CriticalMassBulletin

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

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Spring 2013

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

Nancy E. Whittier

CBSM Section Chair Professor of Sociology, Smith College

The undergraduates in my Sociology of Sexuality class this semester asked a version of the basic question that animates much of my scholarship: how much of the enormous sweeping changes in sexuality over the past sixty years is due to activism? How do we sort out the impact of feminist and LGBT movements from the many other influences? If we want to promote further change, how can we most effectively do so? These are the same questions that activist organizations have asked me: if we want to make grants to further the development of a social movement against child sexual abuse, what kinds of organizations or projects should we fund? If we want to press the City to change policy on the landfill, what frames should we use? If we want our school to address racism, should we occupy the administration building or send a respectful delegation through student government? Does posting and reading social justice threads on Tumblr constitute activism, procrastination, or both?

I want to know the answers to these questions as a scholar and also as someone interested in promoting social change. I do have something to offer my questioners, but not always the clear answers they - or I- seek.

Not coincidentally, I think that trying to answer these questions of opportunity, meaning, strategy, and outcome leads us to the areas where the most exciting unanswered questions lie, the questions that can help our field take the next steps.

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Pipeline Politics: Did Anti-Pipeline Activists Ignore Public Opinion?

David Pettinicchio University of Oxford

In light of recent events generating a great amount of interest among social movement scholars, particularly issues of gay marriage and reproductive rights, it seems that the Keystone XL pipeline project has gone comparatively unnoticed both inside and outside of academia. I was pleasantly surprised when the Critical Mass call for submissions mentioned the pipeline as a potential discussion topic. I am in no way an expert on

this topic nor do I typically write about environmental issues or activism. I first became interested in the topic over a year ago when I came across a Globe and Mail article about how the Harper government, response to protests against the Northern Gateway Oil Pipeline, referred environmentalists as radicals funded by foreign money who only serve undermine Canada's economic interests. About a month later, a recently government released document showed that the

Canadian government depicted a wide variety of groups, including anti-pipeline activists, as extremists, terrorists and anti-capitalists. I wrote a couple of essays about the topic for Mobilizing Ideas.

Throughout the spring and summer of 2012, environmental issues became less salient receiving much less media attention. In the meantime, the Canadian government continued to champion the pipeline – something the oil sands industry sees as critical for moving the product to American refineries – as well as natural resource development more generally. But, this plan caught the attention of the First Nations and with the rise of the Idle No More movement, environmental activists and critics of the pipeline found new allies and a resurgence of attention. Idle No More played a critical role in mobilizing anti-pipeline support particularly among

environmental activists. While the start of 2013 saw an uptick in anti-pipeline protests, many were commenting that the Idle No More Movement was starting to idle.

While protesters and environmental groups have put pressure on the Alberta and Canadian governments, and President Obama in the U.S. to halt the pipeline project, anti-pipeline activists may not have done enough to shape public opinion. Recent polls conducted in the U.S. about the pipeline reveal two important characteristics: First, most are uninterested in the issue or do not give it high priority. A poll reported in the Globe and Mail shows that 63 percent of Americans think energy security is a more important issue than reducing greenhouse gases. Second, according to an April poll by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, 70 percent of Americans have favorable attitudes towards the Keystone Pipeline (other polls conducted earlier show a

less striking number but nonetheless, a majority still favoring the pipeline project). Yet, because the issue is not particularly salient. and support is "unenthusiastic," public opinion is still a fairly uncontested territory when it comes to either elites or public activists seeking approval.

Is it too late for the movement against the pipeline to change public preferences on the issue? Policy expert, David

Gordon, was interviewed for an April 22 Globe and Mail article and claims that government approval of the pipeline is inevitable although he did go on to say that he is surprised that Canadian officials are less certain about the outcome. Why Gordon's confidence in Obama supporting the pipeline? In addition to public support, the pipeline project may serve the Democrats well in courting Midwestern blue-collar workers. A recent State Department document treated the pipeline project favorably and, suggests to Gordon that Obama is "creating the political environment that minimizes the cost to him politically by signing on to this." While many Democratic donors may be against the Keystone project, voters are not, leaving the President in a bind. Anti-pipeline activists have some work to do in convincing voters that the pipeline is a bad idea while Obama and the Democrats may have an easier job convincing people that the pipeline



Photo by Catherine Jampel

means jobs and cheaper gas. Will (and should) public opinion become the next Keystone pipeline battleground?

Chair's Letter, Continued from Page 1

The field of collective behavior and social movements can be defined broadly or narrowly. The lines of distinction depend on our definitions of the phenomena and our understanding of how they overlap with other areas of social life. Forty years ago, scholars of social movements, challenging the idea that social protest could be understood as irrational crowd processes, shifted the field closer to the study of other forms of politics. The familiar account of the genealogy of social movement theory from collective behavior to resource mobilization and political process to culturalist approaches appears in countless comprehensive exams and literature reviews. enough, it parallels an equally important evolution around the definition of a social movement. What counts as collective action, contention, a social movement, or politics? The range of candidates is broad. Activists target groups as diverse as the Boy Scouts, major corporations, and states, with goals as concrete as a piece of legislation and as amorphous as raising consciousness. They do so through demonstrations, organizations large and small, media zaps, prayer circles, community meetings, and countless other forms. Meanwhile, their targets overlap with each other: corporations, states, and nonprofits interact, take up each others' agendas, and engage in their own struggles for advantage. The Arab revolutions, the Occupy uprisings transmogrified into hurricane relief efforts, unfathomably fast change in the status of LGBT people, and online "slacktivism" (or is it more?) make clear both the importance of understanding social movements and the inadequacy of many of our existing approaches.

How do we as a field keep up? What theories, methods, and research questions are the most productive for making sense of this broad range of phenomena? There have been calls for parsing our subject matter more narrowly or more broadly, for embedding our analyses deeper into fields. We gain different analytical purchase from focusing on collective action – which is relatively rare – or conversely (as Doug McAdam and Hilary Boudet argue in their new book, *Putting Social Movements in Their Place*) examining the numerous instances when collective action doesn't occur despite favorable circumstances. We construct different analyses if our subject is social movements per se, or the broad range of forces,

conditions, and actors that produce, shape, and inhibit social change. These differences in subject matter and lens are not equivalent to the old theoretical divides between culturalists and structuralists. The best work now draws on, synthesizes, and moves beyond those divides. Increasingly, the interests of Section members encompass all of these perspectives.

My own preference is for a capacious definition of "social movement," to include, for example, activities such as support groups that some might term therapeutic and organizations such as crime victims' associations that some might term parastate rather than movement organizations. Similarly, my preference is for theoretical models that examine structure, meaning, and emotion within the state as well as social movements. Other scholars parse such definitions and theoretical tools differently. Conversations and debates across these differences can be intellectually thrilling and, I think, ultimately highly generative.

Over time, my own work has moved to progressively broader questions about movements and their contexts. I began my career trying to understand how collective identity is shaped by both interaction and sociopolitical context. I later moved to trying to understand both activism and overall social change related to child sexual abuse, and am now trying to parse how divergent social movements interact with each other, the state, and broader social forces to shape public policy and broader social More than once, poring over transcripts of Congressional hearings or annual reports of the federal Office on Violence Against Women, I've felt the irony of my transformation from a scholar mainly interested in movements' internal dynamics to someone looking deeply at the state. Following the questions that emerge, unanswered, at the end of each project has led me to unexpected places.

The field of social movement studies as a whole has also followed unanswered questions and this has been enormously productive of theory and method. It has broadened our subject – collective behavior and social movements – to include different forms of collective action, targets, and goals. It has also led to a deeper understanding of how social movements overlap and interact with states, institutions, mass media, mainstream and oppositional cultures, transnational capital, and subjectivity and the self. Our section has grown into one of the largest in the ASA not simply because more scholars are studying the intrinsically fascinating questions about social movements themselves, but

because social movements are important to so many other phenomena or subfields.

Several venues at the ASA this year will foster conversations about our unanswered questions. The Section Sessions and the Regular Sessions on social movements are one such place. In addition, we are cosponsoring a one-day workshop on "Power and

Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy," organized by the Section on Political Economy and World Systems, with many sessions related to social movements. See the article in this newsletter for details. I look forward to seeing and talking with you in New York.

Deadline for the Fall 2013 Issue of CriticalMass Bulletin: October 15th, 2013

Getting to Know our Section Leaders

Second Victim: Jose Munoz

What do you like most about summer vacation? Any interesting travel plans?

I focus on my research and writing during the summer. I normally don't have a lot of time for collecting data. I plan to spend some of the summer doing interviews.

What moment(s) stood out the most to you from the 2012-2013 academic year?

First, I am a few weeks away from completing my second year as Assistant Professor at CSU San Bernardino. Second, this year I began fieldwork on my new project. This new project involves following the activities and transnational work of a Mexican hometown association. The migrants in this organization are from the state of Jalisco, Mexico. My fieldwork takes place in Los Angeles.

What piece of media/technology could you not live without?

I could not live with my laptop. I tell my students that I rely on my laptop as much as they rely on their cellphones. The reason I tell them this is because if they need to get a hold of me their best bet is through email.

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

The best career advice I received with regard to finishing a PhD was in my first year as a graduate student where a faculty member stated that my dissertation isn't meant to be magnum opus! This allowed me to stay focused and work on finishing my dissertation. In terms of my teaching, my advisor stated that I may want to stick to "what you know" and "what you want to learn more about" when preparing classes. This was incredibly helpful as I was able to focus on those areas of Sociology that I found the most inspiring. In the end I figured if I am not interested in what I am teaching then what chance do my students have of learning it.

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

Well I have to say that watching Downton Abbey has been one of my guilty pleasures. I suppose I could rationalize my reason for watching this series by stating something like the show is great for understanding class differences and has the potential for being incorporated into an undergraduate course. The last season seemed more like a soap opera but it was still fun tuning in to watch. Go Masterpiece Theater!

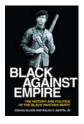
Thanks to Melissa Wooten for the interrogation.

Recent Publications

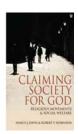
New Books



Bernstein Mary and Verta Taylor (eds.). 2013. *The Marrying Kind? Debating Same-Sex Marriage Within the Lesbian and Gay Movement*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.



Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. 2013. *Black against Empire: the History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Berkeley: University of California Press



Davis, Nancy and Rob Robinson. 2012. Claiming Society for God: Religious Movements and Social Welfare in Egypt, Israel, Italy, and the United States. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

*Awarded the Scholarly Achievement Award of the North Central Sociological Association.

Other Publications

Chang, Paul Y. and Alex S. Vitale. 2013. Repressive Coverage in an Authoritarian Context: Threat, Weakness, and Legitimacy in South Korea's Democracy Movement. *Mobilization*. Vol. 18(1): 19-39.

Gunderson, Shane. 2012. Social Movement Momentum, Intellectual Work and the East Timor Independence Movement. Ph.D. Dissertation. Florida Atlantic University.

Paret, Marcel. 2013. Precarious Politics: Working Class Insecurity and Struggles for Recognition in the United States and South Africa, 1994-2010. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley

Pettinicchio, David. 2013. From the Government to the Streets: Why the U.S. is a Policy Innovator in Disability Rights. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington.

Smirnova, Michelle. 2012. Community through Comedy: Cultural Consciousness in the Russian Soviet Anekdot. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland.

Ward, Matthew. 2012. Battling to Secure America's Borders: Understanding Micromobilization in the Contemporary U.S. Anti-Immigration Movement. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona.

Ward, Matthew. *Forthcoming*. They Say Bad Things Come in Threes: How Economic, Political and Cultural Shifts Facilitated Contemporary Anti-Immigration Activism in the United States. *The Journal of Historical Sociology*.

ASA 2013 in New York

A sampling of CBSM-related sessions and other activities at the 2013 ASA Annual Meetings in New York. See the end of the newsletter for a more detailed schedule of events held during the meetings.

Opening Plenary Session. Inequality and Contemporary Social Protest

In recent years, growing inequality in the U. S. has come head-to-head with the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Not surprisingly, the resulting social tensions have sparked popular social protests from the left as well as the right. In this session, prominent political observers of these events discuss the social forces behind them. A longtime observer of inequality in America and an acute analyst of the power of collective action, Barbara Ehrenreich is the author of such well known books Bait and Switch and Nickel and Dimed. Theda Skocpol is a distinguished political sociologist and scholar of social change and the author, most recently, of The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism. Adding his expertise to the discussion is political sociologist, Douglas McAdam, author of such works as Freedom Summer, Dynamics of Contention, and Putting Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the U.S., 2000-2005.

Session Organizers: Cecilia L. Ridgeway and Douglas McAdam

Panelists:

- Cecilia L. Ridgeway (Stanford University)
- Barbara Ehrenreich (Author)
- Theda Skocpol (Harvard University)
- Douglas McAdam (Stanford University)

Regional Spotlight Session. Empire State of Mind: New York as a Cultural Space (co-sponsored with the Section on Sociology of Culture)

Is New York still a center of cultural innovation, or is it just an expensive entrepreneurial venue for global billionaires and celebrities to buy art and dine out? Join us for a sociological tour of the city's cultural ferment and its present state of exaltation and anxiety.

Session Organizer: Sharon Zukin (City University of New York-Brooklyn College)

Regional Spotlight Session. Sandy, Climate Change, and the Future of New York.

In recent years, sociologists have begun to explore the human consequences of climate change, particularly disasters. This panel explores the reasons why New York City's social and physical infrastructures were so vulnerable to Superstorm Sandy and examines whether and how they can be strengthened. The discussion will focus on but also transcend New York City, since today all cities must adapt for a future of more extreme weather events.

Session Organizer: Eric Klinenberg (New York University)

Memorial Gathering in Honor of Mayer Zald (Douglas McAdam)

• Monday, August 12 8-10pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. Social Movement Scholars as Public Intellectuals

Session Organizer: Nancy E. Whittier (Smith College) Panelists:

- David S. Meyer (University of California-Irvine)
- Amy L. Stone (Trinity University)
- Chip Berlet (Journalist)
- Kathleen M. Blee (University of Pittsburgh)
- Marshall Ganz (Harvard University)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables

Session Organizers: Kai A. Heidemann (Christopher Newport University), Jeff A. Larson (Towson University)

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities/Announcements

Calls for Papers

Social movements and political protest in times of austerity

Please find below a call for papers for a panel on "Social movements and political protest in times of austerity" at the next annual conference of the Italian association of political science in Florence. See http://www.sisp.it/conference for more. The deadline for paper proposals is May 15, 2013. Paper proposals should be submitted by e-mail to the Panel Chair. The proposal

should indicate the name and surname, SISP affiliation and address, a title and a short abstract.

Title: Social movements and political protest in times of austerity

Chairs: Marco Giugni (University of Geneva) and Maria Grasso (University of Sheffield)

Abstract

Among the consequences of the economic crises that strikes Europe since 2008 is the rise of social movements and protest activities against the crises and especially against the ways in which European government are dealing with it. Protest movements and events such as the *Indignados* and the Occupy Movement have received a great deal of attention in the media and the popular imaginary in recent times. In this context, this panel aims to provide a rigorously-researched, evidence-based set of research papers on the relationship between austerity and protest. The underlying assumption of the panel is that the current crisis not only has brought to the fore new movements and protests, but is also leading to a change in the very features of such movements and protests, including a blurring of the boundaries between "old" and "new" movements as well as between "grievance-driven" and "opportunity-driven" protests.

What is the relationship between economic crises and protest behavior? Does the experience of austerity, or economic hardship more broadly defined, create a greater potential for protest? Does "austerity" change the underlying motivations for engaging in protest? What is the role of social class for the emergence of protest in the context of economic crises and/or as a reaction to austerity measures? What is the role of political institutions in the process of grievance formation? How do the answers to the above questions and the other research questions examined by the papers in this proposed special issue challenge commonly held views of the relationship between economic crises and austerity, on one hand, and social movements and protest, on the other?

More specifically, we welcome papers addressing one or more of three crucial, long-standing debates in scholarship in political sociology, social movement studies, and related fields: (1) the effects of economic hardship on protest and social movements; (2) the role of grievances and opportunities in social movement theory; (3) the distinction between "old" and "new" movements. The proposed papers should engage with these three key debates and should provide a basis for challenging some

of the commonly held views of political sociologists and social movement scholars on all three counts. Both theoretical and empirical papers are welcome, but evidence-based analyses will be prioritized. Comparative analyses are particularly welcomed.

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.

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 37

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, a peer-reviewed volume published by Emerald Group Publishing, encourages submissions for Volume 37 of the series.

This volume will include research in two areas: (1) submissions which have a thematic focus on examples and analytical analyses of intersectionality and marginalized identities in social movements, conflicts and social change; and (2) general submissions appropriate to any of the three broad foci reflected in the RSMCC series title. The volume will be guest edited by Lynne M. Woehrle (Mount Mary University).

Submissions on the following topics are especially encouraged: intersectionality (race, class, gender, LGBTQ), identity in conflict or in social movements, challenges faced by multicultural social movements, social power and marginalization in social change, comparative or case studies of conflicts or movements shaped by intersectionality and/or cultural marginalization.

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change (RSMCC) is a fully peer-reviewed series of original research that has been published annually for over 30 years. We continue to publish the work of many of the leading scholars in social movements, social change, and peace and conflict studies. Although RSMCC enjoys a wide library subscription base for the book versions, all volumes are now published both in book form and are also available online to subscribing libraries through Emerald Insight. This ensures wider distribution and easier online access to your scholarship while maintaining the esteemed book series at the same time.

RSMCC boasts quick turn-around times, generally communicating peer reviewed-informed decisions within 10-12 weeks of receipt of submissions.

Submission guidelines

To be considered for inclusion in Volume 34, papers should arrive by **November 15, 2013,** earlier submissions are welcomed as well.

Send submissions as a WORD document attached to an email with the subject line "RSMCC" to Lynne Woehrle, guest RSMCC editor for Volume 37 at woehrlel@mtmary.edu.

- Except for on the title page (which should include full contact information for all authors) remove all self-references (in text and in bibliography).
- Include the paper's title and the unstructured abstract on the first page of the text itself.
- For initial submissions, any standard social science in-text citation and bibliographic system is acceptable.

For more information, please visit the RSMCC website: http://www.emeraldinsight.com/products/books/series.htm ?id=0163-786X

Other Opportunities and Relevant Announcements

Youth Activism Postdoctoral Fellowship

The Youth Activism Project, housed in the School of Sociology at the University of Arizona, invites applications for a one-year, renewable postdoctoral fellowship on youth and participatory politics to begin in Fall 2013. The Youth Activism Project, directed by Dr. Jennifer Earl, is part of the MacArthur Network on Youth and Participatory Politics. It is focused on youth engagement in protest, particularly online protest and flash activism.

The postdoctoral fellow will be responsible for working with the PI to design and implement research studies related to overall project themes, including quantitative content coding of protest websites and analysis of this coding as well as interviews and focus groups with youth about online protest. Strong candidates will have research experience in both quantitative and qualitative methods, notable experience working in Stata or R, and be productive working in teams and independently. All candidates must have a Ph.D. in hand by the

commencement of the fellowship and would preferably have received their Ph.D. within the past three years.

The School of Sociology at the University of Arizona is one of the best sociology programs in the country, consistently ranked among the top 20 Sociology programs in the United States for the past thirty years. It boasts a lively intellectual community and has played a pivotal role in the careers of many leading sociologists. Situated in the beautiful southwest in Tucson, the University of Arizona offers excellent benefits and Tucson offers a wonderful living experience. Competitive salary will be based on experience.

To apply, visit www.uacareertrack.com and apply for Job Number 52359. In addition to online forms, candidates must upload a letter of interest, c.v., (including the names of three references) and a research statement (see job ad for details).

The University of Arizona is an equal opportunity employer, committed to building a culturally diverse intellectual community, and strongly encourages applications from women and minority candidates. Review of applications will continue until the position is filled. Only complete applications will be considered.

Mobilizing Ideas

Back by popular request, *Mobilizing Ideas* (http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com) is focusing this month on giving you some ideas for your summer reading list. We invited contributors to choose a social movements/protest-related book of the past couple years—whether scholarly or practical, "fact" or fiction, mainstream or not-so-mainstream—and write a short review. As usual, we are posting the majority of the contributions now, but will add a few more later in the month. Be sure to check out these recommendations as you prepare to transition into summer mode.

The blog, Mobilizing Ideas, publishes inter-disciplinary 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. Subscribe to the blog's RSS feed or leave comments—we would love to hear what you think!

Mobilizing Ideas Editors in Chief: Grace Yukich, David Ortiz, Rory McVeigh, Dan Myers

University of Pittsburgh Conference

On April 10-12, 2014, the University of Pittsburgh will host the 38th Conference of the American Sociological Association's Section on Political Economy of the World-System (PEWS), which will focus on the theme of "Social Movements and Global Transformation." Organizers invite submissions on this theme from all relevant disciplines in the humanities, law, and social sciences. The Call for Papers is available at: http://www.sociology.pitt.edu/documents/CallforPapers_0_01.pdf . Proposal deadline is January 21, 2014. Meals and lodging for authors of accepted papers will be provided.

Call for Nominations: 2013 Mario Savio Young Activist Award

The board of directors of the Mario Savio Memorial Lecture & Young Activist Award invites you to nominate a candidate for the 16th annual young activist award. The award this year carries a cash prize of \$6000, divided equally between the prize-winner and his or her organization.

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

Specific eligibility requirements are:

- Between ages 18-26 as of 9/1/201
- Engaged in activism for social change in the United States, promoting the values of peace, human rights, economic or social justice, or freedom of expression;
- Acting within the context of an organization, social movement, or larger community effort;
- Considered an inspirational leader or motivating force by others in that context;
- Able to attend award ceremony in Berkeley, CA (Oct.-Nov.; expenses paid).

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

This award honors the late Mario Savio (1942-1996), who came to national prominence as a spokesperson for the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964. His moral clarity, his eloquence, and his democratic style of

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

NOMINATIONS ARE DUE BY JULY 1, 2013.

Nomination forms and additional information are available at www.savio.org or email: savio(at)sonic(dot)net

CBSM-Related Events at ASA 2013

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 2013 ASA meetings in New York by browsing the preliminary ASA schedule as of May 2013. We apologize for any errors or omissions.

Friday, August 9

Pre-ASA Conference on "Power and Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy" New York City, http://powerandjustice.com

7:00-9:00 PM

Opening Plenary Session. Inequality and Contemporary Social Protest

Session Organizers: Cecilia L. Ridgeway (Stanford University), Douglas McAdam (Stanford University)

Panelists:

- Cecilia L. Ridgeway (Stanford University)
- Barbara Ehrenreich (Author)
- Theda Skocpol (Harvard University)
- Douglas McAdam (Stanford University)

Saturday, August 10

7:00-8:15AM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Council Meeting

8:30-10:10 AM

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. New Directions in the Study of Movement Consequences

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

Discussant: Sarah A. Soule (Stanford University)

- "The Black Radical March Through the Institutions: Institutionalizing Black Power," Joyce M. Bell (University of Pittsburgh)
- "The Continued Relevance of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo: Cultural Transmission and Social Movements," Elizabeth Borland (The College of New Jersey), Sarah A. Schoellkopf (St. Matthew's Episcopal Day School), Leah Ruediger
- "What Drives News Media Coverage of Politics, Movements, and SMOs?," Edwin Amenta (University of California-Irvine), Neal Caren (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill), Amber Celina Tierney (University of California-Irvine)
- "When Movements Establish Markets, Do Markets Transform Movements? The Case of Medical Marijuana in California," Cyrus Dioun (University of California-Berkeley)

Thematic Session. Politics, the Labor Movement and Inequality in the Contemporary U.S.

Session Organizer: Jake Rosenfeld (University of Washington)

Presider: Barry Eidlin (University of Wisconsin-Madison) Discussant: Jeff Smith (New School for Social Research) Panelists:

- Paul Frymer (Princeton University)
- Dorian T. Warren (Columbia University)
- Jake Rosenfeld (University of Washington)

10:30AM-12:10PM

Regular Session. Contemporary Political Issues.

Session Organizer: Josh Pacewicz (Brown University) Presider: Maria M. Akchurin (University of Chicago)

- "Jim Crow 2.0?: Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Polices," Keith Gunnar Bentele (University of Massachusetts-Boston), Erin O'Brien (University of Massachusetts-Boston)
- "Money in the Middle: Partisan Contribution Strategies among Elite Donors to Federal Elections, 1980-2008," Jennifer A. Heerwig (New York University)
- "Religious Actors and Democratization: When do Grand Ayatollahs Support Democratic Movements?," Ali Kadivar (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill), Ali Reza Eshraghi (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
- The Great Recession: Political Trust, Satisfaction with Democracy and Attitudes to Welfare-State Redistribution in Europe" Javier Polavieja (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid)

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Invited Session. Social Movement Scholars as Public Intellectuals

Session Organizer: Nancy E. Whittier (Smith College) Panelists:

- David S. Meyer (University of California-Irvine)
- Amy L. Stone (Trinity University)
- Chip Berlet (Journalist)
- Kathleen M. Blee (University of Pittsburgh)
- Marshall Ganz (Harvard University)

2:30-3:30pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables

Session Organizers: Kai A. Heidemann (Christopher Newport University), Jeff A. Larson (Towson University)

Table 01. Organizations and Organizational Dynamics.

- "How Starr Developers Turned the Tide: Mechanisms of Strategic Invention in a Multilevel field," Daniel Wu (Harvard University)
- "Understanding the Power of the National Rifle Association: Toward a Theory of Socio-Legal Movement Organizations," Jennifer Carlson (University of California-Berkeley)
- "What's More Un-green Than a Fire? Alliances between the Public Health, Environmental, and Firefighting Communities," Alissa Cordner (Brown University), *Phil Brown (Northeastern University)
- "The Weaknesses of Civic Territorial Organizations: Civic Engagement and Homeowners Associations in Urban China," Qiang Fu (Duke University), Nan Lin (Duke University)

Table 02. Social Movements and Protest

- "As Long as it Takes? Durations of Multiday Protests in the United States, 1960–1995," Nick Adams, Orestes 'Pat' Hastings (both at University of California-Berkeley)
- "Economic crisis and mass protest: The pots and pans protests in Iceland," Jon Gunnar Bernburg (University of Iceland)
- "Organized Civil Society: A Cross National Evaluation of Non-Governmental Organization Density on Anti-Governmental Demonstrations," Jeremy S. Forbis (University of Dayton)
- "Advocacy Organization Framing and the 2012 London Olympic Games," Jayson Hunt, Nolan Phillips (both at University of California-Irvine)

- "Friends, foes or estranged: A proposal for a critical analysis of police during protest events," Zachary Patrick Baumgart (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- "Policy Contagion and the Policing of Protest in New York City, 1960-2006," Patrick Rafail (Tulane University)
- "Resisting Strategic Incapacitation: How OWS Protesters Countered Spatial Containment, Surveillance, and Information Control," Bob Edwards (East Carolina University), Patrick F. Gillham (University of Idaho)
- "The Revolution WIll Be Privatized?
 Privatization, Resistance, and Repression at the
 University of California," Chad Justin Valasek,
 Nikolai Smith (both at University of CaliforniaSan Diego)

Table 04. Social Media and ICTs

- "Blogging and Collective Civic Action after Hurricane Katrina: The Web as a Virtual Mobilization Structure," David G. Ortiz, Stephen F. Ostertag (both at Tulane University)
- "Collective-in-formation: How Does Online Communication Facilitate Popular Protest?"
 Eunkyung Song (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)
- "Is Setting Up a Facebook Page Enough for a Social Movement?" Yong Hyun Kim (University of Michigan)
- "Social Movements and New Technology: The Impact of the Digital Revolution on Protest Activity," Victoria L. Carty (Chapman University)

Table 05. Occupy Wall Street

- "Frustrated Crusaders or Outdoor Hoarders? The New York Times' Framing of Occupy Wall Street," Arthur E. Reed (Vanderbilt University)
- "Are They Worthy?: Social Movements, Legitimacy, and Partisan Media," Eulalie Jean Laschever (University of California-Irvine)
- "The People United: Solidarity in the Nascent Occupy Movement," Shantee Lorraine Rosado (University of Pennsylvania)

Table 06. Organizations and Coalitions

- "Continuity After Abeyance: Dismantling of mobilizing structure and generational turnover in the cycles of protest," Yoko Iida Wang (University of Hawaii-Manoa)
- "More than the sum of its parts: Cooperation and mutual commitment in congregation-based

- community organizing," Eric A. Tesdahl (Vanderbilt University)
- "Processes of attention: The equivalence between team, organizational and social movements,"
 Luciana Carvalho de Mesquita Ferreira (Insper Institute of Education and Research)
- "There's No Place Like Home: Geographically Centralized Organizing in the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food," Jane M. Walsh (University of Pittsburgh)

Table 07. Tactics and Tactical Change

- "Selling the Movement: Tactics of Aesthetic Performance in the University of Puerto Rico Student Movement," Katherine Tracy Everhart (Vanderbilt University)
- "Sustainable Lifestyles and Environmental Activism: How Lifestyle Change Supports Collective Action," Janet A. Lorenzen (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)
- "Tactical Trends across Environmental Justice Organizations," Christie Parris (Emory University)
- "The Crisis of Victory and the Institutionalization and Radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement," Wayne Santoro, Max Fitzpatrick (both at University of New Mexico)

Table 08. Strategy and Spontaneity

- "Protest on the Fly: Resuscitating & Retheorizing Spontaniety in the Dynamics of Collective Action," David A. Snow, Dana M. Moss (both at University of California-Irvine)
- "Strategic Action and Organizational Form as Frame in the New Wave Food Co-op Movement," Derek Thomas Burk (Northwestern University)
- "Their Bottom Line: Social movements and the economics of incremental goals," Erin Evans (University of California-Irvine)
- "How Funding Matters: An Examination of the Environmental Movement in Canada," Catherine Corrigall-Brown (University of Western Ontario)

Table 09. Participation & Mobilization II

- "Capturing the fluidity of social movements: towards an innovative methodology of participation patterns," José Ignacio Nazif-Muñoz (McGill University)
- "Framing and Emotional Resonance: Between Alignment and Independence," Cristiana Olcese (London School of Economics and Political Science), Dunya van Troost (VU University)

- "Home Is Where Activism Starts: How Community Mechanisms Sustain Participation among Religious Anti-War Protesters," Sharon S. Oselin (California State University-Los Angeles)
- "The Influence of Service-Learning on Social Movement Participation among College Graduates," Fletcher Winston (Mercer University)

Table 10. Participation and Mobilization I

- "Collective Action, Social Movements, and Perpetrator Participation in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide," Aliza Luft (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- "From correlation to causation: The Evolution of Collective Action in an Evolving Neighborhood," Jacquelien van Stekelenburg (VU University)
- "Issues, Actions and Structures: Patterns of Participant Support for CODEPINK and NOW," Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum (University of Pittsburgh)
- "Triangles, squares and pentangles: multilevel feminist networking on violence against women," Conny Roggeband (FLASCO Ecuador)

Table 11. Outcomes I

- "Cohort Consequences: The Effect of Political Generation on Cultural Challenges," Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University), *Robyn Lewis Brown (DePaul University)
- "Culture's consequences: A New comparison of French and U.S. feminist movement outcomes," Benjamin Aldrich Moodie (University of California-Berkeley)
- "Que se vayan todos! Understanding political outcomes of anti-austerity protests," Eric Turner (University of New Mexico)
- "The Performative Magic of Advocacy: Symbolic Capital and Social Change," Guy Feldman (Bryn Mawr College), Roni Strier (University of Haifa), Hillel Schmid (Hebrew University)

Table 12. Outcomes II

- "Carnival in Notting Hill: The Strategic Use of Ritual and Its Outcomes," Jennifer Edwards (Northeastern State University), J. David Knottnerus (Oklahoma State University)
- "Effects on the Participants of Social Movements: Case of the Protest against G8 Summit," Kyoko Tominaga (University of Tokyo)

Table 13. Social Movements and the State

- "Activists in Politics The Influence of Personal Overlap on Social Movements' Success," Timo Böhm (University of Mannheim)
- "Investigating the Israel lobby: Seeing U.S. and Canadian Foreign Policy Through a Social Movements Perspective," Rottem Sagi (University of California-Irvine)
- "Strategies in Interaction: State-Protest
 Relationship and Movement Consequences in
 Chinese Environmental Protests," Jean Yen-chun
 Lin (University of Chicago)
- "The Co-Optation of a Social Movement: Cooperation vs Contention in Social Movement-Political Party Interactions," Mary Beth Fallin Hunzaker (Duke University)

Table 14. Social Networks and Institutional Fields

- "Command Posts in Strategic Action Fields: A Comparison of Executive Actions towards "Fracking," Amanda E. Maull (Pennsylvania State University)
- "Suturing the Rifts: A Social Network Analysis of the U.S. Food Advocacy Movement," Matthew C. Friesen (University of Oregon)
- "The Success and Failure of Institutionalized Social Movements: Network Analysis of the Korean Women's Movements," Myeongjae Yeo (Boston College)
- "Using Networks and Fields to Understand Regional Differences within Women's Collective Political Action, 1900-1975," Laura K. Nelson (University of California-Berkeley)

Table 15. Networks, Fields, and Contexts

- "Media, Fields, and Public Interest:
 Interorganizational Network Analyses of the Tea
 Party and Occupy Wall Street," Benjamin E. Lind
 (Higher School of Economics), Remy Cross
 (Webster University)
- "Putting Distance In Its Place: The contextual role of social movements," S. Matthew Stearmer, Rachel Marie Durso (both at The Ohio State University)
- "Rethinking Social Movements: A Competition-Conflict Approach," Hiroe Saruya (The University of Michigan)

Table 16. Frames and Framing

 "Taking Back America: A Frame Analysis of Participant Mobilization within the Tea Party Movement," Jeanine Cunningham (University of Oregon)

- "Movement-Countermovement Frame Interaction and Frame Debunking in the Global Warming Policy Conflict," James Everett Hein (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
- "Movements in Context: Regional Cultures and the Uptake of Social Movement Frames in Same-Sex Marriage Activism," Jaime McCauley (Northern Kentucky University)
- "Frame Variation in the U.S. Environmental Movement, 1962-2004," Todd Schifeling (University of Michigan)

Table 17. Feminist & LGBTQ Movements

- "Age and feminist activism: The feminist protest within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain," Celia Valiente (Universidad Carlos III)
- "Bridge Groups and Religious Change: The Case of LGBT Religious Activism at a Christian University," Jonathan Scott Coley (Vanderbilt University)
- "Engendering Hate: The Role of Feminism within the White Supremacy Movement," Allison Reilly McGrath (Vanderbilt University)
- "LGBTQ Identity and Youth Civic and Political Engagement," Andreana L. Clay (San Francisco State University), Veronica Terriquez (University of Southern California)

Table 18. Gender and Feminism

- "Fields of Contention: Feminist Student Mobilization During Abeyance," Alison Crossley (University of California-Santa Barbara)
- "Secular Sexism: The Reproduction of Gender Inequality in the New Atheist Movement," Katja M. Guenther (University of California-Riverside)
- "Spilling Over to the Countermovement: Symbolic Boundaries, Feminist Organizations, and the Religious Right," Kelsy Kretschmer (Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)
- "Naked Against Domestic Violence: Mobilization and New Media of a Feminist Weibo Activism in China," Ling Han (University of California-San Diego)

Table 19. Collective Identity and Mobilization

- "Kooky Extremists? Passionate Effectors of Change? Or...?: Parsing the Dimensionality of 'Activist' Identity in Movements," Daniel K. Cortese (Governors State University)
- "Social Movements and Everyday Life: How Collective Identity Shapes Suffrage and Temperance Cookbooks," Stacy Jeanne Williams (University of California-San Diego)

- "The Mismatch between Ideology and Practice in Establishing Group Membership," Ana Velitchkova (University of Notre Dame)
- "The Tea Party Movement: Sameness and Difference," Jessica Rae Petersen (Northern Illinois University)

Table 20. Collective Action and Identity

- "Turning Private Pain Into Public Action: Constructing Activist-leader Identities in Faithbased Community Organizing," Michelle Oyakawa (The Ohio State University)
- "Collective Identity and Oppositional Frame Resonance: Gendered Framing in the American Abortion Debate," Alexa Jane Trumpy (St. Norbert College)
- "Divided We Stand Understanding the Influence of Collective Action on Pan-Ethnic Collective Identity," Amber Celina Tierney (University of California-Irvine)
- "The Iranian Green Movement: Fragmented Collective Action and Fragile Collective Identity," Arash Reisinezhad (Florida International University)

2:30-4:10 pm

Special Session. Contemporary Transformations in the Forms and Content of Religion (co-sponsored with the Association for the Sociology of Religion)

Session Organizer: Fred Kniss (Eastern Mennonite University)

Presider: Kelly Haesung Chong (University of Kansas) Discussant: Niilo Kauppi

- "Varieties of European Cosmopolitanism: Mobilities, Identities and Post-National Values in the EU," Adrian Favell (Sciences Po), David Reimer (Aarhus University)
- "Was it a Deluge? EU Identity Before and After the Euro-Crisis," Ettore Recchi, Justyna Salamonska (Both University of Chieti-Pescara)
- "Urban Upper-middle Classes as agents of Globalisation and Europeanisation," Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes (Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)), Alberta Andreotti (University of Milan-Bicocca), *Patrick Le Galès (Centre d'Études Européennes, Sciences-Po Paris)
- "Understanding civic engagement and integration of American and British women in Southern Europe," Irina Isaakyan (European University Institute)

3:30-4:10pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Business Meeting

4:30-6:10 pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Social Movements, Corporations, and Consumption

Session Organizers & Presiders: Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University) and Brayden G. King (Northwestern University)

Discussant: Juliet B. Schor (Boston College)

- "Growing in Value: Sustainable Development Activism and Agricultural Value Chain Articulation in Uttarakhand, India," Andre Joshua Nickow (Northwestern University)
- "How Political is Political Consumption? The Case of Third-World Activism and Fair Trade," Joerg Roessel, Patrick Henri Schenk (both University of Zurich)
- "Shareholder activism: A Two-Stage Approach,"
 Sarah A. Soule, Jacob Model (both Stanford University)
- "With Great Power Comes Great Responsibility: A Time-Series Analysis of Business-Targeted Collective Action," Lisa A. Neilson (The Ohio State University)

Regular Session. European Integration: Identities, Values and Social Change

Session Organizer: Adrian Favell (Sciences Po) Presider: Juan Diez Medrano (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid)

- "What's Old and Social about 'Spirituality' and Why It Matters for Sociology," Courtney J. Bender (Columbia University)
- "Lived Religion in the Senate: An Analysis of Chaplains' Prayers," Wendy Cadge (Brandeis University), Margaret Clendenen (Brandeis University), Laura R. Olson (Clemson University)
- "Majority versus Minority Religious Status and the Ethno-Religious Activism of Indian Americans," Prema Ann Kurien (Syracuse University)
- "Civil Religion in the Neoliberal Moment: National Identity and Political Conflict," Rhys H. Williams (Loyola University-Chicago)

6:30-8:30 pm

Joint Reception (off-site): Section on Political Economy of the World System; Section on Sociology of

Development; Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements; and Section on Human Rights

Sunday, August 11

8:30 am-10:10 am

10:30-12:10pm

Task Force on Sociology and Global Climate Change

Regular Session. Collective Behavior: Media and Mobilization

Session Organizer: Michael Biggs (University of Oxford) Presider: David Nicholas Pettinicchio (University of Oxford)

Discussant: Deana Rohlinger (Florida State University)

- "Media, Movements, and Mobilization: Tea Party Protests in the U.S., 2009-2010," Tarun David Banerjee (State University of New York-Stony Brook)
- "Television and Protest in East Germany's Revolution, 1989-1990: A Mixed-Methods Analysis," Marko Grdesic (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- "The Dramatic Form of Online Collective Action in China," Guobin Yang (University of Pennsylvania)
- "Winning Minds Through Hearts: Civil Society Organizations, Emotional Feedback, and Social Media," Christopher A. Bail (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

Section on Labor and Labor Movements Paper Session. Organizing the New American Workforce: Gender, Race, and Citizenship in the US Labor Movement

Session Organizer: Ben Scully (Johns Hopkins University) and Belinda C. Lum (California State University-Long Beach)

"Faith, Community, and Labor: Challenges and Opportunities in the New York City Living Wage Campaign," Jeffrey Daniel Broxmeyer and Erin Rose Michaels (both City University of New York-Graduate Center)

- "Integrative Organizing in Polarized Times: Toward Dynamic Trade Unionism in the Global North," Daniel B. Cornfield (Vanderbilt University)
- "The Value of Being Negro, The Cost of Being Hispano: 'Disposability' and Challenges to Cross-Racial Solidarity," Vanesa Ribas (University of California-San Diego)

12:30-2:10pm

Regular Session. Collective Behavior at the Extremes Session Organizer: Michael Biggs (University of Oxford) Presider: Charles F. Seguin (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Discussant: Hayagreeva Rao (Stanford University)

- "Royal Navy Mutinies in the Age of Sail: A Case Control Study Employing Random Forests," Michael Hechter (Arizona State University), Steven Pfaff (University of Washington),
 *Charles 'Trey' Causey (University of Washington)
- "Threat, Institutional Roles, & Organizational Infrastructure; A QCA Analysis of 19 Nazi Concentration Camps," Thomas V. Maher (Ohio State University)
- "The Morphology of Resistance: Korean Resistance Networks 1895-1945," Eun Kyong Shin (Columbia University)
- "Understanding Food Riots: A Time-Series Analysis of Contemporary African Protest," Alison Heslin (Emory University)

2:30-4:10pm

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Paper Session. Race and Social Movements.

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

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

- "Competitive Contexts, Racial Threat, and Organizing Capacity: Explaining Civil Rights-Era KKK Membership and Rally Turnouts," Peter B. Owens (University of California-Irvine), David Cunningham (Brandeis University), Geoff K. Ward (University of California-Irvine)
- "Mothers, Minority and Poor: The Contentious Construction of the Israeli Single Mothers' Movement," Noa Milman (Boston College)
- "Racial Oppression and Resistance in Postemancipation Executions in the South," Annulla Linders (University of Cincinnati)

Monday, August 12

8:30-10:10am

Regular Session. Collective Behavior: Processes and Dynamics

Session Organizer & Presider: Michael Biggs (University of Oxford)

 "Pathway to Bellwether: An Ecological Analysis of the Rise of Taiping Rebellion," Yang Zhang (University of Chicago)

- "Contextual Process Model of Political Choice and Contentious Conflict," Fei Yan (University of Oxford)
- "Protest Cycle and Self-immolation's Positive Feedback Loop in South Korea, 1980-2010," Sun-Chul Kim (Emory University)
- "Emotions in the Trajectories of Protest Movements in South Korea in the 2000s," Minyoung Moon (Vanderbilt University)

10:30-12:10pm

ASA Rose Series Author Meets Critics Session. Social Movements in the World System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation (Russell Sage Foundation, 2012) by Jackie Smith and Dawn Weist

Session Organizer: Judith Gerson (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Presider: Paul D. McLean (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

Critics:

- Jason Beckfield (Harvard University)
- Saskia Sassen (Columbia University)
- Immanuel Wallerstein (Yale University

2:30-4:10pm

Regular Session. Globalization, Collective Action, and Social Movements

Session Organizer: Christine E. Bose (State University of New York-Albany)

Presider & Discussant: Christine E. Bose (State University of New York-Albany)

- "The Impact of Globalization and Nation-State Characteristics on Religious Party Governance," Autumn Mathias (Northeastern University)
- "Emirati Women between the Global and the National," Dalia Abdelhady (Lund University)
- "Scaling Gay Rights in Poland: Transnational Scalar Maneuvers after EU Accession," Ryan Centner, *Christopher Walczyszyn (both at Tufts University)
- "Bringing Values Back into Global Professions: Truth Commissions Professionals as First Generation True Believers," Kiri Marie Gurd (Boston University)

4:30-6:10pm

Regular Session. Sociology of Culture. Social Issues, Social Protest, and Cultural Analysis

Session Organizer & Discussant: Paul D. McLean (State University of New Jersey-Rutgers)

 "Cultural Change Via Cultural Revitalization and Fabrication in the Context of Social Movements,"

- David A. Snow, Peter B. Owens, Anna E. Tan (all at University of California-Irvine)
- "A Dramaturgical Approach to Protest Policing in the United States.: Actors, Enemies, Stage, and Performance," Thomas Nolan Ratliff (Arkansas State University)
- "Mad Science, "Good" Religion, and Abstract Law: Cultural Schemas in Americans' Talk about Social Controverrsies," Penny A. Edgell, Kathleen E. Hull (both at University of Minnesota)
- "Coming Out of the Shadows: Structural and Cultural Opportunities for Undocumented Student Mobilization," Laura E. Enriquez, Abigail C. Saguy (both at University of California-Los Angeles)

8:00-10:00pm

Memorial Gathering in Honor of Mayer Zald (Douglas McAdam)