to shaping their fate. Given the significance of the mass movements in numbers of countries during the early years of this decade, we especially welcome papers discussing these – while no less welcoming suggestions on other topics.

Reflecting the inherent cross-disciplinary nature of the issues, previous participants (from over 60 countries) have come from such specialisms as sociology, politics, cultural studies, social psychology, economics, history and geography. The Manchester conferences have also been notable for discovering a fruitful and friendly meeting ground between activism and academia.

CALL FOR PAPERS

We invite offers of papers relevant to the conference themes. Papers should address such matters as: contemporary and historical social movements and popular protests; social movement theory; utopias and experiments; ideologies of collective action; etc.

To offer a paper, please contact either of the conference convenors with a brief abstract: **EITHER** Colin Barker, Dept. of Sociology **OR** Mike Tyldesley, Dept. of Politics and Philosophy. Manchester Metropolitan University, Geoffrey Manton Building, Rosamond Street West, Manchester M15 6LL, England;

Email: c.barker@mmu.ac.uk

Email: m.tyldesley@mmu.ac.uk

CONFERENCE PAPERS: Those giving papers are asked to supply them in advance, for inclusion on a CD of the complete papers which will be available from the conference opening. **Preferred method:** send the paper to Colin Barker as an email attachment in MS Word. Any separate illustrations etc. should be placed at the end of the paper, in .jpg format. If this is impossible, post a copy of the text to Mike Tyldesley on a CD disk in MS Word format. Final date for receipt of abstracts: **Monday 17th March 2014**. Final date for receipt of actual papers: **Monday 24th March 2013**.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS AND COSTS: The conference will run from lunch-time Monday 14th April until after lunch on Wednesday 16th April. Cost, inclusive of three lunches, teas/coffees and copies of the Proceedings on CD, will be £150 (students and unwaged £80).

Call for Papers 16th Annual Chicago Ethnography Conference

The Department of Sociology at Northwestern University is pleased to announce the 16th Annual Chicago Ethnography Conference. This annual graduate student conference is hosted on a rotating basis by one of several Chicago-area Sociology departments, including DePaul University, Illinois Institute of Technology, Loyola University, Northern Illinois University, Northwestern University, University of Notre Dame, the University of Chicago, and University of Illinois at Chicago. The conference provides an opportunity for graduate students to share their ethnographic scholarship with one another and get feedback from faculty and other graduate students based in the Chicago area and beyond. This year's conference will be held at Northwestern University in Evanston, IL on March 15th, 2014.

Graduate students in all academic disciplines are invited to present their original ethnographic research. While preference will be given to those who have conducted substantial fieldwork, interviewing methods are acceptable. Papers in all substantive areas are welcome. The theme of this year's conference is cultural production and reproduction. In

addition to topics that relate to the theme, graduate students are welcome to submit work on topics including but not limited to: class, crime, education, ethnicity, gender, family, globalization, health and illness, immigration, medicine, methodology, performance ethnography, race, religion, sexualities, social movements, technology, urban poverty, and work and employment.

Ashley Mears is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Boston University. Her first book, *Pricing Beauty: The Making of a Fashion Model* (2011, University of California Press), examines the production of value in fashion modeling markets and analyzes how cultural production markets become sites for the reproduction of cultural inequalities. Her current research explores the global context of culture and beauty in elite nightclubs.

Abstract Submissions

To submit an abstract, please complete the online submission form: <http://chicagoethnography.wordpress.com/>. The abstract should not exceed 250 words. The deadline for submissions is January 15th, 2014. All presenters will be notified of acceptance by February 1st. Participants will be asked to submit their full papers to the conference committee by March 1st

Other Opportunities

Postdoc at Stanford–Alison Dahl Crossley

Stanford University, California, USA

Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research

Postdoctoral Research Fellowships

Call for Applications: 2014-15

Deadline: January 6, 2014

The Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University invites applications for a two-year postdoctoral fellowship for the 2014-15 and 2015-16 academic years. Recent Ph.D.’s in all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences whose research focuses on gender are eligible. We encourage scholars with a strong interest in interdisciplinary methods to apply.

The postdoctoral scholars will focus on the Institute’s theme, “Beyond the Stalled Revolution: Reinvigorating Gender Equality in the Twenty-first Century.” While in residence at the Institute, postdoctoral scholars are expected to participate in Clayman Institute activities throughout the academic year in addition to pursuing their own research. Postdoctoral scholar responsibilities will include writing articles for our research publication, *Gender News*, working with Graduate Dissertation Fellows, and attending our regularly scheduled faculty luncheon discussions.

The appointment is for two years. Applicants must have their doctoral degree in hand no later than 30 days prior to the appointment start date, and the start date must be no more than three years after the awarding of their degree. Postdoctoral scholars will receive a stipend and benefits, set and adjusted in accordance with Stanford University rules, and must be in residence for four academic quarters, beginning August 1, 2014.

The Clayman Institute is committed to the principles of equal opportunity and fair and open competition.

How to Apply:

Applications must be submitted online by January 6, 2014. Instructions and detailed information are available on our website: <http://gender.stanford.edu/postdoctoral-research-fellowships>.

Nominations Sought for ASA Major Awards!

ASA members are encouraged to submit nominations for the following ASA awards. The deadline for nominations is provided with each award criteria. Award selection

committees, appointed by ASA Council, are constituted to review nominations. These awards are presented at the ASA Annual Meeting each August. The deadline for submission is noted within the individual award criteria.

We're currently looking for nominees for the following awards:

- ♦ W.E.B. DuBois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Book Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Career Major ASA Award for the Practice of Sociology
- ♦ Excellence in the Reporting of Social Issues Major ASA Award
- ♦ Cox-Johnson-Frazier Major ASA Award
- ♦ Major ASA Award for Public Understanding of Sociology
- ♦ Jessie Bernard Major ASA Award
- ♦ Dissertation Major ASA Award

For more information go to:

<http://www.asanet.org/about/awards.cfm>

Annual Arizona Methods Workshops—Jennifer Earl

Please join us for the 4th Annual Arizona Methods Workshops!

January 9-11, 2014

<http://sociology.arizona.edu/methods>

These 3-day workshops are open to everyone and are hosted by the School of Sociology at the University of Arizona, where all workshops are held. The goal is to share the methodological expertise of our school and college with the wider community of social scientists. The workshop topics and instructors vary from year to year; this year we are offering four workshops, including:

Professor Corey Abramson, Qualitative Data Analysis in ATLAS.ti

Professor Jennifer Earl, Managing Research Projects and Teams

Professor Claude Rubinson, Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Dr. Katerina Sinclair, Introduction to R

Faculty and graduate students have found these seminars to be helpful in prior years. We hope you will join us this year. Please note that students receive a 50% discount on their registration. Plus, you could tack on a few days to enjoy a January vacation in sunny Tucson!

Please send SBS-methods@email.arizona.edu any questions that are not addressed on <http://sociology.arizona.edu/methods>.

Four Issues per Year

MOBILIZATION

THE PREMIER REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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Mobilization is a wonderful gift to the community of social movement scholars. A rigorously edited journal provides a focal point for us all. Almost all American scholars read it, and I suspect most European scholars too

Mayer N. Zald, University of Michigan

In a recent conference I don't think there was a single paper that didn't reference an article published in Mobilization. At this point the field of contentious politics and protest studies would be inconceivable without Mobilization.

Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkeley

***Mobilization: An International Quarterly* is a selective, peer-reviewed review of research in social and political movements, riots, insurrections, revolutions and other forms of collective action. A recent study ranks it as a top sociology journal based on citation scores.**

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