

POWER AND PROTEST

How Marginalized Groups
Oppose the State and Other
Institutions

Edited by Lisa Leitz

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS
AND CHANGE

VOLUME 44

POWER AND PROTEST

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS, AND CHANGE

Series Editor: Lisa Leitz

Recent Volumes:

- Volume 24: Consensus Decision Making, Northern Ireland and Indigenous Movements, Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 25: Authority in Contention, Edited by Daniel J. Myers and Daniel M. Cress
- Volume 26: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 27: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 28: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 29: Pushing the Boundaries: New Frontiers in Conflict Resolution and Collaboration, Edited by Rachel Fleishman, Catherine Gerard and Rosemary O'Leary
- Volume 30: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 31: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 32: Critical Aspects of Gender in Conflict Resolution, Peacebuilding, and Social Movements, Edited by Anna Christine Snyder and Stephanie Phetsamay Stobbe
- Volume 33: Media, Movements, and Political Change, Edited by Jennifer Earl and Deana A. Rohlinger
- Volume 34: Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance, Edited by Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz
- Volume 35: Advances in the Visual Analysis of Social Movements, Edited by Nicole Doerr, Alice Mattoni and Simon Teune
- Volume 36: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 37: Intersectionality and Social Change, Edited by Lynne M. Woehrle
- Volume 38: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 39: Protest, Social Movements, and Global Democracy since 2011: New Perspectives, Edited by Thomas Davies, Holly Eva Ryan and Alejandro Peña

- Volume 40: Narratives of Identity in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Edited by Landon E. Hancock
- Volume 41: Non-State Violent Actors and Social Movement Organizations: Influence, Adaptation, and Change. Edited by Julie M. Mazzei
- Volume 42: Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 43: Bringing Down Divides: Special Issue Commemorating the Work of Gregory Maney (1967 – 2017). Edited by Lisa Leitz and Eitan Alimi

This page intentionally left blank

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS,
AND CHANGE VOLUME 44

POWER AND PROTEST: HOW MARGINALIZED GROUPS OPPOSE THE STATE AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

EDITED BY

LISA LEITZ

Chapman University, USA



United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2021

Copyright © 2021 by Emerald Publishing Limited
All rights of reproduction in any form reserved.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83909-835-2 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-83909-834-5 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-83909-836-9 (Epub)

ISBN: 0163-786X (Series)



ISOQAR certified
Management System,
awarded to Emerald
for adherence to
Environmental
standard
ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

*For my precious family:
My parents David and Judy Hassall, and my sister Jane.
Katayoun and our sons Hyde and Thomas.*

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

About the Authors xi

List of Contributors xiii

Introduction to Power and Protest, RSMCC Volume 44 1
Lisa Leitz and Paige N. Gulley

SECTION I THEORIZING THE POWER OF PROTESTORS

The Reclamation Master Frame: A Visual Study of the Arab Uprisings 11
Mounira M. Charrad, Amina Zarrugh and Hyun Jeong Ha

Understanding Strikes in the 21ST Century: Perspectives from the United States 37
Chris Rhomberg and Steven Lopez

Group Size and the Use of Violence by Resistance Campaigns: A Multilevel Study of Resistance Method 63
Christopher J. Cyr and Michael Widmeier

Marginalization and Mobilizing Power in Nonviolent Social Movements 91
Selina Gallo-Cruz

SECTION II POWER OF INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITION

Illegitimacy, Political Stability, and the Erosion of Alliances: Lessons from the End of Apartheid in South Africa 119
Eric W. Schoon and Robert J. VandenBerg

Whaling in Korea: Heritage, Framing, and Contention against International Norms	145
<i>Bradley Tatar</i>	
Mobilizing for Religious Freedom: Educational Opportunity Structures and Outcomes of Conservative Christian Campus Activism	175
<i>Jonathan S. Coley</i>	
Epilogue: Updates to Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change	201
<i>Lisa Leitz</i>	
<i>Index</i>	203

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Mounira M. Charrad (PhD, Harvard University) is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas-Austin. Her book, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco*, won national awards. Her articles have appeared in major scholarly journals. Her current research focuses on secular feminists and authoritarianism in Tunisia.

Jonathan S. Coley received his PhD in Sociology from Vanderbilt University and is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Oklahoma State University. His research focuses on social movements, politics, religion, and sexuality. His first book, *Gay on God's Campus*, was published by the University of North Carolina Press in 2018.

Christopher J. Cyr is an Associate Research Scientist at OCLC. His research looks at how public and private services are provided to communities in several contexts. Christopher holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Colorado, and he is also a Senior International Fellow at the World Engagement Institute.

Selina Gallo-Cruz is Associate Professor of Sociology at College of the Holy Cross. Her research has been published in *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, *Interface*, *Social Movement Studies*, *Sociology Compass*, *Sociological Forum*, and other volumes. In *Political Invisibility and Mobilization*, Selina examines women's movements against war.

Paige N. Gulley has an MA in War & Society from Chapman University. She has written on French colonialism in Algeria, and she enjoys studying colonial theory, hermeneutics, and the lives of women in nontraditional fields. Her current research focuses on female recreation workers during World War II.

Hyun Jeong Ha (PhD, University of Texas-Austin) is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Duke Kunshan University, China. Her research focuses on the experience of sectarianism among Christian minorities in Egypt. Her work has appeared in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and on the blog of the Baker Institute, Rice University.

Lisa Leitz is the Delp-Wilkinson Professor and Department Chair of Peace Studies at Chapman University. Her book, *Fighting for Peace: Veterans and Military Families in the Anti-Iraq War Movement*, won the 2015 American Sociological Association's Peace, War and Social Conflict Outstanding Book

Award. She serves as the Series Editor of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change*.

Steven H. Lopez is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the Ohio State University. His research focuses broadly on work, labor, employment, and society. He has studied and written about auto work, route sales, union organizing, and nursing home work. His current work focuses on experiences of precarity and unemployment.

Chris Rhomberg is a Professor of Sociology at Fordham University. His research focuses on historical and contemporary issues of labor, race, urban development and politics in the United States. He is the author of *The Broken Table: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and the State of American Labor* (Russell Sage, 2012).

Eric W. Schoon is Assistant Professor of Sociology at The Ohio State University. His interests include political sociology, social movements, comparative historical sociology, culture, and research methods. His work has appeared in outlets including the *Journal of Politics*, *Social Forces*, *Sociological Methods & Research*, *Social Problems*, and *Sociological Science*.

Bradley Tatar, Associate Professor in UNIST, is a cultural anthropologist who has researched revolutionary movements in Latin America. Presently based in South Korea, he researches social movements that are changing human interactions with nature. His publication includes *Transnational Frontiers of Asia and Latin America since 1800* (with Jaime Moreno Tejada).

Robert J. VandenBerg is an assistant professor of criminal justice at Norwich University – The Military College of Vermont. His work focuses on violent extremism and contentious politics, and he is the author most recently of “Legitimizing Extremism: A Taxonomy of Justifications for Political Violence,” published in *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Michael Widmeier is a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of North Texas. He also serves as an Adjunct Assistant Professor at Webster University in the History, Politics, & International Relations Department. His research interests include civil conflict, political violence, rebel group organization, social movements, and terrorism.

Amina Zarrugh (PhD, University of Texas-Austin) is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Texas Christian University. Her research focuses on politics and forced disappearance in North Africa and race/ethnicity in the United States. Her work has appeared in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and *The Journal of North African Studies*.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

<i>Mounira M. Charrad</i>	Department of Sociology, University of Texas-Austin, USA
<i>Jonathan S. Coley</i>	Department of Sociology, Oklahoma State University, USA
<i>Christopher J. Cyr</i>	OCLC, USA
<i>Selina Gallo-Cruz</i>	Department of Sociology and Anthropology, College of the Holy Cross, USA
<i>Paige N. Gulley</i>	Department of History, Chapman University, USA
<i>Hyun Jeong Ha</i>	Division of Social Sciences, Duke Kunshan University, China
<i>Lisa Leitz</i>	Department of Peace Studies, Chapman University, USA
<i>Steven H. Lopez</i>	Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, USA
<i>Chris Rhomberg</i>	Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Fordham University, USA
<i>Eric W. Schoon</i>	Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University, USA
<i>Bradley Tatar</i>	Division of General Studies, UNIST, Korea
<i>Robert J. VandenBerg</i>	School of Justice Studies and Sociology, Norwich University – The Military College of Vermont, USA
<i>Michael Widmeier</i>	Department of Political Science, University of North Texas, USA
<i>Amina Zarrugh</i>	Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Texas Christian University, USA

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION TO POWER AND PROTEST, RSMCC VOLUME 44

Lisa Leitz and Paige N. Gulley

All discussions of social movements and social change revolve around power: Who has it? How is it imposed? How can we change its dynamics? Often our analysis is clouded by assumptions built into contemporary knowledge structures and ideas of the “other.” In order to move scholarship forward, we have to take inequalities seriously, consider new forms and expressions of power, and carefully examine when challenges to power fail or thrive—just as the chapters of this volume do.

During the COVID-19 global pandemic, individuals across the United States and many other nations came out of lockdown and took to the streets to protest police killings of Black people. These protests, reminiscent of the 2014 Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests which began in Ferguson, Missouri, reignited global conversations about racialized policing, as well as numerous forms of structural, cultural, and individual racism (see [Beaman, 2017, 2019](#); [Bonilla & Tillery, 2020](#); [Clayton, 2018](#); [Duncan-Shippy, Murphy, & Purdy, 2017](#); [Gallagher, Reagan, Danforth, & Dodds, 2018](#); [Hayward, 2020](#); [Ince, Rojas, & Davis, 2017](#); [Mundt, Ross, & Burnett, 2018](#); [Ray, 2020](#); [Szetela, 2020](#); [Taylor, 2016](#); [Yang, 2016](#)). The marches, sit-ins, and petitions demonstrate what [Sidney Tarrow’s \(1998\)](#) extensive overview of the ways people have challenged the state simply called *Power in Movement*. Online video conferences, social media, and artistic campaigns centered minority voices and sought to empower people to resist inequity and state power and violence. Furthermore, the lead organization described one of its goals as “build[ing] local power,” which can create a world “where every Black person has the social, economic, and political power to thrive” ([Black Lives Matter, 2020](#)). Activists’ signs and words have illuminated the racialized operation of power in numerous institutions and highlighted the implications of these power dynamics on both individual and group psychology.

Power comes in many forms, even the bare human body, as seen in Portland, Oregon, where a young woman, dubbed “Naked Athena,” struck yoga and ballet

Power and Protest

Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 44, 1–8

Copyright © 2021 by Emerald Publishing Limited

All rights of reproduction in any form reserved

ISSN: 0163-786X/doi:[10.1108/S0163-786X20210000044001](https://doi.org/10.1108/S0163-786X20210000044001)

poses in front of federal authorities until they left (Read, 2020). Despite the intense repressive tactics of the police, she was neither arrested nor harmed. Much can be made of her light skin color, whereby this woman's racial position allowed her to elude harm and to obtain largely positive media attention (see also Jackson, 2020). Such protests urge us to examine not only the power wielded by police and stripped from minorities but also the powerful role of racial and institutional identities of individuals, which can be wielded in politics and other arenas.

The global reemergence of the BLM Movement encourages scholars to reexamine state, people, embodied, and identity-based power. So too, the chapters in this volume focus on the various ways power operates in conflicts, including how individuals utilize it despite identities that many believe would lack power. The breadth of the authors' analyses of power demonstrates the interdisciplinarity of the *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* series, incorporating numerous theoretical and research traditions. Many chapters continue this series' history of building novel and interdisciplinary conceptions, which demonstrate the insufficiency of the dominant theories and move beyond them to suggest new ways of understanding conflict.

THEORIZING MOVEMENT POWER

The first section in this volume, entitled "Theorizing the Power of Protesters," focuses on how we understand protestors' demands and their use of the resources available to them. Chapters by Gallo-Cruz and Rhomberg and Lopez particularly draw attention to the need to reconsider how power is theorized in movements. Drawing on examples from around the world, this section examines how culture shapes the ways protestors frame their messages and choose their strategies based on their own potential sources of power. The papers in this section provide new insights into how and why protestors succeed against governments initially unwilling to provide concessions.

In the first chapter of this volume, Mounira M. Charrad, Amina Zarrugh, and Hyun Jeong Ha examine how protestors frame their demands in ways that are both universal and highly personal. This framing offers powerful motivation, which sustains protestors for extended periods of time, even in the face of intense repression. Focusing on the Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, the authors examine over 3,500 photographs taken during the protests to identify individual demands, as depicted on signs and through other visual symbols. They find that the antigovernment messages expressed by protestors focused on the government depriving its citizens of what they believed was rightfully theirs. This leads the authors to develop the reclamation master frame, in which people demand that the government return stolen rights or satisfy unfulfilled promises.

Charrad, Zarrugh, and Ha discuss three specific areas in which protestors demanded reclamation: (1) their right to trustworthy leaders, (2) the ability to take pride in their nation, and (3) the public memory of the victims of state repression. By framing the government's actions as a betrayal of its people,

protestors asserted the legitimacy of their struggle and characterized their demands as a return to, rather than a break from, the norm. Their demands were also highly personal, especially those invoking the memory of victims of state violence, and this personal investment in the protests encouraged average citizens to continue protesting for weeks, despite ongoing state repression. Charrad, Zarrugh, and Ha's research broadens our understanding of the ways in which protestors can frame their demands and the correlation between framing and success in social movements, suggesting the need for further research on the potential power of movements to shape collective memory in ways that shift the balance of governmental power.

While framing plays an important role in protestor success or failure, equally important in understanding movements' power is their use of the resources available to them. In the second paper in this section, Chris Rhomberg and Steven Lopez utilize a case study of fast food workers' living wage campaign to demonstrate the need for a more comprehensive understanding of the various types of power available to protestors. Focusing on labor movement theories, Rhomberg and Lopez argue that traditional understandings of labor disputes prove insufficient when applied to modern-day strikes. They expand upon the power resources approach to argue that workers rely primarily on their ability to organize collectively, which the authors call "associational power." Workers then build upon their associational power by deploying the power resources, or points of leverage, available to them. Contrary to other scholars who link specific power resources to specific periods or industries, Rhomberg and Lopez argue that all types of power resources exist in all struggles and that it is the interplay between the various power resources and workers' collective action that leads to a movement's success or failure. Though Rhomberg and Lopez highlight the need for labor-specific forms of analysis, their study demonstrates the importance of delineating mechanisms within types of protestor power and the centrality of collective action to social change.

Continuing the focus on the power of collectivity, Christopher Cyr and Michael Widmeier study the correlation between group size and campaigns' use of violent or nonviolent tactics. Examining data on over 250 instances of protests against the state in the second half of the twentieth century, Cyr and Widmeier test several hypotheses, which provide important nuance for the general conclusions that have come out of the extensive quantitative analysis comparing nonviolent and violent campaigns in the work of Erica Chenoweth and her collaborators ([Chenoweth, 2008](#); [Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011](#); [Day, Pinckney, & Chenoweth, 2015](#)). Cyr and Widmeier find that nonstate actors with broader support, such as pro-democracy campaigns, are less likely to employ violence, while groups less reflective of their nation are more inclined to utilize guerilla tactics and other violent means. If a country is already democratizing, that increases the likelihood that a campaign is nonviolent. Organizing along ethnic lines, particularly if the ethnic group is a small proportion of the population, or around Marxist ideology is correlated with the use of violence, likely as a result of these groups' limited support base. Further, campaigns opposing occupation by foreign states are less likely to be violent only when the population they fight for

is large. Cyr and Widmeier's conclusions about the correlation between population size, ideology, and state conditions suggest avenues for future examinations of when and which groups will believe that power can be obtained nonviolently.

In the final chapter of this section, Selina Gallo-Cruz proposes a new framework for understanding marginalized groups' use of nonviolent power. Challenging existing understandings of protestor power that emphasize the universality of strategies and motivations across cases, Gallo-Cruz uses a social constructionist lens to highlight the significance of a group's specific origins and position in society as it relates to their goals, the state's repression of them, and the resources available to them. She uses the Mothers of the Plaza Mayo's struggle during the Argentine Dirty War to demonstrate that marginalized groups can derive power from their social and historical position. In the case of the Mothers, she finds that their lack of power in the eyes of the regime allowed them to successfully organize without becoming targets of repression themselves. Their lack of political experience also gave them greater credibility as they spoke out in the international arena, drawing global attention to their struggle and increasing international pressure on the regime.

Gallo-Cruz urges us to consider not only actors' socially constructed position but also the specifics of the conflict itself, highlighting how the Mothers' strategies and use of power evolved with the conflict. Further, their tactics continued after the conclusion of the Dirty War, as the women continued to seek justice for their loved ones and hold perpetrators responsible for their crimes.

This first section of the book offers important directions for theorizing how participants in social movements that seem to lack power may utilize it to make social change. Throughout this section, the authors demonstrate the need to broaden our understanding of the sources and use of protestor power and its correlation with movement success. In the chapters that follow, we expand the examination of power to some of the other powerful forces in social movements.

POWER OF INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITION

From a focus on protestor power, we move into Section II, which examines the role of institutions and traditions, which are not always synonymous with one another. Institutions work to govern those under their control, be it the students at a university, the citizens of a nation, or the governments of the world. The standardized rules that they apply do not take into account the variations within these populations, and sometimes directly contradict the traditions of certain communities. In a clash between the institution and tradition, which contextual factors and strategies determine the outcome? This section will interrogate the sources and strength of institutional power, allowing us to better understand the circumstances that contribute to or challenge that power.

The first chapter in this section examines the ability of an institution to maintain power despite overwhelming opposition, demonstrating that the sources of institutional power are not always immediately apparent. Eric Schoon and Robert VandenBerg focus on the apartheid government of South Africa, an

institution long recognized as illegitimate by both the majority of the South African population and the international community. Challenging the predominant understanding that illegitimacy breeds political instability and is a catalyst of regime change, Schoon and VandenBerg highlight that the apartheid regime remained in power for decades despite both national and international opposition. Drawing on a variety of media reports, government records, United Nations transcripts, and memoirs published by key actors, they examine the rise of the ruling National Party in the late 1940s, its success in maintaining power for decades, and its defeat in the first all-race election in 1994. Rather than focusing on individual factors like international pressure or economic recession, the authors synthesize these various forces to analyze their cumulative effect on the regime's power.

Schoon and VandenBerg find that the National Party relied on the support of allies from various sectors, including academia, business, and international politics, that allowed it to maintain power despite its illegitimacy. Only when these relationships began to crumble did the apartheid regime begin to lose power. Significantly, Schoon and VandenBerg assert that the National Party's illegitimacy did not directly affect its hold on power; rather, illegitimacy eventually destroyed the regime's relationships with its most important allies, which were the source of its power. Their analysis provides important insight into the indirect effects of illegitimacy on political regimes, laying theoretical groundwork for the examination of similar conflicts.

The next two chapters in this section focus on the use of tradition to challenge the power of institutions, analyzing the conditions under which such challenges are successful. Bradley Tatar's chapter takes us to South Korea to examine a traditional practice in conflict with international norms. Tatar details the rise of the pro-whaling movement in the South Korean city of Ulsan and the movement's strategic use of heritage and tradition to oppose the international ban on whaling. Focusing on the confrontation between Korean pro-whaling protestors and Greenpeace activists during the 2005 meeting of the International Whaling Commission in Ulsan, Tatar draws on media reports and interviews with protestors on both sides. He finds that Korean pro-whaling protestors strategically framed their position as an issue of local heritage, constructing a tradition of whaling that has become an important part of the community's identity. In doing so, pro-whaling activists acknowledged that anti-whaling is the global norm and framed their demands as an exception to, not the removal of, the norm. Tatar argues that by using the language of heritage and local tradition, protesters were able to garner support from those outside of their community and eventually succeed in their efforts to gain an exemption from international regulations. His work highlights the ways in which tradition can be strategically constructed and employed by protesters who wish to challenge institutionalized norms.

Appeals to the power of tradition do not guarantee the success of a movement, however. In the final chapter in this section, Jonathan Coley analyzes the efforts of conservative Christian activists on college campuses to gain exemptions from university policies, specifically as they relate to the inclusion of LGBTQ+ students. Coley details how conservative Christian student organizations at Vanderbilt

University asserted that the ability to discriminate based on sexual orientation and religious belief was an issue of religious freedom. Drawing on campus newspaper reports, policy statements, and ethnographic observations made during the protests, Coley outlines students' ultimate failure to gain the exemptions they demanded. He finds that the conservative Christian activists were unsuccessful due to certain characteristics of Vanderbilt University itself. Developing the concept of "educational opportunity structures," Coley argues that a combination of university factors, namely the institution's prestige, wealth, religiosity/secularism, and public/private nature, shapes the likelihood that a university will ultimately prevail over student activists.

EXAMINING POWER

This volume continues *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change's* multidisciplinary and multimethod examination of both how social movements challenge power structures and the ways that power shapes the context and range of experiences in a conflict. Moving beyond international relations scholars' continued emphasis on states, as noted in previous volumes of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (e.g. [Coy, 2017](#)), this volume emphasizes the complex web of actors in international and national conflicts and the power in collective action, or what many within the nonviolence tradition refer to as "people power" ([Ackerman & Kruegler, 1994](#); [Carter, 2013](#); [Elwood, 1997](#); [Schock, 1999, 2004](#); [Zunes, 1999](#)). In fact, many of these chapters highlight the limits of governmental power and demonstrate the power of marginalized groups.

Analyses of power are necessary beyond academic circles and political discourse, and such examinations are often a critical aspect of the strategic work of nonprofits, social movements, community organizations, and other agents for social change. We invite submissions to Volume 46, which will examine these organizations' engagement in power struggles, and particularly welcome those examining the role of race and ethnicity in conflicts and social movements. As mentioned earlier, BLM offers many important avenues for examining the continuing significance of race, and we invite analyses of this movement. The summer of 2020 has seen waves of antiracism protests around the globe, which have sparked relatively rapid changes to police policies and evoked promises from parliamentary bodies, companies, universities, and artistic stakeholders in Europe and the United States to be more inclusive ([King, 2020](#); [McAuley, 2020](#); [Rich & Hida, 2020](#)). These developments offer exciting opportunities for examining protestors' use of violence/nonviolence, as well as other aspects of strategy, tactics, mobilization, and resources, in order to better understand what methods lead to success, failure, or placation. While Volume 46 will be open to all submissions, one section will be devoted to BLM and other movements for racial equity and the operation of race in social movements, and we encourage submissions examining these issues in social change organizations beyond those considered protest groups.

REFERENCES

- Ackerman, P., & Kruegler, C. (1994). *Strategic nonviolent conflict: The dynamics of people power in the twentieth century*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Beaman, J. (2017). *Citizen outsider: Children of North African immigrants in France*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Beaman, J. (2019). *Where do Black Lives Matter? Police violence and antiracism in France and the United States*. Social Science Research Council. Retrieved from <https://items.ssrc.org/insights/where-do-black-lives-matter-police-violence-and-antiracism-in-france-and-the-united-states/>
- Black Lives Matter. (2020). *What we believe*. Retrieved from <https://blacklivesmatter.com/what-we-believe/>. Accessed on July 4, 2020.
- Bonilla, T., & Tillery, A. B. (2020). Which identity frames boost support for and mobilization in the #BlackLivesMatter movement? An experimental test. *American Political Science Review*, 1–16. doi:10.1017/S0003055420000544
- Carter, A. (2013). People power since 1980: Examining reasons for its spread, success and failure. *Sicherheit Und Frieden (S F)/Security and Peace*, 31(3), 145–150. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/24233235
- Chenoweth, E. (2008). *The nonviolent and violent campaigns and outcomes (NAVCO) dataset, version 1.0*. Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. Retrieved from https://www.du.edu/korbel/sie/research/chenow_navco_data.html
- Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M. J. (2011). *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent resistance*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Clayton, D. M. (2018). Black Lives Matter and the civil rights movement: A comparative analysis of two social movements in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies*, 49(5), 448–480. doi:10.1177/0021934718764099
- Coy, P. G. (2017). Foreword. In J. M. Mazzei (Ed.), *Research in social movements, conflicts and change Volume 41: Non-state actors and social movement organizations: Influence, adaptation, and change* (p. ix). Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Day, J., Pinckney, J., & Chenoweth, E. (2015). Collecting data on nonviolent action: Lessons learned and ways forward. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(1), 129–133.
- Duncan-Shippy, E. M., Murphy, S. C., & Purdy, M. A. (2017). An examination of mainstream media as an educating institution: The Black Lives Matter movement and contemporary social protest. *The Power of Resistance (Advances in Education in Diverse Communities)*, 12, 99–142.
- Elwood, D. J. (1997). Philippines people power revolution, 1986. In R. S. Powers, & W. B. Vogeles (Eds.), *Protest, power and change: An encyclopedia of nonviolent action from ACT-UP to women's suffrage* (pp. 412–414). New York, NY: Garland Publishing.
- Gallagher, R. J., Reagan, A. J., Danforth, C. M., & Dodds, P. S. (2018). Divergent discourse between protests and counter-protests: #BlackLivesMatter and #AllLivesMatter. *PloS One*, 3(4), e0195644. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0195644
- Hayward, C. R. (2020, April). Disruption: What is it good for? *The Journal of Politics*, 82(2), 448–459. doi:10.1086/706766
- Ince, J., Rojas, F., & Davis, C. A. (2017). The social media response to Black Lives Matter: How Twitter users interact with Black Lives Matter through hashtag use. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(11), 1814–1830. doi:10.1080/01419870.2017.1334931
- Jackson, M. S. (2020, July 25). Who gets to be a “naked Athena”? On weirdness, whiteness and federal agents in Portland. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/25/opinion/sunday/portland-protests-white.html>
- King, E. (2020, June 10). Europe seeks own response to Black Lives Matter. Politico. Retrieved from <https://www.politico.eu/article/us-style-civil-rights-protests-come-to-europe-george-floyd-black-lives-matter/>
- McAuley, J. (2020, June 12). The woman behind France’s Black Lives Matter movement wants a race-blind society to recognize its racism. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/assa-traore-black-lives-matter-france/2020/06/12/45c0f450-aa87-11ea-a43b-bc9f6494a87d_story.html

- Mundt, M., Ross, K., & Burnett, C. M. (2018). Scaling social movements through social media: The case of Black Lives Matter. *Social Media + Society*, 4(4). doi:10.1177/2056305118807911
- Ray, R. (2020). Setting the record straight on the movement for Black Lives. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(8), 1393–1401. doi:10.1080/01419870.2020.1718727
- Read, R. (2020, July 19). Out of Portland tear gas, an apparition emerges, capturing the imagination of protesters. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-07-19/portland-protest-naked-athena>
- Rich, M., & Hida, H. (2020, July 1). In Japan, the message of anti-racism protests fails to hit home. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/world/asia/japan-racism-black-lives-matter.html>
- Schock, K. (1999, August 1). People power and political opportunities: Social movement mobilization and outcomes in the Philippines and Burma. *Social Problems*, 46(3), 355–375. Retrieved from <https://doi-org.libproxy.chapman.edu/10.2307/3097105>
- Schock, K. (2004). *Unarmed uprisings: People power movements in nondemocracies*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Szetela, A. (2020). Black Lives Matter at five: Limits and possibilities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(8), 1358–1383. doi:10.1080/01419870.2019.1638955
- Tarrow, S. (1998). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, K.-Y. (2016). *From #blacklivesmatter to Black liberation*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
- Yang, G. (2016). Narrative agency in hashtag activism: The case of #BlackLivesMatter. *Media and Communication*, 4, 13–17.
- Zunes, S. (1999). The origins of people power in the Philippines. In S. Zunes, S. B. Asher, & L. Kurtz (Eds.), *Nonviolent social movements: A geographical perspective* (pp. 129–157). Oxford: Blackwell.