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

—Continued on Page 2—
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

---

**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.
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 polyecephalous (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
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> or via e-mail <savio@sonic.net>.

Recent Publications


Recent Dissertations

Rooks, Daisy. 2007. Working for Change: Young Reformers in Labor Unions and Public Schools. Department of Sociology. UCLA.

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>. 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 <compsoe@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>. 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.
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

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

Joyce M. Bell, University of Georgia

We Are Not All Activists: The Development and Consequences of Identity in Social Movement Contexts
Catherine J. Corrigall-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

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
CriticalMass

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
Presider: 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
Michael Alexander McCarthy, New York University

Table 2: Politics and Labor Movements
Presider: Marc Dixon, Florida State University
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
Presider: 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
Ayjay Kumar P. Panicker, University of Miami
Shallow Roots: Transnational Environmental Civil Society in Northeast Asia
W. Chad Futrell, Cornell University

Table 4: Social Movement Institutionalization
Presider: 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
Presider: 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
JaeKyung Ha
Understanding Athletic Participation as Feminist Dissent
Alexa Yesukevich, Cornell University

Table 7: Movement Cultures
Presider: 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
Presider: 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
China’s Independence, Autonomy, and National Unity and Dignity: Revolutionary Movements of “Anti-Imperialism” and “Anti-Feudalism” in the Long 19th Century
Miin-wen Shih, West Chester University
Social Movement against the Social Insurance Medical Fee Revision for Rehabilitation Therapy in Japan
Miwako Hosoda, Columbia University, Mailman School of Public Health

Table 9: Cross-Movement Interactions
Presider: Amy Stone, Trinity University
Gay Rights and Special Rights at the Ballot Box: Tactical Interaction between Opposing Social Movements
Amy L. Stone, Trinity University
Peace and Justice: Learning From an Alliance to Stop a Hot Lab ‘Lulu’ In Boston’s South End
Thomas D. Beamish, University of California-Davis
The Italian Antiracist Movement Between Urban Protest, Advocacy and Service Delivery
Carlo Ruzza, University of Trento-Italy
The Anatomy of Collaboration: The Value of Membership in the Community Leadership Development Collaborative (CLDC)
Tamara Casso

Table 10: Coalitions and Coalition-Building
Presider: Jose Munoz, SUNY-Stony Brook
Coalition with Conservatives: Political Conditions of Local Movement Success
Koichi Hasegawa, Tohoku University
Conflict and Coalition Building in Mexico City: The Case of Sección Mexicana
Jose A. Munoz, SUNY-Stony Brook
Framing Faith: Explaining Cooperation and Conflict in the Conservative Christian Movement
Deana Rohlinger, Florida State University
Jill Quadagno, Florida State University
Social Movement Theory and Grassroots Coalitions in the Middle-East
Mario Diani, University of Trento

Table 11: The Role of Organizations in Movements
Presider: Matthew Archibald, Emory
Social Movements and Organizations: The Case of Environmental Education in Israel 1970-2005
Oren Pizmony-Levy, Indiana University
From Hull House to the State House: Gendered Organizations in Chicago’s Progressive Era Social Movements
Emily A. Bowman, Indiana University
Tracking Organizational Change in a Social Movement Field
Jeff A. Larson, University of Arizona
**Table 12: Feminist Movements**

Presider: Katherine Maich, University of California, Berkeley

*An Analytical Framework for Feminist Social Movements: Responsibilities, Consequences, and the Possibilities of a Politics of Humility*
Katherine Maich, University of California, Berkeley

*Mobilizing Gender at the Intersection: CODEPINK and Women's Peace Activism*
Cynthia Deitch, George Washington University

*Engendering Activism in Rural India: The Case of Panchayats & Self-help Groups*
Vani S Kulkarni, Harvard University

*Feminism, Sandinism and the Quest for Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights in Nicaragua*
Silke Gisela Heumann, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR) and University of Amsterdam

**Table 13: Corporate-Targeted Movements**

Social Movement and Corporate Environmental Behavior
Min-Dong Paul Lee, University of South Florida

*Subject to Negotiation: The Mechanisms Behind Co-optation and Corporate Reform*
Alexa Jan Trumpy, The Ohio State University

*The Dual Trajectories of Corporate Social Responsibility: Preliminary Evidence at the Cross-National Level*
Alwyn Lim, University of Michigan

**Table 14: Religion and Religious Movements**

Presider: Jean-Pierre Reed, University of Memphis

*Tattoos, Stage Diving, and God: The Christian Hardcore Music*
Thomas W. Brignall, Lewis University

*The Protestant Ethic or the Spirit of Catholicism?: Religious Competition and Democratization in Central America*
Stacy M. Keogh, University of Maryland

*Religious Dialogue in the Nicaraguan Revolution*
Jean-Pierre Reed, University of Memphis

*Feminist Activism in the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain*
Celia Valiente, Universidad Carlos III

**Table 15: Environmental Movements**

Presider: Jon Agnone, University of Washington

*Environmentalism, Consciousness & Schema-Blending: Understanding Activists in the Environmental Movement*
Nehal A. Patel, Northwestern University

*Greenwash: Contested Environmentalisms in Central America*
Lynn Horton, Chapman University

*Universalization of Environmental Movement in Korea*
Maria Hyun, Korea University

*The Dynamics of the Partnerships Between the Environmental Movement Organizations and Social Capital in the United States, 1970-1997*
Hyung Sam Park, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

**Table 16: Movement Music and Texts**

Presider: Judith Taylor, University of Toronto

*Mobilizing Texts in the Feminist and Environmental Movements*
Elizabeth Long, Rice University

Jeneve R. Brooks-Klinger, Fordham University

*Rich Sensitivities: An Analysis of Cruelty Among Women in Feminist Memoir*
Judith Karyn Taylor, University of Toronto

**Table 17: The Role of the Arts in Social Movements**

Presider: Alem Seghed Kebede, California State University-Bakersfield

*Arts Activism and Femicide in Juarez: Contested Claims*
Chelsea Starr, University of North Carolina Wilmington

*Belly Dance, Gender Identity, and Social Activism: Conceptualizing Free and Open Spaces*
Dennis J. Downey, California State University, Channel Islands

*Sandrine Zerbib, St Cloud State University

*Purpose of Art in Contemporary Protests*
Cristiana Olcese, University of Reading

*The Art Enzyme: A Grounded Theory Study of the Emerging South Texas Art Community*
Heaven Celeste Handley

**Table 18: Connections between Movements and Electoral Politics**

Presider: Victoria Carty, Chapman University

*Bridging Contentious and Electoral Politics: MoveOn and the Digital Revolution*
Victoria L. Carty, Chapman University

*Taking The Party Back: Strategic Choices by Insurgent Democrats*
Daraka Kenric Larimore, University of California Santa Barbara

*The Rural Sources of the Partido de la Revolución Democrática’s Electoral Resiliency*
Dolores Trevizo, Occidental College

*Fighting the Good Fight: An Overview of the Contemporary Anti-Fascist Countermovement*
Stanislav Vysotsky, Northeastern University
Table 19: Collective Identity

Gendering Collective Identity: A Case Study of Online Organizing Practices in the Pro-ED Community
Krista Whitehead, University of Toronto

Identity Competition and High-Risk Activism: Exiting Irish Republicanism
Robert W. White, Indiana University

The Boundary of Collective Identity: The Working-Class Identities in Chicago and Philadelphia at the Turn of the 20th Century
Jaesok Sonn, University of Chicago

Feminizing The Cedar Revolution
Rita Stephan, University of Texas at Austin

Table 20: Globalization and Transnational Mobilization

Presider: Pat Rafail, Penn State University

Global Framing Process since Rio and Vienna: A Comparison of the Korean Human Rights and Environmental Movements
Sukki Kong, Seoul National University

The New World Order: The American Patriot Movement, Globalization and Resistance
Lorna L. Mason, Brooklyn College

Transnational Tactical Diffusion and Political Unity: The Case of Transatlantic Abolitionism within the United States, 1831-1839
Cecelia Walsh-Russo, Columbia University

The Dilemma of Transnational Social Movements: A Japanese Experience in the Worldwide Anti-Iraqi War Protests
Emi Tamaki

Table 21: Mobilizing Resources

Presider: Matthew Baggetta, Harvard University

Explaining Volunteer Leader Time Commitment: Civic Resources, Personal Motivations, and Organizational Characteristics
Matthew G. Baggetta, Harvard University

Relational Organizing and the Dilemma of Participatory Democracy
Robert Kleidman, Cleveland State University

Challenges to Movement Building After Hurricane Katrina: Community Organizing and the Case of The People’s Hurricane Relief Fund
Rachel E. Luft, University of New Orleans

Rebuilding Resilience through Urban Social Movements in Post-Katrina New Orleans
Anna Livia Brand, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Becoming a Neighborhood Saver: Engaging the Community in Los Angeles
Pepper Glass, UCLA

Table 22: Movement Outcomes

Presider: Kendra Schiffman, Northwestern

Neoliberals and Liberationists: The American LGBTQ Social Movement as a Politicocultural Outcome
Jason Lee Crockett, University of Arizona

The Life Cycle of Land-based Social Movements: The Community Capitals Framework and Social Movement Research
Branden C. Hofstetd, Iowa State University

Public Opinion and Social Movements
Louis Kontos

Opposition to Gay Marriage: Examining the Role of Crime, Traditionalism, Self-Interest, and Altruism
Rory M. McVeigh, University of Notre Dame

Table 23: Community Organizing and Urban Movements

Relational Organizing and the Dilemma of Participatory Democracy
Robert Kleidman, Cleveland State University

Challenges to Movement Building After Hurricane Katrina: Community Organizing and the Case of The People’s Hurricane Relief Fund
Rachel E. Luft, University of New Orleans

Rebuilding Resilience through Urban Social Movements in Post-Katrina New Orleans
Anna Livia Brand, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Becoming a Neighborhood Saver: Engaging the Community in Los Angeles
Pepper Glass, UCLA

Table 24: Repertoires of Nonviolence

Presider: Michael C. Dreiling, University of Oregon

What Makes Nonviolence Work? Comparing Democracy Movements in East Germany and China
Sharon Erickson Nepstad, University of Southern Maine

Women and Nonviolent Protest: The Hunger Strike and Maternal versus Feminist Collective Action Frames
Stephen J. Scanlan, Ohio University

Have Repertoire, Will Travel: The Global Diffusion of Nonviolence in the Third Wave
Selina R Gallo-Cruz, Emory University
CUTTING-EDGE RESEARCH IN PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

FOUR ISSUES PER YEAR!

Mobilization has joined the ranks of the best specialty journals in the social sciences. It has done so with a simple formula: publish high quality manuscripts and edit them well. This is why Mobilization is so widely read across disciplines. Social movement scholars who publish in Mobilization can expect their work to reach a wide and diverse audience.”

John McCarthy, Pennsylvania State University

In our recent conference, I don't think there was a single paper that didn't reference a piece 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.

Kevin O'Brien, University of California Berkeley

To pay by check in US dollars, or by credit card send this form to Mobilization, Department of Sociology, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-4423. Or you can safely subscribe by e-mail directly to the publication office. Send your order to Hank.Johnston@sdsu.edu, using a credit card (Visa, MasterCard or Amex). Please supply card number, expiration date and mailing address. If you prefer, you may fax a credit card order using this form to 619 594 2835.

I enclose a check for $49.50 for a 2008 individual subscription to Mobilization, Volume 13, four issues (March, June, September, and December). For subscriptions outside the US please add $5.00 for airmail delivery. Library subscriptions are higher. Contact Mobilization's publication office for further information.

☐ Please charge my credit card (Visa, MasterCard, Amex) for $49.50, $54.50 outside US.

Credit Card # __________________________________________ Exp. Date ____________

Name (please print) __________________________________________

Signature ____________________________________________________________________________

Mail Copies to __________________________________________

_________________________________________________________ ZIP_______________

Email ____________________________________________________________________________