Collective Behavior & Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association

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Abstracts listed in alphabetical order. Contact the authors at the email address provided to obtain copies of full papers. Address any further queries to cbsm2007@hotmail.com

Jade Aguilar (University of Colorado Boulder**;** aguilamj@colorado.edu)
Intentional Communities and Social Change: How Communards are Rethinking Activism

Abstract: This ethnographic study examines how members of egalitarian intentional communities define and engage in social and political activism. Their reactions to traditional activist methods are examined as well as how they have redefined activist behaviors in their own lives. Many members of these communities chose communal living because of their experiences in the counter-cultural activist movements they participated in, particularly the environmental, peace, and animal rights movements. These members often found their experiences with those movements frustrating and ineffective; they did not produce the social change results that were expected and desired. These members left those organizations and joined intentional communities, reasoning that change from inside social structures is slow or impossible, whereas creating new social structures is more beneficial on a personal as well as at a societal level. This type of "lifestyle" activism is a different version than has been previously studied on middle-class Americans engaging in voluntary simplicity. Communal "lifestyle" activism permeates all aspects of their lives. This research also looks at historical research on communal groups of the 1960s and 70s and challenges how communal scholars have often labeled communitarians as being apolitical. Using in-depth interviews with 40 community members, their actions and beliefs are examined through the lens of new social movement theories. This study provides needed data on empirically neglected egalitarian intentional communities within the United States.

Jessica Ayou Oluwafumilayo Alabi (University of California)
Belinda Robnett (University of California, Irvine; brobnett@uci.edu)
African American Mobilization: Gender-Based Strategies of Organization

Abstract: Comparing the activities of African American women in two major 1950s-1960s civil rights movement organizations and two primary hip hop political movement organizations, this paper concludes that there is historical continuity in that African American mobilization rests on gender-based strategies of organization. Gender operates as a social institution (Lorber 1994; Martin 2004) that is constitutive of Black political organizations. While previous research addresses the role of African American women in black movements (i.e. Robnett 1996, 1997), and highlights the gendered nature of Black cultural repertoires (Robnett 2005), we show how organizational strategies to mobilize are intricately tied to gender norms. This has important implications not only for how movements are organized, but for how power dynamics between national and grassroots leaders are determined.

Eitan Y. Alimi (Hebrew University; alimien@012.net.il)
The Dialectic of Opportunities and Threats and Temporality of Contention: Evidence from the Occupied Territories

Abstract: Analysis of Palestinian contention in the years leading to the first Intifada illustrates how state action aimed at demobilizing challengers can have the opposite effect. The Palestinian construction of a shared perception of opportunities and threats (a process best thought of as a meaning-laden dialectic of opportunities and threats) can explain this inverse relation between repression and contention. Content analysis of the Palestinian print media suggests that the newspapers' coverage of events in Israel, reflecting deepening domestic Israeli divisions about the continuation of the occupation, framed perceptions of opportunities and threats in a way that called Palestinians to action. This analysis supports the idea that opportunities and threats are not objective features of a political environment, but are, instead, constructed by movement activists.

Kegan Allee (University of California, Santa Barbara;kegan_allee@animail.net)
Drag Kinging and the Creation of Cybernetworks

Abstract: This paper explores the role of internet technology in drag king communities. More specifically, my research answers the question of whether or not participation in cybernetworks facilitates the construction of a collective identity as a drag king.   I draw upon gender theories of performativity and the concept of doing gender to explore how gender identity is formed. I also rely on collective identity theory to explore the way in which performers come to identify as drag kings and queens. This research is based on twelve semi-structured phone interviews conducted with members of drag king list serves. Ultimately, my research suggests that some identities may be more performative than others, and that drag king collective identity is not constructed through participation in online networks.

Paul D. Almeida (Texas A&M University; almeida@tamu.edu)
Social Movement Partyism: Collective Action and Oppositional Political Parties

Abstract: This paper explores the coalition between oppositional political parties and social movements. I draw on evidence from recent trends in Latin American politics. Five cases are provided from Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Uruguay. The region's democratization combined with economic liberalization is merging the interests of anti-neoliberal movements with like-minded political parties. Oppositional political parties now take on a social movement form in order to combat the threats of the unwanted economic changes associated with neoliberal policy measures. The five country cases demonstrate the conditions under which the oppositional political party-social movement coalition effectively turns back the implementation of market-based reforms.

María José Alvarez (University of Pittsburgh; maa7@pitt.edu)
Contentious Urbanization from Below: Land Squatting in Montevideo, Uruguay.

Abstract: In the last two decades Latin America has seen the emergence of different protest strategies against the effects of globalization. Contrary to the more visible roadblocks, strikes or mass marches, the most significant response to the effects of globalization among the Uruguayan poor has been a silent urban revolution. Since the mid 1980s squatter settlements have increased dramatically in Montevideo. Today, about 10 % of the city population lives in the more than 400 informal neighborhoods. Besides the socio-economic structural factors underlying this urban crisis, it is my contention that the political dimension has also been relevant, yet overlooked. In this paper, which will constitute a chapter of my dissertation, I explore one of the political an organizational mechanisms that mediated between grievances and land seizures: clientelism. Based on the analysis of oral histories with early residents (leaders and non leaders) of more than 20 illegal neighborhoods, ethnographic notes and interviews with local politicians and brokers, I analyze how the presence (or absence) of clientelistic networks as well as their different types impacted differential patterns of settlement and mobilization trajectories.   My data questions the common opposition between clientelism and mobilization. I also introduce the concept of *syncretic clientelism* as one of the most common and successful strategies used by squatters to get the services they need through their political networks.

Sara Nuzhat Amin (McGill University; sara.amin@elf.mcgill.ca)
Contentious Muslim Identities in the Construction of a Canadian Muslim Polity

Abstract: This study explores the contests over meaning of 'being' and 'acting' Muslim in Canada. I look at the attempts by national political advocacy Muslim organizations in Canada to forge Muslim collectivities and claim representation of a Muslim polity. I ask, how and why do the collective answers by these organizations to the question of "Who are we Muslims?" emerge, diverge, converge, and change? I examine three organizations, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)-Canada, the Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) and the Muslim Canadian Congress, because they make claims to collective representation of the Muslim populations in Canada at a national scale. I use content analysis of the press releases and newsletters from 1998-2006 of each organization to delineate the substance and meaning of the Muslim identities being mobilized in the public sphere in Canada. I then use interviews of organizational leaders, observation of organizational conferences and strategic meetings, as well as contextual political analysis to understand what explains the variation within and between these organizations in the collective identity they voice over time. Grounded in the framing paradigm, this study takes into account its critiques by paying attention to both the strategic and the discursive dimensions of frame construction and collective identity formation. Moreover, in attempting to understand the contentious nature of collective identity mobilization *and* construction, it also pays attention to how cultural mechanisms and relations affect the attempts of organizational leaders and members to deploy a given set of stories of 'being and acting' Muslim in Canada. This research contributes to our understanding of the ways collective identities are emergent from not only strategic goals of collective action actors but also their ideational and ideological dimensions and the intra-organizational and extra-organizational contexts in which collective action takes place.

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"Same-Sex Marriage as a Social Movement Tactic"

Abstract: Social movement scholars working in a political process and contentious politics tradition have suggested that social movements are best understood not as groups or organizations but as clusters of interactive performances or protest events. Pushing beyond the historically accepted set of standard and limited forms of protest, scholars working from a cultural perspective have posed the question of what counts as "protest" to call attention to the significance of cultural rituals and performances in political contention.

In this paper, we address the question of when cultural performance is a form of protest and whether participation in cultural protest is related to other forms of social movement activism through an analysis of the 4037 same-sex weddings that took place on the steps of the San Francisco City Hall, but were later invalidated by the courts, over a four week period in winter 2004. The study uses a multi-method approach that relies on data obtained from a random sample of 515 individuals who took part in a same-sex wedding, semi-structured interviews with an additional 42 participants, and key informant interviews with social movement organizations and public officials. We argue that the cultural spectacle of same-sex weddings that took place in San Francisco in 2004, as well the mass same sex weddings that took place in other locations around the country, are best understood as a tactical repertoire of the gay and lesbian movement, first deployed as a collective action during the 1987 lesbian and gay march on Washington. We find that the **weddings were both political and personal acts,** that lesbian, gay, and pro-marriage organizations and activists played strategic roles in mobilizing the mass weddings, and that the couples who participated in the weddings **were linked to a variety of social movements**.

We use these data to propose a framework for defining social movement tactics based on three features: contestation, intentionality, and the construction of collective identity. Our research adds to the larger body of scholarship interested in understanding how cultural rituals, spectacles, commemorations, performances, and other forms of cultural expression can serve as tactics of political protest and mobilization.

Kenneth T. Andrews (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; kta@unc.edu)
Bob Edwards (East Carolina University)
Making the News: How Movement Organizations Shape the Public Agenda

Abstract: Increasingly, scholars have come to see the news media playing a crucial role shaping whether and, if so, how social movements are able to have broader societal impacts. By conferring attention to issues, claims, and their supporters, the news media has the ability to shape the public agenda thereby influencing public opinion and elites. Thus, news media may affect the cultural and political consequences of movements. If the potential impact of social movements is indirect and operates through the media, this raises a key question about the relationship between media and social movements: Why are some social movement organizations more successful than others at advancing their claims in the media? Does movement strategy matter alongside organizational resources, issue characteristics, organizational philosophy, professionalization, bureaucratization, and spatial proximity to news sources? And, if so, what strategic orientations enhance media attention? In this paper, we investigate the differential amount and content of media attention received by a representative sample of local movement organizations. We link two distinct datasets that we collected to examine questions about media coverage. We collected in-depth, structured surveys with 187 local environmental organizations in North Carolina in 2002. The surveys provide detailed information about the activities, issues, leadership, structure, resources, and strategies of each organization. Second, we conducted comprehensive media searches for ten major daily newspapers in the state identifying and coding every article that referred to one of the 187 organizations that completed our survey in the two years following the survey; our media dataset includes 1,892 news stories mentioning an organization along with another 2,846 mentions in editorials, letters to the editor, announcements, and other news items. Thus, we are able to assess the strategies and organizational characteristics that increase the likelihood of generating extensive attention in the news.

Stephen Armet (University of Notre Dame; sarmet@nd.edu)
Yes, The Subaltern Can Speak! Everyday Resistance of the Urban Poor in Latin America.

Abstract: Conventional sociological research reflects methodological distance in relation to the subaltern's resistance to hegemonic neo-liberal culture resulting from global capitalism. Using participant observation methodology,   this paper investigates strategies of the urban poor in one of Latin America's largest slum to show that subaltern subjects are capable of formulating a coherent and integrated response to the harsh realities precipitated by neo-liberalism that not only allows them to survive, but enables them to engage in micro-politics of resistance. Central to this investigation are the everyday practices and social constructs of the urban poor that serve as alternative frameworks of meaning. I argue that self-help housing, the informal economy and Pentecostal religion are inextricably bound by providing marginalized people a rational and symbolic response to hegemonic culture and provide a pathway to express politics of need.

Gretchen Arnold (St. Louis University; arnoldgw@slu.edu)
The Ties that Emancipate: Network Growth and Dynamics in the Battered Women's Movement"

Abstract: My research shows important ways in which the battered women's movement in St. Louis has matured over the past seventeen years. I conducted research on this local branch of the movement from 1988-1990 and again in 2006. Contrary to movements that begin with relative unity and then break apart, this one has had the opposite trajectory: tensions between individual activists and organizations have decreased over time. Factors that led to greater unity include decreases in competition over funding and "turf" issues and more focus on collective problem-solving rather than ideological differences. These changes occurred partly as a result of the growth of formal and informal networks among movement activists, which have served both as conduits for sharing information and as mechanisms for planning and coordinating action. At the same time, movement activists have developed often-robust networks with political, legal, and economic entities, which have made it possible for movement activists to exert much greater influence over public policy at the local, state, and national level than ever before.

Mikaila Mariel Lemonik Arthur (New York University; Mikaila.Arthur@nyu.edu)
Transforming the Tower: Faculty-Student Activist Coalitions and the Creation of Curricular Change

Abstract: Standard models of curriculum change in higher education institutions propose that new curricular programs are implemented by administrators and faculty working through the norms of shared governance. In these models, actors with institutional power over the curriculum create change based on market pressures, neoinstitutional pressures towards conformity, or faculty members' own interests. This paper draws on a study of the emergence of programs in women's, Asian American, and queer studies, which uses six case studies of individual higher education institutions to find that students and faculty members work together, largely outside the norms of shared governance, to advocate for the adoption of programs that are often antithetical to institutional goals. By looking at faculty's and students' dual positions as both insiders and outsiders in higher education institutions and the distinct sets of strengths and vulnerabilities that each group brings to the table, this paper theorizes that curricular change examined here comes about when students and faculty build activist coalitions that are organized to maximize their strengths and minimize their liabilities. Starting from the propositions of political mediation theory that movement impacts occur when strategy, movement organization, and political context are matched, this paper suggests that student-faculty coalitions are able to create programs when they understand the specific context of their institution as it relates to their goals and when they use this understanding to develop coalitions and make strategic choices that fit that context. The paper proposes a model for understanding insurgency-based change inside institutions based on the findings of this study.

Anna-Liisa Aunio (McGill University; aaunio@po-box.mcgill.ca)
Mobilizing the Generation Gap: Collective Identity and Insider/Outsider Strategy in the Climate Action Network

Abstract: This paper examines the emergence of generational identities among environmental activists at two successive Climate Change Conferences to argue for a strategic approach to collective identity and insider/outsider dynamics in transnational contention. Recent work on transnational contention emphasizes the important roles that insiders and outsiders play in the emergence and growth of transnational coalitions. Most often, however, these studies consider insiders and outsiders as a function of organizational affiliation, location, or tactical repertoire. In this case, activists deliberately developed insider and outsider roles and employed their generational identity strategically to mobilize support and influence the negotiations. 'Old guard' activists took up the role of institutional insiders by lobbying officials, drafting position papers, and meeting with governmental delegations as expert 'climate negotiators'. By contrast, 'new guard' youth took up the role of outsiders by coordinating contentious activities based on their position as the most 'at-risk' to experience the effects of climate change. In this regard, climate activists mobilized the 'generation gap' within their ranks to create and employ new identities for strategic purposes. Insider/outsider dynamics emerged as a strategy for environmental activists to participate in both institutional and extra-institutional realms. As such, this study has implications for scholars interested in the relationship between institutional and extra-institutional tactics, strategy, and collective identity, particularly in transnational spaces.

Anna-Liisa Aunio (McGill University; aaunio@po-box.mcgill.ca)
Kathleen Fallon (McGill University; Kathleen.fallon@mcgill.ca)
The Domestic Terrain within Transnational Activism: Ghana and the "Marital Rape" Clause

Abstract: In this paper, we use the case study of Ghana to argue that examining the domestic terrain is central to larger transnational organization or contention. Specifically, we explore how cultural framing reshapes both national and transnational movements. Current analyses of transnational activism or organization constitute the domestic terrain or culture only as extensions of larger transnational movements. In this case, however, feminist activists in Ghana initiated a campaign to enact domestic violence legislation in the context of a transnational campaign to end violence against women. In response, the government ultimately framed the issue as a form of cultural imperialism and, as a result, restricted the activists to domestic coalitions and domestic frames. Ultimately, this transformed the national movement and increased the support for the transnational movement by strengthening domestic ties and activists' resolve.

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Strategizing as Coordinating Relations: Regrounding the Study of Strategy in Social Movements in Cultural-Historical Cognitive Theory

Abstract: This paper proposes a non-individualist framework for understanding strategy in social movements. We draw on Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), a school of developmental and cognitive psychology whose foundations were laid by L.S. Vygotsky. For CHAT theorists, *activity*, that is, goal- or object-oriented work, is the fundamental building block of consciousness and cognition. Actions can be individual, but *activity* is always social and distributed within an "activity system" structured by acting subjects (including collective subjects), artifacts they appropriate as tools (including, importantly, language and ways of acting), and communities, with their divisions of labor and rules (both formal and informal). These systems often contain "contradictions" or inconsistencies that impede the realization of the object. Subjects learn as they adapt their actions and application of tools in ways to overcome these contradictions.
We argue three related points in this paper: First, cognition is under-theorized in social movement theory, and this leads to confusion regarding a range of issues, both organizational and cultural, in the analysis of social movements. Second, CHAT is well suited to already existing "relational" and "dialogic" strands of theory about cultural dynamics in social movements. Third, *strategizing* is the attempt to coordinate activity through and among particular, historically constituted relational settings. Attempts at coordination are perforce a learning activity that involves the overcoming of proximate contradictions, and, in the case of movements, often involves creating distal ones. With references to examples of well-known movements, we argue that this learning is best understood as manifest on a collective level.

Lydia Bean (Harvard University; bean@fas.harvard.edu)
Baptizing Drug Dealers as Citizens: Collective Identity and the Emergence of the Tulia Drug Sting Scandal

Abstract: This paper aims to account for a surprising outcome: a national scandal over a racially-targeted drug sting in Tulia, Texas, that enabled progressive criminal justice reforms in this "Tough on Crime" state. The received explanation is that Tulia drug sting created a scandal because of its especially dramatic characteristics: its glaring procedural irregularities, its reliance on uncorroborated police testimony, and its disproportionate impact on black people. But why did this particular drug sting create an opening for progressive reforms, when drug stings routinely exhibited these characteristics in Texas in the 1990s? In this paper, I argue that a sustained public scandal over the Tulia drug sting was made possible because a social movement emerged in Tulia, called Friends of Justice, that drew on a religious identity to develop a new tactical repertoire. Friends of Justice was able to create a scandal out of routine criminal justice practices because they practiced moral entrepreneurship that enhanced the status of the drug sting defendants. Friends of Justice represented themselves as an interracial, faith-based community of drug sting defendants and local allies who drew on Biblical authority to oppose the sting and its social consequences. This enhanced status allowed the drug sting defendants to recruit allies in civil society and the media who were unprepared to risk their reputations to defend "drug dealers." My theoretical contribution is to show how the performance of collective identity can work causally to change power relationships in the public sphere, and not just to build commitment among activists or mobilize resources. I also discuss how the distinctively religious identity of Friends of Justice inspired strategic innovation.

Mary Bernstein (University of Connecticut; mary.Bernstein@uconn.edu)
Marcella De la Cruz (marcie.delacruz@gmail.com)
"The Hapa Movement: Understanding Identity as a Social Movement Goal."

Abstract: Activists often deploy their identities in order to gain acceptance for a hitherto stigmatized identity or to deconstruct categories of identities such as "man," "woman," "gay," or "straight." Yet few scholars have actually analyzed identity as a goal of social movements. In this paper, we argue that the goals of the Hapa movement are to *simultaneously* deconstruct traditional notions of (mono)racial identities and to secure recognition for a multiracial, "Hapa" identity. We argue that in order to understand the Hapa movement and identity as a goal, scholars must abandon traditional social movement assumptions that power is centered in the state, rooted in the political and economic structures of societies. Instead, we argue that domination is organized around multiple sources of power, each of which is simultaneously material and symbolic. Following Foucault, we argue that this power is often located in everyday discursive interactions. Cultural ways of "doing business" create these categories and position some groups as normal in contrast to deviant others. The existence of the categories themselves, in part, creates the foundation for inequality and discrimination. Therefore movements such as the Hapa movement that have identity as a goal, are motivated by activists' understandings of how categories are constituted and how those categories, codes, and ways of thinking serve as axes of regulation and domination. Based on participant observation, analysis of Hapa conferences and websites, and other movement documents, we provide a theoretical framework or understanding identity as a goal of social movements.

Hilton Bertalan (York University; Hilton@resist.ca)
Last night I kissed a riot cop: Lessons from Emma Goldman on Social Change

Abstract: *"Last night I kissed a riot cop; or I would have, if I could've gotten through the 20 foot wall, concrete barriers, past rubber bullet guns, tear gas fumes, pepper spray, plastic shields, water canons, masks, horses, pistols, fists. But I did blow him a kiss and he felt it. I saw him flinch in recognition"* (Starhawk).

"At first I thought you, the anarchists, were a little strange […] but now that we've worked together, I haven't bathed in a week" (Wagee – Palestinian activist).

These anecdotes can be read as constitutive of the way many contemporary social movements relate to state and corporate authority. The kiss blown from Starhawk can be read as both a gesture of love and compassion toward an agent of oppression and as a final goodbye to the centralized and hierarchical forms of social organization that gave birth to this agent. Wagee's rather humorous remark signifies potentials that emerge after saying goodbye to identity politics and hegemonic fictions, that is, forms of solidarity that can be erected to bridge disparate struggles and seemingly unbridgeable differences. This paper contributes to our understanding of contemporary radical social movements by suggesting that these seemingly 'new' notions of social change and organization resonate with the work of the anarchist-feminist Emma Goldman (1986-1940). I first argue that the discourse in which identities and perspectives are affirmed as non-universalizing, flexible, mobile, and constantly drifting is often associated with poststructuralist thought, yet it can, in fact, be located in radical spaces, voices, and texts often considered out of reach to the theoretical abstractions of poststructuralist thought. My basic argument is that Goldman helps those of us studying social movements understand contemporary forms of activism that do not fit the traditional paradigm. That is, looking back to Goldman can help us make sense of social movements that do not seek state power nor limit their activities and desires to influencing the state. Finally, I will conclude with some reflections on Goldman's affinity for New York and it's role in her political-theoretical development – that perhaps New York is somehow marked with an anti-normative spirit of ongoing transformation and interconnectivity.

Douglas Bevington (University of California, Santa Cruz; dougbev@ucsc.edu)
Radical Movement Cultures and Strategies in the U.S. Environmental Movement

Abstract: The radical environmental organization Earth First! has received most notoriety for its use of illegal tactics such as tree-spiking and other forms of sabotage of industrial machinery. However, my research on the dynamics of the U.S. environmental movement over the past two decades indicates that Earth First! had a more significant influence on the larger movement through its movement culture and resulting strategy rather than its more well-known tactics. In the 1980s, Earth First! offered a dynamic movement culture defined through direct participation and shared music, art, and philosophy that stood in marked contrast to mainstream professional environmental organizations (such as the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club) with detached "checkbook members" maintained through direct mail. The movement culture of Earth First! provided a "free space" for the growth and spread of a critique of the strategy of the mainstream organizations. Instead, there emerged a shared "outsider" strategy that did not privilege conventional forms of political influence. By the 1990s, shifting political and economic opportunities allowed for the proliferation of new organizations led by people who had participated in Earth First!'s movement culture. Their shared outsider strategy opened up new tactical options that could be more confrontational and controversial than the tactics of mainstream organizations. The success of these tactics and organizations has led to a broader radicalization of the environmental movement in the past two decades.

Kraig Beyelein (University of Arizona; kbeyerle@email.arizona.edu)
Fighting for Migrants: U.S.-Mexico Border Activism

Abstract: Issues surrounding the U.S.-Mexico border are highly contentious, generating much public and scholarly debate. Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data analyses, this paper explicates the dynamics of activist participation to fight for and help migrants trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border among people in a Southwest city close to the border. Specifically, this paper answers two important theoretical questions. First, what explains why certain people engage in any efforts to help crossing migrants? Second, what distinguishes individuals who participate in low-risk/cost border activism (e.g., providing water or medical care to crossing migrants) from those who participate in high-risk/cost border activism (e.g., protesting for more humane border policies, documenting abuses by authorities, or confronting vigilantes)? To explain these questions of differential participation, this paper focuses on a diverse set of factors, such as anger, sorrow, compassion, and other emotions, dispositions to care for those in need (e.g., parental emphasis on benevolence while growing up), helping motivations, including altruism, humanitarianism, and a concern for human rights, embeddedness in activist communities, support from local group leaders and significant others to get involved, perceptions of who is to blame for migrants' suffering, conceptions of race and citizenship, and religious commitments and beliefs. Different pathways to border activism are observed, emphasizing the significance of multiple mechanisms of mobilization to fight for migrants rather than just one. This paper contributes to the broader debate in the social movement literature on what accounts for individual variation in social activism and does so for a case of national and international import.

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Using Publicity in Movement Building: It's Like a Bread Slicer

Abstract: Domestic violence activists avoid publicity to protect victims. Yet, we seek publicity to transform social institutions and to influence public attitudes. Drawing on a decade of communication practice, we introduce the media caucus as a method that helps social movement organizations seek publicity while strengthening movement ability to talk politics. Using the caucus, we apply our general world view to specific situations and media-movement interactions. "It's like a bread slicer," explains one participant. "After you've seen it work, you wonder, 'How did we do this before?'"

Sensationalized stories treating domestic violence murders as unpredictable, private family tragedies obscure the causes of domestic violence and slow change efforts. [Meyers; Pagelow] To challenge such coverage, we took several steps:
1. We created a media caucus to pre-frame messages collectively prior to talking to reporters. Additionally,
2. We analyzed existing news coverage systematically to prepare counter-frames.
3. We interviewed reporters to understand their taken-for-granted assumptions.
4. We reflected critically on our performance after each news engagement.
5. We created a collective memory so that our learning from reflection accrued.

Our approach parallels that of global south activists [Riaño] who treat communications as movement building in the media arena.

After systematizing our work, we transformed news coverage of domestic violence murders in Rhode Island. [Ryan and Gamson; Ryan, Anastario and Jeffreys]. The National Network to End Domestic Violence is adapting these approaches for other states. We can demonstrate the media caucus and/or present qualitative and quantitative findings documenting shifts in media coverage.

Clifford Bob (Duquesne University; bob@duq.edu)
Publicizing Human Rights Violations: From Indifference to Activism

Abstract: Why do the international media, transnational NGOs, and global audiences take an intense interest in a few local human rights problems, while remaining indifferent to many others? Why, for instance, did Mexico's Zapatista movement capture attention and galvanize significant transnational mobilization beginning in 1994, when numerous other recent conflicts in Mexico, Latin America, and elsewhere have not? Structural features of the international system ease or impede responses to particular violations, but the publicity strategies of human rights movements also play a major role in explaining the variation. This paper analyzes the concept of "indifference" and examines factors contributing to movements' ability to overcome it. The paper probes the utility of these factors by analyzing international responses to low-level human rights violations in rural Mexico. The paper suggests that scholars should pay closer attention to the agency of victims, particularly the ways in which they publicize their causes by projecting and framing them for the international media and international audiences generally.

Marije E. Boekkooi (VU University, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; ME.Boekkooi@fsw.vu.nl)
Negotiating mobilization campaigns

Abstract: Nowadays, mobilization campaigns are typically planned and put into effect by alliances of social movement groups. By definition, this means that the different groups need to cooperate, and negotiate to reach agreement on the content of their campaign and action. This is no straightforward task. The negotiation-process itself is often subject of strong controversies, and has even led to splits within movements. In this paper I will explore this negotiation-process.

Studies show that the negotiation-process and its outcomes are influenced by the negotiation-styles of the involved individuals. These styles, in their turn, depend on the culture of the group to which the individuals belong, whether or not these individuals are held accountable by their group, and on the type of issue they negotiate. Other factors that impact on the negotiation process are affect, emotion, and status and power.
　　　　But these studies have mainly taken place in experimental settings, and focused on dyads and business-negotiations. I suggest that these theories can also help to make sense of the dynamics of negotiations in coalitions of social movement groups. My aim is therefore to import negotiation-theory into the study of mobilization processes, hoping to fill this hiatus in the literature.

I will analyze the negotiation-process of the Dutch organizers of the global anti-war demonstration of February 2003, which I studied through in-depth interviews. Subsequently I will discuss how negotiation-theory can be applied in future research on decision-making in coalitions of social movement groups.

Elizabeth Borland (The College of New Jersey; Borland@tcnj.edu)
Feminist and Non-Feminist Framing in Argentina

Abstract: In the wave of protest that seized Argentina in late December 2001, women's participation stood out. Argentine women were involved in social movement activity on all fronts, including neighborhood assemblies, *empresas recuperadas* (failing businesses taken over by workers), *piquetes* (street barricades), and many other forms of protest that were common in 2002 and 2003. During economic crises, claims about gender can be seen as "luxury" types of demands. Yet, women activists justified gender-based collective action to demand that their voices be heard in broader wave of protest.

My work has examined the collective action frames used by women activists as they made gendered claims and explained their activism during 2002. Drawing on qualitative data on women's social movement organizations that participated in the protest, I find that activists who embraced traditional gender roles justified their presence in activism as an extension of motherhood. In contrast, feminist activists linked their specific claims to the "master frames" that were part of the symbolic atmosphere of protest. Studying the way that women insert gendered demands into broader protest can refine our understanding of when and how movement actors draw on master frames and help us to see the role of women's movements in political and social transformation.

Jennifer Bridges (University of Arizona; jbridges@u.arizona.edu)
Mothers and Soldiers: Gender as a Strategic Resource in Social Movements

Abstract: In this paper I examine gender as a cultural tool through which movements seek to establish cultural legitimacy to be heard on an issue. Specifically, the paper examines anti- and pro-war activist organizations and the ways in which diverse cultural conceptions of "masculinity" and "femininity" are drawn on by various organizations on both sides. I examine not only the ways in which organizations themselves strategically use gender to establish authority but also the ways in which counter movements draw on gendered logics and make gendered attributions in attempts to delegitimize their opponents. Data are drawn from content analysis of organizational literature as well as interviews with members of activist organizations.

Tricia C. Bruce (Georgetown University; triciabruce@comcast.net)
The Salience of Culture in Internal Religious Movements

Abstract: A cultural turn in social movement scholarship has invited closer consideration of the religion's relevance in social movements. The culture of social movements operating *within* religious institutional contexts poses unique considerations, given its competing emergence as identity, authority, and institution. Religion operates in multiple and complex ways within movements: power commitments are justified theologically, movement actors appropriate religious resources, and religious identities are contested.

This paper examines the salience of culture in the identity negotiations and strategy selection of "Voice of the Faithful," a movement of Catholics that emerged in light of revelations of abuse among Catholic clergy. The movement culture of Voice of the Faithful was marked by its competing desire to remain Catholic and be seen as legitimately Catholic while demanding structural change within the institutional Catholic Church. News of clergy abuse spawned demands for increased accountability, renewed structures of authority, and growth in participatory structures. Voice of the Faithful's collective identity reflected a dueling Catholic culture: both a product of its institutional environment and a re-appropriation of the cultural toolkit proffered by the Church. The religious culture of the movement, in effect, both constrained and enabled movement actors in collective identity and strategy selection.

This work extends the organizational lens keenly applied to movements by scholars including Suzanne Staggenborg[1] and Nicole Raeburn.[1] While institutional frameworks are partially explanatory in movements' tactical choices, this research emphasizes the necessary examination of culture in bounding and enabling social movement strategy and identity. Culture's relevance is of particular import and intensity for internal religious social movements, where movement actors compete for legitimacy and religion intervenes in claims of authority.

Robert J. Brulle (Drexel University)
Robert D. Benford (Southern Illinois University Carbondale; rbenford@siu.edu)
From Game Protection to Wildlife Management: Frame Shifts and Organizational Development

Abstract: In this paper we seek to expand understanding, empirically and conceptually, of the development and change within the environmental movement by analyzing the construction of different discursive frames over time and how these frame shifts yielded transformations in movement structures, goals, and practices. Through a close qualitative and historical analysis of a discursive shift within the hunting community of the U.S. in the 1930s from a focus on strictly "game protection" to a more expanded discursive frame of "wildlife management," we show how this cultural shift led to major changes in the organizational structure, advocacy goals, and strategies and tactics of this wing of the environmental movement. By focusing on the dialectical interplay between the movement community's discursive frame and its practices, we seek to expand extant understanding of the process of growth and change within social movements. We conclude with a discussion of how such social movement dynamics can be further studied.

Mary C. Burke (University of Connecticut; mary.burke@uconn.edu)
"We're Here, We're (Not) Queer: Framing the Same-Sex Marriage Debate In and Outside of the GLBTQ Community"

Abstract: While GLBTQ activists have long debated the place and importance of marriage in the movement, whether or not queer critiques of marriage are addressed outside the community is less certain. In order to explore how queer activists and queer critiques of marriage are (or are not) "written" into the debate, I compare coverage in two Vermont newspapers, a mainstream daily (*The Burlington Free Press*) and a GLBTQ monthly (*Out In The Mountains*), during the seven year period surrounding the passage of civil union in the state. I find that while queer critiques of marriage received relatively little attention in both publications, same-sex marriage advocates engaged with queer critiques far more frequently in *Out In The Mountains* (*OITM*) than in *The Burlington Free Press* (*BFP*). I suggest that this is due to differences in the types of actors granted standing and the frames most prominently featured in each forum. In *OITM*, pro-marriage equality arguments and speakers were far more normative than in *BFP*. Therefore, advocates of same-sex marriage were freer to acknowledge and discuss the place and importance of queer critiques of marriage in *OITM*. In *BFP,* where opponents of both same-sex marriage and GLBTQ rights received higher standing, same-sex marriage advocates were more engaged with and more concerned about combating countermovement claims, and thus tended to downplay queer critiques in order to present a unified GLBTQ position. After discussing differences between the two forums, I then address how changes in the legal and political landscape shaped GLBTQ activists' decreased willingness overtime to engage with queer critiques of marriage even in intra-community forums such as *OITM*. By illustrating the circumstances under which actors choose whether or not to incorporate critically reflective discussions and acknowledge internal debates in their talk about the movement, this study contributes to the scholarship on how movement actors develop and deploy collective interests, identities, and discursive strategies.

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Dynamic Movements, Shifting Discourses: Extending the Discursive Opportunity Structure Concept

Abstract: This paper will examine the potential that the theory of discursive opportunity structure (Ferree) presents to the field of social movement studies. The theoretical paradigm of framing has encountered some significant challenges in recent years from scholars who suggest limitations on its ability to explain interactive social processes of "meaning-making", providing concepts like discourse (Steinberg) and ideology (Oliver and Johnston) to add depth to our understanding of how frames work in a dynamic societal context. We investigate the contributions of the discursive opportunity structure concept to this discussion, exploring its theoretical usefulness by applying it to the development of minority civil rights movements in the 1960s (Civil Rights Movement, Farm Worker's Movement, Chicano Movement, Red Power Movement) as well as more contemporary movements around gentrification, international globalization, and environmental justice. Through a systematic analysis of how these movements conceptualize their grievances, activate a common identity, propose policy change, and demand governmental action, we will illustrate that movements adapt to their constantly shifting discursive opportunity structures, altering their frames in response to the political context of the hegemonic belief systems that shape their framing environment. While analytical and methodological issues about framing persist, it remains a vital tool for understanding movements' tactical strategies as well as movement outcomes.

Sean Chabot (Eastern Washington University; RSTAUDINCHABOT@peoplepc.com)
Anti-War Strategies: From Pragmatic and Reformist
 Nonviolence to a Political Culture of Oppositional Love

Abstract: According to criteria developed by Robert Burrowes (1996), the US anti-war movement's current strategies are based on *pragmatic and reformist nonviolence*. Guided by this strategic approach, leaders of the United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ) coalition, for example, point to recent shifts in public opinion, social norms, Congress, and political momentum as evidence of effectiveness. I suggest that these measures of success are limited and deceptive. To transform a society and world characterized by "war without end," we need to develop a *political culture of oppositional love* that avoids the pitfalls of conventional politics, looks beyond numbers, and seeks more than symbolic victories.
To show that today's US anti-war movement relies on a pragmatic and reformist view of nonviolence, I first focus on the strategy developed by Tom Hayden, one of UFPJ's leading voices. Next, I introduce the concept of oppositional love and discuss its relevance for studying contentious politics. Then, I outline my own anti-war strategy, highlighting the significance of a political culture of oppositional love, and illustrate it with examples from the landless workers movement in Brazil (MST). Although MST participants do not deny the importance of elections and government policies, they focus primarily on personal and social transformation, both in material conditions and human relationships. I conclude with thoughts on what US anti-war activists can learn from the MST in efforts to develop and apply their own political culture of oppositional love.

Susan Chambre (Baruch College, City University of New York;
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Mobilizing the AIDS Community: Fighting Disease, Saving Lives and the Politics of Disease

Abstract: Beginning in the early part of the nineteen eighties, people infected with HIV and their friends, families and allies, developed a culture that had two important functions: it mobilized individuals to 'fight' the disease to try to save their lives; and it led to the creation of a network of social movement organizations that utilized a powerful rhetoric to influence a variety of social institutions. This paper is based on over fifteen years of ethnographic and archival research detailed in *Fighting for Our Lives: New York's AIDS Community and the Politics of Disease*. It suggests that the culture of the AIDS community illustrates an important phenomenon in American life. Disease-related health organizations play a central role in influencing health policy in the U.S. These organizations develop a culture and a rhetoric that mobilize individuals and influence collective action in important ways that have shaped health policy in ways that scholars are just beginning to explore in detail.

The AIDS culture synthesized ideas about individual and communal empowerment from the women's health movement and critiques of the U.S. health care system urging people to take charge of their own lives by obtaining information, carefully selecting health care providers, questioning and challenging doctors, and pursuing a broad array of health regimens and medications including active participation in clinical trials, which were reframed as 'treatment,' accelerating the drug approval process and to widespread noncompliance and even cheating in clinical trials.

At the same time, the AIDS community employed a powerful rhetoric: the idea that financial support for research and the commitment of public officials had the power to 'save lives.' Demonstrations mounted by ACT UP charged that public officials and scientists had 'blood on their hands' and were 'murderers,' imagery that was initially effective in mobilizing collective action and influencing opinion but, over time, ceased having an impact.

Paul Y. Chang (Stanford University; pychang@stanford.edu)
Unintended Consequences of Repression: Alliance Formation in South Korea's Democracy Movement (1970-1979)

Abstract: Scholars have identified repression as a key factor influencing the development of social movements. However, research on the impact of repression on movement vitality, as measured by overall protest event count, has yielded conflicting findings; some argue that repression decreases the number of protest events while others argue that it motivates protest. To move beyond this impasse, various scholars have suggested disaggregating social movements and exploring how repression influences specific components of a movement. Drawing upon the inter-group processes literature, this study assesses the impact repression has on alliance formation between different social groups participating in South Korea's democracy movement. Utilizing the novel Korea Democracy Project dataset, I argue that that the closing of the political opportunity structure, with the passing of repressive laws, facilitated alliances between movement actors. In addition, the state's increasing efficiency in policing protest motivated protestors to learn about, and stand in solidarity with, different social groups participating in the democracy movement. Results from negative binomial regression analyses show that even as repression decreased the overall count of protest events, it still had unintended consequences including the formation of alliances between various social movement actors. This study contributes to the literature on coercion and mobilization by pointing to the possibility of movement development during low levels of a protest cycle.

Elizabeth Cherry (University of Georgia; lcherry@uga.edu)
Movement Cultures as Social Structures: Agency through Tactical and Strategic Choices in the Animal Rights Movements in France and the United States

Abstract: Most social movement scholars attribute activists' choices of strategies and tactics to rational decisions based on personal preferences, past experiences, or opponents' abilities to sanction. But these explanations cannot account for instances when activists knowingly choose strategies and tactics that do not seem to offer the likeliest chance of success. What can account for these seemingly irrational choices—why would activists purposefully avoid likely successful strategies and tactics? I address this question through a comparative study of the animal rights movements in France and the United States, based on interviews and participant observation with activists in both countries. Activists in the U.S. exhibit more tactical pragmatism than French activists, who engage in "tactical stubbornness"—sometimes refusing tactics and strategies that have proven successful for others. I argue that these choices are not irrational, and surprisingly are not based on cultural or structural constraints external to the movement. Instead, they are indicative of the constraints placed on activists by the cultural structures within the animal rights movement itself. This meso-level analysis adds a new level to studies of tactical choices, and also provides a comparative perspective to an empirical case of cultural structures and agency.

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Social movements as campaigns to define when state coercion is morally necessary

Abstract: Directing the state's coercive powers toward specific purposes (and away from others) is a central aim of social movements. Whether a movement represents the state as a bulwark against social disorder, a capitalist tool, or an organization dwindling in the face of globalization, movement ideals and actions express theories and expectations about the proper use of state coercion. Studies of social movement strategy should analyze expectations about state coercion because they drive many of the choices social movements participants make, from targets to tactics. To demonstrate the value of this approach, we analyze a split in the environmental movement in New Jersey between insider activists and less politically connected environmental groups. This split emerged because social movement organizations (SMOs) promoted different models for state coercion, in the form of water quality regulations and watershed management. Even within conventional politics, small differences in expectations about state coercion may lead SMOs toward very different strategic choices.

Elizabeth A. Chiarello (University of California, Irvine; echiarel@uci.edu)
Who Invited the Pharmacist?: How Social Movements Affect Law and Professional Policy

Abstract: I use a mixed methods design involving semi-structured interviews with variously situated actors (activists and pharmacy professionals), board meeting transcriptions and internal and public documents as well as non-participant observation at board of pharmacy meetings. I apply McAdam and Scott's (2005) combined framework of social movement theory and organizational theory to identify key actors, institutional logics, and the social environment surrounding the professional field of pharmacy.

Preliminary findings indicate that change is both endogenous and exogenous to the field. Movements target organizations indirectly by initiating law and public policy (Zald, Morrill and Rao 2005) and directly by acting within organizations to prompt social change (Zald and Berger 1978). Both strategies appear in the Washington case. Abortion rights groups such and Planned Parenthood and the Northwest Women's Law Center have worked closely with the governor to construct policies that would limit pharmacists' rights of refusal. Within the field, members of the Washington State Pharmacists' Association have worked with anti-abortion groups to fight for the right of refusal. Alliances between movements and professionals occur when they share similar institutional logics. In this case, both anti-abortion groups and pharmacists insist that pharmacists are professionals who should have the right to refuse to fill prescriptions. However, they arrive at this conclusion by different means: pharmacists assert their professional competence and autonomy while pro-lifers promote conscience-based decisions in the workplace. In fact, this alignment is strong enough that anti-abortion groups play a very small role in the controversy in Washington. Instead, field-level actors including members of the board of pharmacy and the Washington State Pharmacists' Association confront abortion rights groups backed by the governor. The mechanisms of change primarily occur outside the public arena in private meetings containing a few key actors. Board meetings serve as venues where decisions are presented rather than discursive spaces where decisions are made.

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"Social Networks and Social Movement Framing."

Abstract: This paper examines the potential linkages between two perspectives in the social movements literature: framing (Snow et al. 1986, Snow and Benford 1988, Gamson 1992) and social networks (Diani and McAdam 2003). These are two prominent perspectives in the social movements literature (della Porta and Diani 1999). Somewhat surprisingly, however, there has been practically no systematic theoretical or empirical work linking these two perspectives (two limited exceptions are Klandermans 1992, Carroll and Ratner 1996). Framing refers to the process of linking individual and SMO (social movement organization) interpretations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideologies are congruent and complementary" (Snow et al.1986: 464). Network analysis examines patterns of relationships amongst actors, and the consequences of these relationships for other phenomena (e.g. communication, exchange, attitude formation).

This paper uses data from a communication network of environmentalists in British Columbia, and connects their structural location to the frequency by which they are cited in newsprint media with regard to particular frames (about forest conservation, environmental protest, and related issues). More specifically, we examine the association between six distinct measures of network centrality, and the presence of abstract social movement frames. Bivariate correlations between the six centrality measures and the framing measure range from $r = .94$ to $r = .58$, and all correlations have probability values of $p. < .001$. These correlations remain substantial and significant after controls are added in multivariate analyses. We discuss theoretical implications of this research, as well as practical implications for environmentalists.

Jennifer N. Costanza (Brown University; Jennifer_Costanza@brown.edu)
Framing the Indigenous: Competing Discourses within the Guatemalan Indigenous Rights Movement

Abstract: The past fifteen years have marked an explosion of indigenous activism in Latin America. With the advent of transnational activism and international indigenous rights discourses, why do different indigenous movements in Latin America utilize different strategic frames? This paper addresses this question through the case of the Guatemalan indigenous rights movement. While framing is certainly an agency-driven process, this process is always constrained to some degree by political and socio-economic structural factors. Structure thus places limits on which discursive frames a social movement organization can effectively utilize to make redeemable validity claims both to the state and within the public sphere.

Resting upon these theoretical assumptions, this paper evaluates competing frames within the indigenous rights movement in Guatemala. While most national indigenous movements in Latin America have organized on the basis of ethnic identity in order to make claims for recognition and redistribution, Guatemala's movement might be better understood as *two movements*, one focused on cultural and ethnic issues, the other focused on class and material issues. The split between the two movements became clear roughly 15 years ago and persists today, with some signs of convergence. In this paper, I rely on secondary literature and field research conducted in June-August 2006 to trace the trajectory of these two movements, then present signs of frame convergence, found within the land rights movement. Finally, I draw comparisons between the framing found within the Guatemalan movements and that found within the indigenous movements in other Latin American countries, especially Ecuador and Bolivia, seeking the historical and structural factors that led to such different framing strategies among these national movements.

Jason Crockett (University of Arizona; jlc76@u.arizona.edu)
A Cultural Mapping of the LGBTQ Social Movement

Abstract: This paper brings formal analyses to bear on questions of cultural contestation of beliefs and ideologies *within* the LGBTQ movement, as well as the relationships between the movement and broader culture. Although this social movement has "a set" of shared beliefs, and adherents may develop relatively coherent and integrated systems of belief, this does not imply "full consensus" on ideology. For example, Lisa Duggan identifies fundamental distinctions of progressive-left versus neoliberal viewpoints.

Data have been collected from web pages of 47 LGBTQ advocacy organizations with local, national, and international focuses. Data include terms and themes that identify constituencies, issues, strategies, and non-textual symbolism. Using formal methods of cultural analysis, currently focusing on correspondence analysis (CA), I examine these themes for underlying structure in a two-way dataset (social movement organizations as rows and terms/themes as columns). CA is a visual representation of conceptual clustering within a dataset, in this case demonstrating the extent to which organizations and terms fall within the same or different conceptual space. What is uncovered by such analyses is argued to be patterns, linkages, and structures of ideas constituting the system of meaning/symbols (values, beliefs, norms, behaviors, etc) referred to as "culture." That is, the structure found is a structure of meaning.

Preliminary results support Duggan's basic dynamic, though they also suggest Duggan may have overestimated influences of progressive politics in American national LGBTQ organizations. These results also suggest further examination of organizations representing interests of racial, gender, "other" sexual minorities, and youth may yield additional insight.

David Cunningham (Brandeis University; dcunning@brandeis.edu)
"The Durability of Collective Memory: Reconciling the 'Greensboro Massacre'"

Abstract: Recent studies of social movement outcomes have emphasized efforts to win concessions from institutional political bodies, including the establishment of new laws, policy reforms, and judicial action. One such case involves ongoing efforts to seek redress for past racial violence against civil rights activists. Here, I examine the 2005 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process initiated in Greensboro, NC, in the wake of the killing of five labor activists by KKK and neo-Nazi members during a 1979 anti-klan march. The Greensboro TRC sought to provide a forum for justice and ultimately reconciliation in the form of "contextualized truth," and its findings were crucially shaped by the evolution of collective memory around a 26 year-old event. I make use of three collections of individual accounts (a public forum held in 1980 [n=26], testimony given during three public TRC hearings in 2005 [n=54], and private interviews carried out by TRC staff in 2005 [n=120]) to examine how the structure of claims associated with various constituencies changed over time, as well as how the culture and organization of the TRC itself shaped the claims advanced by particular actors. Specifically, I employ a blockmodeling strategy to capture the patterning of claims across constituencies, and assess the degree to which new "truths" have emerged from particular social locations over time. I then compare the structure of claims made by various constituencies in public versus private settings. Findings yield theoretical insight into the temporal durability of collective memory around contentious episodes, as well as practical guidance for future TRC-type efforts, concerning the "ideal" time to initiate their work as well as how the public/private character of their statement-taking impacts outcomes.

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Abstract: Analysis of the socially constructed spaces in which activists develop "public-spirited" agendas and commitments in order to pursue a "common good" has advanced scholarship about social movements (Lichterman 1996; Polletta 1999). Underscoring such studies, however, is a tension between what is rendered publicly visible about social movement organizing and what is safely hidden away, as activists work out the parameters of their political engagement in quasi-public or entirely private group meetings (Blee and Currier 2005). In this paper, we consider how activists may strive to insert their agendas within the public arena while also systematically struggling to maintain a safe distance between themselves and the public. By drawing upon data from two distinct cases, we consider how different social movements have crafted "safe spaces" in order to manage their levels of public engagement. As we will demonstrate, while both movements rely upon "safe spaces," they differ in the constitution and management of these spaces. Currier shows how the mobilization environment surrounding black lesbian activists in South Africa led to the development of safe spaces wherein individuals could escape the violence and harassment they encountered in public settings. On the other hand, Heidemann demonstrates how the climate of ethnolinguistic activism in France led to the creation of safe spaces whereby individuals could counter the criticisms and stigmatization they experienced in the public sphere.

Thomas DeGloma (Rutgers University; tdegloma@sociology.rutgers.edu)
Children of Atrocity: Survivor Movements, Contested Traumas, and Cognitive Authority

Abstract: This paper examines the formulaic socio-cognitive strategies employed by a diverse set of *survivor movements*: Vietnam Veterans Against War, The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, and the Recovered Memory Movement concerning child sex abuse. Despite many differences, these movements adhere to a common *culture of survivorhood* in order to attribute meaning and consequences to past experiences and contest traditional relations of power. In the public realm, reactive counter-movements employ an antithetical and oppositional set of formulaic socio-cognitive strategies designed to "undo" the socio-cognitive foundations of survivorhood and undermine the survivor movement's drive to usurp *cognitive authority*. Counter-movements include Vietnam Veterans for a Just Peace/Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, and the False Memory Syndrome Foundation. The formulaic disputes between survivor movements and counter-movements illuminate the relevance of power and conflict to the organization of cognition in social life.

Michaela DeSoucey (Northwestern University; m-desoucey@northwestern.edu)
Protesting the Protesters: Strategies of Contesting Moral Claims in Chicago's Foie Gras Politics

Abstract: Food-based social movements and campaigns frequently use rhetoric and questions of morality to frame issues of food production and consumption. Such morality campaigns typically demand change in the political, industry and consumer realms, diffusing social movement values to the domain of the consumer. It is not only these campaigns, however, that create spectacles garnering media attention and public support. I argue that opposition groups to such morality campaigns are equally vital to the creation of food as a moral issue, in that they also create vocabularies, arguments, and symbols from which to draw associations and ideas about "appropriate" identities and ideologies. My empirical site for this research is the recent Chicago ban on the sale of *foie gras* (the liver of a force-fed duck or goose) in food serving establishments.

I draw upon social movement and organizational theories, as well as the sociology of culture and consumption, to argue that new ideals about cultural authority in regards to the world of food have increasingly placed such authority in the hands of chefs and restauranteurs. This shift was possible only after the mediating influences of media and market-based promotional work that has entrenched the concept of the 'celebrity chef' in American popular culture. In this paper, I focus particularly on symbolic and substantial responses from chefs and restauranteurs in Chicago and the surrounding suburbs to the city-wide foie gras prohibition. My study provides a compelling example of the cultural arbitration that occurs in response to food morality campaigns.

Kylan Mattias de Vries (Southern Illinois University; kylan33@siu.edu)

"I'm not *just* anything, I'm *many* things": Racialized Gendered Meaning in Collective Identity

Abstract: In this article I examine *racialized gendered meaning* in social movements, an extension of Gamson's (1997) notion of *gendered meaning*. The transgender movement, or collective identity, is composed of various communities and organizations. Often a unified "transmovement" is implied, with researchers focusing primarily on white transgenders. The intersection of race and transgender identity is rarely investigated and [the invisibility of] whiteness within the transmovement is ignored. I utilize in depth interviews with African American transgenders, participation in several transgender conferences and online lists and forums, as well as a content analysis of the mission statements of national transgender organizations. How has the erasure of race, through the process of exclusion, within the transmovement shaped a transgender collective identity? How do movements utilize *racialized gendered meaning* in developing collective identity? I explore this by examining how the [white] transcommunity has formed its identity through the exclusion of transpeople of color, and how transpeople of color have responded in forming "transpoc" identities and communities.

Jesse Diaz (University of California, Riverside; jessekiazjr@hotmail.com)
The Immigrant Rights Movement: An insider account of its resistance to anti-immigrant forces, mobilizations, and the shaping of policy in the post 9.11 struggle for amnesty.

Abstract: At the crux of this investigation are my experience, participation, and account of the key players and events in the contemporary Anti-immigrant and Immigrant Rights Movements, thus providing students of immigration with a comprehensive sociohistorical analysis of the Immigrant Rights Movement in the post-9/11 U.S. This examination will employ immigration, social movement and race, and class theories at its crux, and to explain my central role in organizing the largest marches ever in Los Angeles history-perhaps the largest ever in the nation-during spring 2006, la "Gran Marcha 2006," and which inevitably led to my organizing the largest protest the world has ever seen, el "Gran Paro Americano 2006." This study employs a mixed methods approach including ethnographic- participatory action research as well as narratives coupled with demographic analyses and qualitative methods. The overarching goal of the Immigrant Rights Movement has always been its primary principle and purpose of full, unconditional and immediate amnesty, therefore the need to define the movement in these terms is vital also to the predictions that emerge from this investigation, without a doubt this study attempts to do so for other students of and in the Movement struggling for full legalization for all undocumented immigrants across the U.S., and beyond.

David S. Dobbie (University of Michigan; ddobbie@umich.edu)
More than the Sum of Their Parts: Dialogical Processes in Labor-Community Coalitions

Abstract: While the growing body of social movement theory has illuminated many hidden processes of movement growth and decline, it has largely ignored a simple but profound truth about social movements: that the individuals who comprise them are in most cases already members of existing organizations. Building a social movement is largely a process of coalescing sympathetic groups into a wider and more powerful coalition, yet we know surprisingly little about the underlying dynamics of coalitional activity upon which any successful movement rests. While most coalitions dissolve quickly, others endure beyond their initial campaigns and then provide a framework from which movements emerge. However, such anomalous enduring coalitions have been mostly glanced over as problematic, rather than studied as a potential key to understanding movement emergence. This project begins to fill this gap through a comparative study of attempts to build enduring coalitions involving unions, churches, and community groups in three Rust Belt cities: Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and Chicago. I argue that these local movements are part of a wave of resistance to deindustrialization and increasing inequality, and that their divergent trajectories and levels of success in maintaining cooperation offer lessons for understanding movements more generally. Historically rooted conflicts along race and class lines are endemic to such movement-building efforts, and the ways in which organizers build bridges across difference, help participants come to understand their local histories, build local movement institutions, and engage with electoral politics are key to understanding coalition sustainability.

Nicole Doerr (European University Institute in Florence; roshku@gmail.com)
Is 'Another Public Sphere' Actually Possible? The European Social Forum process as a Critical Test for Deliberative Democracy practiced in transnational movements.

Abstract: This paper presents the findings of a cross-national comparative research project on the case of the European Social Forum (ESF) process over the period from 2003 to 2006. The various progressive social movements engaged in the ESF process try to construct 'another world' and 'another public sphere' internally within their own practices of deliberative, consensual democracy in the ESF process. This includes fighting discriminations against women in general and women from non-western European parts of the world in particular. I take as my point of departure the case of 'women without,' that is, women activists who lack financial resources and/or have problems participating in transnational meetings because of border or visa restrictions. Considered this, I will ask to what extent do the effective practices of deliberative and consensual decision-making in the ESF process include materially less privileged participants, in particular these distinct groups of 'women without'? My hypothesis is that while the ESF was created as a critical public space to reflect about 'another Europe', its internal practice of decision-making reproduces multiple discriminations in terms of class, race and gender. Based on a feminist critique of the Habermasian model of deliberative democracy, I will show the innovative strategies of the materially less privileged activists who subvert discursive mechanisms of exclusion inside the ESF process 'from below'. Last but not least, I will, through the comparison of my case studies at the national and European level, present unexpected findings on the stimulating effects that *gender equality* and a *transnational multicultural setting* have for the internal *communicative quality of democracy* within social movements.

Brian Doherty (Keele University; b.j.a.doherty@pol.keene.ac.uk)
Forging a Strategic Plan in Friends of the Earth International: Transnational Environmental Movement Culture.

Abstract: In October 2006 members of Friends of the Earth International, a federation of FoE groups from 71 countries met in Abuja Nigeria to agree their first strategic plan after more than three decades of existence. The need for a written strategic plan emerged after divisions over strategy and power on North-South lines within the federation in the early 2000s. FoEI is distinctive as a transnational environmental network in its commitment to questions of environmental justice and the power and influence exercised by national groups from Southern countries. This paper examines the process of forming the strategic plan drawing on observation at FoEI meetings, internal debates and a survey of the network ties of member groups. The network survey shows that the Federation does work as a transnational network but also that it has strong regional sub-groups which can provide the basis for conflicts. At Abuja and at previous meetings participants had to work out a collective position on the meaning of democracy, alliances with other social movements and the nature of environmental justice, confronting major ideological differences in the process. It is argued that the ability to resolve the political differences within the federation depended on the development of a specific kind of public sphere within the network and elements of a shared culture, which could only be developed through sustained debate and collaboration.

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The Case for God and State: Religious and Political Framing Techniques in the Christian Exodus Movement

Abstract: Recent events in South Carolina have provided social movement theorists with an opportunity to apply theoretical concepts of the framing perspective at an empirical level. The Christian Exodus Movement emerged as a religiously founded and politically charged movement which aims to relocate thousands of conservative Christians to South Carolina in order to form a constitutionally limited state government. The group's efforts include resource mobilization and membership recruitment and maintenance, which directly relate to the specific framing techniques employed by the group's leaders. By examining the group's goals and objectives as well as how these goals and objectives are framed to prospective members, active participants, and others in the 'world at large', this paper adds to the limited research on the application and consequences of framing techniques on social movement endurance.

This paper also provides an in-depth examination of the Christian Exodus movement in terms of its religious/political positions, goals, group and resource mobilization and membership conditions, as well as an analysis of the frames employed to sustain the group and foster growth towards their objectives. In addition this paper shows how political or religious interest groups construct coalitions, adapt to the broader cultural environment, and tailor meanings of religion, politics and morality to further their interests. The framing perspective provides the theoretical framework for this analysis, and we begin with a review of the framing perspective in social movement theory followed by an investigation into the impact of framing processes on the evolution of the Christian Exodus movement.

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Strategic Position and Social Movement Articulation

Abstract: Recent research addressing strategy in social movements has helped explain important movement dynamics, but it is generally embedded in single-actor models that minimize the importance of relational dynamics among collective actors within a broader movement. In order to address this theoretical gap, we present a basic, multi-actor framework – based on the depth of challenge promoted by the actor and the breadth of support invested in that actor – that assesses collective actors' strategic position within a movement. This theoretical advancement facilitates consideration of the distribution of actors' positions across a movement, or "strategic articulation," which represents an important but heretofore unanalyzed variable property of social movements. Articulation centrally addresses the extent to which flanks are integrated or isolated and its implications for movement dynamics. The concern with multiple actor strategic dynamics also allows us to integrate a wider range of strategies beyond the most assertive, and to understand their potential unique contributions to movements – both across a field (synchronic) and across phases (diachronic).

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Cultural Opportunities and Legal Outcomes of the Gay Rights Movement

Abstract: Much has been written on the ways in which political opportunity structure plays a role in movement emergence, mobilization, and strategy. So called "cultural" opportunities have gained some scholarly attention but tend to be theoretical rather than empirically driven. How can political and cultural opportunities be separated so that researchers can identify and measure their impact? Is such a course of action relevant to the study of movement strategy? In the opposing movement context of the United States gay rights movement and Christian right, the gay rights movement actively pursues a strategy of marriage equality. In terms of tangible political outcomes, this has been a largely unsuccessful (and internally divisive) strategy. That is, only the state of Massachusetts legally permits civil marriage for same sex couples and just a few allow civil unions. On the other hand, the Christian right can claim policy success nationally (DOMA) and in at least 38 states where laws prohibit any sort of recognition for same sex couples (DOMA). Is there something more to it? Have the masses or public leaders become more accepting of gay rights despite the prohibitions on marriage? Have any cultural inroads been made as a result? Would more states allow for antidiscrimination protection as a result of visibility? This is not the only movement context to warrant attention. Surely these same questions emerge in examining a range of movements including immigration and women's rights.

Jennifer Earl (University of California; jearl@soc.ucsb.edu)
"Arrests-based Protest Policing Strategies: The Policing of the 2004 Republican National Convention"

Abstract: This paper explores the implications of arrest-based policing strategies for social movement actors and civil liberties more generally by examining quantitative and qualitative data on arrests made during the 2004 Republican National Convention (RNC) in New York City. Data are used to: (1) challenge conventional thinking that suggests that police violence is a more severe form of repression when compared to arrests; (2) test arguments made in recent work that applies Feeley's *The Process is the Punishment* to the use of arrests in controlling political protest, such as examining the relative severity of pre-trial "punishment" when compared to conviction rates and sentencing averages upon conviction; (3) understand the impact of arrests and pre-trial detention experiences on the willingness of arrested individuals to participate in future protests; and (4) discuss critical dilemmas arrest-based policing strategies create for organizers. Quantitative data include arrest level data on *all* arrests made during the 2004 RNC. Qualitative data include interviews with a small, random sample of arrested individuals, published accounts of the RNC and RNC arrest experiences, press coverage, and internal NYPD and NYC documents. Conclusions suggest that arrest-based policing strategies can be very corrosive to civil liberties and can pose particularly difficult strategic problems for organizers.

Marc Eaton (University of Colorado-Boulder; marc.eaton@colorado.edu)
Unraveling Identity and Identification in a Virtual SMO: The Case of MoveOn.org

Abstract: Social movement scholars have described *collective identity* as a goal of movement participation, a strategic resource, an emergent sense of connection among activists, and an individual perception of group belongingness. By applying the concept to all of these activities, scholars have muddied the definition of collective identity. I argue that collective identity has been conceptually overextended, but this problem may be remedied by analytically separating collective identity from two related concepts, *organizational identity* and *organizational identification*. These concepts strengthen the concept of collective identity by further specifying its meaning, and improve our understanding of social movements by sensitizing researchers to the dynamic relationships between individuals, movement organizations, and the cultural context in which the movement exists.

I use MoveOn.org as a case study to show how these three concepts clarify the identity construction process. After describing why I classify MoveOn.org as a *virtual social movement organization*, I explain how the organization's emphasis upon isolated, computer-based "desktop activism" intertwines with its collective identity, organizational identity, and members' organizational identification. I propose that in MoveOn, and likely other virtual political organizations as well, the ease and convenience afforded by e-mail and the internet allow individuals to engage in "desktop activism" with very little cost to themselves. As a result of this low entry threshold, they are not personally committed to the movement organization, yet they act within it on the basis of a vague but enduring sense that they are participating in a larger movement that exists somewhere "out there."

Matthew Eddy (University of Oregon; meddy@uoregon.edu)
The Construction of Meaning Among International Human Rights Workers: Analyzing the Intersection of Diverse Identities, Strategies, and Organizational Cultures

Abstract: This paper draws from six weeks of participant observation with a human rights NGO in Israel-Palestine during the summer of 2006 as well as 15 in-depth interviews with human rights workers from Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams, the International Solidarity Movement, and Witness for Peace. As the respondents represent a variety of NGO's and international sites, the interviews contribute to a comparative analysis of NGO cultures and strategies and how these intersect with contexts of action and activist identities. Most of these NGO's engage in Accompaniment, a form of "high risk activism" and international human rights work in which internationals act as nonviolent protective escorts for communities threatened by violence. While some human rights workers view accompaniment as the "sexiest" or most dangerous strategy, others make the same claims for alternative tactics. The effectiveness of strategies is similarly debated. In practice, tactical repertoires vary widely among human rights NGO's, from accompaniment, media, human rights abuse documentation, nonviolence education, and organizing short-term delegations, to advocacy on various diplomatic levels. The context of Israel-Palestine offers a window into reasons for this tactical diversity. In addition, examining the somewhat extreme form of international high-risk activism in Israel-Palestine, provides analytical leverage for theorizing issues of identity, attitudes, motivation, meaning, and culture within social movements in general. Probing the respondents' biographical steps towards committing to human rights work as well as the attitudes and perceived rewards sustaining that commitment, my analysis shows how the unique constraints and opportunities for NGO's in Israel-Palestine shape tactical choices and the construction of meaning in the field.

Louis Edgar Esparza (Stony Brook University; lesparza@notes.cc.sunysb.edu)
 Rethinking Guerilla Groups: Between Movements and Revolutions

Abstract: Most theorizing about guerilla groups places them squarely in the revolutions literature. However, guerilla groups often use tactics that make them seem more similar to social movements. This paper explores the applicability of social movement theories to explain some aspects of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The FARC are found to have numerous features in common with movements including making reform-oriented claims on the state through contentious performances and developing liaisons with local political parties. Other features, such as the formation of counter-institutions, are more consistent with social movement strategies than what the revolutions literature would call a competing claim to control the state. I argue that conceptualizing the FARC as a social movement organization lends itself to a clearer analysis of the political violence in Colombia.

Ana Margarida Fernandes Esteves (Brown University; Ana_Margarida_Esteves@brown.edu)
Method and Agency Matter: Interactions between "experts" and "non-experts" in the production of "counter-hegemonic" knowledge

Abstract: This paper explores a question that has so far been under-explored in the study of collective action: Which factors determine whether or not the interaction between grassroots activists and "experts" working at NGOs produces practices of knowledge construction that truly promote the moral, political and economic agency of popular groups with restricted access to "expert" knowledge? Such exploration is based on a literature review, complemented by an analysis of fieldwork data collected during the summer of 2006. Such data results from three months of voluntary work in *"Casa da Confiança"* (The House of Trust), a microcredit project created by grassroots activists of the Brazilian Movement of Solidarity Socio-Economy and managed on their behalf by PACS– *Instituto Politicas Alternativas para o Cone Sul*, an NGO based in Rio de Janeiro. The fieldwork data indicates that the empowering potential of knowledge production within such interactions depends upon the adoption of a methodology and attitudes that allow actors endowed mainly with "non-expert" knowledge to take the lead in the process. The "experts" must consciously limit their intervention to the role of facilitators and providers of analytical tools, so as to help the participants contextualize their perspectives and identify common points among them.

Tina Fetner (McMaster University; tina.fetner@mcmaster.ca)
Borders and Boundaries: Institutions and Culture in Social Movement Diffusion

Abstract: In this paper, I examine the American Christian Right's ongoing attempt to build a similar movement in Canada. To date, the Christian Right has exported financial resources, a collective identity, and a repertoire of social movement tactics to a welcoming and well-organized set of activists. However, although these key components of social movement activity have crossed the border successfully, the Canadian Christian Right has had much less political influence than its American counterpart. To explain this divergence in outcomes, I examine the institutional histories of the two movements, and their intersection with distinctly different political cultures as well as political contexts. The interactions between similar collective identities and tactics with divergent contextual and cultural circumstances have resulted in different social movement outcomes in the two countries. I consider the implications of this case for our understanding of social movement diffusion and the barriers to exporting social movements.

Adam Flint (Hartwick College; flinta@hartwick.edu)
Habits of Protest: How Public Sociologists can Help Movements Act Strategically

Abstract: For many years, the public protest has been the tactic of choice for a wide variety of movements, but too frequently, this is done out of habit – because its what has always been done – rather than as part of a clear strategy based on an analysis of power relations.
This is as true on the local level as it is for the actions that regularly take place in New York City and Washington D.C., and it can often detract from efforts to preach beyond the choir – i.e. connect with new people to build the movement.
As a result, many local peace communities consist of the same familiar faces, and the average age of the participants continues to increase. As a public Sociologist in Binghamton, NY, I have seen this played out repeatedly, and have been giving some though as to how I could best influence cultural habits of the local peace community so that its leaders are more strategic in their tactical choices.
I will reflect on these themes using local examples of protest against the war in Iraq, including the St. Patrick's Four Tribunal, a fascinating counter-example. In the latter case, the trial of four Catholic Workers, who poured their blood on the walls of a local recruiting station, started out as an action unknown outside of the region, and ended up garnering national and international media coverage and doing more to build the movement regionally then any action in recent memory. I conclude with a brief discussion of a new initiative to forma local center for Peace and Social Justice, part of whose mission would be leadership development focusing on issues such as these.

Eli David Friedman (University of California, Berkeley; elidF@berkeley.edu)
External Pressure and Local Mobilization: Transnational Activism and the Emergence of the Chinese Labor Movement

Abstract: In this paper I seek to elucidate the connections between two strategies of transnational social movements – external pressure and local mobilization – and two potential outcomes, namely paternalism and psychological empowerment. Application of this theoretical framework to the nascent Chinese labor movement indicates that an over-reliance on an external pressure approach results in paternalism, thereby precluding psychological empowerment for aggrieved local actors, and potentially retarding movement growth. Conversely, a transnationalism that relegates external support to a secondary role in the movement and that privileges the promotion of local mobilization is much more likely to result in psychological empowerment for aggrieved actors. In this study, it is argued that psychological empowerment is a prerequisite of the development of class consciousness and the emergence of a powerful worker-based movement in China. In doing so, I will address important gaps in the social movements literature, particularly as related to transnationalism. Many studies of cooperation between movement actors from the global North and South have seen this relationship as essentially unproblematic. This paper will begin to problematize the inherent power inequalities between the two sets of actors, and will theorize the implications for movement emergence in South countries.

Sarah Friedman (Emory University; sfried2@emory.edu)
Individual Involvement in the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Movements

Abstract: This study addresses mobilization in the pro-choice and pro-life movements using the framework of social movement theory on the role of formal and informal networks. Previous empirical studies have found that networks play a critical role in mobilization into activism (e.g. Snow et al. 1980). However, many such studies have failed to clearly articulate what a "network" consists of, as well as if and how such networks facilitate activism in different ways. Additionally, I draw upon theoretical concepts from the literature on religious involvement (e.g. Davidman 1991) and sociology of culture (e.g. Swidler 1986) to explore the connections between the empirical studies on networks and the theoretical perspective of settled vs. unsettled lives/times. While network availability and effect will likely vary between the movements due to differing worldviews (as in Luker 1984), I expect that the very way that networks operate (a process often overlooked in the social movement literature) is related to this notion of (un)settled times. These connections lead to questions such as: Do networks operate differently during (un)settled times? Are individuals more apt to rely on social networks during particular periods? Are networks the facilitator of activism, or are they indirectly part of the ideological process occurring during unsettled times? This study addresses gaps in the network literature, as well as builds our knowledge of individual involvement in the pro-choice and pro-life movements.

Robert Futrell (University of Nevada, Las Vegas; rfutrell@unlv.nevada.edu)
Pete Simi (University of Nebraska, Omaha; psimi@mail.unomaha.edu)
Negotiating White Power Activist Stigma

Abstract: Using extensive ethnographic data on the U.S. White Power Movement, this article discusses the interactional aspects of managing social movement activist stigma in everyday settings. We draw upon identity theory to explain why and how Aryan activists respond to stigmatization. Specifically, we explain that they simultaneously conceal some aspects of who they are while selectively disclosing other features of their racist self. Covering their Aryanism creates dissonance between who they are and the impressions they give off, while disclosing aspects of their radical racism brings ire, indignation, and interactional conflict with others. Strategically negotiating everyday contexts such as family, work, school, and public places by simultaneously enacting contradictory roles helps them attain a degree of symmetry between normal expectations and their Aryan self. Accomplishing this is crucial for helping them sustain their commitments to the white power activist identity in highly contexts.

Chris Ganchoff (University of California, San Francisco; Chris.Ganchoff@ucsf.edu)
Stem Cell Activism and Controversial Science

Abstract: The concepts of patient advocacy organizations and health social movements have become indispensable tools for understanding the social stratification of health and illness, and in attempts to ameliorate the problems caused by institutional inequalities found around the world. This paper highlights the connections between collective identities and a controversial biomedical technology, human stem cell research, through an analysis of California's Proposition 71, the California Stem Cell Research and Cures Initiative (henceforth Prop 71), which passed with 59% of the popular vote in the November 2004 general election.

Stem cell activists were positioned by the Yes on 71 campaign as the "patient's voice" in support of the research by various elite groups. Despite alliances with these groups, these activists had to struggle to represent themselves through constructing a collective identity. During the Prop 71 campaign, stem cell activists publicly represented their corporeal states, which was neither a simple nor straightforward task, as "patient's voices" in support of Prop 71. In this paper, I examine responses by patient activists to the predicaments of supporting this research, and in turn, how these responses play an important part in the construction of the collective identity of stem cell activist. Close attention to these struggles reveals the conditions under which identity categories in medicine, such as Parkinson's disease patient or breast cancer survivor, become important political identities as well.

Patrick F. Gillham (University of Idaho; gillham@uidaho.edu)
Outside Agitation or Access to Resources? Differences in Social Movement Organizational Involvement in the U.S. Global Justice Movement, 1999-2001

Abstract: This paper tests the outsider agitator and resource mobilization theses to explain differential involvement of social movement organizations (SMOs) across three contentious episodes against the WTO in Seattle 1999, and against the World Bank and IMF in 2000 and 2001. Survey, participant observation, interview and archival data were employed in this project. Data were collected in two-stages: 1) a sample frame was constructed from protest event flyers and calendars from each episode generating a list of 1388 U.S. organizations; and 2) a stratified random sample was drawn of 215 organizations in which surveys were sent via e-mail and U.S. postal mail to 204 SMOs with available contact information. In all, 141 respondents returned the surveys for a response rate of 69%. Central findings from this study are that possession of resources and sufficient organizational infrastructure are positively correlated with SMO "role prominence" and involvement in "core role capacities" as sponsors and organizers, supporting resource mobilization. Moreover, proximity of organizational headquarters to a protest episode increased involvement in central organizing roles, undermining the outsider thesis. Decision-making style had no effect on involvement. These findings suggest that SMOs engaged in sustained protests benefit from a predictable resource base and organizational infrastructure. The strategic decision to seek such resources does not appear to lead to SMO cooptation.

Deborah Gould (University of Pittsburgh; dgould@pitt.edu)
When 'Strategic Conflicts' Are More Than Strategic Conflicts: Solidarity and Its Fracturing in ACT UP

Abstract: Are 'strategic' conflicts within movements only about strategic conflicts? Sometimes yes, but often they are about something more than that. In this paper, I focus on conflicts that happened in ACT UP (a movement in which I participated)—conflicts that revolved around the question of how best to fight the AIDS crisis. If we understand ACT UP's conflicts as about such tactical and strategic questions alone, we will not be able to account for their intensity or their effects, the most important of which was the decline of the confrontational street AIDS activist movement. I argue that the emotional undercurrents of internal movement conflicts—the feelings operating in a movement's conflicts that are often unarticulated and unacknowledged but nevertheless have a force and direction to them—are constituent components of those conflicts. More than tactical or strategic disagreements, such conflicts often revolve around the complex feelings evoked by different members occupying different social positions within society and within the movement itself. Real or perceived differences in social location and power can generate resentment, anger, guilt, fear of betrayal, fear of loss of power and recognition. Left unaddressed, those feelings can unravel feelings of solidarity and can make navigating political differences difficult at best. Turning our lenses to the emotional undercurrents that structure 'strategic' conflicts sheds light on the complicated processes of solidarity formation and fracturing within movements; doing so also can help us to attend to the bad feelings that sometimes arise in the midst of political activism and that can contribute to movement decline.

Becky Gresh (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; rgresh2@uiuc.edu)
Transnational Activism in Juárez: A Gender Perspective

Abstract: This paper examines the transnational social movement (TSM) about violence against women in Juárez from the perspective of Juárez' rape crisis center Casa Amiga and it's president Esther Chávez Cano, a well-known feminist within her community and human rights circles. Exploring the ways in which this movement has unfolded as well as the strategies employed at home and within transnational networks, this paper attempts to contribute to the need for TSM literature that addresses these movements from a gender perspective. I argue that while the rights framework articulated by activists, Cano, and AI have made salient the political inequalities between men and women in Juárez; economics remain part of the problem. Furthermore, while the state remains the primary mechanism by which rights are realized, the role of transnational capital lies safely obscured. By not addressing how structural economic inequalities lived through gender is part of the inequality perpetuated in Juárez, transnational activism to stop the violence against women is hampered.

Katja M. Guenther (California State University, Fullerton; kguenther@fullerton.edu)
Constructing Spatial Alliances: The Strategic and Ideological Positioning of Feminist Movements in Post-Socialist Eastern Germany

Abstract: This paper examines how social movement actors mobilize fictive geographies to align themselves with external sources of ideology, identity, and/or frames with the goal of enhancing movement success. Comparing local women's movements in two cities in post-socialist eastern Germany, I explore how these two movements created and mobilized spatial alliances, or social constructions of space that bridge multiple geographic locations, allowing inhabitants of one location to claim membership in geographically and geopolitically bounded areas to which they do not ostensibly belong. The paper draws on data collected through in-depth interviews with sixty-three feminist activists and femocrats, or elected or appointed state officials with feminist sympathies, in the two cities, as well as on ethnographic and archival research within these two local feminist movements. I find that the two movements actively sought to identify themselves with the feminist movements—and broader identities—of other regions. In one case, the local women's movement sought to align itself with Swedish feminism, while the second movement positioned itself as part of western German feminism. These alliances not only legitimized ideological choices made by movement actors at the local level, but also increased the legitimacy of these movements within local political structures and institutions. Also critical is that spatial alliances allowed movement actors to take pride in their identities rather than accepting the positioning of eastern Germans as backwards or inferior so common in German public and political discourse since German unification in 1990. Thus, spatial alliances serve to reinforce movement cultures and local identities, while also providing tangible benefits within political fields.

Mustafa E. Gurbuz (University of Connecticut; mustafa.gurbuz@uconn.edu)
Bringing Strategy-Identity Liaison Back in: Headscarf Protest Mobilization in Turkey

Abstract: Islamic mobilization has been analyzed in terms of within either strict cultural or strict material explanations. In both perspectives, there is one fundamental misleading assumption that Islamic actors' identities and interests are formed prior to one type of collective action, Islamism. The implication that Islamic actors are strongly unified around one Islamist identity is particularly fallacious as much as the statement that interests of the actors are clearly defined and integrated in the Muslim polity. Contrary to mainstream explanations, I argue that Islamic actors had become to realize and recognize, not construct, common identities and interests in the process of taking actions against the perceived opposition. My study over headscarf protest mobilization in Turkey shows that identities and interests of headscarf adopters have been changed as the adopters strategically play the game against their defined enemy.

This work tests the following hypotheses: First, the more an Islamic movement frames its hatred against the oppositional forces as "ideological," and deeply rooted, the more it becomes expressive and confrontational, rather than strategic and instrumentalist. Second hypothesis differentiates political Islam from cultural Islam: the more an Islamic movement frames the dominant oppositional forces as being "materially dominant," rather than culturally prevailing, the more it becomes political and prone to challenge the state. Thus, an Islamic social movement may acquire a variety of possible characteristics, which has not yet pointed out in the existing social movement literature: (1) strategic and political (2) strategic but not political (3) expressive and political (4) expressive and non-political.

Michael Haedicke (University of California, San Diego; mhaedick@sbcglobal.net)
"Food for people not for profit": Culture and professionalization in "second wave" food cooperatives

Abstract: Research on the professionalization of social movement organizations (SMOs) has examined relationships between changes in resource availability and changes in SMO structure and leadership, member participation, and strategies, tactics, and coalition activities. Surprisingly, the professionalization literature gives little attention to the symbolic and interactive dimensions of professionalization projects. I conceptualize social movement professionalization as a cultural project and argue that activists face the challenge of linking reforms with overall understandings of the goals and identity of a movement in order to induce cooperation from other movement members. My paper illustrates this process by examining the "second wave" of food cooperatives. These co-ops blossomed in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a grassroots form of economic activity affiliated with a variety of movement projects, including alternative health, ecology, and organic agriculture. In addition to selling natural and organic foods, co-ops sought to create "economic democracy" through collective management and volunteer member labor. In the last twenty years, changes in the co-ops' business environment caused most co-ops to abandon these practices in favor of more "professional" structures with salaried staff and limited opportunities for member participation. My research indicates that a group of national organizers took the lead in coordinating and advocating these changes during the 1980s and 1990s. These organizers framed these changes as both necessary for the survival of co-ops and consistent with their organizational mission and worked to discredit co-ops that resisted change. Overall, this symbolic strategy has enabled leaders of co-ops to emphasize commercial efficiency while continuing to speak of co-ops as distinctive organizations dedicated to "food for people not for profit."

Drew Halfmann (University of California, Davis; dhalfmann@ucdavis.edu)
Michael P. Young (University of Texas, Austin; myoung@mail.la.utexas.edu)
War Pictures: The Grotesque as Aesthetic Strategy in the Antislavery and Antiabortion Movements

Abstract: The use of shocking, often disgusting, images has been a much remarked-upon feature of the antiabortion movement. But such images have also been utilized by other movements, including the antislavery, temperance, anti-immigrant, civil rights, anti-war, anti-drunk driving, anti-tobacco and animal rights movements. In this paper, we examine uses of such images in the antiabortion and antislavery movements and consider implications for theories of movement framing and mobilization. Utilizing the literary and artistic concept of "the grotesque", we argue that it is an aesthetic strategy available to most moral movements and suggest some sources of its cultural and emotional resonance. We suggest that the aesthetic of "the grotesque" gains its power by challenging social and "natural" order, suggesting its mutability, and producing powerful, often contradictory, emotions such as repulsion and attraction, fear and fascination. The grotesque can also produce a sense of confusion, ambiguity and mystery that deeply engages witnesses. Finally, we suggest that activists may use the "the grotesque" not only to make frames but to break them.

Randolph Haluza-DeLay (The King's University College; randy.haluza-delay@kingsu.ca)
Habitus, identity, and cognitive praxis among environmentalists

Abstract: Research on social movements has looked primarily at activists involved in campaigns. Since the environmental movement has maintained that the everyday lifestyle of the citizen is part of the environmental problem and part of the solution, we would do well to examine also these lifestyle practices and what generates them. One approach to explaining the effects of social movements is that of "cognitive praxis". In this formulation by Eyerman and Jamison (1991), social movements innovate new knowledges and knowledge systems. However, in his "theory of practice," Bourdieu has described practical action as informed by internalized dispositions of a "pre-logical" habitus and the social field. To the degree that a goal of environmentalism is the routinized inclusion of environmental concerns in personal and corporate practices and decision-making, Bourdieu's sociological approach may inform research on social movement outcomes.

This ethnographic research assessed the 'logic of practice' (or *sens pratique*) of environmentally-active persons involved in environmental groups in a specific region. Amidst the great variety of ways of being environmentally active there were consistencies that represented internalised dispositions. However, their place in contemporary society - where a routinized environmental sensitivity is contrary to the *doxa* or mainstream logic of practice - led to increased self-awareness. Thus, an environmental habitus could be said to include reflexivity, which appears to contradict the internalised and noncognitive character of habitus (Wacquant, 2004). Reflexivity participated in developing movement identity. Moreso, it provides a link between the theoretical approaches represented by *sens pratique* and cognitive praxis, thereby advancing our understandings about socio-cultural outcomes of social movements.

John Faithful Hamer (John Abbott College; john.hamer@hohnabbott.qc.ca)
The Gospel of Natural Health

Abstract: "The Gospel of Natural Health" is an analysis of the ideology that has guided and informed America's health-conscious subculture since that auspicious moment, in 1950, when an organic-farming enthusiast named Jerome Rodale founded *Prevention*—an unorthodox health magazine that, in 2000, reached more than ten million Americans a month. Since 1950, and especially since 1970, the ideology of natural health has permeated virtually every facet of American society: health-food stores and health clubs have proliferated; antismoking campaigns have won astounding victories; breastfeeding and vegetarianism have become much more common; and the demand for organic food, herbal remedies, vitamin and mineral supplements, exercise gear, and alternative health care has created massive industries. The ideology of natural health continues to resonate particularly well in America because its emphasis on individual responsibility is largely a secular restatement of deeply-rooted Judeo-Christian assumptions about the meaning of suffering and the capacity for choice.

Health gurus such as Adelle Davis, Carlton Fredericks, and Adolphus Hohensee made big promises to the American people. They maintained, for instance, that pregnancy and aging—human experiences fraught with danger and uncertainty—could be controlled by the right mixture of vitamins, exercise, organic food, dietary restrictions, and positive thinking. They promised to free the American people from the tyranny of Western medicine. Yet they replaced Doctor God with an equally demanding deity: Mother Nature. Since 1970, the astonishing success of the natural health movement has spread a new orthodoxy, with an unforgiving approach toward aging, motherhood, obesity, and disease. In health-conscious circles across America, tragedies such as cancer, heart disease, depression, schizophrenia, crib death and miscarriage have been redefined as punishments meted out to those who fail to obey the natural laws of health.

The ideology of natural health was fashioned out of the all-American vocabularies of evangelical Protestantism and modern science. It has incorporated and reflected, at varying times and to varying degrees, Cold War paranoia, popular distrust of experts, countercultural interest in Eastern mysticism, the women's health movement, and, throughout, white middle-class anxieties about violence, corruption, and social change. Even so, it would be a mistake to try to make sense of it solely with reference to race, class, and gender. The ideology of natural health continues to meet deep human needs that are, at bottom, psychological and/or spiritual in nature: such as, for instance, the need to make sense out of an existence that so often seems chaotic and arbitrary. The logic of individual responsibility—so central to the ideology of natural health—is tied to the all-too-human need to believe that decisions shape the destiny of those who make them in meaningful ways. Many people cannot accept the arguments of those who claim that the life of a human being is predestined—that we are all simply actors reading from scripts that were written for us by nature and/or nurture. The existence of a vibrant health-conscious subculture in the United States is, at the end of the day, just another example of the peculiar way in which Americans have so often asserted their freedom over fate and fortune.

John L. Hammond (Hunter College and Graduate Center, CUNY; jhammond@hunter.cuny.edu)
Social Movements and the Left Electoral Resurgence in Latin America

Abstract: Since the beginning of this century, Latin American social movements have not only enjoyed a renewed burst of activism but influenced the election of leftist presidents (of varying stripes) in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Each election is due in part to specific national conditions, but the victories (as well as a near miss in Mexico in a disputed election) all represent a repudiation of the neoliberalism dominant in the continent for two decades, which has benefited a small minority of the population and left many excluded.

Though the governments all describe themselves as leftist, they nevertheless represent a wide political range. The meaning of "left" in Latin America today, and the character of each government's leftism, can in part be measured by the relation between the governments and the social movements to which some owe their electoral victories. Lula in Brazil and Michele Bachelet in Chile have accepted the neoliberal reconstruction of their political economies; accordingly, social movements have found little receptivity in their governments. Hugo Chávez in Venezuela owes his victory over an attempted coup in 2002 and his 2006 reelection to the mobilized barrios of Caracas. Evo Morales in Bolivia and Rafael Correa in Ecuador rode newly awakened and powerful movements of indigenous people into office; Morales at least has incorporated the movement politically.

This paper will examine the relation between elected governments and social movements and the way each constrains the other, with emphasis on Bolivia, Brazil, and Venezuela.

Kai A. Heidemann (University of Pittsburghy; KaiHeid@aol.com)
Crafting a Public Voice for Linguistic Minorities: A Look at Minority Language Schooling Movements in France

Abstract: What explains the growth of minority language schools in France? Through the years there has been a steady growth of mobilizations within French civil society targeting the cultural revitalization and political recognition of regional minority languages, such as Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Corsican, Flemish and Occitan. Perhaps the most notable site wherein these grassroots initiatives have emerged has been in the form of community-based minority language schools. These are alternative, semi-public schools run by local-level associations wherein regional minority languages are the primary language of instruction. Understanding the struggles, the strategies and the successes that have come to characterize the development of minority language schooling campaigns over the past thirty years can shed important sociological light on how the politics of linguistic diversity are challenging the foundations of national citizenship. Drawing upon data compiled through on-going fieldwork in France and building upon social movement theories, this paper will explore the dynamics of mobilization behind two minority language schooling movements: the Basque-language '*ikastola*' movement, and the Occitan- language '*Calandreta*' movement. The paper pays particular attention to how the development of these two schooling movements has been based upon intensive 'publicity' campaigns which intersect with broader cultural and political structures, such as citizenship and governance. In addition, the paper considers how and why the domain of minority language schooling movements constitutes a unique and compelling social movement field which merits greater sociological attention not only in France but around the globe.

Brandon Hofstedt (Iowa State University; hofstedt@iastate.edu)
Introducing Community Capitals Framework to Social Movement Studies: Land-based Social Movements and the Community Capitals Framework

Abstract: In this paper, I ask the question: what does the Community Capitals Framework, or CCF, (Flora, Flora, and Fey 2004) add to the theoretical development of land-based/land-use social movement studies? Using land-use movement, or movements that emerge in response to localized land-use decisions, I track social movement emergence, mobilization, and outcomes using CCF as an integrative tool for social movement theory. This framework that focuses on seven types of capitals, also referred to as assets or resources, facilitates my ability to organize, explain, test, and predict citizen mobilization efforts that emerge in response to land-use/land-based disputes. Using both theoretically derived and inductively informed hypotheses, I argue: (1) social movement emergence is positively related to an imbalance in community capitals; (2) social movement mobilization of potential adherents is positively related to the promotion of a balance in community capitals; and (3) social movement outcomes are positively related to the utilization of more community capitals. The novelty of CCF as an integrative framework for social movement theory is discussed as are its limitations.

Masatake Hongo (Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan; mhongo@sal.tohoku.ac.jp)
Constructing Identity as Conscience Adherents: Identity politics in Japanese AIDS NGOs

Abstract: In this paper I explore Japanese AIDS NGOs activities focusing on the construction process of their collective identity. Using framing analysis, I analyze the data which I collected as a participatory observer from 2001 to 2007 in Sendai. To consider how people who cannot come out one's stigma participate in social movements and collective activities, and to avoid "over-reification collective identity" I propose "identity as conscience adherents".

In Japan, many people still have prejudice against HIV/AIDS. Thus AIDS NGOs have worked to eliminate prejudice and discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS (PWA/H) and people who have anxiety for infection. When people emphasize the differences between infection and non-infection, they might have imposed on only PWA/Hs the responsibility of solving their problems, which I call PWA/H-centrism in this paper.

AIDS NGOs have provided PWA/Hs and citizens several workshops. By the workshops participants are encouraged to understand HIV/AIDS as their own issue, although their understanding could be different from that of PWA/Hs. These attempts promote "identity of conscience adherents", who are individuals and groups participating in the activities without seeking direct benefits. Framing conscience adherents is not to compel PWA/Hs to come out or not to put them in danger of discrimination. Rather, this framing strategy enables PWA/Hs to participate in the activities pretending to be conscience adherents, and avoids reifying PWA/Hs like a "witch-hunting". Through constructing identity as conscience adherents, these attempts promoted cooperation between PWA/Hs and citizens.

Emily Horowitz (Yale University; ehorowitz@aya.yale.edu)
Reform vs. Respect: Competing Ideologies of Parent Activists in the Education Reform Movement

Abstract: This paper explores schisms among parent activists engaged in education reform. There are two types of parent activists: those who become engaged by local school problems yet recognize that the problems are structural and shift to fighting for systemic change, and those who become engaged in response to authoritarian or problematic behaviors by principals, administrators, or teachers at their individual schools and remain focused on fighting individuals rather than the system. Using interviews with parent activists and observing the actions of the New York City education reform movement, this study analyzes the causes and effects of this bifurcation and examines whether there are significant differences in socio-economic status and ideology among these two groups. I hypothesize that working-class parents are more often prompted to action when, often correctly, they perceive that they are being treated without respect by individuals in the educational system. These parents may view rudeness by particular school officials, for instance, as a spur to action, and view advocacy for more democratic structures as too abstract or irrelevant. I further hypothesize that middle-class parents, who are more likely to have had prior experience with social movements and a greater sense of personal empowerment, view their participation as a long-term commitment for collective good. These schisms are problematic, particularly in the context of recent policies such as *No Child Left Behind* that are most harmful to poor children in under-funded public schools. This paper asks how the education movement can accommodate the interests of both working and middle-class activists in a collaborative fight for school reform at many levels.

Rita Jalali (jalali@stanfordalumni.org)
The Women's Movement in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective

Abstract: This paper is about the contemporary women's movement in Turkey. It examines the factors behind the rise of the contemporary women's movement, focusing on international and domestic factors. The findings only partially support the world polity theory which argues for the importance of transnational networks on southern social movements. At the international level, the norms and agendas of the international women's rights regime has had a major influence on Turkish women's groups as well as on the state. However, despite the enormous support and influence of international donors and network of feminists the Turkish women's movement has adopted some of the international agenda for women's rights while remaining distant from others. For example, the Turkish women's movement has embraced issues of gender quotas for political representation and sexual rights, while their practice and approach to some WID issues (reproductive health, economic empowerment) contradicts positions held by southern feminists both at the international and domestic level. The difference can be explained by domestic factors, particularly the nature of the Turkish state and the fragmentation within the women's movement. The study shows that a social movement's response to international agendas is mediated by domestic political context contrary to the arguments of world polity theory. It supports the recent work of Liu (2006:922) who argues that "international agendas are relevant to national movements not because their meanings are globally given, but because national movements attach to them locally relevant meanings." The study is based on field research conducted in Ankara and Istanbul and draws on interviews with international donors, government officials, feminists in academia, women parliamentarians and activist from women's groups covering a range of ideologies and issues.

James Jasper (New York University; jmjasper@juno.com)
Purpose and Passion in Collective Action

Abstract: Cultural analysts have largely replaced the concept of "a culture," corresponding roughly to the scope of a "society," "nation," and "state" (or "tribe" in anthropology), in favor of more specific cultural elements such as frames, identities, emotions, and so on. Does it make sense to replicate the same idea of a shared, coherent whole at the level of a social movement, now that we have dropped it at the level of a society?

In its place, I would recommend a combination of more concrete entities: cognitive processes, emotions, and decisions. It is these we actually study, not "a movement culture." This grouping will also allow us to join two dimensions of social life long kept apart by disciplinary turf battles and intellectual tastes: the study of purpose (strategy) and the study of culture (meaning and passion). Rational-choice and game theories have too long dominated strategy, to the exclusion of culture. Culturally oriented scholars, on the other hand, have too easily dismissed the building blocks that game theory has to offer: players, arenas, and choices. Humans are driven by BOTH passion AND purpose, and the two need to be brought together in models of social movements.

I have written several books on culture and one on strategy, and my current work aims to show the intersection of the two – fortuitously, the topic of this conference and presentation.

Hank Johnston (San Diego University; Hank.Johnston@sdsu.edu)
Deep Culture and the Dynamics of Insurgency in Allah's Mountains

Abstract: This paper elaborates the concept of deep culture. It distinguishes elements of cultural influence on social movement mobilization from the "toolbox approach" popularized by Ann Swidler. This paper proposes an alternative that parallels Chomsky's and other's "deep structure" approach to the organization of all human languages. A deep culture, I propose, acts as an overarching and defining constraint to movement development, which sharply contrasts to seeing culture solely a resource, which is in line with the commonly recognized framing approach to movements. I parse the popular (but very general) idea of cultural resonance in social movement framing with reference to the thread of Islamic resistance that has coursed through Russia's Islamic republics, especially Chechnya and Ingushetia, for the past three hundred years. I briefly trace the three-hundred year history of anti-Russian and Sufi Islamic resistance, discuss how these values were passed in primary socialization of family and private life, and show how shaped the emergent opposition as the USSR collapsed and Russia contended with dormant ethnonational claims. These are obscure cases for most social movement scholars, to be sure, but highly instructive insofar as they suggest several propositions about the relation between deep cultural patterns and the various mechanisms of contentious politics.

Angela Jones (New School University; anngee140@aol.com)
Niagara Falls: Black Intellectualism & Protest in the 20th Century

Abstract: Protest movements often rely on intellectual networks at the beginning of their inception. The Civil Rights Movement was no different. The Civil Rights Movement began when a group of all black intellectuals became involved in a network called, The Niagara Movement. It was the interactions, the conversations, the discussions of these intellectuals around their conference tables that assisted in making 20th century black protest possible. This paper, a version of my dissertation proposal adds to the discourse on social movements by taking up the growing interest in the role that networks play in protest. While the Civil Rights Movement has been widely studied it has not been until recently that structural accounts of the movement have been abandoned for accounts that take human agency seriously. This account of the Civil Rights Movement 1905-1976, is one that accounts for the crucial role that individual interactions, communications, conversations, and decisions play in fostering social change. When studying the Niagara Movement I have looked to a lot of the literature on human agency. Clifford Geertz's work, particularly, "Ideology as a Cultural System" and "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" (1973) have been especially useful in understanding how observing, examining, or studying what can seem like innocuous events or actions may in fact be crucial to understanding society. Hannah Arednot's work has lent itself to my understanding of social action and moreover, understanding why the actions of Niagara have been largely ignored. Social action does not to just refer to corporeal or physical movement. One could be engaged in conversation and be part of facilitating meaningful action. Victor Turner's *The Ritual Process* (1977) and his conceptualization of "communitas" again helps to further my understanding of small networks of individuals and the draw backs of large structured organizations. Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward (1977) would agree that large structured organizations often fall victim to bureaucracy and hence unstructured "communitas" maybe in the best interest of social change. Finally, Jeffery Goldfarb's *the Politics of Small Things* (2006) reminds that I might not be so off in believing that conversations "around kitchen tables" can change the world. This work also draws from the recent work that combines network analysis and social movements. Expanding on the work of Klandermas & Oegema (1987), Diani (2003), McAdam (2003), Gould (2003), Mische (2003) *Niagara Falls* looks at the specific and unique role that intellectual networks play in fostering and organizing social movements. Intellectual culture plays an important and far too often neglected role in protest.

Shaun Kelner (Vanderbilt University; s.kelner@vanderbilt.edu)
*Mobilizing the Passover Holiday: Ritual Creation, Displacement and Transformation
in the American Movement to Free Soviet Jews 1963-1991*

Abstract: From 1963 through 1991, Jews, human rights activists and anti-communists united in a transnational movement to secure freedom of religious and cultural expression and freedom of emigration for the three million Jews of the Soviet Union. At its height, the movement was mobilizing rallies involving hundreds of thousands of demonstrators. The Soviet Jewry movement experienced successes and setbacks over its three decade lifespan, ultimately achieving its objectives in the latter years of the Gorbachev era and with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

This paper examines the movement's ritualization of protest, focusing on the mobilization of the Passover holiday. Marching to chants of "Let my people go!", holding "Freedom Seders" at the gates of Soviet embassies, and adding new rituals to Passover seders in thousands of homes, the movement to free Soviet Jews adapted religious symbols, rituals, and themes to frame political protest as a sacred, rather than secular, obligation.

Movements as diverse as those promoting civil rights, opposing abortion, and advocating Islamic revolution have invoked religious frames. My intent is to address the particular role that ritualization plays in creating a religious frame. I focus on three forms of ritualization employed in the Soviet Jewry movement: ritual creation, ritual displacement (from synagogue to street), and *in situ* ritual transformation (from street to synagogue.) I argue that the latter two are especially implicated in transforming religious identities and institutions beyond the movement.

Katrina Kimport (University of California, Santa Barbara; kkimport@umail.ucsb.edu)
Verta Taylor (University of California, Santa Barbara; vtaylor@soc.ucsb.edu)
"Same-Sex Marriage as a Social Movement Tactic: Cultural Ritual and Mobilization."

Abstract: Social movement scholars working in the political process and contentious politics tradition have suggested that social movements are best understood not as groups or organizations but as clusters of protest events or contentious interactions. Pushing beyond the historically accepted set of standard forms of protest, scholars working from a cultural perspective have posed the question of what counts as "protest" to call attention to the significance of cultural rituals and performances in political contention.

In this paper, we address the question of when cultural performance is a form of protest through an analysis of the 4037 same-sex weddings that took place on the steps of the San Francisco City Hall over a four week period in winter 2004. Using interview data from 42 participants and 6 public officials and a survey of 2000 participants, we find that the same-sex weddings were collective actions that promoted solidarity, collective identity, and the construction of oppositional consciousness among the participants. We argue that the cultural spectacle of same-sex weddings can only be understood by examining the role of social movement organizations and gay and lesbian leaders in planning and mobilizing the marriages. The San Francisco weddings, along with the other mass same-sex weddings that occurred in 2004, are best understood as a tactical repertoire of the gay and lesbian movement first deployed as a collective action during the 1987 lesbian and gay march on Washington.

We use these data to propose a framework for defining social movement tactics based on three features: contestation, intentionality, and the construction of collective identity. This framework allows us to assess empirically what makes certain types of cultural expression and not others political. Our research adds to the larger body of scholarship interested in understanding how cultural rituals and other forms of cultural expression are used as tactics of political protest.

Brayden King (Brigham Young University; brayden.king@byu.edu)
Sarah Soule (Cornell University; ss31@cornell.edu)
The Effects of Competition on SMO Strategy and Survival

Abstract: Drawing hypotheses from resource mobilization and resource partitioning theories, this paper examines how inter-organizational competition and social movement industry concentration affect the level of tactical and goal specialization of protest organizations associated with three different social movements: the Peace, Women's, and Environmental Movements. Additionally, the paper examines how organizational tactical and goal specialization affect mortality of these organizations. By and large, the findings are commensurate with the expectations proffered by resource mobilization and resource partitioning theories. Results indicate that inter-organizational competition leads organizations to develop more specialized tactical and goal repertoires. Concentration in the social movement industry also leads organizations to specialize, however this is only true for less established organizations – more established protest organizations respond to concentration by adopting more general tactical and goal repertoires. Results also indicate that tactical and goal specialization increases the probability of mortality, unless the industry is highly concentrated, in which case an organization's chances of mortality are diminished by adopting more specialized tactics and espousing more specialized goals.

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Jacquelien van Stekelenburg (Free University of Amsterdam; j.van.stekelenburg@fsw.vu.nl)
It Takes Three To Tango: How perceived political opportunity structure and mobilizing structures influence the micro-mobilization context

Abstract: In this paper we present a study wherein two movements call on for two demonstrations against the same government at the same time and the same place. These movements, however, emphasized different aspects of the proposed government policies. This offered us the opportunity to test the effects of different mobilizing structures on participation motives of the individual protesters. Furthermore, we hold that an equal *structural* situation, e.g. the political opportunity structure, does not necessarily have to be *perceived* in the same way by individual protesters. We test whether motives and emotions of individual protesters vary as a function of perceived political opportunity structure and mobilizing structures.

Structural equation modeling revealed that instrumental motives prevailed in the context of instrumental movements whereas ideology motives prevailed in the context of expressive movements. Moreover, the motivation of protesters who perceived the political opportunity structure as closed was fueled by frustration and anger whereas protesters who perceived the political opportunity structure as open this were indignation and anger.

Our study shows that collective action participation is a complicated phenomenon. Theories on collective action available in sociology and political science focus on meso- or macro variables, yet these theories rarely focus on the micro-level *social* and *psychological* processes by which people come to engage in collective action. But our study shows that it is individuals who react to their social environment. They respond to the world as they *perceive* and *interpret* it and if we want to understand their motivations and emotions we need to know their perceptions and interpretations.

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Explaining political activism in right-wing extremist organizations: Who are these people and what drives them?

Abstract: Why do people join extreme-rightwing political parties or organisations? Who are these people and what motives them to be involved?

This paper aims at fusing insights from social movement theory and the social psychology of collective action participation in an attempt to get insight into the question of who are organizing right-wing extremist groups and what drives these organizers. To explore this question, we conducted life-history interviews with thirty-six activists within right-wing extremist organizations in the Netherlands (1996-1999)

In the present article we will introduce four prototypical activist careers (Linden& Klandermans, 2007) -*Revolutionaries, Wanderers, Converts and Complaints*- which are based on different pathways, and suggest that each prototype stands for different motivational dynamics.

The motivational dynamics of collective action participation (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007) suggests three possible motivational paths: an *instrumental* path, taken by people who participate because they see it as an opportunity to change at affordable costs a state of affairs they are unhappy with; an *identity* path, taken by people who participate because they identify with the others involved; and an *ideology* path taken by people who participate because they want to express their values.

First, we will elaborate on the prototypes and their careers followed by an elaboration on the motives, finally we will combine these two in an attempt to describe the motivational dynamics underlying the four prototypical activist careers.

Jeffrey Kosbie (Northwestern University; j-kosbie@northwestern.edu)
Culture and movement framing disputes: the Chilean gay rights movement

Abstract: New social movement scholarship has critiqued the failure of structural analyses to adequately conceptualize how culture and identity are engaged in movement development. While this has revealed weaknesses in political movement models (e.g., resource mobilization, political process model), further work must be done to elucidate how cultural and political goals and outcomes relate. Drawing on interviews, document analysis, and participant observation, this article uses the Chilean gay rights movement to explore the relationship between culture and movement framing disputes. The study identifies two dominant organizations in the Chilean gay rights movement. While both claim to represent the movement, one exclusively focuses on political work and the other predominantly engages in social and cultural identity work. As predicted by previous work on framing disputes, this tension does weaken the political focus of the movement; however this study suggests how the framing dispute can successfully broaden the cultural space for identity work across the movement field. This frame interplay works across a political-interest group/cultural-identity group axis. In the analysis, the article stresses how an overemphasis on political structures and tactics has obscured the cultural work done by identity movements.

Rachel V. Kutz-Flamenbaum (SUNY Stony Brook; rflamenb@ic.sunysb.edu)
Framing, Collective Identity and Organizational Strategy: Examining the Relationship between Organizational Frames and Participation in the Women's Peace Movement.

Abstract: Over the past several years, gender-specific framing has increasingly been used to mobilize women throughout the U.S. to protest the war in Iraq. Several new women's social movement organizations (SMOs) have emerged specifically around the issue of peace. These new organizations have taken the lead on women's peace organizing and have emphasized women's roles as mothers and caregivers, to attract new adherents and grow the movement. These new organizations have systematically constructed a master frame that claims that women have a moral obligation to challenge war due to their ability to nurture and raise children. The prevalence of this "maternalist" frame raises challenges to preexisting women's organizations that draw upon more egalitarian feminist language and ultimately emphasize opposition to war because war disproportionately affects women. Drawing on survey responses of 834 individual activists, I examine levels of support for both a "maternalist" and an "egalitarian" frame and determine that support for maternalist frames decreases with higher levels of movement participation while support for feminist frames increases with higher levels of participation. Thus, the maternalist frame is successful in drawing new activists into the anti-war movement but does not mobilize more experienced activists. In this paper, I examine the relationship between framing and participation through an examination of the role of collective identity in the anti-war and women's movements. I argue that the organizational strategy of prioritizing growth instead of developing cohorts of highly committed activists with a strong collective identity, allows women's peace SMOs to attract significant media attention and increase their political influence but inhibits the building of lasting SMOs or activists with strong collective identities who will work on women's or peace issues beyond the current period of crisis.

Jeff Larson (University of Arizona; jlarson@u.arizona.edu)
From Mobilization to Institutionalization: Persistence and Change within the Social Movement Field

Abstract: Why has the Social Movement remained a widely used form of collective action for two hundred years? Why do collective actors not adopt another, perhaps more successful, form instead? The persistence of this form of collective action suggests that processes of institutionalization are at work, processes inadequately captured by the Political Process or Resource Mobilization perspectives that depict social movements as operating outside of existing institutions. I propose the concept of the Social Movement Field – encompassing all social movements, counter-movements, regulatory agencies, donors, allies, allied media, support groups, and opponents – within which the Social Movement has attained a stable and shared meaning that has become fixed in this complex field of overlapping social relations. I draw upon existing evidence in the literature to support this claim. Theories of organizational change are then used to develop hypotheses about the dynamics within this field. Neoinstitutionalism and Organizational Ecology suggest different mechanisms and make different predictions about what drives the strategies, tactics, and claims made by social movement organizations. If theories of political opportunities can be extended to other fields of activity as some have suggested, they too offer new hypotheses about field dynamics. Finally, the field perspective is contrasted with extant theories and implications for future research are discussed.

Darcy K. Leach (Boston College; darcykl@umich.edu)
A Politics of the First Person: Identity, Strategy, and the Meaning of Autonomy for the German Autonomen

Abstract: Over the last thirty years, extraparliamentary activism in Germany has given rise to two divergent democratic countercultures, both deeply committed to a non-hierarchical, "collectivist-democratic" style of politics, but practicing it in distinctly different ways, marked by different ways of dividing labor and running meetings as well as different decision-making processes and tactical orientations. One has roots in the Gandhian tradition of radical non-violence; the other in the Western European "autonomous" movement (known in Germany as the Autonomen). Given that both movements exist within the same political system, have the same class base and face the same opportunity structures, this project examined the role of ideology in shaping their divergent collectivist practices of the two countercultures through a comparative analysis of six autonomous and six nonviolence groups. I argue that in both cases the organizational practices of these groups grew out of competing understandings within each movement of their respective core concepts of
autonomy and non-violence. In this paper I focus on the case of the Autonomen and show how attempts to negotiate competing "oppositional" and "constructivist" understandings of autonomy are at the root not only of their intra-organizational practices, but also of their intergroup practices, and that their ability to manage the ideological tension between the two orientations to autonomy have been critically important in their struggle to sustain a coherent collective identity, to sustain their groups as sites of resistance and collectivist resocialization, and to sustain their movement through waxing and waning political opportunities over the last 25 years.

Lisa Leitz (University of California, Santa Barbara; lisa_leitz@umail.ucsb.edu)
"Eliciting Sadness and Creating Collective Identity: The Importance of War Memorials as a Tactic in the Military Peace Movement"

Abstract: Social movement scholars have expanded the conception of tactics to include public spectacles and cultural forms such as music and art used as political expression. At the same time, scholars have described how movements' cultures inform their strategic choices to use novel and dramatic tactics that often seek to elicit strong emotions and how the performance of tactical repertoires can create solidarity and build collective identity. In this paper, I examine the role of war memorials in the contemporary military peace movement, which is comprised of veterans and military family members who engage activism opposing the Iraq War. Using data from interviews and participant observation, as well as analysis of movement materials and news media coverage of the movement, I examine how the central tension of the military peace movement, between a military identity and an activist identity in opposition to the war, is displayed in a popular anti-war tactical repertoire. Veteran and military family organizations strategically chose to display the costs of the Iraq war through memorials in order to debate hegemonic notions of patriotism and support for the troops. This tactic often elicits sadness and promotes dialog among those who see these memorials. Additionally, the war memorial tactic promotes collective identity formation within military peace movement organizations and across organizations helping to create a larger movement identity. This research contributes to understanding the important role of emotion in social movement tactics and in ensuing collective identity formation.

Sandra R. Levitsky (University of Michigan; slevitsk@umich.edu)
When Activists and Constituents Disagree: The Political and Strategic Consequences of Divergent Perceptions of Political Efficacy

Abstract: While the social movement framing literature has supplied a crucial link for understanding how movement actors interpret "objective" political conditions as opportunities for collective action, our theoretical insights about the importance of political efficacy in mobilization efforts have largely been premised on research about the views of activists, rather than those individuals who are presumably the targets of framing efforts. As a result, we know little about the strategic and political consequences for social movements when perceptions of political opportunities among activists and potential participants substantially diverge. In this paper, I consider the effects of divergent "readings" of the political opportunity structure on mobilization efforts for long-term care policy reform in the United States. I distinguish two dimensions of political efficacy: *organizational efficacy*, or the perception among activists that movement organizations can alter conditions or policies through collective action, and *individual efficacy*, or the perception among potential participants that their own contribution in collective action can make a political difference. Comparing how activists and unpaid family caregivers "read" opportunities for political action, I find that not only do perceptions of organizational and individual efficacy differ, but it is this divergence that explains why otherwise politicized caregivers feel they lack the capacity to effect change.

Penny Lewis (Graduate Center, CUNY; lornalmason@gmail.com)
Lorna Mason (Brooklyn College, CUNY; lornalmason@gmail.com)
Farewell to the Working Class? Class and new social movement theory

Abstract: How do our conceptual frameworks shape our appreciation of the class dynamics of social movement action and politics? This paper critically examines how theoretical assumptions made by students of "new" social movements affect what and who gets counted as protest and protester. We argue that the reigning acceptance of the "post-scarcity" paradigm for "post-modern" movements tends to amplify middle-class participation and politics while erasing actions and activities of working class social movement actors and organizations in such movements. Such emphasis in turn reaffirms notions of working class conservatism on the one hand, and positive and negative stereotypes of a "liberal elite" on the other. Drawing on analytical frameworks, like oppositional consciousness and culture, which privilege the interdependency of culture and structure, Lewis examines the Vietnam and contemporary antiwar movements and Mason the Patriot movement, in order to examine what happens when the question of class is at the forefront of one's analysis of the culture, politics, and composition of contemporary social movements. Against the dominant historical narrative of its middle class base, Lewis traces a "counter-memory" of working class participation in the Vietnam antiwar movement, and examines the implications of the class dynamics of that earlier movement for today's antiwar struggle. Mason finds strategies of exit, rather than conventional social movement strategies that target the political sphere, typical among patriots. Strategies of exit are a tactical decision, based in an analysis of structural position that patriots call the "new world order" that has much to do with the appreciation of their place in class and political structures as well as the meanings generated from an analysis of structural position.

Eloise Linger (SUNY-Old Westbury; lingere@oldwestbury.edu)
Cuba's ascent from economic ruin and political isolation: Has Latin America begun to roar?

Abstract: Since 1990, the Cuban state and economy have faced a daunting challenge, and this paper contends that the island country's slow climb from the depths of hunger and despair has been made possible by various dynamics of solidarity from different parts of Latin America. While international markets for nickel and for medical and educational experts have been critical for Cuba's success, the paper asserts that 1) political support and long-term processes begun in the mid-1990s throughout the continent are now paying off for Cuba, and 2) the position of China in the world economy, has hastened Cuba's economic growth, and China remains a strong ally and trading partner for Cuba and the greater region. Electoral victories by Left-leaning candidates and the changing balance of political power over the past several years point to a process of transforming entire regions of South America (and to a lesser extent, Central America and the Caribbean). Is it likely that the growing urban (and sometimes rural) protest movements that are demanding more control over natural resources, along with Chavez' leadership, will have long-term negative economic impact on "the imperial north," especially the economic superiority of the United States?

Zakiya Luna (University of Michigan; zakiyal@umich.edu)
Framing Women's Reproductive and Human Rights

Abstract: Organizations belonging to the mainstream reproductive rights movement (such the National Organization for Women and Planned Parenthood) often framed the issue of women's reproductive rights as protecting abortion access at the level of state and federal laws. Dissatisfied with this narrow frame, women of color have created their own organizations, expanding their work to issues such as forced sterilization. Their work draws on their experiences of belonging to multiple oppressed groups, living at both structural and political intersections (Williams).

Despite diverse approaches, organizations have successfully crossed divides to create coalitions such as the one that produced the March for Women's Lives, which after much negotiation came to fruition on April 25, 2004.The women of color organization most involved in the reframing of the goals and strategies of the March was the Atlanta-based SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective. Founded in 1997, SisterSong has grown to 70 women of color organizations.

SisterSong attempts to draw on and exists at the intersection of the movements for women rights and human rights. How does SisterSong frame its work when working within multiple movements? How does this framing challenge mainstream organizations? What organizing possibilities does this frame provide both mainstream and women of color organizations? How was the March's framing received by the public? What affect, if any, has the experience had on current frames and strategies of the organizations? To answer these questions, this paper will draw on qualitative analysis of organization materials, personal interviews, observations and written accounts.

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Thomas V. Maher (Ohio State University; maher.74@sociology.osu.edu)
In the Shadow of the Smoke Stacks; Threat, Resistance, and Movement Mobilization in Sobibor and Auschwitz

Abstract: Social movement literature has only recently begun to pay significant attention to the role of threat in the formation and mobilization of social movements. This article uses primary and secondary data sources to build an understanding of the resistance groups that formed in Auschwitz and Sobibor, and to show that threat can motivate people to resist even when their participation increases the threats that they face. Using these cases, this article elaborates on the concept of threat and the different types of threat that may motivate movement mobilization as well as why organized resistance was so rare in the concentration camps. The comparison of these two cases will demonstrate the capabilities and limits of threat as a motivational force, and demonstrate how threat can both mobilize and deter action.

Gregory M. Maney (Hofstra University; socgmm@hofstra.edu)
Agreeing for Different Reasons: Strategic Multiplicity and Poly-purposeful Practices in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement

Abstract: Large numbers of individuals and organizations making the same demands and using the same forms of contention suggests a single social movement strategy. Yet variations in structural location, ideology, and identity frequently result in activists differing in their goals or holding contrary opinions regarding how to achieve the same goals. In these instances, consensus would be unreasonable, muddled, or implicitly coerced, calling into question the relevance of strategy to prevailing movement practices. In contrast to existing theories, I propose that prevailing movement practices are poly-purposeful. Individuals and organizations plan and participate in the same events for different and sometimes contradictory reasons. The extent to which movement participants share common practices depends upon the degree to which the logics of their strategies intersect at a given stage of mobilization and contention. A triangulated, longitudinal analysis of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland reveals that contrasting goals and ontological assumptions among organizers resulted in their planning and participating in mass civil rights marches for very different strategic reasons. Major splits over whether to continue marching developed when organizers perceived opportunities for and threats to the implementation of their strategies. While the assumption of a single, shared rationality is unfounded, it would be equally unfounded to ignore the sophisticated analysis and long-term envisioning behind movement practices. Rather than being the product of strategic dilemmas, differences over organizational forms, demands, and tactics reflect ideologically-based differences in strategy. Long-term strategic thinking often impedes the short-term capacity to generate effective collective decision making and practices.

Melanie Schleeter McCalmont (University of Wisconsin-Madison; mccalmont@wisc.edu)
"Science for Vietnam"

Abstract: From 1969-1992, Science for the People (SftP) was a national organization of communication networks and activists that published, protested, and organized to demystify the role of experts in science and to increase public awareness of the misuse of scientific research. SftP's members were committed to scientists as a community, and worked to increase public awareness of alarming developments in sociobiology, genetic engineering, ecology, and warfare science. This retrospective on Science for the People examines how groups work through national and international networks to negotiate the translation of political views and complicated science into public communication. The SftP narrative draws on the archival record along with the group's publications, artifacts, publicity, and reports. Using two major projects in late 1969, this retrospective offers an historical backdrop from which to view the continuing difficulties of separating science from politics yet communicating its results for political citizens. It suggests that both the topics and critiques by Science for the People retain their relevance as translation of science for the public has become both more complex and urgent since 1969.

Holly McCammon (Vanderbilt University; holly.mccammon@vanderbilt.edu)
Nella Van Dyke (Washington State University; nvandyke@wsu.edu)
Strategic Collaboration: A Meta-Analysis of the Conditions that Facilitate Coalition Formation

Abstract: A small but growing literature empirically confirms that the involvement of coalitions can have a positive impact on movement success (Almeida and Stearns 1998; Foran 2005; Jones et al. 2000; Juska and Edwards 2005; Stearns and Almeida 2004; Williams 1999). In spite of the importance of coalitions to social movements and social change, coalitions have received relatively little empirical attention from social scientists. However, a small but growing body of work examines both the internal dynamics of coalitions and the external factors that give rise to them. In this paper, we conduct a meta-analysis of the research on social movement coalition formation to determine the conditions under which organizations strategically decide to collaborate with others. We find that a congruent ideology is the only necessary and sufficient condition for coalition formation, and that political threats may inspire coalitions even in times of resource scarcity, while ample resources are necessary for groups to overcome the barriers to collaboration when political opportunities present themselves. We further explore the nuances of these dynamics by describing the results of a new set of as yet unpublished coalition research studies.

Rory McVeigh (University of Notre Dame; Rory.M.McVeigh@nd.edu)
Promoting One-Hundred Percent American Schools: The Ku Klux Klan's Support for Public Education in the 1920s

Abstract: Few social movements in the history of the United States have been as successful as the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s in terms of recruiting members and supporters.   In only a few years, the Klan became a national movement with chapters established in all 48 states. With the leverage that comes from enlisting millions of dues-paying members, the movement forced political representatives, including those who had their sites set on the presidency, to take a stand in regard to the Ku Klux Klan and its agenda. The Klan's recruiting success can be attributed to many factors. This paper, however, examines the way in which the movement's support for public schooling helped to generate broad support for the "Invisible Empire."

Hilary Melcarek (University of California, Santa Cruz; melcarek@gmail.com)
Harvesting their potential?: Framing and activism in urban garden organizations

Abstract: Community food organizations use a variety of activist strategies to fulfill their goal of providing access to healthy food in low-income communities. I studied three urban garden organizations in Southwest Berkeley and West Oakland, CA that worked to improve access to fresh, organic fruits and vegetables. Food insecurity in these neighborhoods is an environmental justice issue. Residents not only lack access to healthy food alternatives, but are assaulted with a disproportionate amount of toxic food choices from fast food restaurants and liquor stores. Using a case-study approach, I collected data through surveys, interviews, participant observation, and agroecological garden surveys. This interdisciplinary approach has enabled me to understand how these particular organizations frame themselves within the broader food security movement and how this framing effects their day-to-day operations and successes. I have additionally been able to determine which strategies are most effective in both reaching and involving community members and providing food in an effective, culturally appropriate manner.

The three organizations in this study use three main activist strategies: a *community food security* approach to providing access to healthy foods, a *food justice* approach, and an *agrofood activism* approach. Community food security is defined as "all persons obtaining, at all times, a culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through local, non-emergency sources" (Gottlieb and Fischer, 1996). Food activists use the term food security to focus on creating community-based ways of providing food in an affordable, sustainable, and ecologically sensitive manner. However, community food security also connotes 'service' and 'provisioning.' While it is people of color who disproportionately experience food insecurity, the majority of the leaders and decision makers in the movement are white (Slocum, 2006). This unacknowledged white privilege inherent in the community food security movement alienates the very community it is meant to serve. Rather than solely providing a service, the food justice movement begins with the conviction that access to healthy food is human right. Organizations using a food justice approach directly involve local people by hiring and training community members, thereby educating, organizing, and mobilizing new social relations around food (Griffith, 2003). However, without long-term training, it can be difficult for garden-based organizations to find adequate interest and skill from within the community. Lastly, urban garden organizations use various agrofood activism approaches. They plant demonstration gardens showcasing different plants and cropping techniques, run garden and nutrition based workshops and classes (either community-developed or otherwise), and invite school groups to learn and plant in their gardens.

It appears that a combination of approaches is the most effective strategy. While a food justice approach employs people from within the community, without other agrofood activism strategies, other community members such as seniors and children are left out. In addition, organizations with a community food security approach tend to bring in a valuable sustainable agriculture component. While not all urban garden organizations can "do it all," this research provides valuable lessons of how they can effectively improve healthy food access in low income communities and is additionally applicable in the operations of many types of community food organizations.

David S. Meyer (University of California, Santa Barbara; dmeyer@uci.edu)
Suzanne Staggenborg (McGill University; Suzanne.staggenborg@mcgill.edu)
Thinking about Strategy

Abstract: Thinking about strategy is of critical importance to both activists and scholars. For activists, strategy refers to choices about claims, issues, allies, frames, identity and presentation of self, resources, and tactics. They act as though these choices matter, and we generally assume that they do--although the cumulation of activist knowledge is inevitably *ad hoc*. Activists are precluded from exploring, much less employing, an extensive inventory of choices by limits on their expertise, resources, and identities, as well as by the exigencies of the moment. For scholars, strategy, sitting at the intersection of structure and agency, is at the heart of collective action. Activists make choices, of course, but they do so from a limited repertoire, as Tilly has demonstrated. How this repertoire is limited and the consequences of various decisions rightly represent key sources of critical questions on the politics of social protest. Both proximate and long-term outcomes are affected by strategic decisions by activists, as well as the responses of allies, bystanders, authorities, and opponents.

Despite the obvious importance of strategy, the literature on social movements suffers from a deficit of systematic theoretical and empirical work on the topic. There are, to be sure, case studies that refer to strategic choices or capacity (e.g., Ganz 2000) and various theoretical offerings of definitions and key issues (e.g., Freeman 1979; Jenkins 1981; Rucht 1990). We aim to build on these leads, offering ways of thinking about strategy that we hope will stimulate new theory and research. We clarify different levels of strategic action and influences on strategy, ranging from the large-scale cultural and political to movement and organizational level dynamics to cognitive and affective influences. We identify key questions about the selection and impact of strategy and we offer an operational way of thinking about strategic choices, comprised of the visible expression of decisions about venues, claims, and tactics. By thinking about strategy as comprised of multiple decisions by multiple actors, and employing different levels of analysis, we argue that it is possible to trace the range of factors affecting the expression of strategic choices and their consequences.

Dan Morrison (Vanderbilt University; dan.morrison@vanderbilt.edu)
Framing the Struggle: Cartoons of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1921

Abstract: This paper focuses on what I call "visual framing" of issues, adversaries, and strategies of the IWW from its founding until the Palmer Raids forced a drastic reduction in IWW activities from 1918-1921. Using cartoons as examples of material culture, I will conduct a content analysis of the themes, representations, and issues that were illustrated in I.W.W. cartoons from this early period in the organization's history. Data from over 100 cartoons was found in movement publications such as *Industrial Worker*, *The Industrial Union Bulletin*, and others. The goal of the analysis will be to determine the ways in which the framing perspective can be applied to cartoons drawn by IWW members, and those in support of IWW members. This research adds breadth to the framing perspective by drawing our attention to the way in which visual art both captures and delivers messages to the audiences social movements seek to mobilize. According to Snow and others (1988), a frame identifies a social or political problem, the parties responsible, and a solution. Cartoons, I argue, do this through combining the visual with the textual. Cartoons capture the essence of frames—they condense the struggle, highlighting selected events and actions, creating meaning from these events. A focus on visual framing through cartoons also democratizes the framing perspective, providing messages that may resonate powerfully with those who lack extensive, formal education.

Ziad Munson (Lehigh University; munson@lehigh.edu)
Mobilizing on Campus: Conservative Movement's and Today's College Students

Abstract: Social movement scholars have long been interested in the role of students and college campuses in social movement recruitment and activity. For the most part, however, their attention has focused almost exclusively on liberal activism. This paper brings attention to the extensive conservative organizing that is present on American college campuses today. It argues that conservative movements have specifically targeted college campuses by building durable ties between movement organizations and student groups as well as investing directly in infrastructure in and around colleges and universities. These strategies have both intended consequences for student culture and campus life as well as unintended consequences for the culture and moral universe of the movements themselves. The analysis presented in the paper helps clarify the specific ways in which biographical availability and social networks—two of the key underlying mechanisms for social movement recruitment— operate among today's students. The empirical data for the paper come from a qualitative national study of the pro-life movement in the U.S. coupled with new survey data collected on the social movement attitudes and experiences of college students at several different colleges.

William Munro (Illinois Wesleyan University; wmunro@iwu.edu)
Rachel Schurman (University of Minnesota- Twin Cities; schurman@umn.edu)
Chain (Re)actions: Comparing Activist Mobilization Against Biotechnology in the United Kingdom and the U.S

Abstract: Although social activism around genetically modified organisms (GMO) is often associated with the "anti-GMO" movement in Europe, the U.S. has also had a longstanding movement opposed to GMOs in agriculture. Yet unlike European activists, who managed to close Europe's markets to GMO food in the 1990s, the US movement has had little impact on the technology's public acceptance. In this paper, we analyze this difference in the efficacy of two very similar social movements. Taking a "cultural economy" approach, we show how the cultural construction of the commodity chain for food created very different political openings for activists in the US and the UK, respectively. On a theoretical level, our study introduces the utility of commodity chain analysis for understanding the efficacy of social movements seeking to promote market-oriented change. Yet rather than simply engaging in the kind of structural analysis that is typical of commodity chain approaches, we indicate how the strength and weakness of links in a commodity chain are shaped by the kinds of social relationships that are established among networks of social actors, which are in turn profoundly informed by local cultures of consumption, production, and competition, as well as traditions of political engagement and participation.

Courtney S. Muse (Vanderbilt University; Courtney.e.muse@vanderbilt.edu)
Conservative and Gay…Why It's Okay: Organizational Framing and Identity Conflict Negotiation among Log Cabin Republicans

Abstract: This paper addresses, via extensive content analysis and in-depth interviews, the lacunae in the social movements literature regarding the role of framing to issues of personal and collective identity conflict and negotiation. Using as a reference the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR), an organization comprised of gay conservatives, I examine the relationships between organizational framing, individual level identity management processes and movement participation and growth. I argue that framing processes are key factors involved in the identity management undertaken by the LCR to maintain its constituency. How successful the organization is in its framing efforts will be reflected in the degree to which these frames are used by individual members in order to reduce identity conflicts and continue or increase their participation in movement activities.

I explore how frame alignment processes such as frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation (Snow, et al. 1986) operate in individual level identity negotiations. Further, I show how those frames that resonate with individual experiences are more often utilized by LCR members experiencing a conflict of identity. Additionally, I argue that the credibility of the frame articulator plays a role in whether or not a particular frame is adopted by the individual member. In other words, those frames offered by the LCR leadership that are resonant with the life experiences of the individual and those frames with credible spokespersons are more likely to be expressed by LCR constituents. To move beyond individual level dynamics, I also look at how successful the organization is at offering frames to individual members that allow them to reduce identity conflicts. The success of particular framing attempts are ascertained through careful examination of movement participation and growth.

Sharon Erickson Nepstad (University of Southern Maine; snepstad@yahoo.com)
Stellan Vinthagen (Goteborg University; stellan.vinthagen@padrigu.gu.se)
Culture and Strategy in Cross-national Movements: The Case of the Plowshares Movement

Abstract: Cross-national movements will likely increase as technology draws awareness to foreign struggles. Yet as activists adopt movements from abroad, they inevitably face a number of strategic choices as they start branch movements in their own countries. Using comparative data on the Plowshares movement in the U.S., Sweden, and Great Britain, we explore some of the strategic challenges that these European spin-off movements faced. The U.S. Plowshares movement emerged in 1980 when Catholic Left activists began breaking into military bases, pouring blood, and using hammers to damage various nuclear weapons facilities. These dramatic acts of moral witness are designed to obstruct a government's ability to wage war, but the effect is primarily symbolical as religious activists view their work as prophetic, calling for people to actualize the biblical vision of a day when "nations shall beat their swords into plowshares." As this high-risk movement spread cross-nationally, European activists had to adapt the Catholic cultural practices, beliefs, and tactics of the originating U.S. movement so that they would resonate in a more secular context. They also debated whether they should retain the expressive orientation of the U.S. movement or adopt a more politically instrumental approach. We compare the strategic choices that the British and Swedish Plowshares movements made, and examine the consequences of those decisions, which led to a thriving British movement but a fledgling and divided Swedish movement. We conclude with a theoretical overview of the cultural factors that influence activists' decisions about tactics and strategies.

Cristiana Olcese (Emory University; colcese@emory.edu)
"Art and Resistance: Symbolism and Performance in a Varied Sample of Protest Events"

Abstract: This paper uses a comparison of a set of disparate collective actions to address the relationship between art and resistance. Using participant observation, photographic records, and an exhaustive content analysis of protest speeches, leaflets, and performance, I argue for the centrality of symbolism and artistic expression to contemporary contention. Much of the literature suggests that social movements are only (strategic-instrumental) "politics by other means," and attempts to simplify the heterogeneity of discourses and actors involved in a given protest event. In contrast, I illustrate the importance of shared emotions, interpretations, attributions, and social constructions in the representations and practices of participants in such events. Protests provide opportunities to express deeper urges and speak to broader themes than just the specific issue officially motivating the event. Above all, participants seek respect and expression; they reject perceived societal lies and hypocrisy; they seek alternative visions of society and alternative solutions to social problems; and they attempt to connect with people like themselves." Different protests—even those aimed at local problems and change—partake of a similar transnational alternative culture. The slogan "another world is possible" embodies a broad rejection of a neo-liberal ideology perceived to be dominant and oppressive, at both macro-societal and micro-personal levels.

Pamela Oliver (University of Wisconsin-Madison; oliver@ssc.wisc.edu)
"Repression and Crime Control: Why Social Movements Scholars Should Pay Attention to Policing of Crime as a Form of Repression."

Abstract: Social movements research has tended to ignore the relation between the repression of dissent and the control of "ordinary" crime. This paper argues that political repression and crime control should be brought into theoretical and empirical dialogue. First, they raise similar analytic issues, in that they involve a regime's attempt to suppress undesirable behavior in the general population. Each tradition contributes theoretical insights that helps to illuminate the other. Second, despite clear differences at the extremes, there is inevitable overlap between crime and dissent, and between crime control and political repression. There is a political aspect to crime, insofar as it benefits some while it hurts others. There are political disputes about which acts ought to be criminalized and what the penalties ought to be for different kinds of crime. High levels of crime against the majority reduce popular support for a regime even more than protest does. On the other side, the policing that controls crime can easily also have the effect – even if it is unintended – of constraining political dissent. Crime control can have the effect of reducing a group's capacity for political dissent and, thus, be a kind of functional equivalent for political repression. Data about the mass incarceration of African Americans in the US after 1980 suggests that crime control and especially the drug war may have had the consequence of repressing dissent among the poor.

Kristine Olsen (University of Connecticut; KAnnOlsen@aol.com)
"Telling Our Stories: Linking Institutional Arrangements and Discursive Strategies in the Movement for Same-Sex Marriage"

Abstract: The framing perspective has produced an abundance of studies analyzing discursive exchanges between opposing social movement organizations (SMOs). Consistently, the depiction of opposing movements that emerges is isomorphic; frames that are deployed by one organization are mechanistically countered by its opponent, and failure to respond with a structurally similar argument leads to negative outcomes like policy failure and demobilization. In this paper I suggest that the extent of an SMO's *polity access* combined with the *discursive resonance* of its frames shapes the type of discursive strategy that will be employed. In my analysis of Connecticut's 2005 public hearings on same-sex marriage, I find that two contending SMOs—Love Makes a Family of Connecticut (LMF) and the Family Institute of Connecticut (FIC)—were situated differently in relation to elected officials along these two dimensions. While FIC lacked access to key polity members and constructed unpopular arguments, LMF made resonant civil rights-based arguments and used a narrative strategy aimed at maintaining access to legislators. As a result of their position in the legislative arena, LMF was able to "ignore" the religious arguments deployed by FIC and engage directly with legislators, while FIC was compelled to counterframe the arguments of its opponent. These findings provide an alternative to the isomorphism found in framing scholarship, and illustrate the important link between institutional arrangements and strategies.

Berenice Ortega (University of Essex; borteg@essex.ac.uk)
Spaces of resistance, class formation and political culture of social protest in contemporary Latin America

Abstract: I seek to debate on the concepts and paradigms we use today to interpret social movements and social change, particularly in Latin America. Specifically, I would like to introduce "class" as a valid category that can be useful to describe, not a "thing" set in a rigid structure, but a historical process of collective memory and struggle constructed in conditions of domination and resistance; and if and how it can contribute to building a contemporary peoples' project of Nation.

I base my ideas on my past MA field research with the coca grower's movement in Bolivia and other research of the recent social protest in the community of San Salvador Atenco in Mexico; but also, in perspective of my current PhD research project: how political culture, consciousness and methods have changed in social protest in Mexico since the EZLN uprising in 1994. There are structural explanations for a gradual radicalisation, specifically neoliberal policies that have lead to further political and economic marginalisation. But my main concern is what has happened with social protest internally. Did their demands and needs change after sharing a common *experience and space of resistance*? Has this contributed towards forming a political project specific to each groups' needs or a national broader one? What forms of political or class-consciousness have developed, if any? What kind of influence, outlets and outcomes have these protests produced and which ones could they potentially have in the future? These are all historical questions as well.

I wish to analyse these transformations comparing three specific and very representative movements that have made a significant impact on *hegemony* and the nature of social protest in Mexico in the past 10 years: the 1999 UNAM strike, the recent formation of APPO in Oaxaca, and the different mobilizations that have revolved around the presidential candidacy of Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

Josh Pacewicz (University of Chicago; pacewicz@uchicago.edu)
Making Room for Hippies Like "Us": Individual and Collective Intentionality During Spontaneous Events

Abstract: Individual internationality is sometimes attributed to social movements– movements have grievances, strategies and goals, for example. While usually true of movement leadership and others, most social movements also include individuals of lower ideological sophistication. These individuals can be especially important in cases of spontaneous events – unplanned opportunities or challenges characterized by insufficient time for strategy. Below, it is argued that social movements are also characterized by collective intentionality - cultural strategies and assumption that must be maintained to regulate group cohesion. Collective intentionality is more relevant than individual intentionality for reactions to spontaneous events. To document this, a historical content analysis of primary documents is conducted for San Francisco's Haight Ashbury(HA) and New York's East Village(EV) from 1966-68. These communities are ideal for comparison, because individual intentionality did not exist – hippies neither agreed nor cared about grievances, strategies, or goals. Despite this fact, HA was highly reactive to spontaneous events such as police repression, while the EV was not until summer 1967. This results from differences in collective intentionality. HA residents engaged in "total othering" – the propensity to establish group boundaries so that group members were unambiguously part of the group while others were unambiguously outside. EV did not until the summer of 1967, when the EV became more reactive to spontaneous events. Collective intentionality is likely to be characterized by "total othering" when a) individuals establish common identity in terms of positive traits and b) some element of this identification is made impossible by others. Thus, it is argued that more attention should be paid to collective intentionality in future – even in movements characterized by well articulated and sophisticated individual intentionality among the leadership.

Nehal A. Patel (Northwestern University; n-patel@northwestern.edu)
"Environmental, Legal, and Oppositional Consciousness in the Environmental Movement"

Abstract: The rise of social movements often is attributed to the development of an oppositional political consciousness that is a reaction to hegemonic political consciousness. Activists create and exemplify the oppositional political consciousness characteristic of social movements because they are at the forefront of social change. Using in-depth interviews with environmental activists, I observe and document evidence of oppositional political consciousness in the environmental movement.

   I believe oppositional political consciousness should be dissected to understand its component parts in different movements. In the environmental movement, different types of consciousness interact to form various orientations toward social change that shape movement subcultures and ultimately affect movement strategies, tactics, and outcomes. Of particular interest in this paper are varieties of legal and environmental consciousness that interact to form systems of oppositional political consciousness used to resist systems of domination. I examine the legal and environmental consciousness of environmental activists by detailing the specific schemas that comprise them. Every type of consciousness utilizes a specific cluster of cultural schemas, or collective cultural understandings, that influence movement subcultures. In-depth interviews capture the particular clusters of schemas that constitute legal and environmental consciousness among environmental activists. The interviews also illustrate the manner in which particular schemas blend together to create the systems of oppositional political consciousness exhibited and employed by activists.

Natalie Peluso (University of Connecticut; Natalie_peluso@yahoo.com)
"The New Bump 'n' Grind": Drag, Identity, and the Politics of Performance in the New Burlesque

Abstract: Conceptualizing drag performance as "Identity Deployment" within the Neo-Burlesque movement, this paper explores the corporeal strategies and tactics undertaken by modern-day burlesque dancers, and the intent behind dancers' use of this form of sexualized performance. Drawing primarily from my research on the deployment of "high-femme" and "drag king" identities by Neo-Burlesque dancers, this paper specifically explores the performance of drag as a strategy of resistance within both queer and non-queer communities. I examine burlesque performers' beliefs regarding both the intent behind and the impact of their drag performances. My findings suggest that burlesque performers did not deploy drag identities exclusively for the purpose of subverting (hetero) sexuality and gender. Overwhelmingly, the burlesque dancers agreed that they deployed drag identities to challenge and critique dominant cultural beauty norms by way of displaying their bodies through dance and striptease. Additionally, many respondents believed that their portrayals of openly sexual, "sexy" women empowered their female audience members by encouraging them to examine the social and political constraints placed upon female sexuality. Finally, dancers argued that they deployed drag identities to call attention to specific communities, and their specific sentiments and needs. I examine the implications of my findings in regards to current scholarship on social movement strategies and outcomes, as well as social change more broadly.

Christine Petit (University of California, Riverside; christineepetit@gmail.com)
"Different Tactics, Same Repression: The Social Control of Dissent and Resistance to it."

Abstract: This paper examines the conditions under which elites use legal repression to control social movements and other social groups. Differences in forms and levels of repression as a means of social control will be investigated, as well as the circumstances in which repression occurs. Contemporary examples of repression and resistance to it will be analyzed.

I am currently working on this paper as part of a qualifying exam in the area of political economy and global social change. This will serve as a foundation for my prospectus, as the topics of legal repression and resistance will be central to my dissertation. I think this paper would fit well in the panel session "Resisting Political Repression."

Oren Pizmony-Levy (Indiana University; opizmony@indiana.edu)
Youth Support for Social Movements in Twenty Eight Countries

Abstract: Social movements' scholars have highlighted the importance of social contexts – cultural, as well as institutional – to the emergence and development of movements. While there are multiple ways to operationalize context, the social organization of the welfare state captures important variation in institutional arrangements. Importantly, despite the emphasis on context, cross-national research on social movements is limited. Here, I use data from the 2000 International Civic Education Study, including respondents from as diverse countries as Denmark, Germany, Slovakia, and the United States (N=28). Using Hierarchal Level Modeling (HLM), I examine individual-level (e.g., parental education, post-materialism) and country-level influence (e.g., welfare regime) on support for New Social Movements (NSMs; e.g. environmentalism and human-rights). Support is captured by two indicators: a) importance of participation; and b) likelihood of participation. The findings indicate that support for social movements is simultaneously embedded within national context and impacted by social location. More specifically, levels of support for NSM are highest in Social Democratic Countries (e.g. Norway, Sweden) and lowest in Former Socialist Countries (e.g. Lithuania, Poland) and Conservative Countries (e.g. Finland, Switzerland). At the individual level, the findings show that informed youth who discuss international politics and hold postmaterialist values have stronger support for social movements. However, the findings show that adolescents coming from a lower class background are more supportive of NSMs, which contradicts previous research, highlighting the link between the new middle class and social movements. In the paper I discuss possible implications for the sociology of social movements and political sociology.

Francesca Polletta (Columbia University and the University of California, Irvine;
polletta@uci.edu)
Strategy After the Cultural Turn

Abstract: No scholar today would deny that activists are rational actors, striving to use their scant resources to maximum political effect and carefully evaluating strategies and tactics on the basis of how well they serve the cause. And yet, most scholars are quick to acknowledge, activists are also cultural actors, suspended in webs of shared meaning. It is not just that culture defines a set of normative commitments, say, to nonviolence or democracy, that activists juggle along with their strategic commitments to getting things done. It is that culture sets the very terms of strategic calculation. Prevailing beliefs shape what counts as an opportunity and constraint, a cost and a benefit, shape the very meaning of what is strategic, and they sometimes do so in ways that, in retrospect, lead to negative outcomes. However, that fact poses an analytical challenge. How can we capture the ways in which culture shapes strategy without representing movement actors either as ideological dupes or strategic dopes, somehow blind to their own interests? In this paper, I draw on my own research and that of other movement scholars to suggest three answers to that question, three analytical strategies intended to shed light on mechanisms by which prevailing understandings privilege some strategic options and foreclose others. After showing the inadequacy of two concepts for analyzing culture in strategizing that are more familiar to most scholars, namely, *frames* and the *social psychology of group decisionmaking*, I turn to three others: *repertoires*, *institutional logics*, and *metonymies*. They operate at different levels of analysis—macro, meso, and micro, respectively—but all have been operationalized in ways that permit systematic, comparative, empirical study of movement strategizing. Each one draws attention to variability across time and contexts in criteria for judging what is instrumental; to the processes by which alternative criteria are rejected or ignored; to the effects of those criteria on the choices movement groups make; and to the mechanisms by which criteria change. Each one makes it possible to study the mechanisms by which culture forecloses strategic options without simply locating those mechanisms in people's heads.

Stephen C. Poulson (James Madison University; poulsosc@jmu.edu)
The Use and Modification of Traditional Forms of Social Protest by Movement Activists in Iran

Abstract: This paper explores how two longstanding Iranian cultural practices, bast and taqiya, have been used and amended by different Iranian social movements during the past 100 years. Bast is the act of asking for sanctuary, traditionally in a mosque or shrine, to protest the behavior of the state. Innovative uses of bast were employed as movement strategies in Iran during the 1906-1909 Constitutional Revolution and during the Post World War II National Front Movement. While the practice has become less common in modern Iran, the symbolic occupation of space by Iranian movement activists remains a common tactic. Taqiya is the dissimulation of religious belief and was sanctioned during periods of religious persecution. Taqiya traditionally allowed Shi'i Muslims to disavow their faith in order to preserve their safety. Currently, a more populist from of taqiya is when an individual seeks to avoid conflict with others by being less than forthcoming about their personal beliefs. This can help protect someone from powerful authorities, but it is also a strategy used to introduce controversial ideals in a piecemeal fashion.

Jean-Pierre Reed (University of Memphis; vorstellung@bellsouth.edu)
"Religion, Dialogue, and Revolution: Militant Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution"

Abstract: This piece is an historical study that makes a case in favor of interpreting revolutionary action as driven by religious dialogue. To this end, we explore how seminary dialogues assumed revolutionary significance during the 1960s and 1970s in Solentiname, Nicaragua. We focus on the works of Antonio Gramsci, E.P. Thompson, and Pierre Bourdieu to make a conceptual case for the significance of popular religion in revolution. We focus on the works of Martin Buber, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Paulo Freire to underscore the importance of dialogue. We also provide a brief historical and institutional account of a shift in religious meaning, both in the region and Nicaragua. Finally, we also analyze two dialogues from *The Gospel in Solentiname,* a four-volume collection of Bible-centered dialogues as a way to empirically come to terms with the significance of religious dialogue for revolution. The methodological approach employed in this study is *verstehen*, empathetic understanding.

Jo Reger (Oakland University; reger@oakland.edu)
The Role of Community in Feminist Identity and Activism

Abstract: Studies of contemporary feminism document a range of feminist behaviors, ideologies, and activism, from the punk-based Riot Grrrl movement of the Northwest, internet-based activism to the mainstream work of young women in established feminist organizations. These studies illustrate how feminism has not disappeared in the 21st century, and that feminist activism varies greatly in form and content, both at the community and organizational level. I argue that since boundaries are created through the identification of a target or oppositional group and depend upon the interplay of internal activist dynamics and external social factors, in order to understand the creation of identity boundaries in contemporary feminism it is necessary to identify the climate in which feminists operate. Therefore, it is important to understand the ways in which contemporary feminists construct and understand the protagonists, antagonists and audience in the communities in which they live. Based on two case studies of communities with college campuses, one in the Midwest and one on the East Coast, I find that environmental receptivity to types of activism influence the form and content of the collective identity constructed. Due to their location in the midst of a conservative community, the identification of antagonists by Midwest feminists was accomplished relatively easily contributing to a feminist identity that focused mainly on issues of gender inequality and violence against women. In contrast, at the East Coast site, the general acceptance of feminism both on campus and in the surrounding community led to the construction of antagonist boundaries focused less on gender inequality and more on issues of race-ethnicity, sexuality, transgenderism and "out-dated" modes of feminism.

William I. Robinson (University of California, Santa Barbara; wirobins@soc.ucsb.edu)
Social Movements, The State, and the Crisis of Neo-liberalism in Latin America

Abstract: This paper will examine the relationship between social movements in Latin America and these post-neo-liberal states, with a comparative focus on Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia. The "Washington consensus," it is broadly recognized, cracked in the early 21st century. The struggle over what will replace the neo-liberal regime that has prevailed in Latin America for the past 25 years is now underway. Neo-liberalism restored profitability and opened up new avenues for accumulation in the region in the wake of the collapse of the previous developmentalist/ISI model. But the effects of liberalization, deregulation, privatization, and prolonged austerity also generated what some have called a new "pauperization of labor" along with social polarization and conflict. Almost every Latin American country experienced in the 1980s and 1990s waves of spontaneous uprisings throughout the neo-liberal era generally triggered by austerity and adjustment measures. Varying degrees of ungovernability and crises of legitimacy characterize country after country in Latin America and as the dominant groups find it increasingly difficult to maintain governability and assure social reproduction. Alongside spontaneous resistance, social movements of all types – movements of the urban poor in the shantytowns, the indigenous, peasants, workers, and so on – gradually accumulated forces in the 1990s.

The Argentine crisis of 2001-2002 was a key turning point in which neo-liberal elites lost their ideological hegemony and their grip on state power in the region began to slip as the crisis – impending collapse? - of neo-liberalism has created the conditions favorable to promoting an alternative. Both social movements and the Left have moved from accumulating oppositional forces in civil society to bidding for state power. The turn to the left in Latin America – the so-called "pink tide" – raises the matter of the relationship between the mass social movements and the emerging post-neo-liberal states and institutional configurations.

William I. Robinson (University of California, Santa Barbara; wirobins@soc.ucsb.edu)
Social Movements, The State, and the Crisis of Neo-liberalism in Latin America

Daisy Rooks (University of California, Los Angeles; arooks@ucla.edu)
Choosing Youth Reformers: Organizational Pragmatism, Social Change and Institutional Reform in Public Schools and Labor Unions

Abstract: This study examines a new approach to social and institutional change that emerged in the 1990s, which I refer to as the Youth Cultural Reformer approach. Organizations that embody this approach rely heavily on youthful recruits, attempt to change the cultures of institutions, and mobilize youth to work for change inside institutions. While influenced by them, the YCR approach to social and institutional change is distinct from the reform strategies that have preceded it. For example, unlike many of their predecessors, YCR adopters reject adults, experienced reformers and institutional insiders as possible change agents. Instead, these organizations recruit youth with little or no experience and deploy them to change institutions such as public schools and labor unions. In order to understand the emergence and evolution of the YCR model, I examine two of the best known organizations that embody it: Teach For America and the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute. Both organizations contend that they prefer youth participants because of their energy and idealism. However, over 115 interviews with participants, staff (former and current), critics and founders of both organizations indicate that this only partially explains their recruitment and mobilization decisions. Instead, I find that organizational pragmatism, specifically a belief that institutional insiders are unsuitable change agents, best explains both organizations' reliance on inexperienced youth outsiders. I also find that public relations concerns and distinct strategies for long-term social change, drive each organization's recruitment and mobilization decisions.

William G. Roy (University of California- Los Angeles; billroy@soc.ucla.edu)
How Social Movements Do Music: Lessons from the Old Left and the Civil Rights Movement

Abstract: Most sociological scholarship on how social movements use culture have focused on the content of the culture, either the ideological meaning or the resonance of frames to popular ideas. My study on how the old left and civil rights movement have used music focuses on the social relationships within which music has been done and its effects on cultural goals. Both movements self-consciously adopted American folk music as a cultural project, "People's Songs" for the communist party and its allies, and "Freedom Songs" for the civil rights movement. Both selected folk music rather than other vernacular genres because they felt it could help them bridge racial boundaries, bringing blacks and whites together. But they embedded the music in different social relations, leading to very different kinds of success and failure. For the old left, the basic social relationship was between performer and audience. Musical activists such as Pete Seeger and Alan Lomax worked extensively to cultivate a singing movement, and to include such African American singers as Huddie Ledbetter, Brownie McGhee, and Josh White. While they changed the cultural landscape of popular culture, elevating the concept of folk music from one known mainly by academics to mass media "charts," they never effectively crossed racial boundaries. By the time Cold War blacklisting banished left leaning entertainers from popular culture in the early 1950s, folk music was embraced primarily by educated, middle class, urban whites. The old left's efforts laid the groundwork for the cultural effervescence of the folk revival a decade but left activists such as Pete Seeger wondering how folk music became a bunch of white college students sitting around playing guitar. In contrast, the civil rights movement used music as part of the collective action itself, on the picket line, at lunch counter, in mass meetings, or jail cell. Though they never had a hit song, the music was essential to bringing blacks and whites together in the short decade of its blossoming. My presentation would present this story and probe its implications for how social movements do culture more generally, including the relationship between "political" and "cultural" work in movements.

Charlotte Ryan (University of Massachusetts-Lowell; Charlotte_Ryan@uml.edu)
Consistent Democracy: A Ten-year Saga

Abstract: CBSM's *Call for Papers* asks, "To what extent do movement cultures replicate or transform identities and power relations found beyond the movement?"

Blending social movement theories, practice theory and field-based organizing models, we describe how the Rhode Island Coalition against Domestic Violence   (RICADV) 1) worked to establish a counter culture of consistent democracy, and 2) translated that culture's core values—equality, respect, and diversity—into explicit agreements and practices. We then reconstruct a ten-year history—the stops and starts of RICADV's efforts to institutionalize consistent democracy.

RICADV's goal has been to transform itself into a consistently democratic organization. Achieving that goal, however, has proven a formidable task: RICADV interacts constantly with mainstream institutions and actors who do not necessarily share its core values.   Internal and external conflicts arise as RICADV tries to practice its core values amidst the pressures of national movement building, media work, grassroots organizing, funding competitions, legislative battles, community service delivery and coalition building.

The case builds on archival documents and group oral histories—interviews bringing key actors together to reconstruct critical events and reflect on lessons for movement building. We will describe three successive, prolonged battles over racial and ethnic diversity; when successfully resolved, these conflicts deepened RICADV's understanding of its counter-culture and widened the influence of that culture.   We attribute RICADV's ability to work and grow through these internal conflicts to Black feminist organizing models, friendship networks, and the organization's incorporation of reflection as an essential organizing practice.

Cassandra Savage (Simon Fraser University; cassandrasavage@telus.net)
Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating: A Discourse Analysis

Abstract: In the paper proposed here, I begin with the premise that dietary practice is never politically neutral; rather, while food consumption is often framed within the liberalist discourse of individual choice, it is largely shaped by complex environmental, economic and social factors. While many social movements start with a similar premise and thus take diet as the key site of struggle, many of these movements aim to realign individual subjectivities through persuasive educational material that is framed within the same liberalist discourse of individual choice. The result is often a normalizing code of ethics that establishes clear rules about what we should and shouldn't eat and fails to address human differences. To explore this issue, I intend to use Foucault's concept of bio-power to argue that any attempt to control and regulate human bodies through diet can be construed as a form of oppression. I will examine the problem by looking at an extreme case of dietary normalization: the 2007 edition of *Canada's Food Guide to Healthy Eating*.

As a communication scholar, my foremost concern is discourse and I am particularly interested in (and wary of) discursive practices that lead to an understanding of the world as something made up of truth, a place in which certain actions are deemed sane while others are rendered deviant. Without denying the well-documented impact of dietary choice on our natural and social worlds, I will engage in a reflexive critique of food politics discourse. At the same time, however, I will explore the possibilities for a progressive discursive practices related to food that allow heterogeneity without resorting to relativism.

Key words: food politics, Foucault, bio-power, discourse analysis

Ritchie Savage (New School University; savar647@newschool.edu)
"The Plain People:" The Role of Articulatory Practice in the Formation of the American Populist Party

Abstract: In *Democratic Promise* and *The Populist Movement*, Lawrence Goodwyn argues that the Populist movement was more successful in its ability to mobilize the masses than the Greenback and Grange movements because Populism had developed in a movement culture. For Goodwyn this movement culture was a complex and multilayered set of ideologies and practices, which basically consisted of the farmers' emphasis on self-help, education and the formation of cooperatives; the farmers' view that they were part of a larger industrial class; and the acceptance of the greenback doctrine. Goodwyn's theoretical and historical analysis of the Populist movement has encountered many critiques, which suggest that Goodwyn overemphasizes the role of cooperatives and movement ideology in the formation of the Populist Party. One could argue that although these are valid critiques, there is something about them that misses the main thrust of Goodwyn's argument: that there were certain cultural aspects of the Populist movement generating a stronger sense of class-consciousness than in other movements even if Populism, like the other movements, was ultimately stifled by sectionalism. These cultural aspects may not be quantifiable or empirically evident, but part of the problem could be that Goodwyn's concept of movement culture itself does not effectively describe how certain cultural practices generated a sense of Populist consciousness. Thus, one could argue that infusing Goodwyn's concept of movement culture with Laclau and Mouffe's notion of articulatory practice might lead to a better understanding of the cultural aspects that made the American Populist movement quite unique.

David Schleifer (New York University; david.schleifer@nyu.edu)
"Where did trans fats come from? The unintended consequences of knowledge-based social movements"

Abstract: This presentation will be based on part of my dissertation, which examines the institutionalization of perceptions of risk through a study of food manufacturers' responses to the Food and Drug Administration's 2003 *trans* fatty acid labeling rule. How did *trans* fats enter the American diet, and what are the implications of that story for our understanding of the relationship between social movements and knowledge?

In conventional stories about risk, corporations produce risks as side-effects of their pursuit of profits and watchdog groups campaign for exposure, litigation or regulation of risk producers. But most modern risks are only perceptible through the production of scientific knowledge, which is always uncertain and subject to revision. Diane Vaughan suggests that decisions made under conditions of uncertainty may result in retrospective designations of irrationality. My research indicates that the Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) was among those watchdog groups pressuring the food industry to eliminate saturated fats in the 1970s and 1980s. *Trans* fats appear to have entered the American diet as a solution to the perceived risks associated with saturated fat, and CSPI may even have promoted *trans* fats at that time. In the 1990s, CSPI petitioned FDA to regulate *trans* fats and is campaigning actively for their elimination from the food system. What might be the implications of this story for other knowledge-dependent social movements if campaigns undertaken under conditions of uncertainty can create ripple effects resulting in the amplification of risks rather than its attenuation?

Kurt Schock (Rutgers University; kschock@andromeda.rutgers.edu)
Struggles to Defend & Reclaim the Commons through Nonviolent Action

Abstract: This paper traces the history of enclosures—from landlords in thirteenth century England to the WTO in the twenty-first century-- and identifies responses to land and resource alienation by less-powerful groups. A range of contemporary social movements in the global South that are struggling to defend, reclaim, or recreate the commons are identified. Significantly, many contemporary struggles attempting to promote a more equitable distribution of land and resources prosecute their conflicts using methods of nonviolent action. They implement a range of tactics from across the three main methods of nonviolent action: protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention. Three specific social movement organizations are examined: Ekta Parishad, a Gandhian land rights organization in India; the Assembly of the Poor, a land rights and sustainable development organization in Thailand; and the Landless Rural Workers Movement (M.S.T.), a Marxist and Liberation Theology inspired land reform movement in Brazil. Finally, the implications of these social movements for promoting grassroots democracy, sustainable development, and nonviolent futures are discussed.

Christian Scholl (University of Amsterdam; c.scholl@uva.edu)
Creating dissent in the street. Summit resistance and street tactics, or "how to hit them where it hurts the most"

Abstract: The street remains an important place for communicating dissent with hegemonic power relations. This paper argues that creating a conflict in the street is necessary in order to enter such a communication process. Such an understanding of street actions sheds a different light on the understanding of street tactics during summit resistances. It illuminates the frequent use of direct action tactics, something social movement scholars rarely take in account. Yet, it tells little about how the creation of conflict works and what tactical considerations are involved in choosing certain action repertoires. Therefore, I will present four dilemmas that have proven to be crucial for tactical considerations during summit resistances in Europe: (a) the material versus the symbolical; (b) mediated versus unmediated forms of acting; (c) confrontational versus non-confrontational tactics; and (d) centralized versus decentralized forms of organization. In the context of summit resistances, activists in Europe and elsewhere have dealt inventively with these dilemmas and introduced new action repertoires in order to solve them. The analysis of these action repertoires shows that constant innovation is necessary, yet never unproblematic.

John Calvin Scott (Cornell University; jcs86@cornell.edu)
Lobbyists of the World Unite!: Technology and Ties Among Retiree Activist Groups

Abstract: How do politically weak groups offset their weakness against stronger organized special interest groups? Are lobbyists likely to form strong ties even though they are both competitors and cooperators? Do Internet links provide any insight to the development of a social movement? This study addresses this question using unique data sources and techniques by tracking over time the structure of ties among political actors. In response to cutbacks in health care and pension benefits, worker and retiree groups have organized themselves based on a company basis and in coalitions in order to stem or reverse such actions by former employers. These groups have used websites to both provide information for their members and to link to similar retiree groups. I collect the links among retiree activists groups through a web crawler and using the Internet Archives to generate a longitudinal social network for the time period 1999-2006. In addition, I use lobbyist registration reports and other data to construct other network links among corporate lobbyists who are working on the same issues over the same time period in order to make additional comparisons with the activists' networks. Qualitative interviews with retiree activists and lobbyists provide additional detail on the structure of the Internet-based linkages with other activist groups.

Eve Shapiro (University of San Francisco; eshapiro99@gmail.com)
Performing Politics: Drag, Political Engagement and Political Identity Change

Abstract: While there is a strong body of research that documents the effects of political participation on actors' biography and political identity, there has been limited empirical research on *how* political participation creates these changes. Drawing on and extending this body of research, and based on a case study of a Santa Barbara based drag troupe undertaken between July 2002 and September 2004, I argue that performance within a politicized context has the potential to foster new gender, sexual, and political identification. In this multi-method study I explore the range of gender, sexual and political identity shifts that almost all members experienced and chronicle the four collective mechanisms that facilitated these shifts: imaginative possibility; information and resources; opportunities for enactment; and social support. I found that the Disposable Boy Toys served as an identity incubator in which participants were able and encouraged to interrogate, play with, and sometimes adopt new identities. Examining the group dynamics and organizational structure of this self-titled "political feminist collective," I conclude that the context in which drag is performed is critical to its import for participants, audience, and society. My research suggests that the collective identity and political practices of oppositional communities can be transformative for participants.

Pete Simi (University of Nebraska, Omaha; psimi@mail.unomaha.edu)
Negotiating White Power Activist Stigma

Abstract: Using extensive ethnographic data on the U.S. White Power Movement, this article discusses the interactional aspects of managing social movement activist stigma in everyday settings. We draw upon identity theory to explain why and how Aryan activists respond to stigmatization. Specifically, we explain that they simultaneously conceal some aspects of who they are while selectively disclosing other features of their racist self. Covering their Aryanism creates dissonance between who they are and the impressions they give off, while disclosing aspects of their radical racism brings ire, indignation, and interactional conflict with others. Strategically negotiating everyday contexts such as family, work, school, and public places by simultaneously enacting contradictory roles helps them attain a degree of symmetry between normal expectations and their Aryan self. Accomplishing this is crucial for helping them sustain their commitments to the white power activist identity in highly contexts.

Mary Beth Slusar (Ohio State University; slusar.1@osu.edu)
Frame Development in Women's Social Movement Organizations

Abstract: This paper draws from the social movement theory of framing to identify the multiple frames and analyze the dynamic framing processes leaders used in the rhetoric of the American birth control movement, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Women's Ku Klux Klan. According to framing theory, social movement leaders must align their audiences' belief systems with the movement's ideology and guide potential constituents to collective action. Sociological and historical research has addressed neither the nature of framing as a process nor the agency of leaders in developing and manipulating this process. Therefore, this project will address the following questions:

- How much do leaders use a multiple-frame strategy which bridges and innovates frames, including those implying contradictory ideology?
- How does framing strategy evolve over time?

Selection of cases is based upon historical evidence that suggests ideological and demographic similarities of constituents which allows for the comparison of framing processes across movements. Primary documents of public communication (speeches and articles) written by leaders will be content coded and then analyzed for thematic structure and change over time using the software program Atlas. Atlas was developed for the systematic analysis of qualitative data and provides the opportunity to identify the strategic framing processes, including frame bridging, that emerge within movements. Study of the historical cases of the birth control movement, WCTU, and WKKK will provide a richer understanding of early 20th century social movement organizations which were integral to the development of women's organizations in American society.

Lee A. Smithey (Swarthmore College; LSmithe1@swarthmore.edu)
"Reconciling Collective Identity with New Strategy and Tactics: Two Parading Disputes in Northern Ireland"

Abstract: While studying the role movement cultures play in formulating goals and strategies, framing and collective action tactics, we should also ask the nearly inseparable question: How do strategic and tactical opportunities and decisions shape movement culture or collective identities? In attempting to gain advantage over an opponent, movement organizations may become compelled to adopt new tactics that do not resemble previous ones or closely reflect the group's self image. If the new methods are seriously considered or adopted, there must also be some attempt to reconcile the group's identity with its actions. Drawing on ethnographic data collected while studying community disputes over loyal order and nationalist parades in two rural Northern Ireland towns, the author shows how novel strategic decisions made by Orange lodges and residents' groups were interpreted in various ways by participants and bystanders. Interviewees often either framed the new tactics as consistent with the values of the respective movements, despite new implications and contradictions with past practice, or qualified them as uncharacteristic yet necessary. In the process, negative interpretations of opponents' tactics were also used to bolster in-group identities. This type of research, especially longitudinal ethnographic projects, may be able to determine how movements incorporate new strategic initiatives into their collective identities.

Nicolas Somma (University of Notre Dame; nsomma@nd.edu)
When Do Voluntary Organizations Matter For Protest Participation? The Role of Organizational Involvement and Political Exposure

Abstract: Qualitative case-studies of social movements have unraveled the complex processes that make formal organizations fertile grounds for collective protest. Individual-level studies of protest, however, have rarely gone beyond the examination of correlations between dichotomous measures of membership in broad types of organizations and protest participation. This procedure is problematic, since it masks the potential impact that 1) different levels of involvement *among* members, and 2) differences in specific organizations *within* organizational types, may have in protest participation. By testing with survey data some hypotheses suggested by case-studies, the paper provides a bridge between both types of research. Specifically, I analyze a representative survey of U.S. adults to address two questions: 1) are individuals highly involved in voluntary organizations more likely to protest than those less involved?; 2) do highly politicized organizations make their members more likely to protest than less politicized organizations? Key findings are: 1) two measures of organizational involvement (psychological attachment and participation in activities) increase member's likelihood of protesting; 2) two measures of political exposure within organizations (exposure to political views and information, and exposure to political requests) also increase protest chances; 3) these results hold after controlling for *type* and *number* of individual's organizational membership. I conclude that some key processes that make organizations relevant for collective protest cannot be captured by simple measures of membership in general types of organizations. The extent and ways in which members get involved, as well as the political features of the organization, need to be directly assessed.

Patricia G. Steinhoff (University of Hawaii; steinhof@hawaii.edu)
Resisting Political Repression through Trial Support Groups in Japanese Social Movement Culture

Abstract: Trial support groups are a well-established form of participation in Japan's social movement culture. Building on earlier models, trial support groups were reinvented at the peak of the protest cycle of the late 1960s-1970s in response to mass arrests of demonstrators and protest organizers. They respond to specific features of the Japanese criminal justice system, making it possible for arrested activists to continue their resistance through extended periods of solitary confinement in unconvicted detention and intermittent trials that often last for years. Support groups provide investigative and paralegal assistance to reduce the costs of legal defense, provide an array of personal support services to meet the material and emotional needs of isolated prisoners, produce newsletters and other publications that give the imprisoned activists a voice, and organize rallies and meetings to keep the issues of imprisoned activists in the public eye. When appeals are exhausted in major cases, they reorganize to provide continued support to activists serving long prison sentences or awaiting the death penalty.

As the protest cycle of the late 1960s-1970s waned, trial support groups have continued as a common form of activism in social issues that cause lawyers seek to address through court challenges. When civil suits confront powerful vested interests, plaintiffs are subjected to intense social pressures to drop the case. Support groups organized by experienced activists provide extensive social support to the plaintiffs to keep them committed to the cause, as well as providing paralegal assistance and publicizing the issue.

Jeremy Brooke Straughn (Purdue University; jstraugh@purdue.edu)
"The Power of Patriotic Performances: A Critique of Recent Protest Theories"

Abstract: Social movement leaders must pay close attention to the impression they and their followers convey to audiences in a position to help realize, or thwart, the movement's goals. In this sense, organizers must be skillful producers and directors of political "theater" if they are to persuade a national audience that their cause has merit. But how precise is the analogy between protest and performance? Does "acting" necessarily imply dissimulation? Is there, as Goffman once asked, no "face behind the mask"? In this essay, I examine theoretical accounts by Jeffrey Alexander, James Scott, and Timur Kuran, each of which in different ways equates political performance with dissimulation, at least in some settings. Using examples from several different empirical contexts, I illustrate the strengths and shortcomings of these approaches and suggest important conceptual refinements and future directions for research. I argue that instances of "patriotic performance" are especially useful for analyzing the complex dynamics of impression management and communicative action in political protests.

Kelley D. Strawn (Willamette University; kstrawn@willamette.edu)
Conditioning Repertoires of Contention in a Neoliberal Age: An Examination of Protest Tactics in Mexico, 1999-2000

Abstract: This essay traces how neoliberal economic reforms have reshaped Mexican society and, in turn, analyzes how these changes condition tactical strategies and repertoires of protest. Data come from my Mexico Protest-Events Database (MPED), an on-going project for which two years of data are currently available (1999-2000). Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative methods, the analysis will be constructed in three parts: (a) Examination of how economic reforms since 1982 (and parallel political reforms) can be seen to shape social institutions, with an eye toward constraints, opportunities, and available resources; (b) Taking inventory of the range of protest tactics employed nationwide in Mexico; and (c) Analysis of how tactics and repertoires employed at the turn of the 21st century – more than a decade into Mexico's neoliberalization project – can be seen to be calibrated both to and by economic (and political) reform.

Tentative findings highlight two processes that shape strategies. First, the effects of neoliberal economic imperatives on the state (rationalization of the economy and budget, in particular) change the structure of institutional-societal relationships (e.g., erosion of corporatist social pacts, decentralization of education funding, decreased support for agriculture) and who has access to political institutions (e.g., capture of the Mexico City political apparatus by the PRD); changes in both condition how mobilization strategies are chosen. Second, years into the neoliberal project, the condition of the economy in individual states throughout Mexico shapes which party controls the political apparatus as well as which grievances emerge as the basis for contentious action; in turn, both shape tactical choices made by contentious actors.

Richard Sullivan (Illinois State University; rdsulli@ilstu.edu)
Density or Disruption: Strategies for Rebuilding Labor Movement Power

Abstract: Social movement scholars have variously identified the sources of movement power as their disruptive capacity, organizational networks, mobilized resources, or political opportunities. Students of the labor movement on the other hand, tend to view union density as the exclusive source of organized labor's power. In a context in which the US labor movement is attempting to refashion itself as a social movement by employing movement-style tactics, this paper contends that analyses of labor movement revitalization have largely failed to adopt that analytic lens used by social movement scholars. Despite the rhetoric of social movement unionism, analyses of the labor movement remain squarely couched in the logic of traditional labor relations and its emphasis on union density. I argue that this "density bias" limits the range of strategic options considered and negates the analytic possibilities of alternative sources of labor movement power. This paper outlines the existence and impact of the union density bias on the sociology of labor revitalization and contends that incorporating a social movement analysis may generate new research questions and move theorizing into new directions.

Jessica Taft (University of California, Santa Barbara; jtaft@umail.ucsb.edu)
'So That the Youth Aren't Sleeping': Teenage Girl Activists' Use of Political Education as a Social Movement Strategy

Abstract: Political education, the development of oppositional consciousness and practices for raising awareness are central components of teenage girl activists' social movement strategies and tactics. Criticizing their schools for failing to provide young people with a critical perspective on contemporary social problems, girl participants in social movements see the development and spread of dissident knowledge as vital to social change. This presentation draws upon participant observation and in-depth interviews with approximately 80 teenage girl activists from five cities in the Americas (Buenos Aires, Caracas, Mexico City, the San Francisco Bay area and Vancouver) in order to illuminate the dynamics of girls' strategic emphasis on political education and its relationship to their collective identity. Teenage girls are active participants in a variety of social movements, organizing together around a range of issues including, but not limited to, educational equity, neoliberal globalization, sustainable development and youth rights. Across movement spaces, however, their actual practices tend to prioritize education. Reading groups, film screenings, popular education workshops and the creation of informal spaces for discussion are important parts of girls' tactical repertoires. This paper therefore attempts to address the following questions: Why do girls choose to pursue educational strategies in so many different movement spaces? How is this strategic emphasis linked to their sense of themselves as learners, as students? And what do they see as the value of a social movement strategy that emphasizes knowledge and consciousness over more instrumental aims?

Judith Taylor (University of Toronto; jtaylor@chass.utoronto.ca)
*Contesting Sisterhood: How Feminists Frame Relations Among Themselves
in Social Movement Memoir*

Abstract: This paper argues that women's movement memoirs are significant places to look for
the ways in which feminists have attempted to complicate, refute and move beyond frames
central to the movement. The pages of writing dedicated to rejecting the powerful but facile
assumptions embedded in the idea of "sisterhood" for example, indicate that
successful framing can ultimately be experienced as costly by activists.
This paper analyses 25 North American feminist memoirs and autobiographical essays that speak
substantively to the problem of cruelty among women's movement adherents. In these memoirs,
feminists reject assumptions about women's similarity, solidarity and support for
one another, yet do not abandon a utopian desire to produce an ideal ethic of social relations
among women. These memoirs indicate that memoir has been a significant site for in-house
reckoning among feminists apart from (and sometimes contradicting) their more public
campaigns. In addition, the substance of these writings indicates that relations among women,
not just between women and men, has been an enduring feminist movement concern and focus of
considerable emotional and intellectual work.

Sara Trautner (University of Texas, San Antonio; strautne@lonestar.utsa.edu)
"Ya Basta! An Examination of El Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional"

Abstract: Originating from the rural agricultural region of Chiapas, Mexico, the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional (EZLN) has been described as the first postmodern revolution. The Zapatistas are one of the first social movements to emerge during a time in which technological resources abound, such as the Internet. The use of such technology has become instrumental in permitting the Zapatistas to publicize information to an international audience and gain local credibility. This paper will examine the puzzling ideological shifts which have emerged throughout the movements' history and argue that current sociological theories explaining social movement behavior, identity, and outcomes are not sufficient in understanding the current Zapatista struggle. Rather, an exploration of Transnational Advocacy Networks, distinguishable by an emphasis on innovative uses of information, will be presented as a more compelling theoretical model to apply to this unique movement in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of past actions and future endeavors.

Kumiko Tsuchida (Tohoku University, Japan; kumitsuchi@msi.biglobe.net)
Grassroots Mobilization and Interwoven 'War Memories': A case study of Modern Japanese American Redress Movement

Abstract: This study examines how social justice can be pursued through social movements by minority groups. To consider the point, this study specifically analyzes Japanese American Redress Movement in the 1970s to 90s. Utilizing interview data, organizational publications, newspapers, and governmental records, the study focuses on a grassroots organization named National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR). They mobilized Japanese American community to reconstruct ethnic identity.

It is well-known that the mass evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans were conducted during WWII. In the 1970s Japanese Americans launched the movement to claim redress for the past racial injustice, and the movement obtained national apologies and monetary compensations from the U.S. government. Throughout the movement, mainly three organizations adopted different approaches which were woven into the achievement of redress; the legislative approach raised the awareness by taking the issue up to Congress. The legal approach also served to elevate broader concerns. To mobilize wider supports, the grassroots activities took an indispensable part.

In 1981, a presidential commission was established to study the Japanese American internment. The commission held the hearings throughout the country, which functioned as a turning point in the movement. Toward the hearings, NCRR encouraged the intergenerational participation from Japanese American community. Reframing "the memory of injustice to Japanese Americans", NCRR sought the solidarity with other minority groups suffering form injustice. They developed a broader support to lead the movement to success. Focusing on the commission hearings, this study analyzes NCRR's mobilization process based on their interpretation of their "war memory."

Nella Van Dyke (Washington State University; nvandyke@wsu.edu)
Social Movement Coalition Formation on College Campuses, 1930-1990

Abstract: Recognizing the importance of coalitions for social movement success, social scientists are increasingly studying the factors that facilitate coalition formation. One of the dominant findings in this literature is that groups must share common interests, including ideologies and sometimes identities, before they will work together (Bandy and Smith 2005; Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Kliedman and Rochon 1997; McCammon and Campbell 2002; Lichterman 1995; Staggenborg 1986). However, little research examines which groups are most likely to work together, and around what issues. I explore these questions using data on 293 coalition protest events that occurred on nine college campuses between 1930 and 1990. I examine the frequency with which different social movements worked in coalition, the issues around which they pursued a collaborative strategy, and the groups with whom they most frequently collaborated. I find that the predominant cross-movement coalitions on campus during the 60-year period were between peace movement and black student groups, and between women's and black student groups. That these groups worked together consistently over the 60-year time period suggests that qualities of the issues and grievances relevant to these social groups and movements influence with whom they will collaborate. I explore the implications of these findings for the future of progressive activism.

Ion Bogdan Vasi (Columbia University; bv2125@columbia.edu)

Blowing in the Backyard: The Environmental Movement and the Global Development of the Wind Energy Industry, 1980-2005

Abstract: How do social movements contribute to the development of new industries such as the wind energy industry? During the past quarter-century wind power has transformed from a small, 'alternative' energy industry into a multibillion global industry that produces electricity for many millions of people. A quantitative analysis shows that the growth of national wind energy industries is shaped by the adoption and implementation of various public policies, and by the capacity of the environmental movements to impact individuals' behaviors, as well as the actions of national governments and businesses. Qualitative analyses deepen this picture by showing the variations in the environmental movements' impacts and the role of the structure of national energy sectors. I argue that the global development of the wind energy industry provides a special opportunity to expand our understanding of how social movements matter for the creation of new industries.

Frederic Viguier (New York University; Frederic.viguier@nyu.edu)
When the French Communist Party Loses Ground: Ethnography of a Cultural Decline

Abstract: Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, some analysts of the working-class movement and the communist phenomenon in France have left aside the traditional normative discussion of the dangers or the promises of the communist movement; they investigate the historical role this movement played in integrating of the industrial working class into democracy. Between the 1920s and the 1980s, they show, the French Communist Party (PCF) socialized the working class to the French Republic by creating a relatively autonomous culture that relied on municipal stronghold, intense organizing mobilization and a large movement of working-class education. Chief in the production of an autonomous culture was the press of the Party. But since the 1980s, the decline of the PCF has resulted in a decreased electoral participation of the working class. My work expands on this new conceptualization of the communist movement in France. Instead of looking at organizers, I examine the reception of this culture among the PCF constituency. My paper presents an ethnographic survey with readers of *l'Humanité*, the famous newspaper founded by French socialist Jean Jaurès in 1904. I analyze the variety of ways in which readers appropriate or distance themselves from this communist press. According to their cultural and political capital, readers may adhere to a perceived community, be resistant to the newspaper's supposed "proletarianism," or indifferent to its "intellectualism." Thus, I use the readership of *l'Humanité* as a lens for analyzing the decline of the PCF when its once powerful counter culture increasingly becomes out of tune with its recipients.

Tim Vining (University of Pittsburgh; timvining@verizon.net)
"The Impact of Disasters on Social Movement Framing: Katrina and Advocates of Louisiana Public Healthcare"

Abstract: Natural disasters involve rapidly shifting social relationships and networks that produce ambiguities for all involved, resulting in heightened efforts at meaning construction. Social movements use framing to make sense of what is happening hold accountable other people or forces deemed responsible for the event and mobilize contentious collective action. This paper examines the impact of hurricane Katrina on framing by Advocates for Louisiana Public Healthcare (ALPH), a New Orleans-based social movement organization in existence prior to Katrina that had to undergo major changes in structure, identity, focus and membership to remain a viable force for change in post-Katrina New Orleans. Post- Katrina framing is impacted by shifts in political opportunity, membership, and resource availability.

Matthew Ward (University of Arizona; mattward@email.arizona.edu)
Lessons from an Uncomfortable Movement: Anti-Illegal Immigrant Neighborhood Watch Groups in the Southwestern United States

Abstract: In this paper, I take seriously recent claims that the neglect to study movements "with which we are uncomfortable" may lead to erroneous conclusions about the generalizability of theoretical processes and empirical findings of social movements (Snow 2006:497). I do so by investigating the world of anti-"illegal" immigrant neighborhood watch groups in the Southwestern United States. This paper makes three main contributions. First, this paper contributes a much needed descriptive analysis of group life. Second, by focusing on the varying levels of participation and types of activities exhibited *within* these groups, I address an often neglected dimension of differential participation (but see Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Third, while a majority of recent movement scholarship on differential participation recognizes the importance of organizational and network factors, this paper focuses on the potentially important role that emotions play in distinguishing token members from active members. Findings are based on primary data collected in a Southwest city using quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Melissa F. Weiner (Quinnipiac University; mfweiner@quinnipiac.edu)
Racialized Identities, Politics & Multicultural Social Movements

Abstract: Recent social movement scholarship has increasingly emphasized the role of identities in movement formation, mobilization and outcomes. Multicultural and critical whiteness scholars have focused on the ways in which identity and resources are critically linked, particularly in terms of citizenship rights. However, neither of these literatures identify the specific role that race and racial identities play during social movements. This historical/comparative paper examines racialized constraints and opportunities encountered by Jewish and African American activists in their protests against New York City's public schools. Primary archival data from newspapers, public records, and community-based manuscript collections was analyzed using a variety of historical sociological methods. Activists' racial identities and cultures played pivotal roles in structuring activists' resources, narratives, movement outcomes, and institutional counter-narratives. As such, I argue for a theory of *multicultural social movements* to explicitly account for the role of race and racialized identities in shaping social movement mobilization, demands, and outcomes.

Sarah Whitman (Boston University; sarah.whitman@gmail.com)
Religious Cultural Strategies: The Case of Interfaith Organizations

Abstract: Social movement theory has addressed a number of the unique challenges and benefits that organizations based on a religious tradition or model experience. However, today we are seeing tremendous growth both domestically and internationally of organizations that embrace an interfaith model that incorporates individuals from multiple traditions into a religiously framed organization. In addition, these organizations frequently utilize religious language, beliefs, and constructs in their work that may not be fully shared by all members. Little research has addressed the unique challenges to an organization's movement culture and ultimate success when they incorporate individuals with a variety of views and beliefs who are seeking to frame their work with the SMO religiously.

I propose an in-depth analysis of the ways in which an interfaith model or movement culture affects both the ways in which an organization conceives of its collective identity and its broader goals, strategies, and purposes. Topics to be examined include organizational structure, competing ideologies, and how differing cultural strategies based upon religion can effect a social movement organization. Recommendations for further study will also be addressed. The purpose of this presentation is to shed light on an emerging and under-researched area of social movement theory. The continued exponential growth of interfaith-based organizations makes understanding the dynamics at play in the movement culture all the more important.

Nancy Whittier (Smith College; nwhittie@email.smith.edu)
"Coming Out" and Movement Strategy: Social Change and the Public Deployment of Identity

Abstract: Social movements across the political spectrum, from evangelical Christians, to survivors of sexual abuse, to socialist splinter groups, have adopted the quintessentially gay strategy of "coming out." Coming out entails the strategic public revelation of both a collective identity and an individual's affiliation with that collective identity. It takes collective form in events such as demonstrations, and individual form in daily life. Activists view coming out as a strategy that is important for both external and internal transformation. Externally, they believe that coming out challenges stereotypes about the group and thus enables both cultural and policy change. Internally, they believe that coming out alleviates individuals' sense of shame about their identity, strengthens collective identity, and facilitates mobilization. This paper examines the use of coming out within various social movements, drawing primarily from my research on lesbian activism and activism by survivors of child sexual abuse, augmented with examples from additional movements. I examine movement discourse about coming out, patterns of the strategic construction and display of collective identity entailed in coming out, and outcomes in policy, culture, and daily life. I discuss theoretical implications of coming out for conceptualizations of strategy and its relationship to outcomes.

Elizabeth Williamson (Rutgers University; ewilliamson@sociology.rutgers.edu)
Cognitive, emotional, and somatic shifts and framing in the Reclaiming movement

Abstract: When are the frames/framing concepts helpful, and when are they not enough for a thorough analysis of shifts in perceptions and actions? Frame analysis in the Goffmanian style and the social movements literature's use of frames and framing share a focus on the concepts as primarily, if not exclusively, cognitive in nature. I question whether frames and framing involve mostly cognitions, or whether the concepts should be stretched to include actors' emotional and somatic shifts. Using data from field observations and in-depth interviews of Reclaiming movement participants, I examine the presentation of two movement-specific frames: "magical activist" and "practical magical". Reclaiming was founded in 1980, and focuses on both religion and progressive activism. While magical activism involves total conversion to the religious and activist sides of the movement, the practical magical frame reflects a commitment to the religious side. I examine how movement members who adopt either frame experience cognitive, emotional, and somatic shifts in their perceptions. In the paper, I also examine a spontaneity frame that may be used outside the movement. Reclaiming has developed week-long recruiting events where participants create a variety of rituals. Some rituals are fully improvised, other are fully planned by small groups. The most interesting rituals are the ones that involve slots of time within a planned ritual for individualized spontaneous experiences. I refer to these sections of the rituals as moments of "planned spontaneity", and describe how these types of rituals empower participants and move them toward the adoption of movement-specific frames.

Mark Wolfson (Wake Forest University School of Medicine; mwolfson@wfubmc.edu)
Daily and Mundane Grievances of College Students: A Basis for Collective Action?

Abstract: This paper analyzes exposure of college students to two common grievances—exposure to secondhand smoke and degradation of the living environment from drinking by their peers (vandalism, study interrupted by partying, fights, vomit). Data are from a large, web-based survey of undergraduate students at 10 universities in North Carolina (N=4200). Fifty-three percent of students reported being in the same room with someone who was smoking in the past seven days. Additionally, 51% reported being in a restaurant, and another 51% reported being in a bar, club, cocktail lounge or sports arena where they were near enough to smell or breathe in smoke from someone's cigarette. Finally, 37% of college students reported being in a car with someone who was smoking in the past seven days. Although responses differed by smoking status, a substantial number of non-smokers reported being exposed to smoke in a variety of places within the last seven days.   Being exposed to secondhand smoke in a car, in your home or room, or in a bar or restaurant was consistently related to being female, a member or pledge of a Greek organization, being a binge drinker. Nearly all nonsmokers (93.9%) and the majority of smokers (57.8%) reported that secondhand smoke was somewhat or very annoying. These findings, and comparable findings related to the secondhand effects of alcohol use, are discussed in light of current public health efforts to mobilize students to reduce high risk alcohol use and tobacco use.

Rich Wood (University of New Mexico; rlwood@unm.edu)
Movement Strategy: Integrating Structure & Culture

Abstract: This paper offers a theoretical framework for analyzing social movement strategy, focusing on the internal structural and cultural factors that shape movement success or failure. I elaborate on prior work on "strategic capacity," drawing on historical (Ganz 2000) and mathematical modeling (Chwe 1999) approaches, supplemented with cultural analysis of social movement dynamics. I then apply this framework to two empirical settings: a high-profile movement in the largest sub-national political arena of the United States (PICO California Project) and an emerging national movement, "New Voices," an effort by African American, Latino, Anglo, and various immigrant communities to influence national policy on health care, public education, immigration policy, and low-income housing.

Lesley J. Wood (York University; ljwood@yorku.ca)
The World Social Forum and the World Festival of Youth and Students

Abstract: Six months before the 2006 World Social Forum (WSF), the World Festival of Youth and Students (WFYS) was held in Caracas, Venezuela. Fifteen thousand left-wing youth from 144 countries gathered around the slogan "For Peace and Solidarity, We struggle against Imperialism and War." Like the WSF, the WFYS involved cultural events, speeches, and meetings between delegations. Like the WSF, the WFYS was aimed at building alternatives to the current neoliberal order. Like the WSF, the WFYS was hosted by the Chavez-led Bolivarian movement, and like the WSF, the WFYS had grown in size since its last meeting. However, one event was seen as the epitome of the new global resistance, while the other was associated with a moribund Old Left. Unlike the WSF, with its emergence in the last ten years, the first WFYS was initiated by the Soviet Union in 1947, and despite some shifts since 1989, the festival is still dominated by communist parties. Through interviews with participants and documentary analysis, this paper looks at the differences and similarities between the goals, participation, culture and organization of the two events.

Using this comparison, one can better understand the multiple models of internationalism co-existing today, and evaluate what is truly new about the WSF. Finally, this paper explores how the two models are currently and increasingly, influencing one another – through shared participants, organizations and networks.

Alexa Yesukevich (Cornell University; apy3@cornell.edu)
Understanding Athletic Participation as Feminist Dissent

Abstract: In this project I examine performances of feminist dissent through qualitative interviews with female rugby players. Athletic participation is not the kind of modular contentious behavior, carefully organized by a few movement elites, that is typically associated with a social movement. Yet many of the athletes I interviewed seemed to align themselves with the larger movement for women's sports and think of their involvement in team contact sports as a form of feminist protest.

I use both the political process approach to social movements and Mansbridge's concept of the everyday activist to ask when and how a female athlete might view playing rugby to be a feminist act. Like the social movement elite, the everyday activist is a rational actor who negotiates political opportunities and threats. I suggest that, through an informal and relatively private activity such as playing rugby, a woman can place her own life in a larger political context, invoke the support of others like her, and call for change. In this paper I examine some of the conventions and symbols through which these women expressed dissatisfaction with the existing gender structure, as well as the language they used to describe their experiences.

Kyoung-Hee Yu (Massachusetts Institue of Technology; khyu@mit.edu)
Framing, Narrativity, and Organizational Process in a Social Movement Union

Abstract: The macro level at which framing has typically been studied is not conducive to understanding how organizational processes affect the process of frame generation. This paper takes a narrative approach to understanding the framing process. Recent work linking collective identities and collective action shows that movement actors use story telling to construct and legitimize identities, and to further their demands in the organization. I examine the framing process inside a local union of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) which successfully mobilized immigrant workers through a campaign known as the Justice for Janitors (JfJ). I trace the origins of narratives brought into the union by immigrant workers and leaders among them, and examine efforts by these actors to influence the discourse of the Justice for Janitors, a discourse produced primarily by professional union staff.

In extant narrativity approaches to understanding movements, it is posited that successful movements integrate individual and organizational narratives (e.g. Ganz 2001). The findings in this study suggest that the process of integrating different narratives in a movement organization is contentious, and necessitates the involvement of boundary-spanners. Boundary-spanners build political careers within the union and mobilize to build organizational processes that allow immigrant members to impact the organization. The existence of organizational processes that open up discursive space for negotiating the framing distinguishes the LA local union from other local unions that have experienced the JfJ. Implications are drawn for understanding framing as a product of organizational processes involving contention and negotiation, as well as for insights into the institutionalization of a movement.