

CriticalMassBulletin

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

Volume 37 (1)

<http://www2.asanet.org/sectioncbasm/>

Spring 2012

Section Officers 2011-2012

Chair
Jeff Goodwin

Chair-Elect
Nancy E. Whittier

Past Chair
Stephen Valocchi

Secretary-Treasurer
Mary Bernstein

Council

Paul Almeida
David Cunningham
Deborah B. Gould
Deana Rohlinger
Rory McVeigh
Jo Reger
Fabio Rojas

Committees

Nominations
Tina Fetner
Eve Ilana Shapiro
Amy L. Stone
Judith Karyn Taylor

Publications
Leslie J. Wood
Neal Caren
Howard Ramos
Chelsea Starr

Workshops
Kelly Moore
Dennis J. Downey
Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum

Mentoring (appointed)
Matthew Archibald
Liz Borland
David Cunningham
Anna Linders

Webmaster
Justin Farrell

Newsletter Editor
Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur

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

Message from the Chair: Where Did Capitalism Go?

Jeff Goodwin
CBSM Section Chair
Professor of Sociology, New York University

Some very good books on social movements and revolutions have been published in the past decade or so. But they would not be the first that I would recommend to students or general readers who want to think deeply about such matters. Instead, I would recommend that they first read some of the great books that were published during the decade from 1975 to 1984. The field of social-movement studies as we know it today was largely established during this decade. The ideas and texts that circulated during this time reflected a new sensibility about and appreciation for movements, attitudes that were powerfully shaped by the mass movements of the 1960s and early 1970s—above all, the civil rights, anti-war, and women’s movements. I would argue that this decade was also the heyday of the field—that is, the period when the very best books on movements and revolutions were written. I continue to assign books published during this decade to both undergraduates and graduate students—and I assign them much more frequently, and to greater effect, than more recently published books.

Of course, those of us who write about movements, revolutions, and other forms of “contentious politics” would like to believe that are our collective work, like that of any other putative science, is cumulative and progressive. But if this were so, then the very best work in our field, other things being equal, would have been published in recent years—if not in the last decade, then certainly in the last two.

Continued on Page 4

In This Issue

Message from the Chair	1
Teaching Social Movements	2
Mentoring Committee Announcement	8
Recent Publications	9
ASA Events Summary	11
Left Forum 2012 Report	12
Interview with Senator Fred Risser	14
Calls for Papers & Other Opportunities	16
Russia’s Unexpected Uprising	20
Details on CBSM-Related Events at ASA	23

Teaching Social Movements: An Intergenerational Discussion on *Berkeley in the Sixties*

Dennis J. Downey and Marty Kaplan¹
California State University, Channel Islands

In the spring of 2011, in a course on Social Movements at California State University, Channel Islands, the first author focused a substantial part of the semester on social movements of the 1960s. This somewhat standard approach seems increasingly necessary for students who have little sense of the history of movements that provide the primary template both for current activists and for social movements scholars. As with so many of my fellow teachers, I make generous use of the many superb documentaries about movements of that era – such as episodes from the “Eyes on the Prize” series on the Civil Rights Movement, “Rebels With a Cause” on the history of Students for a Democratic Society, and episodes from the “Chicano!” I also use “Berkeley in the Sixties” (Mark Kitchell, 1990) – another classic in that genre spanning from the Free Speech Movement, through the Anti-War/Anti-Draft protests, the creation of People’s Park, and the emergence of the Counterculture.

At the same time that I was planning that course, I was arranging a research partnership for a capstone course with Marty Kaplan, the Director the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (OLLI) on my campus.² At some point in that process, it occurred to me that many of the OLLI students would be of just about the age that would make them very familiar with the events in Berkeley during that era—and quite possibly involved in those events. So I asked the

¹ The article is written from the perspective of the teacher (Downey) with participation of the contact and partner from CSUCI OLLI (Kaplan).

² For those unfamiliar with Osher Lifelong Learning Institutes, they are essentially extension programs funded in part by the Bernard Osher Foundation that are now operating on 117 college and university campuses around the nation, designed to provide seniors with ongoing educational experiences. For more information, see <http://www.osherfoundation.org/index.php?olli>.

Director (Marty Kaplan) if we might invite OLLI students to attend the screening of the documentary, followed by a discussion with my students – in order to give the students some first-hand insights into the era, and to provide OLLI members with an opportunity to connect with current students on campus that generally move in different orbits. Marty was very supportive of the idea – and, as it turned out, he had a lot of his own experiences with those movements (mostly as a faculty member in a Midwestern university in which there was a very active protest culture, as well as activism as a student in the preceding decade).

For anyone who has taught current students about the 1960s, it is clear that much of the current generation has a rather fantastical view of that era; they know little beyond the key figures and movements, and much of what they (think they) know is shaped by broader social reactions against changes in the 1960s, and filtered through cultural representations that trivialize much of its values as fashion (bellbottoms and big flowers) and lifestyle (archetypal/stereotypical hippies living in communes).³

On the other side of the equation, early (and pre-) baby boomers who were active in the movements of the 1960s are at or nearing the retirement age, and are just the sorts of inquiring minds that are likely to show up OLLI and similar programs. For those interested in teaching social movements (among many, many other things), that represents a tremendous historical resource – and one which is often made to feel unwelcome on college campuses beyond specific senior-designated programs. Bringing these two populations—students and seniors—together represents a win-win, and creates the setting for a fascinating intergenerational conversation.

In our case, that intergenerational conversation lived up to the billing for all concerned—for students, for OLLI members, and for us as well. Nearly all of our guests had some connection to the events of the era,

³ Of course, some students are much more knowledgeable. For example, one suspects that there would be a very different view at HBCUs, where understandings of the Civil Rights Movement are likely to be more personal and less mediated.

at Berkeley or beyond. In fact, several were enrolled at UC Berkeley at or around the time of the Free Speech Movement. Many of the stories included witnessing or participating in many of the events, as well as details about events or people highlighted in the documentary. Students were inspired by the stories of “being there” while history was being made – and they got a good sense of the tensions and challenges presented to students and citizens when social change “speeds up.” This led naturally to a contrast between campus activism during that era and the relatively (not absolutely) quiescent campus environment of today’s universities. This was a cause for some dismay on the part of both students and guests.

One of the things that I was unprepared for was, frankly, a sense of self-righteousness associated with that contrast with which many of the students of the 1960s addressed the current generation of students. One of the central themes was: “We fought the good fight for our generation; why aren’t you doing the same?” As one might imagine, that led to a discussion of declining support for higher education. Public education was richly supported in the 1950s and 1960s (with California as the global leader). That is no longer the case, and as tuition and fees rise dramatically (and federal support shifts from grants to loans) students have to work much more than students a half century ago. When ex-Berkeley students noted the fees that they paid for their education, current students’ jaws literally dropped in disbelief. In addition, students today confront a much more competitive job market upon exiting the university. Surprisingly, few on

either side of the conversation had really taken that into serious consideration in terms of what it means for social activism. Discussion made it clear that while disgruntlement with unpopular wars remains, the current state of the economy and its impacts on student fees and career prospects has shifted student concerns toward issues with more narrowly circumscribed goals and less idealistic framing. That shift was recognized by the older generation at the screening, and ultimately, the discussion led to increased understandings in both directions.

“I loved the class we had with the senior students!! My observation of that class is that many students (from our Social Movements class) who did not normally speak up, or seem overly interested, “woke up ” during that class. After the video, the senior students began to share some their memories. You could hear the passion in their voices. Some of them even seemed angry with the younger students for not caring enough. They seemed to feel that they had put so much energy and time into something they believed in, and now were looking at the current generation of college students who did not seem to care one way or another. I think they felt that not only had their efforts gone unappreciated, but that what they had achieved could be lost if the current and future generations don’t care enough. While listening to these comments, many students became engaged. It was as if the “social movements of the 60’s” had come to life for them. I think having senior students that had “been there” in terms of the 60’s seemed to really grab everyone’s attention . . . especially when we saw how passionate and emotional they still were about their causes even 50 years later. . . . I was very moved by it all, and I believe the younger students were as well.”

Michelle Paschen,
CSUCI Sociology student

The intergenerational conversation turned out to be one of the highlights of the semester. I am considering expanding it into a semester-long documentary series, which is very possible given the many wonderful documentaries chronicling the movements of the era. We would encourage other social movement teachers to seek out similar opportunities. OLLI programs are active in well over one hundred colleges and universities around the nation; beyond that, many colleges and universities have general extension programs designed for seniors. Again this is a great resource for our students in understanding what is arguably the most important wave of protest in shaping the Sociology of Social Movements. The event made for great teaching – and it was a lot of fun on top of it.

Chair's Letter, Continued from Page 1

I just do not think this is the case. The state of the art in the movements field has certainly improved in many respects compared to a generation ago, but in some important ways it is actually worse. My own work on movements and revolutions is not exempt from the criticisms that I will outline here.

At least a dozen great books on movements and revolutions were published between 1975 and 1984: Jo Freeman's *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (1975); *The Rebellious Century* (1975) by Charles, Louise, and Richard Tilly; *The Strategy of Social Protest* (1975) by William Gamson; Jeffery Paige's *Agrarian Revolution* (1975); Michael Schwartz's *Radical Protest and Social Structure* (1988 [1976]); *Poor People's Movements* (1977) by Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward; Charles Tilly's *From Mobilization to Revolution* (1978); Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979); *The Whole World Is Watching* (2003 [1980]) by Todd Gitlin; John Gaventa's *Power and Powerlessness* (1980); *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (1999 [1982]) by Doug McAdam; and *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (1984) by Aldon Morris. Anyone who wishes to think clearly about movements and revolutions should undoubtedly begin by reading these books. They have certainly been enormously influential, directly or indirectly, on subsequent work by scholars. Much of the scholarship of the past 30 years, in fact, has consisted of filling in the gaps and working through the implications of these books, including the general sensibility about movements which they articulated.

What makes the books listed above so impressive? First, most of them examine a single movement or revolution of great historical importance, or a relatively small set of cases, from start to finish. They thus tangle with virtually all the big questions that mass movements raise: Why did this movement arise when and where it did? Who was behind it? What did these people want, and what strategies did they use? How did the movement evolve over time? Did it succeed? What consequences did it have in both the short and long run? And, on a more normative level,

to what degree did the movement or revolution at hand advance the cause of human rights and freedom?

Second, at least some of these books also connect the rise and fall of important movements and revolutions to broader social forces and historical developments in the enviroing society (and beyond, in some cases). These books were especially interested in tracing connections between movements, on the one hand, and the expansion and transformation of capitalism and states, on the other. They understood movements, in other words, as deeply embedded within the broader sweep of a nation's (or even the world's) history, and they showed how capitalism and states (and sometimes other powerful forces) variously incited, invited, constrained, and destroyed them.

The best recent books in the movements field, by contrast, are much less bold, ambitious, and, at least to me, interesting. To begin with, current scholarship tends of course to be much more specialized than previously, tightly focusing on just one or two questions about a particular movement or movements, sometimes in excruciating detail. Needless to say, this type of specialized fact-gathering is typical of the "normal science" that prevails after the rise of a powerful new theoretical paradigm. At the same time, some scholars have scrutinized movements (or some aspect of them) through some new theoretical optic of greater or lesser power. There is usually something to be learned from both of these genres. But studies that chart the entire historical trajectory of a movement in a theoretically rounded way seem much rarer these days.

Too much of the recent scholarship, furthermore, treats movements as if they were hermetically sealed off from broader historical processes and social forces. Studies of movements sometimes neglect the broader sweep of politics, but it is *capitalism* that is especially conspicuous for its absence in the recent literature (Hetland and Goodwin, 2012). Although it is now largely forgotten, the dynamics of capitalism played an extremely important role in many of the great books on movements and revolutions that were published from 1975 to 1984. It was during this

decade, of course, that the scholarly study of movements moved away from primarily psychological treatments of political protest—studies that often cast a very negative light on protest—to more sympathetic analyses that emphasized the importance of resources, power, solidarities, and opportunities for movements. Movements were no longer viewed as irrational outbursts, but as eminently rational forms of politics by other means.

But all this is now common wisdom among movement scholars and other social scientists. What has been forgotten is that the foundational books in our field tended to emphasize quite strongly the effects of capitalism on movements and revolutions, especially the aforementioned works by Paige, Schwartz, Piven and Cloward, Tilly, Skocpol, and McAdam (see also Skocpol and Trimberger, 1994 [1977-78]); Anderson-Sherman and McAdam, 1982; and D’Emilio, 1983).

The dynamics of capitalism figure prominently in all of these studies, sometimes constraining and sometimes inciting or enabling collective action. The authors of these groundbreaking works believed that capitalism was crucial for understanding movements due to a variety of important causal mechanisms: Capitalist institutions (factories, railroads, banks, etc.) or institutions that capitalists may come to control (e.g., parties, legislatures, courts, police, armies, etc.) are often the source or target of popular grievances, especially (but not only) during times of economic crisis. These institutions, moreover, enable and shape collective identities and solidarities—and not just *class* solidarities—in particular ways; they also distribute power and resources unevenly to different social classes and class fractions; and they both facilitate and inhibit specific group alliances based on common or divergent material interests. Class divisions, furthermore, often penetrate and fracture movements that are not based on class identities; and ideologies and cultural assumptions associated with capitalism powerfully shape movement strategies and demands. The effects of capitalism on collective action, for these authors, are both direct and indirect (i.e., mediated by other processes) and are the result of both short- and long-term processes.

In McAdam’s (1999 [1982]) influential study of the U.S. civil rights movement, to take one well known example, the disintegration of the Southern cotton sharecropping economy, which was based on “extra-economic” coercion, and the concomitant movement of African Americans into urban-based waged jobs, is portrayed as a necessary precondition for the emergence of that movement. McAdam writes, “If one had to identify the factor most responsible for undermining the political conditions that, at the turn of the [twentieth] century, had relegated blacks to a position of political impotence, it would have to be the gradual collapse of cotton as the backbone of the southern economy” (McAdam 1999 [1982]: 73).

The collapse of the South’s cotton economy, in McAdam’s account, facilitated the emergence of the civil rights movement mainly indirectly, through its effects on politics and on the “indigenous organization” and beliefs of African Americans. Note, moreover, that this economic process was primarily responsible for the very possibility of the civil rights movement even though this movement was not itself a *class*-based insurgency making primarily economic demands; rather, the movement was a cross-class coalition—linking working- and middle-class African Americans as well as sympathetic whites—whose primary demands (at least until the movement began to fracture in the mid-1960s) were desegregation and voting rights. (See also D’Emilio [1983], which emphasizes how capitalism facilitated the emergence of gay identities and movements.)

The groundbreaking movement scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s, one might note, not only emphasized the causal importance of capitalism for collective action but also tended to view capitalism, ultimately, as a major—and perhaps *the* major—constraint on human freedom. A number of these studies have an unmistakably anti-capitalist tone, a normative quality that has all but vanished from contemporary scholarship on movements. To take just two examples, Piven and Cloward begin their study of “poor people’s movements” with a critique of the “mystifying” quality of capitalist democracy:

Power is rooted in the control of coercive force and in control of the means of production. However, in capitalist societies this reality is not legitimated by rendering the powerful divine, but by obscuring their existence....[through] electoral-representative institutions [that] proclaim the franchise, not force and wealth, as the basis for the accumulation of power. (Piven and Cloward, 1977: 2)

And Skocpol concludes her important comparative study of revolutions by suggesting that “Marx’s call for working-class-based socialism remains valid for advanced societies; nothing in the last hundred years of world history has undercut the compelling potential, indeed necessity, of that call” (Skocpol, 1979: 292).

Most recent studies of social movements lack not only this anti-capitalist spirit but usually *any* explicit normative standpoint; they seem more concerned with contributing to the specialized academic literature on movement dynamics than with pondering how movements might lead us to the good society. But more to the point, the recent literature has also largely ignored, with very few exceptions (e.g., Paige, 1997; Buechler, 2000; Clawson, 2003), the enabling and constraining effects of capitalism. In particular, as Richard Flacks has noted, “One of Marx’s central analytic strategies . . . is missing from contemporary theories [of social movements]—namely, his effort to embed power relations in *an analysis of the political economy as a whole*” (Flacks, 2004: 139; emphasis added).

Recent scholarship tends to overlook not only the direct and proximate effects of capitalist institutions on collective action, but also the ways in which capitalist dynamics indirectly influence the possibilities for protest, sometimes over many years or even decades, by, for example, shaping political institutions, political alliances, social ties, and cultural idioms. Instead, recent scholarship tends to focus on *short-term* shifts in “cultural framings,” social networks, and especially “political opportunities,” or simply takes these shifts as a given, rarely examining their deeper causes. In fact, most movement scholars now treat this last set of factors—ideas, social ties, and political processes—as independent variables, neglecting the ways in which they may be powerfully shaped by capitalism.

A concern with political economy is only barely evident, for example, in the books and articles that have been honored in recent years by our own section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements. The section’s website (<http://www2.asanet.org/sectioncbism/awards.html>) lists 19 books that received the section’s book prize from 1988 to 2010 (a prize was not awarded every year) and 12 articles that received the section’s best article prize from 2002 to 2010 (there were co-winners for some of these years). Only two of the prize-winning books and none of the articles, so far as I can determine, treat the dynamics of capitalism as especially important for purposes of explanation. The two books are Rick Fantasia’s *Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action and Contemporary American Workers* (1988), a study of working-class consciousness in the contemporary United States, and Charles Tilly’s *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1754-1837* (1995), which looks at class-based (and other) forms of mobilization during the period under study. In the rest of these books and articles, capitalism is at best a minor theme, if it is mentioned at all.

The strange disappearance of capitalism from social-movement studies finds its apotheosis in Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow’s *Contentious Politics* (2007), a textbook based on ideas first developed in McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly’s much-discussed *Dynamics of Contention* (2001). As I noted, earlier work by Tilly and McAdam did emphasize—indeed, often *strongly* emphasized—capitalist dynamics, including the collapse of agricultural production based on extra-economic coercion (McAdam) and the more general process of proletarianization (Tilly). In *Contentious Politics*, however, capitalism has disappeared utterly. The book makes no mention whatsoever of capitalism, proletarianization, class conflict, or political economy generally. This is rather remarkable for a book explicitly designed to provide undergraduate and graduate students with the analytic tools and concepts they will need to understand social movements, revolutions, and “contentious politics” generally. Instead of situating these conflicts against the historical backdrop of capitalism and state-building, as Tilly once prescribed, *Contentious Politics* discusses (and formally defines) a number of very general “mechanisms” and “processes” that

allegedly illuminate—or at least re-describe—a wide range of concrete episodes of political conflict. The authors make some effort to link these mechanisms and processes to state structures and “routine” politics, but they say nothing about how these mechanisms and processes might relate to the dynamics of capitalism on a local, national, or international scale. One can only infer that either no such connections exist or they are not worthy of attention, such that students today need not bother to learn about the institutions and dynamic tendencies of capitalist economies in order to understand social movements, revolutions, or political conflict more generally. By contrast, Tilly wrote in 1978, in *From Mobilization to Revolution*: “Over the long run, the reorganization of production creates the chief historical actors, the major constellations of interests, the basic threats to those interests, and principal conditions for transfers of power [i.e., revolutions]” (Tilly, 1978: 194). But the “reorganization of production” is not to be found among the mechanisms and processes emphasized by Tilly and Tarrow thirty years later.

What happened? What might account for the disappearance of capitalism from social movement studies? Here, I can only speculate, but this transformation seems closely related to several linked factors, including the waning after the 1970s of Marxism in the social sciences, the rise of “state-centered” and “historical institutionalist” perspectives in political sociology, the so-called “cultural turn” in academia more generally, and a growing emphasis on micro- and meso-level analysis—including framing and network analysis—in social-movement studies proper. (It is also possible that some scholars in the U.S. have avoided the conceptual vocabulary if not the concerns of Marxian political economy in particular for fear of not being published or tenured.) My point here is certainly not to criticize cultural (including framing) or network analysis, but simply to point out that these have effectively—and *unnecessarily*—“crowded out” a concern with political economy in the movements field. As a result, a number of potentially important causal mechanisms linked to the dynamics of capitalism are, alas, no longer even considered worthy of attention by movement scholars.

References

- Anderson-Sherman, Arnold and Doug McAdam. 1982. “American Black Insurgency and the World-Economy: A Political Process Model.” Pp. 165-188 in *Ascent and Decline in the World-System*, edited by Edward Friedman. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Buechler, Steven M. 2000. *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Clawson, Dan. 2003. *The Next Upsurge: Labor and the New Social Movements*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- D’Emilio, John. 1983. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexuality Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fantasia, Rick. 1988. *Cultures of Solidarity: Consciousness, Action and Contemporary American Workers*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Flacks, Richard. 2004. “Knowledge for What? Thoughts on the State of Social Movement Studies.” Pp. 135-153 in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*, edited by Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Freeman, Jo. 1975. *The Politics of Women’s Liberation*. New York: David McKay.
- Gamson, William A. 1975. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Gitlin, Todd. 2003 [1980]. *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hetland, Gabriel and Jeff Goodwin. 2012. “The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies.” Forthcoming in *Marxism and Social Movements*, edited by Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Nilsen. Leiden: Brill.
- McAdam, Doug. 1999 [1982]. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, Aldon D. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press.

Paige, Jeffery M. 1975. *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World*. New York: Free Press.

-----, 1997. *Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage.

Schwartz, Michael. 1988 [1976]. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skocpol, Theda and Ellen Kay Trimberger. 1994 [1977-78]. "Revolutions and the World-Historical Development of Capitalism." Pp. 120-33 in Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Originally published in the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* [1977-78] 22:100-113.)

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

-----, 1995. *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1754-1837*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. 2007. *Contentious Politics*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Tilly, Charles, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly. 1975. *The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mentoring Committee Announcement

The ASA Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements is proud to announce the 2012-13 mentoring program. Every year, the mentoring committee matches emerging scholars with more established scholars. The goal is to strengthen the field of social movement research by cultivating the next generation of scholars.

Each junior scholar who requests mentoring will be matched with a senior scholar. We ask the established scholars to offer advice on a range of professional matters, such as teaching, publication, promotion, and service. Since the established scholars are recruited from the ranks of the CBSM section, we are hopeful that emerging scholars will have people who can give them advice about producing cutting edge research on social movements.

The past success of the mentoring program relied on the generosity of established scholars. Likewise, rising scholars will continue to need the insights of their peers. Thus, it is important that senior scholars volunteer for the 2012-13 program. The obligations are modest. Senior scholars will speak or correspond with emerging scholars a few times each semester.

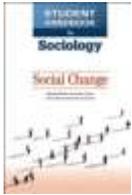
If you like to be a mentor or mentee, please contact Matthew Archibald at marchiba@colby.edu. I look forward to hearing from you. Please contact me (frojas@indiana.edu) if you have any questions.

Fabio Rojas
Member of the Mentoring Subcommittee &
Associate Professor of Sociology
Indiana University

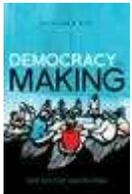
**Deadline for the
Fall 2012 Issue of
Critical Mass Bulletin
October 15th**

Recent Publications

New Books



Arthur, Mikaila Mariel Lemonik. 2012. *Social Change*. Volume 7 in the *Student Handbook to Sociology*, edited by Liz Grauerholz. Facts on File.



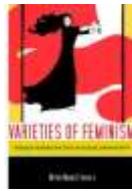
Blee, Kathleen M. 2012. *Democracy in the Making: How Activist Groups Form*. Oxford University Press.



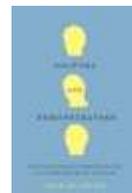
Blee, Kathleen M. and Sandra McGee Deutsch, eds. 2012. *Women of the Right: Comparisons and Interplay across Borders*. Penn State University Press.



Dale, John G. 2011. *Free Burma: Transnational Legal Action and Corporate Accountability*. University of Minnesota Press.



Ferree, Myra Marx. 2012. *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective*. Stanford University Press.



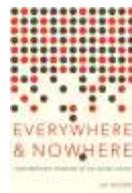
Halfmann, Drew. 2011. *Doctors and Demonstrators: How Political Institutions Shape Abortion Law in the United States, Britain, and Canada*. University of Chicago Press.



Kane, Anne. 2011. *Constructing Irish National Identity: Ritual and Discourse during the Land War, 1879-1882*. Palgrave Macmillan.



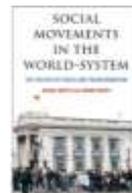
Moghadam, Valentine M., Mary Margaret Fonow, and Suzanne Franzway. 2011. *Making Globalization Work for Women: The Role of Social Rights and Trade Union Leadership*. SUNY Press.



Reger, Jo. 2012. *Everywhere and Nowhere: Contemporary Feminism in the United States*. Oxford University Press.



Shigematsu, Setsu. 2012. *Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan*. University of Minnesota Press.



Smith, Jackie and Dawn West. 2012. *Social Movements in the World System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*. Russell Sage.



Smith, Jackie, Ellen Reese, Scott Byrd, and Elizabeth Smythe, eds. 2012. *Handbook on World Social Forum Activism*. Paradigm Publishers.



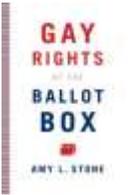
Smithey, Lee. 2011. *Unionists, Loyalists, and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*. Oxford University Press.



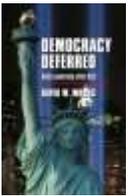
Sobieraj, Sarah. 2011. *SOUNDBITTEN: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*. New York University Press.



Stoddart, Mark. 2012. *Making Meaning Out of Mountains: The Political Ecology of Skiing*. University of British Columbia Press.



Stone, Amy. 2012. *Gay Rights at the Ballot Box*. University of Minnesota Press.



Woods, David. 2012. *Democracy Deferred: Civic Leadership after 9/11*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Haenfler, Ross, Brett Johnson, and Ellis Jones. 2012. "Lifestyle Movements: Exploring the Intersection of Lifestyle and Social Movements." *Social Movement Studies* 11(1):1-20.

Hammond, John L. 2012. "Social Movements and Struggles for Socialism." Pp. 213-47 in *Taking Socialism Seriously*. Anatole Anton and Richard Schmitt, eds., Lexington Books

Hammond, John L. 2012. "Rural Unions in Brazil." Pp. 114-27 in *Contention in Context: Political Opportunities and the Emergence of Protest*. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds. Stanford University Press

Hammond, John L. 2011. "Indigenous Community Justice in the Bolivian Constitution of 2009." *Human Rights Quarterly* 33:649-81.

Luna, Zakiya 2011. "'The Phrase of the Day': Examining Contexts and Co-optation of Reproductive Justice Activism in the Women's Movement." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 32: 219-46.

Marx, Gary. 2011. "From Conservative and Optimistic to Reactionary, Counter-Revolutionary and Pessimistic: Sociology and Society in the 1960s." Paper delivered to the Pacific Sociological Association. Seattle, March 2011. Available online at <http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/conoptreactcounter.html>

McVeigh, Rory and David Cunningham. 2012. "Enduring Consequences of Right-Wing Extremism: Klan Mobilization and Homicides in Southern Counties." *Social Forces* doi: 10.1093/sf/sor007

Pettinicchio, David. 2012. "Institutional Activism: Reconsidering the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy." *Sociology Compass*, pp. 1-12.

Smith, Jackie and Bob Glidden. 2012. "The Future of Occupy: From Occupying People's Park to Changing the System." Article available online at: <http://thefutureofoccupy.org/2012/03/25/the-future-of-occupy-from-occupying-peoples-park-to-changing-the-system/>

Other Publications

Alimi, Eitan and Liora Norwich. 2011. "Learning from Failures: Why and How 'Scale Shift' Failed to Launch—Evidence from the Case of the Israeli-Arab Land Day." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (volume 31).

Outstanding Author Contribution Award Winner at the Literati Network Awards for Excellence 2012.

Corcoran, Katie, David Pettinicchio. & Jacob Young. 2011. "The Context of Control: A Cross-National Investigation of the Link Between Political Institutions, Efficacy, and Collective Action." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 50: 575-605.

Gillham, Patrick F. 2011. "Securitizing America: Strategic Incapacitation and the Policing of Protest Since the 11 September 2001 Terrorist Attacks." *Sociology Compass* 5:636-52.

Gillham, Patrick F. and Bob Edwards. 2011. "Legitimacy Management, Preservation of Exchange Relationships, and the Dissolution of the Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition." *Social Problems* 58:433-60.

Swank, Eric and Breanne Fahs. 2011. "Students for Peace: Contextual and Framing Motivations of Antiwar Activism." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 38:111-37.

Swank, Eric and Breanne Fahs. 2011. "Pathways to Political Activism among Americans who have Same-Sex Sexual Contact." *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 8:126-38.

ASA 2012 in Denver

A sampling of CBSM-related sessions and other activities at the 2012 ASA Annual Meetings in Denver. See the end of the newsletter for a more detailed schedule of events held during the meetings.

Crossing Boundaries, Workshopping Sexualities (pre-conference workshop)

The University of Colorado-Denver Downtown Campus,
The Tivoli Student Union

Keynote Speakers include Mary Bernstein, Amin Ghaziani, Jyoti Puri, Elizabeth Bernstein, Hector Carrillo, and Mignon R. Moore. To register and for further information visit <http://www.crossing-boundaries.org>

Social Movement Theory: What Is to Be Done? (invited session)

This session will critically review the current state of social movement theory (SMT), a decade after the Dynamics of Contention (DOC) perspective was introduced. Have DOC and other recent theoretical innovations placed SMT on a sounder theoretical foundation? Does SMT still require fundamental rethinking or just some tinkering around the edges? Have new forms of contention challenged our old ways of thinking about movements? How exactly might SMT be improved? **Session Organizer:** Jeff Goodwin, New York University

The Arab Spring: When Does Nonviolent Resistance Work?

Nonviolent resistance recently helped to overthrow dictators in Tunisia and Egypt, but it seems largely to have failed in Libya, Bahrain, and Syria. This session will ask how the so-called Arab Spring has added to our understanding of why nonviolent resistance sometimes succeeds and sometimes fails. **Session Organizer:** Sharon Erickson Nepstad, University of New Mexico

Elites in Social Movements

In an era of growing inequality and resurgent mobilization on the right, sociologists have drawn renewed attention to the study of elites. This session focuses on the role of elites in social movements, broadly defined. Papers might focus on (but are not limited to) such topics as elite patronage and leadership of movements, rich people's movements, the role of celebrities in movements, and how rising inequality has changed the face of popular activism. **Session Organizer:** Edward T. Walker, University of California-Los Angeles

The Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street: Myths and Realities

This session will examine diverse theoretical perspectives and empirical data about the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street movements. The goal of the session is to situate the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street—perhaps the two most important U.S. movements of recent years—within the broader field of U.S. politics and/or social movements generally. Papers might focus on a variety of issues related to these movements, including their origins, social base, leadership, funding, ideologies, dynamics, and impact, including their potential impact on the 2012 elections. **Session Organizer:** Ziad Munson, Lehigh University

Sexualities, Social Movements, and Institutions (co-sponsored with Section on the Sociology of Sexualities)

This session will examine how social and political movements related to sexualities and/or sexual issues interact with institutions, such as the media, the law, governmental agencies and bodies, marriage, and the family. Topics might include (but are not limited to) media representations of sexuality-centered social movements, legal struggles over rights for existing and emerging sexual minority groups, the strategic use of institutions by social movement actors, and the outcomes of institutionalization on sexuality-based activism. Papers on transnational and/or U.S. movements are welcome.

Session Organizers: Tey Meadow, Princeton University, and Tina Fetner, McMaster University

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables

Session Organizers: Jonathan Horowitz and Sarah Gaby, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Left Forum 2012 Workshops Address Links Between Occupy Wall Street and the World

Social Forum Process

Jackie Smith

University of Pittsburgh

The rise of the Arab spring, European anti-austerity protests, and Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movements has generated new hope as well as challenges for those thinking about movement building and social conflict. Organizers of the US Social Forum (USSF) gathered early this year to consider the implications of the OWS movement for their organizing work. The USSF is part of the decade-old World Social Forum (WSF) process, which has been mobilizing opposition to economic globalization around the world. Some of those gathered in New York for the 2012 Left Forum (March 16-18) explored questions of how to better link such pre-existing movements – especially those made up of the people most affected by inequality and capitalist globalization—with OWS. The conversations contributed to an USSF organizers' efforts to plan for the next US Social Forum in 2014. In preparation, they aim to build local and regional mobilizations and people's movement assemblies, develop popular consciousness, and help link local struggles with national networks and global analyses. This USSF process can contribute some structure and vision to the budding OWS movement, which brings new attention and energy to the Social Forums.

Participants in Left Forum workshops on the links between OWS and the World Social Forums had all attended one or more WSFs, and most were also involved in organizing for the U.S. Social Forums in 2007 and 2010. They all spoke of the significance of the energy, direct action-orientation, and wide popular appeal that has marked the OWS movement in its first few months, but many observed few connections between OWS and networks of grassroots, low-income, people of color and other marginalized groups that have been the backbone of the U.S. Social Forum process. More importantly, this absence has limited the perspectives of many OWS activists. The workshops sought to distill some

key lessons about how to build intersectional movements that can more effectively challenge globalized capitalism from the more than 10 year history of World Social Forum and U.S. Social Forum (USSF) activism.

The emergence of new fronts of struggle around the world raises new challenges for the World Social Forums. As Michael Leon Guerrero of Grassroots Global Justice and the USSF National Planning Committee has stressed, we need to consider what the appropriate vehicle is for advancing our movements in this current moment. A key task for organizers seems to be helping people see the connections between global structures and processes and local experiences. But perhaps more difficult is the task of finding ways to encourage meaningful grassroots activism that can effectively target these global forces. While the large-scale convergences advanced in the WSF may have helped nurture global identities and political imaginations in the past, in the U.S. and elsewhere they've not been able to respond quickly to openings created by grassroots mobilizations like those in Madison in the fall of 2010, the Arab Spring last winter, and now in OWS. Moreover, there seems to be rather limited progress made in developing durable cross-sectoral connections through the USSF process thus far.

Participants in the Left Forum saw a need for more historical awareness and for a global and systemic analysis among Occupy activists. Much of the discourse and strategic thinking in OWS is focused on the United States, neglecting the movements around the world that have long been fighting this same struggle. Also overlooked is the need for global level changes to address the problems of inequality and corporate power the Occupy movement targets. The World and U.S. Social Forum process provide some important lessons and resources that can help build the power of the global 99%--that is for developing a shared analysis and capacity for collective action. In particular, the global structure of the WSF process helps link local and national discussions and networks with their counterparts around the world. It also helps focus activists in different countries on the multiple ways globalized capitalism affects people in different contexts. In other words, it helps expand people's political

imaginings beyond their own nation so that they can better appreciate global interdependencies and possibilities for moving beyond competitive national policies that are at the core of capitalist globalization. The global and historical perspective also brings into focus the economic and social crises our world now faces. A second theme that emerged from the discussions at the Left Forum was that the USSF has generated strategies and models that are helpful for building broad and diverse alliances that privilege the leadership of those most marginalized by global capitalism.

My research on the WSF and USSF, which has been informed by participatory research with a number of the organizers participating in these Left Forum panels as well as by my participation in Occupy Pittsburgh, suggests three key resources the WSF process brings to contemporary OWS activism. First, the WSF process assumes and nurtures a global analysis, and this has been particularly helpful to the U.S. Social Forum process. Activists in the U.S. tend to lack a global framework for thinking about the problems they face, and this limits their abilities to understand the larger systems that affect local contexts. Second, the WSF process has generated some important principles and models for alliance-building that can inform OWS activism. Because the WSF process has sought to cross national and global economic divides as well as class, race, gender, and ethnicity, it has been forced to confront conflicts and differences. In settings where people share a national identity, there may be a tendency to assume similar interests and identities and to neglect questions of what unites and divides people in the group. Third, the WSF process has generated important strategic insights about how to confront and work to transform globalized capitalism.

The significance of global networks and perspectives in this work cannot be understated. To understand how capitalism works, we need to hear the voices of people from around the world who experience its effects differently. For instance, U.S. activists can learn a great deal from hearing about Southern activists' decades of opposition to the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and IMF. OWS activists also need greater sensitivity to how U.S. policies impact the global "99%." On the second

point, the WSF and especially U.S. Social Forum offers important lessons for how to build diverse alliances, most notably with the principle of intentionality that has guided the USSF and that privileges leadership by those most affected by global capitalism. Practices cultivated in the WSFs--such as active listening, creating spaces that stress relationships over programmatic campaigns would most certainly benefit most OWS groups (see USSF Updates, February 2012). Also, the WSF process has helped amplify, for non-Indigenous audiences, the extensive history of Indigenous people's struggles against globalizing capitalism. Indigenous values and insights are inspiring growing numbers and providing lessons about alternatives to capitalism. For instance, notions of collective as opposed to individualized autonomy—can help challenge the competitive, individualized autonomy advocated by some OWS activists.

Finally, the WSF process has helped bring to the fore strategic emphases and ideas that can advance collective struggle. For instance, demands for universal economic as well as political human rights have proved effective at uniting diverse groups and interests in joint struggle. Similarly, the defense of public services can be readily linked to contemporary austerity programs as well as decades of World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs in the global South. In short, the WSF's diverse networks of movements and organizations is a valuable resource for informing Occupy activists' critiques of global capitalism and for framing a global struggle for an alternative to globalized capitalism. In particular, calls advanced at the 2009 and 2012 WSF for the rights of Mother Earth and for notions of progress based on Indigenous values of *buen vivir* (living well) rather than profit and growth can be focal points for a global movement (For more on these latter points, see the April 2012 US Social Forum e-newsletter at ussf2010.org).

A more complete summary of these workshops and individual presentations from the 2012 Left Forum can be found online at:

http://wiki.ussf2010.org/images/d/d9/Left_Forum_2012_Panel_SUMMARY.pdf

Interview with Senator Fred Risser of the Wisconsin Protests’ “Fab 14”

Yotala Oszkay Febres-Cordero

Central European University

Oszkay-Febres-Cordero_Yotala@student.ceu.hu

Last February, fourteen Democratic state senators from Wisconsin fled to Illinois for three weeks in an effort to stall Governor Scott Walker’s “Budget Repair,” a bill that worked to delimit the collective bargaining rights for public worker unions in Wisconsin in the name of economic stability. Named the “Fab 14” by their supporters, the senators became part of a massive series of demonstrations that lasted over four months, with a successive campaign to recall the Governor. One of them was 85 year-old Senator Fred Risser, the longest serving state senator in the United States, who was in the state legislature when Wisconsin became the first state to introduce a comprehensive collective bargaining program in 1959. On April 10, 2012, a little over a year after the start of these events, I sat down with Senator Risser to discuss his three weeks on the lam. (Interview has been edited to reflect highlights of the hour-long discussion).

Where were you when Governor Walker introduced the budget repair bill and what was your reaction?

I can’t remember exactly where I was when he introduced it but I am in the legislature so as soon as he did introduce it, the information came to me as to what was in it. The joint finance committee was going to have a hearing on it but the bill obviously contained much more than budget repair. It contained many other things that had very little to do with the budget. The catalyst was the provision on collective bargaining for municipal employees. And, it became obvious as we explored that it was really far-reaching. The governor was trying to ram this bill through on very short notice before the public really had an opportunity to know what was in the bill.

The other Democratic senators and I talked about it and the morning the bill was going to come to the senate, we decided we wanted to slow it up somehow. We discussed the different options and one was to just not provide a quorum. If all fourteen of us were not there, there would not be a quorum. So we decided to go just across the state line because if we didn’t show up, they would have the right to send out the state patrol and have us come into work. But the patrol has no power outside the state limits.

In talking it over, we agreed that we would all meet at this place called the Tower, south of the border in Illinois. And, we left. My wife didn’t even know I was leaving and didn’t find out until I called her later and told her that I was out of town. You asked me where was when the bill was introduced, but I don’t exactly know; I was in the legislature. I can tell you, however, where I was when the bill was ready to be acted upon...and that’s in Illinois.

So were the demonstrations already happening at the time that you fled the state?

No, there were no demonstrations there because there was nothing to demonstrate about yet. There was beginning to be the knowledge of what was happening. There were a number of people who observed the joint finance committee, the hearing, and the word was beginning to leak out. As far as the demonstrations of twenty, thirty, forty, and eventually a hundred thousand...that came later.

Did you see the act of fleeing the state as helping those demonstrations come forward?

I think we accomplished our purpose. Our purpose was to preclude there being a quorum, which we did, and to help educate the public as to what the government was trying to do. He claimed this was a budget bill. But the crux of the bill was to gut collective bargaining for municipal employees. Our purpose was to bring attention to the public as to what was going on and of course, the demonstrations around the Capitol got increasingly larger as we were gone. The biggest one when we came back was over 100,000.

Whose idea was it initially to flee the state?

Well, it was a consensus, though I have to give our minority leader Mark Miller a good share of the credit. However, it couldn't have worked without all fourteen agreeing to it. That is the real untold story. You have fourteen people who, without notice, left the state, and stayed out for three weeks...but they're so different. They're fourteen different people: older people, younger people, wealthy people, wealthier people, poor people, people with family...we had one woman who was seven months pregnant. And, they all represented different districts. So here we had this great variation of backgrounds and, yet, we stuck together for three weeks.

It was a hardship. If you live from hand to mouth, to go out of the state and have to pay for food and lodging is difficult. We did not get any money. One time we were accused of being financed by labor, etc. But, no member of our group accepted any money from any source and some of them actually had to borrow some money because they didn't have the money to survive.

We got together at least every afternoon—maybe half of us would be there personally, and the other half would be by phone—and critiqued the day's activities and critiqued the exit strategy and what we were going to do the next day. And, everyday, some of us would think, "well, maybe it's time to go back" and, then the others would say "no, let's stay out a little longer."

Is there anything particularly memorable from the three weeks you were in Illinois? Any moments that really resonated?

I think one of the more interesting aspects of the events were that MSNBC got interested in it and Ed Schultz ran a couple of TV programs and we were in it. And, Rachel Maddow interviewed some of the members on her program. We were called daily by representatives of the New York Times or the Washington Post, and what not, asking, "When are you coming back?" and "How are things going?" I think it was kind of interesting to rub shoulders and talk with the national reporters and national TV. They were all looking for stories and they all wanted to know when we were coming back and what was going on.

We would decide in the afternoon whether to go back or not. We might decide to go back but then the Republicans or the Governor would pull a stupid move. The governor had this fake phone call with the Koch brothers; that made him look kind of foolish. And then another time, the majority leader decided that he was going to have the state patrol go after us to the point where they started knocking on doors of our homes and our offices...looking in closets to see if folks were hiding. It was sort of a waste of money and time. We told them where we were. We said, "We're in Illinois!"

When did you finally reach the consensus to come back?

Well, we were getting kind of anxious. I mean, after three weeks it was kind of long. But the Republicans gave us the exit strategy when they got impatient to the point that they split the bill up and rammed through the collective bargaining part. We watched it on TV; it was a Friday night I think. We watched what they were doing. They decided to go around the rules in our opinion. But once they passed it, there was no purpose in staying out there because we had drawn the public's attention to it and they had found their way of going around the rules to pass the collective bargaining part. We contacted our friends, some of the members of the unions, and what not. Big demonstrations were planned for us that Saturday, and it was announced we were coming back. We knew that night, as soon as they passed it, that we would be back the next day.

How would you describe the homecoming?

Well, the truth is we were treated like heroes around here. We marched around the square as a unit. We had a band ahead of us and we had some national figures with us. They had a podium up for us. And, everywhere we went people would shake our hands and wish us well. I mean it was, unreal, really. I've never had that happen and I've been in politics for over fifty years. A demonstration like that, and the crowd was extremely friendly. Here, you have a crowd of a hundred thousand people and not a single arrest. There were no bad actors in the group. It was just amazing for a group that large. And all of us got a chance to say a few words to the crowd.

I remember it was very that day. Whew, chilly. And even though I was dressed warm, I was cold. But, yet, there were a hundred thousand people there and so it was, sort of like a hero's welcome. And certainly, it was nothing that any of us had ever imagined would occur. And so it was great and then it was over. I live right on the Capitol Square, so I didn't have far to go. I just walked to my home.

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities/Announcements

Calls for Papers

TRAILS, the ASA's Digital Teaching Resources Library

The ASA's Digital Teaching Resources Library is now seeking submissions of teaching resources in any area of sociology. Submissions are now free for ASA members. To find out more or to submit your resource, visit <http://trails.asanet.org>.

Teaching Social Movements

Academic Exchange Quarterly
Spring 2013, Volume 17, Issue 1

Focus: This issue seeks to explore and review research, methods, pedagogical theories, and ideas that may lead to student awareness about past and modern American social movements and protest as well as their potential implications and impact perspectives.

Specifically, what effective instructional strategies prepare and engage modern social sciences and humanities student's ability to learn about the relevance, importance and purpose of social activism, community development, and foster outlooks about social issues that lead to social movements and protest as possible viable outlets of expression and demands for reform. The Occupy Wall Street movement is the latest American social movement to emerge, seemingly at the top of many transformative worldview processes.

Thus, how are these current debates and contemporary movements explored by educators to prepare students to engage and challenge fundamental established relationships as well as popular ideas, perspectives and notions about life, culture, individualism, collective group efforts in society; and what potential role does social science and humanities courses play in these events.

Submissions are welcome from teachers, scholars, researchers, graduate students in the fields of sociology, social psychology, popular culture, religious studies, women studies, African/African American studies, Latino/ Hispanic studies, communication studies (mass media, music, theatre & dance), crime and criminal justice, cross-cultural studies, anthropology, environmental sustainability, media studies, and population studies. Please identify your submission with keyword: SOCSCI-1

Submission deadline: end of November 2012.

Submission Procedure and further details at:

<http://rapidintellect.com/AEQweb/rufen1.htm>

Special Issue on Membership and Mutual Benefit Associations

Deadline: May 25, 2012

Membership associations, many of which are mutual benefit organizations, serve social, political, cultural, sports, religious, occupational and professional groups. Little research attention has yet been paid to their special characteristics and dynamics, particularly in international contexts (Schofer, E. & Fourcade-Gourinchas, M., 2001). David Knoke wrote in 1986, "Put bluntly, association research remains a largely unintegrated set of disparate findings, in dire need of a compelling theory.....[Without it], students of associations and interest groups seem destined to leave their subject in scientific immaturity." And two decades later, Tschirhart (2006, 535-6) concluded that "these earlier assessments still hold today.... [W]e need more theories and empirical work" about the role of associations in civic life.

This special issue will focus scholarly attention on this distinct organizational form and help build theories and a research agenda that are directly applicable to nonprofits operating as mutual benefit

associations with membership bases. **Eight to nine manuscripts will be selected through a formal peer review process. All manuscripts should include brief commentary on the practical application of the knowledge generated.**

We invite research articles and conceptual papers on any of the following topics:

Behavior in and structure of membership and mutual benefit associations. Are assumptions about voluntary behavior derived from research on charities applicable to associations where the incentives to volunteer may be different? What do we know about the social- and career-related motivations and the intrinsic and extrinsic incentives for participating in associations? What structural, political, and other influences explain the structure of these organizations, or the interactions among association staff, members, and boards? What should we understand about the behavior or structure of new forms of associational activity, such as “electronic” or “virtual” membership organizations?

Comparative and international research on associational activity. How do associational activity and levels of citizen involvement in membership organizations vary among nations? How can sociological, political, economic and other theories of the state be applied to associational activity? What models and empirical findings exist to build an understanding of the form and function of associations in different societies?

New forms of research for understanding associations. New forms of research lend themselves in exciting ways to an understanding of associational behavior, including social network analysis, geo-spatial analysis, micro-research on neighborhoods, and other methods. We invite either reviews that analyze methodological approaches or submissions demonstrating the use of new or under-utilized methods.

Inputs and outcomes of associational activity. Who joins and who is served by membership associations? What are the social, political, technical and economic outcomes? To what extent are membership associations producing public and

mutual benefits? Whose voices are being heard and served through these associations? What impact do they have on their various stakeholders?

Association management and effectiveness. What models of strategic planning, management, business enterprise, and evaluation are used in the association field? What financial models are in play and how does their use affect financial and other outcomes? How are innovations diffused through association members? How do membership associations identify and manage competing interests? How do lobbying strategies and outcomes vary across associations and compare with those of other types of nonprofit organizations that do not have membership bases? How, if at all, do associations prepare members for civic engagement or otherwise serve as schools of democracy?

Manuscript Submission Instructions

Please submit final manuscripts by **Friday, May 25, 2012**. Manuscripts should be no more than 8,000 words (including text, references, tables, footnotes and appendices). Articles will be accepted consistent with NVSQ’s publishing standards. The NVSQ editors reserve the right of final approval on all submissions.

All manuscripts should include some commentary on the practical application of their findings or ideas. All manuscripts should follow NVSQ guidelines respecting format, length, and organization:

http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?ct_p=manuscriptSubmission&prodId=Journal200775. A full blind peer review process will be followed, with preliminary decisions prospectively by September 2012, and final decisions early 2013.

Submit manuscripts directly to

<http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/nvsq>. Begin a new submission, then click “manuscript type” and select “Special Issue Manuscripts.” Also be sure to indicate in your cover letter that the manuscript is intended for the special issue on associations.

Other Opportunities and Relevant Announcements

Mobilizing Ideas

We are excited to announce the launch of a new social movements blog edited by Grace Yukich, David Ortiz, Rory McVeigh, and Dan Myers, hosted by the Center for the Study of Social Movements at Notre Dame: <http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com>

The blog, Mobilizing Ideas, publishes interdisciplinary perspectives on social movements, social change, and the public sphere. To enhance dialogue between scholars and activists, Mobilizing Ideas hosts exchanges between leading scholars from the social sciences and humanities and the activists they study, featuring original essays responding to a wide variety of problems related to social movements and social change. We hope MI will become the leading online source for information and debate on social movements and activism. Subscribe to the blog's RSS feed or leave comments—we would love to hear what you think!

Travel and Research Grant: From Rebellion to Revolution—Dynamics of Political Change

16th Berlin Roundtables on Transnationality,
October 17 – 20, 2012

Submission deadline is June 30, 2012.

Based on an international essay competition, we will invite approximately 45 applicants to discuss their research, concerns and agendas with peers and prominent scholars in Berlin. The competition is open to students and scholars (max. up to 5 years after Ph.D.), journalists and activists interested in revolutionary processes (e.g. government agencies, NGOs). The Irmgard Coninx Foundation will cover travel to and accommodation in Berlin.

Conference papers can address but are not limited to the following topics:

- ♦ dynamics of political/system change
- ♦ democratization and human rights in revolutionary processes
- ♦ violence or mass mobilization

- ♦ (new) media and revolution today
- ♦ role of elites and elite competition/coalitions
- ♦ role of military and police forces
- ♦ economic and political reasons for rebellion and their course
- ♦ cultural, demographic, religious, and social factors influencing revolutions
- ♦ foreign military/humanitarian intervention
- ♦ revolution/rebellion as analytical and normative concept

Discussions will take place in three workshops chaired by Wolfgang Merkel (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin/WZB), Christoph Stefes (University of Colorado Denver/WZB), Jeff Goodwin (New York University) and Sonja Hegasy (Zentrum Moderner Orient). The conference will be accompanied by evening lectures by Nancy Fraser (The New School for Social Research) and Amr Hamzawy (requested, University of Cairo/Freedom Egypt Party).

Conference participants are eligible to apply for one of up to three three-month fellowships to be used for research in Berlin at the WZB. For further information on the conference:

<http://www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de/revolutions.html>

Imagining Futures: Social Movements, Publics, and Contentious Politics

Forum in Buenos Aires, Aug. 1-4, 2012

The International Sociological Association's Research Committees on Futures Research (RC07) and on Social Movements, Collective Action, and Social Change (RC48) are convening a series of joint sessions with scholars from around the world. The focus is on questions such as: How do social movements in Latin America and around the world imagine alternative futures? How do social movements create, debate, disseminate, and attempt to implement projects and visions of the future? How do social movements invent new practices? How do social movements relate to old and new media, publics and counter-publics? What factors influence the outcomes of social movement struggles?

Organizers: Markus S. Schulz, UIUC, USA, Ligia TAVERA FENOLLOSA, FLACSO, Mexico, And Benjamin TEJERINA MONTAÑA, U País Vasco, Spain

Papers Include

Fear Abatement And Oppositional Mobilization: Comparative Perspectives On Democratic Movements In Repressive States. Hank JOHNSTON, San Diego State University, USA

Women's Solidarity In Post-Revolution Tunisia. Amel GRAMI, University Of Tunis, Manouba, Tunisia

Constructing Political Spaces: Experiences Of The Uttarakhand Women's Federation, A Rural Women's Movement In India. Divya SHARMA, Cornell University, USA

Building Schools And Futures With Utopian Social Movements In Buenos Aires. Meghan KRAUSCH, University Of Minnesota, USA

Prefiguring The Future Or Repeating The Past? Collectivist Democracy And The Struggle Against Oligarchy In The German Left. Darcy LEACH, Bradley University, USA

Politics Of The Marginalized In The United States And South Africa (Distributed Paper). Marcel PARET, University Of California-Berkeley, USA

Globalization And Vision Quest Of What Is Viable Future (Distributed Paper). Manjeet CHATURVEDI, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India

Avances De Investigación: El Imaginario Social Del Movimiento Arcoíris En Chile (Distributed Paper). Leonardo CANCINO PEREZ, Universidad Diego Portales, Chile

Law, Society And Social Vulnerability: A Comparative Analysis Of Civil Society Role In Access To Justice In Lisbon, Luanda, Maputo And Sao Paulo. Boaventura De Sousa SANTOS, Paula MENESES, Conceição GOMES, Élica LAURIS And Tiago RIBEIRO, University Of Coimbra, Portugal

Imagining Another World: The Role Of Language And Political Imagination In Shaping A Transnational Movement Of Movements. Gabriele DE ANGELIS, Universidade Nova, Lisboa, Portugal

Democratizing Futures: Radical Imaginaries, Police Repression, And Public Engagements Of The Occupy Wall Street Movement. Markus S. SCHULZ, UIUC, USA

Regulating Occupied Spaces: How Cities Control Occupy Camps. Christian SCHOLL, Amsterdam, Netherlands

New Actors On Stage: Analysis Of The Emergent Forms Of Collective Action In The European Context. Dora FONSECA, University Of Coimbra, Portugal

Mobilization For Climate Justice: When South Fights North Ligia. TAVERA FENOLLOSA, FLACSO, Mexico

Social Movements And Digital Media. Christina SCHACHTNER, University Of Klagenfurt, Austria

Online Environmental Mobilization In Brazil: The Belo Monte Future At Crossroads. Marie Louise CONILH DE BEYSSAC (UFRJ, Brazil) And Maria Inácia D'ÁVILA NETO (UFRJ, Brazil)

The Technologies Of Internet In The Contentious Repertoires: Clues And Signs Of Avaaz In A Multi-Sited Fieldwork. Marcelo CASTAÑEDA, CPDA/UFRJ, Brazil

The Arab Uprisings And The Changing Role Of The Public Sphere. Ahmad SA'DI, Ben Gurion University, Israel

Back To The Future: Murals And Conflict Transformation In Northern Ireland. Gregory MANEY, Hofstra University, USA And Lee SMITHEY, Swarthmore College, USA

Hacking Digital Universalism: OLPC And Information Networks In The Andes. Anita CHAN, University Of Illinois, USA

Technological Initiatives In The Brazilian Public Sphere: Fostering Mechanisms Of Social And Digital Inclusion (Distributed Paper) Christiana SOARES DE FREITAS, University Of Brasilia, Brazil

Digital Democracy (Distributed Paper). Angel Gustavo LOPEZ MONTIEL, Tecnológico De Monterrey, Ciudad De México, Mexico

Huerto De La Música: Arte, Estado Y Mercado. Ideas En Tensión En Una Experiencia De Acción Colectiva Contracultural Rosarina. Maria Julia Logiódice, CONICET-FLACSO-UNR, Argentina And Marilé Di Filippo DIFILIPPO, CONICET-UBA-UNR, Argentina

Identidad, Discurso Y Acción Colectiva. Reflexiones Sobre La Organización Política De Los Mapuche. Gisela HADAD, UBA, Argentina

Movimientos Alterglobalización: Un Análisis Crítico De Las Propuestas De La Asociación Para La Fijación De Impuestos En Las Transacciones Financieras Para Ayudar A Los Ciudadanos (ATTAC). Cecilia MINAVERRY, Universidad Del País Vasco, Argentina

Análisis De La Incidencia De Los Movimientos Sociales En Las Políticas Públicas. Daniel Rodríguez, Universidad De Concepción, Chile

La Cámpora En La Última Campaña Presidencial Para Entender Las Relaciones Entre Movimientos Sociales Y Kirchnerismo. Katherine MCKIERNAN, Franklin And Marshall College, Lancaster, PA

The Governmentality Of Governance And Governability In Indigenous Communities In Chile. Jeanne W. SIMON, Universidad De Concepción, Chile and Claudio González PARRA, Universidad De Concepción, Chile

Democratizing the Brazilian public sphere: New dynamics in the relationship between state and black social movements. Angela RANDOLPHO PAIVA, PUC-Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Disagreement and hope: The tenets of social mobilization today. Ana Cecilia DINERSTEIN, University of Bath, UK

Institution building to prefigure sacred societies and states: The Muslim brotherhood in Egypt, Shas in Israel, Comunione e Liberazione in Italy, and the Salvation Army in the USA Nancy DAVIS, DePauw University, USA, and Robert ROBINSON, Indiana University, USA

Mothers' social rights and neoliberalism in Poland Renata Ewa HRYCIUK, University of Warsaw, Poland

The southern movement in Yemen and the quest for a fair state Susanne DAHLGREN, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Academy of Finland, University of Helsinki, Finland

Achieving democracy and economic justice 'from below': A pragmatist vision of radical transformation through

persuasion in compulsion. Judith GREEN, Fordham University, USA

Coping with the risks of a future drought: The case of the Edwards aquifer authority in Texas. Karen Manges DOUGLAS, Sam Houston State University, USA and Gideon SJOBERG, University of Texas at Austin, USA

Ecology and politics: Public resistance against dam projects in the eastern Anatolia. Gözde ORHAN, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey

Movement breeds movement: Interlinks of issues, organizations and ideologies. Rajesh MISRA, University of Lucknow, India

Re-imagining economic relations and the role of the social welfare state: Perspectives from an Argentine shantytown. Megan PEPPEL, University of California at Berkeley, USA
Sacred land and the politics of voice. Radhika BORDE, Wageningen University, Netherlands

THE 2012 SUMMER INSTITUTE IN POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY at Stanford University from July 15 – August 4, 2012

Applications are being accepted now for the 20th Annual Summer Institute in Political Psychology (SIPP), to be held at Stanford University July 15 to August 4, 2012. The SIPP program takes up to 60 participants and is filling up; there are still some spots available. The Summer Institute offers three weeks of intensive training in political psychology. Political psychology is an exciting and thriving field that explores the origins of political behavior and the causes of political events, with a special focus on the psychological mechanisms at work. Research findings in political psychology advance basic theory of human social interaction and social organizations and are an important basis for political decision-making in practice. SIPP was founded in 1991 at Ohio State University, and Stanford has hosted SIPP since 2005, with support from Stanford University and from the National Science Foundation. Hundreds of participants have attended SIPP during these years. The 2012 SIPP curriculum is designed to (1) provide broad exposure to theories, empirical findings, and research traditions; (2) illustrate successful cross-disciplinary research and integration; (3) enhance methodological pluralism; and (4) strengthen networks among scholars from around the world. SIPP activities will include lectures by world-class faculty, discussion groups, research/interest group meetings, group projects, and an array of social activities. Some of the topics covered in past SIPP programs include race relations, conflict and dispute resolution, voting and elections, international

conflict, decision-making by political elites, moral disengagement and violence, social networks, activism and social protest, political socialization, and justice. In 2012, SIPP will accept up to 60 participants, including graduate students, faculty, professionals, and advanced undergraduates. For detailed information and to apply, visit this website: <http://www.stanford.edu/group/sipp/2012> Applicants are accepted on a rolling basis until all slots are filled, so applying soon maximizes chances of acceptance.

ETC

Julie Shayne, University of Washington-Bothell, will have her book *They Used to Call Us Witches: Chilean Exiles, Culture, and Feminism* (Lexington 2009) added to the accessible holdings at the Museo de la Memoria y Los Derechos Humanos (Museum of Memory and Human Rights) in Santiago, Chile. <https://rowman.com/ISBN/0739118501>.

As of January 2012, Val Moghadam has joined Northeastern University as Director of the International Affairs Program and Professor of Sociology. She is helping to establish a School of International Studies and a graduate degree program with a focus on globalization and social justice.

Russia's Unexpected Uprising

Kate Pride Brown
Vanderbilt University
kate.pride.brown@gmail.com

Russia has a long history of defying expectations. In 1913, the Romanovs threw a grand tercentennial anniversary party to celebrate their dynasty's reign, and they were utterly convinced of their people's adoration; within a few years they were deposed by those same cheering masses (Figs 1996). Karl Marx predicted that a communist revolution would begin amongst industrial workers at the epicenter of global capitalism; however, it was the peripheral and agrarian Russia who defied the odds and actually succeeded in instituting a communist government. In the 1980s, during the heady days of Poland's Solidarity movement, Gorbachev's *perestroika* reforms, and environmental protest following the Chernobyl nuclear accident, it was scholarly

conventional wisdom that civil society was on the rise in Eastern Europe, and the indomitable human spirit would lead the region out of totalitarianism and into democracy through civic organizing (e.g. Hosking 1990, Starr 1988). But scholars were mistaken; end of the Soviet Union came from above, not from below, and civil society retreated just when it was needed most (Kotkin 2008). Over the last two decades, there has arisen a new conventional wisdom among Slavists: that civil society, rather than being the vanguard of post-Soviet Russian society, is weak and ineffectual (e.g. Hanson 1995, Howard 2003, Jowitt 1992). According to this vein of scholarship, Russia is plagued by the legacy of autocracy and totalitarianism. To make matters worse, it bears “the oil curse,” which keeps its people complacent and its leaders corrupt. Many Russians, when polled, remain cynical about their government, suspicious of non-governmental organizations and skeptical about democratic action. And yet, Russians once again took academics by surprise in December, as tens of thousands took to the streets in Moscow to demand fair elections and an end to rampant corruption.

What should we, as scholars, take from this new development in a country that staunchly refuses to bend to our theoretical models? One option, for sure, would be to surrender the effort, to admit defeat and concede, along with Winston Churchill, that Russia is no less than “a riddle, wrapped in mystery, inside an enigma,” that it is unknowable and unpredictable – a place apart. On the other hand, this very quality, Russia’s persistent defiance of extant theory, could also be a call to arms to the intrepid scholar. We could find in Russia a challenge worthy of our intellectual labor. After all, it is often in the counterfactual, or in the negative case, that theoretical advancement is to be found.

Scholars have long recognized that most theoretical work on social movements derives from case studies based in Western Europe and the United States. There has been a call in recent years for increasing scholarship from non-Western countries and suggestions for theoretical development based on these alternate contexts (e.g. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001). Russia, with all its unpredictability, is one such case that, by its difference from the West, could open up new streams of research in the field of

social movements. How is it that a country known for its fatalism and public apathy toward politics could suddenly erupt in massive street demonstrations for democracy? And how might studies of Russia further develop scholarship on movements in the United States and Western Europe?

One potentially fruitful avenue for research, I would posit, would be to explore the possibility that processes of mobilization are separate from those processes that subvert mobilization. For example, it is important to bear in mind when considering the recent protest actions in Russia that mass mobilization was largely concentrated in Moscow. There were also protests in St. Petersburg, and small-scale actions in some provincial cities. However, it was only Russia’s capital cities that witnessed major mobilizations. And it was only Moscow that saw sustained activity continuing on after the March presidential election had come and gone. As scholars consider the sources of democratic mobilization in Russia at the end of 2011, it is worth considering that, rather than universalizing theories of political opportunities, resource mobilization, or framing, there may be something specific about Moscow that sets it apart from the low level of activism that is characteristic of Russia as a whole. Moscow is among the most expensive cities in the world, and home to a diverse and stratified class structure. It is a major financial center and source of international tourism. It is a “global city” (Sassen 1991), bearing certain characteristics that more closely resemble New York, London or Tokyo than Vologda, Novosibirsk, or Vladivostok. There may be something in the global city that enables protest even under political and social conditions that might normally repress activism. This angle of approach to “the Russia question” opens the door for scholars to consider “geographies of protest,” to look at the role of space and place in mobilization processes that then mediate or moderate more traditional social movement theories, such as those of resources or political opportunities.

Neither should we view the protests in Russia as wholly independent from the Arab Spring or the Occupy Wall Street movements. On the ground, the actions in Russia appear to be national in scope: the complaint is the endemic corruption in the Russian

government and the cause was an allegedly rigged parliamentary election. However, this expressed cause cannot be taken entirely at face value: there have been many elections in Russia since 1990 and the 2011 election was not unique in its allegations of fraud. Neither is the grievance – corruption – an obvious rallying cry. In my own research, I have heard Russians talk about corruption more often as an excuse *not* to become politically involved. Instead, the timing of Russia's resurgent civil society suggests an international "wave" effect that, though not unique to Russia, might still have lasting impacts on strictly national politics and society.

So what might these impacts be? What are the potential outcomes of the protests in Russia? Could this be the dawn of a new era of civic organizing, the beginnings of the end of the Soviet legacy? Perhaps; but a quick glance at Russian history should caution a wary scholar away from quick judgment or easy prediction. Undoubtedly, the massive uprisings in Russia this fall and winter should be encouraging for those who hope to see a more active citizenry in Russia that can actually hold its government accountable. The number of Russians seen on the streets in Moscow has not been matched since 1991. The protesters came from a wide swath of society: multiple ages, social classes and political dispositions were represented on the street. The demonstrations may have been a brief but effective school for activism for people who had not previously attempted to directly confront the state before. The strength of the Moscow protests may have a diffusion effect, inspiring the provinces to follow suit and take their grievances to the street. The winter demonstrations might have changed the perceptions of the possible among the Russian public, and brought new repertoires into Russian political contention.

However, there are other reasons to curb any overly optimistic predictions of Russia's future. One problem that the protestors face is the importance that is invested in the personhood of Putin. The once and future president looms large in the public mind as the personification of political power. And Putin's circle has shown that it cares a great deal about fostering positive public opinion through its repeated publicity stunts (e.g. Barry 2011). Putin is an important, powerful and strategic target. It is possible, though,

that the protests could become too focused upon the personhood of Putin. With his unquestioned reelection to a new, and renewable, six-year term in office, it is safe to say that Vladimir Putin is not going away. If Russian activists cannot succeed in separating Putin as a target from the structural goals of curbing corruption, it is possible that the movement will be deemed a failure, and a new generation of Russian activists could fall into the trap of cynicism that continues to affect much of Russia's population.

Perhaps the most ominous threat to a rejuvenated Russian civil society is the Kremlin's continued and unabashed support of the Assad regime in Syria. Russia and China have repeatedly blocked U.N. Security Council attempts to pass resolutions condemning Syria, and Russian ships full of armaments have been providing munitions to Assad's troops, who are bombarding Syrian citizens in cities that support the democratic protestors. Syria is an ally of Russia's and Russia has geopolitical reasons for maintaining the Assad regime; however, it may be worth considering that Russia and China also have domestic reasons for their foreign policy position. In its support of Syria, the Russian government is defending the precedent that a government has the right to use brutal force on its citizenry who are demonstrating peacefully for political change. Such has not been the Kremlin's tactic against its own demonstrators this winter, but the symbolic warning sent to the Russian populace cannot be dismissed.

In conclusion, although many Slavic scholars before have attempted to forecast the future, many have also been forced to eat their words. It is a risky venture, but an enticing one nonetheless. There is much to be gained through an engagement with such a challenging context. Fundamentally, it is the Russians themselves who will shape their future, either through collective action or collective inaction, and they will do so in relationship with their state, which may be either further corrupted or corrected in the process. Scholars of social movements, meanwhile, would do well to observe these developments and attend to these differences in expectation and outcome, if not to better predict Russia's future, then to better understand our own.

Works Cited

- Barry, Ellen. 2011. "A Changed Russia Arches an Eyebrow at Putin's Staged Antics." *New York Times*. October 6, pg. A14.
- Figes, Orlando. 1996. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1917-1924*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Hanson, Stephen. 1995. "The Leninist Legacy and Institutional Change." *Comparative Political Studies* 28(2): 306-314.
- Hosking, Geoffrey. 1990. *The Awakening of the Soviet Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Howard, Marc Morje. 2003. *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Jowitt, Ken. 1992. *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 2008. *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse 1970-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sassan, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Starr, S. Frederick. 1988. "The Soviet Union: A Civil Society." *Foreign Policy* 70: 26-41.

Friday, August 17

10:30 AM-12:10 PM

Regular Session. Social Movements: Origins, Opportunity, and Outcomes

Session Organizer: Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)

Presider & Discussant: Kenneth T. Andrews (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

- ♦ "A Cross-national, Multilevel Approach to Class-based Political Mobilization," Kyle Dodson (University of California-Merced)
- ♦ "Can a Social Movement Limit the Political Opportunity Structure of the State? Poland's Solidarity Union," Jack M. Bloom (Indiana University-Northwest)
- ♦ "Movement-Countermovement Dynamics and Countermovement Decline: Examining the Fate of Pro- and Anti-Immigration Forces, 2005-2008," Matthew Ward (University of Arizona)
- ♦ "Why Do Social Movements Radicalize? The Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland, 1968-1971," Gianluca De Fazio (Emory University)

Thematic Session. Robust Empowerment and Grassroots Activism

Featuring John P. Gaventa (St. Francis Xavier University)

2:30-4:10 PM

Regular Session: Collective Behavior

Session Organizer & Presider: Joyce M. Bell (University of Pittsburgh)

Discussant: Glenn Edward Bracey (Texas A&M University)

- ♦ "Democracy in Translation: How Activists Communicate across Linguistic Borders," Nicole Doerr (University of California-Irvine)
- ♦ "From Fervor to Fear: Managing Emotion in the Tea Party Movement," Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University) & Jesse Rose Klein (Florida State University)
- ♦ "Occupy Online: How Cute Old Men and Malcolm X Recruited 300,000 to OWS on Facebook," Neal Caren (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill) & Sarah Gaby (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
- ♦ "The Most Fabulous Form of Protest: The Tactical Innovation and Diffusion of Glitter Bombing," Anya Mikael Galli (University of Maryland-College Park)

CBSM-Related Events at ASA 2012

This selection of events represents the best efforts of the CriticalMass editor to locate all of the CBSM section events as well as other events and sessions of interest to scholars of social movements and collective behavior at the 2012 ASA meetings in Denver by browsing the preliminary ASA schedule as of May 2012. I apologize for any errors or omissions.

Open Refereed Roundtable Session I, Table 17. Collective Behavior and Social Movements

Session Organizer: Paul-Brian McInerney
(University of Illinois-Chicago)

- ♦ “Letting Go: Resignation and Resistance among Contemporary Slaveholders,” Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (University of Notre Dame)
- ♦ “Militia Masculinities: Traditional Expression and Experimentation,” Amy B. Cooter (University of Michigan)
- ♦ “Reconstructing Identity through Protest: Iranian Americans and the 2009 Iranian Election Protests,” Haj Yazdiha (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
- ♦ “Social Movement Organizations and Mass Media: How Organizational Identity Influences Media Coverage,” Erin Evans (University of California-Irvine)
- ♦ “The Emergence of Grassroot Literati Protest Leadership: Assessing State-Leader Relationships and Movement Outcomes in China,” Jean Yen-chun Lin (University of Chicago)

4:30-5:30 PM

Section on Global and Transnational Sociology Roundtable Session, Table 03. Transnational Movements and Gender

Session Organizer: Nitsan Chorev (Brown University)

- ♦ “Learning to Organize Globally,” Dongxiao Liu (Texas A&M University)
- ♦ “Transnational Feminist Visions of Gender Justice: The Case of a South Asian Network,” Meera Sehgal (Carleton College)
- ♦ “Global Borders, Gender and Transnationalism,” Natalia Ribas-Mateos (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
- ♦ “Cooperative Transnationalism in Contemporary Europe: Contested Norms and the Struggle for Recognition by Sexual Minorities,” Phillip M. Ayoub (Cornell University)

4:30-6:10 PM

Section on Sociology of Culture Roundtable Session. Table 14. Culture, Politics, and Collective Action.

Session Organizer: Vaughn Schmutz (University of North Carolina-Charlotte)

- ♦ “Roller Derby Revolution: Sport as a Social Movement,” Travis Beaver (University of Texas-Austin)

- ♦ “The Dead, The Living, and War. The “Leningrad Death” in the Blockade of Leningrad,” Jeffrey Hass (University of Richmond)
- ♦ In Search of a Utopian Hero,” Julieta Cunanan Mallari (University of the Philippines)
- ♦ “The Rise of Performative Politics in Twentieth Century America,” Jason L. Mast (Zeppelin University)
- ♦ “The Making of the Knickerbocker-Davis Affair: Jews, Blacks and the Discourse of Democracy at CCNY,” Daniel Aaron Sherwood (Graduate Faculty of New School University)

Saturday, August 18

8:30-10:10 AM

Thematic Session. Democracy’s Blueprints: The Globalization of Participatory Budgeting

Session Organizer, Presider, & Discussant: Ernesto Ganuza (Advanced Social Research Institute)

Panelists:

- ♦ Christine Allegretti (University of Coimbra)
- ♦ Baogang He (Deakin University)
- ♦ Gena Miller (University of Illinois-Chicago)
- ♦ Tiago Peixoto (World Bank)

12:30-2:10 PM

Section on Political Sociology Paper Session. Electoral Politics: Structure, Context, and Social Movements

Session Organizer: Nancy DiTomaso (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Presider: Jennifer Laird (University of Washington)

- ♦ “Local Contexts and Asian American Underparticipation in Electoral Politics,” Naomi Hsu (University of California-Berkeley)
- ♦ “Obama’s Election, Local Military Tradition, and the Human Costs of War,” Jungyun Gill (Mountain State University), James DeFronzo (University of Connecticut)
- ♦ “Protest, Organizations, and Legislative Success,” Susan Olzak, Sarah A. Soule, Marion Coddou, & John Muñoz (all from Stanford University)
- ♦ “Saying “Yes” to Taxes: The Politics of Tax Reform Campaigns in Three Northwestern States, 1965-1973,” Elizabeth Pearson (UC Berkeley)
- ♦ “Virtual Power Plays: Social Movements, Internet Communication Technology, and Political Parties,” Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University), Leslie A. Bunnage (Seton Hall)

**Section on Sociology of Law Paper Session.
Immigrants Outside the Law: Determining Rights
and Making Claims in a Legal Context of
Exclusion**

Session Organizer & Discussant: Leisy Janet Abrego
(University of California-Los Angeles)

Presider: Patrisia Macias (Sarah Lawrence College)

- ♦ “Between Exploitation and Resistance: Immigrant Women Organizing Residential Construction,” Maria Cristina Morales (University of Texas-El Paso)
- ♦ “Litigating to Organize: Workers’ Centers, Immigrant Workers and the National Labor Relations Act,” Jessica Rose Garrick (University of New Mexico)
- ♦ “Regulatory Resistance: Bureaucratic Opportunity Structures Shaping Rights of Undocumented Workers,” Ming Hsu Chen (University of Colorado-Boulder)
- ♦ “‘Undocumented and Unafraid’: Undocumented Youth, Deportation Deferral Campaigns, and Redefining Belonging,” Caitlin Cassidy Patler (University of California-Los Angeles)

2:30-4:10 pm

**Regular Session. Latinos and Social Movements
Session Organizer: Silvia Dominguez
(Northeastern University)**

Presider: Ramiro Martinez (Florida International University)

Discussant: Victor M. Rios (University of California-Santa Barbara)

- ♦ “Latinos and Social Movements in the Obama Years,” Jose Zapata Calderon (Pitzer College)
- ♦ “Undocumented and Unafraid: The Political Emergence of the Dream Generation,” Thomas Pineros Shields (Brandeis University)
- ♦ “Undocumented, Studious, but Pessimistic: Perspectives of Undocumented Latino Students in Chicago,” Dennis Kass, Michael Onstott, & Lucila Rivas (all from Chicago Law and Education Foundation)
- ♦ “Voice and Power in the Immigrant Youth Movement,” Walter Nicholls (University of Amsterdam)

Sunday, August 19

8:30 am-10:10 am

**Section on Collective Behavior and Social
Movements Paper Session. The Tea Party and
Occupy Wall Street: Myths and Realities**

Session Organizer & Presider: Ziad W. Munson (Lehigh University)

Discussant: Drew Halfmann (University of California-Davis)

- ♦ “Explaining Tea Party Activism: The Role of Cultural and Economic Threat,” Joseph DiGrazia (Indiana University-Bloomington)
- ♦ “Framing and Perceiving Consensus: Participatory Democracy and Decision-making in the Occupy Movement,” Jesse Rose Klein, Lindsey Lennon, Daniel Lanford, & Phil Lennon (all from Florida State University)
- ♦ “Political Cultures of Accountability: Practicing Citizenship across the Ideological Divide,” Ruth Lauren Braunstein (New York University)
- ♦ “Public Attention and the Diffusion of ‘Occupy’ Protests in the United States,” Ion Bogdan Vasi (Columbia University) & Chan S. Suh (Cornell University)

**Regular Session. Social Movements: Activist Paths
and Identities**

Session Organizer: Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)

Presider & Discussant: Robert D. Benford (University of South Florida)

- ♦ “Making it Personal: Humanizing Tactics and the Diffusion of Success in the Anti-Sweatshop Movement,” Forrest S Briscoe (Penn State University), Abhinav Gupta (Penn State University), & Mark Anner (Cornell University)
- ♦ “The Distinctiveness of Antiwar Activism: Paths of Activist Participation in a Multi-Movement Environment,” Fabio Rojas (Indiana University)
- ♦ “Constructing ‘Identities of Privilege’: Identity Work in Conservative Social Movements,” David Dietrich (Texas State University-San Marcos)
- ♦ “Mexican American Protest, Ethnic Resiliency, and Social Capital: The Mobilization Benefits of Cross-Cutting Ties,” Wayne Santoro, Maria Velez, & Stacy M Keogh (all from University of New Mexico)

10:30-12:10 PM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. Social Movement Theory: What Is to Be Done?

Session Organizer: Jeff Goodwin (New York University)

Panelists:

- ♦ Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)
- ♦ Deborah B. Gould (University of California-Santa Cruz)
- ♦ Mary Bernstein (University of Connecticut)
- ♦ James M. Jasper (City University of New York-Graduate Center)

Author Meets Critics Session. Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States (Princeton Press, 2011) by William Roy

Session Organizer: Ronald R. Aminzade (University of Minnesota)

Presider: Douglas McAdam (Stanford University)

Author: William G Roy (University of California-Los Angeles)

Critics:

- ♦ Francesca Polletta (University of California-Irvine)
- ♦ Vincent J. Roscigno (Ohio State University)
- ♦ (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Thematic Session. Another World is Possible: The Utopian Vision of the World Social Forum

Session Organizer & Presider: Lauren Langman (Loyola University-Chicago)

- ♦ “Real Utopias from the World Science Forum,” Thomas Ponniah (Harvard University)
- ♦ “The Black Radical Imaginary for Social Transformation,” Rose Brewer (University of Minnesota)
- ♦ “Visioning and Creating Another World: Theory and Practice of the Social Forum Movement,” Walda Katz-Fishman (Howard University), Jerome Scott (League of Revolutionaries)
- ♦ “Utopia and Democracy: Reflections on the Anti-globalization Movement,” Walden Bello (University of the Philippines-Diliman)
- ♦ “The World Social Forum and Emerging Subsystems of World Politics,” Jackie Smith (University of Pittsburgh)
- ♦ “Another World is Possible: The WSF Ten Years Later,” Chico Wittaker (World Social Forum)

Open Refereed Roundtable Session III, Table 17. Politics and Movements

Session Organizer: Paul-Brian McInerney (University of Illinois-Chicago)

- ♦ “(Re) Formulating the Men’s Movement,” Iyar Mazar
- ♦ “Active Non-participation as a Barrier to the Real Utopia of Sustainable Natural Resource Use,” Candace Kristen May (Colorado State University)
- ♦ “Power and Authority in Social Movements: A Political Philosophy of Prefigurative Politics,” Louis Edgar Esparza (California State University-Los Angeles)
- ♦ “Right to Life or Justice? National Influences on Amnesty International’s Death Penalty Campaign,” Anne M Castelvechchi (University of Virginia)
- ♦ “Right-Wing Nationalism and Gender Politics in Contemporary Europe,” Sara R. Farris (University of Brunel)

2:30-4:10 PM

Regular Session. Social Movements: Protest Dynamics and Coalitions

Session Organizer: Steven M. Buechler (Minnesota State University)

Presider & Discussant: Mayer N. Zald (University of Michigan)

- ♦ “Are Religious-based and Secular-based Protests Distinct?” Kraig Beyerlein (University of Notre Dame), Sarah A. Soule (Stanford University), Nancy Martin (California State University-Long Beach)
- ♦ “Coalition Work in the Pittsburgh G20 Protests,” Suzanne Staggenborg (University of Pittsburgh)
- ♦ “The Accretion and Dispersion of Issues in Social Movement Coalitions,” David S. Meyer, Amanda Pullum, Rottem Sagi (all from University of California-Irvine)
- ♦ “Issue-bricolage: A Behavioral Configuration of the Social Movement Sector, 1960-1995,” Wooseok Jung & Brayden G. King (both from Northwestern University)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Elites in Social Movements

Session Organizer, Presider, and Discussant: Edward T. Walker (University of California-Los Angeles)

- ♦ “The Progressive Origins of Rich People’s Movements,” Isaac William Martin (University of California-San Diego)
- ♦ “Social Movements 2.0? Business Language, Local Elites and the Politics of Civic Innovation,”

Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Alissa Cordner, Peter Klein, Stephanie Savell, & Elizabeth Bennett (all from Brown University)

- ♦ “Institutional Entrepreneurs and Social Movements: Explaining Disability Rights,” David Nicholas Pettinicchio (University of Washington)
- ♦ “Lawyering for Social Justice: Pro Bono Publico, Cause Lawyering, and the Social Movement Society,” Steven Allen Boutcher (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Regular Session. Conflict and Redistributive Struggle

Session Organizer: Samuel Cohn (Texas A&M University)

Presenter & Discussant: Jennifer Earl (University of California-Santa Barbara)

- ♦ “Industrial Development and Land Dispossession in India: Gujarat Peasants Confront the Subnational State,” Devparna Roy (Cornell University)
- ♦ “Demolition and Dispossession: Toward an Understanding of State Violence in Millennial Mumbai,” Liza J. Weinstein (Northeastern University)
- ♦ “Health Developmental States: Theory and Evidence from Urban Brazil,” Christopher L. Gibson (Brown University)
- ♦ “Neoliberal Development Strategies and the Revitalization of Popular Movements in Central America,” Paul D Almeida (University of California-Merced)

6:30-8:30 PM

Joint Reception: Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements; Section on Political Sociology; Section on Human Rights

Monday, August 20

8:30 AM-10:10 AM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Council and Business Meetings.

Section on Comparative-Historical Sociology Paper Session. Revolutions “New” and “Old”

Session Organizers, Presiders, and Discussants: Mounira Maya Charrad (University of Texas-Austin) & Danielle Kane (Duke University)

- ♦ “Civic Secession: Framing in Yemen’s Southern Mobility Movement,” Elizabeth Lynn Young (University of Michigan-Ann Arbor)
- ♦ “Reflections on the Revolutionary Wave in 2011: For a Fifth Generation of Revolutionary Theory,” Colin J. Beck (Pomona College)
- ♦ “Revolutionary Ecology and the Rise of Taiping Rebellion, 1846-1853,” Yang Zhang (University of Chicago)
- ♦ “Similar Beginnings, Different Endings: The Semiabsolutist States and Revolutionary Outcomes in Germany and Russia,” Pavel I. Osinsky (Appalachian State University)

Section on the Political Economy and the World-System Paper Session. World Revolutions and the Arab Spring

Session Organizers: Valentine M. Moghadam (Northeastern University) & Christopher Chase-Dunn (University of California-Riverside)

Presider: Christopher Chase-Dunn (University of California-Riverside)

Discussants: Valentine M. Moghadam (Northeastern University) & Thomas Ehrlich Reifer (University of San Diego)

- ♦ “Building A Neo-Liberal State; Investigating the Legacy of the American Occupation of Iraq,” Yousef Kazem Baker (University of California-Santa Barbara)
- ♦ “Cognitive Capitalism and the 2011 Global Revolt: World-historical Perspectives,” Brendan Innis McQuade (State University of New York-Binghamton University)
- ♦ “Transnational Activism and Global Transformation: An Emerging Subsystem of World Politics?,” Jackie Smith & Brittany Julia Duncan (both from University of Pittsburgh)

10:30-11:30 AM

Section on Communication and Information Technology Roundtable Session, Table 02. Movements and Organizing

Session Organizers: Gina Neff (University of Washington) & Shelia R. Cotten (University of Alabama-Birmingham)

- ♦ “The Influence of Leadership on Activity Levels in an Online Crime Watch Community,” PJ Rey, Awalin Sopan, Jae-wook Ahn, Jeehye Kang, Catherine Plaisant (all from University of Maryland)
- ♦ “Internet Technology Use and the 2010 United States Social Forum,” James W Love & Elizabeth Anne Gervais Schwarz (both from University of California-Riverside)
- ♦ “Framing Boundary Movements: Leveraging Social Media for a Science-based Utopia,” Shaila Miranda (University of Oklahoma)

10:30 AM-12:10 PM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. Nonviolence in the Arab Spring

Session Organizer: Sharon Erickson Nepstad (University of New Mexico)

Presider: Marian A Azab (Arizona State University)

Discussant: Mohammed Bamyeh (University of Pittsburgh)

- ♦ “Reading Gandhi in the Middle East,” Sean Chabot & Majid Sharifi (both from Eastern Washington University)
- ♦ “Classical Sociology and the Arab Spring: When Does Nonviolence Work?” Gerardo Otero & Efe Can Gurcan (both from Simon Fraser University)
- ♦ “The Activist Networks behind Egypt’s “Spontaneous” Uprising,” Killian Clarke (New York University)
- ♦ “A Cultural Sociology of Emotions in Social Movements: Egypt, Revolution, and the April 6 Youth Movement,” Daniel Ikeda (Haverford College)
- ♦ “They Have a Gun in One Hand and the Media in the Other’: Activists Confront the Old Regime in Post-Mubarak Egypt,” Amy Kristine Holmes (American University-Cairo)

12:30-2:10 PM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Sexualities, Social Movements, and Institutions (co-sponsored with Section on Sexualities)

Session Organizers: Tey Meadow (Princeton University) & Tina Fetner (McMaster University)

Presider & Discussant: Tina Fetner (McMaster University)

- ♦ “Does ‘Place’ Count? Marrying Outside the Heartland to Mobilize for Lesbian and Gay Rights,” Melanie Heath (McMaster University)
- ♦ “Visibility and Legibility, Consumption and Protest in the Production of Queer Space,” Benjamin Haber (City University of New York-Graduate Center)
- ♦ “‘They’re Always Nice to My Face’: Sex Workers, Power, Resistance and Anti-Sex Trafficking Ideology,” Crystal A Jackson (University of Nevada-Las Vegas)
- ♦ “Policy Influence on Social Movements: Newspaper Coverage of LGBT SMOs,” Thomas Alan Elliott (University of California-Irvine), Edwin Amenta (University of California-Irvine), Neal Caren (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

2:30-4:10 PM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables Session.

Session Organizers: Jonathan Horowitz & Sarah Gaby (both from University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

Table 01. Campus and University

- ♦ “Just Muslim: Sectarian Identity Construction in Campus Muslim Politics,” Atiya F. Husain (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
- ♦ “Encounter of Localism and Globalism in Social Movements: The Japanese Student Movements in the 1960s,” Ryoko Kosugi (Tohoku University)
- ♦ “Embedded Ethnic Groups: How University Institutional Contexts Shape Latino Student Organizing,” Daisy Isabel Verduzco Reyes (University of California-Irvine)
- ♦ “Fighting the Hand that Feeds Them: Institutionalization and the Contemporary Student Movement,” Theo Greene (Northwestern University)

- ♦ “Explaining the Likelihood of Campus Community Public Order Disturbances, 1997-2007,” John D. McCarthy (Pennsylvania State University), Patrick S. Rafail (Pennsylvania State University), Clark McPhail (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Andrew W. Martin (Ohio State University), Edward T. Walker (University of California-Los Angeles)
- ♦ “Social Movement Abeyance in the 21st Century: U.S. College Students and Feminist Mobilization,” Alison Crossley (University of California-Santa Barbara)

Table 02. Collective Identity

- ♦ “Community Identity and Collective Mobilization: Rethinking City-based Development,” Alexis Mann (Brandeis University)
- ♦ “Intersectionality and the Contested Construction of a Motherist Movement’s Collective Identity,” Noa Milman (Boston College)
- ♦ “Na Mea Hawaiian (All Things Hawaiian): Ancient and Nascent Sovereignty,” Elizabeth Helen Essary (Pepperdine University)
- ♦ “Asserting Spatial Citizenship in a Time of Crisis: The Development of a Collective Spatialized Identity,” Joshua Sbicca & Robert Todd Perdue (both from University of Florida)
- ♦ “Narratives about Political Obstacles in Argentina’s Movement for Abortion Rights,” Elizabeth Borland (The College of New Jersey)
- ♦ “Silencing Memory, Feeling History: Historical Consciousness of Outsiderness in Turkey,” Ozlem Goner (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Table 03. Community-Based Research and Organizations

- ♦ “Organizational Correlates of Sustained Participation in Groups Practicing Congregation-Based Community Organizing,” Eric A. Tesdahl & Paul Speer (both from Vanderbilt University)
- ♦ “Organizing for Environmental Justice: From Bridges to Taro Patches,” Amy Krings & Michael Spencer (both from University of Michigan)
- ♦ “Sharing as Organizational Value: Continuity and Change in an Open Source Software Networks,” Peter Gundelach (University of Copenhagen)
- ♦ “Town-gown Alliances and the Emergence of the Solidarity Economy Movement in the United States,” Ana Margarida Fernandes Esteves (Brown University)
- ♦ “Wisconsin’s Solidarity Sing Along: Framing Social Movements through Protest Song,” Jackson

Foote (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Table 04. Culture

- ♦ “Subcultures and Small Groups: A Social Movement Theory Approach,” Ugo Corte (Uppsala University), Bob Edwards (East Carolina University)
- ♦ “Consciousness of Social Change,” Nehal A. Patel (University of Michigan-Dearborn)
- ♦ “Cultural Change and Movement Factionalization: The Rise of the Creation Science Movement and the Creation Museum,” Kathleen Curry Oberlin (Indiana University)
- ♦ “Representational Campaigns: A New Agenda for Social Movement Studies,” Christine Slaughter (Yale University)
- ♦ “Status Discontent or Moral Crusade? The Tea Party Movement and Theories of Conservative Social Movements,” Paul Geoffrey Bakken (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- ♦ “These Problems Are (Not) the Same: Domain Expansion around Male Circumcision and Female Genital Cutting,” Laura M. Carpenter & Erin Bergner (both from Vanderbilt University)

Table 05. Political and Intellectual Elites

- ♦ “Constructing Threat Creating Communication: Emotional Resonance in Presidential Speeches,” Jordan T. Brown (Florida State University)
- ♦ “Elites and Civic Engagement: Municipal Reform Movements in Philadelphia and Chicago during the Progressive Era,” Jaesok Son (University of Chicago)
- ♦ “Playing with Fire: The World of Flame Retardant Activism and Policy,” Alissa Cordner, Phil Brown, & Margaret Alice Mulcahy (all from Brown University)
- ♦ “The Grillini Movement in Italy: The Case for Megaphone Leadership,” Eric Turner (University of New Mexico)
- ♦ “Understanding Persuasive Processes: Charisma and Sociological Glamour Illustrated Using Cases of Movement Leaders,” Elizabeth A. Williamson (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)
- ♦ “When do Intellectuals Take Action? ‘Collective Intellectuals’ in Postwar Japan,” Hiroe Saruya (University of Michigan)

Table 06. Environmentalism and Environmental Justice

- ♦ “Eroded Activism, Increased Private Efforts: Environmental Behavior in the United States, Germany, Austria, and Czech Republic (1993-2010),” Markus Hadler (Marshall University)

- ♦ “Political Shifts and Environmental Activism in Post-Communist Europe,” Alison E. Adams (University of Florida), Thomas E. Shriver (Oklahoma State University), Chris Michael Messer (Oklahoma State University)
- ♦ “Rendering Scientific Research Coherent: Environmental Health Social Movement Framing Processes and the Importance of Scientist-Activist Collaboration,” Amy Lubitow (Portland State University)
- ♦ “Unintended Consequences: An Analysis of the Chesapeake Bay Watershed Debate,” Elizabeth Anne Gervais Schwarz (University of California-Riverside)

Table 07. Framing

- ♦ “Fighting Their Own Battles: The Role of Identity Framing in the Political Mobilization of Communities,” Mindy S. Romero (University of California-Davis)
- ♦ “Strategic Frame Ambivalence: Intelligent Design and Reparative Therapy Navigate the Worlds of Religion and Science,” Antony William Alumkal (Ilf School of Theology)
- ♦ “Framing Battles: Gun Control vs. Gun Rights,” Trent Taylor Steidley (Ohio State University)
- ♦ “Hybrid Frames and Scale Shift in Protest Waves,” Marko Grdesic (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- ♦ “Woman vs. Fetus: Frame Transformation in the Pro-life Movement,” Alexa Jane Trumpy (St. Norbert College)
- ♦ “Identifying Frames and Worldviews in Texts,” Gabe Ignatow & Rada Mihalcea (both from University of North Texas)

Table 08. Identities and Communities

- ♦ “Mexican Hometown Associations and Political Engagement in the United States,” Jose A. Munoz (California State University-San Bernardino)
- ♦ “New Freedom Riders: Poor People’s Movement Organizations and the Politics of Urban Public Transit Justice,” Armando Xavier Mejia (University of Wisconsin-Madison and California State University-Long Beach)
- ♦ “Speaking Waves, Thinking Generations: Contemporary Feminist Activism the United States,” Jo Reger (Oakland University)
- ♦ “The Class-culture Roots of the U.S. Anarchist Subculture,” Betsy Leondar-Wright (Boston College)

- ♦ “Tracing Theoretical Threads: Pittsburgh Radical Women and Earlier Struggles for Liberation,” Marie Skoczylas (University of Pittsburgh)
- ♦ “Racial Framing and the Multiracial Movement,” Todd C. Couch (Texas A&M University)

Table 09. Resistance and Emotions

- ♦ “A Psychosocial Model of Violent Behavior among Sports Spectators,” Michael K. Ostrowsky (Southern Utah University)
- ♦ “Cultura-Identidad: The Use of Art in the University of Puerto Rico Student Movement, 2010,” Katherine Tracy Everhart (Vanderbilt University)
- ♦ “From Friendly to Grim: Introducing the Atmosphere at Street Demonstrations,” Anouk Leonie Van Leeuwen, Jacquelin Van Stekelenburg, & Bert Klandermans (all from VU University)
- ♦ “Sing Out! Collective Singing Rituals of Folk Protest-Music,” Jeneve R. Brooks (Troy University)
- ♦ “The Best Laid Plans: Teacher Sensemaking and Organizational Change in Schools,” Kimberly Austin (University of Chicago)
- ♦ “Constructing the Boundaries of “We”: Russian Nationalism in the Russo-Soviet Anekdot,” Michelle Hannah Smirnova (University of Maryland)

Table 10. Networks and Embeddedness

- ♦ “Demonstrating Diasporas: Why Dutch Jews and Muslims Protest in the Netherlands,” Jacquelin van Stekelenburg & Raymond van Ginkel (both from VU University)
- ♦ “Embeddedness and Risk in Online Activism: The Case of Balatarin.com in Iran’s Green Movement,” Ali Honari (VU University)
- ♦ “Internet as a Tool for Activism: The Turkish Case,” Afife Idil Akin (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
- ♦ “Role of Key Actors in the Network Based Social Movement,” Kei Nakagawa-Takata (New School for Social Research)
- ♦ “Role of Network: Based on Anti-U.S. Beef Movement in Korea,” Ki Tae Park (University of Hawaii)
- ♦ “Social Media, Social Action, Social Class in the Occupy Movement,” R. Jamil Jonna (University of Oregon)

Table 11. The Occupy Movement

- ♦ “The Occupy Wall Street Social Movement; Symbol, Practice, and Power,” Joseph G. A. Trumino (St. John’s University)
- ♦ “The People’s Conversation: Repertoires of Contention in the Occupy Movement,” Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur (Rhode Island College)
- ♦ “The Short Lost History of Occupy Wall Street,” Joan M. Donovan (University of California-San Diego)
- ♦ “Understanding the Occupy Movement: Social Context, Mobilization, Symbolism and Form of Social Power,” Kim Scipes (Purdue University-North Central)
- ♦ “Death of Negotiated Management: Global Cities, Protest Policing, and the Occupy Movement,” Elizabeth E. Martinez (Fresno Pacific University)
- ♦ “Framing the Occupy Movement: A Cross-national Comparison of Newspaper Coverage in Four Western Countries,” Rens Vliegenthart (University of Amsterdam)

Table 12. Ideology

- ♦ “By the People, For the People: The Potential and Limitations of Black Conservative Social Movements,” Louis G. Prisock (Colgate University)
- ♦ “Race, Deregulation and Building the Interstate Highway System: How Culture Makes Sense of Policy Exceptions,” Randolph H. Hohle (D’Youville College)
- ♦ “Transnational Solidarities: Which Methodologies?,” Verpraet Gilles (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique)
- ♦ “The Effect of Master Protest Frame in the Social Movements: Iran and Egypt,” Arash Reisinezhad (Florida International University)
- ♦ “Movements of Society or Social Movements? Ideology and Political Dynamics in 1980s Eastern Europe,” Yakov Lowinger (Yeshiva University)
- ♦ “Uprooting Whiteness Within the Occupy Movement: How Identity (Anti-)Politics are the Masters’ Tools,” Mike King (University of California-Santa Cruz)

Table 13. Outcomes

- ♦ “Congressional Priorities and the Tea Party Movement,” Tarun David Banerjee (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
- ♦ “Congressional Responsiveness to Social Movement Claims Making,” Daniel Crocker Hale (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

- ♦ “Letting Go: Resignation and Resistance among Contemporary Slaveholders,” Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick (University of Notre Dame)
- ♦ “Public Opinion as Movement Outcome: The Influence of the U.S. Women’s Movement on Gender Attitudes,” Lee Ann Banaszak (Pennsylvania State University), Heather Ondercin (University of Mississippi)
- ♦ “The Influence of the Civil Rights Movement on the Newspaper Coverage of Three Spin-Off Movements,” Beth Gharrity Gardner (UC Irvine)
- ♦ “The Consequences of Activist Past on Political Present: The Vote to Deploy Korean Troops to Iraq,” Paul Yunsik Chang (Yonsei University)

Table 14. Participation

- ♦ “Comparing Street Demonstration Participants’ Decision Time across Countries, Issues and Mobilization Channels,” Marie-Louise Damen, Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg, & Bert Klandermans (all from VU University)
- ♦ “Issues, Actions and Structures: Patterns of Participant Support for CODEPINK and NOW,” Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum (University of Pittsburgh)
- ♦ “Palestinian Youth Political Participation at a Crossroad: Between Imaginary State Building and National Liberation,” Randa I. Nasser & Eileen Kuttab (both from Birzeit University)
- ♦ “Understanding Protest Intensity in a Sample of Highly Mobilized Activists,” Gary Coyne, Elizabeth Anne Gervais Schwarz, Ian Breckenridge-Jackson (both from University of California-Riverside)
- ♦ “Tea Party (Un)Censored: Struggles with Frame Vulnerability in Micromobilization,” Francis Bruce Prior (University of Pennsylvania)

Table 15. Power

- ♦ “Repression and the Social Control of Protest in the United States: A Dramaturgical Approach,” Thomas Nolan Ratliff (Arkansas State University)
- ♦ “Scale Shift and the Spread of Pro and Anti-Immigration Legislation in the United States, 2000-2011,” Ion Bogdan Vasi & Justin Steil (both from Columbia University)
- ♦ “Social Movements and Patronage Politics: Towards a Relational Understanding of Processes of Demobilization,” Pablo Lapegna (University of Georgia)

- ♦ “The Human Right to Water: Civil Society, Privatization and Implementing the Most Basic of Needs,” Stephen Philip Gasteyer (Michigan State University)
- ♦ “The Problem of Legitimacy for Illegitimate and Semi-legitimate Regimes,” Fred Eidlin (University of Tartu)
- ♦ “Liberalizing on Abortion: Religion and Abortion Law Reform, 1960-1973,” Sabrina Danielsen (University of Pennsylvania)

Table 16. Social Movement Organizations

- ♦ “Adoption and Adaptation of Social Protest: SMO/ESO Dynamics in the Vieques Movement,” Roberto Velez-Velez (State University of New York-New Paltz)
- ♦ “Knowledge, Experience, and Sociopolitical Environment: Social Movement Organization Structures and Structural Outcomes,” Laura K. Nelson (University of California-Berkeley)
- ♦ “Opportunities and Alliances in the Iranian Reform Movement, 1997-2005,” Ali Kadivar (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
- ♦ “Responding to the HIV/AIDS Challenge in China: Role of the State and Civil Society Organizations,” Jennifer YJ Hsu (University of Alberta)
- ♦ “The Market for Non-Market Advocacy: The Antecedents of Organizational Growth in Contract Lobbying,” Sasha Goodman (Stanford University)

Table 17. Tactics

- ♦ “From Lobbying to Lockdowns: Tactical Choices among Environmental Justice Organizations,” Christie Parris (Emory University)
- ♦ “Newspaper Coverage of Anarchist Mobilization at the 2009 Pittsburgh G-20 Protests,” Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum & Brittany Julia Duncan (both from University of Pittsburgh)
- ♦ “Reclaiming the Ballot Box: Motivations for the LGBT Movement’s Use of the Initiative Process,” Anna Sorensen (University of California-Santa Barbara), Amy L. Stone (Trinity University)
- ♦ “Tactical Repertoire Migration in the Chinese Democracy Movement and Falun Gong,” Andrew Junker (Yale University)
- ♦ “Voting and Not-Voting as Movement Tactics,” Victoria Gonzalez (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Table 18. Theory

- ♦ “A Neo-Polanyian Model for Neoliberal Times: Environmental Justice, Energy Development, and

Four Issues per Year

MOBILIZATION

THE PREMIER REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

ARE YOU MISSING YOUR MOBY?

It's not too late to subscribe

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

Wayne H. Zart, University of Michigan

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

Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkeley

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

For library subscriptions, contact the managing editor at Hank.Johnston@sdscu.edu

Please charge my credit card (Visa, MasterCard, Amex) for US\$49.50 (\$59.50 outside US)

I enclose a check payable from a US bank.

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name (please print) _____

Signature _____

Mail Cores to: _____

_____ ZIP _____

You may contact our office directly 619.594.1323 to place your order. Or you may fax your order for a 2010 subscription directly to the publication office at San Diego State University: 619.594.2836
 Or mail to: *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, San Diego State University, San Diego CA 92182-4423
 Or contact the managing editor directly at Hank.Johnston@sdscu.edu

- ♦ “the Double Movement,” Stephanie Ann Malin (Brown University)
- ♦ “Critical Modernism, Social Movements and Political-Cultural Formation Theory: Towards a Radical-Democratic Development Project?,” Efe Can Gurcan & Gerardo Otero (both from Simon Fraser University)
- ♦ “Embodiment and Realness in Social Protest: A Polanyian Approach to the Tar Sands and Occupy Movements,” Meghan Elizabeth Kallman (Brown University)
- ♦ “The Rising Tide: Social Change and Social Movements from a Global Perspective,” Robert Keith Schaeffer (Kansas State University)