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Message from the Chair: Occupy Wall Street: The Challenge Ahead

Jeff Goodwin

CBSM Section Chair

Professor of Sociology, New York University

The global capitalist crisis of the past few years has led to protests, rebellions, and even revolutions in a range of countries, poor and rich alike. The form that political conflict has taken has been shaped by a number of factors, including the precise nature of the crisis that impacts ordinary people at the grassroots. In the United States, for example, budget cuts and attacks on the collective-bargaining rights of public employees led to protests earlier this year in a number of states, most notably Wisconsin, where hundreds of thousands took to the streets and occupied the state capital building.

An even more important and radical social movement, Occupy Wall Street (OWS), has now arisen. This movement began in September 2011 with an occupation of a small park in Manhattan's financial district, but it has subsequently spread to hundreds of cities and towns across the U.S. and has galvanized protests around the world. Unlike the protests in Wisconsin, OWS is not a response to a particular bill, budget, or other specific government threat. Instead, OWS articulates a broad, angry, and compelling indictment of corporate power in both its economic and political forms. And this indictment has clearly resonated with a broad range of people among "the 99 percent" of the population the movement claims to represent. According to a recent poll, 67 percent of New Yorkers say they agree with the views of the Wall Street protesters, while 23 percent disagree. (Full disclosure: I myself—a middle-aged professor—have participated in a number of OWS rallies and marches.) Not surprisingly, some

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Book Review

Shurman, Rachel and William A. Munro. 2010. *Fighting for the Future of Food: Activists versus Agribusiness in the Struggle over Biotechnology*. University of Minnesota Press.

Michaela DeSoucey
Princeton University



Two years ago, while assembling my syllabus for a course on food law and policy, I searched unsuccessfully for the ‘right’ book to teach about the interplay of social movements, culture, and politics in the controversies over genetically modified food. Part of the difficulty of my search was finding a book that was comprehensive in its treatment of the activists and their targets, that linked local cases of activism with a global movement, and that would make an extremely complex and technical subject otherwise readable and engaging for my students. I wish that *Fighting for the Future of Food* had been published at that time.

Rachel Schurman and William Munro have accomplished something quite impressive here. Beginning with the dominant theories of how social movements create new knowledge, they identify the underpinnings and chart the processes of struggles over GM biotechnology in the U.S., Western Europe, and Africa. Their analysis of each case is theoretically cohesive and draws on a wide range of data collected over the course of seven years: participant observation at activist and industry conferences; interviews with activists, scientists, and business executives; press coverage; policy statements; press releases; industry documents; trade journals; and archival and secondary sources. To contextualize these separate cases of localized social movement conflicts in relation to other – especially cross-national – controversies, they claim to adopt the strategy of ‘relational comparison’ (though I do wish they came back to how this analytic strategy influenced their analysis of and across cases in greater detail). They also confront a longstanding

question in our field – how do social movements define success?

Using a narrative and interpretive voice, they show how and why activists in each geographical setting varied in their abilities to translate their grievances into sustained political engagement. In particular, they compare how the social and cultural lifeworlds – combinations of ideas, values, and norms that naturalize certain broad visions of the world – of both anti-GM movement participants and the biotechnology industry actors they oppose influence organizationally-oriented strategies, opportunities for activism, and policy. They argue that these oppositional lifeworlds have, in large part, structured the main ways that the debates over GM technologies have been both perceived and acted upon. For example, industry lifeworlds drove competitive positioning, while activists’ lifeworlds build an intellectual coalition out of scientists, philosophers, environmentalists, and social justice activists. While I would have liked to read more in relation to the interaction among activists across continents and the case studies, the authors do bring a remarkably clear focus to the role of conceptual boundaries and specificity in the creation and continuation of controversy.

As Schurman and Munro highlight in the different chapters, GM technology and activism took on quite different social and political meanings in each of these three locales. These meanings connect with the sequence of historical events, activists’ particular motivations, and, in some cases, what seems like chance. In the U.S., connecting Monsanto’s corporate culture with the development of a connected scientific-business domain allows the authors to show how U.S. firms simultaneously obtained a favorable regulatory environment and motivated a groundswell of opposition. In Europe, activism played a key role in first creating and then utilizing new sets of political opportunities. The food industry, especially, became vulnerable to activists’ work and mobilization at the supermarket checkout counter. Today, in 2011, we often think of Europe – in particular Western Europe – as a staunch anti-GM continent. Yet, this was not always so; a group of activists raised right-to-know concerns about the nature of potential risks that resonated with policy makers and consumers. In Africa, they focus on how

activists used GM technology discursively as a proxy for health, environmental, and economic risk within shifting policy and international organizational frameworks.

In the end, Schurman and Munro argue that if the history of anti-biotechnology activism tells social movement researchers anything, it is that we ought to look beyond what social movements *intend* to achieve and concentrate on the processes of change that they actually set in motion: outcomes that are often unexpected, unintended, and perhaps undesirable. Needless to say, biotechnology is not going away any time soon. And, if the weekly Crop Biotech Updates I receive from the International Service for the Acquisition of Agri-biotech Applications (ISAAA) are any indication, it is growing in its global reach and potential political connections.

While the conceptual debates that frame this subject will be familiar to students of social movements and culture, I can imagine a number of reasons they will nevertheless find this book an interesting and important resource, not least because of the richness of their data, the thoroughness of their analysis, and the importance of the empirical topic at hand. Myself, I look forward to assigning this book in courses and to seeing the findings of Schurman's and Munro's next research projects.

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liberal politicians in the Democratic Party are scrambling to align themselves and their rhetoric with this increasingly popular movement. More about this in a minute.

The "Declaration of the Occupation of New York City" drawn up by OWS activists at the end of September eloquently encapsulates their democratic and anti-corporate—as well as internationalist—perspective:

We write so that all people who feel wronged by the corporate forces of the world can know that we are your allies. As one people, united, we acknowledge the reality: that the future of the human race requires the

cooperation of its members...; that a democratic government derives its just power from the people, but corporations do not seek consent to extract wealth from the people and the Earth; and that no true democracy is attainable when the process is determined by economic power. We come to you at a time when corporations, which place profit over people, self-interest over justice, and oppression over equality, run our governments.

Among the hand-made signs I saw on a recent trip to the OWS encampment in Zuccotti Park were the following: "Democracy, Not Plutocracy;" "Wall Street Occupies Our Government—Occupy Wall Street!;" "Government is for the People, Not for Corporations!;" and "Corporations Are Not People!" Thus, while OWS has targeted the banks and financial institutions we reflexively associate with "Wall Street," it clearly views corporate power more generally as the source of the problems of the 99 percent, both in the United States and the world at large. In a country where capitalism has only been weakly and intermittently challenged, this is obviously not U.S. politics as usual.

OWS activists in New York are not exactly Marxists, to be sure. They tend to decry "corporate greed" rather than capitalism as such. But they are clearly influenced by socialist and anarchist ideas and ideals. I saw a wonderful sign at the large Times Square rally on October 15: "Corporate Greed Is a Redundancy and Corporate Responsibility is an Oxymoron!" In this respect, OWS resembles the "global justice movement" that exploded in Seattle in 1999, the current movement of *los indignados* ("the indignant") in Spain, and leftist protesters from Athens to Paris. (The tactic of permanently occupying public space, for its part, was clearly influenced by the occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo this past January.) Importantly, this is not simply a movement against unemployment, austerity, home foreclosures, union-busting, environmental degradation, student debt, or the corrupting power of money in politics. Instead, OWS activists embrace *all* these causes *and* link them to overweening corporate power, the root cause of the present crisis, which they implicitly view as both economic and political.

Is the movement succeeding thus far? Without question. Indeed, its achievements far exceed the initial hopes of OWS activists. The movement is playing a hugely consequential "counter-hegemonic"

role or broadly educational function by spreading its anti-corporate message to growing audiences. The movement has been even more effective at publicizing the sheer breadth of public anger with banks and corporations. (Disinterested and even disdainful reporters from the U.S. corporate media, however, have often muddled the message, and Fox News is overtly hostile to OWS.)

OWS has performed an important public service simply by revealing to people who are angry with banks and corporations—and the politicians who coddle them—that they are not alone. This has energized tens of thousands of people in New York City alone. The movement has also sparked conversations and debates across the U.S. about matters that have hardly entered mainstream public discourse in recent years: the power and impunity of corporations, the tremendous inequality and unconscionable poverty in the United States, and the corruption of both major political parties.

OWS has also spawned a growing number of marches, demonstrations, and political initiatives in New York and beyond, by providing a focal point around which groups with a wide range of specific grievances—unions, community groups, students, anti-war groups, environmental activists—have gravitated, piggy-backing on the growing media and public interest in the movement (and thereby stimulating still more media attention). We may now in fact speak of a broad “OWS coalition” that loosely encompasses these groups. (For some people, furthermore, the democratic living arrangements and participatory politics at OWS encampments are also an attraction—an exciting alternative to life within the mainstream, corporate-sponsored culture.)

However, the key question that remains unanswered at this point is whether and how the OWS movement will transform the anger, energy, and excitement that it has helped to generate and focus into real power—into actual leverage against the corporate power the movement decries. The development of an independent and enduring source of popular power against corporations is clearly the movement’s main challenge going forward. If it fails to develop the leverage needed to successfully challenge banks, corporations, universities, and politicians, it is hard to

see how the movement can sustain its current momentum for the months and indeed years of struggle its political goals demand.

Now, movements that challenge wealthy and powerful elites don’t win by calmly persuading elites to give up their wealth and power. Elites have to be frontally challenged. More specifically, movements win by imposing costs on elites—costs in the form of withdrawn labor (by means of strikes), withdrawn purchases and investments (by means of boycotts), the disruption of everyday routines (by means of civil disobedience), and so forth. These costs have to become unbearable to elites. They must induce elites to make concessions to the movement—because those concessions are actually cheaper than the costs being imposed on them. And because repressing the movement has itself become too costly and perhaps simply unworkable.

Furthermore, not everyone can impose costs on elites to the same extent. Challenging groups have to play an important collective role in important elite-owned and controlled institutions in order to impose such costs—that is, they must make an important and indeed necessary contribution to such institutions, whether that contribution is their work for such institutions, their purchases from or investments in such institutions, or their acceptance of the ordinary routines that allow such institutions to function. Power comes from collectively withdrawing these necessary contributions.

Alas, most of the core OWS activists in New York—and there are not a whole lot of them—are students or unemployed (or irregularly employed) youth who obviously do not play an essential role in the powerful banks and corporations they eloquently criticize. Whatever muscle the movement is able to muster is more likely to come from the organized groups with at least some leverage in important institutions which have begun to coalesce around OWS—that is, community organizations, student groups, and especially trade unions. In fact, it is hard to see how any anti-corporate movement can be successful that is not based first and foremost on the efforts of the people who actually work for corporations, whether they belong to a union or not.

Unfortunately, while New York City has an unusually strong union movement, trade unions and working people in general have been on the defensive in recent years, fighting layoffs, cutbacks, and home foreclosures. Unions in the private sector are weak to the point of near extinction. Unions officials in the U.S., moreover (with a few exceptions), do not share the anti-corporate worldview or militant tactics of OWS activists. And while the movement as it currently exists may provide some unions with welcome publicity and shows of solidarity, this may not be enough for them, let alone unorganized workers, to successfully resist the cutbacks and layoffs that still lie ahead. The OWS coalition, accordingly, will not only need to expand dramatically into working-class communities and consciousness, but will also need to summon all the tactical creativity it can in the weeks and months ahead in order to win concrete victories and maintain its momentum.

In the meantime, the threat of police repression against the encampments in New York and elsewhere is ever-present. Right-wing forces, abetted in some cases by local merchants who feel inconvenienced by the protests, will undoubtedly step up their calls for the forcible removal of the encampments. “Moderate” and liberal politicians may join them if the movement grows too threatening. New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who is known as a strong civil libertarian, has clearly been eager to remove the occupiers of Zuccotti Park in Manhattan. However, the size of the occupation and especially the public sympathy for it have prevented this thus far. The short history of OWS, moreover, demonstrates that police violence and arrests can backfire, generating even more publicity and sympathy for the nonviolent protesters. I suspect city officials confronted by occupations will generally wait until the movement seems to be waning before they strike out violently against the encampments—let’s call this the Tiananmen strategy—another reason why OWS needs to maintain its current momentum.

Yet another threat to OWS comes from liberal Democratic politicians who would love to divert and channel its energy into their electoral campaigns in 2012. Of course, as Robert Reich, labor secretary under President Clinton, recently pointed out, it is

exceedingly unlikely that OWS will push the Democratic Party to embrace anything like anti-corporate politics. The Democrats are far too dependent upon corporate money, media, and connections to move more than a centimeter or two in this direction.

Some Democratic politicians, however, will undoubtedly try to present themselves to the public as anti-corporate populists—as even President Obama sometimes did in 2008, despite his close ties to Wall Street—in order to draw on OWS energy and enthusiasm. Democratic politicians were quite successful in channeling the energy of the Wisconsin protests into a campaign to recall a number of anti-union Republican legislators. But the campaign focused mainly on the need for civility in politics and largely avoided mention of corporate power or even the need for strong unions. In the end, the campaign failed to change the balance of power in the Wisconsin legislature but it was quite successful in getting people off the streets of Madison.

Will this strategy work with OWS? Not with the core activists, clearly, whose disdain for liberal Democrats like Obama and New York Senator Charles Schumer, another Wall Street favorite, is fairly palpable. According to one activist, “Occupy Wall Street is a *post-political* movement representing something far greater than failed party politics. We are a movement of people empowerment, a collective realization that *we ourselves* have the power to create change from the bottom-up, because we don’t need Wall Street and we don’t need politicians.” I’m not sure that “post-political” is the best label for OWS, but this we-don’t-need-politicians attitude seems to be quite common among OWS activists.

Some of the groups and unions that are part of the broader OWS coalition, however, will certainly plunge into Democratic Party campaigns next year, along with some students and others who have not fully bought into the critique of corporate power—and the Democratic Party—embraced by OWS activists. Many enthusiasts of today will undoubtedly peel off as we head into high election season of tomorrow. This will be a pity, since OWS needs all the bodies and energy it can gather.

But this threat may wither considerably in the days ahead. As mentioned, the movement itself has been an effective educative force, and the popularity of politicians, including liberal Democrats, is unlikely to improve in the near future given the current economic crisis. Much indeed will hinge on the state of the economy in the coming months. A serious economic downturn, or even just a continuing muddling through, may provide more fresh and angry troops to OWS than Democrat politicians can siphon away. Such troops will be necessary if OWS is to meet its unfulfilled promise of building an anti-corporate movement that is powerful, independent, and enduring.

This piece draws on a shorter essay that will appear in *Le Monde diplomatique* in November.

Mentoring Committee Announcements

We are pleased to announce that the CBSM section is continuing its mentoring program this year. Past versions of the program received very positive evaluations, with both mentors and mentees noting the significant rewards of participation. In essence, the program serves as a “matchmaking service,” pairing assistant professors with more senior colleagues who can provide advice and support during the early years of the mentee's career. The last few years we have also added a second tier of matchmaking, pairing ABD students with junior or recently-tenured faculty who can help students transition from graduate school and also negotiate the job market.

While strong mentorship can give a new faculty member an invaluable boost at a crucial moment in his or her early career, finding a good mentor (or mentee) on one's own is no small feat. Often, the best mentorships span institutional boundaries, because assistant professors are often (rightfully) reluctant to voice concerns and insecurities to senior colleagues who will eventually have to evaluate their junior colleague's performance. But identifying a

like-minded mentor or mentee at another institution can be a daunting task.

The CBSM Mentoring Program is designed to address this issue by pairing mentors and mentees across institutional boundaries. While each mentor-mentee relationship will develop its own trajectory, common topics of conversation include: formulating job market and publishing strategies; managing teaching and service loads; navigating departmental and university politics; dealing with work/family conflicts; etc. Mentors also sometimes alert mentees to opportunities for funding, employment, or professional recognition.

Mentoring relationships carry rewards for the mentor as well as for the mentee. Mentors enjoy the satisfaction of nurturing a junior colleague, repaying the mentoring that they themselves received in the past. Equally important, mentors and mentees often build enduring collegial relationships that last well beyond the mentee's junior faculty years. And mentorship benefits the larger scholarly enterprise, too, creating webs of informal communication and mutual support that knit us together into a more robust and cohesive community.

We hope that you will consider participating in the Mentoring Program. Considering the recent reconfiguration of the mentoring program as a formal CBSM section activity, we think it best to start from scratch when matching mentors and mentees. Hence, past participants—both mentors and mentees—are strongly encouraged to sign up again.

Please keep an eye on your email inbox for instructions on how to sign up as a mentor or a mentee. Meanwhile feel free to direct any inquiries to Fabio Rojas, the newly elected Chair of the mentoring committee, at frojas@indiana.edu. Given the relatively small commitment required, the Mentoring Program has the potential to really make a difference to young scholars and, through their development, to the vitality of the section as a whole.

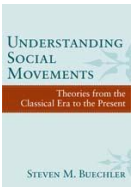
Fabio Rojas, Annulla Linders, Matthew Archibald, and David Cunningham, 2011-2012 CBSM Mentoring Committee

Recent Publications

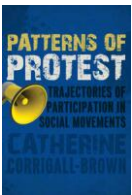
New Books



Paul D. Almeida. 2011. *Olas de Movilización Popular: Movimientos Sociales en El Salvador, 1925-2010*. San Salvador: UCA Editores.



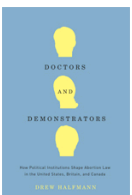
Stephen M. Buechler. 2011. *Understanding Social Movements: Theories from the Classical Era to the Present*. Paradigm Publishers. (<http://www.paradigmpublishers.com/books/BookDetail.aspx?productID=243428>)



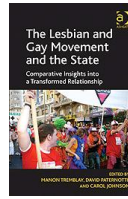
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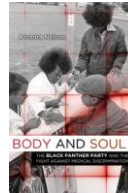
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Contributors: Jack Goldstone, John Markoff, Anthony W. Pereira, Jeffrey L. Gould, Amy Risley, Alison Brysk, John L. Hammond, Anthony W. Pereira, Francesca Polletta, John Skrentny, Anne N. Costain, Adam Green, John D'Emilio, Christian Smith, Edwin Amenta, Drew Halfmann, Christian Bröer, Jan Willem Duyvendak, Donatella della Porta.



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Tania Palmieri and Claire Solomon. 2011. *Springtime: The New Student Rebellions*. Verso. (<http://www.versobooks.com/books/799-springtime>)

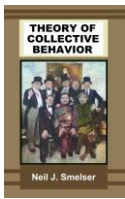


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Deadline for the Spring 2012 Issue of *CriticalMass*: April 15

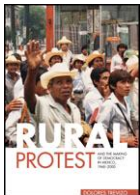


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(<http://quidprolaw.com/?p=1690>)

New foreword by Gary T. Marx and new Preface by Neil Smelser

(<http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/tocb.html>).



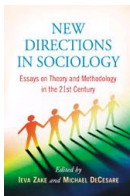
Dolores Trevisio. 2011. *Rural Protest and the Making of Democracy in Mexico, 1968–2000*. Penn State University Press.

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Other Publications

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Dunlap, Riley E. and Aaron M. McCright. 2011. “Organized Climate Change Denial.” Pp. 144-60 in J. S. Dryzek, R. B. Norgaard and D. Schlosberg, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Eaton, Marc. 2011. *From the Seats to the Streets: MoveOn.org and the Mobilization of Online Progressive Activists*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Colorado Boulder.

Gillham, Patrick F. and Bob Edwards. 2011. “Legitimacy Management, Preservation of Exchange Relationships, and the Dissolution of the Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition.” *Social Problems* 58(3): 433-60.

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Guckenheimer, Debra. 2011. “Social Movements in Organizations.” In Kim Cameron and Gretchen Spreitzer, eds. *Handbook of Positive Organizational Scholarship*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gunderson, Shane. 2011. “Intellectual Work: The Psychological Process of Cue-Taking.” In Stephen Palmer, ed., *Between Identity & Practice*. Inter-Disciplinary Press.

Haydu, Jeff. 2011. “Cultural Modeling in Two Eras of U.S. Food Protest: Grahamites (1830s) and Organic Advocates (1960s-70s).” *Social Problems* 58(3): 461-87.

Jansen, Robert S. 2011. “Populist Mobilization: A New Theoretical Approach to Populism.” *Sociological Theory* 29(2): 75-96.

Jasper, James M. 2011. “Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 285-304.

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Jasper, James M. 2010. “Strategic Marginalizations, Emotional Marginalities: The Dilemma of Stigmatized Identities.” Pp. 29-37 in Debal SinghaRoy, ed., *Surviving Against Odds: The Marginalized in a Globalizing World*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.

Luna, Zakiya. 2011. *Domesticating Human Rights*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.

Martinez, Elisabeth. 2011. *A Sociology of the First Amendment*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame.

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Olzak, Susan. 2011. "Does Globalization Breed Ethnic Discontent?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(1): 3-32.

Spires, Anthony J. 2011. "Contingent Symbiosis and Civil Society in an Authoritarian State: Understanding the Survival of China's Grassroots NGOs." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(1): 1-45.

Spires, Anthony J. 2011. "Organizational Homophily in International Grantmaking: US-Based Foundations and their Grantees in China." *Journal of Civil Society* 7(3): 305-31.

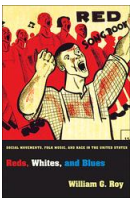
is a tour de force of historical sociology, carefully piecing together the complex social forces that underlie arrangements we now take for granted, such as why "folk music" became associated with the American Left. (Roy's book was reviewed in *CriticalMass* 36-2.)

The winner of the **Outstanding Article Award** is Robert W. White, for his article, "Structural Identity Theory and the Post-Recruitment Activism of Irish Republicans: Persistence, Disengagement, Splits, and Dissidents in Social Movement Organizations," [*Social Problems* (2010) 57(3): 341-370]. This article makes an important theoretical contribution, uses an impressive set of data, and is very well written. Using data from activists in the Irish Republican movement, the paper explores the factors that lead activists to continue (or not to continue) their activism over time. Most research on participation in protest has studied the initial recruitment to activism, and surprisingly little looks at the question of persistence. Professor White first interviewed his subjects in the mid-1980s and then followed up with them in the 1990s and again in the 2000s. He is therefore able to study their trajectories over time. He finds, consistent with the literature on initial recruitment, that relationships and social identities play an important role in shaping individual activism over the life course.

An honorable mention goes to Andrew W. Martin and Marc Dixon's article, "Changing to Win? Threat, Resistance, and the Role of Unions in Strikes, 1984–2002," [*American Journal of Sociology* (2010) 116(1): 93–129]. This article also combines creative data collection, an important theoretical contribution, and excellent writing. Martin and Dixon demonstrate that threats from employers influence labor union strikes, and that different types of labor unions respond differently to threats than others.

The winner of the **Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award** is Joshua Bloom of UCLA for his paper, "Insurgent Influence on Truman's Civil Rights Policy: A Theoretically Informed Event Structure Analysis." This important paper makes methodological, theoretical, and empirical contributions to scholarship. Methodologically, the paper reworks Event Sequence Analysis (ESA) so as to incorporate theory, resulting in what Bloom calls

2011 CBSM Section Awards



The winner of the **Charles Tilly Award for the Best Book on Collective Behavior and Social Movements** is William Roy's *Reds, Whites and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States* (Princeton University Press, 2010). Meticulously researched and ambitious in scope, this book builds on an emerging research area in social movements and challenges the conventional understandings of the role of music in social research: It is the "doing" of the music rather than the content and sonic qualities that is most important in understanding how this form of culture affects the internal dynamics and outcomes of social movements. Roy demonstrates how music can be far more than a crude ideological hammer (as in the Old Left) or even a solidarity-enhancing mechanism (songs on the picket line), showing how it can become part of the very fabric of a movement. In addition to its other qualities, *Reds, Whites and Blues*

Theoretically Informed Event Sequence Analysis (TIESA). This is a formal method that can be used to identify the sequence of events leading to change. Theoretically, Bloom questions the political opportunity thesis that social movements arise following a prior opening of political space; instead, he shows that insurgent tactics may cause governments to take actions that only then create opportunities. On the empirical level, finally, Bloom demonstrates that the Black Nationalist movement forced the Truman administration to make real concessions to African Americans well before the Montgomery bus boycott or the sit-ins and freedom rides.

An honorable mention was awarded to Rachel Kahn Best of UC Berkeley for her paper, "Politicization and Politics: The Direct, Distributive, and Systematic Effects of Advocacy Organizations on Medical Research Funding," and to Elizabeth Williamson of Rutgers University for her article, "The Magic of Multiple Emotions: The Relationship Between Emotional Intensity Shifts During the Reclaiming Movement's Recruiting/Training Events and Event Reattendance," [*Sociological Forum* (March 2011) 26(1): 45-70].

Contributors: Deborah Gould, Nella Van Dyke, and Jeff Goodwin, on behalf of the Award Committees.

A complete list of articles nominated for the Outstanding Paper Award is reprinted below:

Andrews, Kenneth T. and Neal Caren. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda" *American Sociological Review* 75: 841-866.

Andrews, Kenneth T., Marshall Ganz, Matt Baggetta, Hahrie Han, and Chaeyoon Lim. 2010. "Leadership, Membership and Voice: Civic Associations That Work." *American Journal of Sociology* 115:1191-1242

Bell, Shannon Elizabeth and Yvonne A. Braun. 2010. "Coal, Identity, and the Gendering of Environmental Justice Activism in Central Appalachia." *Gender & Society* 24: 794-813.

Braun, Yvonne A. and Michael C. Dreiling. 2010. "From Developmentalism to the HIV/AIDS Crisis: The Amplification of Women's Rights in Lesotho." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(3): 464-83.

Cunningham, David, Colleen Nugent, and Caitlin Slodden. 2010. "The Durability of Collective Memory: Reconciling the Greensboro Massacre" *Social Forces* 88(4).

Currier, Ashley. 2010. "The Strategy of Normalization in the South African LGBT Movement," *Mobilization* 15(1): 45-62.

Duffy, Meghan M., Amy J. Binder, and John D. Skrentny. 2010. "Elite Status and Social Change: Using Field Analysis to Explain Policy Formation and Implementation." *Social Problems* 57(1): 49-73.

Earl, Jennifer, Katrina Kimport, Greg Prieto, Carly Rush, and Kimberly Reynoso. 2010. "Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism." *Mobilization* 15(4): 425-46.

Ermakoff, Ivan. 2010. "Theory of Practice, Rational Choice, and Historical Change." *Theory & Society* 39: 527-53.

Ingram, Paul, Lori Q. Yue, and Hayagreeva Rao. 2010. "Trouble in Store: Probes, Protests and Store Openings by Wal-Mart: 1998-2005." *American Journal of Sociology*. 116: 53-92.

Martin, Andrew W. and Marc Dixon. 2010. "Changing to Win? Threat, Resistance, and the Role of Unions in Strikes, 1984-2002" *American Journal of Sociology* 116(1): 93-129. **Honorable Mention.**

Martin, Isaac William. 2010. "Redistributing toward the Rich: Strategic Policy Crafting in the Campaign to Repeal the Sixteenth Amendment, 1938-1958," *American Journal of Sociology* 116(1): 1-52.

McCright, Aaron M., and Dunlap, Riley E. 2010. "Anti-Reflexivity: The American Conservative Movement's Success in Undermining Climate Science and Policy." *Theory, Culture, & Society* 27(2-3): 100-33.

Okamoto, Dina and Kim Ebert. 2010. "Beyond the Ballot: Immigrant Collective Action in Gateways and New Destinations." *Social Problems* 57: 529-58.

Oselin, Sharon S. and Catherine Corrigan-Brown. 2010. "A Battle for Authenticity: An Examination of the Constraints on Anti-Iraq War and Pro-Invasion Tactics." *Mobilization* 15(4): 511-33.

Rhomberg, Chris. 2010. "A Signal Juncture: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and Post-Accord Labor Relations in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 115(6): 1853-94.

Schwartz, Mildred A. 2010. "Interactions between Social Movements and US Political Parties." *Party Politics* 16(5): 587-607.

Sobieraj, Sarah. 2010. "Reporting Conventions: Journalists, Activists, and the Thorny Struggle for Political Visibility." *Social Problems* 57(4): 505-28.

Stepan-Norris, Judith and Caleb Southworth. 2010. "Rival Unionism and Membership Growth in the United States, 1900 to 2005: A Special Case of Interorganizational Competition." *American Sociological Review* 75(2): 227-51.

Sullivan, Richard. 2010. "Organizing Workers in the Space between Unions: Union-Centric Labor Revitalization and the Role of Community-Based Organizations." *Critical Sociology* 36(6): 793-819.

Virdee, Satnam. 2010. "The Continuing Significance of 'Race': Racism, Anti-Racist Politics and Labour Markets." Pp. 62-92 in Alice Bloch and John Solomos, eds., *Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Virdee, Satnam. 2010. "Racism, Class and the Dialectics of Social Transformation". Pp. 135-64 in John Solomos and Patricia Hill Collins, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*. Sage.

Walker, Edward and John D. McCarthy. 2010. "Legitimacy, Strategy, and Resources in the Survival of Community-Based Organizations." *Social Problems* 57: 315-40.

White, Robert W. 2010. "Structural Identity Theory and the Post-Recruitment Activism of Irish Republicans: Persistence, Disengagement, Splits, and Dissidents in Social Movement Organizations," *Social Problems* 57(3): 341-70. **Award Winner.**

Thinking about Social Movements

Richard Hogan
Purdue University

When Chuck Tilly decided that his early (1978) work on the role of interests and organization in predicting mobilization, power, and opportunity/threat was fatally flawed as "structural determinism" many of his followers, including his students, were dismayed. Back in the seventies, Resource Mobilization was the challenger and we were all reading mimeographed copies of *From Mobilization to Revolution* and attempting to reanalyze the data from Bill Gamson's (1975) *Strategy of Social Protest*, all the while focusing on the uselessness of Durkheim and the futility of using micro economic or frustration-aggression theories to explain social movements and social change.

In the nineties I was surprised to learn that American Studies students were critical of Resource Mobilization. As Political Process Theory fended off efforts to bring the state back in, new forms of postmodernism were challenging the assertion that the distinction between routine and non-routine political action was unnecessary. At the same time, the micro-economic (now called rational choice) proponents were nipping at our heels. Sometimes it seems that my colleagues are all anxiously struggling to reinvent the fifties (that Golden Age of sociology).

In this spirit, my recent contribution to *Social Science History* (Hogan 2011) picks up a project that I dropped in the nineties: using Resource Mobilization theory to explain political partisanship, particularly support for challengers. Initially, I was interested in third party political movements, 1870-1900: from the Greenbackers to the Populists, as a prelude to the Progressives. I have since decided to focus my attention on the South (in fact, on the State of Georgia) and the Reconstruction Period (especially the Redemption struggle of 1868-1871). Here I argue that interests matter and that organization matters and that we need to stop looking at partisanship from the institutional (party systems) or individual (voter attitudes/behavior) perspective and look instead (as

Bensel 2004 has done) at the organization of efforts to control local elections.

What I discovered in the process is that it is certainly possible to dust off the old Resource Mobilization model and use it to predict elections, but it is also important to move beyond static structures toward dynamic processes—democratization and de-democratization being the most pertinent process in this particular case (Tilly 2007). In fact, I have become convinced that Chuck was right about mechanisms and processes, but I am less concerned about structural determinism than he was and find Burawoy's (1985) concept of hegemony to be a useful tool in elaborating the economic base of successful republican capitalist “democracy” (or, alternatively, the fatal flaw in failed bourgeois revolts: France in 1789 and 1848, Iran in 1979, and stay tuned for fall out from the Arab Spring).

To some extent I also have learned that Resource Mobilization might have overstated the case and thereby opened the door for new social movements. Anyone who has read Epstein (1991) or has attended a social movement event with Verta Taylor¹ can appreciate the fact that political protest is scary but also fun and sexy—whether it be left-wing challengers or religious revivalists, the demographers can explain the data.

So once again this old dog has learned that it might at times be necessary to learn some new tricks (even though, methodologically, OLS suffices for the SSH paper, stay tuned for some new statistical models that my junior colleagues have taught me), but I will continue to teach and to apply the lessons that I learned in graduate school. Maybe that is why I still teach classical theory. I think the dead white men had some interesting ideas.

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¹ The Verta Taylor reference refers to two separate events in South Bend, Indiana—first, when she received the McCarthy Award and then, when McAdam did and she showed up in a Den Mother (Cub Scout) Vest.

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Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

Calls for Papers

CBSM Sessions at ASA 2012 in Denver (For more information, see the official *Call For Papers* on the ASA website beginning in late October).

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

The Arab Spring: When Does Nonviolent Resistance Work? Nonviolent resistance recently helped to overthrow dictators in Tunisia and Egypt, but it seems largely to have failed in Libya, Bahrain, and Syria. This session will ask how the so-called Arab Spring has added to our understanding of why

nonviolent resistance sometimes succeeds and sometimes fails. *Session Organizer: Sharon Erickson Nepstad, University of New Mexico*

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

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

Sexualities, Social Movements, and Institutions (co-sponsored with Section on the Sociology of Sexualities). This session will examine how social and political movements related to sexualities and/or sexual issues interact with institutions, such as the media, the law, governmental agencies and bodies, marriage, and the family. Topics might include (but are not limited to) media representations of sexuality-centered social movements, legal struggles over rights for existing and emerging sexual minority groups, the strategic use of institutions by social movement actors, and the outcomes of institutionalization on sexuality-based activism. Papers on transnational and/or U.S. movements are welcome. *Session Organizers: Tey Meadow, Princeton University, and Tina Fetner, McMaster University*

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtables. *Session Organizers: Jonathan Horowitz and Sarah Gaby, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill*

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 35: Special Section on Visual Analysis of Social Movements

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change (RSMCC), a peer-reviewed volume published by Emerald Group Publishing/JAI Press, encourages submissions for Volume 35 of the series. This volume will have both thematic and open-submission sections and will be guest edited by Nicole Doerr (University of California, Irvine) Alice Mattoni (University of Pittsburgh) and Simon Teune (Social Science Research Center Berlin).

For the open-submission/non-thematic section, submissions appropriate to any of the three broad foci reflected in the RSMCC series title will be considered. The thematic session is dedicated to the visual analysis of social movements. We encourage submissions that address the subject on one of three levels:

First, visual analysis refers to a category of expressions of social movements. Social movement research is too focused on texts: interviews and surveys, documents and manifestos, newspaper coverage, laws and official reports. The rich visual language developed in social movements is neglected in most studies, even though posters and banners, photos and videos, gestures and outfits, symbols and images carry important messages.

Second, social movements are perceived to a large extent on the basis of visual representations. Mass media are more likely to report about movement events when they produce strong images. However, protest groups have a very limited influence on the images linked to them. A stereotypical visual representation of protest is the rule rather than the exception. Protests are not perceived as what they are but what they look like in press photos and TV news images.

Third, the visual analysis of social movements and protest comprises the analytical question of visibility and exclusion in societies. Protestors do not all have the same chances of being seen by audiences. While some claims are obvious for large parts of the society, others are filtered out by hegemonic routines. Protesters who articulate their goals without using imagery that is familiar, expected and compatible with the mainstream experience are likely to be marginalized. Attaining visibility through counter-hegemonic images that recall, but at the same time subvert, hegemonic discourses is a major challenge for social movement actors and, in particular, for discriminated groups who have different experiences than the majority.

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change 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.

To be considered for inclusion in Volume 35, papers should arrive by February 1, 2012. Send submissions as a Word document attached to an email to Nicole Doerr, Alice Mattoni and Simon Teune, guest RSMCC editors for Volume 35, at ndoerr@uci.edu, alm232@pitt.edu, and teune@wzb.eu. Remove all self-references (in text and in bibliography) save for on the title page, which should include full contact information for all authors. Include the paper's title and the abstract on the first page of the text itself. For initial submissions, any standard social science in-text citation and bibliographic system is acceptable. RSMCC boasts quick turn-around times, generally communicating peer reviewed-informed decisions within 8-10 weeks of receipt of submissions. RSMCC website:

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/products/books/series.htm?PHPSESSID=ao67n2qdmdb56lqa36v0k6mivb1&id=0163-786X>

Sociological Studies of Children and Youth (an annual volume published by Emerald Publishing) announces a special issue, "Youth Engagement: The Civic-Political Lives of Children and Youth." Guest editors Sandi Kawecka Nenga and Jessica K. Taft invite the submission of completed papers focused on children and youth's civic and political engagement, broadly conceived.

Possible questions and theoretical concerns might include: How are youth actively participating in civic and political socialization projects? How do young people and the adults who work with them define terms like citizenship, democracy and community? How do youth react to adults? How do youth understand what it means to be a "citizen" or "community member"? What institutions and structures facilitate or hinder youth participation and engagement? How do youth respond and relate to the various institutions and organizations designed to encourage their engagement? How do the dynamics of race, class, gender and ability shape young people's opportunities for and approaches to engagement?

Submission deadline is January 20, 2012. Submit papers electronically (less than 30 manuscript pages in length) to Sandi Nenga at nengas@southwestern.edu, or in hardcopy to Sandi Nenga, SU Box 7421, Southwestern University, 1001 E. University Avenue, Georgetown, TX 78626. Contributions will be peer-reviewed. Anticipated publication date is spring 2013.

International Conference: From Social to Political: New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization

February 9-10, 2012, University of the Basque Country (Paraninfo), Bilbao, Spain

International Sociological Association: ISA RC47 (Research Committee Social Classes and Social Movements) and ISA RC48 (Research Committee Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change)

The objective of this conference is to foster theoretical reflections and to present empirical evidences regarding some of the recent mobilizations

that took place in the Mediterranean area and that have two very clearly distinguished threads. On the one hand, there are the mobilizations that reveal the need to open space to democracy by asking for political reforms and democratization processes in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Libya and Syria, among other. On the other hand, numerous discontent displays regarding the political management of economic crisis and the shrinking of the Welfare State in South Europe triggered mobilizations such as 15-M in Spain, “Indignatevous” in France, Italy and Greece and other protests organized by young people and students in England, Israel and Belgium.

Bringing together different networks and orientations around social movements, expressed by the two ISA Research Committees 47 and 48, this conference offers the opportunity to debate around the changes and the meanings of social movements of the twenty-first century. In special, we are interested in analyzing the antecedents, the influence of social and political conditions, the movement’s nature regarding organization, forms of protest, claims, causes, protagonists, role of social media and to spot the meaning of these relatively new forms of protest beyond the action repertoire.

The general structure of the Conference has provided different ways for participation. One of them is the organization of academic sessions. Each thematic session will consist of the presentation of a guest lecturer for 20 minutes, four oral communications for 15 minutes each, and five communications presented in poster format.

SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS

The abstracts of communications should be sent to the organization of the Congress based on the following criteria:

- ♦ Length: Maximum 1000 words, minimum 700.
- ♦ Submissions must be in English.
- ♦ Contents: All abstracts must have the following information:
 - Title;
 - Author information, including surname, first name, email address, and affiliation;

- Three key words;
- Description of work, including type (theoretical, qualitative, quantitative, case study, comparative analysis), object/subject, methodology, main findings/conclusions/contributions;
- References/bibliography.

PARALELL ACTIVITIES

We are opening the possibility to organize a parallel exhibition of graphic material related to the congress. Formats admitted include photos, videos, recordings, websites, etc. Please send materials, links to social network sites, or other electronic media to the coordinators. If you have any other ideas relating contents for these parallel activities please feel free to contact us and we will evaluate the possibility of including them.

Please send abstracts before **30th November 2011** to the Conference Coordinators:

Benjamín Tejerina, University of the Basque Country (b.tejerina@ehu.es)

Antimo L. Farro, “Sapienza” University of Rome (antimoluigi.farro@uniroma1.it)

This Week in Sociology [TWS]

This Week in Sociology [TWS] is a webzine that provides sociological perspectives on news and current events. We invite you to join us in reading, assigning, commenting on, and even contributing to this publication as we try to bring the “sociological imagination to real time.”

Each week 5 or 6 sociologists and “fellow social science travelers” provide TWS with a sociological lens on up-to-the minute events: political policies and debates, news stories, pop-culture, viral video, and media phenomena, global conflicts and natural disasters, etc. We will also try to stay relatively close to intro and social problems course syllabi as we begin with general pieces that explicitly discuss or nod to concepts like “the sociological imagination” and basic sociological approaches.

Please check out the site. Consider using it for your classes. And, as always, please consider contributing

to the Zine. We are generating no revenue (not even costs at this point) but we can offer plugs and hyperlinks to work or projects that authors are engaged with. For more information, contact Corey Dolgon, cdolgon@stonehill.edu; Jason Smith, jasonsm55@gmail.com; or simply by contacting thisweekinsociology@gmail.com. See the site at <http://www.thisweekinsociology.com/>

New Cultural Frontiers (Online Sociological Review)

New Cultural Frontiers is a new peer-reviewed International On-Line Journal that intends to fulfill a particular niche in academic publishing. It will be a peer-reviewed publication for PhD students and untenured researchers. The principle aim of the Journal is to diffuse the work of young sociologists within the International Sociological Association (ISA) and beyond. It will combine high quality academic/scientific research with the speed and visibility of the web.

The editors are untenured researchers with representation from all over the world. The journal has an ambitious perspective: It hopes to become a point of reference and network for young sociologists within the ISA with vastly different backgrounds, fieldworks and interests. Comparative and interdisciplinary approaches are particularly welcome. For more information about the journal as well as the electronic submission process, see the website: <http://www.newculturalfrontiers.org/>

Other Opportunities

The Sociology Department of Sherubtse College in Kanglung, Bhutan (<http://www.sherubtse.edu.bt>) is requesting your kind assistance. The department is now concluding its second year offering sociology courses. Because we do not yet have a sociology library we are asking for book donations from the global community of sociologists. Our need for literature is vital in that Bhutan is undergoing profound and rapid social change and we believe that the discipline of sociology – and your book donations – can significantly contribute to its betterment. Both contemporary and time-tested classics will be greatly appreciated with single-subject books more useful than textbooks. We especially need books that focus on social theory, qualitative research methods, social statistics, the

sociology of development, political economy, globalization, environmental sociology, rural sociology, social change, sociology of the family, sociology of religion, the sociology of health and medicine, technology and social forecasting and social demography. Questions can be directed to sherubtsebookdonations@gmail.com. Please send your donations to our North American collection point at:

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WHAT IF activists around the world who want to be more effective could turn to a database of actual campaigns, to get ideas for creative nonviolent strategies and tactics?

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- ♦ The Arab Awakening of 2011
- ♦ The “color revolutions” in Serbia, beginning 2000
- ♦ Soviet Bloc independence campaigns (1989-)
- ♦ African democracy campaigns of early 1990s

- ♦ Asian democracy campaigns launched by Filipino People Power in 1986
- ♦ Latin American democracy campaigns (early 1980s)
- ♦ U.S. civil rights movement against racial discrimination (1950s – 60s)

More cases are being added to the database — ranging historically all the way back to 12th century BCE Egypt — by students at Swarthmore College, who have gained assistance from Tufts and Georgetown Universities. The project is sponsored by the Lang Center for Civic and Social Responsibility at Swarthmore as well as the Peace and Conflict Studies Department and the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. For more information, email: glakey1@swarthmore.edu.

Nominations Sought for ASA Major Awards!

ASA members are encouraged to submit nominations for the following ASA awards. The deadline for nominations is provided with each award criteria. Award selection committees, appointed by ASA Council, are constituted to review nominations. These awards are presented at the ASA Annual Meeting each August. The deadline for submission of nominations is January 31st of each year unless noted otherwise in the individual award criteria.

We're currently looking for nominees for the following awards:

- ♦ W.E.B. DuBois Career of Distinguished Scholarship Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Book Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Contributions to Teaching Major ASA Award
- ♦ Distinguished Career Major ASA Award for the Practice of Sociology
- ♦ Excellence in the Reporting of Social Issues Major ASA Award
- ♦ Cox-Johnson-Frazier Major ASA Award
- ♦ Major ASA Award for Public Understanding of Sociology
- ♦ Jessie Bernard Major ASA Award
- ♦ Dissertation Major ASA Award

For more information go to:

<http://www.asanet.org/about/awards.cfm>

Announcement of New CBSM Discussion Listserv

Occasionally, CBSM section members try to post messages to the section's announcement listserv, only to discover that their message does not go through. That is because only a few section officers can post announcements (and only announcements) to this listserv. If you have an announcement that you'd like to share with your fellow section members, please send it to Jeff Goodwin at jgoodwin.nyu@gmail.com.

That said, we now have a discussion listserv up and running which anyone in the section can join. The purpose of this list is to exchange praise or criticism of ideas, praise or criticism of social life, past or present (especially social movements), praise or criticism of ASA or CBSM section actions and events, etc. But you have to join the list first, of course. Since it's a discussion list, section members are not automatically signed up and can only send messages once they're signed on. Joining the listserv is completely voluntary. The address is cbsm@listserv.asanet.org.

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- ♦ Send a new message to listserv@listserv.asanet.org
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Mayer N. Zald, University of Michigan

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

Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkeley

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