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Message from the Chair

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

It is my pleasure to introduce this latest edition of CriticalMass. I have been very fortunate to be serving in a section that is so well organized and intellectually active and exciting. The upcoming ASA Meeting in San Francisco will highlight that vibrancy. Our day is Sunday this year, right in the middle of the conference.

As you will see in the detailed listings inside, there are a series of section-sponsored sessions and panels not to be missed, as well as our valuable roundtable sessions. The sessions organized by Mary Bernstein on Social Movements across Institutions and by Sarah Sobieraj on Social Movements and Media include excellent work from top scholars in the field. For the panel on the Consequences of Social Movements, a preview of the discussion appears here, as Drew Halfmann and Kenneth T. Andrews respond to my chair’s letter of the last issue. James M. Jasper’s panel on Protest Movements in Comparative Perspective pairs scholars studying movements across different countries. A double Authors Meet Critics panel, organized by David Pettinicchio, takes on the two most recent Charles Tilly Book Award winners: Halfmann’s *Doctors and Demonstrators* and Kathleen M. Blee’s *Democracy in the Making*. The roundtables will take place just before the business meeting.

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

Drew Halfmann Responds to Amenta's Fall Message....

As Edwin Amenta notes in his recent *Critical Mass* essay, scholarly attention to the effects of social movements on social institutions (e.g. policies, the media, corporations) has increased dramatically and with exciting results since William Gamson first published *The Strategy of Social Protest* in 1975. Scholars such as Amenta, Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, David Snow, Daniel Cress and Kenneth Andrews have steadily improved on Gamson's work, and in the process, what began as a trickle books and articles has now become a steady stream.

Amenta identifies three main approaches in this work: 1) The *movement-centered* approach focuses on the ways in which the internal characteristics of movements such as their organizational forms, resources, frames, and tactics increase their influence. 2) The *political mediation* approach focuses on the impact of "strategies in contexts," examining, for example, the effects of assertive or less-assertive tactics in friendly or hostile legislative or bureaucratic environments. 3) The *policy-centered* approach attempts to explain particular social outcomes (usually policy outcomes) while keeping an eye on the role of social movements, examining, for example, the role of the abortion rights movement in the formation of abortion policies

Amenta notes that each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses. Studies from the movement-centered approach often pay inadequate attention to contexts, overreach theoretically, and fail to specify appropriate scope conditions. Studies from the policy-centered approach often pay inadequate attention to movement resources, strategies and frames, underreach theoretically, and fail to apply insights from their own case to other similar cases. Finally, the political mediation approach is best suited to studying movements that have contended over long periods, using various strategies in various contexts and to varying effect.

These strengths and weaknesses suggest several best practices: scholars of particular movements or policy outcomes should ask themselves "What is this a case of?": they should explicitly specify scope

conditions; and they should avoid losing sight of either movement contexts or the internal characteristics of movements.

These strengths and weaknesses also suggest that it may be useful to seek hybrids of two or more approaches in order to maximize the strengths (and hopefully not the weaknesses) of each. Amenta locates recent work by Kenneth Andrews and Holly McCammon in the movement-centered approach, but I would argue that it is actually a hybrid of the movement-centered and political mediation approaches. As Amenta rightly notes, Andrews' and McCammon's work focuses on the internal characteristics of movements, but unlike earlier work in the movement-centered approach, it asks: which movement characteristics help movements to effectively match strategies to contexts? It thus draw strongly on the political mediation approach. For Andrews, strategic adaptability flows from strong infrastructure (based on leadership, organizational structure, and resources), and for McCammon, it comes from continuous activism, intra-movement tension, and a diverse constituency.

Another hybrid approach might combine the policy-centered (institutional) approach and the political mediation approach. It would ask: Which contexts best promote strategic adaptation by movements? Perhaps, politics and policy areas that are more democratic, more transparent, and more visible would provide movement activists with better signals and information that could aid attempts to adapt strategies to contexts. Such contexts might also provide a broader choice of strategies and tactics. In addition, politics or policy areas with large numbers of elite or movement allies might provide more information for strategic adaptation. And finally, politics or policy areas with a diverse and vibrant movement sector might provide information for strategic adaptation as well as examples of new frames and tactics.

Finally, another opportunity for hybridity is suggested by Amenta's observation that most studies of movement effects are case studies. Amenta urges comparative work, but also notes that reliance on case studies is not the end of the world, and even offers some benefits. He argues that the large and growing number of case studies should make it ever more possible for scholars to explicitly locate their own findings and theoretical arguments within a

broad set of similar cases, and that to do so is highly desirable. At the same time, case studies allow scholars to attend to mutual causality, sequences, processes and mechanisms that are not readily amenable to regression analyses. I second this point and look forward to discussing the future of the exciting work on social movement effects at the special CBSM session at the ASA meetings in August.

Kenneth Andrew's Take....

Over the past two decades scholars have published numerous articles and book on the consequences of social movements and many more are on the way! We have a strong and diverse set of studies across many different cases. As Edwin Amenta and his colleagues (2010) document, we know most about the political consequences of movements. However, scholars have made significant progress examining the economic consequences of movements (Bartley and Child 2011, Haveman, Rao and Paruchuri 2007, Ingram, Yue and Rao 2010, McDonnell and King 2013, Vasi and King 2012) and we will continue to see new work on social and cultural consequences as well (Bail 2012, Best 2012).

This is an ideal time to step back and assess the progress we have made to guide the next phase of research and theory on the consequences of movements. We lack a broader assessment of our progress to date and a useful roadmap for future studies. Edwin Amenta (2014) argues that there are several significant obstacles to gauging whether movements matter including “the frequent ineffectiveness of movements, their many targets of influence, and the tendency to select influential movements to study”. Nevertheless, he notes that scholars have made significant progress by developing creative strategies to work around these problems, and he identifies three ideal types based on recent book length studies of movements and political change.

Here, I preview my comments for the upcoming ASA panel on "The Influence of Social Movements". I

sketch four strategies for advancing the field: (1) develop stronger theoretical expectations regarding the pathways and mechanisms of movement influence and lack of influence; (2) seek variation within case studies across time periods and domains to delineate the scope of movement influence; (3) expand engagement with related disciplines and sub-fields; and (4) devote greater attention to interactions with and response by targets - not just structural characteristics of targets (as we tend to do now).

To make further progress in understanding the consequences of movements, we have to ask a fundamental question: what is our theory of how protest (and movements more broadly) matter? The answer to that question should be nested in broader questions about the sources and dynamics of social, economic and political change. Much of our work on the consequences of movements lacks a coherent answer to these questions. Collectively, there has been little effort to develop and test alternative models of movement influence. Instead, scholars take an available indicator of movement activity - typically, the number of events or organizations - and examine its direct or indirect relationship to political outcomes alongside other factors.

In practice, our most common measures of movement lack serious theoretical justification. For example, scholars often consider the number of protest events or the presence of movement organization. Why would elites, authorities and other actors be influenced by the count of events? Most of our important theoretical expectations have little to do with the sheer number of events - but about other characteristics. For example, we might consider many other characteristics such as change in the amount of protest, big events, disruptive events, unusual events, or media covered events – to name just a few possibilities. If protest influence operates through sending signals or imposing costs on elected leaders, then there is minimal reason to expect aggregate protest levels to influence aggregate behavior or protest targets. Instead, we should expect protest to matter depending on its relationship to specific targets. So, what expectations should we have? Stepping back, we need to identify alternative models about how movement influence occurs. Elsewhere I have distinguished among three major patterns that I

refer to as persuasion, access, and disruption (2001, 2004). These models differ with regard to the primacy of framing (which may appeal to cognitive or moral arguments), routine interactions with authorities, and costliness as mechanisms of influence.

Second, scholars should continue to seek variation within case studies across time periods and domains. As Amenta (1991) has argued, this is a strategy for "making the most of the case study" and has been the central logic of recent studies of movement influence. Movement scholars tend to focus on the positive consequences of movements, but this may mask where movements are having limited influence or even having negative consequences. For example, in my work on the legacy of the civil rights movements, I found that local activism had a negative impact on school desegregation through its impact on white counter-mobilization. In recent studies of local environmental groups, my collaborators and I identified key organizational characteristics that enhanced visibility; however, most groups gain minimal attention in the media and have little impact on their communities (Andrews and Caren 2010, Andrews et al. 2010). More careful analyses of variation within cases can help us delineate the scope of movement influence.

Another way to improve our understanding of movement influence is through greater engagement with related disciplines and sub-fields. If, as scholars of social movements, we risk over-emphasizing the significance of movements, engaging with historians, political scientists, economists, communication scholars, and others will lead us to make broader arguments and guard against overestimating the significance of activism. This feature characterizes the best work on the political consequences of movements where scholars have drawn on broader theories of the policy process and tested alternative explanations. Recent scholarship on the economic consequences of protest also shows the payoff of linking social movement theory to other strands of theory and research - economic sociology and organizational studies, in particular.

Finally, I argue that our analyses of movement influence need to pay greater attention to interactions

with and the responses of bystanders, counter-movements, and targets. This will lead us to conceptualize influence as embedded in sequences of interaction. Most of our theoretical models and analytic strategies emphasize structural characteristics of targets (e.g., presence of allies, available access points). To the extent that we pay attention to strategy, we focus on activists rather than the broader actors that movements interact with. Moving in this direction has important theoretical and methodological implications. For example, scholars would need to spend more time interviewing non-activists and collecting archival materials outside movements. More fundamentally, studying interaction would require better data on the temporal ordering of events. Some areas of movement scholarship have made greater progress in studying sequences such as the study of repression (Almeida 2003, Gillham, Edwards and Noakes 2013), and some scholars studying movement influence have already moved in this direction (McCammon et al. 2008). Moreover, historical sociologists have developed useful strategies for examining sequences of interactions, and movement scholars could benefit from actively borrowing and modifying these approaches.

- Almeida, Paul D. 2003. "Opportunity Organizations and Threat-Induced Contention: Protest Waves in Authoritarian Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 109(2):345-400.
- Amenta, Edwin. 1991. "Making the Most of a Case Study: Theories of the Welfare State and the American Experience." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 32:172-94.
- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:287-307.
- Amenta, Edwin. 2014. "How to Analyze the Influence of Movements." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 43(1):16-29.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2001. "Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965-1971." *American Sociological Review* 66:71-95.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights*

- Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Neal Caren. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda." *American Sociological Review* 75:841-66.
- Andrews, Kenneth T., Marshall Ganz, Matthew Baggetta, Hahrie Han and Chaeyoon Lim. 2010. "Leadership, Membership, and Voice: Civic Associations That Work." *American Journal of Sociology* 115(4):1191-242.
- Bail, Christopher A. 2012. "The Fringe Effect Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse About Islam since the September 11th Attacks." *American Sociological Review* 77(6):855-79.
- Bartley, Tim and Curtis Child. 2011. "Movements, Markets and Fields: The Effects of Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns on Us Firms, 1993-2000." *Social Forces* 90(2):425-51.
- Best, Rachel Kahn. 2012. "Disease Politics and Medical Research Funding: Three Ways Advocacy Shapes Policy." *American Sociological Review* 77(5):780-803. doi: 10.1177/0003122412458509.
- Gillham, Patrick F, Bob Edwards and John A Noakes. 2013. "Strategic Incapacitation and the Policing of Occupy Wall Street Protests in New York City, 2011." *Policing and Society* 23(1):81-102.
- Haveman, Heather A., Hayagreeva Rao and Srikanth Paruchuri. 2007. "The Winds of Change: The Progressive Movement and the Bureaucratization of Thrift." *American Sociological Review* 72:117-42.
- Ingram, Paul, Lori Qingyuan Yue and Hayagreeva Rao. 2010. "Trouble in Store: Probes, Protests, and Store Openings by Wal-Mart, 1998-2007." *American Journal of Sociology* 116(1):53-92.
- McCammon, Holly J., Soma Chaudhuri, Lyndi Hewitt, Courtney Sanders Muse, Harmony D. Newman, Carrie Lee Smith and Teresa M. Terrell. 2008. "Becoming Full Citizens: The U.S. Women's Jury Rights Campaigns, the Pace of Reform, and Strategic Adaptation." *American Journal of Sociology* 113(4):1104-47.
- McDonnell, Mary-Hunter and Brayden King. 2013. "Keeping up Appearances: Reputational Threat and Impression Management after Social Movement Boycotts." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 58(3):387-419. doi: 10.1177/0001839213500032.
- Vasi, Ion Bogdan and Brayden G King. 2012. "Social Movements, Risk Perceptions, and Economic Outcomes the Effect of Primary and Secondary Stakeholder Activism on Firms' Perceived Environmental Risk and Financial Performance." *American Sociological Review* 77(4):573-96.

Chair's Letter, Continued from Page 1

There are several regular session offerings devoted to social movements as well. These include ones on Framing and Culture, Theoretical and Methodological Innovations in Social Movement Research, and Emotions and Motivation, as well as one devoted to the Consequences of Movements. The first two are on the Saturday of the meeting and the second two on the Tuesday. Each session addresses cutting edge research on issues of central importance to our section. A big thanks to Drew Halfmann for organizing these sessions as well as the roundtables.

The section continues to produce excellent scholarship. I want to say how greatly impressed I am by this year's nominees for the Tilly Book Award. There are many, many outstanding monographs, ranging across a variety of cases and methods. Of the books assigned to me, I have read no less than 10 that seem worthy of recognition and in the same category of excellence as recent winners. Many of them will soon be classics. The next edition of CriticalMass will include reviews of all the finalists. Stay tuned to the listserv for announcements of the winners next month for the book award as well as for the Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Article Award and the Mayer N. Zald Graduate Student Paper Award. My thanks to those serving on all these committees.

I end with a few pleas. We are somewhat below the 800-member threshold needed to retain our level of sessions at the ASA Meeting next year. So please renew your membership and consider sponsoring some of your graduate students. In addition, please pay attention to the call for help from senior scholars in the section's time-tested mentorship program. Also, I hope you can stick around for the section's business meeting, after the roundtables, as we will discuss the possibilities for the section's next mini-conference.

I look forward to seeing you all in San Francisco!

Mentoring Committee Announcement

We are pleased to announce that the CBSM section will continue to offer a mentoring program in 2014. The program has been quite successful so far, with both mentors and mentees reporting significant rewards of participation. We invite you to join us in this year's program.

What is the CBSM mentoring program?

This program serves as a “matchmaking service,” pairing junior scholars with more senior scholars who can provide advice and support during the early years of a mentee's career. There are currently two “tiers” of the program: we will pair assistant professors or recently-tenured faculty with senior scholars, and we will connect ABD graduate students with mentors at the junior and senior scholar level as they enter and negotiate the job market. Thus, individuals at various career stages can participate as either mentors or mentees—or both.

Why should I participate?

“Pay it forward” while building relationships within the CBSM community. Many of us have been fortunate to receive wonderful mentorship along the way, or we have experienced the pleasure of mentoring others. Mentors enjoy the satisfaction of nurturing a junior colleague, repaying the mentoring that they themselves received in the past. Equally important, mentors and mentees often build enduring

collegial relationships that last well beyond the mentee's junior faculty years. Mentorship benefits the larger scholarly enterprise as well, creating webs of informal communication and mutual support that knit us together into a more robust and cohesive community of CBSM scholars.

Identifying support across institutions. While strong mentorship can give a new faculty member an invaluable boost at a crucial moment in her or his early career, finding a good mentor (or mentee) on one's own is no small feat. Often, the best mentorships span institutional boundaries, because assistant professors are often (rightfully) reluctant to voice concerns and insecurities to senior colleagues who will eventually have to evaluate their junior colleague's performance. While identifying a like-minded mentor or mentee at another institution can be a daunting task, the CBSM Mentoring Program is designed to address this issue by pairing mentors and mentees across institutions.

What exactly will I talk about with my mentor or mentee? What exactly does this mentorship commitment entail?

While each mentor-mentee relationship will develop its own trajectory, common topics of conversation include: formulating job market and publishing strategies; managing teaching and service loads; navigating departmental and university politics; dealing with work/family conflicts; etc. Mentors also sometimes alert mentees to opportunities for funding, employment, or professional recognition. You will have the opportunity to indicate a preference for pairing with a mentor/mentee of similar research interests, methods, gender, type of institution or position, etc.

Of course each mentoring relationship will be unique, but we request that mentors and mentees agree to “meet” regularly over the phone or via video conference once a month for at least the first six months of the match. This kind of fixed, scheduled contact helps mentors and mentees get to know one another, develop the trust needed to have a strong mentoring relationship, and ensure that mentors and mentees stay in touch despite the rigors of everyday academic life. After that first period, we recommend

regularly scheduled phone meetings or email contact. Once you are signed up in the program, we'll share some friendly advice and guidelines on how to manage your mentoring relationship based on tips we've gathered along the way from previous participants in this program.

During the first few months, we'll send each mentor and mentee a friendly "check-in" email once a month, asking for a super-brief, one-minute response update to let us know how the match is progressing, what sorts of things you're talking about with your mentor/mentee, etc. Rather than adding on yet another responsibility to your busy schedules, we hope this will serve as that extra "nudge" you might need to help break the ice, to keep up with contact even when you feel shy or reluctant to get in touch (or just forget), and to keep communication flowing among mentors and mentees. Essentially, you can use *us* as the perfect excuse to set up a time to talk with your mentor/mentee; *we don't mind*.

Who can participate and with whom will I be paired?

Senior scholars can serve as mentors, **early career faculty** (assistant professors/newly-tenured) can participate as mentees **or** serve as mentors), and **ABD graduate students** participate as mentees. If you're an early career faculty, *please indicate in which capacity you would like to participate* within the Excel sheet (either as mentee or mentor, or both).

We are especially in need of mentors! If you are a **senior scholar** in this section, please seriously consider volunteering. The commitment is a relatively small one, but it can really make a difference to young scholars and to the vitality of the section.

The mentoring commitment is for one year. **If you have participated in the past**—both mentors and mentees—you are **strongly encouraged to sign up again**. We hope that this program will be useful to you and aid in your professional development and success. We also hope that once you have benefited from the program as a mentee, you will agree to mentor others once you have tenure.

Last but not least, for faculty considering participation but need that extra little "push" to get them over the edge to sign up...this program would look great in that "professional service" slot on your annual review and is almost 100% guaranteed to be *far* more fun than sitting on yet another committee.

How do I sign up?

Please direct any questions to José Muñoz at munoz@csusb.edu. We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best,

The 2014-2015 CBSM Mentoring Committee
Lauren Joseph and José Muñoz, Tanya Saunders, and Fabio Rojas

Recent Publications

New Books

	<p>Stamatov, Peter. 2013. <i>The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press.</p>
	<p>Paul-Brian McInerney. <i>From Social Movement to Moral Market: How the Circuit Riders Sparked an IT Revolution and Created a Technology Market</i>. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2014.</p>

Other Publications

Beck, Colin J. 2014. "Reflections on the Revolutionary Wave in 2011." *Theory and Society* 43(2): 197-223.

della Porta, Donatella and Rossi, Federico M. 2013. Democratization and Democratic Transition. In David Snow, et al. (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (1; Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford), 339-44.

http://www.academia.edu/3313964/Democratization_and_Democratic_Transition

Hammond, John L. and Rossi, Federico M. 2013. "Landless Workers Movement (MST) Brazil." In David Snow, et al. (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (2; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), 680-83. http://www.academia.edu/3313934/Landless_Workers_Movement_MST_Brazil

Heidemann, K. 2014. "In the Name of Language: School-Based Language Revitalization, Strategic Solidarities, and State Power in the French Basque Country." *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 13(1): 53-69.

Kadivar, Mohammad Ali. 2013. "Perception Profiles, and Alliances in the Iranian Reform Movement, 1997-2005." *American Sociological Review*, 78(6): 1063-1086.

Mauro, Sebastián and Rossi, Federico M. 2014. "The Movement of Popular and Neighborhood Assemblies in the City of Buenos Aires, 2002-2011." *Latin American Perspectives*. DOI: 10.1177/0094582X13506693 http://www.academia.edu/5030460/The_Movement_of_Popular_and_Neighborhood_Assemblies_in_the_City_of_Buenos_Aires_2002-2011

Muñoz, José A. 2013. "Coalitions and Conflict in Mexico City: The Case of Sección Mexicana." *International Review of Modern Sociology*. 39: 259-281.

Muñoz, José A., and José L. Collazo. 2014. "Looking out for Paisanos: Latino hometown associations as transnational advocacy networks." *Migration and Development* ahead-of-print: 1-12.

Rossi, Federico M. 2013. "Juggling Multiple Agendas: The Struggle of Trade Unions Against National, Continental, and International Neoliberalism in Argentina." In Eduardo Silva (ed.), *Transnational Activism and National Movements in Latin America: Bridging the Divide* (London: Routledge), 141-60. http://www.academia.edu/3314534/Juggling_Multipl

[e_Agendas_The_Struggle_of_Trade_Unions_Against_National_Continental_and_International_Neoliberalism_in_Argentina](http://www.academia.edu/3314534/Juggling_Multipl)

Rossi, Federico M. 2013. "Piqueteros (Workers/Unemployment Movement in Argentina)." In David Snow, et al. (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (3; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), 929-32. http://www.academia.edu/3313920/Piqueteros_Workers_Unemployment_Movement_in_Argentina

Rossi, Federico M. 2013. "Peronism." In David Snow, et al. (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements* (3; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), 925-28. <http://www.academia.edu/3314003/Peronism>

Rossi, Federico M. 2013. "Mapping the Sem Terra of Brazil. Mobilizing Ideas." University of Notre Dame: Center for the Study of Social Movements). <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/09/04/mapping-the-sem-terra-of-brazil/>

Vasi, Ion Bogdan, David Strang and Arnout van de Rijt. 2014. "Tea and Sympathy: The Tea Party Movement and Republican Precommitment to Radical Conservatism in the 2011 Deb-Limit Crisis." *Mobilization* 19(1):1-22.

Whittier, Nancy. 2014. "Rethinking Coalitions: Anti-Pornography Feminists, Conservatives, and Relationships between Collaborative Adversarial Movements." *Social Problems* May, 2014.

Announcements

Robert D. Woodberry won the 2013 Award for Excellent Research from the National University of Singapore, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. It recognizes the NUS faculty member who had the most significant research accomplishment in the previous year.

Caitlin Patler (PhD Candidate, UCLA Department of Sociology) has accepted a 2014 University of California President's Postdoctoral Fellowship in the

UC Irvine Department of Criminology, Law and Society.

**CALL for NOMINATIONS:
2014 MARIO SAVIO YOUNG ACTIVIST
AWARD**

The Board of Directors of the Mario Savio Memorial Lecture Fund invites you to nominate a candidate for the 16th Annual Young Activist Award. The award this year carries a cash prize of \$6,000, divided equally between the prize-winner and his or her organization.

This award is presented to a young person (or persons) with a deep commitment to human rights and social justice and a proven ability to transform this commitment into effective action. The nominees should have demonstrated leadership ability, creativity and integrity.

Specific eligibility requirements are:

- Between ages 18-26 as of 9/1/2014
- Engaged in activism for social change in the United States, promoting the values of peace, human rights, economic or social justice, or freedom of expression
- Acting within the context of an organization, social movement, or larger community effort
- Considered an inspirational leader or motivating force by others in that context
- Able to attend award ceremony in Berkeley, CA (Oct.2; expenses paid).

Preference will be given to candidates who have not yet been widely recognized and who do not have personal privilege or a strong institutional base of support.

This award honors the late Mario Savio (1942-1996), who came to national prominence as a spokesperson for the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964.

His moral clarity, his eloquence, and his democratic style of leadership impelled thousands of his fellow

Berkeley students to struggle for, and win, more political freedom, inspiring a generation of student activism. Savio remained a lifelong fighter for human rights and social justice.

NOMINATIONS ARE DUE BY JULY 1, 2014.

Nomination forms and additional information are available at www.savio.org or through e-mail: [savio\(at\)sonic.net](mailto:savio(at)sonic.net).

Getting to Know the Section Leaders

Edwin Amenta was kind enough to answer a few questions for us. Here's what he's up to this summer and what he'd want if stranded on a deserted island:

1. What do you like most about summer vacation? Do you have any interesting travel plans?

Aside from taking a trip to San Francisco, I am excited to be traveling with my family for the first time to Japan. Among other things, we plan to visit the Studio Ghibli of anime film fame. To defray the costs of the trip I will be teaching there.

2. If you were stuck on a deserted island with three things, what would they be?

First, I would need a crossbow to hunt for food and spear fish. Second, I would also want to have an extensive kit of tools suitable for building a shelter from the local flora (and possibly fauna, see crossbow above). Third, it would also help to have a volleyball to draw a face on and talk to, like the one the Tom Hanks character has in that movie in which the FedEx plane crashes. But it would be better for me to have a cell phone to call someone to rescue me because I don't know how to handle a crossbow, and would be too squeamish to hunt anyway, and I am terrible at building things.

3. What's the best piece of advice you ever received?

Try not to take things, especially yourself, over-seriously, and never get stuck on a deserted island without your cell phone.

4. Have any guilty pleasures that you're willing to share?

No--in the sense that I don't have any pleasures that I feel guilty about. It is not as if sightseeing in Japan or watching Tom Hanks movies is the same thing as shooting defenseless animals with a crossbow.

5. Would you mind sharing some random facts about yourself?

Sure. I have lived for the last nine years with the sociologist Francesca Polletta and our ten-year-old twins Gregory and Luisa in a planned, faculty community in Irvine, California, which borders on Newport Beach. Many people confuse Irvine with Davis or Riverside. Our house is one of four models, and more than one set of friends has the same model. It is a tight community. Any kid who TPs a tree or any driver running a stop sign will be identified by our listserv and brought to justice. I confirmed I was terrible at building things last spring when I worked with my children and our neighbor to construct a clubhouse in our backyard. Fortunately, my neighbor is quite skilled, and no one on the listserv complained about the noise. I actually enjoy teaching and dislike only the associated time pressures. The main undergraduate class I teach here is called *Baseball and Society*, an upper division writing class that is a lot more difficult than it sounds. I wrote a book about playing softball in New York's Central Park and seeking to reverse the fortunes of my losing team. I lived there before moving to California (New York, not Central Park, though for one summer it was close). These last months I have spent a significant amount of my free time soft-tossing baseballs and encouraging nine- and ten-year olds to hit the balls hard against a fence, though not so hard that they would ricochet off my glasses. I will soon transition to the even more dangerous job of driving to swimming practices.

This year there are over 200 sessions of interest to CBSM members. The program is available at: <http://convention2.allacademic.com/one/asa/asa14/> ASA's Annual Meeting App will be available mid-July. With the app attendees can access the program and convention bulletin, message one another, take notes, and get real time alerts on events!

The Collective Behavior and Social Movements Reception will be held Sunday August 17 from 6:30 – 8:30 PM at Jasper's in the Hotel Serrano, 401 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (right across from the Hilton).

Here are a few sessions to look forward to...

Saturday August 16

10:30am-12:10pm

Social Movements, Framing and Culture.

Session Organizer: Drew Halfmann

Session Presider: Hiroe Saruya

Bloemraand, Irene, Kim Voss, and Fabiana Silva. *Families Matter, but not Human Rights: Gauging Frame Resonance around Immigrant Rights*

Slusar, Mary Beth and J. Craig Jenkins. *Frame Balancing and Reinforcing: A Comparative Analysis of Framing Strategies in Progressive Era Women's Movements*

Zhou, Munjun. *Justifying Particular Interest in Universalizing Terms*

Gould, Michael. *The Invention of the 99 Percent: The Origins and Development of a Political Imaginary*

50th Anniversary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was represented a critical juncture in the United States, not only because it outlawed many forms of discrimination in various institutional settings, but also because it became a point of departure for scholarship about law, race, civil and human rights. Its passage represents what legal scholars, social scientists, policy makers and activists signal as a

momentous historical moment for social and legal change. Scholars have viewed this legislation as the landmark legal action which transitioned the United States from a legal racial dictatorship, into an era of formal legal equality. To be sure, many scholars of law and inequality have articulated how and why this legislation was not enough to end the persistent racial inequality which still marks the U.S. social structure. Yet there is general (though often tacit) agreement that the political and legal actions leading to and codified in the Civil Rights Act represented a historically significant social shift. 50 years later, this panel sets out to interrogate the contours of that shift through a retrospective look at the Civil Rights Act, the way the Act has been legally construed and interpreted by U.S. Courts in the past half-century, and the effects of this legislation on the lives of U.S. citizens and racial hierarchy. We propose a session that facilitates a nuanced discussion about the enormous potential, successes, and failures of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; a discussion informed by the Act's stated goal, the end of discrimination in institutions on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, religion and sex, as well as its broader ideological promise – social change, in particular the dismantling of structural racial oppression.

2:30pm-4:10pm

States and Social Movements: Contesting Land, Food, and Resources

Session Organizer: Daniel Jaffee

Presider: Carol Hernandez-Rodriguez

Enriquez, Laura, and Simeon Newman. *The Conflicted State and Agrarian Change in Pink Tide Venezuela*.

Edwards, Zophia Yolande. *Blessing or Curse: Examining the Divergent Development Paths of Oil- and Mineral-rich Developing Countries*.

Gibson, Christopher Laurence. *Social Development through State Occupation: Health Professionals Movements and Declining Child Mortality in Urban Brazil*.

Misra, Manoj. *Climate Change, Markets, and Smallholder Farming in Bangladesh: Questioning the Technological Optimism*.

4:30 to 6:10pm

Social Movements: Theoretical and Methodological Innovations.

Session Organizer: Drew Halfmann

Presider: Daniel Blocq

Discussant: John McCarthy

Ring, Misty Dawn, Heidi Reynolds-Stenson and Jennifer Earl. *Reexamining Radicalness: The Structural Position of Radical Tactics, 1960-1995*.

Krausch, Meghan and Douglass Hartmann. *Revitalizing the Study of Social Movements by Theorizing Social Change*.

Schreiner, Jonathan, Jon Agnone, and Erik W. Johnson. *The Effect of New York Times Event Coding Techniques on the Analysis of Protest Data*.

Chang, Paul Yunsick, Kangsan Lee. *The Structure of Protest Cycles: Contagion and Cohesion in South Korea's Democracy Movement*.

6:30pm-8:30pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Reception

Sunday August 17

8:30am-10:10am

Regional Spotlight Session. Social Justice Youth-Style: Bay Area Youth Activists' Perspectives on Race, Education, and Coalition Politics

Session Organizer: Hava Rachel Gordon

Presider: Jessica Karen Taft

Presenters: Saaun Bell & Akua Jackson

Discussant: Andreana Clay

The Bay Area is a national epicenter for youth organizing, and youth are playing a key role in educational, racial, gender, and labor justice movements, among many other struggles. This proposed session will explore Bay Area youth organizing as it operates in distinct youth-led

organizations and as partners in broader coalitions. Centered on the perspectives of youth activists and organizers themselves, this session will explore how youth activists understand issues of racial, education, and gender injustice (among many other issues) in their communities, and how they organize to tackle these issues. Youth will speak about how their organizing strategies converge with and diverge from adult-led strategies, the constraints and possibilities of operating in specific non-profit contexts, and the role that youth play in larger social movement coalitions.

Protest Movements in Comparative Perspective

Session Organizer & Presider: James Jasper
Discussant: Jan Willem Duyvendak

This session will ask pairs of authors to compare movements in different countries, especially across continents, in order to foster dialogue among scholars of different nations and scholarly traditions. Panelists will look for points of divergence as well as convergence, and also for the persisting effects of national cultural traditions.

Doherty, Brian, and Graeme Hayes. *The Concept of Activist Tradition: A Comparative Analysis of Direct Action in France and the United Kingdom.*

Nicholls, Walter and Marcel Maussen. *Deserving Immigrants in Times of Coercive Citizenship: Campaigns for Immigrant Youth in the United States and the Netherlands.*

Verhoeven, Imrat. *Mimicking Movements: Governmental Activism in the Netherlands.*

10:30am-12:10pm

The Influence of Social Movements

Session Organizer: Edwin Amenta
Presider & Discussant: Drew Halfmann

This is a Gamson-style panel discussion of current issues research issues regarding the influence of social movements. Distinguished scholars from a variety of perspectives will address a series of previously distributed questions to promote discussion.

Presenters: Edwin Amenta, Kenneth Andrews, Lee Ann Banaszak and Anthony Chen

Class Consciousness and Culture in Labor Mobilization

Session Organizer: Michael Franklin Thompson
Presider: Chad Pearson
Discussant: Andrew Schrank

Guzman, Sebastian Gabriel. *Ideology and Movement Militancy against Partisan Allies: Evidence from Strikes in Post-Authoritarian Chile*

Kelly, Maura and Amy Lubitow. *Labor and LGBT Coalition Building: Exploring the Dynamics of Pride at Work.*

Mai, Quan Dang Hien. *The New York Times and the Cultural Production of the U.S Labor Problem, 1870-1930.*

Ahumada, Pablo Perez. *Different Collar, the Same Consciousness. Class Consciousness among Manual and Non-manual Workers in Chile.*

Environmental Movements, Inaction, and Inertia

Session Organizer: Manuel Vallee
Presider: Kristen Shorette
Discussant: Thomas Beamish

Podobnik, Bruce. *Protesting Against Global Warming: An Empirical Analysis of the Climate Justice Movement.*

Foran, John. *The Search for a Global Climate Treaty: An Analysis of the 2013 U.N. Climate Summit.*

Escher, Daniel. *Cultural Matching, Collective Action, and Quiescence in Central Appalachia.*

Bell, Shannon Elizabeth, and Jenrose Fitzgerald. *Fossil Fuels and the Appropriation of Women's Activist Identities.*

Lougee, Nicholas, Michael Dreilling, and Tomoyasu Nakamura. *After the Meltdown: The Energy Industrial Complex and Post Fukushima Environmentalism in Japan.*

12:30-1:30pm

Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables (one-hour).

- Table 01. Movement Consequences
- Table 02. Culture and Movements
- Table 03. Framing 1
- Table 04. Framing 2
- Table 05. Rights, Gender, and Violence
- Table 06. Individual and Collective Identities
- Table 07. Movements in the News.
- Table 08. Movement Organizations and Fields
- Tables 09. Movement Participation and Mobilization
- Table 10. Social Psychology and Movements
- Table 11. Repertoires of Contention
- Table 12. Repression and Response
- Table 13. Strategies and Tactics 1
- Table 14. Social Movement Theory
- Table 15. Global Forces and Movements
- Table 16. Culture and Movements 2
- Table 17. Information Technology and Movements
- Table 18. Political Contexts of Movements
- Table 19. Protest Spaces
- Table 20. Strategies and Tactics 2.

2:30 to 4:10pm

Author Meets Critics: Tilly Award Winners

This panel addresses the two most recent Charles Tilly Award winners: Drew Halfmann, *Doctors and Demonstrators* and Kathleen Blewett, *Democracy in the Making*.

Presider: David Nicholas Pettinicchio

Critics: Ziad Munson, Myra Marx Ferree, Debra Minkoff, and Ann Mische.

Monday August 18

8:30am-10:10am

Social Movements Across Institutions

Session Organizers: Mary Bernstein and Mustafa Gurbuz

Slaughter, Christine. *The End(s) of Frames: Representational Activism in the Media and Beyond*.

Kosbie, Jeff. *Are LGBT Rights Civil Rights? Tracing the Contested Origins of the ACLU's LGBT Project*.

Barnard, Alexander. *What's so Contentious about Free Food? Tactical Repertoires in the United States and France*.

Hatem Hassan and Suzanne Staggenborg. *Movements as Communities*.

A Question of Scale: Where and How to Mobilize Worker Rights

Session Organizer: Steven McKay

Presider: Shannon Marie Gleeson

McCallum, Jamie. *Labor Power and Governance: Theorizing a New Terrain of Struggle*.

McAlevy, Jane. *Understanding How to Revitalize the Labor Movement by Analyzing Alinsky's Legacy*.

Stillerman, Joel. *Space, Opportunities and Labor Protest Across Political Regimes: Chilean Metalworkers' Mobilization, 1945-2011*.

Garrick, Jessica. *The National Labor Relations Act in the Non-unionized Workplace: Workers' Mobilization of Section 7*.

Pullum, Amanda. *Our Time to Speak is Now: Electoral Tactics in Defending Teachers' Collective Bargaining Rights*.

10:30am-12:10pm

Social Movements and Media

Session Organizer & Presider: Sarah Sobieraj

Discussant: Neal Caren

Gardner, Beth Gharrity, Erin Evans, Myra Marx Ferree, and Tim Sven Mueller. *Guise of Neutrality: The Role of Neutral Discourse and Journalists in Framing the Abortion Debate*.

Vasi, Ion and Edward Walker. *No Fracking Way! Media Activism, Discursive Opportunities and Local Opposition against Hydraulic Fracturing*.

Rohlinger, Deana and Leslie Bunnage. *ICT and Activist Persistence in MoveOn and the Tea Party Movement*.

Stearner, S. Matthew, Andrew Martin, and J. Craig Jenkins. Media Bias and Collective Action: Mapping Twitter to Traditional Forms of Collective Action Research.

2:30-4:10pm

Organizing the Unorganizable: Labor Activism among Informal and Low-Wage Workers

Session Organizer: Steven McKay

Presider: Erin Hatton

Turnovsky, Carolyn Pinedo. *Street Work and the Organization of Informal Work*.

Grajeda, Erika Denisse. Working for God's Chosen People: Gender, Race and Religion on a Brooklyn Corner.

Reese, Ellen and Jason Struna. *Organizing Temporary and Immigrant Workers: Lessons from Change to Win's Warehouse Workers United Campaign*.

Vijayakumar, Gowri, Shubha Chacko, and Subadra Panchanadeswaran. *Making Sex Work Labor: Sex Worker Unionization and Informal Labor Politics in India*.

Nair, Manjusha. *Relational Use of Class, Citizenship and Community: Informal Workers' Mobilization in Central India*.

Democratic Challenges in Emerging Global Protest: Reconfiguring Publics and Institutions in a Neoliberal Era

Session Organizer & Presider: Ann Mische

Ardic, Nurullah. *The Arab Spring: A Global March Toward Democracy, or a Revolt Against Neoliberal Capitalism?*

Over, Defne. *When Do Small Events Trigger Massive Protests? The Case of 2013 Gezi Protests*.

Tufekci, Zeynep. *Capabilities of Movements and Affordances of Digital Media: Paradoxes of Empowerment*.

Almeida, Paul. *Costa Rica, the Prototype for Local Mobilization against Global Neoliberalism*.

Smith, Jackie, Melanie Hughes, and Brittany Duncan. *Social Movement Networks and Changing Patterns of Global Authority, 1983-2013*.

From the Arab Uprisings to Occupy and Beyond: Marxist Perspectives

Session Organizer & Presider: Kevin Anderson

Discussant: Douglas Kellner

Kapdan, Onur. *Between Anti-Capitalism and Anti-Authoritarianism: The Roots, the Significance and the Ambivalence of the Gezi Park Protests*.

Langman, Lauren. *Back to the Future of Democratization: Tahrir Square to OWS Revisted MacPherson, Robert John and David A. Smith. Occupy Movement through a Global Lens*.

Epstein, Barbara. *Occupy and the Evolution of Anarchist Activism*.

Tuesday August 19

8:30am-10:10am

Author Meets Critics Session. Claiming Society for God: Religious Movements and Social Welfare in Egypt, Israel, Italy, and the United States (Indiana University Press, 2012) by Nancy J. Davis and Robert V. Robinson

Critics: John D. McCarthy, Rhys H. Williams, and John H. Evans.

10:30am to 12:10pm

Social Movement Outcomes

Session Organizer: Drew Halfmann

Presider: Daniel Escher

Discussant: Rachel Einwohner

Bernstein, Mary, Apoorva Gosh, and Malaena Jo Taylor. *Benchmarking Diversity: Social Movement Outcomes in the Workplace*

Burrell James Vann. *Congressional Voting as a Social Movement Outcome: Tea Party Activism and the 2010 Midterm Election.*

Nazgol Ghandnoosh. *Seeing Like an Advocate: Perceiving Success Amidst Ambiguous or Negative Outcomes.*

Parris, Christie, and Heather Scheuerman. *Social Movements Matter: Including Sexual Orientation as a Protected Status in State-Level Hate Crime Legislation.*

12:30 to 2:10pm

Social Movements, Emotions and Motivation

Session Organizer: Drew Halfmann

Presider: Ai Kadivar

Discussant: Jeff Goodwin

Choi-Fitzpatrick, Austin. *Cultural Disincentives for Conservative Mobilization: Paternalism and the Decline of Bonded Labor in Rural India.*

Kearney, Matthew Lawrence. *Escalating Mutual Obligation in the Wisconsin Uprising of 2011.*

Kutz-Flamenbaum, Rachel. *Form, Function and Audience: Thinking about Humor in Social Movements.*

Hurwitz, Heather McKee. *Gender Conflict in Protest: Infighting about Sexism and Feminism in the Occupy Wall Street Movement.*

Global Inequalities: National, International, and Social Movement Perspectives

Session Organizer, Presider & Discussant: Ho-Fung Hung

Alderson, Arthur. *Within-country Inequality, Development, and Globalization.*

Evans, Peter B. *In Pursuit of a Great Transformation: What Role for Counter-hegemonic Globalization.*

Korzeniewicz, Roberto Patricio. *Global Inequality, Creative Destruction and the Unexpected Double Movement.*

New Evidence on Identity, Activism, and Protest

Session Organizer & Presider: Marc Dixon

Discussant: Catherine Corrigan-Brown.

Rohlinger, Deana, Christian Alexander Vaccaro, Miriam Sessions, and Heather Mauney. *Identity Deployment, Social Movements, and the Battle over Terri Schiavo.*

Dodson, Kyle. *Gendered Activism: A Cross-National View on Gender Differences in Protest Activity*

Pleyers, Geoffrey. *Alter-Europe: Progressive Activists and Europe in the Time of Crisis.*

Inclan, Maria A. and Paul Almeida. *The Role of Identity and Threat on Political Participation: Election Protests versus Ceremonial Demonstrations.*



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