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Message from the Chair

Jo Reger

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Reflecting on Social Movements and the Possibility of Change

Story 1: My partner and I have a binge-obsessed love for the Canadian sitcom *Schitt's Creek*. While this might be an odd way to start a column for the ASA section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements, let me take a moment to explain. We love the show primarily for the relationship between two men, David and Patrick. Not only do they do gay love in a pretty believable manner; they also do it using Tina Turner and versions of the song, "You're the Best" (see Season 4 episodes "Open Mic" and "Gesture"). In even the 21st century gay-marriage-approved, "not such a big deal to see gay people in love" world, we have watched these two episodes multiple times. As two women in our mid 50s, we remember the excitement of finally seeing a gay person portrayed in the media. For a long time, it often it was a talk show like Phil Donahue (see the "alternate life style") or a movie like *Personal Best* (not terribly uplifting). The normalization of gay love (although still whitewashed and of a certain



In This Issue

Message from the Chair.....	1
Highlander's Mission: Social Justice.....	2
Social Media in a Controversial Student Election: New Frontiers for Political Strife	3
Student Activism Shaping the Preservation of Confederate Monuments at UNC-Chapel Hill	4
Students vs. Tuition Hikes.....	5
How "More Cowbell, More Cowbell" Worked! Disruptive Tactics and the Outcome of the UIUC Labor Protest.....	6
Recent Publications	8
CBSM Events at ASA 2019.....	11
Calls for Papers.....	19
CBSM Ballot Questions	22

CriticalMass

class), still draws our attention.

Story 2: A reporter from the student newspaper at my university calls me to do an interview on how perceptions of gender change after taking a women and gender studies class. Before the interview begins, she asks me my pronouns. I respond, “She, Her, Hers.” We then proceed to discuss the gender binary and the ways in which it is losing relevance in terms of how people come to understand themselves, their characteristics and potential. I note at the end of the interview how her asking my pronouns tells us much about shifting gender norms and conceptions. This is the same university that three years ago opposed a preferred name policy because of the cost associated with a software program.

Story 3: A ritual in my family is to take a photo every Election Day of my partner and I as we leave the polling site (see example above). We then almost always post the photo to Facebook and caption it “Today we honor our ancestors.” It allows us to feel optimistic even with the most dismal elections. We honor each other’s ancestors by remembering those who died so we might vote and consequently, be the interracial, same sex couple leaving the middle school where we vote. Those include the activists who worked for (white) women’s suffrage, the civil rights activists who fought to end racist election laws, culture and policies, and those who continue to work for the disenfranchised.

So why these stories? I have been reading a lot of social movement scholarship lately either for the CBSM book competition or papers on a panel where I am a discussant. The range and focus of these papers is vast and I am singularly impressed with the work being done by scholars at all levels. So why the connection to my own life? Part of the answer lies in recognizing the sheer span of time it often takes to see some of the outcomes of movements. As a scholar of the women’s movement, I know that one of the critiques made of past feminist activism is that it may have changed laws and policies but did not change culture. My first two stories are an acknowledgement of cultural change. Granted, this cultural change follows significant policy and legislative change, but it is change, nevertheless. My third story is one of

ongoing efforts to end disenfranchisement, for some folks easier than others. But these stories give me hope in the power of social movements.

I have a close friend who also studies social movements who often notes that social movements rarely achieve their specific goals, and I understand why she says this. However, I step to the sunnier side of the debate and instead choose to acknowledge the victories with the defeats. The very life I live today with my partner and our children in a mixed race, same sex family surrounded by a supportive and loving community is the result of the efforts of those who came before. Social movements honor these ancestors and I remain committed to their study.

I encourage all CBSM members to check out the amazing panels we have for the upcoming summer meetings at the ASA, particularly the hard work by Colin Ruggero and Andrew Thompson in organizing the roundtables. Our study of how and why social movements matter continues to grow and deepen, and I, for one, am grateful.

Highlander’s Mission: Social Justice

Aldon Morris, Northwestern University

The historically important Highlander Research and Education Center was deliberately attacked. On March 29, 2019, an early morning fire destroyed its executive office building along with historic documents, speeches, artifacts and memorabilia stored there. Although an investigation of the arson continues, all indications point to a white supremacy group as the perpetrator.

Before being renamed, Highlander was widely known as the Highlander Folk School. It was originally housed on a mountain in Monteagle, Tennessee. Like all towns in the south, Monteagle was governed by Jim Crow laws mandating racial segregation. Its racism was accompanied by poverty where mountain workers

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barely eked out a living. In step with the southern United States, Monteagle did not welcome racial integration or union building. It despised “agitators” and activists who championed such insurgency and did not hesitate making sure they failed.

The Highlander Folk School was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton, a remarkable white man who was an agitator and an activist committed to empowering workers and tearing down the walls of racial segregation. Because his courageousness and creativity quickly became legendary, he attracted to Highlander other likeminded agitators and freedom fighters. Far more importantly, Highlander recruited exploited workers and members of oppressed racial groups who were not yet leaders and who had not developed the skill and courage to openly fight dangerous systems of oppression. Horton and his staff developed training sessions for these recruits that resembled seminars rather than rigid classroom routines. These discussions were informed by a public sociology which stressed that solutions to oppression resided in the diverse groups assembled. Through their interactions and discussions, the people discovered the answers they sought. Before leaving Highlander, they were asked how they were going to implement these actions when they returned home. For Highlander, action was the diploma that certified their new skills and courage.

Highlander prefigured the beloved society it wished to foster by being the change you wish to see in this world. Racial segregation was not allowed at Highlander. Labor unions practicing racial segregation and discrimination were barred until they integrated. At Highlander, blacks and whites sang, danced, and ate together as they contemplated social transformation. Emerging power hierarchies were dismantled before they ossified.

Given the social change skills it taught and the visionary cultural experiences it embraced, Highlander became an institution that nurtured important freedom struggles including the labor, civil rights, and environmental movements. Activists who are now historic figures... Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, Eleanor Roosevelt, and John Lewis... matriculated through Highlander. Being a

midwife of social justice has been Highlander’s greatest contribution. Humanity is richer because Highlander labored to make it so.

Because of its boldness and success, Highlander has always been in the crosshairs of bigots, white supremacists and exploiters. It has had to fight charges of being a communist front, a whiskey manufacturer and corrupter of leaders like Dr. King. At one point Highlander was padlocked by the state and forced to move to another location. Myles Horton’s response was characteristically defiant: “Highlander is an idea rather than simply a group of buildings; you can’t padlock an idea.” To this latest white supremacist attack by fire, we respond: Long ago Highlander lit a social justice fire not extinguishable by retrogressive cowards.

Social Media in a Controversial Student Election: New Frontiers for Political Strife

Anson Au, University of Toronto

During the 2018 to 2019 academic year, Carol (name changed to protect her identity) ran for student president at one of the largest universities in Canada. Her platform was dressed up in the usual rhetoric for campaigns in student elections: fighting for more resources for students, ensuring students’ voices were heard and represented, and so on. But Carol was also vocal in advocating for the freedom of an ethnic group in China, making the controversial claim that the territory should be politically autonomous and separated from China and that the cultural history of this ethnic group was so distinct that they deserved independence.

Although this focus was independent of her official platform for the student presidency, Chinese students were quick to infuriate, especially after Carol won. A petition began online demanding Carol’s resignation or termination from her position, garnering over

11,000 signatures. The petition called for “awareness and protection of Chinese students’ own rights,” specifically disagreeing with Carol’s participation in political campaigns that went against Chinese history and challenged China’s sovereignty. The petition circulated widely on WeChat, where Chinese students also coordinated timed “attacks” on her social media profiles, leaving waves of comments on her Instagram pictures that disparaged her ideas, positions, and person.

The entire event showcases something we’ve recent found out about social media, namely, that it can be a platform to facilitate collective action (Brym et al 2014). But it also demonstrates something new: that collective organization is used to effect online action. The shift in the form of collective action that social media facilitates, from offline to online, signals important interpretive shifts in the nature of the digital public sphere and the role it plays in social life. For one, it means that the entire lifecycle of a social movement, from conception to organization to outcome, can stay online. More interestingly, it means that people see online profiles as something far more intimate to their selves than before (see also Au & Chew 2018). Profiles are no longer distant representations of themselves, but so proximal that slander on one’s profile is perceived to be equivalent to an attack on one’s self.

These dynamics are particularly important in transforming how the university acts a frontier for political conflict, when social media becomes the site, tool, and outcome of confrontation as tensions between contesting national imageries spill over into campus life.

For references, see CBSM website.

Student Activism Shaping the Preservation of Confederate Monuments at UNC-Chapel Hill

Emily H.A. Yen, Trinity College

The violent death of Heather Heyer at the Unite the Right rally led by torch-carrying White nationalists protesting the proposed removal of a Robert E. Lee statue in Charlottesville, Virginia shifted the national discourse around White supremacy and the public display of Confederate monuments. Confederate monuments are particularly controversial since the vast majority of them were built after the Supreme Court upheld the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision (Southern Poverty Law Center 2019) and were a way for White southerners to venerate an alternative narrative of the origins of the Civil War and assert racial dominance in the Jim Crow South. The United Daughters of the Confederacy’s fundraising of the 8-foot bronze statue on University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill’s (UNC) campus and its dedication by Julian Carr, a UNC Trustee and Confederate veteran who supported the Ku Klux Klan, in 1913 reflects this larger movement (Farzan 2018). The statue known as “Silent Sam” has been a focal point of recent campus debates around racial justice, White supremacy, and free speech, but generations of UNC students have been protesting its presence on campus for over 50 years. The most recent wave of student activism led to the statue’s physical toppling in August 2018 and spurred an ongoing debate around the preservation of its symbolic legacy.

In August 2011, a group of undergraduate students along with members of the local community formed the Real Silent Sam Coalition “to create honest public dialogue and provoke critical thought surrounding the monuments and buildings in Chapel Hill and Carrboro.” There was a significant amount of public debate around the monument’s 100th anniversary in 2013 but the UNC administration didn’t make any significant institutional changes. Political backlash in July 2015 led to North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory signing a bill that prohibited towns,

universities, and other public agencies from moving or removing “objects of remembrance” without permission from the North Carolina Legislature. A few months later, a group of Black students presented a list of demands to the UNC administration, UNC system, and North Carolina General Assembly which included “the removal of the racist Confederate monument Silent Sam and ALL confederate monuments on campuses in the UNC-System” (A Collective of Students Who are Combating Anti-Blackness on This Campus 2015).

The movement to remove the monument gained momentum after Charlottesville. Groups of students distributed flyers about the monument at football games in the fall of 2017. Graduate student academic employees formed the Workers Union at UNC, a chapter of UE 150, in the fall of 2017. UE 150 formed from lawsuit brought by UNC’s housekeeping staff in the 1990s. There was collaboration between these movements. In the Spring of 2018, the coalition partnered with union members and distributed flyers on campus about the monument every Thursday in the spring 2018 semester. Maya Little, a doctoral student in the history department, poured a mixture of red ink and her own blood on the statue as an act of protest at a rally on April 30, 2018.

On August 20, 2018, the evening before the first day of classes of the fall semester, a large crowd gathered off-campus at Chapel Hill’s Peace and Justice Plaza for a rally called “Until They All Fall.” The rally was in protest the presence of the monument and in support of Maya Little, who was heading to trial for the April 30th action. After speeches by Little and other activists, the rally moved on-campus toward the statue. The crowd surrounded the monument with tall banners and pulled the statue from its base.

After the statue’s toppling, the UNC administration developed a proposal to re-erect the statue and house it in a new \$5.3 million history center on campus. Hundreds of students objected to the continued commemoration of symbols of white supremacy as well as the proposed development of a mobile police force that would be deployed across the UNC System during student protests. Students protested the proposal at a rally in December 2018. As an act of

solidarity, approximately 100 graduate student teaching assistants withheld grades at the end of the fall semester. This action gained national attention, and the UNC system Board of Governors rejected the proposal along with a proposal for a mobile police force to quell student protests on December 14, 2018 (Harris 2018). Shortly afterwards, UNC Chancellor Carol Folt announced her resignation, and the administration also cancelled a \$60 fee hike for graduate students set to take place in the spring of 2019. While it remains unclear what the Board of Governors at UNC will adopt as an alternative proposal this spring, collective action is shaping it.

For references, see CBSM website.

Students vs. Tuition Hikes

Didem Türkoğlu, UNC Chapel Hill

Students protest tuitions. Perhaps more so than ever. The photos from the protests in Chile, Canada, and South Africa come to mind quickly. Then there are less globally covered student protests in Germany and Turkey. What makes these student protests so significant? In a forthcoming special issue in *Current Sociology*, scholars focus on case studies from the global north and the global south to provide answers to this question.

In my paper, “[Student Protests and Organised Labour: Developing a Research Agenda for Mobilisation in Late-Neoliberalism](#),” I highlight the importance of alliances between students and the organized labor (against tuitions in public universities) in reminding the social democratic parties of their redistributive commitments. We tend to study labor movement activism and social movements separately with few exceptions. And yet an in-depth analysis of the student mobilizations in Germany and Turkey shows how crucial the unions are to social movement issues even in non-labor policy fields. I present two examples of this alliance, emerging from the quite different political contexts of Germany and Turkey. In

Germany, student movements failed to block the introduction of tuitions in 2006. However, in 2008-2011, students managed to get tuitions scrapped under electoral pressure. In Turkey, student movements had been protesting tuition fees for a quarter of a century before an alliance with labor gained the support of social democrats in 2011.

In Germany, the labor unions DGB and GEW, which play insider roles in their fields, helped students sustain and increase pressure on the center-left. In Turkey, where the influence of leftist unions is far more limited, unions such as DİSK and Eğitim-Sen nevertheless helped coordinate student activism in the absence of nationally organized student unions. In Germany and Turkey, respectively, the DGB and DİSK were mobilized for a non-labor issue and used their experience of organizing labor to broker alliances with the center-left and mount an effective opposition. These examples suggest that social movement-organized labor alliances may be effective in shifting social democratic politics in a variety of policy areas that are exposed to permanent austerity measures.

In the same special issue, [Cesar Guzman-Concha](#) and [Marcos Ancelovici](#) focus on the dynamics of student protest in Chile and Quebec, Canada. In their article, “Struggling for Education: The Dynamics of Student Protest in Chile and Quebec,” they highlight mediation, polarization, and spillover as three crucial processes in the growth and trajectory of the student protests. [Lorenzo Cini](#) analyzes the student mobilizations in South Africa in his article, “Disrupting the Neoliberal University in South Africa: The #FeesMustFall Movement in 2015.” He underlines the difference of the political contexts in “young” democracies: higher education remains a top priority issue and college students are seen as legitimate political actors.

Looking ahead, these case studies from very different political contexts provide interesting insights for social movements scholarship as students are mobilized in response to the same grievance: tuition hikes.

How “More Cowbell, More Cowbell” Worked! Disruptive Tactics and the Outcome of the UIUC Labor Protest

*Amirhossein Teimouri, University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign*

In late February 2018, I found myself joining fellow graduate students in a strike on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). The strike at the UIUC was a rare opportunity for a student-led labor movement to rise against the corporatization of the public education. Although this was a campus-wide movement without nation-wide repercussions, participants and activists integrated the movement to a broader nation-wide public education unrest.

In early February 2018, the Graduate Employee Organization (GEO), a labor union consisting of teaching assistants and graduate assistants at the UIUC, announced a strike effective February 26 unless GEO’s bargaining team and the administration agreed to a fair contract. The threat of a strike occurred after nearly 11 months of bargaining between GEO and the administration with little success. The GEO’s goals included protecting [tuition waivers](#), achieving [fair wages, and health care](#) (Anda and Edwards 2018; Gaines 2018). These goals were at the heart of the general battle for public education, which has come under attacks [in recent years](#) (e.g., Strauss 2015).

Over the twelve-day long strike (February 26 to March 8), graduate students picketed six buildings, rallied every day at noon and 5 p.m., and engaged in multiple disruptive actions on campus. I joined the picket lines at noon and 5 p.m. rallies almost every day. Organized by the members, every noon, on average 300 people marched across the campus after hours of disruptive tactics such as [picketing, chanting, drumming, etc.](#), with the end of the day marked by smaller evening protests. As the strike grew longer, new symbols and

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slogans were added to the framing and tactical repertoires of the strike. On March 6, I saw a huge pre-Franco Spain flag. Inspired by the Latin America's Cacerolazos, another graduate student showed up in one of the noon rallies with a small frying pan. The tactical repertoire not only became more diverse but more disruptive as the strike stretched into a second week. Starting March 6, graduate students [occupied the president's office](#) when we were rallying in front of the president's mansion at the 5 p.m. rally (Rhodes 2018). In the same day, GEO members occupied space outside the provost's office.

Some of the main slogans of picketers were: "What is disgusting? Union busting," and "What is outrageous? Students' wages." These slogans reflected the anti-capitalist and anti-corporate university stance of many participants. Strike sympathizers and participants started sharing a [local news article](#) about the rising salaries of the highest-paid university employees while the university had a financial crisis (Wurth 2018a). On March 6, one of the speakers of the noon rally shouted that "it [winning the strike] is not harder than destroying white supremacy and capitalism." Finally, on March 8 at about 11:30 a.m., when I joined a new picket line to picket the English Building, we were told the GEO's bargaining team and the administration—after about 26 hours of bargaining—reached a [tentative agreement](#) for another five years (Wurth 2018b).

Cultural Context and Protest Outcomes

The strike at the UIUC was a self-identified labor movement, though almost all movement participants were graduate students. I never heard anybody identify the strike as a student movement during the protest. Some GEO members, however, claimed that [graduate student workers are both students and workers](#) (Anda and Edwards 2018).

Social movements consequences, notes Jennifer Earl (2004), "are notoriously hard to define." Movements outcomes include defeat, changes in social values, structural impacts, and policy change (*e.g.*, McCammon et al. 2007; Tarrow 1994). A few studies define successful outcomes as gaining "acceptance and recognition from the state" as well securing "new advantages for constituents" (McVeigh, Welch, and

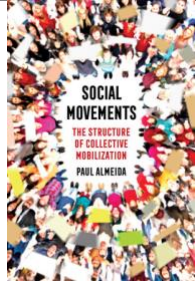
Bjarnason 2003). Although the UIUC strike was a campus-wide movement without nation-wide attention, participants incorporated the movement into a broader nation-wide public education unrest. The strike intended to get a fair contract after almost six years since the last contract between the UIUC and the GEO was signed. In this case, we can show a successful social movement outcome, that is, achieving a fair contract due largely to disruptive tactics.

It is necessary to discuss the cultural context within which the labor protest framing took place, although the strike's cultural repertoire was not as rich as its tactical repertoire. Many GEO members have a long history of pro-union activism. In May 2016, for example, GEO members, including myself, joined one of the biggest [union rallies](#) against Bruce Rauner, the former governor of Illinois, in Springfield (Bott 2016). Finally, we should not forget about the Trump effect. As mentioned above, one of the speakers explicitly associated the strike to capitalism and white supremacy.

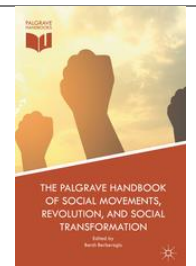
For references, see CBSM website.

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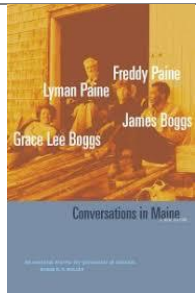
New Books



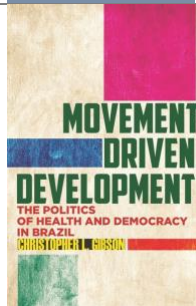
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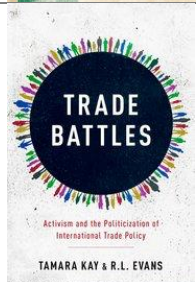
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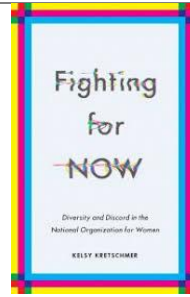
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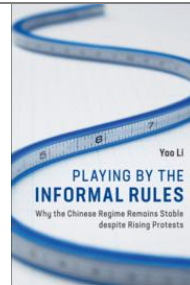
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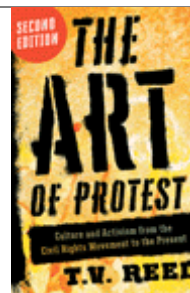
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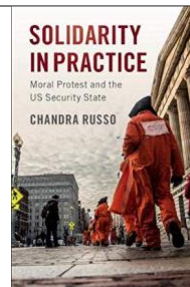
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**Deadline for the
Fall 2019 Issue of
CriticalMass Bulletin:
October 15th**

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 CBSM Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA) is publishing a special issue of *Critical Mass* to highlight the accomplishments of junior social movements scholars. The issue will be published in early August, just in time to help generate buzz at the ASA conference in New York.

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 Stacy Williams and Daniel McClymonds at cbsmnews@gmail.com by **July 1, 2019**.

Sincerely,

Jo Reger, CBSM Section Chair
Drew Halfmann, Publications Committee Chair

CBSM Events at ASA 2019

This list includes the sessions and events sponsored by the Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section at the annual ASA meeting in New York City. It also includes thematic sessions that have a CBSM focus. The CBSM-sponsored events are offset with boxes. The theme for this year's conference, "Engaging Social Justice for a Better World," has much to do with activism, movements, and organizing, so many other sections are offering sessions that may be of interest to CBSM members—there were too many to list here! We encourage you to view the full program at:

<https://convention2.allacademic.com/one/asa/asa19/>

Sunday, August 11

Reception for Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section (joint reception with Section on Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology and Section on Science, Knowledge, and Technology)

Sunday, August 11, 7:30pm

Sheraton New York, Third Floor, New York Ballroom West

Monday, August 12

Critical Studies and Social Movement Frameworks

Mon, August 12, 8:30 to 10:10am

Sheraton New York, Third Floor, Liberty 3

Session Organizer & Presider: *Edelina M. Burciaga, University of Colorado, Denver*

- Anti-Racist Social Change Organizations as Race-Makers: How French and American Anti-Racist Organizations Reproduce Dominant Racial Ideologies *Nicole Arlette Hirsch, University of Southern California*

- Interactions and collective subjectivity – from localized resistance to revolutionary mass mobilization in the Tunisian Uprising *Jann Boeddeling, London School of Economics and Political Science*
- Labor as Social Movement and Force for Social Justice and a Better World *K Mann, Miami University*
- Starving for Justice: Hunger Strikes, The Chicana/o Movement, and the Struggle for Dignity *Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval, University of California, Santa Barbara*
- The Durability of Disputes in the Digital Era *Jessi Grace, Florida State University*

A significant contingent of scholars of social movements has been critical of the frameworks offered by the social movement canon. Their critiques have ranged in scope including those wanting to expand the foci of research to those that argue for all movement research to consider how racisms shape every movement. In this session, we tackle these theoretical polemics.

New Social Movements

Mon, August 12, 8:30 to 10:10am

New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau East

Session Organizer: *Mary Romero, Arizona State University*

Presider: *Rashawn Ray, University of Maryland*

- How the Women's March Sparked the Resistance? *Dana R. Fisher, University of Maryland*
- Beyond the Good Immigrant: How Identity Politics have come to Dominate the Dreamer Movement *Walter Nicholls, University of California-Irvine*
- Social Justice in the Desert: Faith-Based Mobilizing to Save the Lives Along the Arizona-Sonora Desert *Kraig Beyerlein, University of Notre Dame*
- The Movement for Black Lives: Power, Polemics, and Potential Legacy of Leader-full Social Justice Action for the African Diaspora

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Hillary Potter, University of Colorado-Boulder

- Liberation 101: What I've Learned (and How I Learned It) in the Struggle for Justice
Corey Dolgon, Stonehill College
- Combining Research, Teaching, and Organizing for Social Change
Jose Zapata Calderon, Pitzer College

Thinking about Abeyance in the 21st Century

Mon, August 12, 10:30am to 12:10pm

Sheraton New York, Third Floor, Liberty 3

Session Organizer: *Jo Reger, Oakland University*

Presider: *Nancy E. Whittier, Smith College*

Panelists:

- *Leila J. Rupp, University of California*
- *Verta A. Taylor, Univ. of California - Santa Barbara*
- *Alison Dahl Crossley, Stanford University*
- *Fabio Rojas, Indiana University*
- *Suzanne Staggenborg, University of Pittsburgh*
- *Kathleen M. Blee, University of Pittsburgh*

This session will examine how the foundational concept of social movement abeyance functions and is relevant in the 21st century. Articulated by Taylor and Rupp in their investigation of the “doldrums” of the women's movement in the early 20th century, abeyance as a concept has been applied to multiple social movement contexts to illustrate how movements survive in period of low mobilization. This invited panel explores the transformation of the abeyance concept over time and considers its relevance in a new context of rapid social movement mobilization in a period of social protest and turmoil.

According to Michael Burroway, “As mirror and conscience of society, sociology must define, promote and inform public debate about deepening class and racial inequalities, new gender regimes, environmental degradation, market fundamentalism, state and non-state violence.” Though activist scholarship in the discipline has long preceded this statement, the past fifteen years has seen a reinvigoration of activist research as sociologists engage social justice causes that range from vegetarianism and food deserts to global warming and the promotion of peace. The members of this panel bridge social justice activities with academic scholarship to create a more equitable and inclusive society. In the process they also demonstrate how sociology, politics and policy are inextricably linked.

Activist Research in Public Discourse and Policy

Mon, August 12, 10:30am to 12:10pm

New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau West

Session Organizer: *Pamela Anne Quiroz, University of Houston*

Presider: *Jose Zapata Calderon, Pitzer College*

- Centering the Oppressed, the Exploited and the Dispossessed: Knowledge, Power and Transformation
Walda Katz-Fishman, Howard University; Jerome Scott, League of Revolutionaries for a New America

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Refereed Roundtables

Mon, August 12, 2:30 to 3:30pm

Sheraton New York, Second Floor, Empire Ballroom East

Session Organizers: *E. Colin Ruggero, Community College of Philadelphia; Andrew K. Thompson, Ithaca College*

Biography, Identity, and Social Bonds

Presider: *Jenna L O'Connor, DePaul University*

- Identity Work and Non-Ascribed Identity: The Case of Survivor Politics
Yael Findler, USC
- Ideology, Social Ties, and Mobilization: The Kansas City Women's Trade Union League, 1910-1919
Jeff Stilley, University of Missouri Columbia
- Moral Authenticity and Collective Identity in Broad-Based Collective Action
Jack Delehanty, Clark University

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- Restorative Kinship: Mothers of Color Transforming Family Relationships through Local Community
Organizing *Jennifer E. Cossyleon, Johns Hopkins University*
- Western Feminism—Constructive for Some, Destructive for Others: An Analysis of United States Feminist and Anti-Feminist Identification *Alexis P. Hilling, Kent State University*
- Channeling Activism? Assessing how Funding Source Affects the Strategies of Environmental Organizations *Catherine Corrigan-Brown and Max Chewinski, University of British Columbia*
- Collective Bargaining and Social Inequality Reproduction in Labor Relations: Ethnographic and Socio-Historical Approach (French Case Study) *Mailys Gantois, CESSP/CRPS Université Paris I - Panthéon Sorbonne*
- Reluctant Hybridity: Grassroots Advocacy and Service Provision in the US Opioid Epidemic *Benita Roth, Binghamton University*
- Responsible for Whom? The Impact of CSR on Firm Vulnerability and Responsiveness to Social Movement Activism *Tarun Banerjee and Caitlin Hays Schroering, University of Pittsburgh*

Coalitions and Collaboration

President: *Kevin Hans Waitkuweit, University of Notre Dame*

- Endeavoring to Change History: Palestinian-Led Transnational Coalitions in the Occupied West Bank *Michelle I. Gawerc, Loyola University Maryland*
- Intersectional Organizing and Educational Justice Movements: Strategies for Cross-movement Solidarities *Mark R. Warren, University of Massachusetts Boston; Jose Zapata Calderon, Pitzer College; Andrew King, University of Massachusetts Boston; Patricio Belloy, University of Massachusetts Boston; Bianca Ortiz-Wythe, University of Massachusetts Boston; Pam Martinez, Padres & Jovenes Unidos*
- Leadership and Structure in Coalitions: A Comparison of Two Local Alliances *Suzanne Staggenborg, University of Pittsburgh; Caitlin Hays Schroering, University of Pittsburgh*
- Singing Like a Socialist: Coalitions, Worksongs, and Organizational Sociability *Andrew Keefe, Harvard University*
- The Diversity Layer: Civil Society Organizations-of Organizations *Matthew G. Baggetta, Brad R. Fulton, and Zoe Caplan, Indiana University*

Corporations, NGOs, and Social Movements

President: *Emily Helen Yen, UCLA*

- Boundaries of Counterpublics: Explaining the Transformation of Labor NGOs in China *Mujun Zhou, Zhejiang University*

Environmental Movements and Eco-Catastrophe

President: *Cecelia C Walsh-Russo, University of Copenhagen*

- Broker and Buffer: Why Environmental Organizations Participate in Popular Protests in China *Yang Zhang, American University*
- Ecological Risk, Collective Efficacy, and Cost Sharing in Coastal Activism *Hyung Sam Park*
- Putting Anti-Fracking Mobilization in Context: A Historical Analysis *Amanda E. Maull, The Pennsylvania State University*

Far-Right Movements

President: *Gregory Goalwin, Aurora University*

- “Both Roads Lead to Rome”: Pathways Towards Commitment in a Far-Right Organization *Sebastien Parker, University of Toronto*
- For Blood and Honor: An Analysis of Contemporary American Hatecore Lyrics *Roberto Fernandez Morales*

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- Right-Wing Extremist Attitudes among Juveniles: Results from a Representative Survey in Germany *Sören Kliem and Dominic Kudlacek, Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony*

Frames and Framing

Presider: *Marcos Emilio Perez, Washington and Lee University*

- Forms of Capital and Vocabularies of Discontent: Framing Urban Transformation in Istanbul *Aras Koksal, University of Minnesota*
- Framing California's End of Life Option Act: Social Movements, Medicine, and Dying *Cindy L. Cain, University of Alabama at Birmingham; Sara McCleskey, University of California, Los Angeles*
- Latent Framing Opportunities for Movements and Counter-movements: The US Network Neutrality Debate, 2005-2015 *Gabriel Menard, University of Toronto*
- The Effect of Framing Adoption and Emotions on Individual Mobilization Outcomes During an Online Health Campaign *Anna Priante, University of Twente*
- The "Health Risk" Frame: A Conceptual Discussion and an Empirical Application *Paolo Crivellari, University Toulouse*
- When Do Movements Influence Opinion? Results from an Experiment *Francesca Polletta and Colin Bernatzky, University of California, Irvine*

Mobilization and Motivations

Presider: *Oded Marom, University of Southern California*

- Exploring the Motivation and Means for Political and Social Activism in the United States *Brittany M. Kowalski, Sara K. Guthrie, Julia Kay Wolf, and Katie E. Corcoran, West Virginia University*
- Impact of Perceived Consequence of Social Movement on Political Efficacy and Change in Political Participation *Gary Tang, The Hang Seng University of Hong Kong; Hiu-Fung Chung, The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

- The Iaioflautas: A Seniors' Networked Social Movement *Daniel Blanche, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya*
- Urban Renewal in Moscow and the New Life of Housing Activism *Anna Zhelnina, CUNY Graduate Center*
- Why Do College Social Justice Activists Stop When They Graduate? *Jonathan Horowitz, Carolina Population Center*

Movements and Emotions

Presider: *Sonny M. Nordmarken, University of Massachusetts - Amherst*

- A Matter of Trust: The Voice of the Faithful and Pursuing Change in the Catholic Church *Marc W. Steinberg, Smith College; Patricia M. Ewick, Clark University-Old*
- Caregiving in Social Movements: Emotional Dynamics in Nonprofits Helping Migrants on the U.S-Mexico border *Alejandro Marquez, University of Texas at Austin*
- Compelling or Ignored? Aggrieved Groups in Social Movements *Kelly Bergstrand, University of Texas, Arlington*
- Hot, Cold, or Ambivalent: Emotions and Leadership Styles in Social Movements *Yusheng Lin, National Tsing Hua University*
- The Emotional Logic of Streaming Video in the "White Wednesdays" Movement in Iran *Farinaz Basmehchi and Gabe Ignatow, University of North Texas*

Participation

Presider: *Amina Zarrugh, Texas Christian University*

- Discontent, Resources, and Social Networks: A Meta-Analysis of Protest Participation *Shelley J. Boulianne, MacEwan University; Lauren Copeland and Ada Chase Bemis, Baldwin Wallace University*
- The Impact of Gender Inequality on Protests in India, 2010-2012 *Shawn M. Ratcliff and Regina E. Werum, University of Nebraska-Lincoln*
- Thinking Globally about "Patterns of Protest": The Influence of Individual and

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National Characteristics on Protest Participation *Monica Calderon and Melinda D. Kane, East Carolina University*

- What Distinguishes Protests from Their Counterfactuals *Han Zhang, Princeton University*
- Racialized Accountability Threat: Demographic Changes and Participation in Accountability Test Boycotts in New York *Richard Paquin Morel, Northwestern University*

Political Parties, The State, and Social Movements

President: *Anya Mikael Galli Robertson, University of Dayton*

- Ecofeminist Analysis of the 2018 Midterm Election of Women in the United States Congress *Lydia Rose, Kent State University; Teresa M. Bartoli, Independent Scholar and Activist*
- Evaluating Movement Constitutionalism in Constitutional Change and Democratization *Ben Manski, University of California, Santa Barbara*
- Measures of Last Resort: Shaping Policy through Ballot-Based Activism *Amanda Pullum, California State University-Monterey Bay; Eulalie Jean Laschever, DePaul University*
- Temperance and Maternal Welfare: A Novel Theory of Welfare State Development *Austin Abernethy Stimpson Jenkins, Northwestern University*
- The Role of Social Movements and Economic Threat in Political Party Participation *Paul D. Almeida, University of California, Merced; Eugenio Sosa, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Honduras*

Populism

President: *Selin Bengi Gumrukcu, Rutgers University*

- “No Blue, No Red”: Partisanship, Populism, and Collective Identity *Sadie M. Dempsey, University of Wisconsin-Madison*
- Varieties of Populists: A Comparative Analysis of Political Orientations in Europe *Martin Eirmann, UC Berkeley*

Protest Policing and Repression

President: *Lyndi N. Hewitt, UNC Asheville*

- Beyond Legality: Informal Norms and Protest Control in Democracies and Nondemocracies *Yao Li, Harvard University*
- Protest Policing and the National Survey of Protest Events *Bryant Crubaugh, Pepperdine University*

Repertoires, Tactics, and Strategies

President: *Thelma Iris Velez, The Ohio State University*

- Institutional Distrust and Tactical Repertoires in the European Social Movement Sector *Matthew Schoene, Albion College*
- Morality as a Cultural Tactic: Choosing Nonviolence in South Korean Presidential Impeachment Protests *Joo Hyun Park, UC Berkeley*
- The Contentiousness of Contemporary Young Women’s Movement in Korea: A Perspective of Strategic Action Fields Theory *Joo-hyun Cho, Keimyung University*
- Winning Real Food on Campus: The Role of Strategy and Strategic Capacity in Campaign Outcomes *Rebecca Watts Hull, Georgia Tech*
- Education and Representation: Cognitive Scripts and Queer Politics on the College Campus *Shaeleya Miller, California State University, Long Beach*

Temporality, History, and Collective Memory

President: *E. Colin Ruggero, Community College of Philadelphia*

- Commemoration of Tiananmen and Hong Kong’s Democratic Movement *Rebecca S.K. Li, The College of New Jersey*
- Future Imaginings in Social Movements: A Political Ethnography of Grassroots Activism in Contemporary Turkey *Birgan Gokmenoglu, London School of Economics*
- Memory and Protest: The Role of Future Goals in Shaping Understandings of the Past *Daniel Jaster, University of South Dakota*

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- The Role of Temporal Dynamics in the Effects of Content Innovativeness on Diffusion *Soomin Sophie Cho, Columbia Business School; Dan Wang, Columbia University*

Violence and Non-Violence

Presider: *Chengzuo Tang, Duke University*

- Are All Mass Shootings Equal? Testing a Cultural-Cognitive Theory Using Google Trends Data *Daniel Semenza, Rutgers University, Camden; John Bernau, Emory University*
- Law and Disorder? A Survey Experiment on Perceptions of Protest and Nonviolence *Yuan Hsiao and Scott Radnitz, University of Washington*
- Measuring Diffusion of Social Movements in the United States, 1960-1995 *Tony Huiquan Zhang, St. Thomas More College*
- The Gray Zones of Red Zones: Contested Sovereignties and Violence Prevention in Urban El Salvador *Daniel Patrick Burridge, University of Pittsburgh*

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Business Meeting

Mon, August 12, 3:30 to 4:10pm

Sheraton New York, Second Floor, Empire Ballroom East

Frontline Communities and Struggles for Racial, Environmental, and Economic Justice

Mon, August 12, 4:30 to 6:10pm

Sheraton New York, Third Floor, Liberty 3

Session Organizer: *Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh*

Presider: *Marilyn Grell-Brisk, Universite de Neuchatel*

- A Disaster as Catalyst for Mobilization: The Convergence of Climate Justice and Agroecology in Puerto Rico *Thelma Iris Velez, The Ohio State University*

- Clever Poverty: Plugging into and Diverging from Capitalism *Hikmet Nazli Azergun*
- Gender Politics in Local and Global Struggles for Control of Water Commons *Mangala Subramaniam, Purdue University*
- Oil Exploration as Catalyst for Climate Activism *Patricia Widener, Florida Atlantic University*
- Ratchet-Rasquache Activism: Aesthetic and Discursive Frames within Chicago-Based Women of Color Activism *Teresa Irene Gonzales, University of Massachusetts, Lowell*

Discussant: *Marina Karides, University of Hawai'i at Hilo*

Today's struggles for social justice in the United States and around the world are noteworthy for the leadership roles played by historically oppressed groups—including indigenous communities, people of color, and low-income and urban communities. This panel features research on organizing among these often overlooked constituencies, exploring how analyses, organizing models, and campaigns are linking a variety of movements engaged in addressing some of the most critical challenges of our times.

Activist Knowledge in the Construction of Movement Relevant Research

Mon, August 12, 4:30 to 6:10pm

New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau East

Session Organizers and Presiders: *Ben Manski, University of California, Santa Barbara; John Krinsky, The City College of New York*

Panelists

- *Colin Barker, Manchester Metropolitan University*
- *Ruth Wilson Gilmore, City University of New York-The Graduate Center*
- *Bill Fletcher, Belmont University*
- *Hahrie Han, UCSB*
- *Jane McAlevey*
- *Suren Moodliar, Independent Scholar*

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- *Randy Stoecker, University of Wisconsin*
- *Lesley J. Wood, York University*

Activism

Mon, August 12, 4:30 to 6:10pm
New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau West

Session Organizer: *Brian Gran, Case Western Reserve University*

Presider: *Ira D. Silver, Framingham State University*

- *Uncovering, Unsettling and Disrupting Settler Colonialism in the United States Erich W. Steinman, Pitzer College*
- *Extractive Projects and State Violations of Human Rights on Indigenous Lands in North America: The Perpetual State of Exception Colin J. Samson*
- *Breaking New Ground and Pushing the Limits of Environmental Justice Politics David Pellow, University of California-Santa Barbara*

Activism and social movements have long held attention of sociologists. During a time when the United States is under-going significant social change, with contentious politics a feature of everyday life, activism and social movements will continue to be essential features of the socio-political landscape.

Tuesday, August 13

On Mentoring Scholar-Activists

Tue, August 13, 8:30 to 10:10am
New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau West

Session Organizer: *Brian Gran, Case Western Reserve University*

Presider: *Matthew Oware, DePauw University*

- *Revising the U.S. Constitution. Why? How? Judith Blau, University of North Carolina*
- *Revolutionary Mentoring Rodney D. Coates, Miami University*

- *Sociology for Social Transformation Jackie Smith, University of Pittsburgh*
- *Rebuilding Broken Communities Charles Payne, Rutgers University Newark*

Many sociologists envision their scholar activism as including teaching and mentoring new scholar activists who seek new visions and possibilities. What can we learn from experiences of prominent sociologists who have mentored scholar activists over their careers? Can sociologists anticipate institutional support for their mentorship? What barriers may they encounter? Why mentor scholar activists?

Doing Scholar Activism

Tue, August 13, 10:30am to 12:10pm
New York Hilton, Second Floor, Nassau East

Session Organizer: *Brian Gran, Case Western Reserve University*

Presider: *Elizabeth J. Clifford, Towson University*

- *Everybody Eats: Community Embedded Service-Learning as Public Sociology and Social Justice Work Sarah N. Gatson, Texas A&M University*
- *Roots, not the Shoots: Community Accountability and Engagement in Liberatory Scholarship Monica M. White, University of Wisconsin-Madison*
- *Social Research + Social Justice = Social Obligation for Social Activism Rashawn Ray, University of Maryland*

Jane Addams, George Herbert Mead, W. E. B. DuBois. Sociology has a long tradition of scholars who are activists. This tradition continues today as sociologists employ scholarship to challenge inequities, inequalities, human rights violations, and violence. Their activism, in turns, informs sociological scholarship about social and political structures that can act as obstacles and facilitators to collective behavior and social movements.

Mobilizing for and Against Violence in Pursuit of Social Justice

Tue, August 13, 12:30 to 2:10pm
Sheraton New York, Third Floor, Liberty 1

Session Organizers: *Aliza Luft, UCLA;*
Dana M. Moss, University of Pittsburgh
Presider: *Dana M. Moss, University of Pittsburgh*

- A Mnemonic Community Frames the Crisis of Disappeared People as Extension of Mexico's Dirty War *Dolores Trevizo, Occidental College*
- "Extreme Pressure": Gendered Negotiations of Violence and Vulnerability in Japanese Antiracism Movements *Vivian Shaw, Harvard*
- Individual Stories, Emotion, and Mobilization against Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence *Nella Van Dyke, Kathryn Patricia Daniels, Ashley Noel Metzger, Carolina Molina, University of California, Merced*
- LGBT Organizing Strategies in Repressive Contexts: Nigeria after the Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Act *Nicole Angotti, American University; Tara A. McKay, Vanderbilt University; Rachel Sullivan Robinson, American University*
- Molotov Cocktails to Mass Marches: Riots and Nonviolent Protests in Social Movement Uprisings *Benjamin Steinhardt Case, University of Pittsburgh*
- The 3x1 Program for Migrants and Vigilante Groups in Contemporary Mexico *Lauren Duquette-Rury, Wayne State University; Clarisa Perez-Armendariz, Bates College*

This panel explores how states and social movements mobilize for and against violence in the pursuit of social justice. We demonstrate how violence is legitimated by claims to morality, justice, humanitarianism, dignity, and threat, as well as the complexities inherent in responding to violence, such that one person's mobilization for redress or self-defense may be another's experience of brutality. In light of the rise of state violence, civil war, terrorism, and minority victimization in recent years, this panel

addresses pressing empirical and theoretical concerns central to the 2019 ASA theme of Engaging Social Justice for a Better World.

Resistance in The Trump Era: Defending Institutions and Advancing Social Justice

Tue, August 13, 12:30 to 2:10pm
New York Hilton, Second Floor, Clinton

Session Organizer & Presider: *David S. Meyer, University of California, Irvine*

- Putting Trump in Historical Perspective *Douglas McAdam, Stanford University*
- Persistence in the Resistance *Dana R. Fisher, University of Maryland; Lorien Jasny, University of Exeter*
- Indivisible: From Institution to Movement *Megan E. Brooker, University of California-Irvine*
- Black Lives Matter and Presidential Politics from Obama to Trump *Megan Ming Francis, University of Washington*

Discussant: *Sidney Tarrow, Cornell University*

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

CALL FOR PAPERS Mobilization Special Issue on Intersectionality

Deadline: November 15th, 2019

Mobilization special issue on Intersectionality and Social Movements

The journal *Mobilization* seeks contributions for a special issue on intersectionality and social movements, guest edited by Zakiya Luna (University of California, Santa Barbara), Sujatha Jesudason (The New School) and Mimi Kim (California State University, Long Beach). *Mobilization* will publish this issue in 2020.

An increasing number of scholars are foregrounding the importance of understanding how identities and political structures co-constitute each other. In her work, Crenshaw (1991) outlines the necessity of understanding the different manifestations of intersectionality - structural, political, and representational. As social movement studies makes a slow turn towards intersectionality, there are many works to build on that offer insights into the many iterations, practices, and attempts to *do* intersectionality at the level of social movements and movement research.

Some authors explore how coalitions themselves offer models of political intersectionality on the ground (Cole 2008, Roberts and Jesudason 2013, Verloo 2013), while others consider the production of intersectionality as a collective action frame among undocumented youth organizers (Terriquez 2015, Terriquez et al. 2018) or in the Women's Marches (Fisher et al. 2017, 2018). Others have considered how women of color navigate intersectionality within their own movement spaces (Luna 2016) or forge new

social movement spaces as shown in the divide between radical women, transgender and gender non-conforming people of color from primarily White-led investments in the expansion of the carceral state (Kim 2018; Richie 2011). In the international context, we see how organizations in countries with different racial regimes interpret intersectionality (Lepinard 2014) and how intersectionality has become lingua franca at the United Nations, in part through the work of anti-racist activists (Falcon 2016). In analyzing online spaces, some have shown how activists and politicians attempt to respond to explicitly intersectional claims by Black movements such as #SayHerName (Brown et al. 2017, Stout et al. 2017). Further, some call to attend to intersectionality to challenge oppressive research practices (Liu 2017).

All these examples give us a taste of the unique and potentially transformative approaches to social movements that intersectionality invites, and in this issue, we are interested in digging deeper to elucidate the promises, possibilities, and failures of intersectionality in the context of movements and mobilization.

We seek original research articles from all disciplines that explore different dimensions of intersectionality and social movements. We welcome theoretical and empirical articles that address intersectionality as outcomes of mobilization and/or as a significant factor in shaping further mobilization. Central questions include, but are not limited to:

How does an intersectional approach offer different ways to study social movements or provide new insights into prior movements?

How do social movement organizations enact intersectionality?

What are the challenges, barriers, and opportunities for social movements in trying to achieve intersectionality?

What are the limits and benefits of intersectionality as a framework for analyzing social movements?

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We encourage authors to review [recent issues of the journal](#) for inspiration as well. Manuscripts are submitted through the Mobilization editorial [web site](#). See the *Mobilization* author [guidelines](#) for the required format and maximum word count.

In your cover letter, please note that this manuscript is for our special issue on Intersectionality and Movements.

Submissions are due November 15, 2019. We will notify potential authors of preliminary decisions in early 2020. Prospective authors must agree to submit any revisions within six weeks so the editorial team can move forward with final decisions and production team can move forward and publish the print issue in 2020. Potential authors are encouraged to contact the special issue editors, Zakiya Luna (zluna@soc.ucsb.edu), Sujatha Jesudason (jesudass@newschool.edu) or Mimi Kim (mimi.kim@csulb.edu), with any questions in advance of submission.

Mobilization is the leading journal of research on social and political movements and other forms of contentious politics. Our goal is to advance the systematic, scholarly, and scientific study of these phenomena, and to provide a forum for the discussion of methodologies, theories, and conceptual approaches across the disciplines of sociology, political science, social psychology, communications, and anthropology.

CALL FOR PAPERS Revisiting the Riot

Deadline: September 15th, 2019

Revisiting the Riot: A *Theory in Action* Special Issue to mark the 10th Anniversary of AK Thompson's *Black Bloc, White Riot*

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: SEPTEMBER 15, 2019

About the Special Issue:

Published a decade after the 1999 “Battle of Seattle,” AK Thompson’s *Black Bloc, White Riot* explored the connection between political subjectivity and violence. By engaging with the movement’s internal contradictions and conflicts, taking up its classed, gendered, and racialized dynamics as points for exploring the role of violence in politics, it remains a challenging intervention into the movement’s voluminous ‘post-mortem’ literature.

Nearly ten years after its publication, *Black Bloc, White Riot* seems increasingly prescient. From the street fights of Tahir Square to the evictions of the Occupy encampments, from the direct action of Black Lives Matter and Abolish-ICE activists to confrontations with a resurgent far-right, the need to examine the role of violence in modern protest movements is great. And while the recent return of black bloc tactics and street-level political violence has (re)produced many of the same old debates, there also appears to be a new, pragmatic openness to questions regarding the role of violence in political transformation.

This peer-reviewed special issue of *Theory In Action* invites theoretical and empirical contributions that reflect upon the themes introduced in *Black Bloc, White Riot* while engaging with the book’s analytical and theoretical contributions and their ongoing relevance to contemporary movement debates. We welcome examinations of individual movements, comparative analyses of contemporary movements, or of movements ‘then and now,’ as well as theoretical contributions that aim to evaluate the book’s central themes.

We are interested in all submissions that consider how *Black Bloc, White Riot* can inform the work of today’s movement scholars and activists. Contributors

CriticalMass

may wish to engage with the specific thematic suggestions that are detailed in the full Call on the *Theory in Action* website:

<http://transformativestudies.org/publications/theory-in-action-the-journal-of-tsi/call-for-papers/>

Submission Guidelines:

Manuscripts should be between 4000-7000 words and include: an abstract of 150-200 words, three to five keywords, author bio, titles, affiliations, and author contact information. Deadline for all submissions is SEPTEMBER 15, 2019. Please send submissions to the guest editor at: BBWRsubmissions@gmail.com

Guest editor

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ASA Ballot Questions for CBSM

Collective Behavior and Social Movements (Question 1 of 2)

Ballot Question

Do you approve the Bylaws Amendment as presented?

Yes – I approve the amendments

No – I do not approve the amendments

Addition of a new section into the bylaws requiring a long-term budgeting process for the section.

Description and Rationale:

In order to create more stable financial planning, this amendment requires each council to make budgeting decision with information projecting budgets into the future, using estimated costs from specific cities for upcoming meetings.

Proposed Amendment:

To be inserted in Article IV (Officers):

Section 11: Budgeting Process: Each year the Secretary/Treasurer shall, prior to the ASA annual meetings, update the section's financial records and project a budget for the next five years. The Secretary/Treasurer should use data from ASA to project reception costs in each of the upcoming ASA locations and data from the section (adjusted for inflation) for awards, award plaques, other section events, and any Council meetings. The officers and Council shall seek, whenever possible, to consider these projections in designing and passing a budget for the upcoming year and in making amendments and spending decisions across the year. This will allow due consideration for future years in budgeting and spending. The five-year budget estimations and the Council-approved annual budget for the upcoming year must be shared at the CBSM business meeting for members' review and comment.

If approved, effective date of the proposed amendments: September 1, 2019

Full Current Bylaws:

[http://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/collective behavior and social movements bylaws october 2017v2.pdf](http://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/collective%20behavior%20and%20social%20movements%20bylaws%20october%202017v2.pdf)

Collective Behavior and Social Movements (Question 2 of 2)

Ballot Question

Do you approve a \$2 increase in dues from \$11 to \$13, only for regular members of the section?

Yes – I approve the change in section dues

No – I do not approve the change in section dues

Rationale:

Regular section allocations and current dues revenue are not projected to keep up with section financial needs primarily because they do not cover annual basic spending without private development. This increase will help to ensure the fiscal well-being of the section without raising rates too high and only affects regular members.

If approved, the new dues will be effective for the 2020 membership year.