

Critical Mass *Bulletin*

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

Volume 45 (4)

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

Special Issue Fall 2020

2020-2021 Section Officers

Chair:
Rachel Einwohner

Past Chair:
Tina Fetner

Chair-Elect:
Rory McVeigh

Secretary-Treasurer:
Dana R Fisher

Council:
Dina G. Okamoto
Selina Gallo-Cruz
Paul Almeida
Sharon Erikson Nepstad
Kelsy Kretschmer
Joshua Bloom

Mentoring:
Caroline Lee
Chandra Russo
Edward Flores

Workshop:
Nicole Fox
Eulie Laschever
E. Colin Ruggero

Nominations:
Joyce Bell
Zakiya Luna
Amanda Pullum

**Membership, Diversity,
and Inclusion:**
Daisy Verduzco Reyes
Glenn Bracey
Hajar Yazdiha

Publications:
Thomas Maher
Lynette Ong
Megan Brooker

Newsletter Editors:
Julia Goldman-Hasbun
Mario Venegas
Cecelia Walsh-Russo

Webmaster:
Ben Manski

Contact us !
cbsmnews@gmail.com

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

Rachel L. Einwohner
CBSM Section Chair
Professor of Sociology
Purdue University

This special issue of *Critical Mass* is devoted to scholars and activists of color working on collective action and social movements. It is the result of just one of several initiatives put forth by the past and present members of the Membership, Diversity, and Inclusion Committee, who are leading our section's efforts to recognize and uplift the careers of our colleagues of color. I join everyone in thanking Glenn Bracey II, Edalina Burciaga, Daisy Verduzco Reyes, and Hajar Yazdiha for planting the seed for this Special Issue. We also thank *Critical Mass* co-editors Julia Goldman-Hasbun, Cecelia Walsh-Russo, and Mario Venegas for making this Special Issue a reality. And of course, sincere thanks to all the contributors as well.

I am grateful for these collaborative efforts to make our section more inclusive, and to further our broader commitment to social justice.

Stay safe and be well,
Rachel

IN THIS ISSUE

Essays.....	2
Scholar Profiles.....	7
Call for Papers	13

ESSAYS

Rethinking Civics (Dis)empowerment in Our Schools

By Selina Gallo-Cruz, College of the Holy Cross

On November 8, 2018, Massachusetts Governor Charlie Baker signed Senate Bill S.2631 to "promote and enhance civic engagement" and commission the development of civics-focused social science curriculum. S.2631 also mandates a civic engagement project for all students and prioritizes funding for underserved, economically disadvantaged communities.

This effort is intended, in part, to address low voter turnout, which dwindles from around 70% in major presidential elections to 15-30% in local government elections. But beyond teachers' scant resources and constraints on instruction time, there is an added issue posed by divergent concepts of citizenship, one that reinforces a class divide. Even as legislators agree upon the importance of civics education, they differ in their fundamental understandings of what it means to be a good citizen.

So what will be taught to students about how to be an engaged citizen? How will the ideals of citizenship be defined and demonstrated? And, how can social movements scholars support civic engagement?

In my community-based research project, funded by a Mellon Foundation Scholarship in Action grant, I set out to examine the implementation of new civics classes in Worcester, Massachusetts, the second largest city in New England and one of the underserved communities S.2631 targets. It is historically home to many vibrant civic movements, from abolition to Black Lives Matter, women's suffrage, to the movement to end violence against women, LGBTQ+ rights, climate crisis movement, and efforts to expand food security and address climbing rates of homelessness. But only 17% voted in the last city election (8% in city primaries), and wealthy landlords serve as elected officials in a predominantly working-class city with a median income of \$45k. It is well-known where they focus their campaigns

and the trail of recent city expenditures has led us into the most expensive stadium building project in U.S. history abutted by a millions-dollar renovation of an upscale-dining and boutique district for the anticipated stadium visitors to enjoy. Meanwhile, conflicts in the school district have been tense. Citizens complain about record numbers of school suspensions disproportionately targeting students of color and argue against racist tropes in school programming. It will be vital to get civics education right in an increasingly fragmented and unequal city.

In the first year of the project, my students and I undertook an in-depth content analysis of three texts piloted by the school committee as well a website used in some of the local schools and across the country. While teachers ultimately voted on the best text they felt offered the most user-friendly website for accessing test banks and study materials, we found there is much more at stake in source selection. The texts diverged sharply in their ideological presentations of ideal civic engagement. Only one includes justice-oriented actions among possible forms of civic engagement, the other two texts, and the website uphold more conservative ideals of personal responsibility.

When a neutral participatory model is presented, it reinforces class divides. One exercise asks students to play the part of having committed a crime, and they must learn how to navigate the court system to defend themselves. On the other side of this scales of justice game, students are encouraged to play the lawyer whose biggest goal is to gain prestige in their firm! Although all texts emphasize the importance of voting, they collectively spend many more pages praising the free market system and reminding young readers that the government's role in an American capitalist economy is to be as thrifty in its spending on public goods as they should be in their own financial management. How students will gain the connections between these lessons and social justice, human rights, even a critical understanding of social problems is hard to see. But I believe insights from social movements scholarship will help.

In the action part of my project, I have developed a 'Community in the Classroom'

based civics curriculum, composed in collaboration with local activists and connecting experienced local organizers with students who will learn a living model of civic engagement, one that is locally grounded, and connects a structural understanding of social problems to action projects students can take the lead on. I hope that we as movement scholars can do more to uplift and spread the knowledges activists and organizers bring to social issues, and I believe younger students would welcome these insights and skills in middle and high school as they inherit a grossly unequal society in great need of civil repair.

Persecution of "Slacktivism" in a Crumbling Democracy: State-Sanctioned Violence Against Online Dissidents in India.

By Chetna Khandelwal, University of Calgary



Social movements scholarship committed to unraveling the persecution of activists has predominantly concerned itself with Statist brutalities inflicted upon on-ground protestors. Within mainstream public discourse, online protestors are often relegated as "Slacktivism" (a portmanteau combining slacker and activist) based on the following premises: Online participation in social movements proportionately lacks risk and impact; and the

online world is substantially "less real" than our offline existences. However, [techno-sociological literature](#) analyzing social movements in the Global South problematizes both assertions by expatiating the [centrality of online efforts within collapsing democracies](#) accompanied by a growing absence of freedom of expression. The Indian government is responsible for two-thirds of the world's [internet blackouts](#). These internet shutdowns are not enforced in vain – indeed, the online realm has become indispensable to the growth of subaltern social movements in post-colonial India. Internet shutdowns and targeted attacks upon online activists by State actors provide empirical evidence for the growing vulnerability and social impact associated with online components of civil uprisings and subsequent legal consequences for politically subversive endangered netizens.

Since the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) electoral victory in 2014, India has gradually slipped into a dire democratic exigency. BJP has adopted authoritarian measures in response to civil uprisings, under the guise of protecting national interests. December 2019 marked the beginning of nation-wide protests and demonstrations in India, against a 2019 amendment to the *Citizenship Act, 1955* (CAA) and subsequent announcement of a National Registry of Citizens (NRC). These collaboratively intended to render millions of Muslim and Indigenous Indian citizens stateless. The Anti-CAA/NRC movement rapidly transitioned into an overarching rejection of the government's Hindu-supremacist sectarian agenda, Islamophobic violence, issuance of a media censorship advisory banning "Anti-National" content, stifling of freedom of expression via approx. 440 internet shutdowns since 2014, and police brutality against protestors (specifically student activists).

Colonial remnants within the *Indian Penal Code* (IPC), especially Section 124A – Sedition, are now callously deployed against protestors, fundamentally criminalizing dissent. In fact, BJP has formulated a meticulous legal regime¹ to

¹ The laws comprising India's anti-dissent legislative regime have not been collated elsewhere thus far: The *Unlawful Activities*

Prevention Act (UAPA is a draconian anti-terror law), Sedition (agitating public against the State), Section 153A of IPC

apprehend online and offline activists, including sedition, anti-civil uprising, anti-terror, and public safety acts. Under the BJP government, this elaborate legal machinery has been weaponized to function within online spaces – targeting so-called "Slacktivists". For instance, Kishorechandra Wangkhem was arrested on sedition charges for a Facebook post critiquing his local government (BJP-led Manipur). An additional charge under the National Security Act was levied upon him to illegitimately lengthen his detention.

Similarly, [Masrat Zahra](#), a photo-journalist and online activist, was charged under an anti-terror act (UAPA) for uploading "anti-national" content on Facebook with alleged "criminal intentions" to radicalize the youth. While journalists tend to be on government watch-lists, several unsuspecting citizens have also been accused of sedition, and other anti-dissent laws, over "inflammatory" social media posts:

[Abhubakar Siddique](#), [Mohideen Hameez](#); [Tahir Nazir Shalla](#); [Faham Azim Siddiqui](#); [Krishnendu Debbarma](#); [Salman](#); [Shaheen Dhada](#), [Renu Srinivasan](#). Predictably, the majority of those targeted by this anti-dissent legislative machinery online are Muslim. The dubious nature of these charges is clear since only [4 of those charged](#) with sedition were actually convicted in the last 4 years.

Notably, these punitive legal measures are reserved for leftist activists. Hindu-supremacist activists who incite violence online are never persecuted for their social media posts. For instance, a minor radicalized by online Hindu nationalist activism, with a [history of posting incendiary anti-Muslim content](#) on his Facebook profile, live-streamed himself at an Anti-CAA/NRC protest and then shot a bullet at the crowd. Yet, he was never charged for his online activity under laws encompassing the anti-dissent legislative regime – in fact, there is no documentation of any right-wing or Hindu-

(promoting enmity between different groups), *National Security Act*, *Public Safety Act*, Section 144 (prohibiting gatherings of 5 or more individuals), *Foreign Contribution Regulation Act*, and the *Information Technology Act*.

supremacist activist facing charges under these laws that purportedly "protect national interests". Thus, other than targeting leftists, the anti-dissent legal framework also provides impunity to online activists espousing Hindu nationalist values. This provides credence to the assertion that sedition laws are only used for censorship, unlawful preventive detention/imprisonment, and as a deterrent for resistance towards the current political regime.

Consequently, labeling online actors as "Slacktivists" is a disservice to their contributions towards a myriad of leftist movements despite the prohibitive potential of persecution in a crumbling democracy. While the anti-dissent machinery is typically launched against known political enemies and on-ground protestors, the pattern of legislative oppression deployed online sets a dangerous precedent and thus requires scholarly attention.

No Place Like *Home*?²

By Dr. Rokzana Badruddoja



I begin by inviting us to squarely root ourselves in land acknowledgment. The modern identity "American" as a subject of citizenship is predicated on conquest, the erasure of

² This essay is an excerpt from a larger essay, which was recently accepted for publication: Badruddoja, R. (Accepted). "The Fantasy of 'Home': Locating Dislocation, Loss and Silence". *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies*.

indigenous histories and cultures, and the desecration and pirating of indigenous lands known as Turtle, Serpent, and Heart Islands. With deep reverence for BIPOC liberation(s), in this essay, I embark on curating an ontology of "home" by living on stolen land where BLM signage is burned on a COVID summer night. I write, in (American) English, from the territory of Munsee Lenape of the Lenape people and their endangered language (Huluníxsuwaakan).

The meaning(s) of "home" are once again a robust conversation in the American national landscape as we continue to struggle over post-colonial empire-inspired borders. As a critical race feminist, I have immersed myself in the stories of detained children separated from their parents, and as a cross-cultural and interfaith urban shamanic practitioner, I have been energetically tending to the (racialized) traumas of over 2000 separated families under the Trump administration. Here, I am prompted to contend with haunting questions: *Where is home?* As a queer WOC in the U.S., an American offspring of Bangladeshi-Muslim immigrant parents, and a professor of social inequalities at a PWI, I am particularly concerned about thinking through neoliberal U.S. racialization projects and the notion of "home" or what I call the "neoliberal home", an anti-liberatory colonial-imperial-capitalistic moral racial economy of worthiness and desirability

In "Devouring the Light, 1968"—"The day they killed Martin...devouring whatever light/that lit our half-cracked windows"—Boyce-Taylor (2017) invokes personal and communal racialized traumas—unseen/unheard/silenced/ignored/murdered.³ Decades of anti-oppression/anti-colonial/BIPOC liberation work to create "safe spaces" as a human, person, woman, mother, community advocate, teacher, and scholar has left me *weary*. And as a priestess/witch/curandera, my experiences with gender, racial, class, sexual,

and national oppression-blind spiritual communities leave me *parched*. The invisibilities have left me disconnected and hurting inside (see Lorde, 1994). I am a (post-)colonial subject—"homeless".⁴

In interrupting oppression, I disrupt and complicate the notion of what "home" means from the narrative of "being at home" (see Ahmed, 1999).⁵ My (re-)configuration of "home", which is about the condition of "estrangement" (Ahmed, 1999), is a counter storytelling that creates space for exposing and resisting hegemonic narratives of "home". De la Garza's (2004) connection between autoethnography and cultural texts is useful: "Our epistemology, the way in which we know, can evolve through a conscious reconstruction of our experiential base, inviting deeper wisdoms available through willing embodied engagement..." (p. 7).⁶ De la Garza skillfully guides me to consider "patterns of estrangement" (Ahmed, 1999) that petition personal, historical, generational/ancestral and collective/communal trauma determination for BIPOC in order to mediate/transmute experiences and meanings of "being, home, and world" (Ahmed, 1999). In other words, I intentionally and deliberately reflect on the politics and meanings of "the home" by raising issues inherent in the complex notion of "home": the significance of power(s), space(s) and place(s) and the signification of white supremacy.

How I navigate the reductive meaning of the "neoliberal home" and my essentialized place in the world has led me on a path of living and exploring (state-sanctioned) terror. I learn from my woundedness that how I negotiate "home" is prompted by the ways in which this country has created institutions, strategies, and technologies to render BIPOC invisible and is situated in the ways in which I resist sexual racism, every day. hooks (1992) teaches me the process of

³ Boyce-Taylor, Cheryl. (2017). Devouring the light, 1968. In *Poetry Magazine*. Poetry Foundation. Retrieved from <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poems/141963/devouring-the-light-1968>.

⁴ Lorde, Audre. (1994). *Our dead behind us: Poems*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co.

⁵ Ahmed, Sara. (1999). Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(3), 329–347.

⁶ De la Garza, Sarah Amira. (2004). *Maria speaks: Journey into the mysteries of the mother in my life as a Chicana*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

rupturing oppression requires viscerally contending with the realities of embodied terror.⁷ As a reverend who is a black lesbian woman, Manuel (2015) writes, "[M]y awakening came within racist, sexist, and homophobic environments" (p. 7).⁸ I learn "home" is *not* about transcending embodiments of oppression. Rather, giving voice to our oppressions is a primary act of love, and it is part and parcel of the making of "home". By deliberately loving everything about ourselves that we were taught to hate, diurnally, we find and become "home".

Biographical Note:

Dr. Roksana Badruddoja is a feminine/masculine WOC; an interfaith and cross-cultural womanist; a critical race theorist and intersectional transnational gender scholar; an urban shamanic and akashic practitioner; a tenured professor of sociology, women and gender studies, and critical race and ethnicity studies at a PWI; and a queer mother to four fierce energy beings. Hir teaches courses on feminist research methods, WOC in the U.S., race, and resistance, codes of gender, sex and violence, social inequalities, and feminist activism.

Dr. Badruddoja focuses on contemporary social inequalities and the voices of marginalized "Others" as hir sites of thinking to address social problems in the modern world; explores the meanings of spaces and places in the context of power, privilege and abuse and solidarity, resistance and mobilization; and, thinks deeply, every day, about how vulnerability is imagined, the practices of solidarity and what it means to be of service to the marginalized.

Dr. Badruddoja is the author of *Eyes of the Storms: The Voices of South Asian-American Women*, the editor of *"New Maternalisms": Tales of Motherwork* and a contributor of *Good Girls Marry Doctors: South Asian Daughters in Obedience and Rebellion*.

Repression of Anti-Racist Organic Intellectuals and Social Movements

By m seenarine

'Race' is a social construct, an identity that is assigned based on rules made by society. 'Race' can refer to people who share a language, nationality, and/or physical traits. Racism is the belief that groups of humans possess different behavioral traits corresponding to physical appearance. Racists often believe in a hierarchy based on the superiority of one 'race' over another. Racism is practiced through prejudice, discrimination, and antagonism of some people socially defined as a different 'race' and/or ethnicity. Anti-racism is activism against systemic racism and the oppression of marginalized groups. Advocates make conscious actions to bring about equality for all people, at the individual and systemic level, by acknowledging personal privileges, working to change personal racial biases, confronting acts of racial discrimination, and so on.

An organic intellectual is a member of a social class, as opposed to a member of the traditional intelligentsia that regards itself as a group apart from the rest of society. Organic intellectuals can be social agents having a form of allegiance to a hegemonic class, or to a subaltern class aspiring for state power. In this article, the term 'organic intellectual' is used for scholars, activists, and leaders who serve as agents for anti-racism. These agents of change are especially vulnerable to backlash, and social movements and progressive causes are negatively impacted as a result. Eurocentric, male upper/middle-class values and concerns serve as the norm in educational institutions across the nation, and one of the ways these privileges are centered and maintained is through the exclusion of organic, working-class

⁷ hooks, bell. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

⁸ Manuel, Zenju Earthlyn. (2015). *The way of tenderness: Awakening through race, sexuality, and gender*. Somerville, NJ: Wisdom Publications.

intellectuals from socially-defined 'minority' communities.

Gramsci, the intellectual who developed the Marxist concept of an 'organic intellectual' in the early 20th century, was himself jailed for his political writings and leadership of the Italian working class (Gramsci 1971)⁹. Gramsci's repression in Italy occurred almost a century ago, but hostility toward organic intellectuals have continued in the West, especially in the Americas. For example, the backlash against communists and intellectuals in the U.S. by senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s onward included African American scholars and activists, like W. E. B. Du Bois, Shirley Graham Du Bois, Paul Robeson, and others. The FBI was suspicious of communist infiltration of the civil rights movement, and the FBI started tracking Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. In response to frequent accusations of communist influence, King explained, "the Negro revolution is a genuine revolution, born from the same womb that produces all massive social upheavals—the womb of intolerable conditions and unendurable situations" (Washington 1991:363)¹⁰.

Thankfully, the communist charge against anti-racist activists has abated in the 20th century. However, hostility remains in places of higher education, where there is an ongoing backlash against many organic anti-racist scholars and teachers. Scholars who oppose Eurocentric supremacy in the U.S. face intense media pressure and academic backlash. For example, in 2017 and 2019, Johnny Eric Williams, an African American professor of sociology at Trinity College, faced death threats for social media posts, like "Whiteness is terrorism" (Flaherty 2019)¹¹. Also in 2019, anti-racist and ethnic studies scholar, Lorgia García

Peña, was denied tenure at Harvard University. A 132-page petition signed by more than 2,000 students and professors from the university and elsewhere, stated, "Denying tenure to a faculty member of color who is actively serving on the committee for new hires in ethnic studies undermines Harvard's commitment and betrays efforts to advance diversity and inclusion at this institution" (Flaherty 2019b). The repression of Williams and Peña are not isolated incidents, and they all have a negative impact on critical thinking, academic freedom, and the movement for the human rights of African Americans, Latinas/os, and other socially marginalized groups in the U.S.

In 2020, Wendy Moore, a European American, female associate professor of sociology at Texas A&M University, was formally reprimanded and issued a two-day suspension without pay for participating in the Scholar Strike, a national movement inspired by the NBA, WNBA, Colin Kaepernick, and other athletes, to bring attention to the pressing need to address racial injustice in the U.S. Many critical 'race' theorists and other scholars held teach-ins on September 8 and 9 to reflect on racism, and Moore and several others were sanctioned as a result (Weissman 2020)¹². The repression of Moore and others negatively affects intellectual agency, workers' rights, and the anti-racism movement.

Besides academic suppression, organic intellectuals from socially-defined 'minority' communities face many barriers in gaining access to academic work, including a lack of cultural, social, and other forms of capital. Mainstream educational institutions in the U.S. are predominantly Eurocentric in theory and practice, and in many universities, systemic racism, sexism, and upper/middle-class bias are

⁹ Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. International Publishers.

¹⁰ Washington, James M. 1991. *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* HarperCollins.

¹¹ Flaherty, Colleen. 2019. "Speech on Blast (Again) at Trinity." *Inside Higher Ed*, May 1.

¹² Weissman, Sara. 2020. "Texas A&M Professor Penalized for Participating in Scholar Strike." *Diverse: Issues In Higher Education*, October 21.

powerful social factors that influence who academic departments hire, the administrative hierarchy, student admission, and other important areas. For socially-defined 'minority' organic intellectuals, higher education institutions represent insurmountable walls that many can never scale, and these scholars suffer from high levels of unemployment and underemployment. The few who gain access to the privileged jobs, face lower wages, more workload and responsibility, and lack of tenure, promotion, leadership opportunities, and so on.

To build a sustainable anti-racist movement, we have to support organic anti-racist intellectuals and find ways to counteract the ongoing backlash against these scholars and activists.

SCHOLAR/ACTIVIST PROFILES

Tatiana (Tots) Height is a Blackademic, hood feminist, and environmental justice activist.



Tots is originally from the South Side of Chicago, Illinois but is currently based in North Carolina. They received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln with a major in Great Plains Studies and minors in Environmental Studies, Agribusiness

Entrepreneurship, and Community & Regional Planning. Exposure to the concept of environmental racism during their undergraduate studies launched an ongoing commitment to the work in both scholarly and practical contexts.

As a scholar, Tots has conducted research on the proximity of environmental amenities as predictors of environmental racism, geospatial analyses of parks and greenspace in a Latinx neighborhood, and the indicators of thriving and struggling Black communities. In addition to their undergraduate degree, they hold a Master of Community and Regional Planning from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln where they focused on community engagement and environmental justice, having written about the role that city planners can play in planning for environmental justice. Tots has worked as an Integrated Water Management Planner, Community Development Planner, environmental educator, and Stormwater Project Coordinator.

They have also presented on professional projects and scholarly studies at a variety of conferences and events. For instance, Tots presented their work two years in a row at the North Carolina Environmental Justice Summit. Tots has also been invited to speak at the Western North Carolina Water Quality Conference and the University of Nebraska-Lincoln School of Natural Resources Fall Seminar Series. In November 2020, Tots will be a climate justice panelist at Race Forward's Facing Race conference. At the conference, they will speak about current implications of climate justice from the perspective of an activist and scholar.

Tots currently serves as Program Director of a non-profit called Partners for Environmental Justice, whose work focuses on combatting environmental degradation and advocating for equitable development in historically Black neighborhoods of Southeast Raleigh, NC. Further, Tots is a doctoral candidate in Agricultural and Extension Education where they research environmental justice, Multicultural Environmental Education, and critical race studies. Tots serves as the

Communications Co-Chair of the N.C. State Black Graduate Student Association, a member of the N.C. State Environmental Justice Advisory Group, and the Social Media Administrator of the Planning and the Black Community Division of the American Planning Association.

Outside of the scholarly and activist spheres, they have a number of hobbies and interests. Tots is a strong supporter of incorporating the arts into the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) space to produce STEAM. As an environmental educator, Tots has encouraged students to engage in hip hop dance and have fun with music around the campfire. They were also very active in the open mic scene pre-COVID and produced open mic and karaoke programs for teens in Durham, NC. For fun, Tots would often go to plays, musicals, concerts, and festivals. They find solace in music as a means of coping with hard times. They also see nature as a space for healing and would often engage in outdoor activities such as kayaking, canoeing, stand-up paddleboarding, swimming, or hiking. Tots is a certified small craft instructor and basic archery instructor.

savvy public affairs strategy intended to demobilize movement progress.



Her work on the global nonviolence movement (published in the *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, *International Sociology*, *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*, and *Social Movement Studies*) follows the role of international non-governmental organizations in creating a transnational structure for collective action diffusion and explores the dynamics of translation involved in these global to local relationships. Her studies of women's social movements (published in *100 Years of the 19th Amendment*, *Feminist Formations*, *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*, and *Sociology Compass*) have focused on the relationship between gendered experiences and strategic insight and tactical innovation as well as the politics of women's action and erasure in social movements that continue to marginalize women's contributions and leadership.

Selina's forthcoming book, *Political Invisibility and Mobilization: Women against State Violence in Argentina, Yugoslavia, and Liberia*, presents a general framework for understanding the unexpected strategic opportunities of political invisibility in periods of violent repression. In three cases where women bravely stood against violent states beseeching them to end regime violence and war, she explores the savvy and effective ways women

Selina Gallo-Cruz

Selina Gallo-Cruz is an Associate Professor of Sociology at College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, and currently serves as the Global Social Movements Research Cluster coordinator for the ASA Global and Transnational Sociology section. Selina incorporates cultural, stratification, and global perspectives into her study of social movements. Her research on the movement to close the former U.S. Army School of the Americas (published in *Sociological Forum* and *Interface*) explores the dialectical relationship between framing and counterframing among the movement and its targeted military institution. These studies detail the movements' framing successes as also the institution's effective counterframing, boundary negotiation, and cooptation of movement claims as part of its' proclaimed institutional "Reinvention Plan", a

used the blind spots of sexist leaders to their advantage. While some civilians were considered threatening to regime power and unjustly targeted, the women who formed peace movements were disregarded as capable agents of political change and were thus able to build movement free spaces off the radar of repression, collect vital knowledge of the many adverse effects of the war, and reach out to international allies who helped to bring an end to conflict. These women then took up the necessary work of post-conflict peacebuilding. Several in process and forthcoming publications consider new ways that other women's movements have strategized through variable levels of political visibility and presumed threat, and how women have met with new challenges to gaining social mobility in the post-war era.

Outside of academia, Selina is involved in several local organizing efforts in Worcester, Massachusetts, where she lives and works. She has served on the Steering Committee of the Worcester Women's History Project and, together with students, has created an archive of oral histories of Worcester women peacemakers, now housed at the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women.

Selina currently serves on the board of Abby's House, one of our county's first women's shelters. She is on the organizing team for Worcester Mothers Out Front, and is working with other organizers to hold Worcester accountable in its commitment to transition in the face of the climate crisis. Selina also works with the Center for Nonviolent Solutions in the development of an engaged civics curriculum developed with and led by local civic leaders, the project she described in her above essay on civics learning in our public schools.

Jennifer E. Cossyleon



Seven months into the COVID-19 pandemic, I learned about free access to Ancestry.com by using my local library barcode number. During one of my writing breaks, I logged on and spent more time than I would like to admit discovering documents linked to my ancestors. From the record of death of my maternal great-grandfather in 1932 in Pachuca, Hidalgo, Mexico, to my grandfather's United States Naturalization paperwork in 1986, I traced documents in awe, albeit also recognizing the gaps. Missing for instance, was the story of how my widowed great-grandmother Agustina Hernandez raised five children, my grandfather being the last, with the income of *tamales* sales from her front porch. Missing was how Agustina's home was a multi-generational safe haven from the oppression and pain of colorism. It is these stories of struggle and survival that are often missing from our collective memory of movements, stories that highlight the invisibilized reproductive labor of women and how they overcome the impossible time and time again—often with no recognition. My recent research illuminates the grassroots collective action of women of color and the transformative effects their community organizing efforts have on family and community.

Drawing from the work of Stanlie James, Mary Pardo, Nancy Naples and many others, what I find through ethnographic methods with Black and Latina women engaged in grassroots

action through [Community Organizing and Family Issues](#), is simple yet often overlooked. Kinships are inseparable dimensions of collective action both shaping and shaped by grassroots engagement. The kinships of marginalized grassroots organizers help us to learn from mobilization processes that are often missed when we solely keep our focus on more visible social movement frames, tactics, or outcomes. The interrelated kinships of agents of change advance our understandings of collective action meanings, participation experiences, as well as personal, family, and cross-community transformations. The process of what I call “restorative kinship” (article forthcoming) illuminates how collective action has the power to strengthen family relationships within and outside of the household, as well as the racial, gendered, classed-based, and immigration status and identity oppressions that attempt to dismantle it. The practice of restorative kinship is not a nostalgic return to family life before neoliberal policies, but rather a process of rebuilding and healing the kinships strained by these policies through intentional, family-inclusive power building approaches.

Today, as a Mellon/ ACLS Public Fellow at [Community Change/Action](#), I continue to learn from and support women of color who are leading grassroots movements across the country (many who helped to secure the recent Biden-Harris win). These directly impacted women are relentlessly pushing for collective action to recognize their ancestors’ struggles and to call out harmful practices of patriarchy, nationalism, and white supremacy within their campaigns. Black, Latina, immigrant and indigenous women are engaging in collective action while holding spaces of support and healing from generations of oppression. They are creating pedagogy like the [“Calling in and Up”](#) guide and are living out these practices not as an aside or marginally, but rather as an integral part of advancing local, state, and national policy change. My research and current fellowship work shares the stories of the Agustinas of our time, who are often overlooked and undervalued, and whose existence, love, and struggle is a form of resistance, which nurtures

future generations of organizers and scholar-activists who revere their bravery, like I do.

Hajar Yazdiha



is an Assistant Professor of sociology at the University of Southern California and a faculty affiliate of the Equity Research Institute. Her research examines the mechanisms underlying the politics of inclusion and exclusion at the intersection of social movements, race, and immigration.

Daisy Verduzco Reyes



is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of California Merced. In her research, she is primarily interested in

how race and ethnicity are constructed and mobilized within institutions, with a particular focus on sites critical for social mobility, like colleges and universities. She is author of *Learning to be Latino: How Colleges Shape Identity Politics*.

Moses Seenarine



I identify as a Dalit male and am part of the Indo-Guyanese and South Asian American communities. Dalits are socially marginalized in the Hindu caste system. As a person with high-melanin, I also identify as "black." My life and work is intersectional and multi-ethnic. I migrated to New York at 15 years of age in 1979, from Guyana, South America. While in college, I conducted several studies of the South Asian diaspora in New York, including restaurant workers in Manhattan. I wrote articles for local Caribbean New York newspapers, and gave several talks in the Caribbean and African American communities.

In 1994, I conducted a year of field study in India, working among Dalit women at the village level, and I published my dissertation from Columbia University in 2003, titled, "Voices from the Subaltern: Education and Empowerment Among Dalit (Untouchable) Women in India." In 2009, I started a social media page to raise awareness of Dalit women issues (Dalit Women Caucus).

After graduating college in 1998, I taught three courses in Caribbean history and politics as an adjunct assistant professor at Hunter College, City University of New York, for three years, from 1998 to 2000, working with hundreds of students from the Caribbean American, Latina/o, African American and other minority communities. I worked with students to conduct research into their families and communities, and supported 'minority' students organizations that were organizing against tuition increase, racism, police brutality, and other issues in the city. In 2001, I moved to Los Angeles to work for Teach for America and taught public school in Compton and other disadvantaged communities.

In the 1990s, I was an active member of the Working People's Alliance (WPA) support group in New York. The WPA was started by Dr. Walter Rodney, one of the brightest scholars of the Caribbean. Inspired by Dr. Rodney, in 1995, I started a Caribbean American community organization, Saxakali, in Queens, New York. The organization held monthly meetings, published a newsletter and blog, and organized several community events in Queens, New York. In addition to my own activism, I supported the work of other community organizations in New York, including domestic workers and Dalit groups.

In 1998, I was one of the main organizers of a South Asian diaspora conference in New York, attended by scholars from all over the globe. While on the west coast, I remain connected to various Dalit American and Caribbean American communities, like the Ambedkar King Study Circle, a community of Dalit American activists. The environment is a vital part of my intersectional work, and in 2014, I founded Climate Change 911 to raise awareness on this critical issue. In 2016, I started an independent press, Xpyr Press, which has printed three books. My next book project is "Sista Resister: Bios of 50 Radical Women of Color Activists Resisting Sexism, Colonialism & Racism" (forthcoming 2021).

Sharon Madriaga Quinsaat



I am a scholar of social movements and migration and currently an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Grinnell College, with affiliations in Peace and Conflict Studies and American Studies. My research to date reflects my intellectual and personal interest in understanding how foreign workers, immigrants, and refugees engage in collective action to challenge hegemonic power and create new kinds of political spaces.

My work has been supported by the National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Philosophical Society. I have published my research in edited volumes and peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Mobilization*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Mass Communication and Society*, *Sociology Compass*, and *Asian Survey*.

I am currently writing my first book, "Contentious Migrants: How Protests Create A Diaspora," where I reveal the elements and processes that work together to form a diaspora. Diasporas do not simply emerge from migration and dispersal; they need to be created within social and political contexts. I argue that they must be constructed through the formation of collective identities, and one way of doing this is through activism. During political conflicts in migrants' homelands and/or countries of

settlement, cleavages in the social order become visible. When migrants then make claims and demands in public, they deliberately form and articulate identities derived from loyalty and continued belonging to homeland, solidarity with co-nationals/-ethnics, shared memory and history, and myth of return. Through this process, the individual merges with the group. In these deliberations and joint actions, a diaspora is formed.

I use the case of Filipino activism in the U.S. and the Netherlands in the anti-dictatorship movement (1965-1986), the movement for migrants' rights (1972-1992), and the movement to construct a collective memory on the Marcos regime (2016-2020) to show that diasporas are discursive and strategic constructions. These movements tackled issues that created intense conflicts within overseas Filipino communities, causing antagonisms even among family members, and drove the formation and negotiation of collective identities through debate and dialogue. Diasporas emerge from the meanings migrants make—the life writing they engage in—when they discuss the unjust conditions or events they confront in their homelands or their countries of settlement, and when they take shared political actions to address them.

Because migrants are not homogeneous, the community becomes an arena where people make meaning through discussions. These conversations often engage competing discourses—which pivot on migrants' interpretations of the historical forces that have shaped their homelands—and on their experiences in the countries where they have settled.

I have found that theories on collective identity by sociologists Alberto Melucci and Francesca Polletta in the field of social movements are useful in explaining these dynamics. They argue that when actors engage in political contention, they transform how they see themselves and are seen by others. Building on these theories, I show how collective identities are constructed in and through protest; they do not precede protest. I also show how identity claims are part of a protest strategy.

My second book project investigates the social origins of political conservatism among Filipino immigrants in the U.S. and the Netherlands. Preliminary data show that the combined influence of Catholicism, support for strong-man rule based on their experience with the Marcos dictatorship, and aspirations of assimilation into the mainstream middle class in both the homeland and the U.S. shape the conservative views of Filipino immigrants on both American and Philippine politics. On the other hand, based on my observation of Filipinos in the Netherlands, I discovered that they tend to be liberal in host-society issues but conservative and even right-wing on homeland affairs. I consider this study to be pioneering, and it will contribute to the literatures on conservative movements, political incorporation, and citizenship.

Born and raised in the Philippines, I was a child during the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. I spent my adolescence trying to understand the overwhelming support of my ethnolinguistic group (Ilocanos) for Marcos. As a young adult, I was active in the movement against the World Trade Organization in the Philippines. I am also the daughter of a Filipino domestic worker in Italy, who was formerly undocumented, and my family's lived experience has shaped my research and commitment to activism on migrants issues.

Website: sharonquinsa.com.

a chapter in one of the leading sources of research and theory-building in the field. This volume will focus on race and ethnicity, but we welcome submissions appropriate to any of the three broad foci reflected in the *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* series title.

While Volume 46 will be open to all submissions, one section will be devoted to movements for racial equity and the operation of race in social movements. The recent and global racial justice protests, led by Black Lives Matter, offer many important avenues for examining the continuing significance of race, and we encourage analyses of this movement, as well as the role of the intertwined concepts of race and ethnicity in social movements more broadly. For the remaining chapters, we particularly welcome research examining the role of race and/or ethnicity in conflicts and social change. We also encourage submissions examining these issues in social change organizations beyond those considered protest groups.

About the Series

RSMCC is a fully peer-reviewed series of original research that has been published annually for over 40 years. We continue to publish the work of many leading scholars in social movements, social change, nonviolent action, and peace and conflict studies.

RSMCC enjoys a wide library subscription base; all volumes are not only published in book form but are also available online through Emerald Insight via subscribing libraries or individual subscriptions. This ensures wider distribution and easier access to your scholarship while maintaining the book series at the same time. This title is indexed in Scopus, and volumes from this series are included in the Thomson Reuters Book Citation Index.

Submissions

To be considered for inclusion in Volume 46, papers must arrive by December 31, 2020. Earlier submissions are especially welcomed. Initial decisions are generally made within 10-12 weeks. Manuscripts accepted for this volume will have gone through double-blind peer review.

CALLS FOR PAPERS AND OTHER OPPORTUNITIES

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change

Call for Chapters, Volume 46

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change (RSMCC) offers scholars an opportunity to submit their research for possible inclusion as

Send submission as a WORD document attached to an email to Lisa Leitz, RSMCC editor, at rsmcc@chapman.edu. For initial submissions, any standard social science in-text citation and bibliographic system is acceptable. Remove all self-references in the text and in the bibliography. Word counts should generally not exceed 12,000 words, inclusive of supplemental materials (abstract, tables, bibliography, notes, etc.). Include the paper's title and an unstructured abstract on the first page of the text itself. Send a second file that contains the article title, the unstructured abstract, and full contact information for all authors.

NEXT ISSUE:

Critical Mass Newsletter is accepting submissions for the Spring 2021 Newsletter, including essays, recent publications, and announcements. Please email [**cbsmnews@gmail.com**](mailto:cbsmnews@gmail.com) with a clear subject line and send your submissions as a Word document.