

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL  
MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND  
CHANGE

# RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND CHANGE

Series Editor: Patrick G. Coy

## Recent Volumes:

- Volume 27: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 28: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – 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: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 31: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – 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: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – Edited by Patrick G. Coy
- Volume 37: Intersectionality and Social Change – Edited by Lynne M. Woehrlé
- Volume 38: Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change – 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

RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND  
CHANGE VOLUME 42

# RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CONFLICTS AND CHANGE

EDITED BY

**PATRICK G. COY**  
*Kent State University, USA*



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

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

First edition 2018

Copyright © 2018 Emerald Publishing Limited

**Reprints and permissions service**

Contact: [permissions@emeraldinsight.com](mailto: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: 978-1-78756-896-9 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-78756-895-2 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-78756-897-6 (Epub)

ISSN: 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

# CONTENTS

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| <i>List of Contributors</i>   | vii |
| <i>About the Contributors</i> | ix  |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <b>Introduction</b>   |   |
| <i>Patrick G. Coy</i> | 1 |

## SECTION I SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>Allies in Action: Institutional Actors and Grassroots<br/>Environmental Activism in China</b> |   |
| <i>Yang Zhang</i>  | 9 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>A Tale of Two Bike Lanes: Consensus Movements and<br/>Infrastructure Delivery</b> |    |
| <i>Kathryn Gasparro</i>  | 39 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>When Do Political Parties Move to the Streets? Party<br/>Protest in Chile</b> |    |
| <i>Nicolás M. Somma</i>  | 63 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Building Solidarity across Asymmetrical Risks: Israeli and<br/>Palestinian Peace Activists</b> |    |
| <i>Michelle I. Gawerc</i>   | 87 |

## SECTION II FRAMES AND DISCOURSES IN CONFLICTS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Frame Resonance, Tactical Innovation, and Poor People<br/>in the Tunisian Uprising</b> |     |
| <i>Mohammad Yaghi</i>   | 115 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <b>Black Lives Matter: (Re)Framing the Next Wave<br/>of Black Liberation</b> |     |
| <i>Amanda D. Clark, Prentiss A. Dantzler and Ashley E. Nickels</i>           | 145 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Challenging Everyday Violence of the State: Developing Sustained Opposition Movements through Anti-corruption Protests</b><br><i>Alexandra V. Orlova</i> | 173 |
| <b>SECTION III<br/>ACTIVIST START-UP AND WITHDRAWAL</b>   |     |
| <b>Volunteer Retention, Burnout and Dropout in Online Voluntary Organizations: Stress, Conflict and Retirement of Wikipedians</b><br><i>Piotr Konieczny</i> | 199 |
| <b>Late Bloomers: Differential Participation among First-time, Mid-life Protesters</b><br><i>Winston B. Tripp and Danielle N. Gage</i>                      | 221 |
| <i>Index</i>  | 243 |

## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Amanda D. Clark</i>      | Department of Political Science, Kent State University, USA                 |
| <i>Patrick G. Coy</i>       | School of Peace and Conflict Studies, Kent State University, USA            |
| <i>Prentiss A. Dantzler</i> | Department of Sociology, Colorado College, USA                              |
| <i>Danielle N. Gage</i>     | College of Social Sciences, University of West Georgia, USA                 |
| <i>Kathryn Gasparro</i>     | Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering, Stanford University, USA |
| <i>Michelle I. Gawerc</i>   | Department of Sociology, Loyola University Maryland, USA                    |
| <i>Piotr Konieczny</i>      | Department of Informational Sociology, Hanyang University, South Korea      |
| <i>Ashley E. Nickels</i>    | Department of Political Science, Kent State University, USA                 |
| <i>Alexandra V. Orlova</i>  | Department of Criminology, Ryerson University, Canada                       |
| <i>Nicolás M. Somma</i>     | Instituto de Sociología, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile    |
| <i>Winston B. Tripp</i>     | Department of Sociology, University of West Georgia, USA                    |
| <i>Mohammad Yaghi</i>       | Department of Political Studies, Queens University, Canada                  |
| <i>Yang Zhang</i>           | School of International Service, American University, USA                   |

## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Amanda D. Clark** received her PhD in Political Science from Kent State University with a dissertation titled “Framing Strategies and Social Movement Coalitions: Assessing Tactical Diffusion in the Fight against Human Trafficking from 2008–2014.” Dr Clark’s research interests include social movements, community development, and the US policy process. She is also interested in the intersections of organizational theory and social movement strategy and has published co-authored book chapters on the nonviolent dynamics of the Nashville student sit-in campaign of 1960 and on community control in local organizing and development policy.

**Patrick G. Coy** is Professor and Interim Director of the School of Peace and Conflict Studies at Kent State University. His research has been funded by the National Science Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, the Albert Einstein Institution, and the American Sociological Association. His many publications include a co-authored book, *Contesting Patriotism: Culture, Power and Strategy in the Peace Movement* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), edited books on *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), and *A Revolution of the Heart: Essays on the Catholic Worker* (originally published by Temple University Press, 1988). He has published more than 35 peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters on conflict analysis, social movements, nonviolent action, unarmed civilian peacekeeping, community mediation, and peace and conflict studies. He was previously a Fulbright Scholar in Botswana, working with the Research Centre on San (Bushman) Studies. He has served as the Series Editor of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* since 2000.

**Prentiss A. Dantzler** is Assistant Professor of Sociology and Co-Chair of the Urban Studies minor at Colorado College. Dr Dantzler is also a Faculty Fellow through the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest. As an interdisciplinary scholar, his research and teaching largely focuses on urban poverty, race and ethnic relations, housing policy, and community development. Dr Dantzler is currently studying voluntary and involuntary residential mobility among housing assistance recipients. His work has been published in academic outlets including *The Urban Lawyer* (American Bar Association), the *Journal of Urban History* (Sage Publications), and *Urban Affairs Review* (Sage Publications).

**Danielle N. Gage** is the Program Coordinator for the College of Social Sciences Center for Research at the University of West Georgia. She holds an MA in Sociology from the University of West Georgia. Her research interests include social movements and community engagement.



**Kathryn Gasparro** is Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering at Stanford University and is also a Research Affiliate of the Stanford Global Project Center. Her research focuses on the governance and management of infrastructure projects and the impact they have in communities. Currently, she is working on a project that identifies innovative ways communities and other partners engage with local government during infrastructure delivery.

**Michelle I. Gawerc** is Associate Professor of Sociology and Global Studies at Loyola University Maryland. Her research interests lie at the intersection of social movement studies and peace and conflict studies. She is the author of *Prefiguring Peace: Israeli-Palestinian Peacebuilding Partnerships* (Lexington Books, 2012). Her research has also been published in numerous journals including: *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*; *Social Movement Studies* (Taylor & Francis); *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* (Emerald Publishing); *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research* (Wiley); *International Journal of Peace Studies*; *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* (Taylor & Francis); *Peace Review* (Taylor & Francis); and *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* (Wiley). Her current research focuses on Palestinian-Israeli peace and anti-occupation movement organizations and coalitions.

**Piotr Konieczny** is Assistant Professor at the Department of Informational Sociology, Hanyang University, South Korea. He has received his PhD degree from the University of Pittsburgh. He is interested in the sociology of the Internet and social movements, in particular in topics such as free culture, wikis and their impact on individuals and organizations, decision-making processes and organizational structure of Wikipedia, patterns of behavior among Wikipedia contributors, and relations between wikis and social movements.

**Ashley E. Nickels** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Kent State University. Dr Nickels is an interdisciplinary scholar, whose teaching and research centers on issues of power, privilege, and democratic participation in the fields of urban politics, nonprofit and community-based organizations, and public administration. Her work is highly influenced by her years working in feminist community activism. Dr Nickels is Co-editor of two books: *Grand Rapids Grassroots: An Anthology* (with Dani Vilella; Belt Publishing, 2017) and *Community Development and Public Administration Theory: Promoting Democratic Principles to Improve Communities* (with Jason D. Rivera; Routledge Press, 2018). She also serves on the board of editors for the *Journal of Public Affairs Education* (NASPAA), and as Chair-elect of ARNOVA's section on Community and Grassroots Associations.

**Alexandra V. Orlova** is Associate Dean, Research and Graduate Studies (Faculty of Arts), and Associate Professor in the Department of Criminology at Ryerson University. She received her PhD in Law from Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, in 2004. She also holds a Bachelor of Laws (LLB) from Osgoode Hall Law School. Her main research interests focus on

international constitutionalism, human rights, and transnational organized crime and corruption. She has published widely in the areas of international law as well as traditional and non-traditional security threats. Dr Orlova provided expert opinions pertaining to organized crime and human trafficking to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the Norwegian Refugee Council's Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre as well as for lawyers representing victims of organized crime and human trafficking in Canada and the UK.

**Nicolás M. Somma** is Associate Professor of Sociology at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. He earned a PhD in Sociology from the University of Notre Dame. His research focuses on social movements, political sociology, and comparative-historical sociology. His work has appeared in several journals, including *Party Politics* (Sage Publications), *Comparative Politics* (Sage Publications), *Latin American Politics and Society* (Wiley), and *The Sociological Quarterly* (Wiley), as well as in several book chapters. He also co-authored the book *Vínculos, Creencias e Ilusiones. La Cohesión Social de los Latinoamericanos* (Links, Beliefs, and Hopes. The Social Cohesion of Latin Americans, Uqbar Editores, Santiago de Chile, Colección CIEPLAN, 2008). Currently, Nicolás is studying the social profiles, motivations, and mobilization trajectories of participants in eight demonstrations in Argentina and Chile through the use of structured survey questionnaires (following the *Caught in the Act of Protest* methodology). He is also exploring the political and economic determinants of collective protest in Chilean localities with the help of a protest events dataset based on several national and regional media.

**Winston B. Tripp** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of West Georgia. He earned a PhD in Sociology from Penn State University in 2013. His research and teaching interests include social movements, environmental sociology, and community engagement.

**Mohammad Yaghi** holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Guelph, Canada. His research focuses on social movements, media and cultural, identity and citizenship, and the popular protests in the Middle East. Dr Yaghi taught at the Universities of Guelph and Toronto, and at Queen's University. He is the author of the article "Media and Sectarianism in the Middle East: Saudi Hegemony over Pan-Arab Media" (*International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics* (2017), Vol. 13 Issue 1/2, pp. 39–56). He is also the author of the book chapters: "Neoliberal Reforms, Protests, and Enforced Patron-Client Relations in Tunisia and Egypt" (Routledge, 2018) and "Why Did Tunisian and Egyptian Youth Activists Fail to Build Competitive Political Parties?" (Edinburgh University Press, 2018). Currently, Dr Yaghi is Research Fellow at the German Konrad Adenauer Stiftung focusing his work on the Gulf States.

**Yang Zhang** is Assistant Professor in the School of International Service at American University, Washington, DC. His research covers the areas of political sociology, contentious politics, historical sociology, and social networks. Zhang received a PhD in Sociology from the University of Chicago. His

dissertation “Insurgent Dynamics: The Coming of the Chinese Rebellions, 1850–1873” won the 2017 Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Dissertation Award from American Sociological Association’s Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements. Building upon this dissertation, Zhang’s book manuscript examines the emergence and development of large-scale religious and ethnic rebellions in the Qing Empire of China during the mid-nineteenth century. In other projects, Zhang studies the interaction of state officials, ENGOs, and grass-roots activists in environmental movements in contemporary China.