
Final Program

Third SDSU Conference on Nonviolence and Social Change: Illiberal Democracies East and West

Conrad Prebys Aztec Student Union, May 10-11, 2019

Friday, May 10

8:00 Registration opens, 2nd floor, Conrad Prebys Aztec Student Union in room Templo Mayor **Coffee, Tea, Juice, Pastries, Fruit**

☪☪ **8:45 A.M. to 10:30 A.M. Opening Plenary Session 1. Illiberal Democracies and their Resistance: Eastern Europe (Theater, 2nd floor)**

“New Protest Tactics against an Illiberal Regime: The Case of the Hungarian Anti-Slave Law Protests”
Daniel Mikecz, *Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Social Science*

“Illiberal Democracy and the New Feminist Movement in Poland: Evidence from Protest Survey Data”
Piotr Kocyba, *Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany*

“Different Facets of Urban Mobilization – Untangling the ‘Right to the City’ Movement”
Anna Domaradzka, *University of Warsaw, Poland*

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

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

Session 1: Environmental Protests in China (Atzlan-2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Contentious Collaboration: Defining Citizen Participation in Environmental-Standard Enforcement in China”

Chloe Froissart, *Université Rennes 2, Rennes, France*

“Broker and Buffer: Why Environmental Organizations Participate in Popular Protests in China”
Yang Zhang, *American University*

[“State-Movement Alliances: Mobilizing Environmental Impact Assessment in China.”](#)

*Setsuko Matsugawa, *The College of Wooster*

Session 2: Nonviolent Strategies (Metzli—2nd floor)) * denotes facilitator

“The Achievements of the Egyptian Revolution 2011”

Talal Almatar, *The University of Sydney, Australia*

“Solidarity Activism and Identity: Insights from Prisoners of Conscience Movements”

*Anya Stanger, *Sierra College*

“The Zapatista Movement and Mexico’s Democratic Transition”

María Inclán, *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica, Mexico City*

[“Trump and Resistance: Marching for Our Lives”](#)

Denise Herd, *University of California, Berkeley*

Session 3: Black Lives Activism (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Not Your Docile Negroes” – Reclaiming and Radicalizing Black Resistance”

*Chaniqua Simpson, *North Carolina State University*

“Fading Memories and Generational Turnover: Shifts in White Support of Black Movements”

Davyd Setter, *University of New Mexico,*

“The Resistance Will be Digitized: #BlackLivesMatter and the Social Construction of Hope”

Kevin Winstead, *University of Maryland*

Session 4: Movement Processes in Democracies (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“From Dog Whistles to Bullhorns: Race, Movements, and the 2016 Presidential Election”

Megan Brooker, *University of California Irvine*

“Location Matters: The 2017 Women’s Marches as Intersectional Imaginary”

* Zakiya Luna, *UC Santa Barbara*

“The Role of Temporal Dynamics on the Effects of Content Innovativeness on Diffusion”

Sophie Cho and Dan Wang, *Columbia University*

“The Ecosocialist Alternative: For a New Kind of Political Party”

John Foran, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Friday, May 10 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Informal Luncheon Paper Sessions: *Pick up your boxed lunches at Templo Mayor (2nd floor) and munch quietly at the session you choose.*

Session 1: Religion and Emotion in Contemporary Protests (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

[“Religion and Participation in Protest Movements: An Empirical Study in China”](#)

Chengzhi Yi and Geping Qiu, *East China University of Political Science and Law,* and
Tao Liang, *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

“Repression Via Confession: Televised Confession Scripts in China”

Diana Fu, *University of Toronto*

“Emotion as the Weapon: Veterans’ Perpetual Protests and Conflict Resolution in China”

Jieren Hu, *Tongji University*

 **12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Informal Luncheon Sessions (cont'd)**

Session 2: Democratic Challenges (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Attention, Attention! Female Citizens Here! Citizenship as Practice in Black Protests and Women’s Strikes”

Beata Kowalska, *Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

“Breaking the Order: The Intended and Unintended Consequences of Countersurveillance”
Ori Swed, *Texas Tech University*

“Ukraine in the Middle of a Violent Conflict: The Discrimination and Other Experiences of Internally Displaced Persons”

*Anastasiia Kuptsevych-Timmer, Robert J. Johnson, Olena Antonaccio, *University of Miami*, and Ekaterina V Botchkovar, *Northeastern University*

Session 3: Threat and Opportunities: Comparative Perspectives (Tehuanco—2nd floor)

*** denotes facilitator**

[“Construction of Threat and Dynamics of South Korea’s Democracy Movement, 1979-1987”](#)

Soon Seok Park, *Purdue University*

“The Power of the Candlelight: Discursive and Political Opportunities and Social Movement”

*Hyunsik Chun, and Ion Vasi, *University of Iowa*

“Repressive Strategies in Turkey, 1970s to 2000s “

Bengi Selin Gümrükçü, *Rutgers University*

Session 4: Mobilization Mechanisms I (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Trying Not to Think about It: Limits of Ideological Collaboration in Prefigurative Movements”
Oded Marom, *University of Southern California*

[“The Emotional Dimension of Nonviolent Environmental Resistances”](#)

Alice Poma, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

“The Social Order of Collective Action: The Wisconsin Uprising of 2011”

*Matthew Kearney, *McGill University*

[“Tactics in the War of Position: Alinskyism and Tactical Dexterity in the Chicano Movement in Texas, 1965-1978”](#)

Mario Venegas, *University of Texas at Austin*

 **2:00-2:15 Coffee, Tea, Dessert Templo Mayor (2nd Floor)**

☞ **Friday, May 10, 2:15 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. Plenary Session II. Protest and the State: Southern Perspectives (Theater 2nd floor)**

“The Role of Collective Action Experiences and Economic Threat in Political Party Participation”
Paul Almeida, *University of California Merced*, Eugenio Sosa, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras*, Allen Cordero Ulate, *Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica*, Ricardo Argueta, *Universidad de El Salvador*

[“Strategies for Resistance and Nonviolence: Las Abejas Acteal in Chiapas, Mexico”](#)

Carla Zamora, *El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, Chiapas, México*

[“Political Opportunities in a Coalition Presidentialism: Conservative Backlash against LGBT Mobilization in Brazil \(2003-2014\)”](#)

Matheus Mazzilli Pereira, *Universidade Vila Velha*, and Marcelo Silva, and *Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul*

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

☞ **4:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. Paper Sessions**

Session 1: Hong Kong: Threats and Opportunities (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Memory in Movement: Collective Identity and Memory Mobilization in Hong Kong's Tiananmen Vigil”

*Edmund Cheng and Samson Yuen, *Hong Kong Baptist University*

“Understanding Motivations and Grievances of Hong Kong Young People in the 2014 Hong Kong Movement: An Interpretative Phenomenological Study

Zhiwei Wang, *Nova Southeastern University, Shenzhen*

[“Bringing Umbrellas Indoors: Standing in Elections as A Political and Biographical Consequence of the Umbrella “Moment”](#)

John Mok, Chit Wai, *University of California, Irvine*

Session 2: Movement Mechanisms II (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Incrementalism, Graphic Imagery, and Perceptions of Regulatory Protection”

Erin Evans, *Beloit College*

“The Ecology of Environmental Association: Density, Spillover, Competition, and Membership in Sierra Club, 1984-2016

*Jonathan Coley, *Oklahoma State University*, and Quan D. Mai, *Rutgers University*

“Eco-Queer: Queering Environmental Politics and Greening Queer Politics”

Jeff Feng, *UC Santa Barbara*

“Local Battles for Immigrant Rights: Types of Threat and Sustained Mobilization

Maria De Jesus Mora, *University of California, Merced*

Session 3: Mobilization in High-Risk Contexts (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Recruitment to High-Risk Movements in the New Social Media Era: Street-Protests and On-Line Activism in the Egyptian Uprising of 2011”

*Marian Azab, *University of New Mexico*

[“Rethinking the Roots of Urban Warfare: Socio-spatial Dynamics of Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey in 2015”](#)

Ronay Bakan, *Bogazici University, Istanbul*

“Resource Maximization During Democratic Transitions: How Women’s Associations Mobilize in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia”

Maro Youssef, *University of Texas at Austin*

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

“Corporatization and the Prospects for Resistance in the Academy”

*Richard Sullivan, *Illinois State University*

“Beware of the Kiss Police: How Antioch College’s Consent Policy became a Critical Event”

Katelyn Malae, *University of California-Irvine*

“Examining the Promises and Drawbacks of Staff Unions: The Case of Dual Bargaining”

Emily Yen, *Trinity College*

Friday, May 10, 5:30 PM Reception at Scripps Cottage Patio. See p. 13 map



Saturday, May 11

☞☞ **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 III. Illiberal Democracy and Its Resistance: Eastern Perspectives. (Theater 2nd floor)**

“Advancing Democracy Through Protest in the South and East of Europe”
Ana Balkovic, *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

“Mobilizing in a Hybrid Political System: The Artvin Case in Turkey”
Hayriye Ozen and Burak Dogu, *Izmir University of Economics, Balçova–İzmir, Turkey*

“Law and Protest Control in Turkey, 2007-2018”
Mert Arslanalp, *Boğaziçi University*, and Deniz Erkmen, *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin*

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

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

Session 1: Mobilization and Demobilization in Chinese Protests (Metzli—2nd floor) *denotes facilitator

[“Why People Don’t Protest?: The De-Mobilizing Effects of Work-Unit Affiliation”](#)
Yanhua Deng, *Nanjing University*, and Min Zhou, *University of Victoria, Canada*,

“Manufacturing Grievances: New Information Communication Technologies, Mobilization, and Environmental Protests in China”
Jian Lu, *Tsinghua University*

“Engaging in *Huangniu*: Commodification of State-Society Bargaining”
Lynette Ong, *University of Toronto*

“What Distinguishes Protests from Potential Protests”
*Han Zhang, *Princeton University*

Session 2: Protest in Western European Democracies (Atzlan—2nd floor) *denotes facilitator

“United by Threat: Interplay between Antiracist Activists, Politicians, and Civil Servants in Finland”
Mari Kuukkanen, *Södertörn University, Sweden*

[“The Fragmented Figure of the Riot: A Governmental Analysis of the 2011 England Riots”](#)
Johan Gøtzsche-Astrup, *Aarhus University, Denmark*

“Why Take to the Streets when Everything is Going Well? A Fourth Logic of Protest”
Kristin Stroemsnes, *University of Bergen, Norway*

Session 3: Violence and Nonviolence: Times of Transition (Tehuanco—2nd floor) *denotes facilitator

[“Post-Terrorist Wars on Terror: Counterterrorism and the Repression of Nonviolent Contention in Spain.”](#)

Philippe Duhart, *Colgate University*

“Molotov Cocktails to Mass Marches: Riots and Nonviolent Protest in Movement Uprisings”

*Benjamin Case, *University of Pittsburgh*

“Understanding the Gezi Resistance: Learning from the Past”

Mustafa Utku Gungor, *Central European University, Budapest*

Session 4: Immigrant and Racialized Movements (Visionary—3rd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Grassroots Organizing in a Repressive Context: The Development of Oppositional Consciousness”

Luis Higinio, *UC Riverside*

Oppositional Consciousness, Threat, and the Paradox of Immigrant Movement Participation

Greg Prieto, *University of San Diego*

“Tactical Potency: Comparing Strength of Symbolic Political Protests in Professional Sports

Alexis Kenney, *University of New Mexico*

 **Saturday May 11, 12:30 P.M. to 2:00 P.M. Luncheon Sessions. *Pick up boxed lunches at Templo Mayor, 2nd floor, and munch quietly at the session you choose***

Session 1: Protest Mechanisms and Processes in Contemporary China II (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Framing and Goal Drift: Migrant Petitioning, State Power, and the Three Gorges Dam”

Wing-Chung Ho, *City University of Hong Kong*

“The Exclusion of Civic Activism in China”

*Xi Chen, *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

Climbing Protest Pyramid: The Moral Economy of Rickshaw Drivers’ Resistance of in Guangzhou

Jianhua Xu, *University of Macau*

“Civil Society and Social Movements under Authoritarian Regimes: Pro-democracy Social Movements in Hong Kong and Their Unintentional, Paralyzing Effects on Chinese Civil Society

Wenjuan Zheng, *Stanford University*

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

“Carceral Feminism: Co-optation and the Anti-Violence Movement”

*Melanie Brazzell, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Session 2 (cont'd)

“Bridging Movements through Intersectionality: Creating Coalitions between Criminal Justice and Immigrant Rights Organizations Organizing”
Vicente Mata, *University of California, Merced*

“Segregated Pathways: White and Non-White Student Activists on the College Campus”
Cam Owen, *University of California, Irvine*

Session 3: Mobilization Mechanisms III (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

Counter-hegemonic emotional culture as outcomes in Mexican grassroots activism
*Tommaso Gravante, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

“Ideology and Leftist Social Movements: Reasons for Neglect and Prospects for Revival”
Rafal Soborski, *Richmond University, London*

One of the Boys: Conservative Student Activism and Collective Identity Formation
Alexandra Maresca, *University of California Irvine*

Reproductive Rights on the Margins: Latina’s Politicization around Reproductive Healthcare in the Rio Grande Valley
Julisa McCoy, *University of California Riverside*

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

“Movement Constitutionalism as a Condition of Democracy”
*Ben Manski, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

[“The Solidarity Sing-Along: Repression and Resistance Without Strategy in Wisconsin”](#)
Matthew Kearney, *McGill University*

Transnational Social Movement Resistance and the Struggle for Democracy and Human Rights: A Fight Against “Slow” Violence and the Commodification of Water
Caitlin Schroering, *University of Pittsburgh*

2:00—2:30 Coffee, Tea, Desserts (Templo Mayor—2nd floor)**☞ Saturday, May 11, 2:30 P.M. to 3:45 P.M. Paper Sessions****Session 1: Mechanisms and Processes in Chinese Protests I (Metzli—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator**

[“Solidarity Stalled: When Chinese Activists Meet Social Movements in Democracies”](#)
*Mengyang Zhao, *University of Pennsylvania*

“Unintended Movement Outcome: Transnational Interventions, Activist Brokerage, and Health Legibility in China”
Yan Long, *University of California, Berkeley*

[“From Rainbow Umbrellas to Wedding Qipao: LGBT Organizing in the People’s Republic of China”](#)
Caterina Fugazzola, *University of Chicago*

Session 2: Framing Processes (Atzlan—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“Revisiting the History of the 1959 Revolutionary Triumph in Cuba: Movement Frames and Legal Repression in Authoritarian Regimes”

Amalia Perez Martin, *University of California Merced*

“Advocacy Organizations and the Positive Discursive Shift on Marijuana Legalization”

*Burrell Vann, *San Diego State University*

Contesting Claims: How Leaders in the U.S. Gun Debate Frame Themselves

Kaylin Bourdon, *University of California, Irvine*

Session 3: Racialized Movements (Tehuanco—2nd floor) * denotes facilitator

“South Asian Participation in Social Movements”

Naomi Joseph, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

“To Actually Change Our Way of Being or Existing”: Healing & Transformative Organizing in Racial Justice Youth Organizing Groups

*May Lin, *University of Southern California*

“Islamophobia and Hate Movement Against Muslim Americans”

Soheil Sabriseilabi, *Texas Woman's University*

"Grassroots movements and Civil Gang injunctions in Orange County, California"

Alexander Scott, *University of California, Riverside*

Session 4: Labor Movements (Visionary Suite—3rd floor) *denotes facilitator

[“On the Conceptual Overlaps between Protest Analysis and Research on Industrial Conflict: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Strike Activity between 2002 and 2016 in Spain”](#)

Nicholas Pohl, *University of Lausanne, Switzerland*

[“Prime Time: Organizing within Southern California’s Repressive Warehouse Industry”](#)

*Ellen Reese, *University of California, Riverside*

“Are We All in This Together? Teachers’ Unions in Cross-Movement Coalitions Building Strategies”

Amanda Pullum, *California State University, Monterey Bay*

4:00 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. Closing Sessions**Session I: Democracies Today: Opening and Closing Opportunities (Theater—2nd floor)**

“Why Protest is Powerful but Rarely Potent: Talking Protest-Politics with Elected Officials”
Ruud Wouters, and Stefaan Walgrave, *University of Antwerp*

“Did the Women's March Matter? Re-Evaluating the Political Efficacy of Protest”
Jonathan Pinckney, *Norwegian University of Science and Technology*

Session I (cont'd)

“Repression and the Struggle to Protest”

*Bob Edwards, *East Carolina University*, Patrick Gillham, *Western Washington University*, and John Noakes, *Arcadia University*

[“The Social and Political Significance of the French Yellow-Vest Movement”](#)

Frédéric Royall, *University of Limerick, Ireland*

Session II: Protest in Contemporary China Thread (Tehuanco— 2nd floor)

[“Assessing the Broad Spectrum of Citizen Collective Action in Contemporary China: Opportunities, Demands, Actions, and Outcomes”](#)

Teresa Wright, *California State University, Long Beach*

“Bureaucrat-Assisted Protest in China”

Kevin O'Brien, *University of California, Berkeley*, Lianjiang Li, *Chinese University of Hong Kong*, and Mingxing Liu, *Peking University*

[“CASM: A Deep Learning Approach for Identifying Collective Action Events with Text and Image Data from Social Media”](#)

Han Zhang, *Princeton University*

[“A Protest Society Evaluated: Popular Protest in China, 2000-2017”](#)

Chih-Jou Jay Chen, *Academica Sinica, Taiwan*

