Nonviolence and Social Change:

Race, Ethnicity, and Nonviolence

May 4 –5, 2018, San Diego State University International Conference



http://sociology.sdsu.edu/mobilization_conference/







Welcome to the second annual San Diego State University Conference on Non-violence and Social Change, sponsored by the Hansen Foundation for Peace and Nonviolence, and supported by *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*. This year's theme is race, ethnicity, and nonviolence. The conference's goals are to explore two questions: what can movement research about ethnic mobilization learn from the study of nonviolent resistance, and what can the study of nonviolence learn from contemporary cases of ethnic and racial mobilization? These days, a third question looms in the background: how can these relationships inform us about nonviolent resistance to current political trends that seem threatening to ethnic and racial minorities and immigrant groups, in both the U.S. and in Western Europe? The conference aims to be an informal and friendly gathering to present relevant research and discuss these issues.

Four plenary sessions will bring together top researchers on these topics. There are two Friday sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, and two Saturday sessions at the same times. These presentations will focus on topics relevant to race-ethnicity-nonviolence synergies. The first plenary begins at 8:45 AM on Friday May 4 in the Aztec Center Theater, 2nd floor. All plenary sessions except the fourth on Saturday afternoon will be in the theater. The fourth session is downstairs in Park Boulevard Suite. Over two days, there are also 20 paper sessions scheduled, which will be held in meeting rooms on the second and third floors of Aztec Student Union (see the maps at the back of the program). The conference provides a forum for 90 presenters who will discuss their research on a variety of topics: immigrant protest, mobilization processes in democracies, ethnic resistance and strategies, parties and contentious politics, body, emotions, and identity, media and protest, cyberprotest, student and youth protests, tactical innovation, grassroots movements, gendered mobilization processes, protest frames, movement organizations, and regional research about protest mobilizations in China, Latin America, Mexico, Eastern Europe.

Registered participants are invited to a reception Friday evening, which will be held on the Scripps Cottage Patio. See the directions in the back of the program. This will be an informal gathering of scholars at different levels in their careers: a chance to network, schmooze, meet new colleagues, and discuss trends in our field and conference themes. Take the opportunity to raise the key questions of our conference in you conversations: what can SM research on race and ethnicity learn from studies of nonviolence, and vice versa? San Diego evenings get cool, and often with a breeze, so you might want to bring a jacket or sweater to the reception.

Registered participants will also receive boxed lunches each day. These are available at 12:30 PM each day in two locations, 2^{nd} floor in the Templo Mayor room, where you registered. So many participants, so little time . . . hence these luncheon sessions. You are invited get your lunch, and munch (quietly \odot) during the midday sessions. Those who desire a lunch box and/or to attend the reception must be registered, which you may do onsite at the check-in tables in the Templo Mayor room, second floor.







Second SDSU Conference on Nonviolence and Social Change: Race, Ethnicity, and Nonviolence

FINAL PROGRAM
Conrad Prebys Aztec Student Union

Friday, May 4

8:00 Registration, Second floor, Conrad Prebys Aztec Student Union (Templo Mayor, 2nd floor) Coffee, Tea, Juice, Pastries, Fruit

≈ 8:45 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. Opening Plenary Session 1. Nonviolent Action and Racialized Movements (Theater 2nd floor)

"Ethnicity, Race and Resistance"
Pam Oliver, University of Wisconsin, Madison

"The Dynamics of Repression and Insurgent Practice in the Black Freedom Struggle." Joshua Bloom, University of Pittsburgh

Opening Engagement: Questions to Presenters and Discussion

~~~ 10:30-10:45 Patio: Coffee, Tea, Juice, Pastries, and Fruit (Templo Mayor, 2nd floor)

10:45 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. Paper Sessions (Room)

Session 1: Practice of Nonviolence (Atzlan-2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Prisoners of Conscience in the Plowshares and School of the Americas Watch Movements: The Politics of Gender, Privilege, and Religious Identity" Anya Stanger, Sierra College

"Buddhist Nonviolent Strategies and the Triple Learning Loop"

"Ahed Tamimi as a New Symbol of Palestinian Resistance and an Element of New Strategy"

Paulina Codogni, Polish Academy of Sciences

"Reconceptualizing Power through Radical Constructive Programs"
Michael Karlberg, Western Washington University

^{*}Sandra Wawrytko, San Diego State University

Friday, May 5 (cont'd) 10:45 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. (Paper Sessions, cont'd)

Session 2: Immigrant Activism (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Does It Matter Who Calls for Action? British Muslims' Collective Action against Islamist Extremism in Response to Different Mobilization Appeals"
Lasse Lindkeilde and Sadi Shannaah, *Aarhus University, Denmark*

"The Immigrant Health Justice Movement: Framing Health in Spaces of Contentious Politics"

Erin Hoekstra, University of Minnesota

"Transnational Contention, Domestic Integration: Assimilating into the Hostland Policy through Homeland Activism" Sharon Quinsaat, *Grinnell College*

"Institutional Responses to Threats to Undocumented Students"

*Lisa Martinez, University of Denver and Edelina Burciaga University of Colorado, Denver

Session 3: Nonviolent Resistance: Global Perspectives (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Legitimacy Principles and Disobedience: IDF Selective Refusal" Brandon Sims, *American University*

"Living Through the Sudanese People's Power" Jihad Mashamoun, *University of Exeter*

"A Facebook Revolution? Internet Engagement on Egyptian Revolution" Marian Azab, *University of New Mexico*

"The Politics of Protestor Violence: Between Violence and Nonviolence in the South African Student Movement"

*Benjamin Case, University of Pittsburgh

Session 4: Discourse and Cultural Processes (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Status and the Social Politics of Memory"

*Austin Choi-Fitzpatrick, University of San Diego

"Discursive Opportunity Structures and the U.S. Climate Change Movement-Countermovement Conflict"

James Hein, California State University, Los Angeles

"Vaccine Skepticism and the Persistence of Belief" Colin Bermatsky, *University of California, Irvine*

"Integrating Collective Memory and Movement Strategy: How Socially Located Memories Shape Muslim Rights Mobilization"
Hajar Yazdiha, University of Southern California

Friday, May 4 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Informal Luncheon Paper Sessions Pick up your boxed lunch at Templo Mayor (2nd floor) and munch at the session you choose

◆◆ 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Informal Luncheon Sessions

Session 1: Nonviolent Tactics (Atzlan-2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Limits of the Local: Promises, Pitfalls, and the Imperatives of International Solidarity in Post-Conflict Liberia"

Selina Gallo-Cruz, College of the Holy Cross

"Tactics and Trajectories: New Insights on Strategies of Resistance from the Civil Rights History Project"

*David Cline, San Diego State University

"The Role of 3rd Parties in the Logic of Nonviolent Revolutionary Protest" Brian Denny, *University of California, Irvine*

"Wisdom and Warnings: Organizing for Transformation from the Piedmont to the Nation" Diane Swords, and L. George Friday, *Syracuse University*

Session 2: Media and Mechanisms of Protest (Metzli-2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Shaping the Debate? Media, Power, and Economic Inequality in the US and UK, 1984-2014" *Scott Fitzgerald, *University of North Carolina - Charlotte*

"Media Coverage of Opposing Social Movements: Abortion Movements in the US" Drew Halfmann, *University of California, Davis*

"Partisan Media Bias in the Coverage of Social Movements" Doron Shultziner, *Hadassah Academic College, Israel* Yelena Stukalina, *Tel Aviv-Yaffo Academic College, Israel*

"The Political Uses of Race and Ethnicity: Ethno-racial References in the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago Municipal Elections"

Jan Doering, McGill University

Session 3: Nonviolence and Guns: Special University of Turku Gun-Rights Session, Tehuanco— 2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Spatial Zoning of Campus Carry"

*Benita Heiskanen, University of Turku, Finland

"Protesting For and Against Campus Carry"
Lottamari Kahkonen, University of Turku, Finland

"Competing Ideologies of Security in Gun Politics" Albion Butters, *University of Turku, Finland*

Session 4: Gender Activism (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Love in the Time of Trump: Messages, Meanings, and the Controversy of Living Rhetoric in Current Activism"

*Hilary Lazar, University of Pittsburgh

"When the Local Meets Global: A Take on LGBTQ+ Social Movement Organizations in India" Apoorva Ghosh, *University of California, Irvine*

"Addressing the Access to Care Paradox: Analyzing ACT UP to Inform Advocacy Practices." Mario Espinoza, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

"Enforcing Social Justice: Horizontal Discipline and the Call-Out in Prefigurative Politics" Mario Venegas, *University of Texas at Austin*

« 2:00-2:15 Coffee, Tea, Dessert Templo Mayor (2nd Fl)

≪ Friday, May 5, 2:15 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. Plenary Session II. Ethnic and Racial Resistance (Theater 2nd floor)

"The Biographical Consequences of Repression: Arab Americans in Post-9/11 America" Authors: Wayne A. Santoro and Marian Azab, University of New Mexico

"Cultural Politics and Protest Dynamics During the Trump Presidency"
Andy Andrews, University of North Carolina, and Neal Caren, University of North Carolina

"Surviving Success: Black Civil Rights Organizations and the Politics of Post-1960s Racial Discourse" Belinda Robnett, University of California, Irvine

প্রথ 3:45-4:00 Patio: Coffee, Tea, Pastries, and Fruit (Templo Mayor 2nd floor)

≪ 4:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. Paper Sessions (Room)

Session 1: Mobilization Mechanisms (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Movement Leadership in an Era of Connective Actions: A Comparative Study of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement"

*Edmund Chang, Hong Kong Baptist University

"Reflecting Concepts of Social Movements and the State – the case of Brazil" Britta Baumgarten, *ISCTE-University Institute Lisbon*

"Emotions as Key to Movement Hierarchies"
Permilla Johannson, *University of California, Irvine*

"Colorblind Racism and Social Movements: Neoliberal Muticulturalism in WTO Protests" Eric Larson, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Session 2: Rightist Movements (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Strategy and Sustainability: The Role of Foundations in the New Right Movement" *Alex DiBranco, Yale University

"The Habitat of the Lone Wolf: An Ecological Investigation of White Male Mass Violence" Bryan Amos, *University of California, Merced*

"Misogynistic Men Online: How 'The Red Pill' Helped Elect Trump" Pierce Dignam, Florida State University

"Discursive Governance, Racial Signaling and the Normalization of Hate in the 2016 Presidential Election"

Megan Brooker, University of California, Irvine

Session 3: Studying Racial and Ethnic Movements (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Producing Knowledge about Race and Social Movements: Examining Peer-Review Journals"

*Zakiya Luna and Anna Chatillon, both at University of California, Santa Barbara

"Mobilizing as Black Lives Matter"
George Weddington, University of Pittsburgh

"Radicalism as Form: Revolutionary Art and Aesthetic Strategies of the Black Panther Party" Niko Heikkila, *University of Turku*

"Institutional Allies, Public Attention, & Protest Tactics: Civil Rights Organization's Representation at Congressional Hearings (1900-2000)"
Thomas Maher, Purdue University

Session 4: Policy-Focused Activism (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Measures of Last Resort: Shaping Policy through Ballot-Based Activism"

*Amanda Pullum, California State University, Monterey Bay and Eulalie Laschever, DePaul University

"Urban Migration Policy and Social Movement Outcomes: Protest as a Source of Institutional Legitimacy, Evidence from the City of Milan"

Raffaele Bazurli, Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze, Italy

"The Global Economy and Resource Conflicts: Dimensions of Resistance to Water Privatization"

Caitlin Schroering, University of Pittsburgh

"The Influence of the National Social Movement in Defense of Early Childhood Education on Public Policies in Brazil"

Janaina Maudonnet, Universidad de Sao Paulo, Brazil

Saturday, May 5

≪≪ 8:30 Registration, Second floor Conrad Prebys Aztec Student Union (Templo Mayor (2nd) Coffee, Tea, Juice, Pastries, Fruit

9:00 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. Plenary Session 3. White Nationalism and Rightist Politics (Theater 2nd floor)

"Active Abeyance, Political Opportunity, and the 'New' White Supremacy" Robert Futrell, University of Nevada, Las Vegas and Peter Simi, Chapman University

"Why Are U.S. Rightist Movements So Politically Influential? Edwin Amenta, University of California, Irvine

"White Nationalism and American Politics: The Mainstreaming of Anger and Resentment" Rory McVeigh, University of Notre Dame

2 10:30-10:45 Patio: Coffee, Tea, Juice, Pastries, and Fruit (Templo Mayor 2nd Fl)

ペペ 10:45 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. (Paper Sessions)

Session 1: Tactics and Strategies (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Tactical Adaptation from the Left: How Pink Tide Presidents Stall Movement Innovation" Paul Dosh, *Macalester College*

"Tactical Innovation, Adaptation, and Demobilization in the Era of Digital Social Movements"

*Tijen Demirel-Pegg, Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis and Karen Rasler, Indiana University

"Laziness as Art of Resistance: Poor People's Social Movements in Japan" Nanako Inaba, *Sophia University, Tokyo*

"The Emerging Struggle Against Metal Mining in Mexico's Tehauntepec Isthmus: A Case Study on Social Movements Repertoires, Ideologies, and Strategies" Alessandro Morosin, *University of California, Riverside*

Session 2: Recruitment and Participation (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Social Movements and Weather Sensitivity: Democratic vs. Non-Democratic Settings" *Tony Huiquan Zhang, *University of Saskatchewan*

"Rules of Engagement: Political Participation Grouping and Membership Dynamics"

*Shawn Ratcliff, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

 $\hbox{``Challenging Capitalism in the Gilded Age: The Knights of Labor and the U.S.\ Working\ Class"}$

*Michael Biggs, University of Oxford

"Social Movement Diffusion Through Education: The Spanish Teachers' Movements and the 15M/Indignados"

*Aya Shoshan, Ben Gurion University, Israel

Session 3: Intersectionality: Race, Gender, State (Tehuanco-2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"In Radical Collaboration: Movement Organizing and Intersectionality as Critical Praxis"

*Alice MillerMacPhee, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

"Community Accountability Against the Carceral State"

*Melanie Brazzell, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Trafficking Paternalism and Men's Rescue Movements: The Entrepreneurial Promise of Whiteness"

*Elena Shih, Brown University

Session 4: Waves of Protest (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Counting Protestors: Dynamics of Online-to-Offline in Brazil"

*Elizabeth McKenna, University of California, Berkeley

"Explaining the Sudden Resurgence of Mass Mobilization: What Pushed People into the Street in Post-Earthquake Japan?"

*Naoto Higuchi, Tokushima University, Japan

"The Support-Participation Link and 'Spontaneous' Mass Protest: The Case of the 'Panama Protests' in Iceland"

*Jon Bernburg, University of Iceland

"Toward a Method of Movement-Building Analysis for Understanding Heightened Contention: The Wisconsin Uprising"
Ben Manski, UC Santa Barbara

Saturday May 6, 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Luncheon Sessions Pick up boxed lunches at Templo Mayor, 2nd floor and eat at the session you choose

Session 1: Framing and Meaning in Collective Resistance (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"The Limits of Resonant Frames: Racial Repertoires, Master Frames, and Racially Biases Policing in France and the United States"

Nicole Arlette Hirsch, *University of Southern California*

"Movement Response to Supporter Critique" Jessi Grace, Florida State University

"An Incorporated Comparison of Anti-Neoliberal Framing in the Global Justice, Antiwar, and Immigrant Rights Movements (1999-2006)"

*Chris Hardnack, California State University, San Marcos

"Assembly, Materiality, and Meaning" Stacy Liou, University of California, Irvine

≪≪ Saturday, May 6, 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. (Luncheon Sessions, cont'd)

Session 2: Identities (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator * denotes facilitator

"Identity as a Barrier: Claiming Universality as a Strategy in the Israeli Vegan Movement" Ori Schwarz, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

"What Our Bodies and Souls Need: Emotional Justice and Healing in Racial-Justice Youth Organizing"

*May Lin, University of Southern California

"Antiracist Activists & White Supremacy: A Constraining Collective Identity" Kelley Frances Fenelon, *Vanderbilt University*

"Blue Lives Matter: Identity and the Internet"
Jennifer Stevens, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Ideological Imprint and Activism Dilemma: Microlevel Experiences of Professionalization Cam Owen, *University of California, Irvine*

Session 3: Non-Democratic Mobilization (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Egyptian Youth between Despair and Hope: The Case of the Bread and Freedom Party" Dina El-Sharnouby, Free University Berlin

"Overcoming Ideological Divides in the Student Movement" Alissa Strunk, *Indiana University*

"An Anxious Alliance: NGO-NIMBYism Partnership in China's Environmental Protests" *Yang Zhang and Molly Bradtke, *American University*

"Khomeini's Theory of Islamic State and the Making of the Iranian Revolution" Mehdi Shadmehr, *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University*

"The Significance on Electoral Activism in Iran" Ali Kadivar, Brown University

Session 4: New Perspectives (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

"Who is In My Team? The Alliance-Building Process Between Activists and Legislators in Congress"

Rodolfo Lopez, University of California, Irvine

"Event Spillover: Pricing Human-Caused Disasters"

*Daniel Driscoll, University of California, San Diego

"Science and Revolution: Why Knowing What's True Has Everything to Do with Getting Beyond This World of Horrors"

Annie Day, The Bob Avakian institute, Chicago

"Participatory Performance Art, Absurdity, and Joy as Resistance: The Case of the Ecosexual Movement"

Jennifer L. Reed, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

2:00—2:30 Coffee, Tea, Desserts (Templo Mayor—2nd floor)

2:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M. Closing Plenary Session 4: Dimensions of Struggle (Park Blvd Suite—1st floor)

Opposites Attract: Solidarity Between Privileged and Underprivileged Groups in the U.S. Immigrant Rights Movement Walter Nichols, *University of California, Irvine*

"Localized Political Contexts and Mobilization of Undocumented Youth" Edelina M. Burciaga, *University of Colorado, Denver*, and Lisa M. Martinez, *University of Denver*

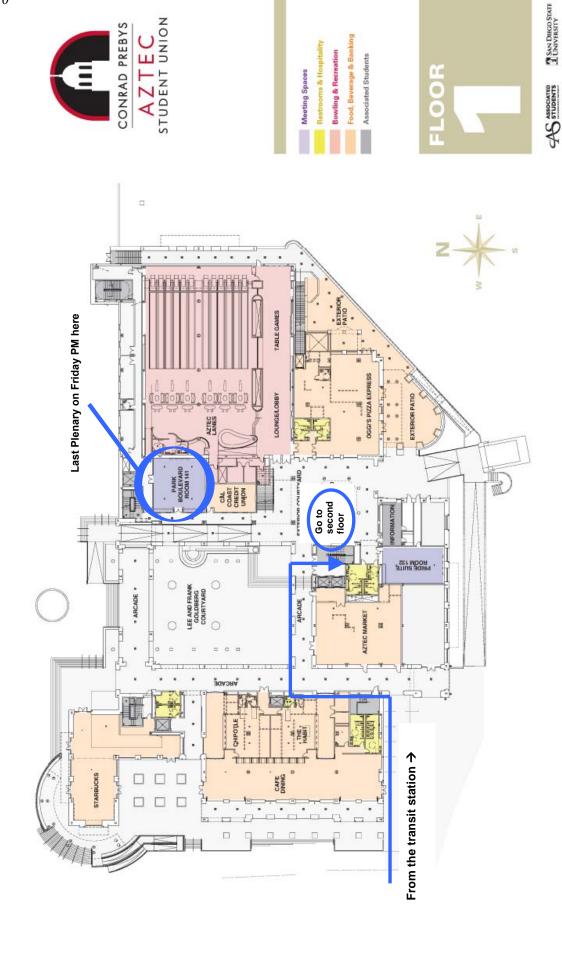
"Ethnic Authentication, Legitimation, and Representation" Zakiya Luna, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

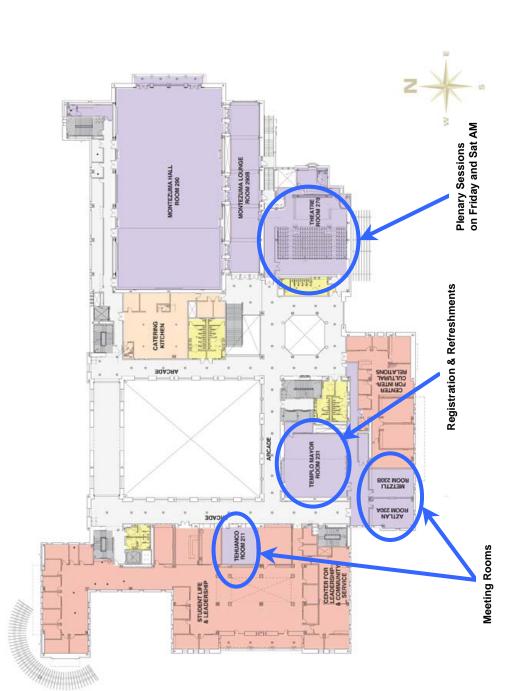
Final Engagement and Closing Words









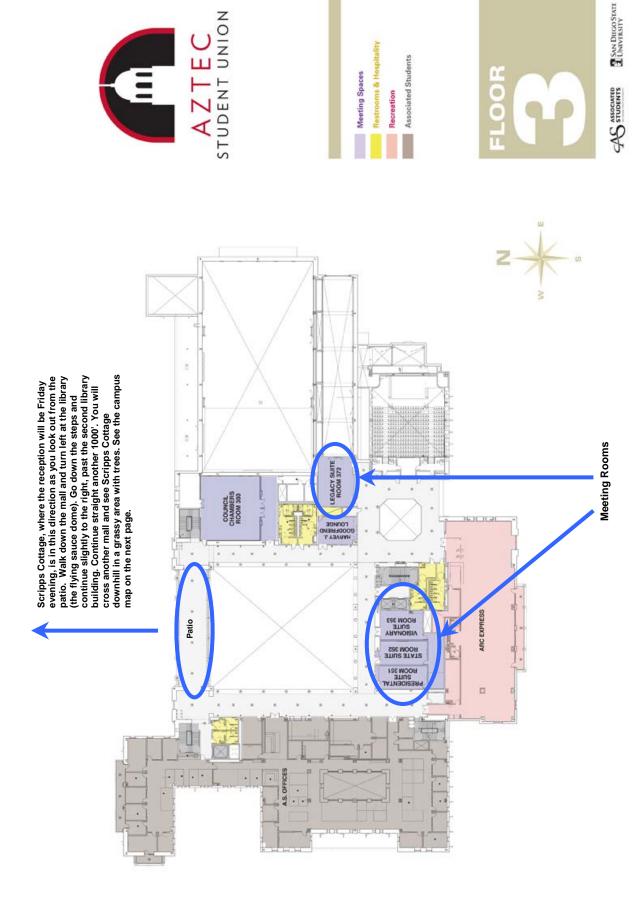


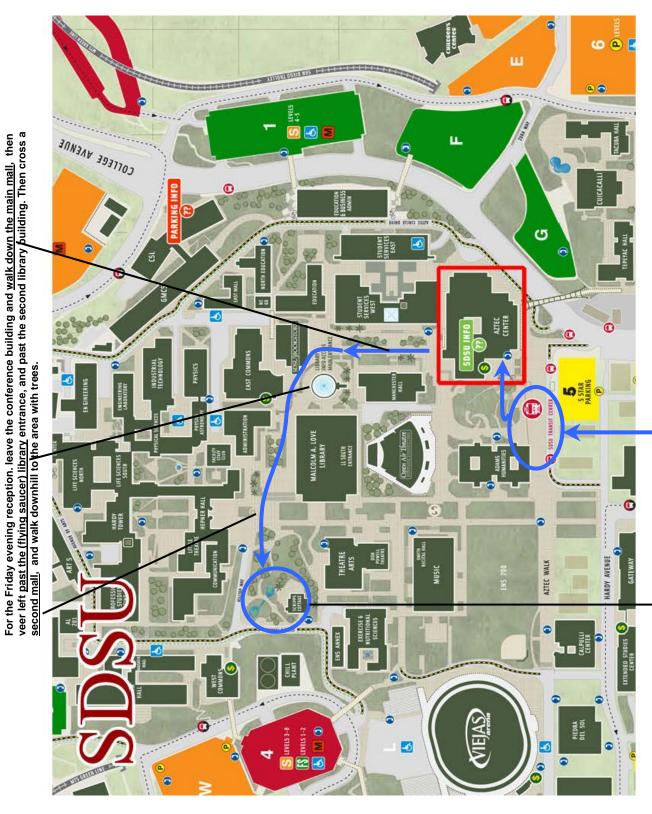
AZTEC STUDENT UNION











Friday evening reception on the Scripps Cottage Patio. Fancy tapas, hor d'oeurves, and no-host bar. 5:00-8:00

Turn right on exiting the transit station and go up the stairs to the conference venue. Go to second floor of the Aztec Student Center.

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Publication Office Mobilization: An International Quarterly Department of Sociology San Diego State University San Diego, CA 92182-4423

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Funded by





