CriticalMassBulletin

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

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

Message from the Chair:

Collective Behavior Observations from the Inauguration

Rob Benford CBSM Section Chair Department of Sociology Southern Illinois University Carbondale

As students of collective behavior we occasionally find ourselves in a large gathering witnessing collective dynamics. Such was the occasion for me when I attended President Obama's inauguration on January 20th. From the moment we arrived on a bus from Evansville, Indiana to RFK Stadium in Washington D.C., I was impressed by the level of coordination evident. As hundreds of large charter busses poured into the parking lot, several volunteers directed each bus to designated spots. Upon exiting the bus volunteers and various uniformed officials directed us to a path leading to 30 clearly marked shuttle bus boarding areas. Officials encouraged people to proceed to the less crowded boarding areas. It was remarkably well organized. The throngs of people behaved in an orderly fashion despite their anxiousness to get to the Mall in time to secure a good place to watch the inauguration. The shuttle busses transported us to within four to five blocks of the Mall. As we exited the shuttle busses we were directed by Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority workers, police officers, and volunteers toward the Mall.

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Once near the Mall, the level of organization we experienced at RFK stadium was amplified despite the unprecedented size of the gathering. Metropolitan Police, US Capitol Police, military personnel, US Secret Service, and various volunteer groups collaborated to move people to the various predesignated areas of the Mall where we could witness this historic occasion. Of course, there were the occasional attempts by a few keynoters to encourage people to disregard officials and to stampede the entrances. However, officials, for the most part, were able to maintain order. It appeared that the planning and execution of various crowd control tactics were fairly effective.

Following the inauguration ceremony the order turned to disorder. Most of the volunteers and the bulk of the police officers and military personnel were no longer apparent. The few officers still visible were overwhelmed by the sheer number of folks seeking to exit the Mall. Most intersections near the Mall were gridlocked. No police were present to attempt to direct the flow of pedestrian traffic. (My daughter and I spent 20 minutes trying to get across one street.) People shoved and yelled at one another.

To make matters worse, there were virtually no bathrooms. All of the federal buildings we entered had closed the restrooms to the public. Unfortunately, we had left behind the portable toilets that were located on the Mall not realizing we would not have a chance to take care of our needs for several more hours. Nor was there anything to drink. There were no water fountains, nor places to purchase water. This would not have been a problem had we ignored the instructions of officials to not bring any backpacks or bottles to the Mall.

It took us nearly two hours to make our way the four or five blocks back to catch the return shuttles to RFK. Once we arrived at the shuttle areas we were struck by the absence of personnel to assist the thousands of people who wished to return to the stadium parking lot. Five or six MTA employees, who clearly had no experience dealing with crowds, attempted to carry out a poorly conceived plan to get everyone to line up to board the shuttle busses one

bus at a time (in contrast to the 30 queue lines that were employed at RFK). People line jumped, shoved, elbowed, assaulted, and cussed one another as they jockeyed for positions to get on the shuttle busses. It was disturbing to witness this behavior, especially in light of the events of the day.

When we finally arrived back at RFK a couple of hours later (still in desperate need of water and a restroom) things appeared to calm down. At least there were a few portable toilets. Vendors sold food, drinks, and souvenirs. After dealing with our dehydration and hunger issues, we boarded our bus to begin the long journey home. That journey was once again delayed by the lack of planning and personnel available to assist. All busses were forced to exit single file through a one lane gate onto a one way street. One lone police officer directed traffic so busses could exit into the street. None of the hundreds of volunteers, police officers, and MTA employees who had helped upon our arrival were apparent as dusk fell on the parking lot. It took over two hours for our bus to escape from RFK Stadium.

The inauguration was not the only large gathering where I've observed a failure by officials to plan crowd egress as elaborately and effectively as they plan ingress. I witnessed similar dynamics on June 12, 1982 following the massive march and rally for peace and justice in New York City. As students of collective behavior and occasional consultants to officials engaged in managing large gatherings, it might prove fruitful to pay as much attention to the disassembling processes as we devote to assembling processes. Likewise, collective behavior scholars might attend to the failure of authorities to invest ample staff resources toward helping people safely and efficiently leave gatherings. From my groundlevel vantage point at the inauguration, the contrast between the pre-event order and the post-event chaos was not only remarkable but could be attributed in part to administrative shortsightedness.

In this issue you will find a listing of various ASA sessions and events pertaining to collective behavior and social movements. Hope to see you at those sessions in San Francisco!

2009 ASA CBSM Schedule

The complete schedule for the 2009 ASA meetings in San Francisco is available on the ASA website at http://www.asanet.org/cs/root/leftnav/meetings/2009 _preliminary_program_schedule — but the CBSM program and other sessions on social movements are summarized here.

Saturday, August 8

CBSM Session: Social Movements, Culture, and Art, 8:30am-10:10 am

Organized by Joanne Reger and Judith Karyn Taylor, with Judith Karyn Taylor as Presider and Discussant

- Nancy Whittier, "Activist Art, Emotional Transformation, and Mobilization"
- Joanne Reger, "Performance, Culture, and Activism in Contemporary U.S. Feminism"
- Deana Rohlinger, Kate Russell, and Amanda Koontz, "Baby Boomers and Cultural Change in the U.S."
- Goubin Yang, "Toward a Social Movement Stylistics"

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Council and Business Meetings, 10:30 am-12:10 pm

CBSM Session: Contentious Politics, Political Opportunity Structure, and Framing Processes in Repressive Settings, 2:30-4:10 pm Organized by Eitan Alimi and Paul Almeida, with Eitan Alimi as Presider and J. Craig Jenkins as Discussant

- Rachel Einwohner and Thomas Maher, "Assessments of Threat and Collective Action: Jewish Resistance in Ghettos and Death Camps During the Holocaust"
- David Ortiz, "Explorations of Time, Regime, and Repression Effects on Contention Dynamics
- Katia Pilati, "Participation in Protest Activities across African Countries"
- Dolores Trevizo, "The Rural Roots of Mexico's Democratization"

Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements Roundtable Sessions, 4:30-6:10 pm Organized by Rachel Einwohner

Table 1. Methodological Issues in the Study of Social Movements and Community Organizing

- Andrew Martin, "Movement Publications as Data: An Assessment of an Underutilized Resource"
- Mary Beth Slusar, "Framing Birth Control: A Comparison of Coding Technique"
- Tamara Casso, "Participant Family Data Collection: MY VOICE MATTERS/MI VOZ CUENTA"

Table 2. Mobilization under Repressive Conditions

- Michaela Soyer, "Surviving Extreme Oppression: Behavioral Choices and Social Structure in Polish Ghettos during World War II"
- Holger Lutz Kern, "Foreign Media and Protest Diffusion in Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of the 1989 East German Revolution"
- Anthony J. Spires, "Democratic Yearnings: The Internal Life of Chinese NGOs and the Cultural Struggle against Authoritarianism"
- Ting Jiang, "Framing and Counter-Framing in State-led Movement Discrediting Activities: Evidence from 1989 Beijing Student-led Pro-Democratic Movement"

Table 3. Framing, Emotion, and Beliefs in Social Movements

- Sarah Egan, "Vocabularies of Motive and Social Movement Activism: Accounts from the Anti-Hunting Movement and Counter-Movement"
- Marc Eaton, "We've Been Framed: The Contest to Frame MoveOn.org's Organizational Identity"
- Sarah Augusto, "Lighting the Fire Inside: Vilification in the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Movements"
- Ryan Alaniz, "Life is Political: A Critical Analysis of Belief About Social Change in the United States

Table 4. Dynamics of Women's Movements and Feminism

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- Thomas Shriver and Alison Adams,
 "Motherhood and High-Risk Activism: Czech Women Environmentalists Before and After the Velvet Revolution"
- Maura Kelly and Gordon William Gauchat, "Feminism and Post-Feminism in U.S. Politics"
- Chan S. Suh, "Gender Into Politics: The Institutionalization of the Women's Movement in South Korea"
- James William Skinner, "Second-Wave American Feminism as a New Social Movement"

Table 5. Networks and Social Movements

- Robert Kleidman, "Formal Networks in Social Movement Organizations"
- Karyn Teressa Andrade, "In Pursuit of Equality: An Affiliation Network Analysis of Organizational Actors and Same-Sex Marriage Court Cases"
- Haijing Dai, "Social Capital and Villager Resistance in the Urbanizing Rural China"
- Erik Van Ingen and Matthijs Kalmijn, "Does Voluntary Association Participation Boost Social Resources?"

Table 6. Commitment and De-Commitment from the Collective

- Jade Aguilar, "'Sacrifice' as a Commitment Mechanism in Contemporary Egalitarian Intentional Communities"
- Elizabeth Helen Essary, "'No Use for Her Damned Institutions": Contemporary American Secessionists
- Olivier Fillieule, "An Interactionist Approach to Defection: A Study of Disengagement in Anti-AIDS Groups"

Table 7. Social Movements and Institutionalized Politics

- Paul Burstein, "Collective Action and Public Policy: How Americans Try to Influence Congress"
- Wijbrandt Van Schuur and Gerrit Voerman,
 "Democracy in Retreat? Decline in Political

- Party Membership: The Case of the Netherlands"
- Robert White, "The 1975 British-Provisional IRA Truce in Perspective"

Table 8. Social Movements Around Health

- Cara Chiaraluce, "The Nature-Social Divide: Contested Asthma Politics and Biomedicalization"
- Miwako Hosoda, "Antagonism and Partnership: Social Health Movements After 1945 in Japan"
- Na Guo, "Stigmatized Identity and Social Movement: The Case of Hepatitis B Virus Carriers' Anti-Discrimination Process in China"
- Gareth Williams and Emily Harrop,
 "Contesting the Science: Public Health Knowledge and Action in Controversial Land-Use Developments"

Table 9. Logics and Decision-Making in Collective Action

- Remy Cross, "Change of Ideas: When do Movements Make Decisions?"
- Hans Pruijt, "The Logic of Urban Squatting"
- Caroline Lee and Elizabeth Long Lingo, "Bigger, Better, All Together'? Conflicting Logics in Multi-Institutional Collective Action for the Performing Arts"

Table 10. Space and Place in Politics and Collective Action

- Benita Roth, "The Messiness of Activist Spaces"
- Anoulak Kittikhoun, "Brining Political Geography Back In: Explaining Social Revolutions in Small Countries"
- Pat Lauderdale and Ophir Sefiha, "Collective Human Rights and the Law of Mutual Obligations Facing Global Neoliberalism: Indigenous Sacred Places?"
- Shaul Kelner, "Spatial Dimensions of Social Movement Framing: Protest Rituals in the Movement to Free Soviet Jews"

Table 11. Social Movement Theory

- Marcos Ancelovici, "From Polity to Fields: The Contribution of Field Theory to the Study of Antisweatshop Campaigns"
- Pepper Glass, "Resource Work in Social Movements"
- Sandro Segre, "Durkheim on Social Movements"
- Jean-Pierre Reed, "On Religion, Revolution, and the Politics of Resistance: Notes on Antonio Gramsci and E.P. Thompson"

Table 12. Class and Gender Dynamics in Collective Action

- Penelope Lewis, "Making Sense of the Class Dynamics of the Early Vietnam Anti-War Movement"
- Devon Yvonne Smith, "Gender Ideologies in the Same-Sex Marriage Movement and Counter-Movement: A Case of Similar Differences"
- Natasha Sacouman, "Contradictions in Civil Life: Associational Participation and Citizenship in Poor Communities"
- Xi Song and Xiaogang Wu, "Values and Modes of Conflict Resolution: A Portrait of the Chinese New Middle Class"

Table 13. Environmental and Animal Rights Movements

- Kosue Uehara, "Emergence of the Residents' Movement Against the Oil Industry in Okinawa, 1973-1974"
- Paul Joosse, "Earth Liberation and Anti-Globalization: Confluences and Contestations"
- Penney Alldredge, "Contests of Taste: The Fight Over the Production of Foie Gras"

Table 14. Social Movements in Education

- Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur, "Queering the Academy: Explaining the Emergence of Queer Studies Programs in American Higher Education"
- Joelle Sano, "Media Framing, Moral Framing: A Study of the Catholic Teachers Union of New Jersey"

 Yoko Ilida Wang, "Teachers' Unions and the Revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in Japan"

Lisa Marie Conley, "The ISM and the Commercialization of Education: An International Social Movement?

Table 15. Coalitions in Social Movements

- Marije Elvira Boekkooi, "Networks and Movitations: How Coalition-Building Influences Protestors' Motivation to Participate"
- Hortencia Jimenez, "Marching for Immigrant Rights: Immigrant Rights Coalitions (IRCs) in the United States

Table 16. Labor Movements

- Miriam Abu Sharkh and Irena Stephanikova, "Why Workers Mobilize: Working Conditions and Activism Attitudes"
- Jinu Kim, "Network Isolation of Korean Labor Unions"
- Woo Seok Jung and Joon Han, "Positional Power of Korean Labor: Mining and Manufacturing Industry, 1992-2003

Table 17. Culture and Cultural Processes in Social Movements

- Denise Milstein, "The Inadvertent Dynamics of Birth and Death in Brazilian Cultural Movements"
- Yildiz Atasoy, "Politics Without Guarantees: The Headscarf Ban in Turkey"
- Juhi Tyagi, "A State, the Bank, & Large Development Projects: An Organizational Analysis"
- Joseph Klett, "That Noise Which Binds: A Cultural Sociological Perspective on 'Noise Music'"

Table 18. Collective Violence

- Sara Schatz, "Impunity & Electoral Challenges from Below: The Killing Fields of Guerrero, Mexico, 1988-2004"
- Fatima Sattar, "Memories from the Partition of India: Understanding History, Violence, and the Hindu-Sikh-Muslim Relationship"

 Consuelo Corradi, "Violence, Power, and Identity. For a Sociology of Collective Violence in Moderntiy"

Table 19. Studies of Leaders and Groups

- Clark McPhail, "Small Groups Across the Life Course of Temporary Gatherings"
- Michael DeCesare, "Jack Kevorkian as a 'Marginal Movement Leader': Reconceptualizing Social Movement Leadership
- Nandiyang Zhang, "Mobilizing the Society: Case Study on the 'Ten-Person Group' in China's May Forth Movement of 1919"

Table 20. Transnational Movements and Movement Dynamics

- Anna-Liisa Aunio and Suzanna Staggenborg, "Transnational Movement Communities"
- Alwyn Lim, "Social Movements and Institutional Change: Corporate Social Responsibility as Transnational Political Action Field"
- Setsuko Matsuzawa, "How Do Transnational Environmental Networks Work in China?"
- Joanna Lynn Robinson, "Transnationalism and the Political Process: Rethinking Local Movements in Light of Globalization"

Table 21. Movements in Central America

- Lynn Horton, "Gender and Land Struggles in Nicaragua"
- Robert Mackin, "The Precarious Life of a Sponsored Social Movement: The Case of Social Catholicism in Mexico"
- Stacy M. Keogh and Richard L. Wood, "Church-Based Political Participation in Central America: The Rebirth of Catholic Collective Action"
- Yael Gerson, "(Un)Masking the Zapatistas: Local Resistance, Global Imaginaries"

Table 22. Cultural Forms and Collective Action

- Terence Emmett McDonnell, "Visual AIDS: Cultural Power and the Iconography of the Red Ribbon"
- Matthew Brian Hornbeck, "Pick-Up Artist: The Musical"—Theatre as Medium for Social Change"

- Eric Magnuson, "Creating Counter-Hegemonic Culture: Micro-Interaction and Social Change at Burning Man"
- Remy Cross, Paul James Morgan, Kelly Ramsey, and James Edward Stobaugh, "Chanology and Scientology: Protesting for the Lulz of It"

Table 23. Memory, Framing, and Culture

- Ksenia Gorbenko, "Che Guevara in Kyiv: Creating Legitimacy in Media Discourse"
- Lizabeth Zack and April Lee Dove,
 "Movements and Museums: The Creation of the Savannah Civil Rights Museum"
- Robert Carley, "Antonio Gramsci and Social Movement Scholarship: An Intervention in the Logic of Social Movements Theoretical Presumptions"

Table 24. Ritual and Framing Processes

- Soma Chaudhuri, "Innovations in Using Framing Processes in Repressive Settings: The Anti Witch Hunt Movement"
- Thomas Ponniah, "The World Social Forum: Building Global Justice by Converging Class, Status, and Power"
- Keith Johnson, "'Dreaming of a White Kwanzaa: Assimilation of an African-American Holiday in a White America"

Joint Reception, CBSM and International Migration, 6:30-8:30 pm

Sunday, August 9

CBSM Session: Changing Structures: Diachronic Perspectives to Movement Coalitions and Campaigns, 8:30-10:10 am

Session Organizer and Presider: Mario Diani

- John Krinsky, "Blocking Blocs: Changing Hegemonies and the Debates over Workface in New York City, 1993-2000"
- Anne Kane, "Cultural Formation and Political Alliance: A Diachronic Approach to the Irish Land War"
- Anna-Liisa Aunio, "Coalitions in a Multi-Level Polity: The Climate Action Network in Canada and the United States"

- Patrick Gillham, "Explaining Differences in Social Movement Organization in Two Global Justice Protest Episodes"
- Scott Byrd, "Interorganizational Collaboration and World Social Forum Networks"

Regular Session: Corporate Targets and Corporate Sites for Social Movements, 10:30-12:10 pm Organized by David S. Meyer, with Paul Almeida as Presider and Benjamin Elliot Lind as Discussant

- Nicole Raeburn, "Scaling the Shifting Terrain: Struggling for Gay-Inclusive Workplace Policies"
- Edward Walker and John D. McCarthy, "Economies of Contention: Antecedents of Corporate-Targeted Protest in U.S. States, 1972-1990"
- Simone Pulver, "Oil Company Action on Climate Change: Liability or Opportunity for NGOs?"
- Erica S. Simmons, "Resource Rebellion: Social Movements, Subsistence, and the Bolivian Water Wars"

CBSM Invited Session: The Role of Community Organizing in Democratic Renewal, 12:30-2:10 pm Organized by Richard L. Wood, with Richard L. Wood as Presider and Carmen Sirianni and Robert Kleidman as Discussants

- Kim Voss, "Organizing and the Transformation of the American Labor Movement"
- Niki Jagpal and Aaron Dorfmann, "Transforming Philanthropy: Taking Organizers to the Funders"
- Michael-Ray Matthews and Gordon Whitman, "Religious/Moral Framing of the National Healthcare Reform Debate"
- Luke Bretherton, "Political Theology and the Transformation of Church/State Relations"

Regular Session: Social Movement Participation and Strategies, 2:30-4:10 pm
Organized by David S. Meyer, with Daisy Isabel Verduzco Reyes as Presider and John Krinsky as Discussant

 Neal Caren, Raj Ghoshal, and Vanesa Ribas,
 "A Social Movement Generation: Trends in Protesting and Petition Signing, 1973-2006"

- Takeshi Wada, "Demonstrating Repertoires of Contention"
- Christopher Wetzel, "The Dilemma of Differential Mobilization: Strategic Framing and Shaping Engagement in the Occupation of Alcatraz"
- Rima Wilkes, Danielle Elizabeth Ricard, and Catherine J. Corrigall-Brown, "'Inside' the Frame/'Outside' the Frame: Mobilization, Media, and the Nation

Tuesday, August 11

Section on Environment & Technology Paper Session: Social Movements & Sustainability, 8:30 am-10:10 pm

Organized by Robert Brulle, with Stephen M. Zavestoski as Presider and Beth Shaefer Caniglia as Discussant

- Mark Christopher John Stoddart and David B. Tindall, "'Governments Have the Power'? Interpretations of Climate Change Responsibility and Solutions Among Canadian Environmentalists"
- Hyung Sam Park, Xinsheng Liu, and Arnold Vedlitz, "Global Climate Change and Policy Network: U.S. Congressional Hearings, 1979-2007
- Joshua Roosth, "Leadership by Universities in Sustainability and the Campus Climate Movement"
- Wendi Belinda Kane, "Social Marketing, Frames, and 'Outing' Ideology: An Alternative Approach for the Environmental Movement

Regular Session: Social Movements and New and Old Media, 8:30-10:10 am

Organized by David S. Meyer, with William D. Hoynes as Presider and Sarah Sobieraj as Discussant

- Victoria Carty, "Bridging Contentious and Electoral Politics: MoveOn and the Digital Revolution"
- Jennifer Earl, Katrina Kimport, Samuel Gregory Prieto, Carly Rush, and Kimberly Reynoso, "Changing the World One Webpage

- at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining 'Internet Activism'"
- Deana Rohlinger, Leslie Bunnage, and Jordon Brown, "Organizing Online: Activists' Differential Uses of the Internet and Implications for Social Movement Participation"
- Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, and James Edward Stobaugh, "Testing Social Movement Theories: Explaining the Newspaper Coverage of All U.S. SMOs Across the Twentieth Century"

Recent Publications

Arthur, Mikaila Mariel Lemonik. 2009. "Thinking Outside the Master's House: New Knowledge Movements and the Emergence of Academic Disciplines." *Social Movement Studies* 8:1, 73-87.

Bonds, Eric. 2008. "Strategic Role Taking and Political Struggle: Bearing Witness to the Iraq War." *Symbolic Interaction* 32: 1-20.

Chambré, Susan and Melinda Goldner. 2008. *Patients, Consumers, and Civil Society*. Emerald.

Hess, David. 2009. Localist Movements in a Global Economy: Sustainability, Justice, and Urban Development in the United States. MIT Press.

Kleidman, Robert. 2009. "Engaged Social Movement Scholarship." Pp. 341-356 in *Handbook of Public Sociology*, Vincent Jeffries, *ed.* Rowman & Littlefield.

Kubal, Timothy. 2008. Cultural Movements and Collective Memory: Christopher Columbus and the Rewriting of the National Origin Myth. Palgrave Macmillan.

Lewis, Jerry M. 2007. Sports Fan Violence in North America. Rowman & Littlefield.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 2009. Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement. Rowman & Littlefield.

Munson, Ziad. 2009. *The Making of Pro-Life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works*. University of Chicago Press.

McVeigh, Rory. 2009. *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics*. University of Minnesota Press.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. 2009. *Theories of Protest and Social Movements: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique, and Synthesis*. Routledge.

Useem, Bert and Anne Morrison Piehl. 2008. *Prison State: The Challenge of Mass Incarceration*. Cambridge University Press.

Wallace, Michael, Andrew S. Fullerton, and Mustafa E. Gurbuz. 2008. "Union Organizing Effort and Success in the U.S., 1948-2004." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 27: 13-34.

Weiner, Melissa F. 2009. "Elite vs. Grassroots: Disjunctures between Parents' and Civil Rights Organizations' Demands for New York City Public Schools, 1950-1960." *The Sociological Quarterly* 50: 89-119.

Wetzel, Christopher (2009), "Theorizing Native American Land Seizure: An Analysis of Tactical Changes in the Late Twentieth Century," Social Movement Studies 8(1): 17-34.

Williams, Dana M. and Matthew T. Lee. 2008. "'We Are Everywhere': An Ecological Analysis of Organizations in the Anarchist Yellow Pages". Humanity & Society, 32: 45-70.

Deadline for the Fall 2009 Issue of Critical Mass Bulletin: October 1

CBSM Section Seeking New Webmaster: See Page 11

Teaching Corner: Review of *Take a Stand* DVD Resource

Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur Rhode Island College

Take a Stand is a 35-minute DVD available to instructors for free from the American Federation of Teachers, which created it via a federal grant. It features five short case studies of instances of student activism globally over the past 60 years: the Children's March in Birmingham, Alabama; the democracy movements in China, including Tiananmen Square; the democracy movements in Burma; the 1999 mobilization in Iran; and antiapartheid activism in South Africa. The strengths of the DVD are in the striking visual imagery used to illustrate each movement as well as short segments featuring young activists who were part of each movement speaking about their participation. These features make the international more accessible to American students who may never have traveled globally or considered global issues. The activist from Burma, who became involved in the democracy movement at age 14, tells us about people providing activists with rice before he was forced into exile for his activism. He says "I owe the struggle to my people for the rice bag I ate." A powerful quote from a deceased torture victim who was a student leader in Iran tells a similar story—that these activists face incredible obstacles and still they are willing to engage in activism. The DVD also includes powerful visuals that might be familiar to instructors, like the film of the solitary individual facing a tank in Tiananmen square, moments that are outside our students' consciousness (remember that the traditional-aged first year students who will enter our classrooms this fall were born in 1991).

While the DVD is short on theory, it aims to answer the question of why individual participate in social movements, even when the chances of success seem remote and even when they face significant repression. In fact, the DVD shows that young activists can and do make a difference, even in repressive environments. The segment on South Africa takes this analysis a step further by pointing

out how older generations might experience fear that younger ones can escape to some extent, a discussion that would of course be strengthened by attention to theoretical ideas such as biographical availability. However, the content included in the DVD is ripe for theoretical analysis by instructors who want to focus on repression tactics, the ways in which movement participation shapes future biographies, and the impacts of social movements. The DVD could be used in its entirety as an introduction to global issues in social movements or to student activism, or each of the individual chapters could be used alone in class sessions devoted to those individual movements or to theoretical ideas that are connected to each segment.

There are several significant shortcomings to the DVD. First of all, it includes closed captioning even for many English speakers who speak on film. Though it is true that several have heavy accents, this closed captioning contributes to an othering of international voices that seems problematic to me. While the DVD does make some reference to continuing and more current events, most of the campaigns included occurred a decade or more ago, which might make this brand-new production seem dated in the eyes of some students. The most significant shortcomings can be found in the film's final segment, which features a group of contemporary high school students who have formed a global awareness action group in their school. These students themselves say that students need to step up their activism, and yet we see no example of student activism in the United States in the last 20 years. Instead, the high school students tell us about websites that students can use to get involved in activism. This discussion perpetuates the myth that joining a cause or group on Facebook is the same as becoming an activist. Students are smart enough to know that clicking on a link is not the same as risking your life for a cause. Perhaps they are not willing to take those risks, and many of our students today are not as biographically available as students were in prior generations given their need to work and take care of family responsibilities. But the DVD could have found ways to show students that they can still be involved in real activism.

The DVD comes with a teacher's resource guide. The guide begins by identifying the learning outcomes

that the DVD seeks to meet. It also includes short descriptions of 10 additional instances of student activism around the world that occurred since the 1950s. For each of the 5 instances of student activism covered in the DVD, the teacher's guide includes a summary of the movement, several discussion questions, and links to online resources like media coverage of the movement and the websites of activist groups. Additional resources include a discussion of the Indian independence movement, links for online activism, and discussion questions related to the song "Youth" by Matisyahu that is featured in the DVD. While the teacher's resource guide clearly demonstrates that the intended audience for this DVD is students in middle and high schools, higher education faculty will be able to use it as a starting place in lesson planning, particularly in designing research projects for students to pursue.

Take a Stand is available from http://www.aft.org/takeastand/; on the site, you can view a 2-minute preview, download the teacher's resource guide, and order copies of the DVD (which are free).

Calls For Papers

Interface: A Journal For and About Social Movements

Interface is a new interdisciplinary online journal produced twice yearly by activists and academics around the world. It seeks both formal research (qualitative and quantitative) and practically-grounded work on all aspects of social movements. These submissions may take the form of conventional articles, review essays, facilitated discussions and interviews, action or teaching notes, book reviews, etc. The September 2009 issue will have space for both general articles and a thematic focus on "civil society vs. social movements." Submissions are welcomed in multiple languages and are due May 15, 2009. They should be directed to the appropriate regional editor, who can be found on the Interface website: http://www.interfacejournal.net/

IEAS Conference on Contemporary European and American Studies

The Institute of European and American Studies (IEAS) of Academia Sinica will hold the IEAS Conference on Contemporary European and American Studies on September 10, 2009 in Taipei, Taiwan. Submissions of papers or extended abstracts on any topic related to contemporary European and American societies are due by May 15, 2009; they may be emailed to ieassoc@sinica.edu.tw. For more information on the conference, including the complete call for papers and details on applying for competitive travel funding, visit http://idv.sinica.edu.tw/ieassoc/

The Effect of New Information Communication Technologies on Contentious and Electoral Politics

Tamara: Journal for Critical Organizational Inquiry will be featuring a special issue on the effect of new information communication technologies on politics. Submissions may be sent electronically to Victoria Carty, carty@chapman.edu, until July 1, 2009.

ISA World Congress, Research Committee Futures Research, Meeting in Gothenburg, Sweden, July 2010

The International Sociological Association (ISA) is organizing its XVII World Congress of Sociology in Gothenburg, Sweden, July 11-17, 2010. The Research Committee Futures Research (RC07) invites proposals for papers and sessions. Proposals must be submitted by the deadline of October 15, 2009.

Program Coordinator: Markus S. Schulz, ISA-RC07, email: <u>isarc07@gmail.com</u>

Planned Sessions

The Future of State and Insurgent Terrorism
Organizer: Jeff Goodwin (New York University, USA) jeff.goodwin@nyu.edu

Political violence against "innocent" civilians has generated a great deal of discussion and debate in recent years. What explains past episodes of state and/or insurgent terrorism? Are the two linked? How has the rhetoric of "terrorism" been used by political actors? Will we see more or less—or different kinds

of—terrorism in the future? Papers on any of these concerns are encouraged.

Social Movements and the Future

Joint Session of Research Committees on Future Research (RC07) and Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48). Organizers: Markus S. Schulz (UIUC, USA) <u>isarc07@gmail.com</u> and Benjamin Tejerina Montaña (Universidad del País Vasco, Spain) <u>ciptemob@lg.ehu.es</u>

One or more Joint Sessions on contentious politics and on how social movements shape futures are planned. Questions may include (but are not limited to): How do social movements create, debate, disseminate, and attempt to implement projects and visions of the future? How do social movements invent new practices? How do social movements relate to old and new media? What factors influence the outcomes of social movement struggles?

Power, Politics, Publics: Sociological Experiences
Organizers: Raquel Sosa (UNAM, Mexico)
rsosa@servidor.unam.mx and Markus S. Schulz
(UIUC, USA) isarc07@gmail.com

How does sociology relate to policy, power, and publics? How do sociologists contribute to social projects and alternative views? What is the experience of sociologists who engage in "critical" or "public" modes of doing sociology, including collaboration with social movements or public service? What can we learn from comparisons between different national experiences and different disciplines? What lessons can be learned from recent experiences in Latin America or other sites of the Global South? What is to be done to make sociology and the sociological imagination more relevant?

Open Themes

Organizer: TBA (contact: isarc07@gmail.com)

Deadlines and Procedures:

If you wish to present a paper, please email by October 15, 2009 your proposal with a title and a concise description (150 to 200 words) to the organizer(s) of your session and to the repository at isarc07gothenburg@gmail.com. A submission form is available for download at http://www.isa-sociology.org/congress2010/rc/rc07.htm. (The form is backwards compatible with the free Adobe Reader

7.0 or later.) Be sure to include in your proposal your name and contact information. Paper proposals that do not fit to the topic of any of the planned sessions may be submitted to the RC07 Program Coordinator for integration in additional sessions or alternative arrangements.

Some general hints: Please make your proposal as informative and specific as possible. Check whether your abstract provides the reviewers with answers to fundamental questions such as:

- What question or problem does your paper address?
- Why does this question or problem matter?
- How you do you approach this question or problem (theoretical perspective, method, data set, body of literature, and the like)?
- What are your findings/research/arguments results?
- What are the implications of these findings/research results/arguments?

Session proposals are welcome too and shall include a title, a brief description of the topic, chair's name and contact information, and a list of four to five speakers. Session proposals may be in any of the ISA's official languages, English, Spanish, or French.

Notifications of papers accepted for presentation instructions will be sent to participants by the end of January 2010 along with more detailed instructions and practical tips on travel and logistics. It is anticipated that online registration opens in early 2010. May 1, 2010 is the anticipated deadline for preregistration and submission of accepted abstracts to Cambridge Sociological Abstracts (CSA) for inclusion in the congress catalogue.

The Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements is looking for a new Section Webmaster. If you have questions about the position, please email the current Webmaster, Katrina Kimport, at kkimport@umail.ucsb.edu.

Special Section: Reviews of Award Finalist Books

Stuart A. Wright. 2007. *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing*. Cambridge University Press.

Eitan Y. Alimi Department of Political Science The Hebrew University

Students of social movements would find Wright's Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing of great interest for two main reasons. First, it is a powerful demonstration of the promise held in the recent endeavor by Doug McAdam, Sid Tarrow, and Chuck Tilly's to revolutionize the field of social movements by promoting a new conceptualization of, and a research program for a dynamic analysis of Contentious Politics. In this regard, Wright's account of the dynamics and processes that led to the formation of the Patriots movement and analysis of the specific path-dependent developing trajectory of contention between the movement and U.S. state authorities, culminating in the horrendous bombing of the federal Murrah building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, belongs to a growing body of research that seeks to further the study of contentious politics.

Indeed, focusing on mechanisms and processes in order to analyze not only how the Patriots organized, broadened and crystallized, but also the sources of its constituent organizations' shared discontent and perception of deepening threat as well as the no-lesscritical issue of the reason for the specific timing of the Oklahoma City bombing—is a first step forward in addressing some of the concerns raised against the original outlining of DOC. Furthermore, Wright's analysis skillfully shows the benefits found in incorporating state authorities as a proactive actor in episodes of contention as well as other opponents and allies for a more dynamic analysis of the development, peak, and abatement of contentious politics. In doing so, Wright practically employs a richer, broader-in-scope of applicability version of the Political Process Model. Drawing on McAdam's recent work, Wright rightly states that the original Model not only paid insufficient attention to the role

of political threat, but also was overly left-wing oriented "movement-centric"—both of which are the result of a theory that has been "excessively constricted, especially among movements in democratic settings" (p. 29). Thus, the analysis of processes such as opportunity and threat spirals and social appropriation, and their constituent mechanisms (attribution of threat, networking or brokerage) on the part of movement organizations and state authorities, and how the operation of these processes and mechanisms on the part of one claimant of contention interact with those same processes and mechanisms on the side of another claimant enables Wright to provide a highly nuanced, context-sensitive analysis of State/Patriots radicalization.

Wright argues that

The highly charged confluence of a 'warfare' frame constructed by Patriot movement actors... and the state engendered a kind of symbiosis, leading to an escalation of mutual threat. Herein, both parties to the conflict increasingly defined the other as 'enemy,' seized upon shifting and expanding opportunities, fueling action and counteraction that created an upward spiral of violence (p. 35).

The empirical reward of this mode of analysis rests in a convincing set of evidence regarding the fact that the Oklahoma City bombing (a) was not a creed but, rather, a political strategy, (b) there was nothing deterministic about it but, rather, a progression that had something to do with relations and interactions among actors involved in episodes of contention, and (c) it certainly was not the act of a loner psychopath Timothy McVeigh as it was thought to be the case.

The second reason why students of social movement would find interest in *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing* is because it is a sound reminder of the relevancy and usefulness of social movements theory to the study of political terrorism. Indeed, while political terrorism is certainly a distinct phenomenon there certainly is no distinct theory of political terrorism; political terrorism is an extreme violent variant of contentious politics in which—unlike other instances of violent behavior—the victim is not necessarily the target whom the perpetrator is trying to influence. Yet, while political terrorism is not simply another form of contentious politics, *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing* demonstrates how theoretical tools from the

Collective Behavior on April 17, 2009 at the

University of Notre Dame. Professor Zald's

remarks, "Looking Back on Collaborations,

Institutional Analysis," were followed by a

Award for Lifetime Achievement in the

Scholarship of Social Movements and

Looking Forward on Movements and

reception.

study of social movements are useful for enhancing our understanding of the dynamics and processes along which political terrorism acquires its distinctive features – which is why it is critical to investigate the process along which a predominantly nonviolent mode of contention shifts to a violent one.

While it is understandable why scholars of political terrorism have sought to form a conceptual and theoretical boundary between the two fields of

research, Wright's analysis emphatically demonstrates the futility of such a boundary formation. It should be made clear though that Wright is not reinventing the wheel; attempts to account for the process of radicalization and extremism using social movements theories were made well before 9/11 (see for example the works by

della Porta, Zwerman, Steinhoff as well as della Porta and Tarrow) and after 9/11 (see for example works by Oberschall, Tilly, a mini symposium in a 2007 issue of Mobilization, as well as works by the author of this review)—none of which are included in the book. Nonetheless, readers of Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing would find a additional proof why "re-contextualizing" the study of political terrorism yields telling rewards – a convincing and mutually rewarding call for both social movements and political terrorism scholars to bridge the (artificial) divide.

Having said that, it is important to stress that Wright's impressive account of the sources and dynamics leading to the Oklahoma City bombing is not free of shortcomings. There are several weak points in the analysis and a couple of overly sweeping statements that should be balanced. Let me specify two of each. For example, while taking great care, and rightly so, to dynamically and consistently incorporate the processes of framing and reframing by both Patriots and the state, the analysis of these processes tends to be anecdotal. A fuller analysis of these processes would require a much deeper and more systematic analysis of framing and reasoning devices comparatively across time and political

circumstances, especially when it is clear that the materials exist and are accessible. Additionally, given the importance and significance of the book to policy makers and the general public the book would certainly have benefited from postscript chapter on those reversal equivalent mechanisms and processes that could potentially have had impeded radicalization, for which purpose DOC (and the subsequent Contentious Politics) has a lot to offer. Regarding sweeping statements, I would only say

that Mobilization is certainly not the only specialized journal devoted Mayer N. Zald received the John D. McCarthy to social movement theory and research (see page 23 and remember Social Movement Studies) and the finding that only 4 percent of the total of 141 articles published in *Mobilization* between 1996 and 2005 focused research activity on conservative or rightwing movements by no means represents the larger worldwide

> research on the topic. While willing to accept the argument that the field has been "movement-centric" for too long, it is important to avoid being charged as "U.S.-centric". Aside from this, Stuart Wright's book is an important reading with implications that go far beyond the case of the U.S. based Patriot movement.

Kelly Moore. 2008. Disrupting Science: Social Movements, American Scientists, and the Politics of the Military, 1945-1975. Princeton University Press.

> Michelle Meyer Lueck Department of Sociology Colorado State University

In Disrupting Science, Kelly Moore offers a detailed history of three scientist-led groups as they worked in different manners to change the relationship between science and the US military after World War II. These three cases, supported by in-depth interviewing and archival evidence, offer different views of how some scientists challenged their colleagues, the public, the state, and the definition of science itself by becoming activists during this socially conscious time of US history. Her book weaves social movement theory and the sociology of science

throughout a historically grounded journey that has had lingering effects on the role of science and scientists in Western society.

Moore argues that simplistic understandings of scientists as experts or professionals fighting to maintain their privileged status do not adequately explain how many became morally and politically motivated to change the relationship between science and politics. As Moore shows, the creation and use of the atomic bomb and the ensuing Cold War led many scientists to question if their work was being used for the benefit of mankind or its destruction. Disrupting Science is organized around three main questions about scientists' activism: "Why did scientists engage in activism against the relationship between the military and science? Why did the forms of this activism vary? And how did activists' efforts simultaneously contribute to buttressing the power of science in American political life and transforming it?" (191). In answering these questions, she shows how each group built upon the proceeding in new methods of activism. Moore shows how each group is historical grounded in time, whether during McCarthyism or the revolutionary activities of the late 1960's. Using the case studies as evidence, Moore argues that scientists themselves questioned and refashioned the relationship between science and scientist, the state and science, and the public and science. She raises questions about social movement theory relating to the role of experts, boundary work, claims-making, and identity; and she challenges notions within the sociology of science about how the relationship of science and the public is transformed and reified expanding our view of scientists to include moral and political, not just technical, identities.

She grounds her argument with historical materialism, and begins with a quick history of the military-science relationship in the period following World War II – the "glory days of science" when scientists and science were unquestioned as the rational leaders of modern society. The question of whether science was actually resulting in progress gave rise to the Society for Social Responsibility in Science (SSRS). This section relates the challenges faced by scientists who refused to participate in work they morally objected during the period of McCarthyism. Following the SSRS is the Committee

for Nuclear Information (CNI). Instead of simply asking scientists to refuse certain projects, the CNI used the liberal political system, arguing that science is information separate from moral and political decisions that should be given to the public to make political decisions. Moving beyond the CNI information model, Moore details the growth of radical scientist activism such as the Science for the People organization. Using Marxist and feminist foundations, these activists argued that scientific knowledge cannot be separated from ruling elites, and that science should be revolutionized to focus on problems such as poverty, pollution, racism, and sexism. In the final chapter, Moore offers conclusions about the effects of these organizations on science and society arguing that the authority and autonomy of scientists was affected by these movements as was the relationship of science and politics.

Disrupting Science is a clear and detailed book that would interest anyone working in social movements or the sociology of science as well as those interested in how knowledge generation is affected by the state and society. More generally, this book adds to our understanding of social change by providing a vivid look at an under-researched group in this era of social transformation and how many individuals, not just radicals, worked to improve society. While the cases do stand well on their own as answers to her research questions, I would have liked more development and explanation in the conclusion of how she conceptualized the effects of these groups on the sociology of science and social movement theory. She is very straightforward throughout the book, which leaves one wishing for similar detail in the conclusion. Instead much of the synthesis is left to the reader to pull from earlier chapters, which without a previous understanding of the sociology of science or social movement theory one may miss the main contributions of her work. Her first two research questions – why scientists became activists, and why did their activism vary - are addressed throughout the chapters and justify a quick synopsis. The third question about the effects of these groups on science, both positively and negatively, lends itself to the most interesting sociological insights, yet the 25 page conclusion seemed truncated in this aspect compared to the rest of the book.

With that caveat, this book offers useful ideas for analysis of current science-society-state issues such as climate change, genetic manipulation, energy debates, and many others. With great clarity in format and writing style, I would recommend this book for undergraduate and graduate students with some understanding of social movements, science, civic society, social change, and state-society interaction. The case studies would also provide useful examples for discussion in classes on these topics. Professionals in sociology and political science will also find many useful insights in *Disrupting Science*.

Michael P. Young. 2006. *Bearing Witness Against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement*. The University of Chicago Press.

Julie Beicken Department of Sociology University of Texas Austin

In *Bearing Witness Against Sin*, Michael P. Young examines the birth of the American social movement. He is particularly interested in the wave of moral protests that swept the nation in the 1830s. Through an exploration of two of these movements, temperance and antislavery, Young argues that the roots of modern American social movements lie in this antebellum period. Specifically, the 'life politics' that characterize protest in the second half of the twentieth century (and into the twenty-first), wherein activists are compelled to take action due to an overlap between personal concerns and public problems, mirror the motivations of these early protesters.

Young's text is an "account of the development of these movements and their novel form of moral protest" (8). After an introduction that highlights the religious nature of these movements, which publicly bore witness to the national sins of intemperance and slavery, Chapter 1, "Modern Social Movements and Confessional Projections of the Self," engages with the sociological literature on social movements and protest. Young draws on Tilly's "repertoires of contention" and Tarrow's "modular forms of collective action." Both of these concepts identify a shift from older, more disorganized forms of protest,

such as rough music, to the public meetings and organizational tendencies of nineteenth century protest. Nevertheless, Young departs from Tilly and Tarrow by noting that their emphasis on institutional political processes is not applicable to the U.S. context in the 1830s when the nation lacked a powerful centralized state. Instead, religious forces were responsible for the birth, spread, and endurance of these movements. Another essential element to Young's conceptualization of these movements is the significance of emotions, particularly guilt, and for this he takes a social-psychological approach. He notes that this perspective accounts for the "role of emotional projections of the self into extensive social issues, the telescoping of the feelings of individuals with great social projects" (21), which can help explain why these movements gained such wide appeal in the absence of the institutional infrastructure a centralized state would afford.

The next three chapters provide the features of the American context that were amenable to the development of these movements in the 1830s. Chapter 2, "Mammon, Church, and State" reveals that the U.S. had recently experienced unprecedented demographic growth, but the centralized state was weakening, giving rise to religion as the "most compelling and popular form of voluntary association in the United States" (50). In other words, in response to the changes occurring in U.S. society, the American people relied on religious rather than state institutions for support. Chapter 3, "The Benevolent Empire and the Special Sins of the Nation" traces the development of benevolent societies, and how evangelicals brought the attention of these societies to issues outside the local context. This process enabled people to be concerned with public sins not necessarily relevant to their daily lived experience, but nevertheless significant to the fate of the nation as a whole. Thus, the white antislavery reformer who lived far from slavery considered it his/her duty to eliminate this sin from the national sphere, despite his/her physical distance from it. Chapter 4, "Rise Up and Repent," looks at the "emergence of a form of mass confession of faith and sin among the populist sects" (9). The power of these mass confessions was significant. The revivalism of the 1820s placed a moral impetus on people to repent for their sins and

those of the nation in order to be accepted into the Kingdom of God.

In Chapter 5, "A National Wave of Confessional Protests, 1829-1839," Young synthesizes the work of the previous three chapters to explain the growth of the two movements of interest to him, temperance and antislavery. Both were the product of the efforts of reformers who "harnessed middle-class and western enthusiasm for the eradication of special sins to unleash national social movements independent from orthodox institutions but taking with them considerable resources" (119). In Chapter 6, "'To Bear Witness to the Horrors of the Southern Prison House," Young turns to the writings of six of these reformers, including William Lloyd Garrison and Sarah and Angelina Grimké. The writings of these activists portrays the deep personal anguish and guilt they felt as well as the urgency with which they considered the sins of intemperance and slavery needed to be abolished form the national front. This dual nature of the movements is of primary interest to Young, as it highlights the simultaneously intensive (personal) and extensive (public) concern of these activists.

Young relies on a variety of sources to support his claims, but his work is primarily pieced together from archival research. He draws on a range of periodicals from the time period of his study. Throughout the text he includes many charts and maps to illustrate the numbers associated with the different movement organizations and their locations. As in all historical sociology, Young also relies on the histories written by other scholars. The final substantive chapter delves into the letters, journals, and biographies of a select but important group of antebellum reformers. Young's diverse data is definitely a strength of the text. His theoretical arguments are buttressed by demographic and spatial analyses of the composition of U.S. society during the era of these movements. His textual analysis of the reformers' writings gives rich and unique insights into the thoughts, motivations, and ideals of the reformers themselves. This blend of macro- and micro-level data makes Young's work a unique contribution to the field.

Overall, Young's work is an invaluable addition to scholars with an interest in social movements.

particularly for its attention to the significance of emotion in the politics of contention. Young avoids the over-rationalization of resource mobilization theory and the hyper-emotionality of collective behaviorism, instead finding a middle ground that acknowledges the significance of emotion in conjunction with other factors in bringing actors into movements. Furthermore, Young's account of these movements from over a century ago lends great insight into the movements of the past fifty years and the present. As he states, "activists continue to seek ways to inspire intensive and extensive commitments to their causes, and bearing witness remains a key form of protest to tap these different registers of engagement" (205). In addition, Young's work is significant to scholars with interests in religion, American history, and sociology more broadly. He accounts for the significance of religion in American social life during this important historical period, while also attending to the relationship between the individual and the social context in which he/she lives, a critical and central question to sociologists.

There are few criticisms or rooms for improvement in this masterful work. The chapter on the activists' writings would have perhaps benefited the reader more had it come earlier in the text, as it lends such richness to the story Young tells. Had this been done, however, readers would lack the complete historical and social context with which to make sense of these writings. All in all, the work is excellent as is, and offers great insights into how American social movements were born. For students of social movements, particularly in the American context, it neatly weaves together theories that once seemed disparate and makes great sense of the character of American protest and contention.

Errata: Pages 13 and 14 of the fall issue of Critical Mass listed prior winners of the McCarthy Lifetime Achievement Award incorrectly. In fact, the this year's award will be the third annual award.

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John McCarthy, Pennsylvania State University

In our recent conference, I don't think there was a single paper that didn't reference apiece published in *Mobilization*. At this point, the field of contentious politics-social movement studies is inconceivable without *Mobilization*. That's no small accomplishment in just over a decade.

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