

# CriticalMassBulletin

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

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<http://www.asanet.org/sectioncbm/>

Spring 2008

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**Please send all your ideas,  
feedback, and submissions  
to: [cmeditor@msu.edu](mailto:cmeditor@msu.edu)**

## Message from the Chair: Presidential Candidates and Social Movements

If you are like many Americans, you have followed the presidential primaries very closely this year. At this writing, Senator John McCain is the presumptive Republican Party nominee. The Democratic race, still undecided, has drawn far more public attention as well as media interest, with Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama in close competition for the party's nomination. And unless you have been stranded on the proverbial desert island, you know that these latter presidential campaigns are important firsts. A white female candidate and African-American male candidate have each won numerous state primaries and defeated a slate of white male candidates. In the end, it is all but certain that Obama or Clinton will be the Democratic nominee for president. There is also a reasonable chance one of them will win the presidency. Many Americans continue to hold out hope that a "dream team" will emerge, with both of them on the Democratic ticket.

For social movement scholars, it is easy to find links between these two Democratic presidential campaigns and social movements. Some of the connections are obvious if one delves into the candidates' biographies. For instance, Barack Obama spent three years as a Chicago community organizer in the late 1980s just after graduating from Columbia University. He mobilized citizens in urban black neighborhoods using strategies honed a few decades earlier by Saul Alinsky in the stockyard neighborhoods

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**Deadline for the Fall 2008 Issue of  
Critical Mass Bulletin: October 15**

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### Chair's Message—Continued

and in the Industrial Areas Foundation. I recently heard a talk on my campus by Michael Maniates, a political scientist at Allegheny College, who referred to Alinsky as “the most successful agent of change in the twentieth century.”

In 1995, Hillary Clinton attended the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, a gathering attended by over 2,100 non-governmental agencies, many of them core participants in the transnational women's movement. Clinton gave her “women's rights are human rights” speech at the conference and criticized China for limiting discussion of women's issues. In 1998, she visited Seneca Falls for the 150th anniversary of both the first women's rights convention in the U.S. and the beginning of a mobilization that would lead to the women's suffrage movement. Interestingly, Clinton wrote her 1969 senior thesis at Wellesley College on Saul Alinsky. While Senator Obama today refers to his campaign as “a movement for change,” both candidates are mobilizing a variety of constituencies, producing record-level voting in the 2008 Democratic primaries.

While leaders in the black and women's movements, such as John Lewis and Gloria Steinem, have voiced support for the candidates, the rank and file from multiple movements are lining up behind their Democratic Party political choice, in many cases with no clear one-to-one mapping between candidates and movement members. For instance, while the United Steelworkers and the United Mine Workers of America had given their support to Senator John Edwards before his exit from the race, both Senators Clinton and Obama have received key union endorsements. Environmental activists generally agree that either Senator Obama or Clinton, both with strong congressional voting records on the environment, would be a reasonable choice for president. And while Clinton heads into the Pennsylvania primary on April 22 with support from that state's most prominent gay and lesbian groups, Obama received an endorsement in January from the *The Gay City News*, New York's leading LGBT weekly.

As a social movement researcher who studies how organized women in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries worked toward their political goals, I am particularly intrigued with the idea of the Obama and Clinton campaigns as social movement outcomes. Aside from William Gamson's seminal work, *The Strategy of Social Protest*, published in 1975, just a decade or so ago, scholarship on collective action had little to say about how social movements achieve their specific goals and how they produce significant social change. Scholarship on movements today is quite different. Ed Amenta provides

us with the political mediation model. While Andy Andrews investigates the role of strategic infrastructure in understanding movement outcomes, Marshall Ganz concentrates on strategic capacity. Paul Burstein explores the important role of public opinion in paving the way for movement victories. Daniel Cress and David Snow show us how movement framing matters. Sarah Soule and Susan Olzak write of the contingent forces at work in producing victories, and my and my co-authors' work reveals a role for gendered and discursive opportunity structures as well as strategic adaptation.

This list could go on, but one important aspect of movement influence which we are only beginning to understand is the cultural outcomes of social movements. A handful of studies exist. For instance, Ruth Rossen's *The World Split Open* charts the massive shift in beliefs surrounding women's roles and gender relations brought about by the second wave of U.S. feminism. Leo d'Anjou in his book, *Social Movements and Cultural Change*, reveals how the British abolitionist movement transformed British views on slavery and the slave trade. Ron Eyerman and Scott Barretta in their article in *Theory and Society* trace the influence of the civil rights and antiwar movements on the revival of folk music in the U.S. And Thomas Rochon in *Culture Moves* outlines a process in which small groups of individuals who investigate and develop concepts around a set of issues—or, as Rochon calls them, “critical communities”—leads movement actors to disseminate the developing ideas to the broader population, which in turn can produce changes in core values.

Larry Isaac's recent presidential address on the civil rights movement to the Southern Sociological Society was a powerful reminder not only of the role of cultural production inside movements but also of the cultural impact movements can have on a much broader scale in society. Larry tells us that movements “produce new cultural forms in the course of struggle” and “often change and augment mainstream cultural stock in the process.” Both the women's movement and the civil rights movement can claim some significant portion of responsibility for the Clinton and Obama presidential campaigns.

The women's movement, looking back over its 150 year history, has constructed a fundamentally altered public identity for women, one in which women are full political citizens, equal employees, and qualified and capable political leaders. That a sizeable majority of Americans today say the country is ready for a woman president is a testament to the cultural successes of the women's movement. The same can be said for the civil rights movement. The movement ended Jim Crow segregation and won a place in electoral politics for African Americans. It, too, paved the way for a cadre of

black political leaders in this nation's cities and states, and now, potentially, for an African American to hold the country's highest political office. A large majority of Americans today also agrees that the nation is ready for a black president. Social movements play a monumental role in shaping our ideas, beliefs, and values, the very way in which we perceive the world around us.

But as these presidential campaigns also illustrate, there are limits to the cultural shifts the women's and civil rights movements have so far accomplished. Sexism and racism, sometimes in subtle forms and sometimes more blatantly, continue to exist and have shown themselves during this primary season. Sexist commentary from some quarters directed at the Clinton campaign has been particularly pronounced, and racism still operates at times like a well-oiled machine in this country. The cultural work of the women's and civil rights movements is not yet done.

The importance of our research as scholars making sense of the capacity of social movements to bring about cultural change cannot be overstated. We have made significant strides in the study of movement outcomes. But there is more to be accomplished. We are only beginning to gain a sense of when and how movements can shape the broader cultural milieu. As Jennifer Earl explains in her review of the literature on the cultural consequences of social movements (in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*), many questions remain unanswered. What are the cultural features that movements shape? How do collective actors bring about cultural change? What is the evidence that, indeed, movements produce the change? I don't know if in the end our scholarship will enable us to predict the winner of a presidential election, but I remain convinced that as part of their cultural legacies, both the women's and civil rights movements have brought us to a presidential election in which an African-American man or a white woman may be on the brink of winning the U.S. presidency.

*Holly McCammon*  
*CBSM Section Chair*  
*Department of Sociology*  
*Vanderbilt University*

**Deadline for Fall 2008 Issue**  
**Critical Mass Bulletin**  
**October 15**

## Call for Editor(s) of *Critical Mass Bulletin*

We are currently seeking a new editor or editorial team to take on the tasks of publishing the bi-annual *Critical Mass Bulletin*, the newsletter of our section. The responsibilities of the new editor include:

- 1) Maintaining (and possibly revising/updating) the newsletter template;
- 2) Soliciting materials from CBSM section members for the fall and spring issues via the CBSM listserv;
- 3) "Producing" the newsletter in Word, preserving a PDF copy, and e-mailing that PDF copy to the ASA for dissemination to section members;
- 4) Finding interesting books and section members to write reviews of them; and
- 5) Other smaller details.

All in all, this amounts to about 10 hours of work two times a year (in mid-April and in mid-October). Aaron McCright and Lori Baralt will assist in the transition to the new editor. If you are interested, please send an email to all three members of the CBSM Publications Committee by June 15, 2008.

### CBSM Publications Committee

Lesley Wood    ljwood@yorku.ca  
 Benita Roth    broth@binghamton.edu  
 Paul Almeida    almeida@tamu.edu

## Teaching a Class?!

Do you teach a class in collective behavior and/or social movements at either the undergraduate or graduate level?

Do you have insights, readings, activities, active learning techniques, or service learning opportunities that have worked especially well in your class?

Would you like to share this with the rest of the CBSM section?

If so, write up your ideas for the Fall 2008 issue of *Critical Mass Bulletin*.

## Activist Corner: A Conservative's SPIN

David Walls, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Sonoma State University

Do activists make use of academics' social movement formulations and findings? Interviewing over 100 leaders of national and regional organizations in the environmental, peace and human rights movements while writing and promoting my book *The Activist's Almanac* (1993), I encountered only one activist who volunteered that he made use of a theoretical model of social movements. And to my surprise, he was the leader of a widely known conservative network of anti-environmental groups.

During this period of my research, roughly from 1985 to 1993, I would have expected an activist to draw on the resource mobilization/political opportunity structure literature. But instead he had embraced the SP(I)N model of Virginia Hine and Luther Gerlach. The activist was Ron Arnold, executive director of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise in Bellevue, WA, and a leading figure in the "Wise Use" movement, a network of ranching, mining, timber, and property owner associations, and hunting, motorcycling, and off-road vehicle clubs. (Arnold, 1987; Gottlieb, 1989; Pendley, 1994; Helvarg, 1994).

In their early formulation, Gerlach and Hine (1970: 33) had referred to effective movement organization as "decentralized, segmentary and reticulate." Arnold had drawn on Hine's (1977) later version in an obscure magazine published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in which she elaborated their phrasing to "segmented polycephalous (ideological) network" or "SP(I)N."

I interviewed Arnold in October 1993 while I was in the Seattle area to do a bookstore reading. He used the SPIN model to describe what he believed was the desirable form of the Wise Use movement. He opposed developing an overall or umbrella organization in favor of maintaining a loose network of clubs and associations. As Gerlach and Hine pointed out, he noted, this protects a movement from any particular scandal, disgrace or defection involving any one organizational leader; one group may collapse, but the rest of the movement can continue unscathed. Arnold had forged a role for his Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise as a training, technical assistance, and conference coordinating vehicle, much like the function of the "training intermediary" identified for progressive community organizing by Gary Delgado (1994). Arnold would present the SPIN model in conferences with the Wise Use movement groups to

explain how their movement was and should be organized. In our interview, he was clear that Wise Use was a counter-movement: "Only a movement can defeat a movement."

Although he didn't cite any of the social movement literature on framing, Arnold demonstrated keen public relations instincts. His goal was to "use language to illuminate pieces of reality like a flashlight." He claimed responsibility for borrowing the term "wise use" for his movement (from early conservationist Gifford Pinchot) after a long search for words that were "ambiguously meaningful and strike deep resonances—never completely defined." He didn't like the term "Sagebrush Rebellion" often used by journalists: "There's no sagebrush in New Jersey." He was determined to enunciate a clear and simple message: "Environmentalism kills jobs" (see Arnold and Gottlieb, 1993).

It remains disconcerting for me to recall that Arnold obviously reflected thoughtfully on questions studied by scholars of social movements when I have found few counterparts in progressive movements who step back from their day to day activism to ponder similar questions of movement strategy. Hopefully other CBSM section members will report fresh examples of progressive activists informed by and informing social movement analysis.

### Bibliography

- Arnold, Ron. *Ecology Wars: Environmentalism As If People Mattered*. Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1987.
- Arnold, Ron, and Alan Gottlieb. *Trashing the Economy: How Runaway Environmentalism is Wrecking America*. Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1993.
- Delgado, Gary. *Beyond the Politics of Place: New Directions in Community Organizing in the 1990s*. Oakland: Applied Research Center 1994.
- Gerlach, Luther P., and Virginia H. Hine. *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
- Gottlieb, Alan M. *The Wise Use Agenda*. Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1989.
- Helvarg, David. *The War Against the Greens*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994.
- Hine, Virginia H. "The Basic Paradigm of a Future Socio-Cultural System." *World Issues*, II (1977), pp. 19-22.
- Pendley, William Perry. *It Takes a Hero: The Grassroots Battle Against Environmental Oppression*. Bellevue: The Free Enterprise Press, 1994.
- Walls, David. *The Activist's Almanac: The Concerned Citizen's Guide to the Leading Advocacy Organizations in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster/Fireside, 1993.

## Activist Corner: Call for Nominations

### 2008 MARIO SAVIO YOUNG ACTIVIST AWARD

The Board of Directors of the Mario Savio Memorial Lecture & Young Activist Award invites you to nominate a candidate for the 11th Annual Young Activist Award. The award this year carries a cash prize of \$6000, divided equally between the prize-winner and his or her organization.

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

Specific eligibility requirements are:

- \* Under age 30 by 9/1/08 (preference will be given to applicants under age 26);
- \* Engaged in activism for social change, promoting the values of peace, human rights, economic or social justice, or freedom of expression;
- \* Acting within the context of an organization, social movement, or larger community effort;
- \* Considered an inspirational leader or motivating force by others in that context;
- \* Based in the United States, although work may be international in scope; and
- \* Able to attend award ceremony in Berkeley, CA (Nov/Dec; expenses paid).

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

*This award honors the late Mario Savio (1942-1996), who came to national prominence as a spokesperson for the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964. His moral clarity, his eloquence, and his democratic style of leadership impelled thousands of his fellow Berkeley students to struggle for, and win, more political freedom, inspiring a generation of student activism. Savio remained a lifelong fighter for human rights and social justice.*

NOMINATIONS ARE DUE BY JULY 31st, 2008. Nomination forms and additional information are available at <[www.savio.org](http://www.savio.org)> or via e-mail <[savio@sonic.net](mailto:savio@sonic.net)>.

## Recent Publications

- Smith, Jackie. 2008. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Almeida, Paul. 2008. *Waves of Protest: Popular Struggle in El Salvador, 1925-2005*. University of Minnesota Press.

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## Recent Dissertations

- Cherry, Elizabeth. 2008. *Cultural Structures and Tactical Repertoires: The Animal Rights Movements in France and the United States*. Department of Sociology. University of Georgia.
- Currier, Ashley. 2007. *The Visibility of Sexual Minority Movement Organizations in Namibia and South Africa*. Department of Sociology. University of Pittsburgh.
- Haluza-DeLay, Randolph. 2007. *Developing a Compassionate Sense of Place: Environmental and Social Conscientization in Environmental Organizations*. Faculty of Education. University of Western Ontario.
- Rooks, Daisy. 2007. *Working for Change: Young Reformers in Labor Unions and Public Schools*. Department of Sociology. UCLA.

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## Awards and Honors

**Paul Almeida** received a Fulbright Fellowship for his project: "Globalization, Democratization, and Civil Society in Central America." He will spend the 2008-2009 academic year as a visiting professor in Costa Rica.

The Center for the Study of Social Movements and Social Change at the University of Notre Dame is pleased to announce that **Verta Taylor** was selected as the recipient of the 2008 John D. McCarthy Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Scholarship of Social Movements and Collective Behavior.

Inaugurated in 2007, the McCarthy Award honors scholars who have made "outstanding contributions to the scholarly literature concerned with social movements, protest, collective violence, riots, and other kind of collective behavior over the course of his or her career. In a spirit reflecting the scholar-teacher model inherent to the University of Notre Dame, the recipient will be a person who has made major contributions not only through her or

his own research, but also through teaching and mentoring other, more junior, scholars as they have developed their own research and scholarly identities.”

As you likely know, Verta has had a long and extremely distinguished career of both research and teaching in the social movements area. Landmark works include *Survival in the Doldrums*; *Rock-a-by Baby*; *Drag Queens at the 801 Cabaret*; and the omnipresent *Feminist Frontiers* (now in its 8th edition). Many of her articles are important touchstones in the field including, “Social Movement Continuity: The Women’s Movement in Abeyance,” and “Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization,” both of which can now justifiably be called classics in the field. Verta is also well known as a teacher and mentor. As one nominator wrote, “Taylor has been an outstanding advisor to her graduate students and to young colleagues. She has produced a very large number of PhDs and many of them are on their way to becoming prominent social movement and gender scholars. . . . Taylor constantly coauthors with her students, which no doubt provides them with invaluable experience. . . . Taylor also looks out for young faculty and serves as a mentor.”

## Calls for Papers/Submissions

### *Comparative Sociology*

*Comparative Sociology* is a quarterly international scholarly journal published by Brill of Leiden, Netherlands dedicated to advancing comparative sociological analyses of societies and cultures, institutions and organizations, groups and collectivities, networks and interactions. Two issues every year are devoted to “special topics,” and three topics currently open for submissions are: Democracy and Professions; Rule of Law and Rechtstaat; and Typologies of Democracy and non-Democracy. Consult the Brill Website for descriptions of each topic: <[www.brill.nl/coso](http://www.brill.nl/coso)>. Editor-in-Chief is David Sciulli, Professor of Sociology, Texas A&M University. General submissions as well as those dedicated to these topics are welcome electronically by e-mail insert at <[compsoc@tamu.edu](mailto:compsoc@tamu.edu)>, and (initial) decisions on acceptance or rejection are typically made within less than three months.

### *Sociological Theory*

Greetings, fellow ASA Members. We are writing to encourage you to submit your work to *Sociological Theory*. As we begin our second term as editors of *ST*, we are redoubling our efforts to find ambitious articles that are programmatic in relation to empirical areas, to normative and ideological disputes, and to important topics in the widest possible array of fields.

*ST* will remain the home of excellent “standard theory” pieces. But we also want innovative thinkers working in substantive areas—e.g. Collective Behavior and Social Movements—to use *ST* to gain the widest possible forum for their interventions. As you can tell from reading the journal, we are open to a full range of topics and methodological approaches. The quality of articles has never been higher. Several recent articles have won ASA section awards or have been discussed in the *New York Times* and other national news outlets.

So we are writing to ask that you give us something terrific. We will make sure that your submission is reviewed both by referees who will give it an appropriately sensitive reading and by our own editorial team. We are happy to publish articles that might come out as chapters in future books, as long as we publish them first, and they are in article form. If you want to bounce ideas off us before devoting too much time to a project, please feel free to do so by emailing us at <[soc.theory@yale.edu](mailto:soc.theory@yale.edu)>. We look forward to reading your work.

Julia Adams  
 Jeffrey Alexander  
 Ron Eyerman  
 Phil Gorski  
*Sociological Theory* Editors

# Got An Idea?!

Do you have a  
 great idea for the  
*Critical Mass Bulletin?*

If so, write it up for the fall  
 2008 issue.

## CBSM Section Activities at 2008 ASA Annual Meeting

*The CBSM Section Day is Monday August 4th.*

### **Social Movements, Globalizations, and the World Social Forums**

Co-Organizers: Jackie Smith, University of Notre Dame,  
and Lesley J. Wood, York University

*Social Forum Innovation and Collaboration: Analysis of  
Global Social Justice Networks*

Scott C. Byrd, University of California, Irvine

Lorien Jasny, University of California, Irvine

*Physical Exertion and Opportunities for Political Action  
at the Social Forums*

Chris Hausmann, University of Notre Dame

*NGOs, INGOs, and Social Change: Environmental Policy  
Reform in the Developing World, 1970-1995*

Wesley Longhofer, University of Minnesota

Evan Schofer, University of California, Irvine

David John Frank, University of California, Irvine

*Competing Entanglements in the Struggle to Save the  
Amazon: The Shifting Terrain of Transnational Civil  
Society*

Sandra A. Moog, University of California, Berkeley &  
University of Essex

Sonja K. Pieck, Bates College

### **New Approaches in the Study of Social Movement Outcomes**

Organizer: Melinda D. Kane, University of Texas-Dallas

Presider: Jason Crockett, University of Arizona

Discussant: Melinda D. Kane, University of Texas-Dallas

*Making the News: How Movement Organizations Shape  
the Public Agenda*

Kenneth T. Andrews, University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

Bob Edwards, East Carolina University

*Race Relations in Transition: Professional Black Power  
Activism and Organizational Responses in Social  
Welfare, 1966-1976*

Joyce M. Bell, University of Georgia

*We Are Not All Activists: The Development and  
Consequences of Identity in Social Movement  
Contexts*

Catherine J. Corrigan-Brown, University of British  
Columbia

*Women's Body Rights in Post-Communist Countries: A  
Comparative Study of Poland, Russia and Ukraine*

Alexandra Hrycak, Reed College

### **Social Movements and Strategic Action**

Organizer, Presider, and Discussant: Holly McCammon,  
Vanderbilt University

*Strategizing Against Sweatshops: Strategic Principles,  
Models, and Innovation in the U.S. Anti-Sweatshop  
Movement*

Matthew Williams, Boston College

*The Permeability of Seemingly Fixed Constraints:  
Shaping Public Discourse in the Islamic Family Law  
Reform Campaign in Morocco*

Alexandra Pittman, Boston College

*Strategy and Rhetoric: Microfoundations of Political  
Action*

James M. Jasper, Graduate Center of the City  
University of New York

*Thinking About Strategy*

David S. Meyer, University of California

Suzanne Staggenborg, McGill University

### **Urban Mobilizations and Movements**—co-sponsored with the Community and Urban Sociology Section

Co-Organizers: David Snow, University of California-  
Irvine, and Max Herman, Rutgers University

Presider: David A. Snow, University of California, Irvine

Discussant: Max Herman, Rutgers University

*Are The Truly Disadvantaged Truly Demobilized? Social  
Isolation and Protest in Chicago, 1980-1990*

Simon Eduardo Weffer-Elizondo, University of  
California, Merced

*Is There Something in the Water?: Explaining Variation in  
Protest Participation Across U.S. Cities*

Neal Caren, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*Mobilizing Local Communities in the Long Run:  
Understanding the Longevity of Community  
Organizations*

Edward T. Walker, University of Vermont

John D. McCarthy, Pennsylvania State University

*Squatters and Radical Movements in the European Urban  
Order*

Cesar Guzman-Concha, University of Barcelona

### **Social Movements and the Corporation**

Organizer: Brayden King, Brigham Young University

Discussant: Mayer Zald, University of Michigan

*Shifting Axes of Mobilization: Civil Rights Organizations  
and Conditions of Employment*

Sean Safford, University of Chicago

*Targeting Capital: A Cultural Economy Approach to  
Understanding the Efficacy Of Two Anti-Genetic  
Engineering Movements*

Rachel Schurman, University of Minnesota

William Munro, Illinois Wesleyan University

*From Streets to Suites: How the Anti-Biotech Movement Penetrated German Pharmaceutical Firms*

Klaus Weber, Northwestern University

L. G. Thomas, Emory University

Hayagreeva Rao, Stanford University

*The Effects of Social Movement Pressure on “Corporate Social Responsibility” in the Apparel Industry*

Tim Bartley, Indiana University-Bloomington

Curtis Child, Indiana University-Bloomington

### REFEREED ROUNDTABLES

Organizer: Edward Walker, University of Vermont

#### Table 1: The Role of Organizing in Labor Movements

President: Sarah Swider, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Balanced Triangle: Regular Worker Unions’ Attitudes Toward Irregular Workers in the Context of Labor Relations in Korea*

Chio Soojung, Yonsei University

*Formal Structures and Informal Exchange in an Organizing Union Local*

Laura Ariovich, Universidad de Buenos Aires

*Small Farmer Organizing in the Transition to Socialism in Venezuela*

Tiffany Linton Page, University of California, Berkeley

*“Why Should the Business Agents Be Bigger Than the Organization?”: A Study of Failed Rebellion in New York City’s Painters’ Union, 1960-1973*

Michael Alexander McCarthy, New York University

#### Table 2: Politics and Labor Movements

President: Marc Dixon, Florida State University

*Politics, Race and Labor Organizing in the U.S. States, 1970-2002*

Daniel B. Tope, Florida State University

*Not Just a Man’s World: Women’s Political Leadership in the American Labor Movement Today*

Andrew W. Martin, The Ohio State University

*Alternative Globalization within the US Labor Movement*

Kim Scipes, Purdue University North Central

*Rethinking Movement Trajectories: Labor and Environmental Movements in Taiwan and South Korea*

Hwa-Jen Liu, National Taiwan University

#### Table 3: Movements and Civil Societies

President: Dawn Wiest, University of Memphis

*From Erewhon to Emancipation: Toward a Better Framework for Cosmopolitanism and Counter-Hegemonic Global Civil Society*

Daniel Crocker Hale, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

*New Social Movements and Civil Society: Towards A Framework for Understanding Counter-Hegemonic Collective Action*

Ajaykumar P. Panicker, University of Miami

*Shallow Roots: Transnational Environmental Civil Society in Northeast Asia*

W. Chad Futrell, Cornell University

#### Table 4: Social Movement Institutionalization

President: Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur, Hamilton College

*Institutionalization of Social Movement with Walhi as an Example*

Turro Wongkaren, University of Hawaii at Manoa

*Institutionalizing Social Movements through Expertise*

Kathrin Zippel, Northeastern University

*Mobilising for Change in a Changing Society*

Jacquelin van Stekelenburg, VU University Amsterdam

Bert Klandermans, Vrije Universiteit

*Framing Insider and Outsider Movements: Choosing and Implementing Strategies to Change Organizations*

Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur, Hamilton College

#### Table 5: Strategies and Repertoires of Contention

President: Lesley Wood, York University

*If You Win Some, Then You Lose Some: Strategic Dilemmas in Organizational Frame Selection in Women’s Peace Organizing*

Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum, State University of New York-Stony Brook

*Strategies of Activism: The Campaign to Increase Women’s Political Participation in Pakistan*

Afshan Jafar, Northeastern University

*Moments of Openness: The Receptivity of Social Movement Organizations to New Ideas*

Lesley J. Wood, York University

*Yippie is the Sound of Surging through the Street*

Amanda Kennedy, SUNY Stony Brook



**Table 6: Collective Behavior**

*Conflicts About Intellectual Property Claims. The Role and Function of Collective Action Networks*

Sebastian Haunss, University of Konstanz

Lars Kohlmorgen, University of Hamburg

*Deconstructing Collective Behavior: The Case Of Early Mobile Phone Use Among Poor Youth In Bangladesh*

Lip Soon Wong, Telenor Research and Innovation Center

*Typology of Online Mass Collaboration and its Motivation Structure, Wikipedia*

JaeKyung Ha

*Understanding Athletic Participation as Feminist Dissent*

Alexa Yesukevich, Cornell University

**Table 7: Movement Cultures**

President: Suzanna Crage, Indiana University

*Social Movement Performance: Cultural Pragmatics and the Failure of the Pro-Hunting Movement*

Sarah Egan, Yale University

*Lifestyle Movements: Intersection Of Lifestyle And Social Movement In Voluntary Simplicity And Social Responsibility Movements*

Ross Haenfler, University of Mississippi

Brett E. Johnson, Luther College

Ellis Jones, University of California-Davis

*Transforming Everyday Life: Islamism and Social Movement Theory*

Cihan Ziya Tugal, University of California, Berkeley

*Deconstructing Symbolic Boundaries: Cultural Strategies of New Social Movements*

Elizabeth Cherry, University of Georgia

**Table 8: States and Political Opportunities**

President: Stephen Boutcher, UC-Irvine

*Social Movement Autonomy and Political Process: The South Korean Case*

Sun-Chul Kim, Columbia University

*Political Opportunities and Protest in Mexico's Neoliberal Reform Era*

Kelley D. Strawn, Willamette University

*Mixed Political Signals of Mass Protests and Struggling for Minimum Wage Legislation*

Chun Kit Ho, Chinese University of Hong Kong

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