

CriticalMass*Bulletin*

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

Volume 37 (2)

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

Fall 2012

2012-2013 Section Officers

Chair

Nancy E. Whittier

Chair-Elect

Edwin Amenta

Past Chair

Jeff Goodwin

Secretary-Treasurer

Sarah Sobieraj

Council

Paul D. Almeida

David Cunningham

Manisha Desai

Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum

Deana Rohlinger

Fabio Rojas

Committees

Nominations

Ashley Currier

Tina Fetner

Amy L. Stone

Publications

Chair: Marc D. Dixon

Neal Caren

Chelsea Starr

Workshops

Kelly Moore

Michelle Proctor

Mentoring (appointed)

Chair: Jose Munoz

Matthew Archibald

Liz Borland

Anna Linders

Webmaster

Justin Farrell

Newsletter Editors

Michelle Smirnova

Melissa Wooten

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

Message from the Chair

Nancy E. Whittier

CBSM Section Chair

Professor of Sociology, Smith College

I am honored to serve as Chair of the CBSM Section, and look forward to working with many of you over the course of the year. We welcome Sarah Sobieraj as Secretary-Treasurer; two new Council members, Manisha Desai and Rachel Kutz-Flamenbaum; Marc Dixon, who joins the Publications Committee; Allison Currier on the Nominating Committee; Jose Munoz on the Mentoring Committee, and Michelle Proctor on the Workshop Committee. Thanks to outgoing Chair, Jeff Goodwin, outgoing Council members Deborah Gould, Rory McVeigh, and Jo Reger, and outgoing Secretary-Treasurer Mary Bernstein. Special thanks to Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur for her service as editor of *Critical Mass*, and to Melissa Wooten and Michelle Smirnova for taking on the job.

As academics, we live according to a yearly cycle, returning to “school” every fall long past the usual age. As scholars of social movements, our intellectual work often revolves around other cycles: cycles of protest, media cycles, and, at the moment, the relentlessly transfixing electoral cycle of the U.S. Presidency. A year ago, we watched the Occupy movement’s dramatic growth and the viral spread of the Slutwalk protests, wondering what they meant for ongoing mobilization and outcomes. We continue to watch the Tea Party contend with electoral success in the U.S., while the revolutionary coalitions in the Middle East grapple with their own dramatic and unexpected success.

Continued on Page 5

In This Issue

Chair’s Message	1
Take 2: Where Did Capitalism Go?	2
Getting to Know Our Section Leaders.....	6
Recent Publications	7
CBSM Section Awards	9
Book Review of Tilly Award Finalists.....	11
Getting Wisconsin Right	13
Calls for Papers & Other Opportunities	16

Take 2: Where Did Capitalism Go?

As he turned over the CBSM reigns to Nancy Whittier, our previous section chair, Jeff Goodwin, left us with these thoughts about the state of scholarship within our field, “Too much of the recent scholarship...treats movements as if they were hermetically sealed off from broader historical processes and social forces... neglect[ing] the broader sweep of politics, but it is *capitalism* that is especially conspicuous for its absence in the recent literature...Although it is now largely forgotten, the dynamics of capitalism played an extremely important role in many of the great books on movements and revolutions that were published from 1975 to 1984. It was during this decade, of course, that the scholarly study of movements moved away from primarily psychological treatments of political protest—studies that often cast a very negative light on protest—to more sympathetic analyses that emphasized the importance of resources, power, solidarities, and opportunities for movements. Movements were no longer viewed as irrational outbursts, but as eminently rational forms of politics by other means. But all this is now common wisdom among movement scholars and other social scientists. What has been forgotten is that the foundational books in our field tended to emphasize quite strongly the effects of capitalism on movements and revolutions...”

Such provocative claims deserve a reply! First up, **Jim Jasper** from CUNY: Like all good programmatic statements, Jeff Goodwin’s contains suggestions for how social scientists should explain the world but also some moral cheerleading to rally us behind his moral vision. “Capitalism” is meant to play both roles.

For most Marxists, capitalism is a system of competition among capitalists with a variety of system effects: business cycles, falling rates of profit, increasing concentration and centralization of capital through bankruptcies, the polarization of capitalists and everyone else, the corruption and control of the state by capital. Capitalism is also the great enemy, a

term that gets Marxist blood flowing – although its symbolic embodiments, such as Mr. Moneybags, probably do that better than the supposed “laws” of capitalism do.

It is not always clear, under these laws of capitalism, how insurgency fits in. Capitalists are forced to compete, and workers must suffer. But when do they say, “enough!”? When do they fight back? The long chapter 10 of *Capital* describes the struggles over the length of the working day, but Marx never fit this into his analysis of capitalism as a system. It comes from the outside, like a god in a machine. Class insurgency is not a structural effect or a system output.

Jeff’s call for attention to capitalism could simply indicate that money matters. Whether you think that financial resources help or hurt insurgency, it changes what can be done and what is done.

Capitalism can also connote inequality and injustice, real and imagined. Here it is a moral battery motivating participation through the contrast between current inequalities and moral ideals, what we might call an “indignation gap.” The Occupy movement has done a great job of reminding us of the power of economic injustice to mobilize people. But the word “capitalism” may not have much resonance even as a cheerleading term, except among aging Marxists.

Jeff may intend to argue that class struggle or economic interests are somehow primary, at least in the final analysis. But are human dignity and social recognition really less important? Feminist, dalit, and LGBTQ activists would presumably disagree. Jeff speaks of “the sensibility” of the 1970s, ignoring the different but also exciting sensibility that has animated most movements since then. Is the structural sensibility that he admires really more sympathetic to insurgents than the newer sensibility’s close attention to their own perspectives, what they feel, what they desire, what energizes them for action?

And are younger scholars really so disengaged? Was Charles Tilly more politically active than Debbie Gould or David Meyers or Olivier Fillieule? One pattern seems to hold up over the last fifty years:

former activists go to grad school and begin to write about the movements that energized them. This was once the New Left or civil rights, it is more recently the antinuclear, animal rights, LGBTQ, and other movements. New Ph.D.s will be writing about the Occupy movement and economic injustice again (but not about capitalism). What purpose is served in dissing so many of these movements as of no “great historical importance”?

Finally, Jeff’s concern for capitalism may simply be a plea for social-movement scholars to pay more attention to the labor movement, which has become its own specialty in recent years. It is always useful to break down artificial barriers, but there is already a lively field of work on the labor movement to which we can turn. And if the labor movement should be brought into mainstream social-movement research, so should religious movements, rightwing movements, and others that get less attention than they deserve. Arbitrary divisions of labor do no good for anyone.

The labor movement is the longest-lasting and possibly most influential movement in U.S. history, and despite a continuing media drumbeat of decline it is the most powerful force on the Left today. It is certainly worthy of attention.

Next up, **Juhi Tyagi and Michael Schwartz** from Stony Brook University provide another take on Goodwin’s core concern about our field: Could Jeff Goodwin be right about social movement scholarship today not asking the big questions, especially about the relationship of social movement processes to the dynamics of capitalism?

To gain some leverage over this question we analyzed a 50% sample of the articles published from 2010-2012 in the flagship social movement journal *Mobilization*, and all social movement-related articles that appeared in the generalist journal *Social Forces* during the same time period.¹ We focus on analytic topics raised, the types of movements being studied,

¹ For *Mobilization* the issues coded were June 2012, February 2012, December 2011, September 2011, December 2010 and September 2010. For *Social Forces*, the issues coded were March 2012,

and their relationship to Goodwin’s title question — are the dynamics of capitalism a part of the analysis?

Of the 34 articles analyzed in *Mobilization*² 47% took as a central focus one or more of three dominant topics in the field: political opportunity structures, framing, and networks. Though they dealt with different movements, this modal cluster of articles tested a set of closely related and very familiar hypotheses. Many focused on opportunity structures: how such structures were conducive to linguistic-rights activism in France, to anti-authoritarian movements in Egypt, to reproductive rights coalitions in Peru, or anti-war protests in the United States. Many other articles examined how movements could be framed to attract supporters, or how the shapes of networks influenced movement recruitment, scrutinizing such varied instances as the Fund for Public Interest Research, anti-witch hunt movements, underground organizations, or—most frequently—environmental movements. These foci are hardly new; political opportunity structures, frames, and networks have been staples of social movement analysis for the past 30 years.

We think this pattern supports Goodwin’s argument in an important way. The field appears to be trending toward further validating the established ‘frames’ (pun intended) of social movement research and is thus working within the rubric of “normal science,” characterized most strongly with the replication of familiar results. Such a pattern constitutes, almost by definition, failing to take on the “big issues” that Goodwin wants attended to.

We turn now to the other half of the *Mobilization* articles. A significant number of this batch focused on the role of the state in determining social movement trajectory: for example, the way states react to protests, when police repression begins, how states facilitate or respond to countermovements, and

² There were 60 articles published during this period. Of the issues we analyzed, three articles were not included because they were either introductions, or award speeches. We coded every other usable article, yielding a sample of 34. Book reviews were analyzed separately.

the consequence of allowing people to participate in state activities in limited ways. Other clusters of studies scrutinize the importance of micro factors such as individual personality traits of activists or leaders or the facilitating role of social demography such as the role of territory or space in the diffusion of riots. These articles, though not necessarily seeking to replicate familiar findings, still had the ring of normal science, pushing at the edges of existing knowledge by scrutinizing small causal vectors in movement trajectories.

Finally, only three of the 34 articles included the dynamics of the larger structure in which the focal movement was operating by analyzing either the economic impacts of protests, the role of corporations in the protest process, and/or ways in which social protest produced (or was immersed in) big forces while aiming for change in the social structure as a whole. That is there were three articles that could be characterized as taking on Goodwin's big issues and/or made capitalist processes a part of the analysis.

The overarching pattern in *Mobilization* appears to support Goodwin's proposition.

For us, though, a more pressing issue is an extension of Goodwin's argument to a definition of what the big issues are. For us, the biggest issue in social movement research remains the question of "success." Following Flacks' famous article³ valorizing "activist scholarship," we think that the best social movement scholarship seeks to understand when and how the activist strategies did or could have contributed to the achievement of movement goals—that is real social change that impacts on the protesters' lives. In all but three cases, the authors recently published in *Mobilization* fail to extend their analysis to the big questions: they fail, for example, to ask (let alone answer) "why" certain opportunities became available, "why" certain frames became (eventually or suddenly) appealing to key constituencies, and "how" certain networks arose and

became vehicles for mobilization or resilience. And beyond these first instances of causal regress lay two larger issues: that the changing profiles of opportunity structures, frames, and networks—and the other focal points of analysis—are the conjoint result of (1) the changing momentum of the parent social structure and (2) the actions of the various human agents constantly working within and against this momentum. And, to call out Goodwin's mantra, this momentum is the sum and substance of the workings of capitalism. So, when it comes to virtually all of the *Mobilization* articles, we think Goodwin is right: the research eschews an exploration of the dynamics of the capitalist social structure that houses the movements studied and therefore cannot begin to answer the critical questions about when and how social movements produce social change.

Perhaps the geography of social movement studies is not as barren as this profile of *Mobilization* articles indicates. The very small sample of *Social Forces* articles suggests that the broader literature is more attentive to Goodwin's concerns. Among the five articles related to movements published from 2010 to 2012, three of them fit into the "normal science" rubric that dominated the *Mobilization* publications (the framing of collective grievances by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1960s, contrasting leadership style of two similar movements with similar goals, and the organizational aspects of legislation-oriented movements). Two of the articles, however, explicitly probed the role of capitalism in shaping and responding to social movement activism: one with reference to mobilizing Polish farmers in the 1980s and another that focused on the determinants of success for social movements that targeted multinational corporations.

This tiny sample offers only a glimmer of hope that the larger profession is more concerned with Goodwin's big issues. But this glimmer fades when we consider *Mobilization's* 45 book reviews, which we think are probably representative of the monograph scholarship in the area of social movements in recent years. Judging from the reviews (which, we think, is an imperfect but nevertheless reliable measure), nine of the books (20%) appeared to take capitalism into account and

³ Richard Flacks, "Knowledge for What? Thoughts on the State of Social Movement Studies" in *Rethinking Social Movements* by Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (ed.) (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, MD, 2003).

therefore addressed Goodwin's big questions. This proportion is much better than the approximately 10% found in the journal's articles, but it does not validate the more promising 40% proportion found in the five *Social Forces* articles. Moreover, the nature of book publishing would appear to promise a more thorough analysis of the movements under scrutiny, and should therefore be far more likely than articles to build their analysis out of the dynamics of the surrounding social system, and pay attention to the ways in which these dynamics impact on social movement efforts at large scale social change. Nevertheless, the modal book, which attended to very important social protests, does not include what would appear to be a highly relevant economic analysis. Painful examples of this absence of political-economic analysis include a cluster of books about the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Movement, volumes on coalition building with and within labor movements, and studies on revolutionary struggles and gay rights movements. All of these often-published topics would benefit from an analysis of the economic factors shaping and interacting with them, yet (based on the reviews) the studies were not concerned with Goodwin's big issues.

If our clearly rudimentary survey is accurate, recent social movement studies is best characterized by its inattention to political economy. Can we allocate at least some of the responsibility for this inattention to the movements themselves? We think not. Our review indicates that the chosen topics include a wide diversity of movements, many large and of immense social importance (and thus disconfirming Goodwin's speculation that unimportant movements are the subject of most research). Scholars have studied everything from the ethnonational radical movements in Cyprus, Northern Ireland and Palestine, to the extremist right wing white movements in the US, the Egyptian Kefaya Movement, movements around antipredatory home lending legislation in the US, the Korean Democracy Movement, the Anti-dam movement in China and more. The constituents of many of these movements make the surrounding political economy (and the dynamics of capitalism) a central feature of the milieu, the targets, and the dynamics of the movements. In these cases, it is not the movements that have shifted the focus away from Goodwin's big issues.

Part of the problem probably lies in the recent trend toward utilizing multivariate analyses of large samples of protests to achieve measurement precision. We think this sort of research design creates at least a propensity to avoid the big questions. Take, for example, an article on the agenda-setting power of protests in Belgium between 1993-2000, which sampled from a universe of social protests, including labor and employment movements, agriculture and food movements, movements focused on energy, defense and finance, and movements built around leisure, regional and cultural identity. To consider the role of political-economic dynamics in shaping the trajectory of these very diverse movements the authors would have had to either assume an identical relationship to capitalism (which devolves into bland political opportunity analysis) or meticulously code the incredibly complicated relationship of each movement to capitalists and capitalism. Faced with this Hobson's choice, the authors focused on other issues.

More broadly, we think that the inattention to capitalism and the attendant big issues associated with it constitutes a trend to manageable projects that do not raise and try to answer the key questions that Goodwin thinks the area should be addressing. We hope that his challenge will encourage researchers to undertake unmanageable, maybe risky, projects that have the promise of cracking open Goodwin's big questions.

Chair's Letter, Continued from Page 1

It has been a dramatic period of mobilization and social change. We can understand these recent movements in terms of our analytical frameworks, thinking about their political and institutional opportunities, their discourse and framing, collective identities, emotions, processes of recruitment, coalition, organizational structure. Yet as a scholar of social movements, I find this historical moment humbling. Whether full-scale revolution or smaller-scale collective action, the social movements of the past few two years have been unpredictable,

unanticipated, even unruly. It is precisely these characteristics that are so exciting about movements and that animate the scholarship of many in our section. Many sociologists are conducting research on the Tea Party, the Slutwalks, the Occupy movement, and the processes and aftermath of Arab Spring. Initial presentations and publications are exciting. As more research comes out, we will begin to have better answers to questions about the origins, processes, and impact of these collective actions.

In the meantime, the electronic media offer another space where scholars raise questions, make observations, and enter the public conversation about social movements. Some sub-fields of sociology have made substantial inroads into public intellectualism. The Sociological Images blog, for example, has brought a sociological lens on gender, race, and class into mainstream social media sites. CBSM scholars are at an earlier stage. The collective "Mobilizing Ideas" blog and numerous individual bloggers have created an exciting space for quick-response, accessible communication. What more can we do? What do we – as scholars of social movements – want to contribute to the public discourse? Toward these ends, I will be organizing an invited ASA session in New York for 2013 on social movement scholars as public intellectuals. I look forward to an interesting conversation about these questions.

Additional plans for the 2013 ASA are proceeding. As I reported on the Section listserv, we will have open submissions sessions on Race and Social Movements (organized by Joyce Bell), Social Movements, Corporations, and Consumption (organized by Deana Rohlinger and Brayden King), New Directions in the Study of Movement Consequences (organized by Kenneth Andrews), Social Movements in Transnational Context (organized by Bodgan Vasi); and our Roundtables (organized by Kai Heidemann and Jeff Larson). I hope we will have many paper submissions for these Section sessions, as well as for the Regular ASA Sessions on Collective Behavior and on Social Movements. We are also at work on plans for our contribution to the pre-ASA workshop, "Power and Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy," spear-headed by the Section on Political Economy of the World-System. The Call for Papers is included in

this issue of *Critical Mass*; stay tuned for details about specific sessions organized by and for the CBSM Section.

In August, the Council voted in favor of re-naming our Graduate Student Paper Award in honor of the late, much-beloved Mayer Zald, recognizing his support for the countless scholars he mentored. The procedure for this change requires a vote by the Section as a whole following Council approval; watch for this in your ASA ballot. As we look ahead, I want to encourage you to run for Section office. Please contact Jeff Goodwin, Chair of the Nominating Committee (jgoodwin.nyu@gmail.com) by November 1 if you are interested in volunteering, and please agree to run if you are asked!

Getting to Know our Section Leaders

First Victim: Nancy Whittier

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

My computer. It's telling that I didn't even think of my computer at first because it is a completely taken-for-granted part of my life. Once I start thinking about technology I take for granted, I realize that other items might be more essential: the refrigerator, say, or the flush toilet. (I think I could manage without the smart phone, iPad, or the Wii, although my children would complain.)

Any favorite TV shows?

I watch very little TV, but am addicted to *Mad Men* for its portrayal of gender and racial politics in the 1960s. I watch most TV on DVD a season late, so please don't tell me what happened in the last season of *Nurse Jackie*.

What's the best piece of advice you ever received (career or personal)?

The part of your research project that seems the most troublesome (that data that don't make sense, the parts of the theoretical argument that don't quite fit together) might turn out to be your most significant contribution. Also, take weekends off. (Yes, I really do take almost every weekend off.)

Have any guilty pleasures that you're willing to share? (mine is watching the *Young and the Restless*, religiously)

My pleasures are more mundane than guilty, alas. I do a lot of gardening, read fiction omnivorously, and hang out with my kids. I'm a political junkie and have been checking the polls daily in the run-up to the November elections; that's not really pleasurable, but I do feel a little guilty about it!

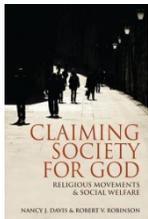
Any details about you that often surprise people?

I held a string of unusual and unpleasant jobs as I made my way through college and graduate school, from door-to-door canvassing to clerical work to dressing as a hair-ball as part of a vacuum cleaner promotion. I am grateful that my current work requires a less ridiculous costume.

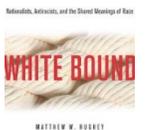
Thanks to Melissa Wooten for the interrogation.

Recent Publications

New Books



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



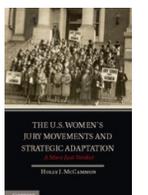
Hughey, Matthew W. 2012. *White Bound: Nationalists, Anti-Racists and the Shared Meaning of Race*. Stanford University Press.

(<http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=21370>)



Alice Mattoni. 2012. *Media Practices and Protest Politics: How Precarious Workers Mobilize*. Ashgate.

(<http://www.ashgate.com/isbn/9781409426783>)



McCammon, Holly. 2012. *The U.S. Women's Jury Movements and Strategic Adaptation: A More Just Verdict*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University

Press

Moghadam, Valentine. 2012. *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement*. Rowman & Littlefield.



Pinard, Maurice. 2012. *Motivational Dimensions in Social Movements and Contentious Collective Action*. Montreal, CA: McGill-Queens University Press



Reese, Ellen. 2011. *They Say Cut Back, We Say Fight Back! Welfare Activism in an Era of Retrenchment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation



Starr, Amy, Luis A. Fernandez, and Christian Scholl. 2011. *Shutting Down the Streets: Political Violence and Social Control in the Global Era*. New York University Press.



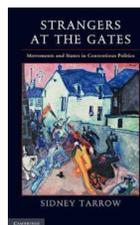
(<http://nyupress.org/books/book-details.aspx?bookId=5011>)

Doug McAdam and Hilary Boudet. 2012. *Putting Social Movements in their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the United States, 2000-2005*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics.



(<http://www.cambridge.org/aus/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9781107650312>)

Sidney Tarrow. 2012. *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics*.



Cambridge University Press.

(<http://www.amazon.com/Strangers-Gates-Movements-Contentious-Politics/dp/1107009383>)

Other Publications

Adams, Alison E. and Thomas E. Shriver. 2011. "Collective Identity and Gendered Activism in the Czech Environmental Movement: The South

- Bohemian Mothers' Struggle Against Nuclear Power." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* 32: 163-189.
- Almeida, Paul D. 2012. "Subnational Opposition to Globalization." *Social Forces* 90(4): 1051-1072.
- Coy, Patrick G. 2012. "Nonpartisanship, Interventionism and Legality in Accompaniment: Comparative Analyses of Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and the International Solidarity Movement," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 6(7): p. 963-981.
- Fisher, Dana R. 2012. "Youth Political Participation: Bridging Activism and Electoral Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 38: 119-137.
- Fisher, Dana R. and Paul-Brian McInerney. 2012. "The Limits of Networks in Social Movement Retention: On Canvassers and Their Careers." *Mobilization*. 17(2): 109-128.
- Gahan, Peter and Andreas Pekarek. 2012. "Social Movement Theory, Collective Action Frames and Union Theory: A Critique and Extension." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*.
- Gillham, Patrick F., Bob Edwards and John Noakes. (2012). "Strategic Incapacitation and the Policing of Occupy Wall Street Protests In New York City, 2011." *Police and Society*.
- Gurbuz, Mustafa. 2012. *Kurdish Ethnic and Islamic Mobilizations in Turkey: A Study of Rival Movements*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Haedicke, Michael. 2012. "Keeping Our Mission, Changing Our System: Translation and Organizational Change in Natural Foods Co-ops." *The Sociological Quarterly* 53(1).
- Konieczny Piotr. 2012. "The Impact of Modern Information and Communication Technologies on Social Movements". Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburg.
- Gurbuz, Mustafa and Mary Bernstein, 2012. "'Thou Shall Not Protest': Multi-Institutional Politics, Strategic Nonconfrontation, and Islamic Mobilizations in Turkey" *Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change* 34: 63-91.
- Jalali, Rita. *Forthcoming*. "Financing Empowerment: How Foreign Aid to NGOs and Social Movements undermines grass-roots mobilization" *Sociology Compass*.
- Jasso-Aguilar, Rebeca. 2012. "How Common Citizens Transform Politics: The Cases of Mexico and Bolivia." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico.
- James M. Jasper. 2012. "Du Symbole à l'Emotion: La Tradition Américaine de la Politique Symbolique." In Isabelle Sommier and Xavier Crettiez, editors, *Les Dimensions Emotionnelles du Politique* Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- James M. Jasper 2012. "¿De la Estructura a la Acción? La Teoría de los Movimientos Sociales después de los Grandes Paradigmas." *Sociológica* 27: 7-48.
- Messer, Chris, Alison E. Adams and Thomas E. Shriver. 2012. "When Corporate Framing Fails: The Erosion of Elite Legitimacy." *The Sociological Quarterly* 53(3): 475-499.
- Ruiz-Junco, Natalia. 2012. "Feeling Social Movements: Theoretical Contributions to Social Movement Research on Emotions" *Sociology Compass*.
- Sbicca, Joshua. 2012. "Elite and Marginalized Actors in Toxic Treadmills: Challenging the Power of the State, Military, and Economy." *Environmental Politics*. 21(3): 467-485.
- Sbicca, Joshua. (2012). "Growing food justice by planting an anti-oppression foundation: opportunities and obstacles for a budding social movement." *Agriculture and Human Values*.
- Scipes, Kim. 2012. "Globalization from Below: Labor Activists Challenging the AFL-CIO Foreign Policy Program." *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 38, No. 2: 303-323.

Scipes, Kim. 2012. "Chicago Spring: NATO and the 1% vs. the 99%." *Countercurrents*, May 28.

Scipes, Kim. 2012. "Building the Occupy Movement: Common Understandings and Affinity Groups." *Synthesis/Regeneration*, No. 58, Spring: 43-47.

Scipes, Kim. 2012. "Wisconsin and US Labor" in Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds. *It Started in Wisconsin: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the New Labor Protest*. NY: Verso: 151-158.

Scipes, Kim. 2012. "A Look Back in the Mirror at the Wisconsin Uprising: A Review Essay of *It Started in Wisconsin: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the New Labor Protest*, ed. by Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle; *Uprising: How Wisconsin Renewed the Politics of Protest, from Madison to Wall Street* by John Nichols; and *Wisconsin Uprising: Labor Fights Back*, ed. by Michael D. Yates."

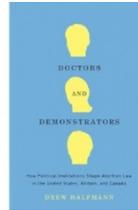
Spires, Anthony J. 2012. "Lessons from Abroad: Foreign Influences on China's Emerging Civil Society." *The China Journal*, no. 68, pp. 125-146.

Woodberry, Robert D. 2012. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 244-274.

Zschau, Tony, Alison E. Adams and Thomas E. Shriver. 2012. "Reframing the Biotechnology Debate: The Deconstructive Efforts of the Council for Responsible Genetics." *Symbolic Interaction* 35(2): 221-239.

Below, committee members provide summaries for the winning books, along with other selected entries.

Winner:



Drew Halfmann, *Doctors and Demonstrators: How Political Institutions Shape Abortion Law in the United States, Britain, and Canada*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011. 354 pages.

In *Doctors and Demonstrators*, Drew Halfmann steps outside the usual bounds of U.S. abortion discourse and asks why U.S. abortion policy has differed so much from the policies of similar countries, Britain and Canada. In the 1960s and 1970s, each of these countries liberalized its abortion laws, though the U.S. did so without medical gatekeepers. In each country well-mobilized anti-abortion or "pro-life" movements sought to roll back these laws. But only in the United States did they make significant headway, restricting the funding for and access to abortion.

Halfmann provides a bold explanation of these similarities and differences, placing institutional contexts—not ideological positions, framing, or mobilization efforts—at the center of the argument. Political institutions—including longstanding governmental organizations and policies—helped to determine which political players would be influential in the politics of abortion

Whether doctors would be influential in initial abortion politics and policymaking mainly had to do with whether a national health initiative had been passed, influencing their preferences. In the United States, politically organized doctors were mainly concerned with preserving fee-for-service medicine, whereas in the Canada and Britain they were concerned more with clinical autonomy. Doctors threw themselves into the abortion debate and became important gatekeepers.

Differences in party systems influenced which other actors mattered in policy-making, especially in the bids to retrench initial liberal abortion laws. Decentralized, candidate-centered, and weakly disciplined U.S. political parties made them

2012 CBSM Section Awards

This year the committee for the **Charles Tilly Award for the Best Book in Collective Behavior and Social Movements** received 35 books on subjects ranging from student activism to nonviolent revolutions. The winner was **Drew Halfmann's *Doctors and Demonstrators***, followed by an Honorable Mention for Yang Su's *Collective Killings in Rural China During the Cultural Revolution*.

vulnerable to pressure from the anti-abortion movement. It was able to force abortion policy near the center of U.S. politics, and abortions became less accessible as the result of cuts in public funding, parental consent requirements, waiting periods and mandatory antiabortion counseling. In Britain and Canada, parties deflected the efforts of well-organized anti-abortion organizations; abortions became more accessible as the result of increased public funding and reduced medical influence.

Halfmann demonstrates his arguments through meticulous archival research, employing comparative strategies, process tracing, and within-case analyses across three countries and several decades. He provides not only a new and compelling explanation of these policies, but also a theoretical framework that can be applied to other movements, interest groups, and policies.

Halfmann's modeling of institutional context and movement mobilization and strategy and its comparative and historical analyses make his book stand out in social movement scholarship. *Doctors and Demonstrators* is a must read for anyone wanting to understand our unusual abortion politics and policy as well as anyone interested in the political consequences of movements, political sociology, and comparative public policy.

Honorable Mention:

Yang Su, *Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 300 pages.

The title may sound plain, but Yang Su's book documents the horror of approximately 1.5 million civilian murders. He turns our attention away from China's cities, the focus of most Cultural Revolution scholarship, to the bloody countryside, asking why such horrific mass killings were possible.

Su's answer is that it takes a village. The book proposes a "community model" of mass killing and genocide from the Chinese case that focuses simultaneously on state mobilization and state breakdown, both of which are necessary for collective killings. The model includes the cultural legacies of identity formation, the generation of the killable categories, the incentive structure for

potential perpetrators, the demobilization of legal constraints, and the collapse of moral constraints. This community model stands in contrast to the Holocaust-derived model that treats genocidal events as a policy outcome at the national state level.

Su appraises the model by examining historical variations in collective killing in China, as well as differences in collective killing across the provinces of China and counties within some of the bloodiest provinces. In doing so, he makes extensive use of a new source of data, county annals. As part of a post-Mao project to reverse the Cultural Revolution, each county assigned officials to write reports describing what happened during this period of extreme unrest, including, almost incredibly, the numbers of civilians murdered. As this policy reversal was also later reversed, gaining access to this information was difficult. Professor Su also engaged in many high-risk interviews to support for his claims about the motivations of the killers and providing harrowing details.

Su constructs from these data a grisly portrait of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution in the countryside, illuminating the modal power struggles and identifying the main targets of the killers. They preyed upon the families of former landlords and "rich peasants," who had long been dispossessed and relegated to a subordinate and powerless political class. His narrative account indicates that each one of the community model determinants occurred over time in sequence, culminating in the killings. He also analyzes data on 180 counties in three of China's 30 provinces, combining collective killing events from the reports with political, social, and demographic data—which also support his community model.

Collective Killing in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution reshapes an area of study that has generalized from the unique enormity that was the Holocaust. Su's concept of collective killing is a strong candidate to replace the less well-considered notions of genocide, mass killing, or ethnic cleansing and will open doors to comparative research. His community model brings social movement concepts to a research area that benefits greatly from them. His findings suggest that policymakers should pay more attention to the social and political conditions

that may lead to collective killing, despite the absence of a national-level policy.

The winners of the **Outstanding Article Award** are Amin Ghaziani (University of British Columbia) and Delia Baldassarri (New York University), “Cultural Anchors and the Organization of Differences: A Multi-method Analysis of LGBT Marches on Washington,” *American Sociological Review* (2011) 76(2): 179-206.

Honorable mention goes to Benjamin Lind and Judith Stepan-Norris (UC Irvine), “The Relationality of Movements: Movement and Countermovement Resources, Infrastructure, and Leadership in the Los Angeles Tenants’ Rights Mobilization, 1976-1979,” *American Journal of Sociology* (2011) 116(5): 1564-1609.

The winner of the **Outstanding Graduate Student Paper Award** is Hiroe Saruya of the University of Michigan, for her paper entitled, “The Rise of Japan’s First New Left: Bourdieusian Field Dynamics and the Emergence of Movement Organizations

Contributors: Paul Almeida, Edwin Amenta and Amy L. Stone on behalf of the Awards Committee

Book Reviews of Tilly Award Finalists

Mark Anner, *Solidarity Transformed: Labor Responses to Globalization and Crisis in Latin America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Review by Paul Almeida

This impressive study addresses a fundamental question for the working-class in the neoliberal era: how is international labor union solidarity possible to sustain in an era of increasing international economic competition and state-imposed labor flexibility policies? Anner skillfully explores answers to this question with an analysis of four countries and two industries in Latin America. The economic sectors include apparel and garment assembly in El Salvador

and Honduras and auto-manufacturing in Argentina and Brazil.

The author has spent much of his adult life in the field researching and advocating for labor unions in Latin America and conducted over 100 interviews with key actors. He uncovers to distinct types of transnational labor campaigns associated with two types of economic production – Transnational Activist Campaigns (TACs) and Transnational Labor Networks (TLNs). TACs involve the participation of labor activists in concert with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and human rights groups and have an on-again off-again pattern. TLNs are based on long-standing ties among labor federations and confederations linked to international labor associations and industries. Anner also finds that unions with more moderate identities in all four countries prefer domestic pacts with employers and local governments as opposed to launching transnational campaigns.

The book additionally offers major insights into the transnational social movement literature by demonstrating the importance of political economy factors (often missing in collective action studies) such as the organization of the industry’s global commodity chain as shaping the aggrieved labor union and the multiple transnational organizing paths it may pursue. The work also contributes to labor studies by incorporating the varying historical collective identities of particular labor union movements by their past interactions with the state and economic elites.

I highly recommend *Solidarity Transformed* for courses on social movements, globalization, comparative politics, development, and labor studies as the study adroitly informs readers of the contemporary context of labor battles in the age of neoliberal capitalism.

Ho-Fung Hung, *Protest with Chinese Characteristics: Demonstrations, Riots, and Petitions in the Mid-Qing Dynasty*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, 253 pages.

Review by Paul Almeida

Protest with Chinese Characteristics provides extensive archival research that challenges fundamental conceptions on how repertoires of collective action change over long periods of time. For this reason alone it should be of interest to collective action scholars and fellow travelers. Hung finds that China follows a different pattern of market and state centralization than the one found in Western Europe, with important consequences for the forms and evolution of protest. He scrutinizes Eurocentric accounts that view Eurasia and other parts of the developing world following the same trajectory of Europe's modernization.

In particular, Hung finds that the dominant pattern of economic and political modernization replacing local-reactive protest with national and pro-active protest taking a different shape in China. He focuses analytical attention on three subperiods within the mid-Qing Dynasty (1740-1839) whereby the emperors face varying levels of economic growth, state centralization, and moral legitimacy. These subperiods are then associated with three distinct protest waves in terms of the repertoires employed by the popular classes. Pro-active protest forms arise during periods of economic modernization and state centralization (1740-1759) whereby protesters would "engage" the state by petitioning local and national officials for benefits that would expand their well-being by participating in official decision-making and securing extended famine relief, reduction in land rents and burdens from new taxes. In the second sub-period (1760-1799) protest turned more reactive as centralized state power eroded and the emperor lost legitimacy. This period witnessed more anti-state actions of local riots and protests against the threats of taxes, state intervention, and state repression. The third sub-period in the mid-Qing Dynasty (1800-1839), witnessed state power and the national economy in crisis, but a reactivation in the moral authority of the emperor. Protest was also reactive in this period, but was also exemplified by collective actors going over the authority of local officials and making long peregrinations to Beijing to petition the emperor and central authorities directly for parochial grievances.

These patterns of popular contention in early modern China portray a different model than the western

unilinear route to the nationalization of protest. The epilogue even connects these early protest repertoires to Communist Party strategies in the mid-twentieth century as well as to the 1989 student movement. The data collected is remarkable in itself. Hung used the catalog from the Veritable Record of the Qing, whereby he coded protest events over a 100 year period of Chinese history. The focus is on 18 core provinces in Han China with detailed mapping and protest event analysis of repertoire patterns along with rare pictorial illustrations of protest forms.

Protest with Chinese Characteristics is sure to become an instant classic for scholars of Chinese social movements, but also an indispensable resource for students of collective action repertoires, tactics, strategy, and state-movement interactions in general.

Sarah Sobieraj, *Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Activism*. New York: New York University Press, 2011. 222 pages.

Review by Edwin Amenta

Social movement activists believe and scholars have found that large-scale protests at major events will draw media coverage. And today's activists have accordingly become media-friendly, ready and eager to emit sound bites to transmit their grievances and recommendations to journalists—and from them to a wider public. But what if the news media don't care and the whole world isn't watching?

Sarah Sobieraj poses these questions in her brilliant, meticulous, and beautifully written analysis of protests and media coverage surrounding presidential conventions and debates. She argues that movements have effects beyond mobilization and political gains on the larger civil society. These can be easily lost if movements and protest focus too greatly on projecting messages through the news media.

Soundbitten is based on intensive ethnographic fieldwork at events attended by 50 voluntary associations surrounding the major party nominating conventions in 2000 and 2004, as well as the candidate debates in 2000. This fieldwork is augmented by extensive interviews with association

leaders and members as well as journalists. The fieldwork and interviews are in turn backed up by newspaper analyses.

Her findings are sobering for anyone expecting or hoping that large-scale protest will be amplified through the news media. Despite massive mobilizations, only two of the organizations garnered significant amounts of substantive coverage, and only then because the media saw them as being either “authentic” or unusually creative in their performances. The extensive training of activists to play by what they assumed were the rules of the media was mainly time wasted.

Seeking media attention also had significant opportunity costs. Not only were activists burned out by their efforts. They often ignored interested bystanders on the scene in favor of taking a lottery ticket on media coverage. The media focus also preempted learning opportunities among activists; organizational leaders squelched internal discussion and possible disagreement as it might induce members to stray off message.

Sobieraj is critical of single-minded organizational strategies and suggests both exchanging the fact-laden sound bites for compelling stories, as well as augmenting media strategies with political ones. Neither, however, does she exonerate the news media, whose structure and rules constrain and diminish public discourse in ways that contradict their news values. She has written a book that makes us rethink and expand our understanding of the consequences of movements. Anyone interested in movements, media, and public discourse will benefit from *Soundbitten*.

Context and Sequence: Getting the Story of Wisconsin Right

Matthew Lawrence Kearney
University of Wisconsin-Madison

During the Wisconsin Uprising of 2011, events unfolded so rapidly that participants from all sides

say it seemed like their world changed several times each day. The speedy twists and turns were unpredictable, unexpected, and in a few instances unprecedented, at least in recent American history. In reporting and analyzing a movement with such a crammed timeline, it is easy to get some of the details wrong. Much of the published material to date on the Wisconsin Uprising is characterized by factual inaccuracies large and small. Here, I will not enumerate the errors or plod through page-by-page corrections. Instead I examine just two misleading perspectives that take data out of sequence or out of context, and show that fuller context alters the analytical conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

The spring 2012 issue of Critical Mass includes an interview with State Senator Fred Risser about the uprising (Febres-Cordero 2012). In order to delay Governor Scott Walker's Budget Repair Bill, all Democratic senators including Risser left the state in order to deny the quorum required for fiscal bills. As quoted, Risser's perspectives are engaging and informative, but in one area in particular they require elaboration. Asked if demonstrations were already happening when the senatorial exodus began, Risser answered no:

There were no demonstrations there because there was nothing to demonstrate about yet. There was beginning to be the knowledge of what was happening. There were a number of people who observed the joint finance committee, the hearing, and the word was beginning to leak out. As far as the demonstrations of twenty, thirty, forty, and eventually a hundred thousand ... that came later. (Febres-Cordero 2012)

In fact there were demonstrations of 20,000-30,000 before they left, and other radical forms of action. More closely studying the chronology of the first few days alters our understanding of the movement. Here is a brief overview that draws on my own research; I am working on a manuscript that will report and analyze the story in much greater detail.

Governor Walker announced the bill at a 10 A.M. press conference on Friday, February 11. Several protests quickly erupted. Tuesday, February 15 saw

by far the largest rally to that point, which law enforcement estimated at 13,000 people and labor unions at 15,000, making it one of the largest protests in the state for years (Bump 2011). The crowd included over 700 students from Madison high schools who staged a mid-day walkout and marched to the Capitol.

That same day, the Finance Committee began their hearing on the bill at 10 A.M., a process that allowed ordinary citizens to testify for up to two minutes. Protesters organized a record number of testifiers intending to delay progress on the bill two minutes at a time, in a kind of citizen filibuster. (This may be an innovation in activism; I have not found any other record of an action that intentionally delayed legislation through indefinite public testimony.) The filibuster was still going uninterrupted when the Senate Democrats left two days later.

On Wednesday, February 16, the crowd at a noon rally was officially estimated at 10,000 (Szal 2011). The evening rally was far larger; authorities estimated it at 20,000 and organizers at 30,000 (Nichols 2011). By either count, it escalated the movement to an historic scale. To put this in perspective, the Wednesday evening rally was roughly twice the size of the largest Occupy Wall Street crowd (Silver 2011).

The Madison teachers union had also begun an unofficial job action on Wednesday, when so many teachers used sick time or vacation to protest that they forced schools to close. By Wednesday evening, several districts outside Madison canceled Thursday's classes for the same reason. The state's two largest public unions, the Wisconsin Education Association Council (WEAC) and AFSCME Council 24, called on the entire state to protest on Thursday and Friday. WEAC President Mary Bell delivered their statement at the Wednesday evening rally:

We are here today in the spirit of Martin Luther King, calling on our union members and all Wisconsinites to look tonight into their hearts and to listen to their conscience to decide what kind of Wisconsin we want to call our home. Tomorrow and on Friday, we are asking Wisconsinites to come to Madison. Come to Madison and stand alongside your

neighbors, your family, and your friends, and help our voices to be heard. ... We call on the people of Wisconsin for their support.

Bell's speech did not use the word "strike," but of course protesting in Madison requires leaving work. The speech could be interpreted as calling for an informal general strike. All of this happened before the Democratic Senators left town around 9 A.M. on Thursday, February 17. In my own interview with Senator Risser, he clarified his perspective:

I guess it's a matter of degree. As I say, word was leaking out. People were beginning to come. ... The type of size that I was referring to didn't, in my opinion, happen until after we left. There was an active group. ... The word was getting around to some of the unions and they were beginning to come together. And there were groups here. There was no doubt about that.

This is a partial revision of his quotation above. Here he acknowledges at least some protesters were present at the Capitol, although he severely underplays their size and importance. I do not mean to single out Senator Risser for criticism; anyone may understate events or remember them out of sequence, especially when they unfold as rapidly as the Wisconsin protests did. Memories of that time may be warped by the dramatic developments from after the Democrats left, including protests that grew to be several times larger still than the Wednesday evening rally.

However there is an analytical point at stake in this discussion; it is more than a mere chronological error. Part of the reason the senators left the state was to allow more time for mobilization against Walker's bill. If they had left before major mobilization was happening, it would be possible to argue that their exodus helped cause the mobilization. But observing that a radicalized mobilization of historic proportions was present before the Senatorial exodus makes that argument impossible and instead allows for the opposite conclusion: Democratic Senators left the state at least partly in response to the growing protest movement. The first Risser interview in isolation supports the incorrect view that political leaders took the initiative and the masses responded. The correct

interpretation is that political leaders were responding to an historically large and rapidly radicalizing mass of protesters. (There is not space to fully demonstrate this here.)

At the same time, the uprising was not purely a rank and file movement. Some commentators have gone to the opposite extreme, claiming no institutional leaders contributed to the movement. One describes the uprising as "for a week or two a movement that almost completely escaped the higher levels of the union officialdom" (La Botz 2012:94). Another states that "by Friday [February 18], things began to change when major institutional players showed up to take ownership of the spontaneous rebellion," then mentions AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka, and longtime civil rights activist Jesse Jackson (Sernatinger 2011:52). However, AFT National President Randi Weingarten was at the capitol giving speeches and holding meetings the previous day, and AFSCME International President Gerald McEntee was doing the same things three days before that, headlining the Tuesday rally. Here, one piece of correct information – that Trumka and Jackson were present on Friday – is interpreted incorrectly in the absence of other relevant information: that McEntee and Weingarten were present earlier in the week. With this added context, we must reject the claim that the mobilization lacked major institutional players until February 18.

In both the Risser interview and the essays just quoted, mistaken or partial information leads to a misinterpretation of the movement. In fact, activists at all levels, from international figures to rank and filers to the unaffiliated, contributed to the Wisconsin Uprising from early in its development. The initiative generally came from the rank and file, but it is not correct to say that union leadership had no role at all. It is likewise a mistake to focus exclusively on unions; unions were one of many constituencies within a widespread movement.

The larger point at stake concerns the foundation of one of the largest mobilizations in modern American history. The Wisconsin Uprising was not initiated by the Democratic Party or any of its officials, although it included them and eventually leaned heavily on them. It was initiated by citizens who had no formal

status in the political arena. Even so, the movement did not unfold free of high profile actors. Lawmakers and union officials were heavily involved, but did not lead the public into action; the public led lawmakers and union officials into action.

References

- Bump, Greg. 2011. "AFL-CIO says 15,000 at rally." Wispolitics. Retrieved October 13, 2012. (budget.wispolitics.com/2011/02/alf-cio-says-15000-at-rally.html).
- Febres-Cordero, Yotala Oszkay. 2012. "Interview With Senator Risser of the Wisconsin Protests' 'Fab 14.'" *Critical Mass*. 37(1):14-6.
- La Botz, Dan. 2012. "A New American Worker's Movement Has Begun." Pg. 85-99 in *Wisconsin Uprising: Labor Fights Back*, edited by Michael Yates. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Nichols, John. 2011. "Wisconsin Crowds Swell to 30,000; Key GOP Legislators Waver." *The Nation*. Retrieved October 13, 2012. (www.thenation.com/blog/158661/wisconsin-crowds-swell-30000-key-gop-legislators-waver).
- Sernatinger, Andrew. 2012. "Capitalist Crisis and the Wisconsin Uprising." Pg. 45-58 in *Wisconsin Uprising: Labor Fights Back*, edited by Michael Yates. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Silver, Nate. 2011, October 17. "The Geography of Occupying Wall Street (And Everywhere Else)." *New York Times*. Retrieved October 13, 2012. (fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/17/the-geography-of-occupying-wall-street-and-everywhere-else/).
- Szal, Andy. 2011. "State Employees Once Again Hold Noon Rally." Wispolitics. Retrieved October 13, 2012. (budget.wispolitics.com/2011/02/state-employees-once-again-hold-noon.html).

Calls for Papers and Other Opportunities

Calls for Papers

CBSM Sessions at ASA 2013 in New York (For more information, see the official *Call For Papers* on the ASA website beginning in late October).

Power and Justice in the Contemporary World-Economy

Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, August 9, 2013

NOTE: The conference is being held the day before the opening of the ASA annual meeting in NYC.

This one-day conference will focus on highlighting sociologists' contributions to contemporary struggles for social justice around the world. Conference streams will focus on topics like:

- Alternatives to capitalist development
- Biofuels and global warming
- Can we have development AND justice?
- Challenges in international development
- Criminal justice and injustice
- Current affairs in major regions of the world
- Development
- Economic and social rights
- Economy and society
- Environmental footprints
- Environmental justice
- Faces of globalization
- Food security
- Food sovereignty
- Human rights
- Indigenous movements
- Indigenous nationhood
- Indigenous peoples' struggles
- International law and institutions
- Local struggles for rights and/or justice
- Peace movements
- Policing and social control
- Race, class, and gender in the world-system
- Social movements
- Strengthening civil society
- The international treaty system
- The political economy of the world-system

- The politics of austerity
- The rise of the surveillance state
- The transnational capitalist class
- Transnational corporations
- World-systems and ecosystems

The conference program is open and all proposals for participation on topics related to power and justice in the contemporary world-economy will be considered. TO PARTICIPATE: There are multiple ways you can participate in this conference.

(1) To attend without presenting, simply register at powerandjustice.com by July 1, 2013. Registration fees are \$20 for full-time employed professionals, \$10 for students, retired professionals, and others who are on limited budgets.

(2) To participate by giving a presentation, pre-register at powerandjustice.com by February 23, 2013 and select the presenter option. Presenters will be asked to present their knowledge or expertise on their chosen topic, not an academic research paper. For example, an expert on global inequality would be expected to summarize the state of academic knowledge about inequality levels and trends, not present the results of a specific research paper. If you register as a potential presenter, you will be asked to provide a 100-word description of the topic(s) on which you would like to present. We are open to all suggestions and will organize panels based on the submissions we receive.

(3) To propose an invited panel (a fully-staffed 90 minute panel of presenters) please contact Salvatore Babones at sbabones@inbox.com as soon as possible.

(4) To volunteer to chair a panel, simply check the appropriate box on your registration and we will contact you to make arrangements.

CONFERENCE PAPERS: All conference participants (both presenters and non-presenters) who **pre-register by February 23** will have the opportunity to submit a conference paper that will be fully peer-reviewed and included in an online conference proceedings volume. You need not present at the conference to take advantage of this facility, though you do have to register. Initial papers

will be due April 29, 2013. Final papers (revised based on peer review feedback) will be due July 1, 2013. Pre-registrants will be contacted in late February about the opportunity for paper submission after the close of pre-registration.

Revolutions: Call for Articles and Open Space pieces for this *Feminist Review* Special Issue, No. 106, February 2014

Revolutions as a deliberately open special issue title references revolution as a phenomenon, social movement or form of transformation both contemporarily and historically. The editors are particularly interested in highlighting the difference it makes to the theory or practice of revolution to consider gender, or to gender to consider 'revolution'. We want to ask not so much 'what about the women?' (although this remains an important question), but 'what kind of revolution can or cannot attend to gender relations?' The title also references changes that might be made in the world that might not usually be thought of as revolutionary, and our plural form--revolutions--stresses both different forms (including counterrevolution) and the effects of and contests within revolutionary practices. Where does activism end and revolution begin? How might that distinction itself be gendered?

In this special issue, we hope to explore the gendered nature of revolutions of a variety of kinds, some but not all of which might also be called feminist, and to situate the question of revolutions in historical and cultural context, making it a question rather than a presumption: revolutions? Revolutions as a term has a further openness that may not reference recent or past social movements, even where contested. It may refer to the transformation or return (in altered form) of ideas, to the phrase that 'what goes around comes around'. In this sense our pluralisation resists an easy periodisation of revolution as well as the assumption that we already know what a revolution is when we see one, what makes a revolution gendered or feminist, or who its proper subject is. Revolution is always a relationship, always one with actors who exchange fantasies and desires as well as strategies and practices.

Themes under this framework may include but are not limited to the following:

- * Interrogations of the concepts of 'revolution' and 'feminist revolution'
- * Case studies theorizing gender and revolution in original ways
- * Innovative theoretical and historical approaches to gender and revolution
- * Intersectional, transnational and/or comparative approaches to (en)gendering revolution
- * Engagement with gendered symbolization within revolutions, including masculinity and femininity, motherhood, fatherhood and nation
- * The impact and affects of revolution, including feelings of rage, disillusionment, joy, and forms of attachment
- * Inclusion and exclusion of particular bodies (e.g. racialised and queer) in revolutionary movements/moments
- * Counter-revolution and post-revolution, their impact on e.g. women's participation and gender relations
- * Revolutionary icons, their roles and relations to e.g. race, gender and class
- * Interrogation of the subject and object of revolution

Special Issue Editors: Carrie Hamilton, Clare Hemmings and Rutvica Andrijasevic

Deadline for first drafts of papers marked clearly 'REVOLUTIONS' submitted online and following *Feminist Review* guidelines by: Friday, 14 December 2012.

The editors are happy to discuss possible papers informally with potential contributors. Please contact: c.hamilton@roehampton.ac.uk; c.hemmings@lse.ac.uk; r.andrijasevic@le.ac.uk

Call for Papers: Global Religious Experiences and Identities among Lesbians

The Journal of Lesbian Studies (Taylor & Francis) will devote an entire issue to the topic of global religious experiences and identities among lesbians, guest edited by S.J. Creek. The intention behind this special edition is to generate richer and more varied scholarship around the lived experiences of lesbians

connected to (or alienated by) religious practices or faiths around the world. Papers from sociology, history, anthropology, political science, english, psychology, religious studies, gender and women's studies, religious studies, communication studies, linguistics, criminology, queer studies, international studies, art history, or other fields are welcome.

Topics may include, but are not limited, to: the intersection of race/class/gender/sexuality and religion, religious movements, orthopraxy, orthodoxy, representation in media/literature/art, trends in religiosity, clergy/religious officials, resistance and activism, indigenous religions, Wicca, Santeria, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism, Sikhism, Baha'i, Judaism, Islam, Christianity, atheism, popular religions, Mujerista theology, practice, belief, religious socialization, disability, size, critiques of lesbian sexualities or spiritualities from post-colonial or transgender studies perspectives, religious individualism, secularism, celibacy, "religious nones," nuns, intentional communities, state control of religious practice, reproduction, families, identities, cognitive dissonance, oppression, reparative therapies, migration, religious education, or emotions. Works attending to the experiences of queer, bisexual, and transgender individuals will also be considered, if these pieces strongly connect to the central theme.

Please direct inquiries or proposals of no more than 500 words to S.J. Creek at creeksj@hollins.edu by December 20, 2012. Invitations for full manuscripts will be issued in January 2013. Both abstracts and manuscripts will be evaluated for originality, style, and fit within the overall edition. Authors of selected abstracts will be invited to submit a full manuscript of 5,000-6,500 words, due May 15, 2013.

Call for Papers: "Social Construction of Femininity and Masculinity"

For the Midwestern Sociological Society's 2013 conference in Chicago March 27th - 30th. The deadline for submitting a 300-400 word abstract on <http://www.themss.org/annmtg2013theme.html> is Wednesday, October 24th. Organizer Daniel K. Cortese is seeking abstracts from all stages of

completion: from works-in-progress on original research or theoretical pieces to near-complete articles just about ready for submission to a professional journal. The topic is on the social construction of gender, broadly defined. Many of us in social movements write about gender identity in movements, which can make for a very interesting contribution. This is scheduled as a roundtable to encourage feedback from other scholars. Submitters should not be discouraged by it being a roundtable; Last year we had an overwhelming number of submissions that we were able to create a formal paper presentation section comprising of the most complete papers. The roundtable, too, was overflowing with presenters and interested scholars who contributed to a vibrant discussion on the papers.

Other Opportunities

The Department of Sociology and the Center for Non-Governmental Organizations and Leadership Development (NGOLD) at Northern Illinois University anticipate making a tenure-track Assistant Professor joint appointment to begin in August 2013.

We seek candidates with primary expertise and teaching interests in Organizational Sociology and Social Movements. The successful candidate may develop new courses with an emphasis on the organizational aspects of social movements, human rights, civil society, NGO aspects of community development and sustainability, and/or global sociology.

A PhD in sociology or related field is required; ABD will be considered, but the PhD must be completed by the starting date of the appointment. We seek a well-rounded scholar; the successful candidate will demonstrate a strong record of or potential for scholarly research, teaching excellence, and the ability to work with diverse student populations. Salary is competitive and commensurate with qualifications and experience. The department and the university are committed to the principle of diversity and encourage applications from candidates who can contribute to this objective.

Applicants must send a cover letter, curriculum vitae, a sample of scholarly writing (such as dissertation chapters or articles), teaching evaluations (if available), and three letters of recommendation to Prof. Abu Bah, Recruitment Committee, Department of Sociology, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 60115 by November 1, 2012. NIU is located in DeKalb, a growing exurb 65 miles west of downtown Chicago and 25 miles west of the suburban outer ring. NIU is an Affirmative Action, Equal Opportunity Institution. A pre-employment criminal background check is required. A conviction will not necessarily prohibit an offer of employment.

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 Nancy Whittier at nwhittie@smith.edu.

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.

To subscribe to the CBSM discussion listserv:

- ♦ Send a message to listserv@listserv.asanet.org
- ♦ Leave the subject field blank
- ♦ In the body of the message type: subscribe CBSM
- ♦ Send the message
- ♦ You will receive an e-mail confirmation with further instructions.

To unsubscribe from the CBSM discussion listserv:

- ♦ Send a message to listserv@listserv.asanet.org
- ♦ Leave the subject field blank
- ♦ In the body of the message type: unsubscribe CBSM
- ♦ Send the message
- ♦ You will receive an e-mail confirmation

To change the options for your listserv subscription:

- ♦ Send a new message to listserv@listserv.asanet.org
- ♦ leave the subject field and body blank and paste in one of the following codes (don't forget to paste the entire line):
set CBSM Digest
set Collective_behavior-announce Digest

The first one is for the discussion listserv and the second is for the announcement listserv. You must send these messages from the email account that receives mail from the listserv.

Four Issues per Year

MOBILIZATION

THE PREMIER REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

ARE YOU MISSING YOUR MOBY? It's not too late to subscribe

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

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

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

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

- Please charge my credit card (Visa, MasterCard, Amex) for US\$49.50 (\$59.50 outside US).
 I enclose a check payable from a US bank.

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name (please print) _____

Signature _____

Mail Copies to _____

_____ ZIP _____

You may contact our office directly 619.594.1323 to place your order. Or you may fax your order for a 2010 subscription directly to the publication office at San Diego State University: 619.594.2835
Or mail to: *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, San Diego State University, San Diego CA 92182-4423
Or contact the managing editor directly at Hank.Johnston@sdsu.edu